

**THE ROYAL DUTCH
THEATRE AT THE HAGUE**

The
Royal Dutch Theatre

at

THE HAGUE

1804 - 1876

BY

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FOREWORD

The history of the Koninklijke Nederduitsche Schouwburg (Royal Dutch Theatre) at The Hague begins in 1804, although the theatre did not bear that name until Willem I granted it an annual subsidy a decade later. The present investigation covers the years from 1804 to 1876 because the company of Royal Dutch Players which was disbanded in the latter year had its origin in the group of actors that gave the opening performance of the new theatre on the Korte Voorhout in the spring of 1804. During the entire seventy-two years there were no important changes of policy at the Royal Dutch Theatre; it was not until 1876 that a new period commenced in the theatrical life of the court city and of Holland. Although the Dutch players made frequent appearances in other towns and cities, particularly in Rotterdam and Leiden, the author has limited himself as much as possible to a discussion of their activities at The Hague.

There is an almost complete absence of newspaper criticism on the Haagsche Schouwburg throughout the first three fourths of the Nineteenth Century, but this lack would be far more serious if the greater part of the period, at least from about 1830 to 1876, had not been one of theatrical and dramatic poverty. We have enough sources to know that the performances and plays were rarely better than mediocre. The little newspaper criticism available is usually of such an adulatory nature that it can hardly be called helpful.

As late as 1874 a critic signing himself „Ecca” wrote, „We have here (in The Hague) three newspapers, the Haagsche Nieuwsbode, the Vaderland, and the Dagblad, and none of them seems to have a regular editor or staff writer for dramatic criticism as distinct from opera and concert reviewing. The local actors are so little accustomed to serious comments that when the Vaderland recently expressed its disapproval of the stage appearance made by a child of Mr. Spoor (a member of the company), who had been trained to play the title rôle in Het welbewaakte kind, Mr. Spoor protested against this reprimand

in a manner and with a violence that disclosed a most unreasonable irritability" ¹⁾).

The sources on which this study is chiefly based are a fairly complete collection of playbills issued by the successive directors of the Haagsche Schouwburg from December 7, 1819, to May 31, 1867, the theatre advertisements in the leading newspaper of the court city, the Haagsche Dagblad, and the three periodicals, De Tooneelkijker (1816-19), De Spectator (1842-50), and Het Nederlandsch Tooneel from 1872 on. Because the files of the Haagsche Dagblad consulted by the author at the Municipal Archives of The Hague are very incomplete for the years from 1804 to 1819, it was unfortunately not possible to draw up a list of the entire repertory of the period. The excellence of the reviews in De Tooneelkijker was probably not attained by any other group of writers on the Dutch theatre before the close of the century. The periodical is devoted almost entirely to the Amsterdamsche Schouwburg, and contains scant information about the company of Ward Bingley at The Hague, but its discussions of the plays produced in Amsterdam proved very valuable since the repertories of the two companies were almost identical during the early decades of the period, if not later. The comments were written by devoted and discerning students of the drama, they are witty and caustic when they are not excessively moralizing and didactic. Both De Spectator and Het Nederlandsch Tooneel contain a large number of reviews of performances given at the Haagsche Schouwburg. Very helpful also were the issues of the Noord- en Zuid Nederlandsche Tooneel-Almanak, 1875-79.

The collection of playbills mentioned above was purchased in 1910 from Martinus Nijhoff, the Dutch publisher and antiquarian, by the Acquisition Division of the New York Public Library. The attention of the interested public was first drawn to it by Professor Adriaan J. Barnouw of Columbia University in the January 1934 issue of the Monthly Letter published by the Netherland-America Foundation. The playbills are bound together in eleven stout volumes and constitute a valuable record of dramatic production in Holland over a period of almost fifty years. The collection is the more valuable because it is by far the completest in existence. From notes, corrections of misprints, and changes in the cast and selection of plays scribbled

¹⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, p. 283.

on many of the programs it is apparent that they were collected and filed for reference by the successive directors of the company. Throughout the period the bills were frequently phrased in the form of a letter, which was probably mailed to the subscribers a few days in advance of the performance. „Mijnheer,” say Messrs. Hoedt and Bingley at the top of the bill, „on Monday next we shall have the pleasure of presenting. . . .” and they conclude the announcement with the formula, „In the hope that this representation may be honored with your presence, we have the pleasure of calling ourselves respectfully yours Hoedt and Bingley.”

Research for this investigation was done in the following libraries: the New York Public Library, the Columbia University Library, the Royal Library and the Municipal Archives at The Hague, and the Bavarian State Library at Munich. Especial acknowledgment is due the Columbia University Library, which acquired a large number of the sources essential to the completion of this study.

The author owes a great debt to Professor Adriaan J. Barnouw who suggested the subject and under whose guidance the study was written. He is deeply grateful to Professor Robert Herndon Fife of Columbia University, who gave unsparingly of his time and counsel. Very helpful also were the suggestions of Professors Hugh W. Puckett and H. H. L. Schulze.

INTRODUCTION

During the greater part of the Nineteenth Century the Dutch theatre presents a desolate aspect. The plays and performances given at the three theatrical centers of Holland, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, were rarely more than mediocre. This was particularly true of the period from about 1820, when the great tragédienne Johanna Wattier was no longer active in the theatre and when Ward Bingley was dead, to the beginning of the last quarter of the century. These years were, to be sure, not totally devoid of gifted players. During the greater part of the 'Twenties, Andries Snoek and Geertruyda Jacoba Grevelink-Hilverdink were still playing at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, and later Holland had such talented performers as Anton Peters, Jacoba Maria Naret Koning-Majofski, and Suze Sablairoles. But the period as a whole is uninteresting. The majority of the players were poorly equipped for their career, the foreign plays given were worthless, and the Dutch dramatic muse was silent.

There are those who would explain this barrenness by simply voicing the trite opinion that the Dutch people have no talent for the theatre and the drama, for music and dancing. This erroneous belief completely ignores the Seventeenth Century, when few countries had a richer national drama than Holland and when Dutch acting was highly regarded beyond her borders. During the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries Dutch companies made several tours through parts of Germany and the Scandinavian countries where they were warmly received and in some cases officially honored. These tours affected the development of the theatre and drama of the countries visited. One has but to mention the name of Andreas Gryphius to realize the debt which the German Baroque drama owes to Holland.

The chief cause for the decline of the Dutch theatre and drama in the Eighteenth and the greater part of the Nineteenth Centuries

must be sought in Holland's dependence on French culture during this time. The influence of German on Dutch literature was almost negligible. As a nation the Dutch are far less closely allied to the Germans than, for instance, the German Swiss; they are as distinct from them as the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They, too, jealously, guard themselves from any sign of dependence upon the Germans; they turn away anxiously and deliberately, preferring to look to the English and, above all, to the French. The Eighteenth Century saw a few imitators of Klopstock, Wieland, Ewald von Kleist, and Bürger among the Dutch poets. Only the early Goethe was a literary influence in Holland. There were a number of *Ritterdramen*, as, for example, *Ida van Falkenstein* and A. Cramer's *Het geraamte, of de Leeuwenridders* (1812), which might never have been written without Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*, and R. Feith composed a few novels in the Werther manner; but the Dutch much preferred the sentimentality of Rousseau to that of Werther. Schiller succeeded merely in causing the worshippers of French classicism to cry out in horror, although later a few of his plays, notably *Don Carlos*, had some influence on the Dutch drama. The German Romantic School was completely ignored in Holland, whereas the French and English Romanticists soon found their ardent admirers, especially Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, and Alfred de Musset. During the early Nineteenth Century English prose and poetry made a deep impression in Holland, but in the drama the French continued to be the only ones who supplied models considered worthy of study and imitation. The serious Dutch dramatists wrote tragedies in the manner of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, and the lesser playwrights aped the French vaudevillists and melodramatists.

For a period of more than two hundred years, at least from the latter part of the Seventeenth to the end of the Nineteenth Century, the upper classes in Holland, who had perfect command of the French language, much preferred French to Dutch theatrical performances. The belief was generally accepted that the French drama and theatre had no equal anywhere. This was especially true of The Hague, where the stadtholders and later the kings were liberal patrons of French companies. Since the Court patronized the French players, the middle classes considered it fashionable to do the same, and even the kitchen-maids of well-

to-do families and the grocers serving the Court considered it beneath their dignity to honor a Dutch performance with their presence. The Dutch theatres were attended by the lower classes, but even here the French influence was strong, for the management often hastened to present in Dutch a play that had been successfully staged by a French company in the same town or city. Those persons who did not understand spoken French were frequently eager to see a popular French play in translation so that they, too, might be "in the know". Gradually more and more native plays disappeared from the Dutch repertoires, and they were almost always replaced by French pieces. During the years of French military occupation at the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the Dutch stages were inundated with French vaudevilles, comedies and melodramas, and there was hardly any reaction against this when Holland had regained her freedom. The Dutch theatres did not then turn to the English or German drama; they continued to present more and more French plays.

Men of letters in Holland were themselves too great admirers of French classicism to be able to remedy this situation. They continued to decry the barbarism of Shakespeare and Schiller and to hold up classical models to those aspiring to write for the stage. No wonder, then, that they exercised little influence, that they were voices crying in the wilderness. It is true that some library dramatists attempted to meet the changing literary taste half-way, but their lucubrations, which were neither classical nor romantic, created little stir and received as few performances as the creations of their duller classical predecessors. It was not until the 'Forties that a real dramatic genius appeared in Holland — H. J. Schimmel, whose early verse dramas have some of the glow and ardor of Victor Hugo's works. But it can hardly be said that the Dutch have had a romantic drama of their own. Even Schimmel soon adopted a sort of poetic realism.

Dutch literary genius, like Dutch graphic art, finds its most felicitous expression in the faithful portrayal of Dutch life and landscape. It tries to reproduce what it sees truthfully and sincerely, without flattery or posturing for effect. It represents reality, proclaiming the sensuous delights of earthly life and resting upon the contemplation of joys that ravish the eye. This is

true of the better Dutch novels and descriptive and narrative poems, this is also true of many of the Dutch comedies and farces of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries. But as long as the Dutch drama imitated the French, it betrayed its very nature. There could be no native drama of value while the Dutch dramatists copied alien forms and depicted alien conditions. The same can be said of Dutch acting, which is characterized by an exuberant realism. As long as the native players had to interpret French noblemen, *lions*, *grisettes*, and Parisian gutter rats, the Dutch theatre was a parody of itself. It was not until the end of the Nineteenth Century that Dutch drama and Dutch acting found their way back to a realism capable of giving a truthful and inspiring portrait of native life.

FIRST CHAPTER

THE MANAGEMENT

In 1660 The Hague received its first theatre in the building erected for the actor Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh behind his house on the Denneweg. Heretofore theatrical performances at The Hague had been given in barn-like structures, such as the *Pikeurschuur* (riding-school) and the *Kaatsbaan* (hand-tennis court) on the Buitenhof. Fornenbergh's company did not confine its activities to the court city; it not only gave kermis performances throughout Holland, but also visited other countries. Some of the cities where it played during the years 1665–67 and 1672–76 were Hamburg, Lubeck, Stockholm, Reval, and Riga. In 1679 the municipal authorities granted Fornenbergh a monopoly for his theatre. No Dutch players were permitted to give performances in The Hague unless they did so at his theatre on payment of a rental fee. In the early 'Eighties Fornenbergh rang the curtain down on his theatrical career. Toward the end of the century Jacob van Ryndorp, who had joined Fornenbergh's company in 1660, and Jan Noozeman, the step-brother of Fornenbergh's wife, Maria Noozeman, were the co-directors of a company that had to play at the theatre on the Denneweg, since Fornenbergh was still in possession of his monopoly. Jacob van Ryndorp was also very active at Leiden, where the municipal authorities, led by the burgomaster, visited his theatre once a year *ex officio*. He bore the title "Directeur der Leydse en Haegse Schouwburghen". Soon after the death of Willem III in 1702 Ryndorp and Noozeman undertook an extended tour into Germany and Denmark. They gave performances, among other places, at Lubeck, Kiel, Danzig, and Copenhagen, where they played before the Danish court. After the death of Fornenbergh their company was no longer obliged to make use of the building on the Denneweg, which does

not seem to have been completely satisfactory, and in the early part of the Eighteenth Century we find it presenting plays in the *Pikeurschuur*, the former riding-school of the stadtholders, a huge shed on the south side of the Buitenhof. Jacob van Ryndorp died in 1720. In 1723 his widow, Anna Katherina de Quintana, leased the *Pikeurschuur* for a period of five years, but during the 'Thirties and later the Ryndorp family (there were three daughters) made Leiden the center of their theatrical activities ¹⁾.

During the 'Forties and 'Fifties of the Eighteenth Century Dutch presentations were not very frequent at The Hague. In 1766 the municipal government leased to Marten Corver a house in the Assendelftstraat with the permission to erect a theatre in its garden. It was constructed of stone at the cost of 30,000 gulden. Marten Corver, one of the most talented Dutch actors of the Eighteenth Century, was born in Amsterdam in 1721 and appeared at the *Schouwburg* in that city when he was twenty-one years old. He left this theatre in 1763 and formed his own company, which began to give regular performances at The Hague in 1767. From the hereditary stadtholder he received the annual sum of three thousand gulden on condition that he play at The Hague for six successive months each year. This did not prove a profitable arrangement for Corver, who was obliged to make extended tours with his company to meet his deficits. In 1767 it had consisted of thirty players, in 1774 there were only fourteen. In the latter year he dismissed his troupe and went to Rotterdam. His theatre in the Assendelfstraat he leased to other companies ²⁾.

The *Guide ou la nouvelle description de La Haye*, which appeared in 1785, states that around this time Dutch performances were rare ³⁾. In 1795, however, the company of Ward Bingley, which had its seat in Rotterdam, began to play once a week during the winter season in the theatre erected by Corver. Ward Bingley had been a member of Corver's troupe during the early 'Seventies and had also played heroic and tyrannical parts at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* before forming his own company in 1795.

¹⁾ Cf. E. F. Kossmann, *Das niederländische Faustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 101 ff.

²⁾ Corver gives a detailed account of his activities at The Hague in his *Tooneel-aantekeningen* (Leyden, 1786), an invaluable source for the study of Dutch theatrical life in the Eighteenth Century.

³⁾ Cf. *In en om den Schouwburg* by A. D. de Vries, p. 27.

The date 1804 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Dutch stage at The Hague, since in that year the theatre on the Korte Voorhout was opened. This building was destined to be the theatrical center of the city from that year down to the present day. Dutch and French performances were given here more or less regularly during the entire century. The Dutch company at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* which was disbanded in the spring of 1876 had its origin in the group of players which began its visits to the court city in 1795 and which assisted at the opening performance of that theatre in 1804.

The building on the Korte Voorhout was to have been part of a palace that was never completed. In 1760 the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg had married Princess Carolina, the sister of the Prince of Orange, later Willem V. He bought eight buildings on the Korte Voorhout, which were to be replaced by the palace, and invited the German architect, Friedrich Ludwig Gunkel, to The Hague to carry out this plan. The work progressed slowly, however, for Gunkel was occupied with other projects as well, and when the Prince retired to his estates in Germany in the early 'Seventies, only the façade of the present theatre had been erected. Some writers have scant words of praise for the appearance of the building, describing its Renaissance front as cold and dissonant in relation to its surroundings ¹⁾, but it cannot be gainsaid that Gunkel's work is a good example of the classical period of Louis XVI. In the present age, accustomed as it is to the unadorned style of modern architecture, the building impresses one as anything but severe.

In 1795 the building suffered the same fate as all the possessions of the House of Nassau; it was seized by the French who had invaded Holland and turned into barracks for French soldiers ²⁾. In 1799 the Dutch government bought it from the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg for the small sum of 27,000 gulden on condition that he refrain from any suit for damages.

By a resolution of the government dated March 26, 1802, the

¹⁾ Cf. J. E. Banck's "Het Nationaal Tooneel in de Residentie, 1804-1904", in *Die Haghe*, 1904, p. 357.

²⁾ The *Kunstchroniek* (Vol. II, 1841-42, p. 22) states that the "filthy" French militia completely destroyed the attractiveness of the building. The window panes were broken or replaced by paper, and outside the windows, where beautiful flowers had once delighted the eyes of those passing by, now hung pieces of raw meat.

building was leased for the period of ninety-nine years to a group of private persons, who intended to change it into a theatre. They were Pieter van Herzeele, E. van der Goes, Sloet van Oldruitenburg, E. E. van Deeveren, and C. A. Fannius Scholten. The permission was granted them to make whatever structural changes they deemed necessary, provided they met the obligations of the long lease and the real estate taxes that rested on the building. These gentlemen secured a loan of 129,000 gulden to adapt it to its new use.

Shortly before the opening performance the safety of the three balconies of the theatre was tested by sending a fully accoutred regiment of soldiers to each of them in succession. As none of them collapsed under the weight, the building was declared suitable for public presentations. The small auditorium had room for 712 visitors. The pit contained only 157 seats. The majority of the seats were in the boxes and in the balconies, which were constructed in amphitheatre fashion.

On April 30, 1804, the theater was inaugurated with a performance of Voltaire's *Sémiramis* in the translation of P. Pypers, played by the company of Ward Bingley. The title rôle was filled by the renowned tragédienne of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, Johanna Wattier, Ward's sister-in-law.

The prices for this opening performance were:

First balcony	4 gulden
Boxes in the first balcony	3 gulden
Parquet	2 gulden, 10 stuiver
Baignoires	2 gulden, 10 stuiver
Balcony and boxes in the second balcony	2 gulden
Third balcony	2 gulden
Parterre	1 gulden, 10 stuiver
Boxes in the third balcony	1 gulden

The *Haagsche Dagblad* of May 2 brings an unsigned account of this initial performance. "The new *Haagsche Schouwburg* was opened yesterday evening. Before a very large number of spectators the Dutch players under the direction of the distinguished Bingley, assisted by the famous Amsterdam actress, Mejuffrouw Johanna Ziesenis-Wattier, gave a performance of *Sémiramis*, a tragedy from the French of Voltaire, preceded by a prologue suitable for the occasion, *Homage to Apollo*.

“That they gave unlimited pleasure was apparent from the constantly renewed applause of the assembled throng. It was delighted with the performance, which was a credit to the players, and transported by the tragic masterpiece given, the admiration of which does not spring from the passing whim of a frivolous moment’s degrading fashion, but is based on the unshakable rules of true beauty and of art, which will survive through the centuries just as they have survived till now, and which do honor to those nations that are able to appreciate them. It would be superfluous, moreover, to add anything here to the praise of the proven talents of Mejuffrouw Ziesenis, whose magnificent costume united good taste and splendor with knowledge of antiquity. For the same reason we maintain silence on the acting of Bingley, Valkenier, etc.

“The Building, the decorations, and the stage machinery shared in the general admiration and approval of the spectators and gave full proof of the excellent taste and management of the directors.

“One is of the unanimous opinion that this theatre, completed according to the principles of theatrical architecture, does honor to its artists and builders, above all to the able and energetic architect, J. van Duyfhuis. Under his supervision the decorations were designed and executed by the painters van Cuilenburg, Henning, and Breckenheimer. Nothing has been neglected to give artistic beauty to the other rooms which grace this building. The maintenance of good order has likewise been furthered in every respect.”

Hardly an enlightening review! Unfortunately much of early Nineteenth Century dramatic criticism at The Hague is of this indiscriminately laudatory nature.

During the following months a number of performances were given at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* by a French company, the players of Ward Bingley continuing to make use of the building in the Assendelftstraat. Not until the latter part of November did they move to the new theatre. On November 20, 1804 they performed G. Stephanie’s *De werfofficieren (Die Werber)* and A. Mar-tainville’s *Het bankroet van den schoenlapper (La banqueroutte du savetier à propos de bottes)* there, and from then on the company appeared regularly at the Korte Voorhout on each Tuesday evening of the season, which started about the middle of October

and ended in late April or early May. In Rotterdam, where the company continued to have its headquarters, performances were usually given on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday.

That the Dutch players were considered, then as later, of secondary importance to the French company which appeared at the same theatre is apparent from an advertisement in the *Haagsche Dagblad* for a performance which took place on February 3, 1807. It states that a drama of Kotzebue will be given at the "Nederduitsche Schouwburg in de Koninklijke Fransche Comedie-Zaal" (Dutch Theatre in the Royal French Drama Hall).

From an advertisement in the *Haagsche Dagblad* of May 6, 1811, one learns that after the annexation of Holland by France, Ward Bingley received the official title of "Licensed Director of the Dutch Theatres in the Department of the Mouths of the Meuse." A similar title for the district of the Zuiderzee was given to Andries Snoek, Th. J. Majofski, and Mevrouw Wattier-Ziesenis, the directors of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. For this title Bingley had to pay a certain amount to the authorities, but in return he received a small percentage of the profits made at all places of amusement in his district ¹).

At the beginning of the season of 1814–15 Bingley's company shifted its headquarters from Rotterdam to The Hague, where it performed regularly every Tuesday and Friday until the end of the period in 1876. It continued to play at the *Rotterdamsche Schouwburg* on Wednesdays and Saturdays. On Monday evening performances were given at Leiden. During the regular season Amsterdam, Delft, and Gouda were also frequently visited. Bingley, who was an ardent patriot, had had frequent difficulties with the French authorities during the years of Napoleonic oppression, and it is probable that the royal subsidy which the company enjoyed during the greater part of the period was granted him for the first time at the conclusion of the war as a token of the King's appreciation of his love of country ²). No doubt because of this subsidy Bingley resolved to establish his company in the court city instead of remaining at Rotterdam. From now on the mem-

¹) Cf. *Tooneel-Almanak*, 1876, p. 106.

²) According to the advertisement in the *Haagsche Dagblad* for the performance of May 30, 1876, the Dutch players had enjoyed the royal subsidy for sixty years. The period was probably one or two years longer.

bers of the company called themselves the "Royal Dutch Players of South Holland".

Ward Bingley died on June 26, 1818, at the age of sixty-three, and five days later he was buried in the Kloosterkerk on the Lange Voorhout. His son, Willem, and his son-in-law, Jan Hendrik Hoedt, were appointed to the post made vacant by his death.

During the greater part of the period, at least from the time when these two assumed their directorial duties, the subscription system prevailed at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. The season consisted of fifty subscription evenings. The top price for an entire season's subscription was sixty gulden (\$ 24.00), or seventy, if one was willing to pay for a reserved seat. The charge for a monthly subscription was fifteen, or, for a reserved seat, sixteen gulden. These prices were reduced for the less expensive tiers to forty or fifty, and for a monthly subscription to eleven or twelve. On only a few playbills are the prices for single admission stated. They seem to have been about the same throughout the whole period, although there were some variations in the prices of the cheaper seats. The admission fees listed below are more or less typical of those charged throughout the period.

First balcony and stalls	2 gulden
Parquet and baignoires	1 gulden, 50 stuiver
Second balcony	1 gulden, 25 stuiver
Parterre.	1 gulden
Third balcony	40 stuiver
Gallery (that part of the third balcony farthest from the stage)	25 stuiver
Military gallery	15 stuiver

It is interesting to compare these prices with those usually charged by the French company.

First balcony boxes	3 gulden
Stalls, loges grillées and front baignoires	2 gulden, 50 stuiver
Parquet, first balcony and baignoi- res	2 gulden
Second balcony.	1 gulden, 50 stuiver
Parterre.	1 gulden, 25 stuiver
Third balcony boxes.	50 stuiver
Third balcony	40 stuiver
Gallery	25 stuiver
Military gallery	10 stuiver

On those evenings when a gala performance was given by the Dutch company or when a visiting artist offered an unusual attraction, higher prices were demanded, but these rarely exceeded the ordinary cost of admission to a French presentation.

Unfortunately no information about the receipts of the various directors of the Dutch company in The Hague is available. For the season of 1876-77, when the company at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* had been replaced by the organization *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, the receipts for eighty-three performances were 34,000 gulden in single admissions and 4,495 in subscriptions, a total of 38,495 gulden. In 1877-78 the receipts for ninety performances were 38,300 in single admissions and 7,683 in subscriptions, in all 45,983 gulden. The ordinary season between 1814 and 1876, however, had about sixty to sixty-five evenings, provided we include the four or five kermis performances which were given in the week following the second Sunday in May. Besides the fifty subscription evenings there were also a number of additional presentations, such as benefits, guest performances, and galas. Sixty probably comes nearer to the average than sixty-five. From various accounts of performances at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* we know that the theatre was often less than half filled. We also know that for the subscription evenings passes circulated freely and tickets at greatly reduced prices were available. Let us assume that the average receipt of such an evening was 350 gulden. This would mean that about five hundred persons were present, a good-sized audience indeed, for it must be remembered that the theatre had a seating capacity of only 712 before 1863. Of these five hundred very few, we may be sure, had paid more than a gulden for their seats. The better places were taken by the subscribers and by those who had bought half-price tickets, while a good part of the audience occupied seats that cost half a gulden and less. By multiplying 350 by 60 we obtain the sum of 21,000 gulden or about 8500 dollars. This seems an incredibly small sum, yet it is difficult to believe that the total of the annual receipts was much more than that. The increased receipts enjoyed by *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* resulted partly from the higher prices charged and partly from the revived interest in the theatre among the population, which had grown tired of seeing the same players year after year. The company probably made as much (i.e., 21,000 gulden), if not

more, in Rotterdam, and money was also earned in other towns and cities. Yet it is clear that the life of the players (there were usually from twenty to thirty) would hardly have been affluent even if the total receipts had been divided among them, but a good part of the money had to be used for stage settings, costumes, transportation, paying the musicians and stage hands, and other major and minor expenses. The various directors of the "Royal Players" spent many a painful hour over figures that yielded them ridiculously small profits or disclosed deficits that made their life uneasy for months and even years to come, and this in spite of the fact that the company enjoyed greater privileges than any other theatre in Holland with the exception of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. These privileges will be discussed later.

In 1828 the directors Hoedt and Bingley published a pamphlet entitled *Iets over de Tooneel-Beoordeelingen, voorkomende in het Algemeen Nieuws- en Advertentieblad, geteekend Proficiat* (Something about the Dramatic Criticisms in the General News Chronicle and Advertiser, signed "Proficiat"). The *Algemeen Nieuws- en Advertentieblad* was a Rotterdam newspaper, and the performances of the Dutch company reviewed in several of its issues by "Proficiat" had taken place in that city. The cost of the pamphlet was twenty cents, "for the benefit of the poor". The reply of the directors would be of greater interest if "Proficiat" had been a devoted student of the drama and the theatre, but it is obvious that he was a self-appointed critic who was hardly qualified to pass judgment on any company, no matter how poor it might be. It was therefore an easy matter for the directors to defend themselves against his denigrations. They pounce gleefully upon his reference to the "tragedies" of Rossini and to his description of Vondel's *Gijsbrecht* as a drama of ill repute! "Proficiat" held that the singing of the company was less good than formerly; Hoedt and Bingley naturally assert that it is much better. They have been devoting especial care lately to this province of their duties, they declare, and the applause with which the *Rotterdamsche Schouwburg* resounds whenever a vaudeville is presented (and they try to present one at every performance), assures them that their efforts have not been in vain. In a review of a performance of *Emilia Galotti* the critic maintained that the company was incapable of playing this tragedy convincingly; the audience had

smiled instead of being moved. Yet he had this to say of the players: Mejuffrouw Hoedt was an excellent and perfect Emilia; Hoedt was quite good as the Prince, but lacked temperament; Stoopendaal, although no Galotti, was also good; Bingley was praiseworthy as Appia (for Appiani, of course); Mejuffrouw Stoopendaal was splendid as the mother; Mejuffrouw Wicart was better as Orsina than in other parts, but not as good as the great Wattier. "Proficiat" considered Ziegler's *Partijwoede, of Engeland in 1651 (Parteienwuth oder drei verhängnisvolle Tage aus Cromwells Schreckenheerschaft)* an unfortunate choice for the company's presentation on St. Nicholas' Eve, when plays suitable for children were usually given. *Jerome Pointu*, an Eighteenth Century comedy from the French, which was performed on the same evening, he described as an immoral play, for in it "a clerk cheats his master, a lawyer fondles his servant girl, becomes intoxicated and doubles his income". For children "Proficiat" recommended such "moral" plays as Kotzebue's *Mädchenfreundschaft, oder der türkische Gesandte*, a comedy which the present-day reader would characterize as lascivious. He accused the company of having cast aspersions on the Rotterdam clergy from the stage; however, the directors assure the reader that this is downright calumny and that they have nothing but the profoundest respect for this, the most venerable of all the professions. They suggest that "Proficiat", instead of continuing his destructive criticism, help them in devising means to keep the throngs that crowd into the theatre under better control.

Up to 1830 the Dutch as well as the French company had to pay rent for the use of the theatre on the Korte Voorhout. On July 29, 1830, the municipal government acquired the *hôtel* Weilburg, as the building was still called officially, and from then until 1841 the theatre was city property. The group of private citizens in whose possession the theatre had been since 1802 had not found the enterprise profitable, at least not during the years from 1811 to 1824, when a favorable balance of no more than 10,506 gulden (about \$ 4200) was achieved, and they were probably not reluctant to retire from this undertaking ¹). The authorities did not assume their new responsibility because they were concerned about the

¹) Cf. D. W. P. Keuskamp's "Een en ander over den Haagschen Schouwburg" in *Die Haghe* 1904, p. 393.

state of the national theatre. No, it was the French opera company they were interested in, and they bestowed lavish favors on it. During these years the French company received thirty thousand gulden from the community each year, and from the King an annual subsidy of from twenty to twenty-four thousand gulden. Willem I also placed his recently organized court orchestra at its disposal. The Dutch company had to be content with an annual subsidy of ten thousand guilders from the King and exemption from the rental fee. It had to pay for its own orchestra.

By a decree of April 13, 1841, the property became part of the King's possessions. Willem I, who attended the performances of the French opera company more or less regularly, named Baron Sirtema van Grovestins intendant of the royal theatres. The *Haagsche Schouwburg* thus became a court theatre. During the period from 1830 to 1853 the French opera company at The Hague ranked third among the opera houses of Europe, after Paris and St. Petersburg. From 1841 to 1853 the management of the Dutch company enjoyed an annual subsidy of sixteen thousand gulden from the King, but this was a small sum compared with the money spent on the French company, which cost him from 100,000 to 130,000 gulden each year. During the season of 1850–51 no grand operas were presented at The Hague, yet the production of French comic operas, vaudevilles and plays cost 120,476 gulden, with the orchestra expenses 145,288 gulden. To meet this sum the King contributed 129,000 gulden ¹⁾).

The decease of Willem I caused the *Haagsche Schouwburg* to be closed from December 12, 1843, to January 16, 1844. Closings in mid-season because of the death of a member of the royal family usually entailed a severe loss for the management, as the attendance was fairly good during this time.

Willem Bingley and Jan Hendrik Hoedt were the co-directors of the Dutch company until February, 1844, when the intendant obliged the former to resign. The reasons for this measure are nowhere fully explained, but it is apparent from some reviews in the *Spectator* that he was guilty of unmannerly conduct on the stage and of serious neglect of his managerial duties. He died in the same year at the age of fifty. His brother-in-law was the sole

¹⁾ These amounts are given by Marcel-Briol in *Grandeur et Décadence du Théâtre Royal Français de la Haye*, p. 27.

director until the spring of 1846, when his name was coupled with that of Anton Peters, one of the outstanding actors of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. Hoedt died in September, 1846.

By far the most important theatre in the history of the Dutch stage is the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. Its period of greatest glory extended from 1795, when the commissioners of the theatre engaged the company of Andries Snoek, till about 1825. Johanna Wattier was active there from 1796 to 1815, when she retired. The company of Ward Bingley had few players who approached the excellence of Dirk Sardet, Samuel Cruys, Th. J. Majofski, J. Jelgerhuis, who joined the theatre in 1805, Jacoba Sardet-Wouters, and Anna Maria Kamphuisen-Snoek. But after the death of Andries in 1829, the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* suffered a decline, and during the rest of the period before 1876 the conditions there were almost as unfavorable to the development of a national theatre as at The Hague. In the early 'Forties the theatre was managed by a group of six actors and a scenic artist, J. E. de Vries. When Reinier Engelman, the leader of the group, died in 1845, sharp differences arose among the others, chiefly between Peters and de Vries. An open break occurred in the spring of 1846, when Peters severed his connections with the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* and went to The Hague. It was said of him that he was determined to ruin the theatre by attracting its most talented players to the court city; perhaps he hoped to force the directors to implore him to come back. After Hoedt's death Peters was the sole head of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* until the spring of 1853. Although he effected some improvements at The Hague, he was too temperamental a person to be a successful director, and he had only himself to blame for some of the serious reverses which he suffered during these years. At one time he was the loser in a suit for damages brought against him by W. J. van Ollefen and his wife — probably because he had failed to keep the promises which he had made to induce them to leave Amsterdam and come to The Hague ¹⁾. In 1847 J. Tjasink, a very capable actor who had come to The Hague two years before, returned to the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, for he and Peters were too ambitious and jealous of their own reputations to be able to tolerate each other's

¹⁾ A. D. de Vries, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

presence. Peters is reported to have lost 40,000 gulden of his own money in 1848, through mismanagement, it seems. An incredibly large sum! Other misfortunes also befell him. In March, 1847, his best actress, Jacoba Naret Koning died, scarcely eleven months after he had brought her to The Hague. In 1849 the theatre was closed from March 17 to April 24 because of the death of Willem II.

During the early 'Fifties a reconciliation took place between Peters and de Vries, and the former made occasional guest appearances at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. In the season of 1852-53 a number of the playbills of the Dutch company at The Hague were signed by both Peters and de Vries. Perhaps it was again intended in a half-hearted way to join the companies of the two royal theatres, a plan that had been under consideration once before ¹⁾. If this was the case, nothing came of it, for on April 30, 1853, Peters created great confusion among his players by withdrawing suddenly from his position, although the contracts for the following season had not yet been drawn up.

On June 1, 1853, the *Haagsche Schouwburg* ceased to be royal property and again passed under the control of the municipal government, which took upon itself the debt of 106,700 gulden which still remained from the loan made in 1802. The King continued to give an annual subsidy to the Dutch company, but it amounted only to ten thousand instead of sixteen thousand gulden from now on. No doubt Peters had been aware that a change was imminent. Perhaps he was tired of The Hague and considered it advisable to retire from his position during this period of transition. Or perhaps he was not unwilling to continue as director of the company, but hoped that his sudden resignation would shock the municipal government into offering him the management under more favorable conditions. This is not unlikely, for he continued to make The Hague his home for the next years, although he was again playing at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. Whatever his intentions were, Peters maintained that the thirty players of the company, with the exception of P. A. Morin, Suze Sablairolles, the van Ollefens, and B. Breedé, had revolted against him, refusing to be re-engaged in order to prevent

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, IV, 1844, p. 220.

him from obtaining the concession for the next year. The actors, on the other hand, charged that he had foully betrayed them by suddenly withdrawing before any of them had been engaged for the following season.

The players now united under the leadership of one of their number, J. W. Hammecher, and continued to give performances at the theatre during the following months, calling themselves "de vereenigd gebleven Leden van den voormaligen Koninklijken Hollandschen Schouwburg" (the united members of the former Royal Dutch Theatre). In the meantime they requested the authorities to grant them permission to play at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* until the end of April, 1854.

The municipal government of The Hague consists of two bodies, the "Raad" or Council, and the "Burgemeester en Wethouders" or the Burgomaster and Aldermen. The former body represents the legislative, the latter the executive branch of the government. The Mayor is an appointee of the Crown, the Aldermen are chosen from the Council and are responsible to it for their official utterances and decisions. Article 138 of the municipal law of The Hague states that the privilege of using any community property, by lease or in any other way, can be granted only by the Council. It was therefore the Council's task to decide on the request of the Dutch players. After the resignation of Peters, quarrels had broken out among the members of the company, and during the hearings of the Council on the petition accusations and counter-accusations filled the air until some of the councillors were inclined to wash their hands of the whole matter and turn it over to "B. en W." ¹⁾. Finally the Council granted the request of the Dutch players, although, strangely enough, the concession of the French company for the same season was granted by "B. en W." ²⁾

By January of 1854 the municipal government had received three applications for the management of the Dutch company during the season of 1854-55. Two of these were seriously considered by "B. en W.", who had to draw up a preliminary report for the benefit of the Council. They were made by two pairs of

¹⁾ The Burgomaster and Aldermen are briefly called "B. en W."

²⁾ The author's discussion of the theatrical crisis of 1853 and 1854 is based chiefly on A. Wm. Jacobson's *De vergunning tot het bespelen van den Koninklijken Hollandschen Schouwburg te 's-Gravenhage*, 1879.

actors, W. J. van Ollefen and J. W. Hammecher, and B. Breedé and J. C. Valois, all of whom except Valois were appearing at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. The former two assured "B. en W." that Anton Peters had given them his word that he would make guest appearances at the theatre if they should receive the concession. The mayor and aldermen were inclined to give them preference even after they had learned that the actor had made no promises to any of the applicants. When the preliminary report was laid before the Council, a heated debate arose. One of the members, Mr. de Pinto, stated that a peculiar situation had developed the year before when the French concession had been granted by "B. en W." and the Dutch concession by the Council. The impression had thus been created that the more valuable and important (sic!) matter was to be decided by the mayor and the aldermen and the less important one by the councillors. This untenable situation could be corrected only by having the same body of the municipal government make both appointments, and he therefore made the motion that the Council be entrusted with this task from then on. This motion was rejected by eighteen to sixteen votes, so that thenceforth the concessions for both the Dutch and the French companies were granted by "B. en W."

According to Article 183 of the municipal law the Council had the right to demand that "B. en W." give an account from time to time regarding its employment of any power transmitted to it. The Council never made use of this article, and "B. en W." correctly assumed that it did not care to concern itself with the appointments and with the conditions which the appointees had to meet. They did not bother to send any more preliminary reports to the Council, but simply confronted it with the *fait accompli* of the concessions. No discussions on the matter took place in the Council meetings, and the public was therefore kept in the dark about the way in which the city's theatrical affairs were being conducted. On March 28, 1854, "B. en W." informed the Council that Breedé and Valois had been granted the concession for the season of 1854–55, and on December 10, 1854, that these two were to continue as directors during the following year. Breedé died on December 19, 1858, and Jean-Christien Valois guided the company alone from then on until the spring of 1876.

In the annual reports issued by "B. en W." only a few lines are

devoted to the management of the Dutch theatre. Considerable satisfaction with the directors is expressed in the reports for 1854 and 1855. In view of the circumstances and the means at their disposal they are said to have shown themselves worthy of the trust placed in them ¹⁾. In 1857 the satisfaction of "B. en W." begins to decrease, for they cannot admit that the directors have done anything to lift Dutch dramatic art from the depth to which it has sunk, not merely at The Hague, to be sure, but everywhere in Holland ²⁾. In the report for 1858 "B. en W." state that they have reappointed Breedé and Valois merely because they are such industrious and economical directors and because they can not hope for a better future of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* from any other management ³⁾. From the report for 1859 one learns that the Dutch theatre under the direction of Valois is prospering and that it is winning the public's favor more and more. "B. en W." are naturally pleased, even if they are not in sympathy with the artistic policies pursued ⁴⁾. It is apparent from these reports that they were not blind to the sad state of the Dutch theatre, but they were not prepared to contribute in any way toward its betterment. The report for 1862 informs us that Valois is untiring in his efforts to maintain the undertaking and to raise it to a higher level. But the great dearth of good players and of good plays is a serious obstacle to his endeavors and gives a direction to them with which they, "B. en W.", cannot declare themselves in agreement. Yet there is nothing that can be done about the matter ⁵⁾. It was possible, however, for the municipal government to improve the status of the French company. A jury was appointed by the Council to judge the merits of the singers who desired to be engaged at the *Théâtre Français de la Haye*. The city annually paid for the music and the settings of two new opera productions, but the Dutch management was not permitted to benefit by these settings until they had been used twenty times by the French company, that is, after three or four years. For the ten years from 1853 to 1863 the French management was granted 287,000 gulden by the

¹⁾ *Algemeen verslag van den toestand der gemeente 's-Gravenhage*. 1854, p. 45, and 1855, p. 61.

²⁾ *ibid.*, 1857, p. 80.

³⁾ *ibid.*, 1858, p. 87.

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 1859, p. 99.

⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1862, p. 93.

Council and 200,000 by the King. During the same period the Dutch company received 100,000 gulden from the King, but it was favored with no contribution from the municipal government ¹⁾).

The *Haagsche Schouwburg*, however, enjoyed more advantages than any other Dutch theatre with the exception of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* ²⁾). The management did not pay any rent. Heating and light were free. The majority of the workers who set the stage and took care of the building were recompensed by the city government. All these privileges and others, including the payment of the patent and the taxes on the building, amounted to an annual value of approximately 12,000 gulden. It is obvious that a good ensemble could have been gathered at The Hague if the granting of the concession had been made dependent on the strict fulfilment of certain stipulations regarding the organization of the personnel, the number of rehearsals, the choice of plays, and so on.

In spite of these privileges the Dutch company had to struggle to carry on. Its difficulties were partly due to the fact that great profits were no longer to be had in Rotterdam. In 1856 Breedé and Valois published a pamphlet with the title *De Eigendunkelijke Handelingen van HH. Commissarissen der Rotterdamsche Schouwburg-Vereeniging contra de Directie van den Koninklijken Hollandschen Schouwburg* (*The arbitrary treatment of the management of the Royal Dutch Theatre by the directors of the Rotterdam Theatre Society*), vehemently deploring the arbitrariness with which the administrators of the Rotterdam theatre demanded that the company give frequent performances with Anton Peters and other guests, who asked fees which the directors were not prepared to pay. In 1860 the administrators gave the concession to J. E. de Vries, who had united the leading actors of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* under his leadership. J. C. Valois was obliged to evacuate the building, and although he continued to give performances in Rotterdam, his receipts were small, a net profit of 150 guilders an evening being the most he could expect ³⁾). His company

¹⁾ Dr. Schnarfmita, *Het Nationaal Tooneel in Nederland*, p. 13.

²⁾ Around the middle of the Nineteenth Century the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* enjoyed the following subsidies: 10,000 gulden from the King, 9000 from the city, and 3000 from the province of North Holland. It, too, did not have to pay rent. (J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, II, p. 410).

³⁾ Dr. Schnarfmita, *op. cit.*, p. 33. According to Schnarfmita the *Delftsche Schouwburg* was also closed to the company of Valois with the year 1862.

was therefore forced to make more and more extensive journeys, visiting cities as far away as Groningen and Maastricht. During the season of 1861–62 he encountered a deficit of 5000 guilders, which he had to pay out of his own pocket. No wonder, then, that he gazed with envy at the blessings bestowed on the French company and considered himself treated in a niggardly fashion. In 1863 he sent the Council a request for a subsidy, but this was not granted. The Dutch management did, however, receive certain additional, although minor, privileges, for henceforth the municipality furnished the pay of the extra stage-hands which were needed from time to time, of the fire-watch, and of those hired to keep the building clean, expenses which amounted to about six hundred gulden a year ¹⁾).

On October 17, 1854, the Dutch company celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, but the occasion does not seem to have been the cause of exceptionally great jubilation. Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's drama *Dorp en stad, of de vrouw van een' professor* (*Dorf und Stadt*) was played for the first time, and a poem by L. van den Broek was recited. It consisted of solo passages for some of the company's leading players and of choruses spoken by the whole personnel. The work ended with the following rousing lines:

Wij willen duizendmalen
Vereend door eenen band
Het hartlijk lied herhalen:
„Heil! Vorst en Vaderland!”

After 1853 the French opera company did not enjoy the same popularity as during the preceding decades. The same banal operas by Donizetti, Meyerbeer, and others had been given so often that even the most ardent patrons tired of them and stayed away. Since the company ended each season with a large deficit, the Council appointed a commission to investigate the situation and to suggest possible remedies. The commission's report was made public on February 12, 1863. It proposed that 65,000 gulden be appropriated by the Council for the enlargement of the theatre. The city needed a larger auditorium, for the population had increased from 40,000 in 1804 to 80,000 in 1863. The increase in

¹⁾ A. Wm. Jacobson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

the number of seats would permit the French management to lower its prices and would thus attract larger crowds to the theatre. The Dutch company would also benefit by the change, for the building was often filled to capacity when it performed. The report makes it clear that during the late 'Fifties and the early 'Sixties the Dutch presentations were better attended than the French. The commission's suggestion was accepted, but proved to be more expensive than had been expected, for the Council had to appropriate 83,000 gulden. Two hundred and sixty seats were added, so that the seating capacity was now 972. The distribution of seats was as follows:

Stalls	68
Parquet	226
Baignoires	140
First balcony	158
Second balcony	180
Third balcony	90
Amphitheatre of the third balcony . . .	110
	<hr/> 972

The parquet and the baignoires received the largest number of additional seats.

The changes that were made did not prove to be entirely satisfactory. The demand for greater safety from fire caused new doors and aisles to be built into the theatre. Additional cloakrooms were also introduced. The result was that the seats and rows were crowded together, and many found the theatre so uncomfortable that they preferred to stay away. Certain bad features of the building were not corrected. A door with a common lantern above it had been built into the semi-rotunda which connects the two wings, thus destroying the architectural harmony of the building. One of the tympanums above the façades of the wings had been covered with cement, the other with boards. The main entrance, or rather the only public entrance, led directly from the outside into the vestibule which contained the ticket office, and it was difficult to keep it clean of the street's dirt. A urinoir was very near the entrance of the royal loge on a small side street ¹⁾. The present appearance of the theatre dates from a complete restoration of the building in 1914.

¹⁾ J. E. Banck, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-77.

On October 30, 1863, the Dutch company celebrated the opening of the renovated theatre with a performance of a melodrama by Frédéric Soulié, *De kinderen van den schrijnwerker*, and a "festive song" written for the occasion by J. Ph. Sterk.

During the last five seasons of the period J. C. Valois had the permission of the authorities to give popular performances on every second Sunday evening. The entrance fees ranged from ten stuiver to one gulden. In spite of the cheapness of the seats these evenings proved a financial blessing for Valois, for the theatre was always filled to capacity. As a rule melodramas, *féeries*, musical comedies, and other dramatic monstrosities were given.

The literary congresses meeting annually in some city of Holland or Belgium since 1849 had occupied themselves repeatedly with the state of the national theatre. Discussions took place and recommendations were made, but nothing really constructive was done until 1869, when *Het Nederlandsch Tooneelverbond* was founded on a plan developed by J. N. van Hall at the conference in Louvain. The statutes of the new organization were drawn up in Amsterdam on December 19, 1870. The first directing committee consisted of the noted writer H. J. Schimmel (chairman), J. N. van Hall (secretary), J. C. Hacke van Mijnden (treasurer), B. J. Stokvis, W. J. Hofdijk, Max Rooses, and Julius Vuylsteke. A periodical, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, later simply *Het Tooneel*, was started in 1872, and a dramatic school was opened in Amsterdam in 1874. After a vain attempt in 1872, A. Wm. Jacobson succeeded in establishing a branch of the organization at The Hague two years later. The branch tried to influence the management and the players of the Dutch company directly, but when this availed little, it turned to the municipal authorities. "B. en W." proved responsive to its suggestions. Repeated conferences took place between members of the branch and the executive body of the city government, with the result that J. C. Valois was finally informed that the concession would not be granted him after the season of 1875-76. It was not the intention of "B. en W." to dismiss the entire company, but radical changes were considered necessary. Those who desired to succeed J. C. Valois in the management of the Dutch theatre at The Hague were to make application before December 1, 1876.

Here was an opportunity which those who wanted to lift the

national theatre from its low estate could not afford to neglect. A number of the members of the *Tooneelverbond* established a new society, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, with a managing committee consisting of Schimmel, A. C. Wertheim, J. E. Banck, L. A. H. Hartogh, and J. E. Hacke. A guarantee-fund of one hundred thousand gulden was fully subscribed within four days. With this backing, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* applied for the concessions of both the Amsterdam and The Hague theatres. The whole theatrical world of Holland was enthusiastic about the new organization and its plans — with the exception of Valois, who naturally did not want to lose the management of a theatre that brought with it so many privileges. No doubt many people went too far in their expectations, since they hoped that a sort of Dutch equivalent of the *Théâtre Français* would be developed.

After some delay in Amsterdam the *Nederlandsch Tooneel* was granted control of the management of the two theatres from the first of September, 1876, to the thirty-first of May, 1879. The members of the new ensemble, which played in both cities during a season lasting nine months, came for the most part from the companies of Albregt and van Ollefen (Rotterdam) and of Veltman and Stumpff (Amsterdam). Only four of its members had been with Valois when his company was disbanded. The three-year concession enabled the new management to offer the most desirable contracts in all Holland, and hence to assemble a better company than those which had been playing at the Korte Voorhout and the Leidsche Plein ¹⁾.

That Valois gave up his post under compulsion is apparent from the advertisement in the *Haagsche Dagblad* for the final performance of his company on May 30, 1876. The translation that follows is as literal as possible. "With the conclusion of the season the undersigned, Director of the Royal Dutch Theater, who has had the honor of managing the Dutch stage for fully twenty-two years, with their abundant series of joys and sorrows, takes the liberty of calling the attention of the subscribers, regular patrons, and occasional visitors to the performance of Tuesday,

¹⁾ B. Hunningher gives a detailed account of the origin and development of *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* in his dissertation, *Het dramatische werk van Schimmel*, pp. 136, ff.

the thirtieth of May, herewith announced, which will be the last one of this company under his direction and also the last of The Hague's own company, for the organization *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, which has its seat in Amsterdam, will henceforth come to the court city to give performances in the *Schouwburg*. Thereby The Hague loses its company, which has existed for sixty years, with a management enjoying a royal subsidy, and which leaves behind only the beautiful memory that the greatest Dutch actors have from time to time trod its stage. For this reason the undersigned takes the liberty of inviting the art loving public and all those who are kindly disposed toward the national theatre to honor with their presence this last performance given by us, so that the undersigned may be enabled to express his sincere thanks to all those who have given him so many proofs of encouragement and active support. J. C. Valois."

Three plays were given at this final performance, *Marcel* by Jules Sandeau and A. Decourcelle, *Het Zangersfeest* (*Das Stiftungsfest*) by G. von Moser, and Rosier Faassen's *Blonde Mietje*. The evening concluded with a farewell poem recited by Mevrouw W. G. Valois-Sablairolles, followed by an address of the director, her husband. The choice of a French, a German and a Dutch play for this occasion was a fitting one, since France, Germany, and Holland were the three countries which had contributed almost the entire repertory of the company throughout the whole period.

The unsigned report of the performance in the *Haagsche Dagblad* of June 1 was obviously written by a person in sympathy with the aims of the new organization which was to replace the management of J. C. Valois. The author states that it is not necessary to review the performance, not because it doesn't merit reviewing, but because the chief purpose of the evening was to give an ovation to Mevrouw Valois, her daughter Mina, Rosier Faassen, and J. van der Grijp. Faassen, the comic, received three wreaths, Mina Valois, the ingénue of the company, two wreaths and a bouquet, J. van der Grijp a wreath and Mevrouw Valois a bouquet. That the director's wife did not receive more tokens of esteem would indicate that the leading lady of the company was no longer greatly admired, although thirty years before she had been considered by many the one hope of the national theatre.

The writer (possibly A. C. Loffelt) quotes several lines from the

poem which she recited, remarking that one cannot but sympathize with the sentiment they express,

„'t Verstore u niet, dat 'k, droef gezind,
 Het dierbaar plekje aan blijf staren,
 Waar ik, voor twee-en-veertig jaren,
 Mijne eerste schreden zette als kind;
 Dat tranen aan mijn wimpers kleven
 En dat mijn wankle voetstap beeft,
 Nu 'k mij op eenmaal zie begeven,
 Van alles waar mijn ziele in leeft,
 Daar 't is, of ik mijn hart voel breken,
 Nu 'k U mijn groet, mijn afscheidsgroet,
 Met een zoo diep geschokt gemoed,
 In weinig woorden toe ga spreken.”

But he disagrees thoroughly with the passage of the poem comparing the company of Valois to a stork family which is forced to leave its nest to make room for a sparrow-hawk. ¹⁾ This bird, the poem says, will occupy it,

„Niet om, op die gewijde stede,
 Een nieuw verbond van trouwe en min
 Te stichten, in een huisgezin
 Als 't vorige, vol liefde en vrede,
 Maar, om er 't ‚Macht gaat boven recht‘
 Aan heel het voogdenheir te leeren,
 En allen, zelfs ook hen te weren
 Door jaren aan die stee gehecht.”

The reference to the atmosphere of love and peace that prevailed at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* under the management of J. C. Valois the critic considers merely a poetic phrase. To compare the new organization to a predatory bird is utterly preposterous.

The writer ends his article with a lukewarm appreciation of Valois, expressing the hope that he may always remain convinced of having done his task in the best possible way and that he may never forget that there are many who regret his departure.

¹⁾ The poet may have employed this comparison because the stork figures in the coat of arms of The Hague.

SECOND CHAPTER

THE REPERTORY

A. INTRODUCTION

1. *General remarks on the types of entertainment offered at the Haagsche Schouwburg*

The Royal Dutch Theatre at The Hague had no qualities to give it a distinctive character. The subsidy which it received from the King was not generous enough to establish it fully as a court theatre, and the receipts from subscriptions were not sufficient to permit it to appeal solely to the taste of that part of the middle-class which was able to afford annual subscriptions. Consequently the theatre was obliged to cater to the general, more or less uneducated public, which goes to the play merely to be distracted for a few hours. But the *Haagsche Schouwburg* cannot even be called a popular theatre. The popular theatre of the first half of the Nineteenth Century might present plays of no value whatever, plays that were dropped and forgotten as soon as the fickle public clamored for something new, but it had its definite appeal and its definite clientele. In the larger centres the theatres of the people very often concentrated on the presentation of separate types of entertainment. One was famous for its vaudevilles, another for its melodramas, a third for its ballet productions. In comparison with these theatres the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was a nondescript affair. It tried to please all levels of society and probably succeeded in pleasing none in the long run. It presented everything: operas, operettas, tragedies, comedies of all kinds, domestic dramas, costume dramas, melodramas, *féeries*, vaudevilles, ballets, pantomimes, and variety acts — an incredible mixture.

Still, the taste of the audiences at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, no

matter of what elements they happened to consist, was essentially that of the middle-class. The *bourgeoisie* set the standard, and the vast majority of the plays presented at The Hague reflected the outlook on life and the aspirations of this element. The three types of plays most in demand were the domestic drama, the melodrama, and the vaudeville ¹⁾. In almost all of the pieces belonging to these groups, including the many written for the entertainment of the uncritical masses, social standing, financial security, and domestic bliss were the goals striven for and usually attained.

In surveying the repertory of the years from 1804 to 1876, one is struck by its sameness throughout the whole period. The various types of plays underwent changes, to be sure, but these rarely affected their basic character. The melodrama and the vaudeville were popular in the first decade of the Nineteenth Century, they were still popular in the 'Seventies. The domestic dramas and comedies of Kotzebue and Iffland were not frequently played after 1840, but they were replaced by similar plays of Benedix and Birch-Pfeiffer. Not a few mediocre pieces, even one-act vaudevilles and farces, remained on the active repertory during almost the entire seventy-two years, others were given from time to time over periods of thirty, forty, and fifty years. Problem plays were taboo. At a time when Hebbel had long been dead, when Augier and Dumas *fils* had already written most of their *pièces à thèse*, the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was still content to present plays in which the lovers never failed to win each other after incredible hardships and incredible coincidences, and wherein the author rarely neglected to let the audience know just what annual income the couple would enjoy upon the fall of the final curtain.

The age was still too deeply rooted in the optimism of the Eighteenth Century to have any understanding of the essence of

¹⁾ Gaiffe in *Le Drame en France au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 93, defines the domestic drama as "a play intended for a bourgeois or popular audience and presenting to that audience a touching and moral picture of its own milieu". (Cited by Fred O. Nolte in *The Early Middle Class Drama (1696-1774)*, p. 34). The melodrama may be roughly defined as a type of play which depends for its interest on sensational incidents and extravagant situations rather than on a truthful representation of life, and the vaudeville as a musical drama of a light, humorous or comic description interspersed with songs and dances. The word vaudeville probably derives from *vau-de-vire*, the name of French convivial songs in the Fifteenth Century. First a satirical note was added to these popular ballads, then came dialogue and the forms of a rudimentary play. — These three genres are discussed less superficially in the pages on the French and German plays presented at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*.

tragedy. It could not believe that there was a "too late" in the life of any man or that persons must sometimes expiate with their life wrongs and crimes for which they are not directly responsible. Real tragedies were rarely presented at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, but many plays were thus designated for which the simple term "drama" would seem more appropriate. The playbills describe as tragedies Zschokke's *Abällino*, the *Hamlet* of Ducis, *Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiter* by J. Nomsz, and Kotzebue's *The Spaniards in Peru*, although all of them end happily for the central characters. If these characters belonged to the nobility or were high functionaries of the army or state, if the language moved on stilts, and if somebody close to the hero or heroine died during the course of the action, the play was considered worthy of the name of tragedy ¹).

Although the repertory of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* seldom rose above the commonplace throughout the seventy-two years, there were two periods, one of considerable length, when it was on a slightly higher level. The first period extended from 1804 to about 1830. During the directorship of Ward Bingley not a few classical and pseudo-classical plays were performed, and the 'Twenties saw a goodly quota of German domestic dramas. The latter were no literary masterpieces, to be sure, but they were better entertainment than the tawdry, sensational melodramas that supplanted them. During the 'Thirties and the early 'Forties little of interest was staged. The repertory consisted mainly of French melodramas and vaudevilles, and a lot of inferior stuff by insignificant Dutch writers, many of whom were actors as well. The second period coincided with the directorship of Anton Peters from 1846 to 1853. He introduced some of the better French dramas of that day to the Dutch court city, plays by Victor Hugo, Dumas père, and George Sand. The early, romantic works of H. J. Schimmel were staged during these years, as well as Molière's *De geleverde vrouwen* and *Tartuffe*, and J. van Lennep's translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. But this improvement was like a

¹) The author does not maintain that a tragedy must end in death and destruction. In his preface to *Bérénice* Racine wrote, "Ce n'est point une nécessité qu'il y ait du sang et des morts dans une tragédie: il suffit que l'action en soit grande, que les acteurs en soient héroïques, que les passions y soient excitées, et que tout s'y ressent de cette tristesse majestueuse qui fait tout le plaisir de la tragédie". It can hardly be said of plays like *Abällino* and *Monzongo*, that they inspire in the reader or spectator a feeling of "majestic sadness".

brief flare from a dull fire. During the long incumbency of J. C. Valois the repertory again became thoroughly commonplace. While Victor Driessens was the leading actor of the company, the melodrama predominated once more. During the last two seasons there were some slight changes for the better, perhaps because Valois, fearing that the management of the company would be taken from him, wanted to convince the municipal government of his fitness for the post. But it was too late. Only an entirely new regime could effect any radical improvement.

2. *Numerical information*

Approximately twelve hundred plays were presented by the Dutch company between 1804 and 1876. An average of sixteen new works was offered the public during the seven months of each theatrical year, but usually there were wide differences between the totals of first presentations in successive seasons. Sometimes the total was only seven or eight, in other years it was as high as twenty-four or twenty-five. Because of the subscription system the company rarely gave the same play more than twice during the season. No doubt new plays had to be staged constantly to attract the public, yet one cannot help feeling that an amazing amount of time and effort was wasted in rehearsing pieces whose failure could have been foreseen. Hundreds of plays were dropped after only one or two performances. If a more careful selection of new plays had been made, the management would have had a larger stock of reliable pieces at its disposal and would have found itself less often in the sorry predicament arising when a new play, which had been rejected by the public, could not be presented a second time and recourse had to be taken to some hackneyed work devoid of drawing power.

A play which received about ten performances at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* over a period of as many years may be said to have enjoyed a moderate success. If a play achieved from fifteen to twenty performances, it was very popular indeed. Only about forty-five works were staged over twenty times, and of these scarcely fifteen attained thirty or more presentations. The vast majority of the twelve hundred plays given were not seen on more than five evenings.

The French pieces far outnumber the German and Dutch plays in the repertory. During the entire period about 700 French, 300 German, 150 Dutch, and 15 English plays were presented. Only a few Spanish and Italian works were included in the repertory. The only Spanish piece to obtain more than one performance was *De bekeerde mannenhaatster*, a comedy in five acts, translated by the Amsterdam actor C. J. Roobol from a German adaptation of a play by Calderon. It was introduced at The Hague in 1836 by Mevrouw Naret Koning of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. Popular was the Italian drama *Marie-Antoinette* by Paolo Giacometti, which was performed fifteen times from 1870 on. It was added to the Dutch repertory shortly after the famous Italian actress Adelaïde Ristori had played the title rôle while a guest of the French company at The Hague.

3. *The translations*

Since the great majority of the plays produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* were of little value, it need not surprise us that the translators mentioned by the playbills were rarely men of letters or literary artists. Occasionally a writer of importance translated an inferior piece: Wiselius turned Bouilly's lachrymose drama *L'Abbé de l'Épée* into Dutch, A. van der Hoop Jr. *La fille de Dominique*, a vaudeville by Villeneuve and de Livry. But usually Dutch men of letters preferred to produce meticulous translations of French classical plays. Seldom did they devote themselves to the poetical dramas of England and Germany. Some of the names of distinction occurring on the playbills are P. T. Uylenbroek (*Fénelon, Epicharis et Néron*), J. Nomsz (*Le Cid, Zaïre*), A. L. Barbaz (*Sylla, Oedipe*), J. van Walré (*Le Manteau* by Andrieux), T. H. de Beer (*L'Avare*), and M. P. Lindo (*She stoops to conquer*).

The translations of most of the French and German plays given at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* were made by hacks, many of them actors who did this work to earn an extra penny. It was abominably paid. The translator rarely got more than two and a half gulden for each act, and to receive this pittance he had to write out each part separately ¹⁾. The majority of the more industrious

¹⁾ A. Wm. Jacobson, *De vergunning tot het bespelen van den Koninklijken Hollandschen Schouwburg te 's-Gravenhage*, p. 26. The translation of Paul Lindau's *Maria en*

translators rendered both French and German plays into Dutch. As many of them had enjoyed only a meagre education, the results of this bread and butter work were sometimes very crude and slipshod. The translations were often literal and abounded with un-Dutch expressions that again and again brought forth horrified outcries from the critics. They also made more difficult the task of the players, who had to learn parts written in a Dutch that was the opposite of natural and colloquial.

Some of the names mentioned by the bills belonged to men who translated and adapted hundreds of plays. Among the indefatigable workers were J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop, who translated much of Kotzebue, W. P. Bangert, W. Greeven, B. Lamot, C. A. van Ray (the busiest of them all!), B. A. Fallee, M. G. Engelman, and C. J. Roobol. The following translators were also active as players at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* at one time or another; J. H. Gravé, F. H. Greb, M. J. Ruffa, G. van Beek, J. Beems, Rosier Faassen, C. P. T. Bigot, C. R. H. Spoor, H. G. Kiehl, and A. Wijnstok.

As a rule these men confined their efforts to the popular drama, but occasionally one of them would try his skill at translating a play of more than average worth. Spoor translated Hugo's *Marion Delorme*, and G. van Beek *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, *Der Fechter von Ravenna*, and *Zopf und Schwert*. The latter's work evoked repeated protests from the critics of *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*. Sometimes a hack translating a verse drama would simplify his task by rendering it into prose. Schiller's *Don Carlos* and Zschokke's *Abällino* were both presented in prose versions at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*.

4. *The critics*

The more serious critics of the Dutch stage and drama of the first half of the Nineteenth Century aimed at the development of a national theatre which would draw its repertory chiefly from the Dutch drama of the past and would encourage the living writers of the country to compose idealistic dramas on national

Magdalena by C. R. H. Spoor, a member of the Valois company, well illustrates the slipshod manner in which much of this work was done. Some of the impossible expressions it contains are, *Mijnheer de Professor*, *Heer Professor* (instead of *Professor*), *doctor in de letterkunde* (instead of *doctor in de letteren*), *die daadzaak doet geen eer aan Uw karakter*, etc.

subjects. While they occasionally gave tepid praise to a new French or German play which they had seen, they usually expressed their abhorrence of foreign dramatic products in no uncertain terms. One of their favorite expressions in describing French and German plays was *wangedrochten* (monsters, abortions).

Their goal was a sort of dramatic autarchy. They wanted to make of Holland another Hellas, and they envisaged the time when on certain holidays everybody, young and old, rich and poor, would flock to the theatre in a high festive mood, there to attend the performance of a drama in rhetorical alexandrines celebrating the exploits and the character of a national hero. The only foreign works which they were willing to admit to the repertory of the ideal theatre were the masterpieces of ancient Greece and the dramas of French classicism.

These critics were firmly convinced that with the development of a national theatre the cultivated elements of the population would become increasingly interested in it. But it may be doubted whether the Dutch drama of the past is sufficiently rich and varied to attract a modern public over a long period, even if that public be highly cultivated and deeply inspired by feelings of national pride and religious fervor. The Baroque dramas of Vondel are of great interest to the student of literature, but no theatre could afford to include more than one or two of them in its active repertory. Vondel is effective only when staged in the manner of a spectacle, and a costly spectacle at that. The Dutch poetical dramas of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries are usually of an incredible monotony, there is probably nothing quite like them in the literature of any country. They are frequently merely a succession of long-winded speeches whose exact purpose it is often difficult to determine. The Amsterdam actor Andries Snoek once said that if he should venture to produce a certain drama of Bilderdijk, even the rats and the bats would leave the theatre in protest ¹⁾. This remark may be applied with equal fitness to many products of the Dutch dramatic muse. On the other hand, the Dutch drama of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries was rich in excellent comedies and farces, which

¹⁾ *Tooneel-Almanak*, 1877, p. 135.

were shamefully neglected during the greater part of the Nineteenth. Many, no doubt, were too coarse to be revived, but others would have proved a valuable addition to the repertory of the companies at The Hague and at Amsterdam if they had been skilfully adapted.

However praiseworthy it was of these critics to strive for the development of a new national drama that would supplement the Dutch drama of the past, their extremely conservative convictions foredoomed their endeavors to failure. They consistently refused to recognize the validity of any dramatic forms besides those of French classicism. The three unities and the use of the alexandrine they still held to be essentials, long after these had been discarded in other countries. The models to which they constantly pointed were Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. While they grudgingly conceded that the modern comedy must be one of manners, they harbored a nostalgic affection for the comedy of character, and the Molière whom they admired was the author of *Tartuffe*, *L'Avare*, and *Le Misanthrope*. The Molière of the farces did not exist for them. When in 1843 a tepid one-act comedy of character was introduced by the Dutch company at The Hague, *De manteldroom (Le Rêve du mari, ou le manteau)* by Andrieux, *De Spectator* devoted a detailed discussion of seven fairly long pages to this trifle. He waxed almost lyrical at times and expressed the conviction that the play would be "cherished through all times" ¹⁾

The extremes to which these learned critics sometimes went in condemning that which did not fit into their scheme of the ideal theatre is well illustrated by a discussion of the harmful influence of opera by S. Izn. Wiselius, whose dramas appeared in the second decade of the last century. One may sympathize with his anger at the inroads made by this mongrel type of entertainment, yet one cannot but find his remarks on Rossini preposterous. He feared that if the composer still had some years to live or if he succeeded in founding a school, he would cause as much harm in the world of morals as the caliph Omar, who supposedly ordered the library of Alexandria to be destroyed, in the world of science. He called Rossini the Vandal of the Nineteenth Century and considered him a tool employed by those destructive forces which wanted to

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, I, 1843, pp. 170 ff.

annihilate the stage as a school of noble principles and lofty emotions, such as liberty, patriotism, religious tolerance, and love of humanity. "One does not seem to realize (for such is the blinding power of fashion and the spirit of apish and parrot-like behavior in our days) that this same Rossini is a hireling of the Jesuits and Absolutists" ¹⁾.

It is distressing to note the lack of interest in the foreign drama exhibited by the majority of these critics. They were inclined to condemn it *in toto* on the basis of those plays which happened to be produced in Holland, and they scarcely made investigations of their own to find out whether the contemporaneous European drama had any works to offer that might prove valuable additions to the repertory of the Dutch theatres. Their writings contain scant references to even the outstanding names of English and German dramatic literature — Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller. The opinion which Wiselius had of the English dramatist was the one most commonly held in the Holland of his day. He admitted that Shakespeare's plays contain "beautiful rooms", but there are also "kitchens and barrel sheds", and even "pigsties, garbage heaps and cesspools" ²⁾. Dr. Schnarfrita once mentioned some of the more significant German dramatists of the first half of the Nineteenth Century, but in such a way and in such company that his direct acquaintance with their works may be questioned. After praising the work of Hugo and Scribe he continued, "But we need not take recourse solely to these geniuses of the first order. . . . Such dramatists as Kleist, Zimmermann (probably Immermann is meant), Grabbe, Kotzebue, Oehlenschläger, Uhland, Grillparzer, Werner, Körner, Raupach, Benedix and others are well suited to make of the stage a means of instructive and useful recreation for all classes of society through their striking bourgeois and domestic dramas and their comedies" ³⁾. Dr. Schnarfrita obviously was not even a superficial student of German literature or he would never have mentioned Grabbe, Kleist, and Grillparzer in the same breath with Kotzebue, Raupach, and Benedix, or have described their plays as recreational. As recently as the first decade of this century the literary historian G. Kalff wrote that to

¹⁾ S. Izn. Wiselius, *De Tooneelspeelkunst*, pp. XVIII-XX.

²⁾ Cited by G. Kalff, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, VII, p. 160.

³⁾ Dr. Schnarfrita, *Het Nationaal Tooneel in Nederland*, pp. 29 f.

satisfy the demand for something modern many foreign plays had been translated during the second half of the Nineteenth Century, plays "by such well known authors as Legouv , Augier, Feuillet, Dumas *filis*, De Bornier, Labiche, Meilhac and Hal vy, Grillparzer, Benedix, von Moser — as well as by lesser or hardly known writers" ¹⁾).

Not only were the majority of the Dutch dramatic critics of the first half of the Nineteenth Century very conservative, they could also be disagreeably smug and self-righteous at times. They were rarely free from a chauvinistic attitude. H. H. Klijn, whose first drama appeared in 1821, attributed the low estate to which the contemporaneous tragedy had fallen, to "the bad taste of the Germans, the savage wildness of the English, and an immorality which could originate only in the frivolous atmosphere of France." ²⁾ Of *Doktor Wespe* by Roderich Benedix, a rather clumsy satire on the emancipated woman, *De Spectator* writes, "It is true that the central character, the so-called bas-bleu, is not known in our country; happily we are ignorant of any emancipation as yet, and those who have become prominent in Holland through the products of their pen do not for that reason fail to stress the holy duties assigned by Providence to womanhood; but since we know what is happening abroad, it is important that we see a monstrous principle attacked, which otherwise might gain its feminine adherents in our midst" ³⁾).

It is a great pity that we cannot know what these pious critics would have written if they had been confronted with the presentation of a Restoration comedy, of Grabbe's diabolical *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung*, Niebergall's drunken *Datterich*, or (most horrible!) B chner's proletarian *Wozzeck!*

Surely the dramatic critics of the time would have served the cause of the national theatre better, had they encouraged the development of a repertory consisting of the best in European drama. Because of their adamant refusal to accept anything even faintly un-orthodox, it need not surprise us that their lamentation went unheeded and that the management of the leading Dutch theatres continued to give the public what the public wanted,

¹⁾ G. Kalf, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 689.

²⁾ Cited by G. Kalf, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 161.

³⁾ *De Spectator*, II, 1843, p. 195.

sentimental domestic dramas, bloody melodramas, and an endless succession of inane plays mingling together a little music, a little dancing, stale jokes, and trite comedy situations.

B. THE FRENCH PLAYS

The classical tragedy and comedy of France fared badly at The Hague. There were, it is true, sporadic attempts to interest the public in one or another French play of the Seventeenth Century, but the total number of performances given the whole group did not reach twenty. Racine's *Phèdre* was staged a few times between 1804 and 1818. In 1848 Corneille's *Le Cid* received a single performance with Anton Peters in the title part. Molière's *De geleerde vrouwen* (*Les Femmes savantes*) was given three times in the early Fifties in an abridged, three-act version by H. L. Tetar van Elven. Between 1810 and the end of the period *Tartuffe* received about seven performances, and in the season of 1875-76 *De vrek* (*L'Avarre*) was presented on three evenings in the translation of T. H. de Beer.

The pseudo-classicists of the Eighteenth Century received a warmer reception than Corneille, Racine, and Molière. Seven plays by Voltaire were performed by the Dutch company: *Oedipe*, *Brutus*, *Amélie, ou Le duc de Foix*, *Zaïre*, *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*, *Méropé*, and *Sémiramis*, but none attained more than two or three performances, and none was ever staged after 1828, the year in which the Amsterdam actor Andries Snoek made his last visit to the court city.

The pseudo-classical play most often performed at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was *Fénelon* by Marie Joseph Chénier, the brother of the poet André and the leading dramatist of the French Revolution. *Fénelon, of de Kameryksche kloosterlingen* was offered twenty-three times between 1820 and 1849 in the translation of P. J. Uylenbroek. The play is designated a tragedy, but it is really a very sentimental drama attacking the institution of monasticism, with a villainous abbess and an archbishop who acts and talks like a philosopher of the Age of Reason. The sentiment of the play is well expressed by one of the characters: "God created mortals for mutual love, for union; cloisters and prisons are not his work; God made liberty, man has made slavery".

Almost as popular as *Fénelon* was the *Hamlet* of Jean-François Ducis, who tried to make Shakespeare „presentable”. His versions of some of Shakespeare’s tragedies observe the three unities and adopt the alexandrine. Ducis was ignorant of English and owed his acquaintance with the Elizabethan drama to the translations of Laplace and Letourneur. His *Hamlet* was given at least twenty times between 1814 and 1849. Ducis was imbued with the moralising spirit, consequently the Shakespearean rôles became in his plays characters to point a moral or to illustrate a virtue. Hamlet is changed into a model of filial piety, and like a second Cid, avenges his father’s death upon Claudius, here the father of Ophelia, the woman he loves. At the end of the fifth act Hamlet has lost his mother but he promises to become a strong and yet benign ruler when the curtain falls. The translation used was that of Zubli, made in 1786. It lacks the famous monologue “To be or not to be,” but this was taken over from an earlier version of the Ducis play by Mevrouw De Cambon-van der Werken, who had translated the passage from the original English into Dutch alexandrines and inserted it at the beginning of the third act. The first two verses of this flat rendering are,

Te zijn, of niet te zijn, dat is 't. Zou 't ed'ler weezen
Te lijden, te ondergaan all' wat natuur moet vreezen? ¹⁾

Other Shakespearean adaptations by Ducis presented by the Dutch company were *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*, but none of these was offered more than two or three times. As late as the autumn of 1855 the translation of *King Lear* by Mevrouw de Cambon-van der Werken was presented twice with the guest Anton Peters in the title rôle. An original play by Ducis, *Abufar of 't arabisch huisgezin* (*Abufar, ou la famille arabe*), received three performances in the first decade of the period.

Other Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century pseudo-classical tragedies seen at The Hague were Romagnesi’s *Samson*, *Orestes en Pilades*, of *Ifigenia in Tauris* (*Iphigénie en Tauride*) by Guymond de la Touche, *Pedro de Wreede* (*Pierre le cruel*) by de Belloy, G. M. J. B. Legouvé’s *Epicharis en Nero* (*Epicharis et Néron*) and *De dood van Abel* (*La Mort d' Abel*), P. le Brun’s *Maria Stuart*, a drama that owes much to Schiller, and de Jouy’s *Sylla*,

¹⁾ R. Pennink, *Nederland en Shakespeare*, pp. 59 ff.

which a wag has supplied with the subtitle, "Moral Conversations on the Subject of Sylla". With the exception of *Epicharis en Nero* and *Maria Stuart*, none of these tragedies was performed more than two or three times.

To the modern reader the majority of these plays are insufferably monotonous. They are almost entirely devoid of action, and the rhetorical verses have the effect of a soporific. Yet some of them were played at The Hague as late as the 'Forties, although classicism was long since dead. But they had once been the unworthy vehicles of such outstanding actors as Ward Bingley, Johanna Wattier, and Andries Snoek, and the theatre-going public still associated them with the greatness of these interpreters. When the romantic type of actor appeared on the scene, of which Anton Peters was a notable example, some of these plays, particularly the *Hamlet* of Ducis, received a new life because they offered parts which permitted the performer to rant and strike dramatic poses to his heart's content.

The French comedy of the late Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries, rich though it was, was almost completely absent from the repertory of the Dutch company. No comedies by Dufresny, Dancourt, Regnard, Lesage, Marivaux, Favart, Nivelle de La Chaussée and Beaumarchais were performed. *De gewaande onnoozele juffer, of de belagchelijke poëet* (*La fausse Agnès*) by Destouches was given once in 1822. Florian's *De beste moeder* (*La bonne mère*) was a popular curtain-raiser or afterpiece in the first three decades of the period.

French comedies of the Empire were less scarce at The Hague. These were chiefly comedies of situation, of intrigue. Five plays by Picard were given three or four times each in the 'Twenties and 'Thirties, including *De mops en het meisje* (*Les Ricochets*), a good example of the technique of quid pro quos, of small causes producing great results, which later was successfully adopted by Scribe. Other Empire writers of comedies without musical support produced at The Hague were Étienne, Collin d'Harleville, Desforges, Alexandre Duval and J. Patrat, whose *De twee grenadiers, of het misverstand* was performed at least twenty-seven times between 1806 and 1843.

But on the whole even plays of this genre were not particularly in demand at The Hague unless they were presented in the form

of a vaudeville. Almost entirely absent were comedies of character and comedies of manners. Of all the comedies of manners discussed by Charles-Marc des Granges in his *La Comédie et les Mœurs sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet, 1815-1848*, only *Le Jeune mari* by Mazères and some Scribe pieces belonged to the repertory of the Dutch company. Subtle humor was not appreciated by its audiences. What they wanted was plays with broad farcical situations such as Kotzebue was able to construct in great abundance.

In comparison with the vast number of vaudevilles produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, the comedies formed an insignificant part of the repertory indeed. The early vaudevilles offered by the Dutch company were chiefly vaudeville-farces which still had about them the atmosphere of the *théâtre forain*, pieces in which representatives of the lower classes, tradesmen, shopkeepers, apprentices, and peasants, expressed their naive sentiments and sang their simple ditties. Typical of the vaudeville-farce is *De wanhoop van Jocrisse (Le Désespoir de Jocrisse)* by Dorvigny, which was highly admired by Friedrich Schlegel. Jocrisse is a clumsy clerk whose overzealous pursuit of his duties results in a series of preposterous accidents. It was given six times between 1813 and 1844.

Other late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century vaudevilles produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* were by Desaugiers, Bouilly, Dupaty, Dumaniant, Piis, Radet, and Barré. The content of one of the most popular clearly indicates the anecdotal character of these vaudeville-farces. *Meester Vink, of de vermiste diamant (Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu)* by Desaugiers and Gentil de Chavagnac was offered twenty-three times between 1823 and 1845. A diamond ring has been stolen. A man named Vink declares that he is a magician and promises to recover the ring if he be invited to a sumptuous meal by the owner. The two servants who wait on Vink at table are called Champagne and Bergerac. It happens that wines with the same names are served during the meal, and the naming of these by Vink leads the two, who are guilty of the theft, to believe that they have been discovered. Kneeling down before Vink, they return the ring. Later in the play one tests his abilities by placing a bird in a vase while he is absent and asking him to name its kind upon his return. He cries

out in alarm, "Vink, poor Vink, you're caught in the net!" The answer is correct, for the bird in the vase is a *vink* (English:finch). It seems that the more insipid a play, the greater its success at The Hague.

With the arrival of Scribe the vaudeville underwent several changes. At first it developed from a play with loosely connected scenes, that were often anecdotal in character, to a *vaudeville d'intrigue*, a clever succession of quid pro quos with little attention to probability and delineation of character. There arose the *comédie-vaudeville* in which the portrayal of manners played an increasingly important part. At the same time Scribe increased the length of the vaudeville from one to two and even three acts. Finally the couplets, which were very numerous in the earlier products of this genre, disappeared altogether and the vaudeville became a full-fledged *comédie-drame* ¹⁾.

Because of its topical qualities and its close contact with the life of the common people the pre-Scribean vaudeville often had more color and vitality than the later "comedies with song", as the Dutch playbills described pieces of this type. The majority of Scribe's works were more or less international in character. They could be produced almost anywhere with only a few minor changes, and hence they seem flat and inane today. But it was the *vaudevilles d'intrigue* and the early *comédie-vaudevilles*, written for the most part before 1830, when the emphasis was still on the situations and not on the depiction of Parisian manners, that were most welcome at The Hague. The public did not care for studies in manners, for the forerunners of the *pièces à thèse*. It wanted singing and dancing and a succession of amusing and rapidly changing situations.

A good example of the vaudeville of quid pro quos, as Scribe developed it, is *De eerste minnehandel, of de herinneringen der kindschheid* (Les Premières amours), played sixteen times between 1827 and 1852. The bourgeois Dervière wants his daughter Emmeline to marry Rinville, their stupendously rich neighbor, but she has given her heart to her cousin Charles, her childhood sweetheart, whom she has not seen for eight years. The visit of Rinville is momentarily expected. Emmeline implores her father to write her

¹⁾ Neil Cole Arvin gives an excellent history of the evolution of the vaudeville in his *Eugene Scribe and the French Theatre, 1815-1860*.

suitor a letter asking him not to come and informing him of her love for Charles. Dervière reluctantly complies. Lapierre, a lazy servant, is about to deliver the letter when Rinville arrives. He does not let the servant know his identity but tells him that he will take the letter to the person to whom it is addressed. As soon as he finds himself alone, he opens and reads it. Although he has seen Emmeline only from afar, he is intent on winning her, and he therefore decides to pose as Charles. Emmeline is very much impressed by his appearance, and they begin to make love to each other almost immediately, to the great chagrin of Dervière, who is still determined to marry his daughter to Rinville. A creditor of Charles, a "German capitalist named Zacharie", appears with a note. Dervière pays it, but is horrified to learn that there are five or six other notes which will be presented the following day. In the French original Emmeline exclaims, "Qu'est-ce que j'apprends là? Comment, Charles, vous êtes donc devenu un mauvais sujet?" Her patience with Charles is at an end when she discovers that Rinville is not wearing the ring which she had once given him as a token of her love. She never wants to see him again. At this point the penniless and therefore unsympathetic Charles appears on the scene. Rinville induces him to pretend that he is the wealthy neighbor. New complications arise until Charles is finally unmasked. He is already married to a seamstress in Besançon, and he returned only because he hoped to be able to get his uncle to pay his debts. Emmeline and Rinville embrace. This preposterous play excellently illustrates the snobbery of Scribe, whose gods were social standing and wealth, or at least financial security. But this snobbery was one of the main reasons why his plays appealed to the audiences of his time.

Although vaudevilles were popular at The Hague from the very beginning of the period, the heyday of this genre extended from about 1830 to 1860. Hardly a program was given without a vaudeville as a curtain-raiser or an afterpiece, and on many an evening two and even three vaudevilles were performed. It was difficult to satisfy the demand for entertainment of this type. Almost four hundred vaudevilles were presented throughout the period, and at least four-fifths of this number were of French origin. Besides Scribe, some of the prolific authors of vaudevilles played by the Dutch company were Bayard, Brasier, Clairville, Dartois, Duma-

noir, Duvert, Fournier, Grangé, Laurencin, Mélesville, Moreau, Seurin, Théaulon, Thiboust, Varner, Varin, Villeneuve, and Xavier. The majority of these wrote plays with the help of others, who in turn manufactured dramatic products in association with still others. Scribe alone had fifty-two collaborators.

Many vaudevilles were given a Dutch setting by their translators, with the result that in the process of adaptation not a few lost whatever atmosphere and wit they possessed. An example is *Le Voyage à Dieppe*, a merry vaudeville in three acts by Wafflard and Fulgence, which was played sixteen times between 1828 and 1846. A M. Prud'homme has yearned to see the ocean for thirty years. His previous attempts to travel to Dieppe have failed, chiefly because business detained him, but now that he has retired he is about to realize his dream at last. Yet again his plan is frustrated. Several young gentlemen, who have been drinking heavily, make him the victim of a prank. All night he is driven about the suburbs of Paris in a closed carriage, and when morning comes, he is amazed to find himself in the same part of Paris from which he set out. The translator changed the title of the play to *Van Amsterdam naar Scheveningen*, thereby destroying an amusing situation. For the romantic ravings of a middle class Parisian about the splendors of the ocean, which make him an ancestor of M. Perrichon, sound vapid in the mouth of an Amsterdam burgher of whom we cannot believe that it has been his life's ambition to visit a watering place not many miles away.

Forty-seven of Scribe's works were performed at The Hague. About thirty-five were vaudevilles, and the greater number of these belong to the period from 1820 to 1830, when Scribe wrote at least a hundred and twenty fluffy vaudevilles for the Théâtre du Gymnase. Of his *comédie-drames* ten were given by the Dutch company, but only three were repeatedly played: *Bertram en Raton* (*Bertrand et Raton*), *Een glas water* (*Le Verre d'eau*), and *De laster* (*La Calomnie*). *Bertram en Raton* was performed more often than the other two — thirteen times, not a particularly high number. No doubt this comedy of intrigue appealed to the conservative Hollanders because it reflects the disillusionment that followed in the wake of the Revolution of 1830. Here Scribe tried to show that revolutions profit no one but the very few who pull the wires behind the scenes.

Scribe was the French playwright most often staged by the Dutch company, but his popularity did not approach that of Kotzebue. On January 28, 1822, Scribe was first introduced to the patrons of the Dutch theatre with his one-act vaudeville *Het doopfeest of de Peter (Le Parrain)*, but he was played infrequently before the 'Thirties. His works were seen most often between 1835 and 1855. After 1860 only six or seven of his plays remained on the repertory. During these two decades from five to ten of his pieces were given each season, a small number in comparison with the twenty, thirty odd Kotzebue works that were sometimes presented in one season. Some of the latter's plays were given from thirty to forty times, but none of Scribe's attained more than fifteen or sixteen performances.

It is interesting to note that Kotzebue was played at The Hague most frequently in the 'Twenties, that is, after his assassination in 1819, whereas Scribe was performed but little at the time of his death in 1861. Yet Kotzebue had been popular on the German stage since 1790. The explanation probably is that the Dutch management, which was often quick to present in translation a work successfully staged at the *Théâtre Français de La Haye*, became acquainted with the new French plays sooner than with the new German ones, since the former were often introduced to the court city by the French players not long after their Parisian première. It is quite possible that many of Kotzebue's pieces reached The Hague by way of France. In England the Kotzebue vogue attained its peak in 1798 and 1799, but in France he was still extremely popular in the first decades of the Nineteenth Century. After 1800 the French public lost all taste for dramas, and Kotzebue's comedies and farces helped to meet the great demand for light entertainment. No doubt a large number of the seventy-seven Kotzebue plays given by the Dutch company were not included in the repertory until they had been tested at Parisian theatres.

The French domestic drama was almost completely eclipsed by the large body of German plays of this type produced at The Hague. Only a few domestic dramas of the Eighteenth Century were still presented. Mercier's *De kruiwagen van den azijnverkooper (La Brouette du Vinaigrier)* was played twice in the 'Twenties. On April 29, 1806, the *Eugénie* of Beaumarchais was staged. Quite

popular between 1810 and 1838 was the Wiselius translation of *L'Abbé de l'Épée* by J. N. Bouilly, the Iffland of France, a lachrymose drama about a deaf and dumb youth deprived of his patrimony, who has been adopted by Charles-Michel, Abbé de l'Épée, the founder of the first school for deaf-mutes. The French domestic plays of the Nineteenth Century produced by the Dutch company appeared chiefly in the guise of vaudevilles and melodramas.

Among the French importations, the melodrama brought most enjoyment after the vaudeville. The earlier plays of this type had several characteristics which later disappeared. They were quite short, consisting of three acts, and often observing the three unities. Only four or five persons were absolutely essential to carry the plot to its happy conclusion. But the basic formula usually remained unchanged. A virtuous woman undergoes dire sufferings at the hands of a traitor, but a strict poetic justice is finally meted out. The good characters are revealed and the traitors are either punished or die repenting their sins. A comic character is usually numbered among the virtuous and often plays a decisive rôle in the dénouement. The psychology is very crude, a character is all white or all black. The important thing is the plot, to which everything is sacrificed except the virtue and the life of the heroine. Innocence as well as murder will out in melodrama.

The three most famous, or infamous, exponents of the early melodrama were Guilbert de Pixérécourt, Victor Ducange, and L. C. Caigniez. Of Pixérécourt, who has been called the legislator of the melodrama, fourteen plays were produced by the Dutch company, including the celebrated *Le Chien de Montargis, ou la Forêt de Bondi*, the drama which caused Goethe to wash his hands of the court theatre at Weimar, because trained actors rather than trained dogs were his concern. Of these fourteen *Tekeli, of het beleg van Montgatz (Tékéli, ou le siège de Montgatz)* received the greatest number of performances. It remained a part of the repertory from 1805 to 1848. The plot deals with the struggles of a Hungarian patriot who escapes from Austrian imprisonment and after incredible hardships reaches his castle, which he defends against the enemy with undaunted bravery. Pixérécourt achieved only a moderate success at The Hague, for few of his melodramas were pejiormed more than two or three times.

A greater popularity was enjoyed by Victor Ducange, of whom eight melodramas were performed. His *Dertig jaren, of het leven van een dobbelaar* (*Trente ans, ou la vie d'un joueur*) achieved forty-four performances between 1833 and 1876. This gruesome play about the degeneration of a gambler is open to the charge of plagiarism, for its third and last act is amazingly similar to Zacharias Werner's one-act fate drama, *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*¹). Ducange's dramatization of Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* was played nineteen times between 1832 and 1869, and his drama about Jean Calas was often performed in the 'Twenties.

Caigniez need not detain us. Five of his melodramas were presented at The Hague, including the famous *La Pie voleuse*, but none met with much response²).

An early melodrama that was given repeatedly in the first three decades of the period was Alexander Duval's *Montoni, of het kasteel van Udolpho* (*Montoni, ou le château d'Udolphé*). Based on a four-volume novel of Mrs. Radcliffe, it is indeed a masterpiece of compression. The setting is a gloomy castle with all the requisites: secret panels, hidden staircases, hair-raising apparitions, and fiendish conspiracies.

The later melodrama had five acts and usually required large casts. The settings grew more and more realistic, and the villain became a historical bandit, such as Cartouche or Mandrin, or a caricature of a contemporary type, a Jesuit, a usurer, or a Paris murderer living among prostitutes. Some of the new playwrights adopted an anti-clerical attitude. The deity so piously invoked in the early dramas was now no longer above attack. Many melodramas pandered to the growing class consciousness of οἱ πολλοί — a premonitory symptom of the Revolution of 1848. The celebrated *Le Chiffonnier de Paris* by Felix Pyat is an excellent illustration of this trend. The rag-pickers were the lowest and most sodden class and the wretch picking over refuse for a living was the type of miserable man, as the little Savoyard chimney-sweep, who figures in so many plays of this period, was the type of miserable child. In this drama Père Jean, the rag-picker, is the

¹) Robert F. Arnold, *Das deutsche Drama*, p. 593.

²) Paul Ginisty's *Le Mélodrame* discusses the work of this triumvirate. There is no detailed study of the later melodrama.

noble, honest being contrasted with the infamous and criminal capitalist. *De voddenraper van Parijs* was played nineteen times from 1857 on.

Some of the later French melodramatists were Benjamin Antier, J. Bouchardy, Anicet-Bourgeois, E. Brisebarre, Charles Desnoyer, A. Ph. d'Ennery, Ch. Dupeuty, and Frédéric Soulié. The majority of these also wrote in collaboration with others. They enjoyed an almost incredible success at The Hague, particularly during the 'Fifties and 'Sixties. Of Anicet-Bourgeois alone twenty plays of this type were produced at The Hague, of d'Ennery about fourteen. The mere titles of some of the plays written by these two suffice to send a shudder up and down one's spine: *The Secrets of the Carnaval*, *The Black Doctor*, *Jack Sheppard*, *the Bandit of London*, *The Earthquake on the Island of Martinique*, *The Prayer of the Shipwrecked*, or *The Thirst for Gold*, and *Kasper Hauser*.

Four melodramas of Bouchardy were given. He was a dramatist of considerable invention, but his compositions were somewhat morbid, and too much flavored with assize court horrors. His *Lazaro, de veehoeder, of misdad en wraak* (*Lazare le Pâtre*) was played twenty-seven times from 1841 on. Two melodramas by Dumanoir must be mentioned: *De oude korporaal* (*Le vieux caporal*), performed twenty-seven times during the last two decades of the period, its popularity being due to the special appeal it had for the military element at The Hague, and *Don César de Bazan*, given thirty times from 1847 on. The latter does not quite fit into the melodrama mold, although the villain is true to form. The play, which has all the elements of a comic opera, presents the escapades of a poor but dashing hidalgo, in love with a beautiful gypsy girl whom the king desires to make his mistress. The villain is an ambitious, unscrupulous grandee who hopes to dominate the king by serving him as panderer.

But the melodrama that won the greatest acclaim at The Hague was Desnoyer's *De schipbreuk der Medusa* (*Le naufrage de la Méduse*), which attained about fifty performances and was the play most often presented after Vondel's *Gijsbrecht van Amstel* and the farce *De bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje*. It created such a stir when it was first presented in May, 1840, that it had to be given twelve successive times. Rarely had the audiences of The

Hague seen such a spectacle. A play with a new setting was something of an event at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, but this drama had four of them, all by the eminent artist B. J. van Hove. The last two acts especially attracted much attention and were staged separately on a few occasions. Half an hour was needed to prepare the stage for the fourth act. The playbills describe it thus: "The action takes place aboard the frigate *Medusa* on the high seas below the equator. The setting presents a view of the decks from the stern to the prow with their masts, yards, cannon, and further riggings, painted and arranged according to the famous picture *Le baptême sous les tropiques*." Of the fifth act the playbills state, "The action takes place in the year 1816 on a raft constructed from the boards of the wrecked ship. This setting gives a most realistic view of the ocean and is based on the well-known painting by Géricault, *Le naufrage de la Méduse*." The authors of melodramas frequently went to the Louvre for inspiration!

After 1840 it became customary to announce the number of scenes into which a play was divided rather than the number of acts. The melodrama, *Margot, de bloemverkoopster* (*La Bouquetière des innocents*) by Anicet-Bourgeois and F. Dugué, for example, was described by the advertisements as a play in eight scenes with a prologue in two scenes. This was done to attract that part of the public which went to the theatre to see spectacles, to be thrilled. Frequently a title was given to each scene, and of course one strove to make it as startling as possible ¹⁾. Whenever a *féerie* was staged, the titles of the scenes were usually stated. This kind of play, in which the conflicts between good and bad characters are subject to the whims of benignant and evil spirits, was particularly popular during the last twenty-five years of the period, although *féeries* were never entirely absent from the repertory.

The *féerie*, or *folie*, as it is sometimes called, is a twin-sister of

¹⁾ To judge by the titles, the most hair-raising melodrama produced by the Dutch company at The Hague was *The Night of November the Thirteenth*, a work translated from the French. Its seven scenes had the following titles:

- A member of the Black Gang.
- The house under a curse.
- The Pont Rouge on the thirteenth of November.
- Remorse and mental anguish.
- A sleepless night.
- The apparition.
- The child of the murderer.

the Viennese *Zauberposse*. Both are offshoots of the *commedia dell'arte*. But the *folie* never attained the artistic level to which the *Zauberposse* was raised by Ferdinand Raimund and even by Nestroy. The French plays of this type are usually very crude and were written by the same people who turned out vaudevilles and melodramas with such amazing industry. Often they do not differ greatly from the latter, except that they abound in all sorts of tomfoolery, in pranks played by the good and evil spirits on their earthly victims. We find in these plays the same four characters absolutely essential to the melodrama: the dashing hero, usually a prince; his cowardly servant, who is constantly protesting against his master's rashness; the heroine, a charming princess; and the villain, an evil spirit or its human representative. Paul Ginisty says of these pieces: "Souvent, dans ces fantaisistes aventures il ne manquait qu'une chose — la fantaisie" ¹⁾.

One of the "classics" of this genre was *Les Pilules du diable*, a *pièce à spectacle* in three acts or seven scenes by Laloue, Anicet-Bourgeois, and Laurent. It was staged six times at the end of the season of 1858–59. It presents some of the characters of the Italian comedy, Leander and Colombine, pursued by Cassander and Pantalón, here called Seringuinos and Sottinez. The good spirit *la Folie* protects the lovers in spite of the talismans given to Seringuinos and Sottinez by an old sorceress. These two are maltreated in the most inhuman fashion. In one scene Seringuinos is cut in two while lying on a wagon, and one part of his body goes off with the front part of the vehicle, the other half with the rear wheels. The house in which he later seeks shelter is turned upside down and he is forced to walk on his hands. The play is full of such enormous *lazzi*. At the end both are swallowed up by a devil.

The playbill announcing this *féerie* is one of the most amusing in the collection. It can hardly be recommended as a model to those who wish to acquire a laconic style. "The enormous expense," writes the director, "involved in staging this piece, wherein the most amazing transformations succeed each other without cessation, heretofore made its production possible only in Paris and Brussels, where an enterprising management can present a play often enough to be assured of a return of its outlay. The manage-

¹⁾ Paul Ginisty, *La Féerie*, p. 166.

ment of the Royal Dutch Theatre, always striving to bring its financial interests into harmony with the demands of the times and the tastes of the public, has spared neither costs nor trouble to produce this piece with the same splendor which characterized its staging in the above mentioned places (enabled to do so through the purchase of the requisite effects); and in the confident expectation that *The Pills of the Devil*, which were prescribed with such unprecedented success in Paris and Brussels as well as at the recent kermis in Rotterdam, will also be greedily swallowed (*met graagte geslikt!*) in The Hague because they contain the ingredients of a kermis play such as has never been seen on any Dutch stage”.

There follow the titles of the scenes.

First act

- First scene: The miraculous power of the devil's pills
- Second scene: The inn *The Emperor of Morocco*
- Third scene: The deceptive sign-post
- Fourth scene: The privy chambers of the fairy goddess
- Fifth scene: The indisposed alguazils
- Sixth scene: The palace of the Goddess of Folly.

Second act

- First scene: The ambulatory furniture
- Second scene: The topsy-turvy world
- Third scene: The decapitation of Magloire
- Fourth scene: The decapitation of Clisterios
- Fifth scene: The reparation
- Sixth scene: The garden of the Goddess of Folly.

Third act

- First scene: The gigantic frogs
- Second scene: In the well
- Third scene: The bridal chamber
- Fourth scene: The hungry devil
- Fifth scene: The kingdom of the Goddess of Folly.

A sensitive individual attending such a performance must have felt that he was assisting at a spectacle given by and for the inmates of a madhouse. Although no age seems to be able to get along without a certain quantity of idiotic entertainment, yet it is a bit distressing to find extravaganzas like this one presented by a theatre describing itself with the adjective “royal”.

Prolific authors of *féeries* were the brothers Cogniard. Their version of the story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves was played twenty-three times from 1855 on. During the kermis of 1860 their *De nalatenschap van Faust (Les Bibelots du diable)* was given on seven evenings. Faust has just died after a life lasting 369 years and his personal estate is to be sold. It includes a number of talismans, among them the seven league boots, the golden eggs laid by the miraculous goose, and the pills of the devil. These had been entrusted to him by Destiny, who was alarmed at the carelessness with which the fairies were distributing them among the mortals. The bailiff takes them to be mere bric-à-brac, and they are auctioned off at ridiculously low prices. The wishes of their new owners, who are totally ignorant of the power inherent in their new acquisitions, bring about some devastating results.

The legitimate French drama had a hard struggle to maintain itself at The Hague against the vaudeville, the melodrama, and the *féerie*. When the pseudo-classical dramas began to disappear from the repertory, they were not always replaced by the better plays of the romanticists or their immediate forerunners. Anton Peters brought about some improvement in the repertory, but he succeeded in introducing only a few good plays that continued to be given over a number of years.

Only one tragedy by Casimir Delavigne, the favorite playwright of Louis-Philippe, was presented by the Dutch company, *Le Paria*. It received a sole performance in 1855. Three plays by Victor Hugo were given. *Marie Tudor*, adapted by the industrious translator C. A. van Ray, was played twice in 1838 ¹⁾. In the 'Sixties a drama in three acts, *Maria, Koningin van Engeland*, suggested by the Hugo work, but described as an "original" play by an anonymous "lover of the Dutch theatre", received five performances. In 1868 *Marion Delorme* was presented two times.

Eleven plays by the elder Dumas were given, but none attained many performances except *Katharina Howard, Koningin van Engeland, of de twee schijndooden (Cathérine Howard)*, which was given seventeen times from 1837 on. His sombre dramas *Joan van*

¹⁾ The playbill dated February 23, 1838, states that the settings of this production were provided by the municipal government. The city frequently gave settings to the French company in addition to the subsidy, but this seems to have been the only time that the Dutch management was the recipient of such a gift.

Monaldeschi, of Stockholm en Fontainebleau (*Christine à Fontainebleau*) and *Kean* were dropped after a single performance, although Peters interpreted the title rôle of the latter work, and *De toren van Nesle* (*La Tour des Nesles*) was played but twice. Two of Dumas' successful dramas, *Henri III et sa cour* and *Antony*, were never performed by the Dutch company. Since they deal with adulterous relations, they would no doubt have severely shocked the audiences of The Hague.

After the romantic period the drama concerned itself more and more with social and psychological problems. The *pièce à thèse* was developed. It cannot be said, however, that those French dramatists of, roughly, the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century, who are usually associated with this trend, as George Sand, Dumas *filz*, Emile Augier, Octave Feuillet, and Victorien Sardou, were eagerly received at The Hague.

Three dramas by George Sand were given, including the peasant drama *Claudie*, which was performed four times in 1851. It was a courageous act on the part of Anton Peters to present this drama dealing with a fallen woman, for it was considered extremely daring in those days and had been forbidden in Amsterdam. Peters played the old peasant Remy, and the title rôle was filled by Mevrouw Valois-Sablairolles.

Of the younger Dumas only two dramas were performed, and both were failures. *De natuurlijke zoon* (*Le Fils naturel*) and *Parijsche zeden* (*Le Demi-monde*) received only two performances each, the first in 1858, the latter in 1871. Emile Augier's *De schoonzoon van Mijnheer Peerenboom* (*Le Gendre de M. Poirier*), considered by many critics the greatest modern French comedy of character and manners, saw three performances in the early 'Sixties.

Five plays by the effeminate Octave Feuillet were presented, but only one of them received more than a few performances. This was his six-act dramatization of his own novel, *The Romance of a Poor Young Man*, which was given eleven times from 1859 on. The hero is an impoverished but proud nobleman, obliged to earn a living. He is in love with a haughty girl, who is also attracted by him, but misunderstandings separate the two. The climax of the play is a scene in which the hero leaps from a high tower in order to save the honor of the maiden, locked up in the tower with him.

Romantic Breton scenery with lovely ruins and gloomy forests forms the background of the action. The tepid romance makes a drama that limps badly.

During the last fifteen years of the period seven plays by Victorien Sardou were given. They were *Hanenpootjes, of de lotgevallen van een minnebrief* (*Les Pattes de mouche*), *Vrienden van ons!* (*Nos Intimes*), *Het nieuwe huis* (*Maison-Neuve*), *De goede boeren* (*Nos bons villageois*), *Vaderland* (*Patrie*), *Rabagas*, and *Fernande*. The last of these attained the most performances — only six. It is interesting to note that *Patrie* was staged but once, although the play deals with the uprising of the Sea Beggars against Spanish oppression at the end of the Sixteenth Century.

On January 18, 1861, a play by Labiche was presented for the first time, *Mijnheer Parkiet, of de reis naar Zwitserland* (*Le Voyage de M. Perrichon*). It received the most performances of any Labiche work, again only six, although nine other comedies and vaudevilles by him and his collaborators were played at The Hague. There is almost no love element in the plays of Labiche. Was the *esprit gaulois* palatable to the visitors of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* only when watered with a good portion of sentimentality?

The taste of the Dutch audiences had been thoroughly spoiled by the vaudeville, the melodrama, the *pièce à spectacle*. Even those dramatists of secondary importance whose plays were better than the average dramatic products of the day, whose intrigues were clever and whose dialogue was often scintillating with wit, as, for example, Madame Emile de Girardin, Jules Sandeau, Victorien Sardou, and E. M. Labiche, were unable to "score" with a single work.

C. THE GERMAN PLAYS

The German drama was numerically predominant at The Hague only from about 1815 to the late 'Twenties, and this predominance was entirely due to the great popularity of August von Kotzebue. In the season of 1805–06 twenty-one French and thirteen German plays were offered. During the winter of 1813–14 the number of French and German plays was about equal, but in the season of 1820–21 fifty German works were presented together with thirty-

four French and ten Dutch pieces. In 1825–26 the playbills listed forty-four German and twenty-two French plays, but five years later the ascendancy of the French drama was fully established. In the season of 1830–31 the company performed twenty-two German and forty French plays. The number of German plays became steadily smaller during the rest of the period. Twenty years later, in 1850–51, the playbills listed forty-four French and eighteen German titles, and in the season of 1860–61 forty-one French and only eight German ones. The predominance of the German drama lasted scarcely a decade and a half. No doubt this short reign resulted partly from a temporary reaction to things French after the fall of Napoleon and the liberation from French oppression, but its chief explanation must be sought in the great appeal that Kotzebue and, to a lesser degree, Iffland had for the uncritical audiences throughout the greater part of Europe during the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries.

No German play written before the appearance of Kotzebue received more than half a dozen performances at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, with the exception of Lessing's bourgeois tragedy, *Emilia Galotti*, which was played on at least eight evenings during the first three decades of the century. Probably the oldest German drama performed was Christian Felix Weisse's *Romeo en Julia, of het doodelijk misverstand* (*Romeo und Julia*, 1768), which reduces Shakespeare to the stature of a writer of bourgeois tragedies. It contains a passage in which Romeo rejects on grounds of decency the suggestion made by his bride that she follow him in male attire. The play received about four performances before 1830.

Three Schiller dramas were staged at The Hague. *Don Carlos* was given six times between 1814 and 1829 in a prose adaptation by M. Westerman, an actor of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. *Kabaal en liefde, of de slagtoffers van eerzucht en minnenijd* (*Kabale und Liebe*), last performed in 1836, may also have been given in adapted form, for one playbill describes it as a drama in four acts. *De roovers* (*Die Räuber*) was not staged at The Hague until February 4, 1873, when the actor Derk Haspels played the part of Karl in Schiller's Mannheim version at a performance given for his benefit. During the first half of the Nineteenth Century an adaptation of this play from the French of Lamarténière was very

popular at The Hague. The ending of this travesty, which was called *Robert, of de struikroovers* (*Robert, chef de brigands*), is particularly absurd. The hero resolves to become respectable and marry the woman he loves, but his company of bandits will not permit him to return to society. Robert is about to submit to their clamoring when a miracle happens. It is discovered that Rosinski, a member of the company, is not a bandit at all but a high state functionary who has joined Robert because he knows the man's true worth and wants to help him in attaining happiness. Through his intercession the government agrees to pardon Robert and his fellows, provided they join the army which is in need of light cavalry troops. Robert can now marry Sophia.

Quite a number of very minor playwrights who may be regarded as precursors of Kotzebue are represented in the repertory by two or three plays each, but none of them received more than a few performances or survived the 'Twenties. They were F. W. Gotter, J. J. Engel, J. Chr. Brandes, Stephanie the younger, H. F. Moeller, and F. L. Schröder. These men wrote comedies and dramas of the *genre sérieux*, some of which were clever combinations of military and love elements in the manner of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*.

It may be doubted whether Kotzebue enjoyed as great a popularity in any other European country outside of Germany as he did in Holland. According to L. F. Thompson, twenty-two of his plays were staged in England between 1796 and 1842, a small number in comparison with the seventy-seven which were performed at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* alone from 1804 on ¹⁾. This is more than one third of Kotzebue's entire dramatic output. The total number of his plays given throughout Holland must be considerably greater. Te Winkel states that between 1790 and 1813 alone one hundred and twenty of his dramatic works were translated into Dutch, and the great majority of these were also produced ²⁾.

From the beginning of the period to about 1850 at least fifty percent of the German plays produced each year at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* were by Kotzebue. In some years the percentage was as high as seventy and eighty. In the season of 1813-14

¹⁾ L. F. Thompson, *Kotzebue, A Survey of his Progress in France and England*, p. 58.

²⁾ Jan te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, IV, 1, p. 300.

nine of the fourteen German plays given were by Kotzebue, in 1820–21 thirty of the fifty, in 1830–31 eleven of the twenty-two, in 1840–41 thirteen of the twenty-one, but in 1850–51 only seven of the eighteen. In the last season mentioned Kotzebue was numerically surpassed for the first time by another playwright, by Scribe, of whom eight plays were performed. From then on the decline of his popularity was still more rapid. In 1855–56 only two Kotzebue works were given, and in 1865–66 only one, namely *Menschenhass und Reue*, the drama which established his fame. The plays which survived the longest at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* were the one-act drama *De erfenis* (*Die Erbschaft*) and the five-act domestic comedy *Armoede en grootheid* (*Armuth und Edelsinn*), which were both given twice in the season of 1874–75. It is probable, however, that Kotzebue was still occasionally played by the new organization that succeeded the Valois company in the autumn of 1876.

Kotzebue was the first German dramatist to enjoy an international reputation. His sentimentality, his clever use of family relationships, of universally understood situations, took Europe by storm, for his variety of *trash* could be adopted to the taste of almost any people with only minor changes. Kotzebue knew all the stock types and stock situations of dramatic literature as well as all the stock ideas mouthed by the intellectuals of his day. He was a true product of the enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century, and those plays which express his ideas on tolerance and the brotherhood of man have more than a little in common with the social dramas of contemporary radical playwrights from Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Although the man's work is essentially tawdry, it cannot be denied that he was sometimes successful in the creation of effective scenes of broad satire and rowdy humor. But those satirical plays which wittily attack certain political and philosophical trends of his day, as *Der hyperboreische Esel*, *Hans Max Giesbrecht von der Humpenburg*, and *Der deutsche Mann und die vornehmen Leute*, or those comedies where his robust humor finds its freest expression, like *Die beiden Klingsberg* and *Die deutschen Kleinstädter*, were either completely absent from the repertory of the Dutch company or received only two or three performances. Instead, the plays which met with the warmest reception were those with little

distinctive character, the domestic dramas and comedies that drip with sentiment, and the farces which were crudely constructed and full of obvious, trite situations. A few dramas of chivalry and of the type best described by the adjective "exotic" were also frequently presented.

The sixteen Kotzebue plays which received the most performances include nine domestic dramas and comedies, five farces and comedies, and two romantic plays. All of them were presented more often than the most popular pieces of Scribe, the playwright who had more works produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* than any other Frenchman. The titles of the sixteen are here listed with the approximate number of performances each attained.

De verwarring (Der Wirrwarr)	42
De kruisvaarders (Die Kreuzfahrer)	37
De pagiestreken (Die Pagenstreiche)	34
Menschenhaat en berouw (Menschenhass und Reue)	30
De arme dichter (Der arme Poet)	29
De lasteraar (Der Verläumder)	22
De erfenis (Die Erbschaft)	22
De onechte zoon (Das Kind der Liebe)	22
De Spanjaarden in Peru (Rollas Tod)	22
De gevaarlijke buurman (Schneider Fips)	21
De jaloersche vrouw bekeerd (Die eifersüchtige Frau)	21
Armoede en grootheid (Armuth und Edelsinn) . . .	19
De bloedverwanten (Die Verwandschaften)	19
De moeder des huisgezins (Die deutsche Hausfrau).	17
De verstrooiden (Die Zerstreuten)	17
De zilveren bruiloft (Die silberne Hochzeit)	17

Der Wirrwarr was the fourth most popular play presented by the Dutch company throughout the entire period. It was still given a number of times in the early 'Sixties. Even the admirers of Kotzebue (and they do exist) concede that this farce full of crude buffoonery is one of his weakest creations. But it well illustrates the method employed by Kotzebue to win popular approval. By keeping the stage alive with a ceaseless bustle he succeeded in occupying the attention of the audience to such an extent that it did not reflect on the plausibility of what was going on before its eyes. Although the sum total of all this activity might

be nil, the spectators were kept entertained while it was going on. With the curtain's fall some might awake to a realization of the play's inanity, but the majority went home completely satisfied.

A more amusing farce is *Die Pagenstreiche*, which was played until 1855. The central character is a young scamp who helps his three charming cousins to win the three handsome officers whom their hearts desire in opposition to the will of their father, who wants them to marry three elderly and utterly preposterous esquires of the neighborhood. The play is little more than a succession of hectic pranks, each more ridiculous than the preceding one. It might go on forever if the point were not reached where all the characters are so breathless that the author takes pity on them and terminates their misery with an abrupt ending. A saving grace of this sort of play is the incorrigibility of the rascal (or rascals, for in some farces the knavery is perpetrated by two inseparable companions) throughout the whole course of the action. This quality makes them more convincing than those scamps whose irresponsibility hides a tender heart, as is the case with the hero of *De straatjongen van Parijs* (*Le Gamin de Paris*) by Bayard and Vanderbrugh, a mixture of roguery and sentimentality, which was served fifteen times at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* between 1837 and 1853. A play which has some similarity with Kotzebue's *Die Pagenstreiche* is Gustav Raeder's *Robert en Bertrand, of de lustige vagebonden* (*Robert und Bertram*), a musical farce written in the early 'Fifties and performed thirty-five times between 1863 and 1876. Here the scalawag Robert Macaire, a figure created by the famous Parisian actor Frédéric Lemaître, and his companion Bertrand commit a series of hilarious outrages on German soil.

Although farces and light comedies make up a greater part of the seventy-seven Kotzebue works presented by the Dutch company than domestic dramas and comedies, a larger number of the latter enjoyed more performances ¹⁾. The most popular domestic drama was *Menschenhass und Reue*, one of the first plays of modern times, if not the first, to try to arouse sympathy for an

¹⁾ There is hardly any difference between the domestic dramas and the domestic comedies of Kotzebue. The latter usually have one or two additional comical characters.

adulteress. The morality of the ending, which reunites husband and wife, was the subject of countless discussions and debates during the early Nineteenth Century.

A good example of the dripping sentimentality and the idealization of the middle-classes which one finds in the domestic dramas of Kotzebue is the one-act play *Die Erbschaft*. An officer is recovering from his wounds at the home of Madame Dahl, a widow, where he was taken by a forester who found him on a battlefield. Colonel von Fels has never seen the lady of the house, for since his return to consciousness he has been nursed by her two daughters, Henriette and Johanna. From his servant Walter he learns that the family is living in straitened circumstances and that Madame Dahl has made great sacrifices to secure him the comforts and the medical care he needed. The forester, who loves Henriette, is also very poor, too poor to marry her. Von Fels decides to make him and the widow his heirs, but Walter objects vehemently, for he is thinking of the colonel's only daughter, who many years ago married an adventurer against her father's will. She was a sweet, trusting girl who won Walter's heart completely. The forester is such a noble character that he refuses to accept the gift upon hearing from Walter that the officer has a daughter, for he does not want to build his happiness on the misfortune of another, even if that person has erred. Madame Dahl has recognized her father in von Fels, but she does not dare to face him before learning whether he has completely shut his heart to her. She begs Henriette to sing a certain composition which she had often sung to her father twenty years before. Henriette sits down at the piano as Madame Dahl leaves the stage. The first stanza of this ineffably tender piece, based on a poem by Fritz von Stolberg, runs,

„Süsse heilige Natur,
Lass mich geh'n auf deiner Spur,
Leite mich an deiner Hand,
Wie ein Kind am Gängelband.“

Von Fels, profoundly moved, enters from the adjoining room. Henriette's appearance and voice vividly recall his daughter to him. When Madame Dahl confronts the colonel and tells him who she is, he does not hesitate to forgive her.

Von Fels: Amalia! My daughter! (He rushes toward her).

Walter (seizing her quickly in his arms): God bless the damned hussar who almost killed my colonel!

Johanna (skipping about joyfully): Now everything is fine! Everything is fine!

Walter (shakes the forester's hand and wipes away a tear).

Henriette (walks to the piano and sings): Süsse heilige Natur....
(While she sings, the curtain falls).

The two romantic dramas listed above are both typical products of the humanitarian ideas of the age of enlightenment. In *Die Kreuzfahrer*, which like Chénier's *Fénelon* is an attack on the institution of monasticism, there is a wicked abbess and an incredibly noble emir, and in *Rollas Tod* the tragic hero is an apotheosis of the noble savage. The production of the latter play was based on the adaptation by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, which was offered at Drury Lane toward the end of the season of 1798-99 and which brought everybody in London to the theatre, including George III.

The German dramatist who enjoyed the greatest European popularity after Kotzebue in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries was the actor Iffland, eighteen of whose plays were given by the Dutch company. With the exception of two comedies these were all domestic dramas. Iffland is the bourgeois dramatist *par excellence*. Whereas Kotzebue's glorification of the middle class springs from his desire to please and to win acclaim, Iffland's laudation of bourgeois virtues is profoundly sincere. His plays are not the slapdash affairs that Kotzebue's are, his characterizations are less superficial, his dialogue is subtle at times, and he is capable of creating scenes with their own distinct atmosphere, which one does not easily forget. But his works are usually suffused with a stifling sentimentality and a tiring didacticism, and he lacks Kotzebue's undeniable dramatic ingenuity. His intrigue is often weak and the dénouement unsatisfactory.

Iffland's popularity at The Hague was definitely a thing of the past by 1840. The only play of his which attained more than seventeen or eighteen performances was *De speler* (*Der Spieler*), which was given about thirty times between 1805 and the early 'Seventies. It survived for such a long time because it contained several much coveted parts, especially that of the sinister Von Posert, which was considered a real test of the abilities of those

actors who interpreted villainous characters. The hero of the drama is a young baron who has been disinherited because he married beneath his rank and whose reckless gambling has brought misfortune and disgrace upon himself and his heroically suffering wife. Fortuitous circumstances and the aid of sympathetic friends save him from still lower depths and restore him to society. The play has little action and little suspense, and the settings are conventional interiors.

Some of the less known contemporaries of Kotzebue and Iffland, a number of whose works reached The Hague, were Arresto, Babo, Heinrich Beck, F. G. Hagemann, J. G. L. Hagemeister, C. H. Spiesz, and F. G. Ziegler. These playwrights were all born in the 'Fifties and 'Sixties of the Eighteenth Century and wrote chiefly comedies, domestic plays, and dramas of chivalry of the kind common in Germany after the appearance of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*. The most popular of these playwrights was Ziegler, of whom seven plays were staged at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. His historical drama *Partijwoede, of Engeland in 1651 (Parteienswuth oder drei verhängnisvolle Tage aus Cromwells Schreckenheerschaft)* was performed twenty-seven times between 1820 and 1865.

Other playwrights produced at The Hague, who belonged to a younger generation than those listed above but whose works were essentially of the same kind, were Count Brühl, H. Clauren, Cuno, F. von Holbein, F. A. von Kurlander, E. Raupach, F. L. Schmidt, Karl Stein, Wilhelm Vogel, Johanna von Weissenthurn, and Heinrich Zschokke. Raupach and Holbein were Schiller epigones. Although the former achieved enormous successes in Germany, the few plays of his produced at The Hague were dropped after one or two performances. Holbein's dramatization of Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer* was often staged between 1811 and 1846. Three plays by H. Clauren were given, a writer who is still remembered because his saccharine novels were cruelly satirized in Hauff's parody *Der Mann im Monde*. The playbill for May 13, 1823, states, "This writer, everywhere highly esteemed as the witty author of humorous tales, some of which have been translated into our language, has also appeared as a playwright in Germany, where, according to the general feeling, he has not alone filled the vacancy left by Kotzebue but has even surpassed him as a composer of comedies".

Far more successful at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* than Holbein and Clauren was Zschokke, the author of turbulent "blood and thunder" dramas. His *Abällino*, described by the playbills as a tragedy, was still in the active repertory in the late 'Sixties. The title rôle of this fearful melodrama caused more than a few actors, including Anton Peters, to bellow themselves hoarse and do lasting injury to their voices. The play deals with a black conspiracy against a Venetian doge. Flodoardo, a nobleman who is not known in Venice, succeeds in thwarting it by mingling with the criminals as Abällino, a desperate bravado. Of course he wins the hand of the doge's lovely daughter in the end. The reputation enjoyed by this play, which attained nearly forty performances at The Hague, may have been partly due to certain violent passages in it attacking Catholicism.

Zschokke's adaptation of Molière's *L'Avare* was frequently staged at The Hague before 1850. The moral *Tooneelkijker* has warm praise for this German version because it is free from the ambiguities and improper expressions which, according to him, mar the original ¹⁾. In this play the son and daughter of Harpagon become his nephew and niece; hence some of their utterances about the miser sound less disrespectful.

One of the few bourgeois tragedies presented at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was Zschokke's *Julius von Sassen*, which was given fifteen times between 1810 and 1855. This drama, which was written in 1796, is very much like the violent *Storm and Stress* plays of twenty years before. Julius, the prime minister of a German duke, has many opponents because of his liberal policies and his absolute integrity. These are led by the chamberlain, who has two children, a daughter, whom Julius loves, and a son, a fine but irresponsible youth. Ferdinand has had an affair with Henriette, the daughter of a blind carpenter. She has become a mother. The chamberlain wants Ferdinand to wed the daughter of one of the first families, but the young man has given his promise of marriage to Henriette, and she will not free him. The chamberlain tries to induce Julius to use his influence to have Ferdinand whitewashed and the blame put on Henriette, but as he refuses to do this, everything is attempted to effect his downfall. Henriette, learning that her lover has betrayed her and is engaged to another woman,

¹⁾ *De Tooneelkijker*, II, pp. 176 ff.

returns his pledge to him and commits suicide. The blind father, senseless with rage, now seeks revenge, and on the evening of his daughter's funeral he hides in a lonely spot where Ferdinand must go by. He hears footsteps and shoots. The bullet hits not his daughter's seducer but Julius, who happens to be passing there. Julius dies and Ferdinand goes mad. Of this play the *Tooneelkijker* writes: "Refusing to imitate any other models than Shakespeare, they (the German dramatic poets) often sink with him to a state which in the Nineteenth Century must be regarded as one of barbarism." He also expresses his alarm at the fact that women, whom nature has endowed with such tender feelings, can attend the performance of plays like this one without swooning ¹).

Before 1850 Johanna von Weissenthurn, an actress who wrote historical plays, domestic dramas, and comedies, was popular at The Hague. Eight of her plays were given, some of them attaining seventeen or eighteen performances. Her crudely conceived pieces, which abound in unimaginative intrigues and disguises, are very sentimental and full of moral maxims. Her characters are either all white or all black, and virtue inevitably carries the day.

When Kotzebue, Iffland and their contemporaries no longer had much drawing power, the *Haagsche Schouwburg* began to produce the plays of Roderich Benedix and the prolific Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer. Before these are discussed, mention must be made of the Princess Amalia of Saxony, four of whose plays were given in the late 'Thirties. Her work met with little response in The Hague, although it is the expression of a refined personality. She wrote in the Iffland manner and her plays are sentimental, to be sure, but their natural dialogue and realistic characterizations reveal an understanding of the middle class uncommon in one of her rank.

Nineteen plays by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer were performed at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. Her name frequently occurs on the playbills from 1844 to the end of the period. The first of her works staged at The Hague was *Nacht en morgen, of de familie Beaufort* (*Nacht und Morgen*), which was performed more than twenty times and thus proved to be the most popular of the lot. The last play to be introduced was *De orgeldraaier en zijn pleegdochter* (*Der Leiermann und sein Pflegekind*), given eight times from 1871 on.

¹) *ibid.*, III, pp. 219 ff.

Not a few of these nineteen plays were based on novels much read around the middle of the last century. The sources of some of the Birch-Pfeiffer dramatizations seen at The Hague were Bulwer-Lytton's *The Family Beaufort*, Berthold Auerbach's *Die Frau Professorin*, Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, *The Three Musketeers* by Alexandre Dumas, and *The Woman in White* by Wilkie Collins. Birch-Pfeiffer was not only a product of the Kotzebue and Iffland school of dramatic writing, she was also greatly influenced by Scribe and the French melodrama. Probably no more melodramatic play was ever written than *Nacht und Morgen*, the dramatization of the Bulwer-Lytton novel. In this drama deeds of violence succeed one another with alarming rapidity. The plot takes the bewildered spectator from underworld dens to the boudoir of a lovely marquise, from the luxurious homes of British peers to grimy London tenement houses. There are fatal accidents, foul murders, hairbreadth escapes and an amazing restoration to life of a person whose death the audience witnessed at the end of the preceding act. Although the play is utterly preposterous, the author's great skill in creating suspense is undeniable. Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer had complete mastery of the craft of popular dramaturgy. She knew how to keep the audience entertained by having "something going on" all the time, whether it was essential to the dénouement or not.

Birch-Pfeiffer, always striving to satisfy the public's craving for novelty, tried her skill at many different genres of the popular drama. Examples of some of these which were seen at The Hague were: *Hoe men huizen bouwt* (*Wie man Häuser baut*), historical comedy; *Anna van Oostenrijk* (*Anna van Oestreich*), *Mazarin*, *De Markiezin de Villette* (*Die Marquise von Villette*), historical dramas in the manner of the Scribean well-made play; *De goudboer* (*Der Goldbauer*), *Dorp en stad, of de vrouw van een' professor* (*Dorf und Stadt*), peasant dramas; *Moeder en zoon* (*Mutter und Sohn*), *Een familie* (*Eine familie*), domestic dramas; *Steven Langer uit Glogau, of de hollandsche schoorsteen* (*Steffen Langer*), domestic comedy; *De orgeldraaier en zijn pleegdochter* (*Der Leiermann und sein Pflegekind*), folk drama; *Hinko, de vrijknecht* (*Hinko*), drama of chivalry ¹).

¹) Cf. Else Hes, *Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer als Dramatikerin*, Chapter II, *Geschichte Anpassung an den Zeitgeschmack*, pp. 24-38.

Of Roderich Benedix eleven plays were given at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. Besides being the author of many domestic comedies Benedix wrote a stupid attack on the popularity of Shakespeare in Germany entitled *Shakespearomanie*. His plays met with little response at The Hague, although many of them were very successful in Germany. A comedy by this writer was introduced for the first time in 1843, but only one play received any performances after 1857. Benedix is timid and unimaginative in comparison with Kotzebue, who knew how to juggle the tritest comedy situations into combinations that seemed strikingly new. The comedies of Benedix are too crude to deserve the name, and they lack the vitality of good farce. The action is meager in many of his plays, the characters do little but carry on a stilted conversation. Only two of his comedies attained more than half a dozen performances at The Hague, *Doktor Wespe*, a five-act comedy of mistaken identities, and the one-act *Eigensinn*, which title the Dutch translator rendered with *Eigenzinnigheid, stijfhoofdigheid en koppigheid*. In this play the characters merely sit around a breakfast table and bicker. From the wild agitation of Kotzebue to the philistine placidity of Benedix is indeed a far cry.

A drama which attained over twenty performances in the 'Fifties and 'Sixties was Karl von Holtei's *Laurierboom en bedelstaf, of drie jaren uit het leven van een' dichter (Lorbeerbaum und Bettelstab, oder Drei Winter eines deutschen Dichters)*, one of the many *Künstlerdramen* that followed in the wake of Oehlenschläger's *Correggio*. It is a tear-squeezer about a poet who is in love with the wife of his benefactor and loses his hold on reality. For many years he roams about the country, a poor, mad creature, his sole support a stick cut from a laurel-tree once sent him as a token of admiration by the woman whom he was never to call his own. In a touching final scene he regains his reason for a short moment, during which he recognizes her, her husband, and his own son, whom the two have adopted. Realizing that he will live on in the minds of others, he dies contented. The rôle of the poet was a favorite vehicle of Anton Peters and Daan van Ollefen.

Occasionally an attempt was made at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* to present a Nineteenth Century German play of some literary interest, but the results were usually anything but gratifying. The fate tragedy, which won acclaim in Germany during the early

decades of the century, was represented by only two examples. Adolf Müllner's *Die Schuld*, a tense and macabre tragedy in verse, was staged only twice at The Hague, and a like fate befell Grillparzer's *Die Ahnfrau*, which was called *Bertha en Jaromir*. Both tragedies were presented in the 'Twenties.

Just as badly fared those dramatists whose works reflect the liberal ideas of Young Germany. In 1842 *Richard Savage*, an early play by Karl Gutzkow, was presented once. It was never given again. The *Spectator* expressed his abhorrence of the hero's libertinism in no uncertain terms and patted the audience on its collective back for having shown openly its disapproval of the play ¹⁾. In 1875 Gutzkow's historical comedy *Zopf und Schwert* was given twice with the title *Het Pruuisische hot onder Frederik Willem I*. The reviewer in *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* described the translation by the actor G. van Beek as slovenly and doing violence to the Dutch language, and of the performance he stated that not a single actor displayed the slightest comprehension of the play's content ²⁾. In 1856 Gustav Freytag's drama of intrigue, *Die Valentine*, was played once.

The only Nineteenth Century German play of some merit which was not completely rejected at The Hague was *Griseldis*, a drama in mellifluous verse by the Austrian poet Friedrich Halm. It was performed about nine times between 1839 and 1867. Halm's play is a not wholly satisfactory blending of romantic and Young German elements. The story of Griselda is here made a part of the world of King Arthur and his Round Table. Her husband is Percival. When Griselda learns that the three tests to which she has willingly submitted have their only reason in an idle wager made between Percival and Queen Guinevere, she proudly leaves her husband. Poor but emancipated, she returns to the humble hut of her father, a charcoal burner!

In the last ten years of the period S. H. Mosenthal's peasant drama *Deborah* was played seven times. This hollow sermon on religious tolerance was a cherished vehicle of many a virtuoso actress during the second half of the century. At The Hague the title rôle was, of course, played by the gushing Valois-Sablairolles.

The Dutch dramatic critics of the time frequently bewailed the

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, I, 1843, pp. 61 ff.

²⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, IV, 1874-75, p. 193.

use of strong language on the stage. What was considered as such sixty, seventy years ago, however, would hardly alarm the most conservative theatre-goer of today. An amusing example of how tender the sensibilities of a Dutch critic could be is offered by a review of Paul Lindau's *Maria und Magdalena*, a drama which was staged twice in 1874. It is a *Salonstück* dealing with the life of the new moneyed aristocracy that arose in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War. While it won the approbation of "Ecce", who wrote, "Alas! The play was not written for the sort of public that frequents our theatre here," his praise was not wholly free from censure. "For the rest, one is not sparing of terms of abuse; the 'professor' says of and to Gels (and this even in the presence of two, three ladies): 'Scoundrel, vile scoundrel,' and finally, when he causes the 'traitor' to leave the stage: 'Out of my sight, you rogue!' Most horrible! Horrible!"¹⁾

Few German vaudevilles were presented at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, where the French variety was much preferred. The vaudeville, which was introduced into Germany by Karl Blum and Louis Angely, became there a *Lokalposse* with couplets which were often rich in satirical political references. It presented lowly characters in lowly surroundings, usually with the dialectic peculiarities of some region or city. Such pieces inevitably lost much of their atmosphere and wit in translation. Louis Angely's *Het feest der ambachtslieden* (*Das Fest der Handwerker*), which was given eight times in the 'Fifties and 'Sixties, is a veritable babel of dialects. The artisans it presents talk the jargons of Berlin, Stettin, Breslau, Dresden, and Vienna. Unless the Dutch translator skilfully substituted Dutch dialects for the German ones, the vaudeville lost its characteristic "flavor". In the last fifteen years of the period two vaudevilles by the Berlin Jew, David Kalisch, enjoyed a mild popularity, *Dokter Peschke, of kleine heeren* (*Doktor Peschke*) and *De effektenkramer, of zoo gewonnen, zoo geronnen* (*Der Aktienbudiker*).

The term opera has been applied to almost any variety of entertainment with songs, and it is not always easy to draw the line between a play with incidental songs and an opera with dialogue. A number of Austrian works were presented at The

¹⁾ *ibid.*, III, 1874, p. 294.

Hague, which the playbills describe as operas but which are really *Singspiele* of one kind or another. These included J. Perinet's *De nachtmerrie* (*Das neue Sontagskind*), a farce with music by Wenzel Müller, which was staged repeatedly between 1829 and 1840, and K. F. Hensler's *Het vrouwtje van den Donau, of de koningin der spooknymphen* (*Das Donauweibchen*), with music by Ferdinand Kauer. The latter work, which is a drama of chivalry, a fairy tale, and a farce all in one, was presented for the first time on December 19, 1809, with Helena Judith de Bruin-Hilverdink in the title rôle, and remained a part of the repertory until the end of the period. The actress filling this part had to undergo eleven metamorphoses ¹).

The most popular work approaching operatic form which was presented by the Dutch company was Karl Maria von Weber's *Preciosa*, a precursor of the German romantic opera. The text is by Pius Alexander Wolff, an actor who was a protégé of Goethe. It was given for the first time on July 8, 1834, and was still frequently performed in the 'Sixties. According to some Dutch dramatic critics the text is based on a story by Jacob Cats, they describe it as an adaptation of a "national subject" and therefore as a work which every patriotic Hollander must go and see. It is probable, however, that neither Wolff nor Weber ever heard of Cats. Their work was suggested to them by a story of Miguel de Cervantes, which was also retold by the Dutch author.

The audiences of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* much preferred the French *féeries* to the Viennese *Zauberpossen*, although the latter sometimes attained an excellence which gives them literary significance. Nothing by Ferdinand Raimund was ever staged there, and Nestroy's cynically gay *Der böse Geist Lumpazi-Vagabundus* (the Dutch title was *Het lustige klaverblad*) was dropped after a single performance in 1871.

The German drama did not receive its just due at The Hague. The classical and romantic dramas were almost totally neglected, while Kotzebue and Iffland enjoyed the esteem of the public, and later Birch-Pfeiffer and Benedix were given preference to Grillparzer, Hebbel, and Ludwig. Even those minor playwrights who

¹) She appeared as an old woman, a gardener's girl, a young knight, a veiled lady, the ancestress of Hedwig's house, a female anchorite, a charcoal-burner's girl, a pilgrim, a miller's girl, a Swabian cither player, and queen of the phantom nymphs!

stood out a little from the host of dramatic scribes of the day are almost wholly missing from the repertory. One looks in vain for such names as Laube, Bauernfeld, Rudolf von Gottschall, and Paul Heyse. The mediocre always carried the day. One cannot, therefore, echo the laments of those Dutch critics who judged and attacked the German drama solely on the basis of the jejune plays which the ignorant managements of Dutch theatres selected as suitable for presentation. Little that was representative of the best or even of the good in German drama reached the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, and we may be sure that that little rarely was played in such a way that "dramatic justice" was done it.

D. THE DUTCH PLAYS

The list of native plays given by the company at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, although considerably smaller, is far more representative of the Dutch drama as a whole than are the French and German lists of their respective drama. Some Dutch playwrights of importance are totally absent from the repertory, it is true, and others are represented by plays that cannot be included among their best works. And yet, despite the conviction expressed by the literary critics of the time, it may be doubted whether the repertory would have greatly benefited by the addition of a large number of native works. There are probably not many persons who would care to argue that Dutch genius finds its highest expression in the drama. The majority of Dutch plays suffer from three defects. Like many German works they are often very poorly constructed, but they lack the tempestuous and demonic qualities which make so much of German drama electrifying, they are prone to be static and dull. In the second place, many Dutch dramatists use the stage as a pulpit, they are moralizing in a disagreeably pedagogical way. Thirdly, these dramatists have a weakness for rhetoric, their plays are full of interminable (and often windy) speeches that impede the progress of what little action there is and make them insufferable even to those modern audiences who can still derive enjoyment from Corneille and Voltaire. Many Dutch literary critics of the early Nineteenth Century inclined to the opinion that the only way of achieving the moral and artistic rehabilitation of the native theatre was to shut

its portals to works of foreign origin and to substitute for them the masterpieces of Dutch literature. There will be no improvement, says the *Tooneelkijker*, until the sacred precinct of Apollo has been cleansed of French and German "weeds" ¹⁾. As if all the Dutch dramatic works were tulips! It is difficult to see just what Dutch plays would have vastly improved the repertory of the Dutch theatres of the Nineteenth Century, with the exception of a few Baroque dramas and some of the comedies and farces of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries. The Dutch drama of the greater part of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries was a colorless affair, and one cannot blame the Dutch directors for not presenting more plays from this period.

Probably the one really serious gap in the Dutch repertory of the company at The Hague was the absence of the comedies and farces referred to, especially those by Bredero, Samuel Coster, Bernagie, and Asselijn. Many of these are very coarse, but they could have been adapted to meet the taste of the times. This was done with some success during the 'Nineties, but the experiment also showed that they were incapable of attracting audiences over a very long period. They are too rambling, too anecdotal in structure, too much the product of their age to have a wide appeal today.

The oldest Dutch drama given at The Hague was *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* by Holland's greatest dramatic poet, Vondel. This was the drama with which the first theatre of Amsterdam was opened on January 3, 1638. As the opening of the new *Schouwburg* was to occur at Christmas, 1637, the poet let the action take place on the day of Christ's birth. The plot presents an episode from the early history of Amsterdam. For these reasons the play was always given around Christmas at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, and this custom was imitated at The Hague, where it was presented at the beginning or at the end of each year during the entire period.

The subject of the play is the siege and sack of the castle of Aemstel in revenge of the murder of Floris V, Count of Holland. For Gijsbrecht, the Lord of Aemstel, has been one of the noblemen involved in the conspiracy against the count who had been very

¹⁾ De Tooneelkijker, II, p. 278.

popular with the common people. At the beginning of the play the siege has lasted a full year. But unexpectedly, on Christmas morning, the enemies are reported to be in retreat. The men of Amsterdam pursue them, but they return with only one captive. This man, who gives his name as Vosmeer, tells a pitiful story of how he was dealt with by his own people, and Gijsbrecht, deceived by his smooth talk, takes him in as a welcome deserter from the hostile camp. At Vosmeer's advice they haul in a ship full of firewood which the enemy in his hurried departure had abandoned just outside the wall. But hidden under the cargo of fuel lie the enemy's men that will surprise the town. At midnight, while all the people are attending mass to thank God for their deliverance, Vosmeer's hidden crew set the town on fire and admit the besiegers, who have returned to their entrenchments under cover of darkness. There is no hope of saving the town. Despite the desperate situation Gijsbrecht is determined to hold the castle. But while he is trying to persuade his wife, Badeloch, to escape with the children and the fugitives across the water, the angel Raphael descends from heaven and commands him to leave the castle to its fate. He is to go to Prussia and found there a town which he must name New-Holland. And to console him for his defeat, the angel predicts the rebirth of Amsterdam and her rise to such glory as Gijsbrecht in his proudest dreams could not have foreseen, a prophecy of the city's greatness in Vondel's times. It is obvious that the play, although based on historical fact, is a dramatization of the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Although *Gijsbrecht* was the greatest Dutch drama presented by the company at The Hague, it was rarely given a satisfactory performance after the death of Ward Bingley. Many of the players depended on the annual performance to keep the parts fresh in their memory, with disastrous results at times, and since they were unable to recite alexandrines, they usually garbled their lines pitifully even when they remembered them. In spite of the wretched playing, the performances of this drama were usually well attended, probably for the same reason that attracted large audiences to its presentation at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*: it was staged as a spectacle. If it had been given without the combat and the pantomimic scene between the third and fourth acts, the singing in the convent church, and the descent of Raphael

from the clouds, it would have lost much of its drawing power ¹⁾).

During the last years of the period, if not before then, all references to the Deity and to Christianity were omitted from the play, and words of a general nature were substituted for them. This was done to please those people who considered blasphemous the utterance of holy words from the stage. But by sparing the sensibilities of this element of the population the management robbed the drama of much of its loftiness and stirring religious appeal. In the following, "Ga hene, Machtels kint, of Godt het wou gehengen dat gij geborgen wert," the word "noodlot" was substituted for "Godt". "O deugdelijk geslacht" replaced "o Goddelijk geslacht"; "heerlijke glans", "Goddelijke glans"; "die voor 't geloof weleer gemartelt was", "die voor 't geloof aen Godt gemartelt was", and so on. The effect upon rhyme and metre was often devastating, as when "tot dat de Hemel" was introduced for "totdat Godt" in these verses:

Getroost u daer een wijl te wachten, totdat Godt
Ons weder t'zamen brenge, en gunne een beter lot. ²⁾

Another Vondel drama, *Phaëton*, was presented on February 9, 1808, with Ward Bingley in the title rôle. Apparently it met with no response, for it did not become part of the company's active repertory.

Since the middle of the Eighteenth Century a short farce in crude verse by Buysero and Ryndorp, *De bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje*, had been played after each performance of *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, and this custom was also adopted at The Hague. As this farce was occasionally presented with other plays as well, it received more performances than any other piece performed between 1804 and 1876. The version used was the one published in 1707, the work of the actor Thomas van Malsem, who created the famous part of Thomasvaer. The play is almost wholly devoid of plot. The scene represents a rustic wedding feast. Thomasvaer, a farmer, and Pieterneel, his wife, are awaiting the return of their son Kloris and his bride Roosje from the wedding ceremony. They arrive in the company of another enamored couple, Mansette and Teeuwis. Later a third pair, Kre-

¹⁾ A. L. Barbaz, *Overzicht van den Staat des Schouwburgs in ons Vaderland*, p. 9.

²⁾ Het Nederlandsch Tooneel, III, 1874, pp. 287 ff.

lis and Elsje, appears. Gifts are presented to the bride and bridegroom with the obligatory jokes. The whole is nothing but a series of songs and dances with snatches of dialogue not free from lewdness. Although the wedding meal takes place in the open, Thomasvaer and Pieternel at one point recite New Year's wishes. These verses, which were changed annually, were usually full of allusions to contemporary events and were sometimes written by authors of literary repute. It is not improbable that more people attended the annual *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* performance to hear these additions, which were often quite long, than to see Vondel's drama.

Another old play given at The Hague was *De min in 't Lazarushuis* (*Love in the Lazaretto*), a coarse farce from the Spanish of Lope da Vega by W. G. van Focquenbroch, a rhymester of the late Seventeenth Century. The plot is totally absurd, all the characters suffering either from actual or affected lunacy. But it was not the plot that attracted the audiences but the intermezzi with which the play was usually bountifully interlarded: dances, farcical sketches, feats performed by mountebanks, and *lazzi* of incredible vulgarity. These additions probably explain why the piece managed to survive into the Nineteenth Century. It was to the credit of the management of the Dutch theatre at The Hague that the play was not staged after 1821.

Four comedies and farces by Pieter Langendijk, the Dutch Molière, were presented by the company. Two of these, *De wiskunstenaars, of 't gevlugte juffertje* and *Xantippe, of het booze wijf des filosoofs Sokrates betengeld*, were staged but two or three times in the early years of the period; the other two were very popular. *Don Quichot op de bruiloft van Kamacho* (1712) was played more than thirty times and was still on the repertory after 1850, and *Krelis Louwen, of Alexander de Grootte op het poëetenmaal* (1715) received twenty odd performances, but it was given for the last time in 1839. The former comedy is based on that section of Cervantes's work which treats of the love of Bazilius and Quinteria. Langendijk introduced several characters not in the novel in order to ridicule certain vices of his day. The play was composed when the author was still in his teens and cannot be included among his better works. *Krelis Louwen* employs the very popular theme of the peasant who is led to believe that he is a personage of great

importance upon regaining consciousness after a drunken bout. The humor in both of these alexandrine comedies is of a lowly sort and seems rather flat to the modern reader.

With the exception of the two Vondel dramas mentioned, the oldest Dutch alexandrine tragedy performed at The Hague was Balthazar Huydecoper's *Achilles* (1719), which was played a few times during the early decades of the period. It is a verbose dramatization of those parts of the *Iliad* which treat of the dire feud between Achilles and Agamemnon over the rape of Briseis. Achilles doet little in this play but sulk in his tent.

At least a dozen pseudo-classical tragedies of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries were presented at The Hague, but not one of these received more than a few performances. They are dull dramas for the most part, devoid of action and full of tiresome rhetoric ¹). The majority of them naturally present subjects from Dutch history.

It is difficult to understand why some of these dramas were called tragedies. *Monzongo, of de koninklijke slaaf* (1774), a plea for the abolition of slavery by Nicolaas Simon van Winter, which was given a number of times between 1812 and 1834, is classified as a tragedy by the playbills, although the ending is a happy one for the hero and his wife, two of those noble savages abounding in

¹) The perusal of some of these plays calls to mind the description of a performance of a Dutch tragedy in *Peregrine Pickle*, Chapter 55. "Then they departed in a post-wagon for Amsterdam, being provided with letters of introduction to an English merchant residing in that city, under whose auspices they visited everything worth seeing, and among other excursions went to see a Dutch tragedy acted, an entertainment, which, of all others, had the strangest effect upon the organs of our hero; the dress of their chief personages was so antique, their manner so awkwardly absurd, and their language so ridiculously unfit for conveying the sentiments of love and honour, that Peregrine's nerves were diuretically affected with the complicated absurdity, and he was compelled to withdraw twenty times before the catastrophe of the piece.

"The subject of this performance was the famous story of Scipio's continence and virtue, in restoring the fair captive to her lover. The young Roman hero was represented by a broad-faced Batavian, in a Burgomaster's gown and a fur cap, sitting smoking his pipe at a table furnished with a can of beer, a drinking-glass, and a plate of tobacco; the lady was such a person as Scipio might very well be supposed to give away, without any great effort of generosity; and indeed the Celtiberian prince seemed to be of that opinion; for, upon receiving her from the hand of the victor, he discovered none of those transports of gratitude and joy which Livy describes in recounting this event. The Dutch Scipio, however, was complaisant enough in his way; for he desired her to sit at his right hand, by the appellation of Ya frow, and with his own fingers filling a clean pipe, presented it to Mynheer Allucio, the lover. The rest of the economy of the piece was in the same taste; which was so agreeable to the audience, that they seemed to have shaken off their natural phlegm, in order to applaud the performance."

Eighteenth Century literature. Perhaps it was so designated because Monzongo and Melanide, captives of Cortes, have to accept Catholicism and pledge its dissemination among their people before they are finally released! *Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiter* (1780) by J. Nomsz, which was quite popular during the first three decades of the period, is also called a tragedy. The hero is an officer who fights a duel with a man by whom he has been grievously insulted. Carried away by his righteous anger, he inflicts a serious wound upon his opponent, although the latter has already been rendered defenseless. For this he is sentenced to be hanged, but after his body has been taken down, he is discovered to be still alive. His superiors are now in a quandary, and there is much wrangling about the legal aspects of the case. Finally the famous admiral appears on the scene and pardons the officer. The following lines, which occur in a long monologue recited by the admiral, are certainly true of the characters of this drama.

De mensch is inderdaad! hoe ook als wijs geprezen,
Veel min een redelijk dan redenerend wezen.

The early scenes of the play are very similar to those of Voltaire's *Alzire*.

Although none of the works of Bilderdijk was produced at The Hague, his influence is present in the plays of some of the dramatists included in the company's repertory. Bilderdijk abhorred Shakespeare and Schiller. but he was not the slavish imitator of the French classicists that the majority of the Dutch dramatists before him had been ¹⁾. His dramatic ideal was a synthesis of Sophocles and Racine. He tried to introduce the lyrical element of the ancient Greek tragedies into the Dutch drama, and he strove for a *vrije gebondenheid* then lacking in the French tragedy, which had been stunted in its development by the artificial laws promulgated by the French critics. Among his followers were Wiselius and Klijn ²⁾.

Wiselius also disliked Schiller, and Hugo as well, but he believed

¹⁾ Bilderdijk called Schiller "a fanatic, whose best work ought to win him a place in a madhouse", and he compared his writings to a *drekhoop* (dung-heap). When Helmers remonstrated with him, he had to confess that he had read only *Die Räuber!* (Cf. Jan te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, IV, 1, p. 303).

²⁾ B. Hunningher, *Het dramatische werk van Schimmel*, Chapter I, *Theorie en praktijk van het drama voor Schimmel*, pp. 1 ff.

that the serious dramatist of his day had to make some concessions to the taste of the theatre-going public if he wished to improve it. Hence he did not always strictly observe the three unities, and his works are richer in movement and more spectacular than those of his classical predecessors. There is the element of romantic love in some of his plays, which is new to the Dutch drama. The ideal tragedy, he held, does not have to arouse pity and fear, but it must stress some significant moral or religious truth, and it must show the forces of darkness vanquished despite the play's catastrophic ending for the "good" characters. Three of his works were given at The Hague. *Walwais en Adelheid, of de zegepraal der vriendschap over de liefde* (1812), which was played five times between 1813 and 1831, is not a tragedy. The other two were not presented until Anton Peters introduced them in the late 'Forties. In the foreword to his *De dood van Karel, Kroonprins van Spanje* (1819) Wiselius admitted the poetical qualities of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, but he considered it wholly unsuitable for theatrical presentation. His own drama, however, has very little to commend it. *Adhel en Mathilda* (1815) is a romantic drama about the tragic love uniting the brother of Saladin and the sister of Richard I. It is not romantic in the German sense, however, for it has very much in common with those Eighteenth Century dramas by Voltaire, Ducis, Lessing, Kotzebue, and others, in which the villainous characters are usually Christians and the Saracens are incredibly generous. But although the work pleads for religious tolerance, Wiselius was too devout a Christian to permit Adhel to die without embracing Christianity.

A playwright of far less merit was H. H. Klijn, whose tragedy *Montigni* (1821) was considered a masterpiece in its day. The part of Montigni is very similar to that of Posa in Schiller's *Don Carlos*. The drama is full of patriotic rhapsodies and seems at times excessive in its praise of the virtues of the Dutch people. But it was probably just this praise that made it so popular at The Hague during the 'Twenties and 'Thirties.

The outstanding figure among the native dramatists whose works were produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during their lifetime was, without a doubt, H. J. Schimmel, a writer who represents in Dutch literature the movement which in Germany received the designation *das junge Deutschland*. It was he who

freed the Dutch poetical drama from the alexandrine and introduced blank verse. But the Schimmel given at The Hague was, with two exceptions, the imitator of Victor Hugo, the young author of romantic plays in alexandrine verse, plays lacking the historical truth and subtle delineation of character which distinguish some of his later works. Six of his dramas were staged at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. With one exception they were all introduced while Anton Peters was the director of the company.

Schimmel's first play, *De twee Tudors*, was presented twice in 1847. It is based on the conflict between Bloody Mary and her half-sister Elizabeth. The author imitated the French melodramatists by giving a title to each act of his work. In the same year, on December 7, 1847, *Joan Woutersz*, which was written especially for Anton Peters, had its première at The Hague, where it was presented more often than any of his other dramas ¹⁾. Joan Woutersz is the son of a Spaniard, Don Alonzo de la Cerda, who plans to assassinate William the Silent. He frustrates two attempts on the life of the Prince, but the second time he is mortally wounded by his father, and he dies while clutching the Orange flag to his breast. The play is full of improbable situations and high-flown language, but the national and Orangist declamatory passages it contains made it very popular at a time when Europe was seething with political unrest. The title rôle was ideally suited for the virtuoso talent of Peters, who was very enthusiastic about the work.

Schimmel was less fortunate with his fourth drama, *Giovanni di Procida*, which was first introduced to the public at the *Rotterdamse Schouwburg* by the company from The Hague ²⁾. It is a revolutionary drama based on the Sicilian Vespers of 1282. Like so many historical plays written by Hollanders, *Giovanni di Procida* abounds in lengthy speeches about a nebulous freedom. It was performed only once at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, on March 2, 1849.

Willem II died in 1849, and in April of that year Willem III and his queen entered The Hague. Schimmel wrote a *pièce d'occasion* to welcome the royal pair, *Oranje en Nederland*, a one-act play in prose, which treats of another Willem III, the famous

¹⁾ B. Hunningher, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

²⁾ *ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

Prince of Orange who in 1672 saved the Netherlands through his military talent and the reconciliation which he effected between the admirals Tromp and De Ruyter. Although the work contains some stirring scenes, especially the one between the two admirals, much of it is very stiff and pompous. It was given twice in 1849 ¹⁾.

An inferior domestic drama in prose, *Schuld en Boete*, was staged twice in 1852. The following year Peters left the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, and from then on performances of plays by Schimmel were very rare. *Joan Woutersz* was still presented a few times, and in 1870 *Napoleon Bonaparte, Eerste Konsul*, his first drama in iambic pentameter, saw two performances.

Another author some of whose works may be called romantic was J. van Lennep, a prolific novelist and playwright. A few of his dramas show the influence of Schiller, Byron, and Hugo, but at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* he was represented merely by two trivial vaudevilles, which aroused such great enthusiasm in the early 'Thirties that they caused many a young man to enlist in the Dutch army. Both plays were inspired by the events of the Belgian uprising. *Het dorp aan de grenzen* was so warmly received in the spring of 1831 that it had to be offered seven times, and *Het dorp over de grenzen* was given eight times in 1832. The characterizations in these two vaudevilles are very crude, the intrigue is painfully thin, and the dialogue is constantly interrupted to permit the singing of some inane chanson, but the audiences of those days were thrilled by the patriotic sentiments to which the plays gave expression, and gladly overlooked their defects.

Between 1838 and 1853 *De Neven*, a comedy in alexandrines by P. T. Helvetius van den Bergh, was performed thirteen times at The Hague. It is one of the very few attempts at the "higher" comedy made in Holland during the Nineteenth Century. The significance of the work lies in the author's endeavor to defend the voice of the heart against the privileges and prejudices of the titled and moneyed classes and to present members of the third estate in a dignified manner that awakens one's respect and admiration. The sentiment of the play is clearly expressed by the verse, "Een edel mensch geldt meer dan menig edelman!" (Act 1,

¹⁾ *ibid.*, pp. 90 ff.

scene 5). Literary critics usually describe the work as a classical comedy of character in the Molière manner, but the situations and coincidences abounding in it make it seem more like a comedy of situation at times. The author's people are little more than abstractions; the only character that comes to life is the student August van Loon, a gay blade and stout fellow — one of Anton Peters' favorite rôles. The play is somewhat marred by the didactic propensities of the author, but it is easy to see why the comedy caused such a stir a hundred years ago, when its dialogue, which now seems a bit stilted, impressed Dutch audiences as unaffected and spontaneous in contrast with the language of the other verse plays it knew. Van den Bergh's prose play *De Nichten*, which was as important for the development of the Dutch comedy as Schimmel's *Napoleon* for the poetical drama, was never staged at The Hague.

The works of the more or less significant writers included in the repertory of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* form only a small part of the total number of Dutch plays given. A host of minor playwrights supplied many comedies and farces, vaudevilles, melodramas, costume and domestic dramas. One would do well to pass them by in silence, for the majority of these plays are but poor imitations of foreign models. A Dutch vaudeville or melodrama, for example, rarely approached the technical smoothness of even a mediocre French product of these genres. In some cases these plays are nothing but adaptations of foreign plays, the authors having neglected to acknowledge their indebtedness. But five of these minor writers are discussed below simply because they were unusually prolific: M. Westerman, C. A. van Ray, J. H. Gravé, A. Ruijsch, and H. van Peene.

The Hague saw six plays by M. Westerman, an actor who was a member of Ward Bingley's company in the first few years of the period. *De Tooneelkijker* had a very poor opinion of his works and heaped ridicule upon his most popular play, *Het ontzet der stad Leiden*, which was performed more than twenty times between 1808 and 1858. Described as a historical melodrama, it is really a domestic drama in costume. The reviewer stated that unless Westerman spared the public further dramatic efforts he would be obliged to shout these verses of Boileau at him,

„Soyez plutôt maçon, si c'est votre talent,
Ouvrier estimé dans un art nécessaire,
Qu'écrivain du commun et poète vulgaire ¹⁾.”

The only Westerman play which received some praise was the vaudeville *Het huishouden van Jan Steen*, given about ten times between 1806 and 1833. The critic called it naive and gay, and compared it to a painting done by its central character ²⁾).

C. A. van Ray, who translated innumerable plays into Dutch, had ten of his pieces staged at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. With one exception they were all vaudevilles. In a number of them figures well known in history and art do much singing to French tunes, as in *Adriaan Brouwer en Joost Graasbeek, of de vrolijke vaderlandsche kunstschilders*, which received twenty performances between 1808 and 1842, *Robert Hennebo en zijne vrienden, of een amsterdamsch zomernachtje in 1718*, and *De schilderkamer van Frans Hals* ³⁾. The interest in this author was not very strong after 1840.

J. H. Gravé, who was active at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* from 1807 to 1835, “enriched” the repertory with thirteen plays. The majority of these received only a few performances since they were for the most part *pièces d'occasion* written to celebrate festive occasions of national significance. An exception was *Hollands Zeeroem*, described as a dramatic and lyrical allegory, which was composed in honor of the naval hero Van Speyk. It received eight performances in 1831 and 1832. The playbills inform us that it was given with a new setting depicting the explosion of a gunboat and the temple of immortality “with all that goes with it”, and that in one scene Meijuffrouw Hoedt, in the rôle of Dutch poetry, recited an ode by A. van der Hoop Jr. Gravé's greatest success at The Hague was the vaudeville *De sneeuw, of de proefsteen van den trouwring*, which saw twenty-two performances between 1827 and 1840.

Nine plays by A. Ruijsch were staged at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. Two of his vaudevilles were warmly received, *De bloedzuigers, of de minnehandel in de apotheke* and *De gans met de paauwenstaart, of het geneesmiddel der hoogmoedsdolheid*, which were played

¹⁾ *De Tooneelkijker*, II, pp. 163 ff.

²⁾ *ibid.*, II, p. 186.

³⁾ J. A. Worp, *Drama en Tooneel*, II, p. 366.

seventeen and twelve times respectively. Of his historical dramas the most successful at The Hague was *Moederliefde en heldenmoed, of de gevangenis op het slot 's Gravenstein*, which saw sixteen performances from 1837 on. It is very sentimental and full of improbabilities. A. Ruijsch was introduced to the court city in 1830, and he still enjoyed an occasional performance there forty years later.

De bloedzuigers, of de minnehandel in de apotheke, one of the most popular Dutch vaudevilles presented at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, is a good example of the sort of work done by the Dutch playwrights who wrote for the masses in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. After a fairly promising exposition no real conflict develops, there is no succession of interesting situations leading cleverly and smoothly to the dénouement.

The action of this vaudeville takes place in an apothecary's shop in a small town. Ferdinand, a young stranger on a business mission, falls in love with Lotje, the charming niece of the apothecary and his wife. This couple is very ambitious: Samuel Pillenburg hopes to accumulate a fortune within the next two years by selling leeches, his remedy for all ills, and Mrs. Pillenburg aspires to become a lady. Ferdinand overhears a conversation in which the two discuss Lotje. They want to force her to marry Doctor Slemper, a wealthy man of sixty-five. Ten thousand gulden belonging to the girl have been entrusted to the Pillenburgs, but Lotje knows nothing about this sum. It is characteristic of these popular plays that as much information as possible is packed into a few expository speeches. Says Pillenburg to his wife, "De oude dokter Slemper neemt haar zonder bruidschat en dan winnen we die 10000 gulden; want als ze trouwt, dan moet het testament voor den dag komen. Ze weet zelve niet, dat ze zoo rijk is, en de aanstaande echtgenoot staat deze som aan ons af, bij wijze van defrayement." Ferdinand decides to put a stop to the wicked machinations of these two. He asks Lotje to become his wife. The beginning of his proposal certainly leaves no doubt about his desirability as a husband. "Ik ben jong en bezit vermogen genoeg, om, overeenkomstig uw en mijn stand in de maatschappij, onafhankelijk te kunnen leven."

So far, so good. Here we have the exposition, but nothing follows which might be called a development. Pillenburg visits the

aged doctor and returns in a furious temper. Slemper has changed his mind, he now insists on a dowry of ten thousand gulden. Here is Ferdinand's chance. For the hand of Lotje he is prepared to forgo the money belonging to her and to pay the Pillenburgs an additional two thousand. This suggestion meets with no objection. Ferdinand in addition promises the apothecary that he will use his influence to make him an honorary member of the society *Ad sapientes stultos reddendos*.

Most of the humor in this vaudeville is supplied by Tobias, the ill-treated apprentice of the apothecary. This good-natured, but sharp-tongued lad helps the lovers to realize their union. His language is full of Latin expressions, chiefly pharmaceutical ones. At the end of one scene, in which he has been praised by Lotje, he recites the following monologue: "Brave Tobias!' zegt ze met haar zilveren stemmetje. Ze is een vriendelijk dotje. Jammer, doodjammer, dat ze zoo'n caput mortuum, als dien ouden, dooven dokter ten deel moet vallen. Jongen, jongen, Tobias! als jou zoo'n hapje eens voorkwam! Ha! Dat zou een heerlijk amalgama geven! Als ik er aan denk, dan wordt me 't hart zoo warm, alsof er lapis causticus op was gesmeerd. De verbeelding alleen doet me zweeten, alsof ik vijf ons rob sambuci had geslikt. Ach, arme Tobias! daar moet je niet aan denken! Neen, voor dat gevoel leveren het plantenrijk of de delfstoffen geen remedie!" Later Ferdinand gives him some money, and he goes out to dine well. He returns in an intoxicated condition, and when Ferdinand promises to take him to Amsterdam and to secure him a position there, the lad showers abuse upon his former employer and his wife. His parting words are, "Als ik nog 24 uren hier bleef, dan zou ik je een mixtura laxans geven, dat je op je beenen niet zoudt kunnen staan, jij leelijke krokodil! jij haaienvel, met de snuit van een zaagvisch!"

Six plays by Hippoliet van Peene, who was even more prolific than Kotzebue, were staged at The Hague during the late 'Fifties and early 'Sixties. He was one of the very few Flemish dramatists represented in the repertory. None of the six was popular. His drama *Joost van den Vondel, de prins der Nederlandsche dichters* received only one performance. *De gek van 's Gravenhage*, a wildly melodramatic play about Jacoba van Beieren and Frank van Borselen, was played twice in 1857. A mad fantasy, *De wereld binnen duizend jaaren*, received its première at The Hague, where it was

the kermis attraction in 1858. Its six scenes have the following titles:

The icicle
 The world on crutches
 The world in a thousand years (the action takes place in the year 2857 in Centralis, a city extending from Paris to the banks of the Rhine)
 The emancipated women
 Between heaven and earth (in a balloon).
 Epilogue. Apotheosis.

The Dutch drama enjoyed its greatest popularity at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during the first half of the 'Thirties when the Belgian uprising had quickened the feelings of national pride and honor. In some seasons as many Dutch plays were produced as French and German plays together. Hardly an evening went by without the performance of a piece based on a national subject. But the majority of these plays are totally without merit. They are for the most part nothing but thinly disguised domestic dramas in which some beloved national hero serves as *deus ex machina*. The characters mouth patriotic banalities, and a procession or a battle scene permits the Dutch flag to be waved from the stage. It sufficed to let an actor stride across the boards as Tromp or De Ruyter or Piet Hein to call forth wild outbursts of patriotic enthusiasm from the audience. Many of these plays read like the awkward dramatic attempts produced by well meaning young people's societies in the parish houses of American Protestant churches.

In the 'Sixties and 'Seventies fewer Dutch plays were produced than at any other time in the period. During these years the Dutch repertory of the company reached its lowest low. The pseudo-classical dramas of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries were no longer presented, and nothing above the average was given to replace them. This condition persisted to the end of the period despite the fact that the Dutch drama was not quite as barren in the early 'Seventies as had been the case in the preceding decades. In 1872 appeared two plays of considerable literary merit which even attracted some attention abroad, but neither of them was produced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. *Uitgaan* by Glanor (pseudonym of Hugo Beierman) was translated into German and

performed at the Weimar *Hoftheater*. It is a glorification of family life, written by one who belonged to the upper classes and was able to create convincing portraits of truly cultured persons. *Vorstenschool* by Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker), a thought-provoking drama in blank verse, presents the political philosophy of the author. Since the king in this play was suspected of being a caricature of Willem III, it is easy to understand that the management of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* made no effort to add the work to its repertory. During the last ten years of the period the Dutch repertory consisted largely of the dramatic output of two members of the company, A. Wijnstok and the leading comic, Rosier Faassen. The former concocted *pièces à spectacle*, usually *féeries* about Little Red Riding Hood, the Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella, and kindred subjects; the latter wrote domestic plays and comedies. Faassen was not without talent; he had a keen eye for detail and succeeded in creating scenes that held up a mirror to the life of the lowly. But his plays were written chiefly to appeal to uncritical audiences and to supply suitable parts for himself and those relatives who were also members of the company.

Seven of his plays were given at The Hague, and of these *De koopman in oudheden* received the largest number of performances. It was presented ten times from December 30, 1873, on. This trifle about one of those stage Jews whose uncouth exterior hides a heart of gold was intended by the author as a sermon on religious and social tolerance, for the antiquary is the loving foster parent of a Gentile girl. Faassen's acting of the title rôle was praised by "Ecca" in *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, but he was also censured for too often presenting the kind of Jew one meets in the ghetto. Cultured Jews should be introduced on the stage, for tolerance, the reviewer maintained, cannot result from constantly ridiculing certain disagreeable Jewish traits, even when it is done in a seemingly good-natured way ¹).

A good example of the bosh some of the popular playwrights of Holland were capable of perpetrating is the domestic drama *Vader en dochter, of de gevolgen van eenen enkelen misstap* by J. C. Honig, a dramatization of a novel by Mrs. Opie, which was given a number of times in the early 'Twenties. Betty, a young maiden,

¹) *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, 1874, pp. 301 ff.

has left her father to live in sin with Lord Bethford. As a result her father has lost his mind, and he is now an inmate of the very insane asylum which he founded. One bitterly cold winter evening Betty, who has accompanied her lover to the theatre, overhears that the Lord will soon marry a noblewoman. This brings her to her senses. She decides to return to her father and flees the wicked city with her child. But her father has escaped from the asylum the same night, and the two unhappy creatures meet in an open field. The old man is returned to the institution, where Betty tenderly nurses him. His reason is suddenly restored when he hears his daughter singing (probably off pitch) a melody of which he had been very fond years before. Bethford finally regrets his misdeeds and marries the mother of his child.

E. THE ENGLISH PLAYS

The neglect of the English drama at The Hague is the more surprising because the first director of the company, Ward Bingley, was the son of English parents and had perfect command of the language. It is not unlikely that his son Willem Albertus also knew English. Ward was the translator of David Garrick's *Miss in her Teens*, a two-act comedy which exhibits two foppish lovers who are drawn into a mock duel by the heroine while her true lover in hiding enjoys the spectacle. The play was given repeatedly by the Dutch company during the first three decades of the century. The *Tooneelkijker* praises the play but disapproves of the heroine's flirtatious nature and the freedom with which she expresses herself, traits unbecoming in a girl only sixteen years of age ¹⁾.

Beaumont and Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* was presented twelve times between 1820 and 1852. The translation by Onderwater is from the German version of F. L. Schröder, who adapted this amusing comedy about the taming of a willful lady to suit the taste of the age of enlightenment, thereby destroying much of its charm.

Shakespeare fared wretchedly at The Hague. The adaptations of his tragedies *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth* by Ducis

¹⁾ *De Tooneelkijker*, II, pp. 323 ff.

have been discussed in the section on the French plays given at The Hague. They have little in common with their originals beyond the titles. In 1820 the directors offered for the first and only time *De plaaggeesten, of veel leven om niets*, a translation from the German of H. Beck's version of *Much Ado About Nothing*. The adaptation retains much of the original although the action has been modernized. In 1852 the actor Anton Peters asked Jacob van Lennep to translate *Romeo and Juliet* for him. The result was a disastrous botch. What Van Lennep considered obscene and irreligious he omitted, and he did not hesitate to make insertions of his own, to "enhance" Shakespeare by adding colorless rhymes and limping metaphors. The banal translation completely destroyed the passionate intensity of the tragedy¹). No wonder that the play was dropped from the repertory after but two performances in 1853!

Goldsmith's comedy *She Stoops to Conquer* was presented six times from 1871 on in the translation of M. P. Lindo. The Dutch title was *Wie niet sterk is moet slim zijn, of een avond vol vergissingen*.

The other English dramatists performed were all lesser fry. Mrs. Inchbald, a disciple of Kotzebue and the author of some twenty plays written toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, was represented by *De eerste bruilofsdag (The Wedding Day)*, a brisk comedy played twelve times between 1835 and 1844. J. Poole's comedy *Simpson and Company* was given ten times between 1845 and 1856. In 1850 Bulwer-Lytton's *Geld (Money)* was performed twice. It is difficult to understand why this comedy with its strong situations, its abundance of claptrap, of surprises and heroics, and its interplay of cynicism and sentiment, did not attain more performances at The Hague. *Masker en ge-laat (Masks and Faces)* by Charles Reade and Tom Taylor was played two times in 1855. In it occurs the scene — traced to various sources — in which the heroine, Peg Woffington, puts her own face in place of that which Triplet has slashed from his portrait and listens to the censures of the art critics upon the supposed painting. A comedy by J. Maddison Morton, *Uw leven is in gevaar*, was staged two times in 1859. Nineteenth Century

¹) R. Pennink, *Nederland en Shakespeare*, p. 251.

English plays rarely got beyond the second performance at The Hague.

An exception was a drama by Wilkie Collins, *De boetvaardige* (*The New Magdalen*), which was performed seven times from 1871 on. The leading character is a female impostor, who is presented in a sympathetic manner. She is finally redeemed and goes to America, the haven of ruined lives, with a young minister of God. The play is reviewed in *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* by A. C. Loffelt and "Ecce". The latter considers it immoral and unworthy of production, although he holds it to be well-constructed ¹⁾. Loffelt is severer still. He had made a trip to The Hague especially to see the play and now thinks that he ought to be compensated for the loss of time and money suffered. His review contains one statement which bears repetition because of its interesting if unflattering view of America. "It is a clever idea on the author's part to send the radical preacher to America with his repentant Magdalen; perhaps he felt that they would be thoroughly at home in that land of humbug, dishonesty, sentimentality, and noble principles, the last fittingly illuminated by Bengal flames" ²⁾.

Although the English drama was sadly neglected in Holland during the Nineteenth Century, its day of sweet revenge did not fail to come. The theatres of most of the northern and central European nations, particularly Holland and the Scandinavian countries, have been largely subsisting on a fare of English and American mystery dramas and supposedly sophisticated comedies of manners ever since the end of the Great War.

¹⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, 1874, p. 291.

²⁾ *ibid.*, III, p. 132.

THIRD CHAPTER

THE PERFORMANCES

The temptation is great to try to give a detailed description of an ordinary evening at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during the first three, four decades of the Nineteenth Century, without reference to any specific performance. Unfortunately many of the hundred and one details needed to paint the picture are wanting. We have several accounts of visits to the theatre in the 'Seventies which tell us something about the audience and the performance as a whole without discussing the contents of the plays staged or the interpretations of the individual players, but there are no descriptions of that sort for the early part of the period. It is wiser, therefore, to limit oneself to a report of those odds and ends of information available, many of which help to contribute to our knowledge of the theatrical life of a century and more ago.

During the first four decades of the period the performances of the Dutch company usually began at six or half-past six o'clock. In the earliest years the curtain sometimes even rose at half past five. Toward the end of the season, when the days grew longer, the beginning was put forward to half-past six or seven o'clock. Seven and half-past seven were common in the 'Fifties and 'Sixties, and during the last fifteen years of the period the performances sometimes began at eight. The Sunday evening performances given every second week in the 'Seventies were regularly announced for this hour.

The average performance at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* lasted four hours. Usually two works were presented, a long play and a short curtain raiser or afterpiece. If the long work was a serious drama, which was usually the case, the accompanying piece was a farce or a comedy, usually in vaudeville form. Many theatre-goers were not satisfied unless they had seen their favorite players in a

vaudeville, and so the management strove to present one as often as possible. So great was the demand for vaudevilles that three of them were sometimes presented on one program. The whole evening was usually devoted to the first presentation of a long serious drama, but it was then frequently cut and slashed until a shorter play could be given with it.

This custom of presenting a short piece with a long one often resulted in ridiculous combinations. The directors cannot be accused of not striving for variety of a sort. A performance of Grillparzer's fate tragedy *Die Ahnfrau* was given with Kotzebue's comedy *Die hiebsche kleine Putzmacherin*, Voltaire's *Oedipe* was followed by Kotzebue's *U.A.W.G. (Um Antwort Wird Gebeten)*. Schiller's *Don Carlos* was coupled with a vaudeville by Scribe, Delestre-Poirson and Mélesville, *Le Parrain*, with the Dutch title *Het doopfeest, of de Peter*, and a tragedy by D. H. ten Kate van Loo, *De dood van Jan van Schaffelaar of de vaderlandsche held*, was played on the same evening as Kotzebue's long popular *Mädchenfreundschaft, oder der türkische Gesandte*.

It was in the short plays that the performers were most satisfactory. Because of the subscription system, the company could not present a long play more than once or twice during the same season; but the patrons of the theatre welcomed the repeated presentation of many short German farces and French vaudevilles. Hence the actors appeared in them so often that they could not help becoming independent of the prompter, and as the greater part of these pieces did not require more than four or five performers, the more talented members of the company usually filled the rôles, and no particularly inept actor was permitted to ruin the moderately good ensemble playing.

It would be unfair to judge the actors severely because they were often unsure of their parts in the longer works. Not only did they have to learn very many, they also led such a hectic existence that they rarely had the needed leisure to learn and study a new rôle in quiet, restful surroundings.

The *Spectator* gives a sketch of the life of an actor at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during the cold winter months¹⁾. It was written in the early 'Forties, but it is equally true of almost every winter

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, II, 1843, pp. 12-14.

during the entire period. On Monday morning the actor went to the cold theatre for a rehearsal, which lasted from nine to twelve. Tired and chilled, he returned home to eat. After attending to his costume, he went back to the Korte Voorhout, where a van was waiting to take him and his colleagues to Leiden. His dressing room in that city was poorly heated, and on the stage he was defenseless against the insults of excessively exuberant students. Because of a blinding snowstorm he might not arrive home before four o'clock in the morning. On Tuesday he took part in a still longer rehearsal and in the evening performance at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. On Wednesday the company played to a well behaved audience in Delft. On Thursday he appeared in Rotterdam, where he shivered in his dressing room and on the stage. At midnight the van left the city, but if the roads were ice-covered, he sometimes did not return to The Hague before five o'clock in the morning. On Friday there was another rehearsal, and in the evening the performance of an interminable melodrama. It is amazing that the majority of the players were able to endure this strenuous life year after year. It seems that the company did not make use of the railroad until the last decade of the period.

The performers were not permitted to relax during the summer, for usually the company toured the country from the beginning of June to the end of September, constantly adding new plays to its repertory ¹⁾. This had one good result, however, for the additions were frequently played so often before provincial audiences that by the time the company returned to The Hague, the different parts were firmly fixed in the minds of the players, who were able to start the season auspiciously with a number of fairly smooth presentations of works new to the court city.

The police regulations for the maintenance of public order and safety at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, which were issued by the municipal authorities from time to time, do not differ greatly from those of any other European or American theatre of the Nineteenth Century, but a few of the articles which they include

¹⁾ A report in *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* (IV, 1874-75, p. 23) indicates how busy the players sometimes were during the interval between the seasons. From September 20 to 30, 1874, the Valois company gave performances in eleven different places — Dordt, Gorcum, Tiel, Nijmegen, Arnhem, Zutphen, Kampen, Zwolle, Meppel, Groningen, and Leeuwarden.

are amusing enough to bear repetition. The regulations of April 28, 1819, state that any actor who appeared on the stage drunk or behaved indecently in any other way, thus hindering the progress of the performance, was to be punished with a jail sentence of from one to three days. If his services were required during this time, he was to be permitted to leave his confinement, but he had to return to the prison at the end of the rehearsal or performance.

An article of the supplementary regulations published on April 27, 1842, required the presence of two policemen in the lobby of the theatre before the beginning of the performance in order to prevent crowding or disorders of any sort at the entrance. They also had to regulate the approach of the carriages to the building. After the rise of the curtain one of them had to station himself in the wings of the stage to prevent unqualified persons from loitering about, and the other had to go to the third balcony to keep order there. No children under four years or dogs were permitted in the theatre. Exchange of words between the actors and spectators was prohibited, as was also the public reading of messages or documents thrown on the stage. The person failing to obey this regulation could be punished with a fine of from twenty-five to fifty gulden. Actors were not permitted to talk to the conductor or to any member of the orchestra during the performance, and these in turn were fined if they participated in any tensions or quarrels that might arise in the theatre or in any irregularities of which members of the company might make themselves guilty.

On some playbills announcing gala or other extraordinary performances the ticket-holders were advised to be in the theatre half an hour, and on a few occasions even a full hour, before the beginning of the performance, else the management could not be held responsible if the patrons failed to occupy the seats which they had reserved. Apparently there were times when the scramble for seats was beyond the control of the attendants, who were still unable to guide those arriving to their right places after the worst rush was over.

Klikspaan tells of a case of rowdyism which occurred at the theatre in Leiden in the early 'Forties ¹⁾. Here a section of the parterre was reserved for university students, many of whom were

¹⁾ Klikspaan, *Studentenleven*, pp. 609-610.

not hesitant about loudly voicing their views of the proceedings on the stage. They often did their best to disconcert the players by trying to enter into a conversation with them or by supplying unexpected and irrelevant responses to the lines spoken on the stage. On one occasion a group of students stormed the stage while a performance was in progress, but to their amazement they were met by soldiers who rushed from the wings, pointing bayonets at them. They were actual soldiers, not supernumeraries. Blood was spilled, but fortunately nobody was seriously injured. Apparently the students had been going too far in their exuberance, and the police, finding themselves unable to cope with their antics, finally lost patience and invited the help of the militia. Klikspaan does not condone the behavior of the students, but he severely criticizes the municipal authorities for having called in soldiers to restore order. He would have us believe that the performances of the company from The Hague were so bad that the buffooneries of the students were but the natural reaction of normal and intelligent young men.

Such scenes were, of course, out of question in the refined court city. Even that element of the population which sat in the third balcony was not as unruly, we may be sure, as in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, where the working classes were rough indeed. According to an amusing, although grossly exaggerated description by A. L. Barbaz, during the early part of the century the spectators in the third balcony of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* were wont to regard the pit as a cuspidor. Spittle, chewed tobacco, apple and pear parings, nutshells, hats, bottles, pieces of glass, and other objects poured down on those below like an unceasing rainfall. Once a spectator even fell into the pit, doing less harm to himself than to the person upon whose shoulders his body came to rest ¹). But we must not forget that the more refined elements of the population in The Hague usually went to the French performances and that the Dutch company had to content itself for the most part with the patronage of the third and fourth estates, whose conduct, as we know, is not always above reproach.

No doubt the deportment of the spectators would have been better if the actors had always been dignified and capable of

¹) A. L. Barbaz, *Amstels Schouwtooneel*, I, p. 36.

arousing respect for their artistry. The great actors of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, Marten Corver, Johanna Wattier, Ward Bingley, Andries Snoek, Geertruida Hilverdink, and others, knew how to recite verses and make gestures in the grand manner without appearing ridiculous. But their art died when prose usurped the place of poetry, when the growing popularity of the so-called historical drama and the melodrama demanded exaggerated, violent acting. The diction of the actors became steadily worse. Some talked with a dialect, others gave their words a pronunciation based on their printed form, still others ran their syllables together and recited them with such speed that it was impossible to understand them ¹⁾. As has been pointed out before, they were, moreover, hampered by wretched translations of French and German plays, which destroyed the natural rhythm of the Dutch language.

Het Nederlandsch Tooneel gives a sketch of a typical evening at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during the early 'Seventies ²⁾. Upon entering the theatre one notices that two-thirds and sometimes even four-fifths of the first balcony and the stalls are empty, that the few people sitting in the second of the two rows in the second balcony could easily find seats in the first row, and that even the third balcony is poorly filled. Only the baignoires, the parquet, and the parterre are fairly well occupied. In the parterre one usually finds those who sit in the *engelenbak* (upper gallery) when performances are given by the French opera company. The people seated in the stalls, the parquet, and the baignoires are mostly of the type that goes to the theatre solely to while away a few hours, having nothing better to do. There are usually more women than men present.

Before the performance begins, the small orchestra plays a Strauss waltz or a potpourri. But "plays" is too good a word for the deafening din it makes. Each instrument does its utmost to drown out the others. And when the curtain rises, the orchestra stops abruptly, often in the very middle of a measure.

The play is performed with a complete lack of "teamwork". The players never talk to one another but always to the audience,

¹⁾ In the 'Sixties a wit ridiculed the literal pronunciation of many players with the pun, "menschelijken, kinderlijken, mannelijken en andere lijken".

²⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, 1874, pp. 199 ff.

and they do not dare to turn their backs to it for the sake of greater naturalness. What is worse, the players are frequently not sure of their parts. One often sees even the better actors, Faassen or Spoor or Jaap Haspels, go up to the box of the prompter and signal to him by stamping with their feet.

Why must the performance always last from seven to eleven, the author asks. The main intermission is usually from thirty to forty minutes long. The duration of the evening could be shortened considerably if music were not offered at every interval.

We know little about the stage machinery and the stage settings at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, but they cannot have been greatly different from those of any small theatre in England, France or Germany during the first three quarters of the Nineteenth Century. The theatrical changes occurring in these countries were no doubt sooner or later adopted by the Hollanders. During the first half of the period the stage-settings were most probably stiff and empty affairs. For a classical or pseudo-classical drama the stage-set usually represented a vague interior of an indefinite palace. If the play was a domestic drama, a comedy, or a farce, the stage was still very empty. It was adorned only with the furniture actually demanded by the action of the drama; and the rest of the furniture, the bookcases and sideboards, chairs and tables, was frankly painted on the wings and on the back-drop by the side of the painted mantelpieces, the painted windows, and the painted doors. If the setting was an interior, the wings usually represented columns; if an exterior, trees. The actors remained standing most of the time. They walked on and off the stage through the opening between the wings, which were placed parallel to the back-drop, very much as though they were passing through the openings of non-existent walls.

Gas illumination was introduced at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* in 1839. Till then the stage had been lighted with lamps. A few of these were arranged at the rim of the apron which jutted into the auditorium beyond the proscenium, and a few more were hidden here and there in the flies and wings. The actors would advance out on the apron when their lines were especially important, in order to address the spectators directly and to let them follow the changing expressions of their faces.

When the melodramas and the agitated plays of the French

romanticists enjoyed public favor, there developed a growing demand for stage realism. The box-set was developed. To supply a room with walls of seeming solidity, with doors and windows, appears natural enough to us, but it was a startling innovation about a hundred years ago. It led inevitably to the appropriate furnishings, to tangible mantelpieces, bookcases, chairs and tables. The curtain now rose and fell in a picture-frame which cut the actors off from their proximity to the audience and resulted in greater naturalness of playing. When the box-set was introduced at The Hague is not known. It was developed at the *Théâtre Gymnase* in Paris during the 'Thirties, but it is possible that the *Haagsche Schouwburg* did not adopt this innovation until a good many years later.

Throughout the whole period it was not unusual at the court theatre to change the settings of plays in full view of the public. These *changements à vue* were quite common when spectacular pieces were presented which required many and rapid transformations. Since the stage was a small one, the lowering of the curtain would have seriously impeded the progress of these changes. We can easily imagine how the stage looked while they were going on. Before the actors had disappeared into the wings, the frantic stage-manager and his helpers took possession of the scene. Fumbling lists of stage properties, he directed his men, who scuttled here and there, some carrying off parts of a forest setting or the interior of a Gothic cathedral while others brought on the furnishings of a banquet hall or a milkmaid's bedchamber. When a semblance of order had been restored, the players rushed back on the stage and continued the play. A modern audience would find such a procedure utterly preposterous, and it would be used today only to achieve humorous effects. But during the greater part of the Nineteenth Century people did not permit such trifles to destroy the dramatic illusion.

The newspaper advertisements and the playbills sometimes give elaborate descriptions of the settings of the plays to be presented. It is not always easy to see how it was possible to present such amazing spectacles on a stage as small as the one at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, and one may assume that the managers of the company, like the publicity agents of today, were often prone to exaggerate. Frequently the scenic delights promised were just

painted backdrops and flats. Many of the stage effects were achieved by very simple means, such as the panorama and the diorama.

The first scenic artist of the company was J. H. A. A. Breckenheimer, under whose direction the interior decorations of the theatre previous to its opening in 1804 had been made. For the greater part of the period, from the 'Twenties to the middle of the 'Sixties, the leading scenic artist of the Dutch and French companies was a pupil of Breckenheimer, the gifted, versatile painter Bartholomeus Johannes van Hove (1790–1880). In 1847, when he had taught more than twenty-five years at the Academy of Fine Arts in The Hague, the King bestowed the Order of the Oak Crown upon him ¹⁾. During the early 'Sixties the name of his son Hubert (1819–1865) also appeared on a number of playbills. The settings which Bartholomeus made for the melodrama *De schipbreuk der Medusa* were considered his best. His townscapes were highly regarded in his day, but the influence which he exerted on Dutch painting emanated from his settings; from these his pupils derived the vigor and boldness which characterized their mature work ²⁾.

The advertisement for a performance of *De Spanjaarden in Peru*, which was given on January 22, 1805, stated that it would be decorated with seven different forest settings. Perhaps they were simply achieved by re-arrangements of the same wings and flats.

When Romagnesi's tragedy *Samson* was presented on November 12, 1811, the spectator beheld Samson's combat with the Philistines, the rending of the lion, and the destruction of the temple.

In the spring of 1820 a "national scenic pantomime" was presented six times, *Pinkster-Maandag, of een uitstapje van Delft naar Scheveningen* (*Whit Monday, or, An Excursion from Delft to Scheveningen*). It had the following settings: the departure of a passenger boat from Delft, a section of the Haagsche Bosch, the Noordeinde avenue at the Scheveningen landing-place, and finally the square in front of the "Hof van Holland" in the village of Scheveningen itself.

¹⁾ *Kunstchroniek*, VII, 1846–47, p. 29.

²⁾ Cf. G. H. Marius, *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst in de 19de Eeuw*. The Hague, 1904, pp. 148–150.

Plays with settings depicting scenes of The Hague and vicinity were not uncommon, and they were usually received with enthusiasm ¹⁾. The kermis offering for 1827 was J. H. Gravé's *De Sneeuw, of de proefsteen van den trouwing* (*The Snow, or The Touchstone of the Wedding Ring*), a vaudeville in two acts and an intermezzo with a pantomimic skating scene. The intermezzo offered a view of The Hague as seen from the rink. On later occasions it was staged with a view of Rotterdam from the Meuse and of Amsterdam from the Y. The pantomime alternated with singing and dialogue, and the whole was set to the music of Mozart's *The Sleighride* (probably an arrangement of some sort). The playbill ended its description of the intermezzo by assuring the theatre's patrons that it would include everything capable of presentation on an expanse of ice.

On December 18, 1835, was staged another vaudeville by Gravé, *De eerste reize van den Heer Fortuin* (*Mr. Fortune's First Journey*). The first act took place at the Amsterdam home of Mr. Fortune, the second at the mooring place for towboats outside the Haarlem Gate of that city, and the last act in the *Haagsche Schouwburg* during the rehearsal of a melodrama. The second act permitted the insertion of a pantomimic presentation with travellers, strollers, and laborers. Such pantomimic intermezzi were quite frequent, as were also scenes with processions or armed combats. The playbills announcing performances of A. Cramer's *Het geraamte, of de Leeuwenridders* usually give the complete order of the procession occurring in the first act. A partial list follows:

Nine lansquenets
 Six noblemen
 Seven noblewomen accompanied by noblemen
 A standard bearer carrying the prize of the tournament
 The Count and Countess of Mansfield beneath a canopy borne by four pages
 Four tournament knights on foot
 Four tournament knights on horseback
 Five archers
 Six knights wounded in the tournament
 Five standard bearers on horseback, etc., etc.

The managers of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* had a weakness for

¹⁾ Backdrops with views of the court city from the Kneuterdijk were particularly common.

equestrian display, but that the spectacle of horses on the stage did not always satisfy the expectations raised by the playbills is apparent from a review of Lamartélière's *Robert* in *De Spectator*. "To those people who visit the theatre seldom or never (and whom the advertisements attracted to this performance), the evening offered little that was impressive. Who has never seen six or seven horses that are standing still? And then the combat on horse and on foot! It was more than ridiculous. The infantry ran about confusedly like a group of madmen, without knowing what to do; those who had to fall did so a bit too soon, as if they were anxious to put an end to it. The cavalry, probably relying on the strength and courage of the infantry, advanced and retreated a few steps. This scene was even illuminated by Greek fire and Bengal light"¹).

Of the performance of the tragedy *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* given on January 1, 1822, the playbill states that the new settings, costumes, weapons, and "further accessories", which have been made expressly for this presentation, are all strictly true to the period of the drama. This may be reasonably doubted, for the play itself is so full of anachronisms that not even the most painstaking regisseur could stage it with anything approaching historical accuracy.

An exceptional attempt to achieve stage realism characterized the production of D'Ennery's *De aardbeving op het eiland Martinique* (*Le Tremblement de terre de la Martinique*), which was played eight times in May, 1842. "The directors," write Hoedt and Bingley at the beginning of the playbill announcement of this masterpiece, "remembering the enthusiastic reception given the melodrama *The Shipwreck of the Medusa* two years ago, and always endeavoring, as long as there is a dearth of native products of this genre, to acquaint the esteemed public with those intellectual fruits of foreign soil (sic!) which deserve it most because of the significance of their contents and the splendor of their settings, consider it a pleasure. . . ." The third act of the play offers a view of the city of St. Pierre and the sea beyond from the balcony of a residence. In the course of the act occurs the earthquake, the sea rises, engulfs the city, and almost completely destroys the dwelling. All this, states the playbill, will be presented with the greatest

¹) *De Spectator*, I, 1843, p. 136.

realism. In the fourth act a subterranean haunt is disclosed. It has been partially ruined by the catastrophe and is filled with debris. The last shock of the earthquake effects total destruction, causing an opening to appear in the walls through which the devastated city becomes visible. This scene will picture with complete truth the horrible havoc caused by "such a fearful phenomenon of nature as an earthquake."

Plays with shipwrecks were almost always successful at The Hague. One of these was *Paul en Virginie, of de schipbreuk der gelieven* (*Paul and Virginia, or, The Shipwrecked Lovers*), a "historical" drama by Boulé and Cormon, which was the kermis attraction in 1845. The shipwreck, which occurred in the last act, was notable for the "natural motions of the sea and of the ship, which sways in the water in all directions".

Recitations by one or more players were often included in an evening's program. They usually consisted of poems written for an occasional purpose, such as a wedding or birthday in the royal family, the unveiling of a monument, or some other event of national interest or significance. A poem was regularly recited on the occasion of the King's birthday. It was often a pretentious composition with passages for several actors and for choruses. These poems were frequently composed by members of the company, notably by J. H. Gravé and F. H. Greb. Rarely was a poem of literary interest declaimed. On November 25, 1845, J. Tjasink recited Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*, and on April 16, 1847, Anton Peters rendered passages from Goethe's *Egmont*, with a musical accompaniment based on the Beethoven compositions inspired by the drama. On the same evening Mina Sablairolles sang the "Klärchen Lieder".

During the greater part of the Nineteenth Century the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* spent a great deal of money and care on the production of elaborate ballets, but the managers of the Dutch theatre at The Hague could not afford to maintain a *corps de ballet*. Only in the early 'Twenties, in 1859, and in the early 'Sixties were ballets common at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. They were usually harlequinades. It seems likely that the Dutch management "borrowed" dancers from the French *corps de ballet*, whenever it produced a terpsichorean fantasy. The leading parts were regularly filled by actors of the Dutch company. How accomplished

they were as dancers we do not know; but as the critics of the time frequently jibed at their awkward appearance in plays, we may be sure that the effect was rarely one of overwhelming grace. Many of the ballets seen at the Dutch theatre throughout the period were given by visitors from the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*.

While ballet productions were relatively rare, dances performed by one, two, or three persons within a play or during the intermissions were quite common, especially in the 'Fifties and 'Sixties. The interest in the dance seems to have been unusually keen in the late 'Fifties and early 'Sixties, for during these years the management engaged the services of a small group of dancers, and in several seasons hardly an evening went by without the performance of a *pas de shawl*, a *pas noble*, a *pas seul*, or a *pas de deux*. Years passed before the audiences at The Hague tired of seeing Meneer Holtzer and Mevrouw Zinck do the *pas de deux*.

Although the nobility and the upper middle classes preferred the French company at The Hague, it must not be assumed that they completely ignored the Dutch presentations. Performances "by request", "by honoring request", "by most honoring request", "by high command" and "by highest command" were not rare during the early decades of the period. The French and Dutch companies sometimes united forces for galas attended by members of the royal family and the court, but the nobility also visited an occasional Dutch performance. A few playbills expressly state that a certain royal personage would be present. The playbill for the evening of December 16, 1831, announces that two Dutch vaudevilles, *De Sneeuw* and *Het dorp aan de grenzen*, would be performed in the presence of Her Imperial and Royal Highness, the Princess of Orange. She again visited the theatre on February 14, 1832 to see two more vaudevilles, *De vroolijke schoenmaker, of de gevondene dochter* and *Het dorp over de grenzen*. On March 3, 1835, the Prince of Orange also attended the Dutch theatre. It is significant that most of the visits made by members of the royal house occurred in the 'Thirties, when feelings of patriotism ran high. After 1840 command performances were very rare.

During the greater part of the period no more than three or four benefits were given each season, usually one each for the leading man, the leading lady, the first comic, and the management of the

company. But during the last years of the period this device of attracting the public was worked to death. Within three or four months as many as six or seven benefits were sometimes given. Occasionally the management also staged charity performances for the poor of the city, for the orphans of deceased actors, and for the victims of shipwrecks, floods, and warfare.

FOURTH CHAPTER

THE PERFORMERS

Most of the Dutch actors of the Eighteenth and the greater part of the Nineteenth Centuries came from the lower middle-class, unless they were born into a family of players. The career of an actor had little to attract young men and women eager to acquire financial security and social prestige. While outstanding players were sometimes officially honored, the majority were looked down upon. As late as the end of the Eighteenth Century they were still occasionally treated as little better than vagabonds. The report of a lawsuit which took place in Dordrecht in 1780 shows that players could be regarded as unqualified to give testimony because of their profession ¹⁾). Two members of Marten Corver's company, who had been present at a row, were called in to act as witnesses, but, says the report, "Franciscus Styard en Diderik Faber als doen behorende tot de troep Comedianten laboreeren wegens hun beroep eenigsints infamia facti" ²⁾). In the Nineteenth Century actors were no longer regarded as social outcasts, but they were not esteemed very highly, or else we should find more persons of cultivated background among them.

The average actor might be a tailor's or a shopkeeper's son who had seen a few performances in a kermis tent and felt that it would be more enjoyable to gesticulate on a stage than behind a counter. His early dramatic training was usually acquired with an amateur theatrical society. From here he would graduate into some traveling company, and years might pass before he obtained a moderately secure position with a theatre in one of the larger cities. If he was fortunate enough to come into contact with capable directors, he might eventually develop into a tolerable

¹⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, IV, 1874-75, p. 253.

²⁾ "Franciscus Styard and Diderik Faber, members of a company of players, do not enjoy a wholly spotless reputation because of their profession".

actor who succeeded in hiding the deficiencies of his upbringing. But more often than not he brought to the profession nothing more than the urge to be of it, and he remained graceless and affected, an actor who was given to fearsome bellowing and exaggerated gestures and who talked with the dialectic peculiarities of his early environment.

After the death of Ward Bingley, Andries Snoek, Johanna Wattier, and G. J. Hilverdink in the second and third decades of the Nineteenth Century, Holland for many years had few players who were convincing in tragedies and in those dramas and comedies which depicted the life of the upper classes. Most performers were rather absurd in the parts of aristocrats and other persons of high official rank or social standing. Their best work was done in short comedies and farces reflecting the life which they knew from personal observation and experience.

Although the following verses from C. A. Kortum's comic epos *Die Jobsiade* ridicule a kind of acting prevalent in Germany around 1780, they can be applied with striking accuracy to a host of players connected with the *Haagsche Schouwburg* throughout the greater part of the period — Gravé, Hammecher, the van der Grijps, Gyswyt, Ruffa, and W. J. van Ollefen, to mention but a few. They describe the hero as actor.

Tartüffische Schurken, verdorbene Priester,
Trunkene Studenten, lächerliche Küster,
Bange Poltrons, verliebte Schreiber
Und dergleichen ähnliche Rollen mehr

Spielte er alle sehr manierlich,
Denn ihre Rollen waren ihm natürlich,
Und er bekam darin jedes Mal
Der Zuhörer lauten Beifall.

.

Hingegen war im ernsthaften Philosophen
Für ihn nicht der mindeste Beifall zu hoffen,
Auch im zärtlichen Schäferspiel
Leistete Hieronimus gar nicht viel.

Imgleichen spielte er sehr ungeschicklich
Den vornehmen Herrn und war unglücklich
So oft er etwas Vernünft'ges bekam,
Oder eine sehr lange Rolle nahm ¹⁾.

¹⁾ *Die Jobsiade*, Part I, Chapter 34, verses 2, 3, 5 and 6.

An actor who was far more cultured than most of his colleagues was Ward Bingley, the first director of the Dutch company at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. He was born in Rotterdam in 1757 of well-to-do English parents, who allowed their son to devote his life to the stage after they had vainly tried to interest him in a commercial career. In the 'Seventies he was a pupil of Marten Corver, whom David Garrick considered the greatest actor he had seen on the Continent. While his foremost rival, Jan Punt, still clung to the classical tradition, Corver practised a style of acting that met the demands of the bourgeois drama. From him Bingley acquired a natural manner of playing that contrasted happily with the artificiality then prevalent on the Dutch stage. The actors of Punt's school were given to insufferable histrionics, they liked to strut and roar, to recite their verses with preposterously strong rhythmic accentuation, to roll the *r* sound indefinitely. Corver also taught Bingley to assume easy, natural postures and to wear costumes that, while not accurate in every detail, at least suggested the period of the play presented ¹). In the early 'Eighties Bingley was the head of a company that played at Rotterdam, but in 1784 he made his *début* at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* in the title rôle of Huydecoper's *Achilles*. Here he played until 1795, when differences arose between him and the newly appointed commissioners of the theatre. He again became the head of his own company, which played chiefly in Rotterdam, Leiden, and The Hague.

Ward Bingley was able to play in French as well as in Dutch, and he occasionally made appearances in works given in the former language. On December 4, 1810, he played the title rôle of a tragedy by J. F. de Laharpe, *Philoctète dans l'Isle de Lemnos*, at The Hague with the assistance of the French company appearing there, and in 1811 he acted the part of King Lear in the original French of the Ducis adaptation of Shakespeare's tragedy at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. He made a thorough study of Shakespeare's *King Lear* as well, and was prepared to play the title rôle in English, although he never had the opportunity to do so. Bingley also translated several French and English comedies.

His physical appearance was impressive. He was fairly tall, and

¹) Ferd. von Hellwald, *Geschichte des Holländischen Theaters*, pp. 92 ff.

his body was well proportioned. Few actors possessed such control over their facial features, such remarkable mobility of expression. The ease and rapidity with which he could change from one expression to another was startling. His voice was sonorous, and his memory never failed him. He was effective in tragedies, domestic dramas and comedies, but it was in the delineation of middle-class characters that he was supreme. Although he was always natural, he had a different manner of acting for each of the three genres mentioned, and never did he try to efface the bounds which at that time separated them. No matter how poignant, how tense his acting in a domestic drama, it was quite different from the manner he assumed in a tragedy ¹⁾. He was doubtless the greatest Dutch actor of the early Nineteenth Century. During the last decades of his life he also played tyrants and villains. Among his outstanding parts were Nero in *Epicharis en Nero*, Orgon in *Tartuffe*, Odoardo in *Emilia Galotti*, the title rôles in *Fénelon*, *Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiter*, and in the *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* of Ducis, the head forester in Iffland's *De jagers*, the Emir in *De kruisvaarders*, Pizarro in *De Spanjaarden in Peru*, and the villain Albrand in *De lasteraar*.

We may be sure that the Dutch company at The Hague was never better than during the years of Bingley's direction. From Corver he had learned how to develop a good ensemble, and he was untiring in his efforts to make capable actors of the younger members of the company. Herein he differed from other outstanding players of the period, Andries Snoek and T. J. Majofski of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, for example, who were not especially eager to train talented performers in whom they suspected future rivals. One of the best products of Bingley's instruction was Geertruida Jacoba Hilverdink, of whom it was said that she might have become the equal of the great Wattier if nature had bestowed upon her the impressive appearance which distinguished that tragédienne ²⁾. At The Hague she excelled as Julia in Weisse's tragedy *Romeo en Julia* and as Elmire in *Tartuffe*. In 1809 she went to Amsterdam.

Another gifted performer whom Bingley lost toward the end of the century's first decade was M. Westerman, an excellent *père*

¹⁾ Johs. Hilman, *Ons Tooneel*, pp. 279 ff.

²⁾ Ferd. von Hellwald *op. cit.*, p. 136.

noble. The loss of these two was in a way replaced by the engagement of Stoopendaal and his wife, P. Schouten, and Madame Wicart. On October 17, 1809, Helena Judith Hilverdink-de Bruin, the leading *chanteuse* at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, made her début at The Hague as Madame Dorsan in *De jaloersche vrouw* by Desforges, but she did not remain longer than a few seasons. One of her outstanding parts was Hulda in the musical play *Het vrouwtje van den Donau*. She also made several appearances as Theodore, the deaf-mute in Bouilly's *De Abt de l'Épée*. During the first four decades of the period it was not uncommon for actresses to fill male parts, especially those of pages, dauphins, and other youthful characters.

The excellent comic, F. A. Rosenveldt, was a member of Bingley's company from 1795 to 1813. On November 13, 1813, he had the boldness to appear on the stage of the *Rotterdamsche Schouwburg* with a long orange feather in his hat. For this offense he was arrested during the night and taken to France, whence he eventually succeeded in making his escape. On June 6, 1814, an extra performance was given at The Hague to celebrate his reappearance on the stage, and on the fourteenth of the same month a benefit was held in his behalf. The advertisement in the *Haagsche Courant* states that he will appear in the same parts which he filled on the evening preceding his arrest, the villainous Von Posert in *De Speler* and Jacquinot in Patrat's comedy *De twee grenadiers, of het misverstand*. For several decades he was active at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, then he became the director of a traveling company. The playbill for November 21, 1843, announces his appearance at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* "for a single performance" after an absence of thirty years. For a benefit given in his behalf on December 27, 1844, he chose *De ekster en de dienstmaagd* by Caigniez and Kotzebue's *De Brandschatting*, two plays that had been popular twenty years before. *De Spectator* reports that the performance was poorly attended and that Rosenveldt probably lost rather than made money ¹⁾. Between these two dates he assisted at a few other performances. In 1846 he ended his career with an appearance at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*. He died the following year at the age of eighty. ²⁾

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, V, 1845, p. 71.

²⁾ *Astrea*, I, 227 ff.

The touching story is told that Willem I, who had not forgotten the actor's display of patriotism, once refused to grant Hoedt and Bingley the annual subsidy they received from him when they had failed to place his name on their *tableau de la troupe*. The directors were obliged to make a trip to Groningen, where Rosenveldt was sojourning, and to offer him one hundred gulden a week ¹). There seems to be no foundation to this story. The King abdicated in 1840, but at no time between 1813 and 1840 was Rosenveldt a regular member of the Dutch company at The Hague. It is difficult to believe that the monarch ever tried to coerce the directors into paying an emolument which would have proved a very serious drain on their financial resources.

Klikspaan wrote of this actor that his comedy often approached the sublime and that in villainous parts his chill hard-heartedness could suddenly silence laughter and change it to shuddering horror ²). But the years he had spent as the director of a traveling company had coarsened his playing, and when he returned to The Hague in the 'Forties, he was but a shadow of his former self. Having grown accustomed to playing before kermis audiences throughout the country, he had become unbearably mannered and exaggerated in everything he did and said. His sole aim was to arouse laughter, and he would stoop to vulgarities which were in conflict with the characters he was portraying ³). Some of the parts he played frequently between 1804 and 1813 were Krelis Louwen, Sancho Panza, Jobart in Martainville's *De belagchelijke zelfmoord*, Michel in Kotzebue's *De gebannen Amor, of de achterdochtige echtgenooten*, and the miser in Zschokke's adaptation of Molière's *L'Avare*.

The *Tooneelkijker* reviewed some of the performances given by Bingley's company on the occasion of a visit made by it to Amsterdam in 1817 ⁴). Ward was warmly praised for his playing of Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiters, Talland in Iffland's *Het Geweten*, and the title rôle of Kotzebue's *Ubaldo*, but the critic was disappointed by his King Lear and Nero, although these two parts were among his famous ones. He found the majority of the per-

¹) *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, Vol. 37, 1907-08, pp. 124 ff.

²) Klikspaan, *Studentenleven*, p. 596.

³) *De Spectator*, IV, p. 68.

⁴) *De Tooneelkijker*, IV, pp. 1-30.

formers given to exaggerated acting. Willem, the son of Ward, was stiff and awkward, and showed that he was still greatly in need of his father's instruction. Valkenier and Schouten displeased him in most of the plays in which they were seen. Their acting in *Epicharis en Nero* he described as wretched, and he deprecated their tendency to shout. As the Duke of Cornwall in *King Lear* Schouten was "beneath all criticism". Hoedt's wife, the daughter of Ward Bingley, he found worthy of her able father. He considered her the only Dutch actress capable of playing tragic parts convincingly with the exception of Geertruida Hilverdink. Her gasping for breath in moments of great emotional stress annoyed him, however, and he urged her to rid herself of this defect — in vain, it seems, for twenty-five years later she was not yet free of it. The reviewer considered Ward's company inferior to that of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, but he expressed the conviction that a superb ensemble would result if the theatre in the capital engaged Bingley, Madame Stoopendaal, and Hoedt and his wife.

Around 1820 the more prominent members of the company at The Hague were Willem Bingley, C. van Hanswijk, P. Schouten, J. Hammecher, Madame Wicart, J. H. Hoedt and his wife, Stoopendaal and his wife, G. Valkenier, J. Gravé, and L. F. Rosenveldt. With the exception of the last three, these players were still with the company in 1840.

The *Tooneelalmanak* for the year 1804 lists G. Valkenier, *second premier rôle en tout genre*, as one of the two stage managers of the company ¹⁾. The other was J. H. Hoedt. Valkenier did not make frequent appearances in comedies and domestic dramas, his type of acting adapting itself better to tragedies and plays with melodramatic qualities. Some of the characteristic rôles which he filled at The Hague were Abällino, Hugo in Müllner's *De Schuld*, Robert in Lamartélie's adaptation of Schiller's *Die Räuber*, the slave Monzongo in the tragedy of that name by N. S. van Winter, and Rolla in *De Spanjaarden in Peru*. Some considered him the equal of Ward Bingley, but others found him cold and austere, although his physical appearance won their admiration. He was no longer a regular member of the company in 1825, but he still made occasional appearances with the company in the late 'Twenties in spite of his advanced age.

¹⁾ *Volledige Tooneel-Almanak der Bataafsche Republiek*, 1804, p. 38.

J. H. Gravé always played secondary parts at The Hague, yet he seems to have enjoyed the high esteem of his colleagues, for few Dutch actors were ever so honored as he was toward the end of his career. This esteem was probably the result of Gravé's activity as an author, for he was untiring in the production of vaudevilles (chiefly patriotic ones), occasional sketches, and poems which were recited by actors on royal birthdays and other days of public rejoicing. On July 8, 1834, Gravé celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his stage career. The program opened with Weber's overture to *Oberon*, played by the court orchestra. The beneficiary then recited the chorus of the angels from Vondel's *Lucifer*, enhanced by a poetical address written by himself. A presentation of Weber's musical play *Preciosa* followed, with Madame Engelman-Bia of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* in the title rôle. A very elaborate performance was given on August 7, 1835, when Gravé said farewell to the stage. Although this event took place thirteen months later, the playbill states that he had been connected with the theatre for twenty-eight years! The entertainment offered four divisions. The 'dramatic' part consisted of a play by Lockroy and Badon, *Liefde en wraak, of een tweegevecht ten tijde van den Kardinaal Richelieu*, performed by visitors from the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, the 'lyrical' part of a duo sung by leading singers of the French opera company at The Hague, the 'musical' part of an overture composed and directed by the conductor of that company and played by the court orchestra, and the 'choreographical' part of dances executed by the Amsterdam *corps de ballet*. All these artists contributed their talent gratuitously.

On October 23, 1821, L. F. J. Rosenveldt made his début at The Hague in a Kotzebue play. He was the son of the well known actor F. A. Rosenveldt and became the leading comic of the company after the departure of C. van Hanswijk in 1834. Little information is available about the man. He seems never to have played in Amsterdam. Among the parts which he filled frequently at The Hague were Sansquartier in Dupaty's *Het militair arrest*; Renaud, the proprietor of the inn "The Crescent", in the vaudeville *Berquin* by Bouilly and Pain; Adam in Mrs. Inchbald's *De eerste bruidsdag*; the miser in *De dochter van den vrek* by Bayard and Duport, a dramatization of Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet*, and Sancho

Panza in Langendijk's *Don Quichot op de bruiloft van Kamacho*. He left the Dutch company at The Hague in the summer of 1838.

A capable actor was J. van der Linden, who made his début at The Hague as Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiter on March 3, 1827. He had previously played at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, where his departure was considered a serious loss ¹⁾. Van der Linden was equally effective in serious and in comic rôles. Among other parts the court city saw him as Benvolio in Weisse's *Romeo en Julia*, Berquin, Siegfried von Lindenberg, Nicolaas, the burgomaster in van Lennep's vaudeville *Het dorp aan de grenzen*, and Count Borotin in *Bertha en Jaromir (Die Ahnfrau)*. He remained at The Hague until the summer of 1835, when he returned to the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, where he played *père noble* parts and succeeded Th. J. Majofski as Thomasvaer.

C. van Hanswijk was one of the outstanding Dutch comics of the first half of the Nineteenth Century, although his powers suffered a marked decline during the latter part of his life. He was already with the company at The Hague in 1804, when he played "accessory" parts ²⁾, but he probably left it during one of the following seasons, for an advertisement in the *Haagsche Courant* announces his début for the evening of February 22, 1814. He stayed at The Hague until April, 1834, when he said farewell with a benefit performance. After having played at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* until 1845 he returned to the court city, where he ended his stage career on December 22, 1854, by appearing in the title rôle of Zschokke's adaptation of Molière's *L'Avare* ³⁾. His greatest successes were achieved in vaudevilles from the French, as Bellemain in *De oude kopiist, of men schikt zich naar de omstandigheden* by Scribe, Ymbert and Varner, and in the title rôles of *Vatel, of de kleinzoon van een groot man* by Scribe and Mazères, and *De Heer Lustig, of de deurwaarder liedjesdichter* by Théaulon and Choquart, but he was also much liked in the comical parts of domestic plays, as Bittermann in *Menschenhaat en berouw*, for example, or as Hippeldanz in *Het Puntdicht*.

A devastating criticism of the Dutch company is made by Jo-

¹⁾ Johs. Hilman, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

²⁾ *Tooneel-Almanak*, 1804, p. 39.

³⁾ The *Kunstchroniek*, VII, 1846-47, p. 69, reports that one evening Van Hanswijk suffered a nervous attack in front of the audience. This was seven years before his retirement.

hannes Kneppelhout in his *Studentenleven*, a collection of sketches depicting the academic life in Leiden ¹⁾. The author uses the pen name of Klikspaan, which means gossip, tattler. The criticism was written between the death of Stoopendaal in 1841 and that of Madame Wicart the following year. As the company visited Leiden regularly on Monday evenings during the season, Klikspaan often had the opportunity of attending its performances. With the exception of Madame Stoopendaal and P. Schouten, none of its members are found worthy of commendation. Willem Bingley, the co-director with Hoedt, he describes as *le petit fils d'un grand homme*, as "the cad of cads," on whose forehead one can read, "It is I who am really the director of the company. Well, what do you think of me?" Like Hoedt he is a man of routine; his acting is almost wholly condemnable. The old wife of Hoedt, the *jeune première* of the company, he calls an "emaciated ossuary" with an asthmatic bray. The more she strives to stir the deeper emotions of her audience with her affected, high-pitched voice, the louder the laughter she provokes. Mina Sablairolles (later the wife of J. C. Valois) he presents as a short and fat *schuddegatje* (a person who wiggles her posterior). She plays aristocratic parts with all the grace of a shop girl. She is a pupil of the "skeleton", and if she ever had any talent, her teacher has successfully destroyed all traces of it. Her youth is her only asset. Juffrouw Vink is the servant girl type of actress. The sublime in her art expresses itself in shamelessly "glad-eyeing" the men sitting in the pit. Swaying his fat, short arms, Hammecher in his dandy attire, *qui ne lui va pas*, circles about like a top, and Gyswyt, an actor with a velvety tongue, deems himself irresistible in his ministerial morning coat, which is also badly fitting. For reasons best known to herself, Madame Wicart, "with her ailments and her hoarse dram voice", is no longer present at the Monday evening performances. "May she rest in oblivion!" Klikspaan concludes his bitter review of the players with the following angry outburst, "The family of van der Grijp, people of Leiden, the most wretched among these wretched, and the rest of the riff-raff, are not worth mentioning. Heaven only knows from what corners and alleys they have been raked together!"

¹⁾ Klikspaan, *op. cit.*, pp. 587 ff.

Even if one regards Klikspaan's criticism as objective in general, one cannot but find his remarks on Madame Wicart unnecessarily harsh, considering that the lady was well advanced in years. She made her début at The Hague on May 9, 1810, and remained there until the time of her death, which occurred soon after Klikspaan had penned his lines. It is difficult to find anything but praise for her in the writings of other critics. She was convincing in duenna parts which demanded dignity and majestic bearing. After her death Madame Stoopendaal filled some of these, but she lacked the impressive appearance of her predecessor. In such rôles as the queen dowager in Scribe's *Bertram en Raton*, Princess Eboli in *Don Carlos*, Guinevere in Halm's *Griseldis*, and Catherine Howard in the Dumas play, she had few rivals in Holland.

Whatever one may think of Klikspaan's manner of expressing his views, these are to a great degree confirmed by the criticisms in the periodical *De Spectator van Tooneel, Concerten en Tentoonstellingen*, which was founded by J. Hilman, J. Ruyl, and S. J. van den Bergh, and appeared from 1843 to 1850. The majority of the contributors were classicists, who were still shocked and alarmed by the dramatic liberties taken long ago by Schiller. They admired the more or less classical Dutch dramatists of the early Nineteenth Century, Wiselius, Bilderdijk, Klijn, and Van Halmael, and mentioned them in the same breath with Racine and Vondel. Hilman considered the *Hamlet* of Ducis a finer play than Shakespeare's tragedy ¹⁾. On the whole the reviews in *De Spectator* do not differ greatly from those which appeared in *De Tooneelkijker* thirty years before, but they possess great value because they are our chief source of information on the state of the Dutch theatre around the middle of the century. In 1847 the periodical somewhat changed its attitude toward romanticism, for in that year J. A. Alberdingk Thijm, a Catholic writer, became the leading editor, and his regular contributors were A. J. de Bull and H. J. Schimmel. Unfortunately it has not been possible to identify the authors who wrote on the activities of the company of Hoedt and Bingley (and later of Peters) in The Hague and in Rotterdam. The reports from the former city are signed D., E., G., N., W., and φιλότεχνος, those from the latter A.

¹⁾ B. Hunningher, *Het dramatische werk van Schimmel*, p. 51.

While these reports are couched in milder language than Klikspaan's virulent pages on the company, they do convince one that his opinion was the natural reaction of a cultured man. He could not help finding the antics of such uneducated, untrained, and yet so self-satisfied performers utterly ridiculous. Some of the critics of *De Spectator* were dramatists as well; they were inclined to be lenient because they took a more active and direct interest in the theatre than Klikspaan. Since they were whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of Dutch dramatic art, they tried to encourage whatever talent they found, no matter how humble. Hoping that the players and the managers would not shut their ears to the suggestions which they had to make, they had no desire to antagonize. Gradually, however, the reports became severer and more caustic, as if their authors had realized the futility of their endeavors. They are often witty when they are not didactic and diffuse. The plots of the most negligible vaudevilles and farces are sometimes recounted with distressing patience.

Long a pillar of the company was J. W. Hammecher, who was a dancer as well as an actor. The rare ballets performed at The Hague were usually directed by him. On February 27, 1835, he celebrated his twenty-fifth stage anniversary by appearing in a ballet entitled *The Umbrella and the Steam Engine, or Pantalón as a Barber with a Whetstone*. Twelve years later he said farewell to the theatre. He filled the part of Harlequin "for the last time" and recited a verse *Ik vergeet uw niet*, which amounted to a warning, for his name again appears on the playbills in the early 'Fifties. At a benefit performance given in his behalf in the spring of 1853 he played a student in a vaudeville from the French, although he was at least sixty years old. When the director of the company, A. Peters, abruptly left his post, Hammecher was appointed head of the "united players" for one season, at the end of which his final retirement took place. Hammecher had a repertory of widely differing parts, comical as well as serious, including Joris in Langendijk's *Krelis Louwen*; Julius, the sentimental lover in Kotzebue's *De arme dichter*; the king in *Don César de Bazan*; Honau, the artist, in *Dokter Wespe*; Joseph, the lovable *gamin* of Paris; Kloris; Arthur, the noble son of wicked Robert Beaufort in the melodramatic *Nacht en morgen*, and Rosinski in *Robert, of de struikrovers*. Until the very end of his career Hammecher played young

and even juvenile parts, sons, students, irresponsible rogues, lovers, and the like. The *Spectator* remarked that in a performance of *De student en de voornamē dame* by Scribe and Mélesville he bowed and scraped and swayed in such a way that he reminded one more of Leander in a ballet than of a student brought up in genteel surroundings ¹).

P. Schouten gave up his stage career in 1849 after having been at The Hague for more than forty years. Many considered him the *marqué par excellence*, but others decried his proneness to over-acting and bellowing. He also played heroic parts. Klikspaan thought very highly of him, especially as Von Posert ²). His hoarse voice was not free from affectations, but his playing was natural and made no concessions to the populace. He continued to interpret the dashing Abällino almost till the end of his career. In a review of the Zschokke play the *Spectator* regretted that at the end of the performance Madame Valois-Sablairolles had been rewarded with such a rheumatic lover for all her sufferings ³). A terrible accident occurred when he played the part in his seventy-second year. At the moment of the dénouement, when the hero of this blood-curdling drama removes his mask and hat, and shouts, "Flodoardo is Abällino, and Abällino is Flodoardo!" P. Schouten took off his wig as well. The sight of a bald Flodoardo "brought the house down" ⁴). The actor was destitute in his old age, and he was almost eighty when several generous persons provided for his remaining days.

One of the very best actors active at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was Stoopendaal, who made his debut there on April 5, 1808. He was inimitable in domestic dramas requiring tender and emotional acting, but he was also effective in comedies and farces. His playing was always natural and refined. His diction, which was free from any dialectic peculiarities, was the envy of all. Klikspaan states that the acting of the company received its *coup de grâce* with his death. On the stage Stoopendaal reminded him of the abdicated king, Willem I, "as we used to see him in the days of trust when he returned from his morning walks through the *Haag-*

¹) *De Spectator*, III, p. 147.

²) Klikspaan, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

³) *De Spectator*, I, p. 146.

⁴) *Tooneel-Almanak*, 1875, p. 264.

sche Bosch, supported by his daughter's arm" ¹⁾). Among his outstanding rôles were the head forester in Iffland's *De jagers*, Lieutenant Stern in *De Speler*, Klinker in *Het Puntdicht*, Peter Plum in *Armoede en Grootheid*, Baron Stuhlbein in *De Pagiestreeken*, Von Langsalm in *De Verwarring*, Krelis Louwen, and Thomasvaer. He died on February 18, 1841.

His wife made her début at The Hague on September 13, 1808, in the rôle of Lisbeth in Zubli's *Gesner*. Like her husband she was excellent in domestic plays, especially those of Iffland and Kotzebue, and she was particularly impressive when she appeared in the same piece with him. After his death she suffered a marked decline of her ability. Some of her characteristic parts were Madame Dahl in *De erfenis*, Amalia von Wertheim in *De moeder des huisgezins, of Is er geene orde voor edele huisvrouwen?*, Frau von Arlstein in *Het bezoek, of de zucht tot uitblinken*, Wilhelmine Böttcher in *De onechte zoon* (all by Kotzebue), and Vrouw Margriet in A. P. Muller-Westerman's *De admiraal Piet Hein te Delfshaven*. Few actresses ever appeared at the same theatre as long as she did at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. On December 8, 1837, she took the part of Madame Müller in *Menschenhaat en berouw* for the last time, and on January 1, 1855, that of Badeloch ²⁾). On April 18, 1856, she observed the fiftieth anniversary of her début at The Hague with a performance of Birch-Pfeiffer's *Eene familie*. On this occasion she received many valuable gifts from persons of high rank. Six years later, on April 1, 1862, she retired from the stage, celebrating her fifty-fifth anniversary with a revival of Kotzebue's *Het Puntdicht*, followed by a cantata especially composed for the occasion. She died on May 5, 1865, nearly eighty-two years old.

Of Willem, the son of Ward Bingley, little that is praiseworthy can be reported. During the early years of the period he was still an *élève*. After the death of his father in 1818 he and Hoedt became the directors of the company. Bingley played leading and secondary parts in many different types of plays. He filled many of his father's best rôles, including Hamlet, Othello, Nero, and Don Carlos, but he was more in his element when he played such melodramatic parts as the Count of Monte Christo, Ducange's gambler,

¹⁾ Klikspaan, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

²⁾ She had played the part of Gijsbrecht's wife for the first time forty years before.

or Pierre, the pilot in *De schipbreuk der Medusa*. During the 'Twenties and 'Thirties he was a fairly conscientious actor, it seems, but the *Spectator* had few good words for him from the very beginning of the periodical's appearance. He was often chastised for not knowing his parts and for repeating the same words when he could not remember what followed. As Robert in the French melodrama based on Schiller's *Die Räuber* he was too fierce and made inappropriate gestures. He had not learned that good acting requires more than hurling one's arms through the air and uttering the most unimportant words in a stentorian voice ¹⁾. As Doctor Wespe he yelled, spluttered, jumbled his lines, and was generally unintelligible. His manner was uncouth, and his costume bizarre and in bad taste ²⁾. Only his performance of the title rôle of *Gaston van Frankrijk* by Arnould and Fournier received some words of commendation. His expression upon the removal of the iron mask from his face was such that none could behold it without being stirred ³⁾.

Bingley was obliged to retire from his post in the early part of 1844. The reason is nowhere clearly stated. The *Spectator* reports that Bingley's behavior during the performance of *De kruisvaarders* in February, 1844, shocked all people of sensibilities present. As a result the directors were called before Baron van Grovestins, the intendant of the royal theatres. The reviewer expresses the hope that Bingley will be prevented from making many more stage appearances and thanks the Baron for his interest in the Dutch theatre ⁴⁾. From an account of a Rotterdam performance given in the same month we learn that the evening was a veritable scandal. The author suggests that Bingley was indisposed, else his queer behavior would be difficult to explain. He mangled his part, talked in such a way that no one could understand him, and twice failed to appear on the stage at the right time ⁵⁾. In a report dated February 27, 1844, it is announced that the Baron finally put an end to a scandal which had long disgusted visitors to the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. The removal of Bingley is considered a great step forward, and Hoedt, who continued as director, is given words of

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, I, p. 138.

²⁾ *ibid.*, II, p. 195.

³⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 167.

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, III, p. 131.

⁵⁾ *ibid.*, III, p. 133.

advice. Unless dignified performances of good plays are given, he will have to be content with the type of public which is now dominant and which noisily encouraged Bingley to follow the road leading to bitter contrition ¹⁾). Perhaps Bingley was given to swigging. He died not long after his retirement.

His colleague Hoedt was born in 1779. At the age of twenty he was already one of the stage-managers of Ward Bingley's company. He apparently took his directorial duties more seriously than his brother-in-law, for he is reported to have striven for a good ensemble and to have given some attention to the training of young artists. But it may be doubted whether his efforts went much beyond insisting that his players properly memorize their parts, for one writer states that he seldom removed his Gouda pipe while rehearsing a play from a box seat ²⁾). His death in September, 1846, resulted from mouth cancer, said to have developed from an infection caused by his beloved pipe. He, too, played parts of all sorts, from Fénelon to Fritz Hurlebusch, but he appeared in serious rôles less often than Bingley, and he rarely took leading parts except in comedies and farces. Like his wife, he continued to impersonate youthful characters long after he was much too old for them. He played the irresponsible page in *De pagiestreeken* on February 17, 1835, although he was fifty-five at the time. The *Spectator* states that his acting of young Warning in Kotzebue's *Het puntlicht* showed that he must have been excellent in the part twenty-five years before ³⁾). He is praised for his performance of old Germany in *Dertig jaren, of het leven van een dobbelaar*, where he proved his ability to be convincing in graybeard rôles. The conviction is expressed that he would be excellent in certain parts played by the late Stoopendaal ⁴⁾).

His wife, Johanna Cornelia Bingley, was born in 1785. She could sing as well as act, and she embellished many a program with operatic arias, especially during the 'Twenties. Two singing parts which she often filled were *Preciosa* and "het vrouwtje van den Donau". The *Spectator* praises her Ubaldo's wife and her Badeloch, but in a review of another performance of *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*

¹⁾ *ibid.*, III, pp. 144 ff.

²⁾ *Tooneel-Almanak*, 1876, p. 288.

³⁾ *De Spectator*, I, p. 69.

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 177.

she is criticized for also reciting the chorus of the *Edelingen*: "Waer wert oprechter trouw . . .", thus glorifying her own virtues ¹⁾. J. C. Hoedt was one of those actresses who cannot realize that they, too, are growing old and who insist on playing *jeune première* rôles till the very end of their careers. The *Spectator* was shocked by her antics and unseemly costume as Zuma, the noble-hearted Indian maid, in the Dutch drama of that name, a part hardly appropriate for a woman already in her sixtieth year ²⁾. When she said farewell to the stage on December 12, 1849, celebrating her fiftieth anniversary at the same time, she played Dorine in Molière's *Tartuffe!* Some of her outstanding rôles were Emilia Galotti; Luise in *Kabaal en liefde*; Montigni's wife; Antonia in Ziegler's *De groote wereld en goedhartigheid*; Theresa, the orphan of Geneva; Griselda; the Mary Stuart of P. Lebrun; Josephine in *Armoede en grootheid*, and, toward the end of her career, Hamlet's mother and Mistress Morton in Birch-Pfeiffer's *Nacht en morgen*.

J. Tjasink, a talented actor whom Hoedt had invited to The Hague, remained there only two seasons. He began his professional career at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* in 1843 when he was already thirty-four years old, and came to the court city in 1845. The *Spectator* considered him fair in parts giving expression to violent passions but found him wanting in plays where the actors were expected to display tender feelings and emotions. In these his voice was apt to be monotonous and his bearing stiff. But he possessed an unequaled *bonhomie* which made him especially effective in military parts. He was excellent as Orgon and Thomasvaer, and the *Spectator* expressed the not very flattering hope that he would one day excel in the interpretation of comical characters belonging to the lower classes of French society ³⁾. It is reported that Tjasink went to The Hague in the hope of becoming a director of the company with Hoedt, but with the arrival of Anton Peters he decided to return to Amsterdam. Both were ambitious, and there was not room enough for the two on the same stage.

A not uncommon phenomenon at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was the presence — at various times throughout the greater part of the period — of several players belonging to the same family. In

¹⁾ *ibid.*, V, p. 72.

²⁾ *ibid.*, V, p. 68.

³⁾ *ibid.*, VI, p. 17.

the 'Twenties the playbills often bring the names of three women, probably sisters, A., C., and M. Kok. They appeared mostly in minor rôles. A little later one comes across the names of four brothers, A., E., J., and P. van der Grijp. With the exception of A. van der Grijp, these men were members of the company for periods of considerable length. E. van der Grijp was at The Hague from about 1826 to 1862 when he joined the company of Boas and Judels in Amsterdam. He seems to have been the only one of the four not completely without talent. The *Spectator* found him insufferable in *jeune premier* parts, in which he was as relaxed and graceful as a broomstick. His dependence on the prompter was also frequently lamented. But in *niais* rôles, as a rustic lover, an awkward servant, a stupid peasant, he could be very good. According to the *Spectator*, nature had not treated him in a stepmotherly fashion, and he lacked only ambition to become a capable actor; but he was content with himself and the world as long as he could collect his salary at regular intervals ¹⁾. J. van der Grijp celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his *début* at The Hague on February 5, 1861, and he was still with the company in 1876. The *Spectator* called him a *volmaakte klaas* (complete boor) and found him tolerable only in graybeard parts ²⁾. P. van der Grijp made his *début* in April, 1835, and remained at The Hague about twenty-five years. Like his brother E. van der Grijp, he was occasionally entertaining in a comedy rôle in a French vaudeville, but on the whole his acting, too, was exaggerated and heavy.

With the arrival of Anton Peters in 1846 the company gained some new actors, but none of these was particularly distinguished with the exception of Mevrouw Naret Koning, who, however, died only eleven months after she came to The Hague. An accomplished singer as well as actress, she had left the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* chiefly because of the rivalry existing there between her, van Ollefen-da Silva, and Engelman-Bia, but her delicate constitution was not equal to the strain of the weekly journeys which the company at The Hague had to make ³⁾. Her loss was only partly

¹⁾ *ibid.*, IV, p. 221.

²⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 118.

³⁾ A performance was given for the benefit of her children, but not until two months after her death, and directly succeeding the kermis offerings. The *Kunstchroniek*, VII, 1846-47, p. 69, took Anton Peters severely to task for this tardiness and for not participating in the evening's program. He should at least have shown his respect for the deceased artist by reciting a few verses.

replaced by Mevrouw van Ollefen-da Silva, whose début took place on June 22, 1847, when she played Elisabeth in the *Twee Tudors* by H. J. Schimmel. The *Spectator* accuses her of declaiming instead of acting and of never being natural except "by accident" ¹⁾. As Frédégonde in the *Macbeth* of Ducis she died in prima donna fashion and not in the manner of a tragédienne. The Hague also saw her as Maria Ruichaver in *Joan Woutersz*, the Duchess of Marlborough in *Een glas water*, and Chimène in *De Cid*. Her husband, whom Peters had also invited to the court city, appeared chiefly in marqué parts. As an *homme du monde* he was impossible, but he was quite at ease in the rôle of a beggar or fisherman. He liked to bellow, and he rarely knew his lines.

Another actor whom Peters brought to The Hague was Balthasar Breedé, later one of the co-directors of the company. He had been with the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* for twenty-four years when he left there in the spring of 1846. As an actor he was not particularly distinguished, although he was not to be despised as a *père noble*. He died on December 19, 1858.

Anton Peters, who had been one of the directors of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* before coming to The Hague, is said to have been bent on ruining the theatre in the capital and on establishing his own company as the best ensemble in Holland. The people of Amsterdam never quite forgave him for inducing Naret Koning to leave them. At any rate, his efforts to assemble a good company at The Hague met with little success. After the death of Naret Koning and Tjasink's return to Amsterdam, the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was still a humdrum affair indeed. In the person of Anton Peters, however, it gained the best actor it had had in several decades.

Peters received his stage experience at a time when declaiming had taken the place of acting. The pseudo-classical dramas of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries were considered the loftiest products of the dramatic muse, and to recite with heavy pathos the long rodomontades they contained was regarded as the peak of the actor's art. As long as Peters had a youthful temperament, a fine figure, and a silvery voice he was able to bewitch his audiences, but when these were gone, when his playing of tawdry melodramatic rôles had done irreparable harm to his vocal organs,

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, VII, p. 238.

only routine remained. There was no trace of any analysis of character in his interpretations. When he tried to break away from tradition and to present the true Shakespeare instead of the empty adaptations of Ducis, he failed miserably. His playing of Shakespeare made it apparent that his art had no relation to life. It was totally devoid of truth.

No doubt Peters was the greatest Dutch actor of his day, but this is scant praise when one considers that the great majority of his colleagues were mediocrities. An amusing epitaph well expresses the opinion which the critical gentry held of him, provided the accent is placed on the last word:

Hier ligt Peters,
Wij hadden niets beters ¹⁾.

The *Spectator* rebukes him severely for reciting his lines with distressing rapidity in youthful parts and for often raising his voice in the middle of a sentence for no apparent reason. His elegant acting as Bolingbroke in *Een glas water* is highly praised, but in the rôle of Macbeth he looked more like Lazarus the herdsman or Duncange's gambler at the end of his thirty years of suffering ¹⁾.

A different and kindlier view of Peters is expressed by the dramatist H. J. Schimmel, who was a close acquaintance of the actor for many years. Certain features of his plays were considered daring and even revolutionary by his compatriots, but the following lines on Peters disclose a conservative attitude which still differentiated rigidly between the acting of a tragedy and that of a drama. "Already at the beginning of his career his relative physical weakness caused him to leave the course taken by his predecessors. Because of his eagerness to win the applause of the Amsterdam public, his voice is no longer wholly clear; but it is flexible and runs the whole gamut of human emotions. . . . Plainly perceiving the nature of the genre to which he had restricted himself, Peters decided to adopt a manner of acting chiefly by means of gestures, which helped to make him the great artist that he is today. He realized that he would never become a tragedian, that he lacked the physical stature needed to represent a giant or demigod, and that his voice had to yield in volume to many of his

¹⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, II, 1873, p. 1.

²⁾ *De Spectator*, VIII, p. 212.

inferiors, who were able to recite, or rather to bellow, alexandrines in the old manner. Peters could not be a tragedian, hence he became a player of dramas; he is no declaimer, but essentially an actor in the highest sense of the word" ¹⁾).

Peters returned to the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* in 1853, but in 1869 he was again at The Hague, where, as *grande utilité*, he had to fill secondary parts in plays which had once provided him with stellar rôles. In the early 'Seventies he became insane and had to be taken to the Oude St. Joris Hospital in Delft, where he died in 1872. Peters had a very good opinion of himself. He could not live without applause, and in Amsterdam he sometimes resorted to clagues who shouted "Peters! Peters!" and called him out at the end of the performance. In those days curtain calls were very rare, and the actor aroused the disgust of the critics because he tried to make them an institution. Peters was extremely ambitious, and when he realized that his popularity was decreasing rather than increasing, he became irritable and spiteful, although he was by no means a selfish, unsympathetic character.

Among the parts which he played frequently at The Hague between 1846 and 1853 were Hamlet; August van Loon in *De Neven*; Adel; Don César de Bazan; Philip, the hero of *Nacht en morgen*; the poet in *Laurierboom en bedelstaf*; Joan Woutersz, and the stranger in *Menschenhaat en berouw*.

A gifted young actress who became prominent during the directorship of Peters was Suze Sablairolles. She was born in 1829 and was already playing minor parts in the early 'Forties. Her first opportunity to fill an important rôle came on December 26, 1847, when she substituted for her sister Mina, whom illness prevented from playing the part of Maritana, the gypsy street-singer in *Don César de Bazan*. The *Spectator* reported that she acquitted herself successfully of the task ²⁾). In the early 'Fifties she frequently sang the part of Preciosa, which her sisters Mina and Henriette were also able to fill. Suze was not particularly attractive in appearance, but she had an expressive face and lovely eyes. In emotional rôles she was extremely effective because she was always natural and knew the value of restraint. At The Hague she appeared

¹⁾ H. J. Schimmel, "De dichter in de maatschappij" in the *Kunst-kroniek*, 1850, X, pp. 70 ff.

²⁾ *De Spectator*, VII, p. 242.

chiefly in vaudevilles and short comedies and farces in which her naiveté and innocence charmed all. She also played Juliet to Peters' Romeo.

The noonday of her glory did not come until after 1853, when she had left The Hague with her friend August Morin. These two always appeared in the same companies. He had made his début at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* in 1848, but considerable time was to elapse before he established his reputation as a *raisonneur* and elderly comic. During his sojourn in the court city he was not free from disturbing mannerisms, acquired by appearing in too many vaudevilles. He acted, among other parts, Krelis to Suze's Elsje, Masham the page, in *Een glas water*, Fritz Hurlebusch in *De verwarring*, Paul von Husch in *De pagiestreeken*, and Oscar in *De jong gehuwde franschman* by Mazères.

During the last two decades of the period a family régime held sway at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. From the autumn of 1853 on, the personnel included at one time or another Mina Sablairolles, who was the wife of the director Valois, her sisters Sophie and Henriette, and their husbands, H. G. Kiehl and J. van Korlaar, who were both mainstays of the company. Mevrouw Valois-Sablairolles had three daughters, Johanna, Lina, and Mina, whose names appeared on the playbills in the latter part of the 'Sixties. Lina married Derk Haspels, and Mina Jan C. de Vos. These two men were also active at The Hague for a number of years. Willem, the son of the Van Korlaars, who later became the *directeur-gérant* of the organization *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, played minor rôles at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* at the beginning of his career ¹).

The Van Korlaars made their début with the company in the autumn of 1853, but they were no longer in The Hague after 1861. The Kiehls were introduced in 1855, but Sophie's name does not appear frequently on the playbills after 1860. Her husband, however, was an active member of the company until 1876. He served mostly as a "heavy", but he was seen in comical and aged parts as well, including Thomasvaer, Robert Macaire in *Robert en Bertrand*, Hippeldanz in *Het puntlicht*, and Franz in *Menschenhaat en berouw*. He was also an industrious translator and adaptor of plays and even dramatized two popular novels, *Les Misérables* and *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

¹) M. B. Mendes da Costa, *Tooneelherinneringen*, pp. 5 ff.

Mevrouw Valois-Sablairolles was with the company over forty years, having made her début in the autumn of 1833. Before 1850 she frequently played boy parts, as Casimir in Bouilly's *Berquin*, Ewout Ewouts in *Moederliefde en heldenmoed* by A. Ruijsch, and the orphan in Westerman's *Het Ontzet der stad Leiden*. The *Spectator* considered her the one hope of the Dutch theatre, although her occasional overacting and her habit of panting in tense moments met with strong disapproval ¹⁾. In vocal parts she appears to have been less successful. One reviewer deplored her ruinous singing in the title rôle of *Preciosa* and begged the management not to let her sing any more arias ²⁾. For once the *Spectator's* advice was heeded, for Mina Sablairolles did not fill the part after 1843, although the company had no one during the next years capable of singing it. In another review she was praised for always knowing her rôles and for serving as a second prompter to those nearest her! ³⁾ The critic regretted that she wasn't given more parts worthy of her great talents. Although A. M. Gartman, the sister of the distinguished actress Kleine-Gartman, had become a member of the company later than Mina, she was being pushed to the fore regardless of the fact that she was her inferior in emotional rôles. But from 1854 on, when her husband had become the director of the company, Valois-Sablairolles reigned supreme. She could have any part for the asking, and until the end of the period she played coy maidens, married women, and old mothers indiscriminately. The critics of *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* were less enthusiastic about her than those of *De Spectator*, and one of them compared her unfavorably with her younger sister, the late Suze Sablairolles. She reminds one of her teacher, Mevrouw Hoedt, who still romped merrily about the stage when she was past fifty. Many of the parts played by her predecessor also belonged to her repertory, as Cora, Badeloch, Montigni's wife, and Amalia in *Fénelon*. Some of the rôles which she introduced to The Hague were Léonie in Scribe's *Een eenige misstap*; Margot, the flower girl (in the play by Anicet-Bourgeois); Adrienne Lecouvreur; Claudie (Sand); Marie-Jeanne (D'Ennery), and Debora (Mosenthal). When the company was disbanded in the spring of 1876, her career was not yet over,

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, III, p. 21.

²⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 23.

³⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 165.

although she was not invited to become a member of the new organization that played in the court city, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* ¹⁾.

Mevrouw Iburg was with the company almost as long as Valois-Sablairolles. She made her début at The Hague on April 14, 1837, and celebrated her sixtieth anniversary as a "priestess of art" on May 5, 1876, saying farewell to the stage at the same time. She was an accomplished singer, but seems to have been a very poor actress, although the critical reaction to her playing differed surprisingly. Ridicule is heaped upon her *vrouwetje van den Donau* — of the eleven parts which she had to play as Hulda, she was convincing in only one, that of the old woman ²⁾. One critic suggests that she become a member of some French opera company. Her Rotterdam dialect, her homely face, and general resemblance to a fishwife, he finds, make her utterly preposterous in rôles requiring elegance and dignity ³⁾; but elsewhere she is lauded for her natural way of talking which contrasts agreeably with the affected speech of her colleagues, whose pronunciation was based on the printed word and who were still hesitant to say *je* for *u* and *me* for *mij* ⁴⁾. Another critic, writing more than twenty years later, expresses admiration for her performance of an aristocratic old English lady ⁵⁾. That her appearance was not very attractive seems undeniable, however, for she was already playing grandmother rôles in 1847, almost thirty years before her retirement. For many years she was the Pieternel of the company.

Although the *Haagsche Schouwburg* was blessed or cursed with an abundance of sexagenarian and septuagenarian actresses, there were happy exceptions, of course. Such a one was Mejuffrouw Angélique Picéni, who was at The Hague from 1850 to 1872. For the season of 1872–73 she was a member of the company of Albregt and D. van Ollefen in Rotterdam, but she returned to the court city the following year and remained there until 1875, when a profitable marriage enabled her to end her stage career. Unfortunately nature had not endowed her with a strong voice, but

¹⁾ "Ecce" gives an unprejudiced estimate of her talents in *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, p. 302 f.

²⁾ *De Spectator*, I, p. 49.

³⁾ *ibid.*, I, p. 68.

⁴⁾ *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 214 ff.

⁵⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, III, 1874, p. 292.

it probably met the exigencies of such a small auditorium as the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. She was the darling of the public, which was not satisfied unless it could see her in a soubrette rôle after the conclusion of a serious drama. She was also good in *grande dame* parts ¹⁾. Some of the parts in which she distinguished herself were Klaasje Zevenster, Frou-frou, Fernande, and Marco in *Vrouwen zonder hart* by Th. Barrière.

The actor who replaced Anton Peters was Daan W. van Ollefen. He made his début at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* on October 18, 1853, and remained there until the season of 1856-57. He was engaged for the sum of 1500 gulden with the assurance of an additional 200 for a benefit performance. Later he received 2000 gulden (about 800 dollars), but when his request for an increase of 500 was refused, he left the theatre ²⁾. He appeared in many of the parts which Peters had filled. Many considered him his equal and even rated his interpretation of the demented poet in *Laurierboom en bedelstaf* above that of Peters. He was esteemed so highly by the subscribers that they presented him with a watch and chain at the conclusion of a performance of Dumanoir's melodrama *De oude korporaal*, a play greatly admired in the military-minded court city. His dashing appearance caused many a female heart to flutter, but he ceased to make much of an impression in the theatrical world once he was too old to play *jeune premier* parts.

Peters is said to have behaved meanly toward van Ollefen. Although he was again playing at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, he was still residing in The Hague, where he found pleasure in deprecating his rival's abilities and in spreading insidious rumors about him. He tried to heap ridicule upon him by constantly referring to him as a dancer, for van Ollefen had begun his stage career as a member of the ballet at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, and he never failed to prophesy his imminent downfall whenever he heard that his successor was about to essay some rôle in which he, Peters, had once dazzled the public at The Hague ³⁾.

In 1857 the company gained a valuable addition in the person

¹⁾ Da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²⁾ A. D. de Vries, *In en om den Schouwburg*, p. 27 of the Supplement. D. van Ollefen joined the company of Boas and Judels in Amsterdam, who had offered him 3000 gulden. Apparently other companies were able to pay higher salaries than J. C. Valois although they received no subsidy and enjoyed no special privileges.

³⁾ A. D. de Vries, *op. cit.*, p. 24 of the Supplement.

of Victor Driessens, who remained at The Hague as stage-manager until 1863. His repertory was small, consisting almost entirely of melodramas, but his acting was more realistic than was common at the time. His influence on his colleagues was beneficial, for he took great pains in training others, especially talented beginners whom he had discovered. Among the players who owed their success to him during the last three decades of the century were Jaap Haspels, Sophie de Vries, and Catharina Beersmans. Some of his most popular rôles were the Jean Calas of Ducange; Syndicus Moorland in Kotzebue's *De lasteraar*; the rag-picker of Paris; Jean Valjean; the old corporal of Dumanoir, and the juggler Beaujolais of D'Ennery and Brésil. Not only was Driessens' repertory limited, he also greatly reduced the number of words in each part, trying to express as much as possible by mimicry. His pantomime was so effective that he could stir his audience in situations wherein other actors would have appeared thoroughly ridiculous. This is well illustrated by an accident which happened one evening when *Paillas*, a melodrama by D'Ennery and Fournier, was presented. In one scene Driessens, who played the title rôle, was seen in an attic where the family wash had been hung up to dry. Having discovered that his wife had forsaken him, he extended his hand to grasp some garment with which to wipe away his tears. Unfortunately Driessens caught hold of a pair of drawers, but his acting was so moving that nobody laughed as he dried his eyes with them ¹⁾. Da Costa, however, was less impressed by his mimicry than most critics, for he claimed that it depended largely on three or four gestures which the actor repeated constantly: wildly running his hand through his hair, furtively wiping away a tear, forcing his collar or tie open in moments of great emotional stress ²⁾. It was said of him that he had a special sort of tie made for his rôles in melodramas. Da Costa's description of Driessens' appearance is most unflattering: he was stout, had thick lips, a heavy double chin, a big wart on the right side of his nose, which his make-up could not hide, and impossible ears with extremely long lobes ³⁾. In gentleman parts he was very unconvincing.

¹⁾ Het Tooneel, XXVI, 1897-98, p. 95.

²⁾ Da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³⁾ *ibid.*, p. 98.

An amusing anecdote of Driessens is told by the actor Faassen. "Once I played an afterpiece, *The Two Zouaves*, with Mejuffrouw C. van Velzen (later my wife). The main offering of the evening had lasted longer than we had expected, and the public was anxious to go home. In the middle of the vaudeville the audience thought, "Now they will be happily united", and a part of it began to get up and put on its coats. Driessens, who still had a lovely scene to play, became angry, walked up to the front of the stage, and said loudly, "We're not through yet!" The amazed public, which was fond of Driessens and realized that it had been mistaken, became quiet and sat down. When the end had been reached, Driessens shouted, "The performance is over. Run along now!" He was called back. Now the audience refused to go away before it had seen him once again" ¹⁾.

Rosier Faassen appeared with the company for the first time in 1851 and remained at The Hague until 1876. Born in 1833, he had played with French companies for a number of years before becoming a Dutch actor. He succeeded Victor Driessens as the stage-manager of the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. Faassen was one of the best Dutch comics of the 'Sixties and 'Seventies. His dry humor was based on the close observation of common people in everyday life. His well-thought-out characterizations were somewhat strident at times, a trifle exaggerated, but they were nevertheless brilliantly true. Among his best parts were Rodin in Sue's *De wandelende Jood*, Doctor Peschke, Bittermann in *Menschenhaat en berouw*, the organ grinder in Birch-Pfeiffer's *De orgeldraaier en zijn pleegdochter*, Bertrand in *Robert en Bertrand*, and the buyer of old clothes in O. F. Berg's *De oudekleerkooper, of een vriend in den nood*. His predilection for parts portraying Jewish characters corroborates the surmise expressed in his autobiography that he probably had Jewish blood in his veins ²⁾. He achieved some of his greatest successes in his own plays, the parts of which were composed with himself and acting members of his family in mind. — On December 14, 1875, he celebrated his twenty-fifth stage anniversary with a

¹⁾ Rosier Faassen, *Mijn Leven*, pp. 80 ff.

²⁾ At the beginning of his autobiography Faassen states that he has some French and German blood in his veins, which is kept under control by his Dutch blood, and that there is probably also some Jewish blood in him, "which would explain my hooked nose and my partiality for the Jewish race". He adds, "In regard to religion, I am extremely tolerant. I respect everybody's conviction and I keep my own".

performance of Molière's *De vrek* and his own dramatic sketch *Blonde Mietje*.

Faassen was the head of another large family prominent at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. In the early 'Sixties the names of three sisters, C., K., and M. van Velzen, frequently appeared on the playbills. C. van Velzen made her début at The Hague in 1859 and married Rosier Faassen in 1863. One of her sisters married the actor Spoor, who was also a member of the company. Occasionally the name of van Velzen preceded by some other initial is listed on a playbill. In the last fifteen years of the period the company at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* consisted largely of two families, the van Velzens and the Sablairrolles. Where such nepotism held sway, a good ensemble could not develop.

C. R. H. Spoor made his début at The Hague on May 13, 1857, in Séjour's *Ben Leil, de zoon der duisternis*. He celebrated his twenty-fifth stage anniversary in 1874 with *De Speler* by Iffland, a choice which met with the strong disapproval of the periodical *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*. "Such products of the periwig period we have outgrown." Spoor's interpretation of the gambling baron was warmly praised, however; Faassen was excellent as the hateful Von Posert, and Mevrouw Valois found a thankful rôle in the part of the tearful baroness ¹⁾. At The Hague he also played the stranger in *Menschenhaat en berouw*, the Count of Monte Christo, the poet in *Laurierboom en bedelstaf*, and Charles Sternay in *De natuurlijke zoon* of Dumas fils.

Two brothers who appeared with the company for a few seasons toward the end of the period were Jaap and Derk Haspels. The former's introduction to the actor's profession is more or less characteristic of the way in which many a Dutch actor of the Nineteenth Century who was not born into a family of players began his dramatic career ²⁾. In his youth he had learned the trade of his father, a humble shoemaker. The stage attracted him, but he did not dare to give up his work, for he knew that his father was strongly opposed to the theatrical profession. Finally, however, life began to be unendurable to him, and he told his troubles to Victor Driessens, who permitted him to make two appearances as an amateur at The Hague in the early part of 1858. Encouraged

¹⁾ *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, IV, p. 1874-75, p. 192.

²⁾ *ibid.*, XVIII, 1888-89, pp. 108 ff.

by the approval of his advisor, he turned his back on his trade, and on November 14, 1858, he made his début at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* in a melodrama from the French. He was at that time already twenty-eight years old. His previous training had been obtained solely with amateur societies. In those days the determination to become an actor and the good will of some person of influence in the theatrical world sufficed to launch one on a professional career. Haspels, who usually played *marqué* parts, stayed with the company about two years before he went to Rotterdam.

Derk, his younger brother, was a more talented artist. Although he had been greatly influenced by the natural, realistic acting of Victor Driessens, he was not very effective in melodramas, for he lacked the powerful voice and the broadness of mimicry needed for this type of play. He was excellent in comedies and farces, however, especially when he had to impersonate an aristocrat. His subtle characterizations were the result of thorough study and detailed composition ¹⁾. Typical parts which he played at The Hague were the marquis in Sandeau's *Hélène de la Seiglière*, the prince in Sardou's *Rabagas*, Raphael in *Vrouwen zonder hart*, and August in *De Neven*. Derk was at The Hague about five years from 1867 on.

When the company was dissolved in 1876, only four of its players were invited to join the new organization that replaced it, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*. Mevrouw E. Denis-Knijp was engaged for servant and Wilhelmina Valois (a daughter of the director and the leading lady) for ingénue parts. C. R. H. Spoor, although middle-aged, continued as *jeune premier*, and C. P. T. Bigot, who had been at The Hague since 1870, became the leading comic of the new company.

Not all the more important members of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* have been discussed, but enough have been presented to show that the company was never a very distinguished one. It attained its lowest levels during the final years of Willem Bingley's management and during the last two and a half decades of the period. It was probably at its best from 1804 to 1818 when Ward Bingley was the director, and for some years after this while

¹⁾ *ibid.*, XXXII '902-1903, pp. 112 ff.

his influence was still felt, and again in the late 'Forties and early 'Fifties when Anton Peters brought a breath of fresh air with him. After Ward Bingley Anton Peters was no doubt the outstanding performer the company could boast, but he was too much the virtuoso type of actor to make a very capable director. Such men as Peters are welcome guests, but it is dangerous to entrust them with the management of a company. Talented actors were not lacking during the last twenty years of the period, as, for example, Spoor, Derk Haspels, Faassen, and Angélique Picéni, but the majority of the players were men and women of routine, slaves to a sterile tradition.

FIFTH CHAPTER

GUESTS

The successive directors of the Dutch company did not tire of averring through the medium of the playbills that their chief aim was to please the revered public and that they balked at no expense of time and money to bring it the varied kind of entertainment that lovers of the best in theatrical art demand. To this end opera ensembles, Dutch companies from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, groups of German players, outstanding actors from other parts of Holland and from abroad, famous singers, pianists and violinists, musical child prodigies, dancers, trapeze artists, skaters, prestidigitators, animal trainers, etc., etc., were frequently invited by them to entertain at the Korte Voorhout. The following pages present a selection of the companies and artists that appeared at The Hague, only those having been included who were often seen there, or who played an important part in the theatrical and musical life of their day, or who are simply interesting as curiosities that reflect the taste of the times.

Operas were frequently presented under the aegis of the Dutch directors, chiefly during the late spring and the early summer when the regular company was playing elsewhere. The company that visited The Hague most often before 1830 was a group of Amsterdam Jews under the direction of J. H. Dessauer. The singers presented operas in German, among others by Cimarosa, Paisiello, Mozart, Rossini, and Meyerbeer. In the early years of the period the actors of Ward Bingley sometimes assumed a part of the evening's entertainment in case the Jewish company visited The Hague on a Saturday. A newspaper advertisement of an operatic performance given in August, 1808, informs the reader that "since this company cannot begin before half-past seven because of the Sabbath, the players of Bingley will open the

program with *Clemence and Waldemar* by Pelletier Volmeranges at the usual hour of six”.

J. H. Dessauer was also the director of a group of Jewish children not yet in their “teens” who occasionally presented operas, for the most part comic operas, at The Hague. These young artists gave regular Saturday performances during the entire months of June, July, and August of 1823. The playbill for June 14, 1823, states that they will present *Theseus and Ariadne*, a grand opera in one act by Rossini, “expressly composed for this company”. The truth of this assertion may be doubted, for it is confirmed by none of the Rossini biographies.

In the first decade of the period actors from the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, including Th. J. Majofski and Madame Kamphuizen, occasionally gave operas by Grétry, Cherubini, and others at The Hague. In August and September of 1829 a German company from Amsterdam under the direction of J. Frisch presented Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, Weber’s *Der Freischütz*, Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville*, and Spohr’s *Faust*.

After 1830 the number of operatic performances under the auspices of the Dutch management greatly diminished, owing no doubt to the excellence of the French opera company at The Hague during the next twenty odd years. In the first two months of 1853 an Italian company offered operas by Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti ¹⁾. In the ‘Fifties a German opera company under the management of A. van Lier, which played at the *Grand Théâtre des Variétés* in Amsterdam, occasionally presented works of Mozart, Weber, Flotow, and Lortzing at The Hague, and in the ‘Sixties another ensemble of van Lier introduced some of the operettas of Jacques Offenbach.

As these operas were frequently given with a shorter musical play, surprising combinations sometimes resulted. An extraordinary one occurred on July 7, 1830, when a company from Cologne and Düsseldorf offered a vaudeville by Louis Angely, *Die Sieben Mädchen in Uniform*, after a performance of Beethoven’s *Fidelio!*

While one may be sure that not a few of the productions mentioned above were mediocre and worse, the public of The Hague

¹⁾ During the season of 1852–53 The Hague was without a French opera company.

did become acquainted with many of the operatic masterpieces. The operas it saw were usually on a higher plane, musically, than were, dramatically, the plays given by the Dutch company.

The soloists who were invited by the directors as "added attractions" rarely presented their part of the program separately. They were obliged to scatter their offerings over the entire evening, appearing between plays and even between acts. A program given on March 31, 1846, by Alfred Jaell, a thirteen year old pianist, is typical. The evening began with the first three acts of a drama, after which the pianist played a fantasy by Thalberg on a motive from the Bellini opera *La Sonnambule*. Then came the fourth act of the play and the intermission. The second half of the program was opened with a group of compositions played by Master Jaell, including his own *Ode to the Rhine* and a piece entitled *Fly, Bird, Fly!* The evening ended with the fifth act of the drama. The play-bill does not fail to state that the piano used came from the factory of Eck and Lefebvre in Cologne.

Probably the most distinguished musical guest of the Dutch company was the famous violin virtuoso Henri Wieniawski, who played on three evenings in April, 1856. He was then twenty-one years old. On his first program he offered Mendelssohn's E minor concerto and a set of variations, *Di tanti palpiti*, by Paganini. The actors performed J. Poole's comedy *Simpson and Company* and a vaudeville from the French. One wonders what sort of assistance Wieniawski obtained from the orchestra, which, according to several critics, was rarely adequate.

Child prodigies were usually warmly received. They appeared not only alone, but frequently in groups of twos and threes. The greatest stir was caused by the Eichhorn brothers, violinists, who played on five evenings in March, 1836. One of the compositions offered was a concerto on one string by Paganini, performed by Ernst, the older brother, who was fourteen years old. In October, 1871, appeared the De Kearney "family", billed as Europe's youngest virtuosi. It consisted of a girl pianist of six, a cellist of seven, and a violinist of nine years.

The guest actors most frequently seen at The Hague came from the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, which attained its highest artistic level during the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century. They came alone or in groups throughout the entire

period. Among them were some of the greatest actors Holland has produced.

During the first decade and a half occasional appearances were made by Johanna Wattier, Holland's foremost tragédienne, whose genius dazzled Napoleon when in 1811 she played the rôle of Phèdre in his presence in Amsterdam. Talma played opposite her, he in French, she in Dutch. Napoleon, who was accustomed to see the part interpreted by the leading Parisian actress, Madame Duchenois, didn't understand a word of Dutch, but was so much impressed by Wattier's performance that he made her a pensionary of the Théâtre Français with an annuity of two thousand francs. Even more flattering was Talma's statement that he had never met her equal ¹⁾).

In May, 1806, she visited The Hague "by high request", where she presented seven plays with the assistance of Ward Bingley's company. Among them were Voltaire's *Méropé*, Racine's *Phèdre*, the *Macbeth* of Ducis, and J. de Marre's *Jacoba van Beieren*. Wattier left the stage in 1815 at the age of fifty-two and retired to The Hague where she still made an occasional appearance. In March, 1818, she played the title rôle in *Maria van Lalain*, a drama by J. Nomsz, at the instance of the Queen. Bingley filled the part of Alessandro Farnese, the Prince of Parma. On May the first of the same year she interpreted *Méropé* before the whole royal court. The Amsterdam tragedian Jelgerhuis was to play Polifontus, but his sudden illness caused Bingley to substitute for him. It was the last time that he and Wattier played together.

After the death of Ward Bingley, Andries Snoek frequently visited The Hague, usually in the month of May. Snoek was not considered as great an artist as Ward Bingley, but after the latter's death he was without a doubt Holland's foremost actor. During the last years of his life he limited his repertory chiefly to classical or rather pseudo-classical dramas, and with two exceptions he was seen only in such plays at The Hague. He appeared in five tragedies by Voltaire, as Robert Dudley in P. le Brun's *Maria Stuart*, as Orestes in Guymond de la Touche's *Orestes en Pilades (Iphigénie en Tauride)*, as Richard III in a tragedy by W. Haverkorn Jr., *Elizabeth Woodeville, weduwe van Eduard den Vier-*

¹⁾ Johs. Hilman, *Ons Tooneel*, p. 266.

den, Koning van Engeland, and in the title rôles of E. Jouy's *Sylla*, Huydecoper's *Achilles*, and *Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiter* by J. Nomsz. He also interpreted the parts of *Tartuffe* and *Baron von Wallenfeld* in Iffland's *De Speler*.

Snoek died in 1829. On July the seventeenth of that year The Hague saw a performance by the entire company of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, given in honor of the genius of the deceased artist. The program opened with a homage to the memory of Andries Snoek in the form of a theatrical representation by H. van Overvest Kup, decorated with a portrait of "this great dramatic artist, whose supernal talents enraptured the inhabitants of this city only last year and are here remembered with gratitude and pleasure". The entire personnel of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* assisted at this musical homage, which was followed by a two act vaudeville by Maillot, *Mevrouw Angot te Parijs, of de vischvrouw van fortuin (Madame Angot, ou la poissarde parvenue)*, "wherein, following the custom prevailing at French theatres (where this part is given to a man) the rôle of Madame Angot will be filled by the aged Dutch comedian, Mr. Obelt". The evening was concluded with a ballet in three acts which had been performed more than seventy times in Amsterdam, *Arlequin in the service of a sculptor*. It was executed by the *corps de ballet* of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* under the direction of the ballet master A. P. Voitus van Hamme. Truly a memorial performance worthy of a distinguished tragedian!

On May 30, 1834, Jelgerhuis filled the part of Theseus in Racine's *Phèdre* at The Hague. He was assisted by other members of the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, including Mevrouw Muller-Westerman in the title rôle, an actress who also tried her skill at writing plays ¹).

In the spring and summer of 1836 the actress J. M. Naret Koning gave seven guest performances at The Hague, appearing chiefly in singing parts, as *Preciosa* and *Het vrouwtje van den Donau*. In May, June, and July of 1838 she and Anton Peters presented a number of plays. Peters introduced P. T. Helvetius van den Bergh's comedy of character *De Neven* to the court city, and Naret Koning played the leading rôle in

¹) Her "historical" drama *De admiraal Piet Hein te Delfshaven* was staged ten times between 1833 and 1854.

several musical works, including Etienne's "féerie" *Asschepoester* (*Cendrillon*).

Although Peters had aroused considerable ill feeling in 1853 when he had abruptly relinquished his directorship of the Dutch company at The Hague, it was not long before he was back as a welcome guest. In the season of 1854–55 he appeared in a number of dramas of dubious merit, for the most part melodramas. During the following season he was seen as the poet in Holtei's *Laurierboom en bedelstaf*, as King Lear in the Ducis adaptation of Shakespeare's tragedy, and as Don César de Bazan.

On January 10, 1872, actors from the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* presented Ernest Legouvé's *Medea*. The title rôle was taken by Mevrouw Kleine-Gartman, who later became the leading actress of the organization *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*. On May 7, 1874, the Amsterdammers gave Hugo's *Angelo* together with a vaudeville entitled *Papa gaf permissie!*

Only a number of the visits made by actors of the Amsterdam Theatre have been mentioned, but the examples chosen will suffice to show that they helped to improve the theatrical life at The Hague, for they often introduced actors of superior talents and plays not devoid of literary interest to the audiences there. They offered a criterion by which the merits of the local company and its repertory could be judged.

In the 'Sixties a number of performances was given by the company of Boas and Judels, the directors of the *Salon des Variétés* on the Amstelstraat in the capital. A former member of the Dutch company in the court city, E. van der Grijp, assisted at all of them. On September 9, 1866, he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his stage career by appearing in a new vaudeville by A. Ruijsch, *The Uncle from the East Indies, or the Three Prize Artichokes*. In the 'Seventies the company of Victor Driessens, which was then playing regularly at the theatre of Boas and Judels, made a few visits to The Hague. On April 16, 1875, Driessens filled the title rôle in *Tartuffe*, with the talented Catherina Beersmans, one of his many discoveries, in the part of Orgon's daughter, Marianne.

In the season of 1875–76 the Rotterdam company of Le Gras, Haspels and Van Zuylen, the best ensemble in Holland at that time, gave seven performances at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*, where

it presented several plays by Sardou and Labiche, P. T. Helvetius van den Bergh's *De Neven*, and Björnson's *A Bankruptcy*, the only Scandinavian play that reached the theatre in the whole period from 1804 to 1876.

In the 'Fifties and 'Sixties a company under the management of A. van Lier presented a number of plays in German at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. It usually brought with it a "star", for the age of virtuoso acting had begun. People flocked to the theatre to admire some famous guest who traveled from city to city and from country to country, everywhere presenting the same dramatic "vehicles", which permitted him or her to dazzle and overwhelm.

Through the A. van Lier company the audiences at The Hague became acquainted with some of the Schlegel-Tieck translations of Shakespeare. On March 9, 1855, *Othello* was performed with Ira Aldridge, a negro actor, in the title rôle. A week later Aldridge played Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, described by the play-bills as a tragedy in four acts. It was probably given without the lyrical fifth act, in which the "star" could not appear!

On March 5, 1858, Friedrich Haase, a well-known actor who developed his talent under the guidance of Ludwig Tieck, played the title rôle in Brachvogel's drama of the reign of Louis XV, *Narziss*, which was again performed in the late autumn of 1864 with Bogumil Dawison, a Polish actor who had received much of his training with Heinrich Laube, the director of the *Burgtheater*. In May of the same year Emil Devrient appeared in *Hamlet*, translated by A. W. von Schlegel, and in Calderon's *Sigismund, oder das Leben ein Traum*. Devrient was a brilliant but superficial player, who was at his best when he interpreted weaklings. On December 4, 1866, Marie Niemann-Seebach, one of Germany's greatest tragédiennes, played Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust*. In the early part of 1869 she again visited the Hague, this time appearing in an adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* by Deinhardstein, in Scribe's *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, and Schiller's *Maria Stuart*.

In the spring of 1868 the same company offered a number of performances with August Junkermann, one of the leading German comics of his day. He appeared for the most part in farces and vaudevilles by D. Kalisch, K. Blum, A. von Elz, and Gustav zu Putlitz.

The only English companies that came to The Hague during the entire period were seen in 1829. In May a company directed by William Beresfrid Briend (perhaps a misprint) presented *The Stranger*, the English version of Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue*. A Mr. Abbot "of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden" played the misanthropic Meinau.

In November of the same year two performances were given by another English company with Charles John Kean, the eighteen year old son of the great Edmund. The *Haagsche Courant* announces in English, "The public are most respectfully informed that the Company of English Tragedians under the Direction of James R. Aubry will have the honour to give their first representation on Saturday November 14, 1829, when Mr. Kean, Jun. of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane will have the honour to make his first appearance in Home's celebrated Tragedy of *Douglas*; to conclude with the laughable Farce of *Raising the Wind*". Those who attended the second performance, which was given a week later, certainly got their money's worth, for the program offered Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, a tragedy by William West, *A Mock Italian Bravura*, and a one-act farce, *Lovers' Quarrels*.

Besides the actors and musical virtuosi who visited The Hague from time to time, a host of lesser entertainers was invited by the management of the Dutch company to attract the public to the theatre, entertainers of the sort that one associates with the music hall and the night club of today. A selection of amusing examples is herewith presented.

On half a dozen evenings in February and March, 1822, the Ravel family, a famous group of acrobats that also took America by storm, contributed a good share of the entertainment. Their part of the program was usually divided into three sections. The first section consisted of tight-rope dances and exercises executed with and without a balance pole. The playbill descriptions of some of these feats are, "The little god of love, seven years old, will execute a graceful and pleasing dance", "Mr. Ravel will perform a grotesque dance with shackled hands and big baskets on his feet", "Gabriel Ravel, nicknamed the little Chinaman, will amaze the public with his bravery and fearlessness on the cord," "Mr. Ravel, not wont to describe everything which he can accomplish on the cord without a balance pole, in this number submits himself to the

judgment of the august public". The second section presented a pantomime ballet. One of these ballets, *The Two Traveling Chimney-Sweeps, or, The Devil in the Meal Hutch*, was performed by four of the Ravel children, aged seven, eight, nine, and ten years. The final section was a "mimic plastic representation", which consisted of a series of "living pictures", usually creations of the gifted Mr. Ravel. Some of the titles were *The Nocturnal Housebreaking, or, The Trapped Burglars, The Sabine Rape, and The Punch Party*. The playbills stated that these representations were examples of what the ancients called *plastica virtus*. So warm was the reception accorded these artists that they returned to The Hague in May for another six performances.

In July and August, 1831, an athlete, W. F. Wood, was seen in a series of poses representing well-known figures in the realms of Greek mythology and of history. They included the following, "Hercules wrestling with the Nemean lion (in six different positions)", "Horatio inflicting a mortal wound on his enemy", "Hercules receiving the poisoned garment from Diana" (sic!), "Hercules seizing Lichas by the foot and hurling him into the sea", "Samson slaying the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass", and "Mercury winging his way through the air".

In March, 1835, four Hungarian singers appeared twice at The Hague, where they displayed the costumes and sang the songs of their native land. The names of the four were Reich, Rosen, Krans, and Kuhn (all Hungarian names)!

A sensation was caused by Harvio Nano, the Gnome Fly, who visited the court city in 1839. The audiences of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* had repeatedly seen normal persons dressed in animal skin and aping the manners of a monkey or what not, but this man was a genuine freak. The real name of this unfortunate, who was born in Westchester County, New York, in 1804, was Harvey Leach. His legs were no larger than those of a two year old child, but his body was of average size. He died in London in 1847 from maltreatment at the hands of the populace, on whom he attempted (clothed in a close-fitting hairy garment) to palm himself off as a newly discovered nondescript ¹⁾. No other mountebank succeeded in holding the interest of the people in and around The Hague for

¹⁾ Cf. George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, IV, 1834-1843, p. 368.

such a long time as he. His first appearance took place on May 7, 1839, his last on June 18. On the first evening he amazed the audience by climbing from the rear of the stage to the ceiling, along which he walked around the hall until he "flew" back to the stage from the third balcony. Four times he presented a *féerie* in three acts from the French of Rochefort, written expressly for him, *The King of the Bees, or the Dwarf-Magician Almain*. In the title rôle Harvio Nano underwent six transformations, for he appeared as "a bee, a baboon (ourang-outang), a coquette, an ambassador, an infernal spirit, and a butterfly". Of this piece the playbills stated that it had been given fully a hundred times at Drury Lane.

An unusual offering brought throngs to the theatre in November and December, 1844. Madame Josephine Weiss, a ballerina from the Vienna *Hoftheater*, gave half a dozen performances with a ballet consisting of thirty-six girls whose ages ranged from five to fourteen. This group also took New York by storm in 1846-47. Some of the playbills listed the names of the entire ensemble as if to convince the public that the number had not been exaggerated. Both *De Spectator* and the *Kunstchroniek* expressed their righteous indignation at a society that permitted the training of mere infants for stage appearances ¹⁾.

That the management also invited midgets to The Hague need surprise no one. In November, 1829, Jean Piccolo, Jean Petit, and Kiss Jôsz, thirty-four, twenty-nine, and twenty-five inches tall respectively, appeared twice in several vaudevilles played in German. In the spring of the following year the Chinese Prince and Princess Chin Fou Goung participated in two performances of the "folie" *De nalatenschap van Faust*. During the intermission this unhappy couple had to "call on" the spectators in various parts of the theatre. The Prince and Princess Colibri, "dwarfs of Her Majesty, the Queen of England", were seen on several evenings. The prince impersonated Napoleon in a sketch entitled *The Night before the Battle of Austerlitz, or, The Clemency of Napoleon*, imitated classical statues in a series of "academic" poses, and danced a minuet with the princess, both wearing Rococo costumes.

¹⁾ *De Spectator*, V, 1845, p. 71.

On May 17, 1853, M. Saint-Léon and Mlle. Plunkett, formerly *premiers sujets* at the Paris Opera, appeared in "fantastic scenes" entitled *The Violin of the Devil*. In the second *tableau* Mlle. Plunkett took the rôle of a pirouetting angel while her partner, as the fiddling devil, played and danced at the same time.

On November 2, 1862, the *Haagsche Schouwburg* resounded with the din of six Scottish bell ringers in national costume with a battery of one hundred and twenty-five bells.

Considerable stir was created by Professor Herrmann, a famous American prestidigitator, in the spring of 1870. One of his feats bore the title *L'Homme fusilé par quatre hommes et un caporal!* The advertisements of the *Haagsche Dagblad* invited the public to bring its own artillery and ammunition to the theatre so that doubting Thomases might be prevented from suspecting the Professor of making any pre-arrangements for this number.

During the late 'Fifties and the early 'Sixties performances by children were popular at The Hague. The juvenile company most frequently seen was directed by H. C. Verwoert, an actor, whose three daughters belonged to the ensemble. Two of its members, Anna Verwoert and Willem van Zuylen, both born in 1847, became prominent players in the last quarter of the century. Anna, later *Mevrouw Burlage-Verwoert*, was a regular member of the Dutch company at The Hague for a few seasons before her début at the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* in 1867. For very low admission prices the public could see these children perform two or three plays, mostly vaudevilles which also belonged to the repertory of the "Royal Players". The audiences attending these presentations no doubt consisted largely of children, for it is difficult to believe that many adults were willing to sacrifice whole evenings to insipid entertainment of this sort.

Enough examples have been given to show to what a distressingly low level the entertainment at the *Haagsche Schouwburg* sometimes sank. The mountebanks far outnumbered the serious actors and musicians who visited the theatre, and even the distinguished guests were usually more anxious to win popular acclaim than to serve their art. They were virtuosi for the most part who wanted above all to dazzle and overwhelm their audiences.

The following words of the director in the *Vorspiel auf dem*

Theater to Goethe's *Faust* apply singularly well to the management of the Dutch theatre at The Hague during the years from 1804 to 1876.

Besonders aber lasst genug geschehn!
Man kommt zu schaun, man will am liebsten sehn.
Wird vieles vor den Augen abgesponnen,
So dasz die Menge staunend gaffen kann,
Da habt ihr in der Breite gleich gewonnen,
Ihr seid ein vielgeliebter Mann.
Die Masse könnt ihr nur durch Masse zwingen,
Ein jeder sucht sich endlich selbst was aus.
Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen,
Ein jeder geht zufrieden aus dem Haus!

CONCLUSION

For the greater part of the Nineteenth Century the most important Dutch stages were the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* (in northern Holland) and the *Haagsche Schouwburg* (in southern Holland). During the last six seasons of our period, however, these theatres were eclipsed in interest by the companies of Albregt and Van Ollefen, and Le Gras, Haspels, and Van Zuylen in Rotterdam, which were to contribute the majority of the players in the organization *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*.

We have seen that during our period the Dutch drama and theatre did not flourish. The great influence of French culture in Holland checked their development. This influence was especially strong in the court city, where the royal house and the upper classes patronized the *Théâtre Français de la Haye*, and the Dutch theatre had to depend largely on the support of the lower middle and working classes. The unfavorable situation was, moreover, complicated by the fact that a large part of the population, which was severely Calvinistic, frowned upon the theatre and stayed away altogether.

The king, who granted the subsidy, and the municipal government, which granted the annual concession, could easily have effected some improvement if they had taken only a slight interest in the Dutch stage. No theatre can thrive when the same mediocre players are permitted to appear on its boards season after season over periods of twenty, thirty, and even forty years, and when the ensemble is dominated by large family groups. The authorities could also have prevented the repertory from sinking to the low level which it sometimes reached. No reasonable person would expect a repertory theatre to produce only the best, but it cannot be said that even the second best was common at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. Too often the management presented plays that were downright meretricious.

Because of the strong French influence a national Dutch drama could not develop. Only a few playwrights of importance appeared in Holland before the last decade of the century. Three dramas of literary significance were written during our period: Schimmel's *Napoleon Bonaparte* and *Struensee*, and Multatuli's *Vorstenschool*. But of these only the Napoleon drama received a few performances at the *Haagsche Schouwburg*. The older Dutch drama of value was also neglected at The Hague, as were the better English and German works, the repertory consisting chiefly of tawdry French vaudevilles and melodramas and German domestic dramas and comedies.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that in Holland the plight of the national theatre was worse than in most of the other smaller European countries. In this connection it is worth while to cite the following passage from an essay on the Danish National Theatre by Edmund Gosse, written in 1875. It is an excellent summary of the theatrical conditions then prevalent. „Of all the small nations of Europe, Denmark is the only one that has succeeded in founding and preserving a truly national dramatic art. One has but to compare it in this respect with the surrounding lands of a cognate character, with Sweden, Norway, Holland, to perceive at once the complete difference of individuality. In all these countries there exists what is called a Royal Theatre, but on examining the *répertoire* one is sure at once to find the bulk of acting plays to be translations or adaptations. If the popular taste is sentimental, the tendency will be towards Iffland and Kotzebue, tempered with a judicious selection from Shakespeare and Schiller; if farcical, perhaps native talent will be allowed to compete with adaptations from Scribe, while the gaps will be filled up with vaudevilles and operettas translated from the French, and set on the stage purely to give employment to the gregarious multitude that sing tolerably and act most intolerably. In such a depressing atmosphere as this the stage can hardly be said to exist; what poetical talent the nation possesses pours itself into other channels, and sometimes a theatre is found stranded in a position of such hopeless incompetence, that it is ready to adopt the masterpieces of the contemporary English drama.”¹⁾

¹⁾ Edmund Gosse, *Northern Studies* pp. 175—176.

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LIST OF PLAYS PRESENTED AT THE HAAGSCHE
SCHOUWBURG FROM APRIL 30, 1804, TO
MAY 31, 1876 ¹⁾

I. FRENCH PLAYS

Alboize de Pujol and P. Foucher				
Martha Fortier. C. H. Hoving	Drama	2	1852	1852
Alboize de Pujol and Saint Yves				
Marie Simon	Drama	3	1853	1853
Ancelot, J., and A. de Comberousse				
De koning van vijftien jaren, of die wil die kan (Vouloir c'est pouvoir) M. Schou- ten	Vaud.	5	1840	1842
Vriend Grandet (L'Ami Grandet) A. J. v. Tetteroode	Drama	3	1853	1857
Ancelot, Madame,				
Clemence, of de dochter van den advocaat (Clémence, ou la fille de l'avocat) J. H. Burlage	Drama	4	1845	1846
Marie, of drie tijdperken uit het leven eener vrouw (Marie, ou trois époques)				
C. A. v. Ollefen-da Silva	Drama	2	1850	1850

¹⁾ Only the titles of those plays which were performed by the regular Dutch company of the *Haagsche Schouwburg* are given here. Because of the difficulties encountered in determining the exact genre of many of the plays, a simplified classification has been adopted for this list. They have been divided into eight groups: tragedies, comedies, farces, dramas, vaudevilles, *féeries*, sketches, and musical plays. The drama group includes domestic and historical (costume) dramas and melodramas. The playbills apply the term *schets* chiefly to patriotic *pièces d'occasion* — allegorical representations, dialogues, and the like. The term "musical play" has been given to those works which, although more pretentious musically than vaudevilles, do not quite deserve the name of opera.

The number of performances and the dates given with each play are not always absolutely accurate. This is chiefly due to the circumstance that complete newspaper advertisements are not available for the years from 1804 to 1819. The collection of playbills, which covers the period from December, 1819, to May, 1867, can not always be relied on, since it is apparent from notes scribbled on some of the bills that substitutions of other plays for those announced were not uncommon. A complete list of all the plays performed by the Dutch company would probably be longer by about thirty or forty titles.

Each play is listed as follows: author, Dutch title, original title, translator, type of play, number of performances, year of first performance, and year of last performance.

Andrieux, F. G. J. S.				
De mantel-droom (Le Manteau) Jan v. Walré	Com.	5	1843	1847
Anicet-Bourgeois				
Maria, het arme meisje. B. Lamot	Drama	5	1845	1846
Stella, of de dochter van een' staatsgevangenen. B. Lamot	Drama	5	1844	1858
Anicet-Bourgeois and Albert				
Magdalena	Drama	9	1845	1862
Anicet-Bourgeois and Th. Barrière				
Het leven van eene tooneelspeelster	Drama	3	1869	1870
Anicet-Bourgeois and Boulé				
Stephen, of de zoon van den banneling	Drama	2	1846	1846
Anicet-Bourgeois and F. Dugué				
Margot, de bloemenverkoopster (La Bouquetière des innocents) G. v. Beek	Drama	15	1864	1876
Anicet-Bourgeois and D'Ennery				
De blinde	Drama	3	1873	1873
De giftmengster (La Dame de Saint-Tropez) C. J. Roobol	Drama	9	1846	1857
Kasper Hauser (Caspard Hauser) J. Zijtsema	Drama	1	1843	
De kinderdokter, of schuld en boete (Le Médecin des enfants) C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	3	1868	1868
Twee familiën, of de strijd tusschen eer en pligt. G. van Beek	Drama	3	1864	1865
De zwarte dokter. J. C. Engelen	Drama	2	1855	1856
Anicet-Bourgeois and P. Féval				
De musketier des konings (Le Grenadier de l'Ile d'Elbe) G. van Beek	Drama	4	1865	1866
Anicet-Bourgeois and E. Labiche				
Een heer, die eene dame verbrand heeft	Vaud.	2	1866	1866
C. R. H. Spoor				
Anicet-Bourgeois and Ch. Lafont				
Fadette, of de kleine heks. B. L.	Vaud.	2	1857	1857
De krekel	Vaud.	3	1871	1871
Anicet-Bourgeois and G. Lemoine				
Jonkvrouw de la Faille	Drama	2	1854	1854
Anicet-Bourgeois and Michel Masson				
De geheimen van het carnaval. D. J. Kamphuizen	Drama	2	1858	1858
De gelukzoekster	Drama	2	1869	1869
Marianne, of de vrouw van een soldaat	Drama	1	1852	
De marketentster. J. P. Hagen	Drama	4	1864	1865
De wezen van de brug Notre-Dame (Les Orphelins du Pont Notre-Dame) G. v. Beek	Drama	9	1860	1873

Anicet-Bourgeois and Valéry				
De standvastige Genoveva, Hertogin van Brabant. A. C. Cornelissen	Drama	2	1853	1853
Anseume				
De twee jagers en het melkmeisje (Les deux chasseurs et la laitière)	Vaud.	6	1820	1838
Antier, Benjamin, and Melchior				
Vader en zoon, of onschuld en vervolging Jan de Quack	Drama	1	1823	
Antier, B., Saint-Amand and Poulyanthe				
De laatste daden van Robert en Bertrand (L'Auberge des Adrets) J. P. Hagen	Com.	2	1868	1868
De twee boosdoeners, of de toevallige bijeenkomst in eene herberg (L'Auberge des Adrets) P. G. Renaud	Drama	3	1824	1825
Arago, E., and Paul Vermond				
De gedenkschriften van Robin. J. Laurillard	Drama	10	1843	1852
Arago, Jules				
Mejuffrouw d'Aloigny, lieutenant bij de dragonders. J. Zijtsema	Vaud.	2	1841	1841
Arago, Jules, and A. Martin				
De schaterlach (L'Éclat de rire) J. Laurillard	Drama	3	1842	1842
Arnould, A., and N. Fournier				
Gaston van Frankrijk, of de man met het ijzeren masker. C. A. v. Ray	Drama	20	1832	1868
Een geheim (Un Secret) J. Laurillard	Drama	2	1842	1842
Aubigny, Th. B. d'				
De sollicitanten, of de geheime trap (Les petits protecteurs, ou l'escalier dérobé) M. G. Engelman	Com.	1	1826	
Aubigny, Th. B. d' and A. Rujol				
De grijze man, of de rondborstige. P. Lemark	Com.	9	1822	1838
Aude, J.				
De moeder van Juffrouw Angot. C. P. T. Bigot	Com.	1	1874	
De zware rouw. J. W. J. Steenberg van Goor	Com.	6	1825	1830
Augier, E., and J. Sandeau				
De schoonzoon van Mijnheer Perenboom (Le Gendre de M. Poirier) G. van Beek	Com.	3	1860	1862
Avers, M.				
Twee Cesars. M. J. A. v. Berkel	Vaud.	2	1854	1855

Barbier, Jules				
De blanke slavin. J. P. Hagen	Drama	2	1861	1861
Maxwell, of de onschuldig veroordeelde	Drama	2	1870	1870
Barré, P. Y., and E. T. M. Ourry				
De verhinderde danspartij, of het orkest onder de tafel (La Danse interrompue)	Vaud.	6	1807	1835
Barrière, Th.				
Eene jaloersche vrouw (Midi à quatorze heures)	Vaud.	6	1851	1852
Weerhanen, of zoogenaamde goede men- schen (Les Faux bonhommes) G. v. Beek	Drama	3	1863	1864
Barrière, Th., and L. Thiboust				
Vrouwen zonder hart (Les Filles de mar- bre) G. v. Beek	Drama	9	1866	1873
Battu, Léon, and Eugène Bercioux				
De zouaven, of de herinnering aan de Krim. R. Faassen	Drama	2	1862	1862
Battu, Léon, and Devignes				
De eer des huizes. W. P. B.	Drama	8	1855	1875
Bayard, J. F.				
Geen rook zonder vuur (Pas de fumée sans feu) M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	8	1850	1871
Karolina Wolsey, of een jongelings mis- stap	Drama	4	1848	1849
De koningin van zestien jaren (La Reine de seize ans)	Vaud.	6	1830	1852
Bayard, J. F., and Biéville				
Als het zoo zijn moet. C. H. Hoving	Drama	3	1852	1853
Phoebus, of de brieven en requesten schrijver (Phoebus, ou l'écrivain public)	Vaud.	1	1861	
De regiments-kinderen (Les Enfants de la troupe)	Vaud.	1	1842	
Bayard, J. F., and Dumanoir				
Boquillon, of wie is de vader (Boquillon à la recherche d'un père) F. H. Greb	Vaud.	11	1845	1852
Indiana en Charlemagne (Indiana et Char- lemagne)	Vaud.	1	1859	
Kapitein Charlotte (Le Capitaine Char- lotte)	Vaud.	3	1850	1875
Marcelin, of de zegepraal der natuur (Mar- celin) W. Greeven	Drama	1	1843	
Prinses en kolenbrandster (Princesse et charbonnière) J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	8	1864	1869
Bayard, J. F., and Devorme				
Moiroud en Cie. (Moiroud et Cie.) W. Greeven	Vaud.	3	1846	1847

Bayard, J. F., and P. Duport De dochter van den vrek, of de edelmoe- tige diefstal (La Fille de l'avare) W. Greeven	Drama	11	1835	1848
Bayard, J. F., and Duvert De man eener balletdanseres. J. Beems	Vaud.	5	1851	1853
Bayard, J. F., and Ch. Lafont De gevangene der czarin. B. L.	Drama	3	1866	1867
Bayard, J. F., and Laurencin Eene lastige schoonmoeder. J. H. Denis	Vaud.	2	1864	1864
Bayard, J. F., and Léon Laya De brievenjacht. R. Faassen	Vaud.	3	1864	1865
Bayard, J. F., and Léon Picard Matthijs, de invalide (Mathias l'invalide)	Vaud.	2	1848	1848
Beaumarchais, P. A. Caron de Eugenia (Eugénie)	Drama	1	1806	
Beaunoir, A. L. B. Robineau, dit de Jerome Pointu, of ieder veege zijn eigen vloer (Jerome Pointu)	Com.	21	1806	1848
Beauvallet, L. De vier Henderikken en de waarzegster van Catharina de Medici. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2	1873	1873
Beauvoir, Roger de, and L. Thiboust Satan te Parijs. R. Faassen	Vaud.	7	1862	1862
Belloy, P. L. Buyrette de Pedro de Wreede, Koning van Kastilien (Pierre le cruel) J. G. Doornik	Trag.	1	1805	
Belot, Adolphe De misdaad in de straat „De la Paix” C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	4	1869	1870
Belot, Adolphe, and Villetard Het testament van César Girodot (Le Testament de César Girodot)	Drama	2	1873	1873
Béraud, A., and Alphonse Brot Edith, of minnenijd en partijwoede (Edith, ou la veuve de Southampton) B. Lamot	Drama	3	1843	1844
Béraud, A., and L. Chaudezon Cardillac, de juwelier, of Parijs in 1674 (Cardillac, ou le Quartier de l'Arsenal)	Drama	1	1847	
Berton, Madame De twintigjarige philozofen (Les Philoso- phes de vingt ans)	Vaud.	3	1852	1853
Boirie, E. Cantiran de, Carmouche and Pujol Het schandmerk, of de galeiboeven (Les deux forçats) J. de Quack	Drama	6	1823	1825

Boirie, E. Cantiran de, and V. Lemaire				
De jeugd van Frederik den Grooten	Drama	1	1811	
Boisselot, Paul				
Lischen en Fritzchen (music by Offenbach)	Vaud.	3	1872	1872
Bonel, V., and Jaure fils				
De drie fanchons, of dat zal nooit eindigen	Vaud.	4	1805	1827
Bouchardy, J. M.				
Gaspardo, de Milanische visscher. J. G. Liernur	Drama	2	1855	1855
Jan de koetsier. J. G. Liernur	Drama	2	1854	1854
John, of de klokluiden van de Sint-Paulus Kerk (Le Sonneur de Saint-Paul)	Drama	10	1840	1875
Lazaro, de veehoeder, of misdaad en wraak (Lazare le Pâtre) J. Laurillard	Drama	27	1841	1875
Bouilly, J. N.				
De Abt de l'Épée, oprigter van het gesticht voor doven en stommen te Parijs (L'Abbé de l'Épée) S. Izn. Wiselius	Drama	12	1810	1838
Bouilly, J. N., and J. Pain				
Berquin, of de vriend der kinderen (Berquin) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	12	1833	1840
Teniers (Téniers) M. G. Westerman	Vaud.	21	1805	1838
Boulé, Louis Auguste Désiré, and Cormon				
Paul en Virginie, of de schipbreuk der gelieven	Drama	4	1845	1845
Brazier, N., and Mélesville				
Frederik II te Rutwen. J. v. W. Wz.	Vaud.	13	1836	1870
Brazier, N., Melésville and P. F. A. Carmouche				
Tony, of vijf jaren in twee uren. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	14	1827	1844
Brazier, N., and J. T. Merle				
De jonkman van zestig jaren (Le ci-devant jeune homme) B. A. Fallée	Com.	3	1833	1835
De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of het vergenoegen overtreft den rijkdom (Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement passe richesse) C. A. van der Vijver	Vaud.	12	1820	1834
Brazier, N., J. T. Merle and Carmouche				
Zonder trommel of trompet, of de kleine zoetelaarster (Sans tambour ni trompette) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	12	1829	1849
Brisebarre, E., and E. Nus				
De armen van Parijs (Les Pauvres de Paris) P. L.	Drama	14	1857	1870
Léonard, of de gevolgen der misdaad (Léonard) G. v. Beek	Drama	5	1864	1865
Suzanna, of de eer eens vaders. H. Maronier	Drama	8	1857	1867

Caigniez, L. C.				
De doorluchtige blinde	Drama	1	1810	
Maurits van Saxen, of de veldslag van Fontenoy	Drama	1	1812	
Salomons eerste gericht (Le jugement de Salomon)	Drama	1	1811	
De wildzang of het gedwongen huwelijk (Le Volage)	Com.	1	1809	
Caigniez, L. C., and d'Aubigny				
De ekster en de dienstmaagd, of de onschuldige diefstal (La Pie voleuse) C. Vreedenberg	Drama	5	1820	1844
Chénier, Maire-Joseph				
Fénelon, of de Kamerijksche kloosterlingen (Fénelon) P. J. Uylenbroek	Trag.	23	1804	1849
Clairville, L. F. N.				
Margot, of de voordeelen eener goede opvoeding. G. van Beek	Vaud.	18	1850	1866
Clairville, L. F. N., and J. Cordier				
De bruidschat van Marie	Vaud.	3	1853	1856
De pleiziertrein van Parijs naar Londen R. Faassen	Vaud.	9	1864	1865
Clairville, L. F. N., and Holstein				
Julia, of kunst en liefde. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	3	1862	1862
Clairville, L. F. N., and L. Thiboust				
Hoe een stuiver rollen kan! R. Faassen	Vaud.	8	1862	1871
Cogniard, frères				
Ali-Baba, of de veertig dieven. B. L.	Drama	23	1855	1875
De nalatenschap van Faust (Les bibelots du diable)	Féerie	8	1860	1860
De twee echtscheidingen (Les deux divorces) M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	18	1840	1857
Cogniard, frères, and Michel Delaporte				
Het geld, de roem en de vrouwen. G. H. H. R.	Vaud.	5	1856	1856
Cogniard, frères, and Lubize				
De raad van discipline in een fransch landstadje. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1837	
Cogniard, Th., and E. Grangé				
Waarheid en logen, of de reisavonturen van Blaise en Margot. C. P. T. Bigot	Féerie	11	1872	1873
Collé				
De jagtpartij van Hendrik de Vierde (La Partie de chasse de Henri IV)	Drama	2	1831	1831
Collin d'Harleville, J. F.				
De oude vrijer, of de gevaren van het ongehuwde leven (Le vieux célibataire)	Com.	1	1805	

Collin d'Harleville, J. F.			
De twistzieke broeders (La Querelle des frères, ou la famille bretonne)	Com.	1	1811
Colliot and La Fèbre			
6862, of het gelukkige nummer. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	2	1865 1865
Comberousse, A. de, and J. Corsier			
De polka ten platte lande. B. Lamot	Vaud.	7	1845 1853
Cormon and Dutertre			
De landhoeve van Primrose. W. Greeven	Vaud.	7	1854 1861
Cormon and E. Grangé			
Martin de kruijer. B. L.	Drama	23	1858 1874
Corneille, P.			
De Cid (Le Cid) J. Nomsz	Trag.	1	1848
Cuvelier, J. G. A., and J. B. L. Corsse			
Het bedelende meisje (La Fille mendiante)	Drama	16	1810 1853
Dartois, F. V. A., and Biéville			
De kalkoenenhoedster. B. L.	Vaud.	2	1849 1849
Op heeterdaad betrapt. M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	13	1844 1853
Dartois, F. V. A., and Charles, Adolphe			
De schaapstal van den baron, of de tooneelspelers van den dag (Le Château de Monsieur le Baron) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	2	1832 1832
Dartois, F. V. A., and Desforges,			
Bergen en dalen ontmoeten elkander niet, maar de menschen wel	Com.	2	1829 1829
Dartois, F. V. A., and Dupin			
Cartouche, en de achtkante boer. F. A. Rosenveldt	Vaud.	3	1833 1833
Dartois, F. V. A., and Saint-Georges			
De prima donna, of de zoogzuster (La prima donna, ou la sœur de lait)	Vaud.	8	1848 1853
Dartois, F. V. A., and Léon			
Karolina, of het Geldersch landmeisje M. G. Engelman	Vaud.	22	1822 1856
Decourcelle, A., and Javine			
De wraak eener Creool (Sarah la Créole)	Drama	2	1857 1857
Dejaure and Adnet			
Twee dochters vooreene. C. v. der Vijver	Com.	1	1808
Delamare, Prosper			
Adelson en Salvini, of het grootmoedig doodvonnis	Drama	1	1805
Delavigne, J. F. C.			
De paria (Le Paria) C. G. Withuijs	Trag.	1	1855
Demougeot, Edouard			
Jacques Burke, of 't goud en de dood G. van Beek	Drama	8	1866 1875

Demoustier, C. A.				
De ouderliefde (L'Amour filial, ou la jambe de bois) G. Brender à Brandis	Vaud.	2	1832	1832
Desaugiers, M. A. M.				
Het middagmaal van Magdalena, of de schotel met ooren (Le Dîner de Madelon)	Vaud.	14	1819	1841
Desaugiers, M. A. M., and Gentil				
Meester Vink, of de vermiste diamant (Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu)	Vaud.	23	1823	1845
Desaugiers, M. A. M., Gentil and Rougemont				
Het bureau van uithuwelijking, of trouwt maar! trouwt maar! (La matrimonio-manie) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	7	1813	1837
Desaugiers, M. A. M., Gersin and Gabriel				
De buurman, of elk kan best zijn eigen zaken verrigten. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	9	1828	1847
Desaugiers, M. A. M., Tournay and G. Duval				
De Heer Gier, of de bedrogen huisheer (M. Vautour, ou le propriétaire sous le scellé) A. J. v. der Aa.	Vaud.	4	1823	1847
Desaugiers, M. A. M., and Varner				
De zotte echtverbintenis	Vaud.	11	1827	1835
Deslandes, R., and Didier				
Nog een jongen uit Parijs. J. Zijtsema	Vaud.	5	1839	1845
Desforges				
De doove, of het huis vol volk (Le sourd, ou l'auberge pleine)	Com.	19	1811	1846
De jaloersche vrouw (La Femme jalouse)	Com.	4	1809	1833
Desnoyer, Ch.				
De debutant	Com.	12	1845	1875
Montbailly, of de gevolgen van den laster (Montbailly, ou la calomnie) M. Schouten	Drama	2	1842	1842
De schipbreuk der Medusa (Le Naufrage de la Méduse) W. Greeven	Drama	48	1840	1876
Desnoyer, Ch., and A. Brot				
Alix, of de twee moeders	Drama	2	1840	1840
Desnoyer, Ch., and Davrecour				
Het zwaard mijns vaders (L'Epée de mon père) G. van Beek	Vaud.	4	1859	1860
Desnoyer, Ch., and Labie				
Julie en Saint Preux, of de nieuwe Heloise A. J. Cornelissen	Drama	1	1853	
Desnoyer, Ch., and Lubize				
Claudine. G. van Beek	Drama	3	1847	1853
Desoignes, Maurice				
Jeanne Baudoin. G. van Beek	Drama	2	1863	1864

Destouches, Ph. Néricault	
De gewaande onnozele juffer, of de belagchelijke poëet (La Fausse Agnès)	Com. 1 1822
Dieulafoy, J. M. A. M.	
Argwaan en arglistigheid, of list met bedrog betaald (Défiance et malice)	Com. 3 1813 1814
De molenaar van Sans-Souci (Le moulin de Sans-Souci) M. G. Engelman	Vaud. 1 1836
Dieulafoy, J. M. A. M., and Gersin	
Het dal van Barcelonette, of de tezamenkomst van twee hermieten (La Vallée de Barcelonette, ou le rendez-vous de deux hermites) J. R. B. v. H.	Vaud. 9 1824 1838
Dinaux, M. J.	
Richard Darlington, of de volkskeus in Engeland. C. A. v. Ray	Drama 4 1834 1835
Dorvigny, L.	
De comedie bij toeval, of de gefopten (La Comédie à l'impromptu, ou les dupes)	Com. 1 1831
Jocrisse in een' nieuwen dienst	Vaud. 1 1805
De wanhoop van Jocrisse (Le désespoir de Jocrisse) H. Ogelwight	Vaud. 7 1813 1844
Dubois, J. B.	
Marton en Frontin, of de listige bedienden (Marton et Frontin, ou assaut de valets)	Com. 12 1808 1836
De school voor de regters. C. A. van Ray	Drama 1 1835
Ducange, Victor	
Adolf en Sophie, of de slagtoffers eener dwaling	Drama 2 1829 1829
Evelina, of het testament eener arme vrouw. C. A. van Ray	Drama 5 1834 1836
Familie-haat, of de bruid van Lammermoor (La Fiancée de Lammermoor) C. A. van Ray	Drama 19 1832 1869
Jean Calas, of de onschuldig gevonnisde (Calas) J. de Quack	Drama 15 1820 1864
De kunstenaar en de krijgsman	Drama 1 1829
Theresia, of het weeskind van Genève (Thérèse, ou l'orpheline de Genève) P. van Sluys de Quack	Drama 9 1822 1846
De twee vrienden, of verwarring en list (La folle intrigue, ou les quiproquo) M. G. Engelman	Com. 2 1820 1820
Zestien jaren geleden, of moederliefde en kindertrouw (Il y a seize ans!) C. A. v. Ray	Drama 10 1834 1855

Ducange, V., and M. J. Dinaux				
Dertig jaren, of het leven van een dobbelaar (Trente ans, ou la vie d'un joueur)				
B. A. Fallée	Drama	44	1833	1876
Ducis, J. F.				
Abufar, of 't Arabisch huisgezin (Abufar, ou la famille arabe)		Trag.	3	1805 1814
Hamlet. A. J. Zubli	Trag.	18	1814	1849
Koning Lear (Le Roi Lear) M. G. de Cambon- van der Werken		Trag.	2	1855 1855
Macbeth, of de bergschotten (Macbeth)				
P. Boddaert	Trag.	3	1810	1848
Othello, of de Moor van Venetien (Othello, ou le Maure de Venise) P. J. Uylenbroek		Trag.	2	1822 1829
Dugué, F.				
Het monster en de toovenaar (getrokken uit W. Shakespeare's Fantastische Verhalen) B. L.		Drama	3	1862 1862
Dumaniant, A. J. Bourlin				
Tot middernacht, of list tegen list (Les intrigants, ou assaut de fourberies)				
B. Ruloffs	Com.	18	1808	1839
Dumanoir, Ph. F. Pinel				
Mejuffrouwen Bertrand en Raton. R. Faassen		Vaud.	11	1861 1870
O! die vrouwen! die vrouwen! (Les femmes terribles)		Com.	5	1870 1871
Dumanoir, Ph. F. Pinel, and Clairville				
Van alle markten t' huis, of een ambuland tooneelgezelschap. R. Faassen		Vaud.	1	1873
Dumanoir, Ph. F. Pinel, and D'Ennery				
Don César de Bazan (Don César de Bazan) F. v. d. O.		Drama	30	1847 1874
De gelaarsde kat. R. Faassen		Féerie	13	1871 1873
De nabob. G. v. Beek		Drama	2	1865 1865
De negerhut van Oom Tom, of moeder en slavin. Cornelissen en Beems		Drama	9	1853 1866
De oude korporaal (Le vieux caporal) W. Greeven		Drama	27	1854 1874
Twee klappen. J. Laurillard		Vaud.	4	1843 1844
Dumanoir, Ph. F. Pinel, and Keranion				
Jeanne, die huilt, en Jeanne, die lacht				
G. van Beek	Drama	2	1860	1869
Dumanoir, Ph. F. Pinel, and Lafargue				
De arme edelman. B. L.		Drama	2	1861 1862
Gillhoff, Theatre				

Dumas père (Alexandre)

De goudmaker (L'Alchimiste) A. van der Hoop	Drama	6	1856	1868
Een huwelijk bij trommelslag (Le Mariage au tambour) M. J. Ruffa	Mus. Play	4	1850	1852
Een huwelijk onder Lodewijk XV (Un Mariage sous Louis XV)	Com.	3	1849	1850
Joan van Monaldeschi, of Stockholm en Fontainebleau (Christine à Fontainebleau) C. A. v. Ray	Drama	1	1839	
Katharina Howard, Koningin van Engeland, of de twee schijndooden (Catherine Howard) C. A. v. Ray	Drama	17	1837	1871
Kean, of loszinnigheid en vernuft (Kean, ou Désordre et génie)	Drama	1	1851	
Louise Bernard. J. W. Moulijn	Drama	1	1846	
De Schotsche landjonker aan het hof van Karel II	Com.	2	1848	1848
De toren van Nesle (La Tour de Nesle)	Drama	2	1865	1865
De weduwe en haar echtgenoot (Le mari et la veuve) C. J. Roobol	Com.	4	1845	1846
Dumas père and Aug. Maquet				
De jeugd des musketiers (La Jeunesse des mousquetaires)	Drama	2	1859	1859
De musketiers (Les Mousquetaires) B. L.	Drama	5	1859	1859
Dumas fils				
De natuurlijke zoon (Le Fils naturel) B. Lamot	Drama	2	1858	1858
Parijsche Zeden (Le Demi-monde)	Drama	2	1871	1871
Dumersan, Th. M., Gabriel and Brazier				
De hut in het gebergte (Le chalet) W. Greeven	Vaud.	1	1835	
Dupaty, L. E. F. Ch. Mercier				
Het militair arrest of de drie gevangenen (Le Prison militaire)	Com.	15	1805	1845
Dupeuty, Ch., and F. Dugué				
Een rijke vader (Le père aux écus) B. L.	Drama	2	1858	1858
Dupeuty, Ch., M. L. Fonton and Davrigy				
Arthur, of XVI jaren later. J. J. H. Burlage	Drama	10	1839	1852
Dupeuty, Ch., and Regnier				
Napoleon op Sint-Helena. W. Greeven	Drama	4	1836	1838
Dupin, M., and Dumanoir				
De blaauwe barret, of het hof onder Karel II van Engeland	Vaud.	3	1850	1853
Dupin, M., Eug. Mennechet and R. de Beauvoir				
De cornet à piston	Vaud.	6	1851	1854

Duport, Paul, and Laurencin				
Casimir de reisbediende. J. C. Smits	Vaud.	2	1846	1846
Duval, Alexandre				
Even om even	Drama	1	1810	
De heerschzuchtige, of de wrevelige huisvader (Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille)	Drama	1	1807	
Montoni, of het kasteel van Udolpho (Montoni, ou le château d'Udolphé)				
A. Bruggemans	Drama	13	1806	1837
Shakespeare minnaar (Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude) C. van der Vijver	Com.	2	1821	1821
De schrijnwerker van Lijfland, of de doorluchtige reizigers (Le menuisier de Livonie, ou les illustres voyageurs) C. van der Vijver	Drama	1	1805	
Duval, M.				
Het tapijten behangsel, of de familie Darius (La Tapisserie) M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	9	1838	1844
Duvert, F. A., and Lauzanne				
Een student in de regten. R. Faassen	Vaud.	3	1861	1862
Duvert du Roy,				
Josef de Tweede, of de onbekende in de herberg. F. A. Rosenveldt	Vaud.	6	1833	1838
Ennery, A. Ph. d'				
De aardbeving op het eiland Martinique (Le Tremblement de terre de la Martinique) J. Zijtsema	Drama	8	1842	1842
De vendetta, of de verloofden van Albano (Les Fiancés d'Albano) G. Johnson	Drama	3	1865	1866
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Anicet-Bourgeois				
Twee weezen (Deux Orphelines) D. K. A. van Loghem	Drama	6	1876	1876
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Berthet				
De gelddraggers van de Fransche Bank H. Gijsselman Jr.	Drama	2	1859	1859
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Bourget				
Jack Sheppard, de bandiet van London (Les Chevaliers du brouillard) B. L.	Drama	4	1857	1857
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Brésil				
De goochelaar. G. v. Beek	Drama	9	1861	1874
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Clément				
Noémie, of de twee zoogzusters (Noémie) B. Lamot	Drama	3	1846	1847
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Cremieux				
De schoenlapper. H. Gijsselman Jr.	Drama	5	1860	1860

Ennery, A. Ph. d', and F. Dugué			
Cartouche en zijne bende (Cartouche)			
C. P. T. Bigot	Drama	6 1870	1871
Het gebed der schipbreukelingen, of de			
gouddorst	Drama	6 1854	1855
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Ch. Edmond			
De grootmoeder, of liefde en opoffering			
G. v. Beek	Drama	4 1864	1866
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and N. Fournier			
Paillas	Drama	18 1851	1873
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Grangé			
De bruidschat van Auvergne (Le Dot			
d'Auvergne)	Vaud.	12 1850	1866
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and G. Lemoine			
Moederzegen of de nieuwe Fanchon (La			
Grâce de Dieu) G. v. Beek	Drama	5 1849	1869
Ennery, A. Ph. d', and Mallian			
Marie-Jeanne, of de vrouw uit de volks-			
klasse (Maria-Jeanne, ou la femme du			
peuple) J. W. Moulijn	Drama	18 1847	1875
Erckmann-Chatrion,			
De Poolsche Jood (Le Juif polonais) C. R.			
H. Spoor	Drama	3 1869	1869
Étienne, Charles-Guillaume			
De jonge driftige vrouw (La jeune femme			
colère)	Com.	1 1805	
De twee schoonzoonen (Les deux gendres)	Com.	1 1812	
Favières, M.			
Herman en Werner, of de militairen	Drama	1 1805	
Fenouillot de Falbaire			
De deugdzaame galeiroeijer (L'Honnête			
criminel)	Drama	1 1808	
Ferrières, A. de			
Het Slot van Loevestein, of de vlugt van			
Huig de Groot, M. Westerman	Drama	7 1808	1833
Feuillet, Octave			
Daelila (Dalila) G. v. Beek	Drama	3 1862	1872
De egoïst. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2 1872	1872
De roman van een' armen edelman (Le			
Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre) B. L.	Drama	11 1859	1875
De tooneelspeelster van Weenen, of onge-			
loof en geloof (Rédemption) B. L.	Drama	3 1861	1861
De toovergodin (La fée) C. H. H. R.	Drama	1 1856	
Féval, Paul			
De tijgerjager of de Mexicaansche zeeroo-			
vers. J. P. Hagen	Drama	5 1863	1863
De gebogchelde (Le bossu) B. L.	Drama	4 1863	1863

Florian, J. P. Claris de De beste moeder (La bonne mère)	Com.	18	1820	1836
Forges and Laurencin No. 66 (music by Offenbach)	Vaud.	8	1872	1875
Foucher, Paul Johanna de Tweede, Koningin van Napels Lauweren en doornen, of het lot eener kunstenares. B. L.	Drama	3	1839	1843
	Drama	2	1859	1859
Fournier, N., and Clairville De schim van een' minnaar, of het geheim- zinnige schot (L'Ombre d'un amant) J. Beems	Vaud.	2	1848	1850
Fournier, N., and Frédéric Onschuld en misdaad, of de familie Angla- de. J. Beems	Drama	4	1820	1831
Fournier, N., and H. Meyer Jocelijn, de kustwachter. B. L. Eene partij piket. W. P. Bangert	Drama	4	1865	1867
	Vaud.	6	1857	1872
Francis, L. Thiboust, and F. V. A. Dartois De honderdjarige man, of de familie Gail- lard. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	10	1834	1838
Gabriel, M. De erfgenaam van Manchester, of eene berugte rechtzaak. J. P. Milet	Drama	5	1842	1845
Gay, M. F. S. Maria, of het arme meisje. J. H. Gravé	Drama	1	1829	
Gentil, M. G., and Desaugiers Het landgoed van mijn' oom, of de echt- genoot bij toeval. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	11	1837	1850
Girardin, Mme Émile de De hoed van een' horlogemaker (Le Cha- peau de l'horloger) B. L.	Vaud.	9	1855	1873
	Drama	2	1857	1858
	Drama	2	1854	1854
Gouffe, A., and L. M. Henriquez De ketellapper van Saint-Flour (Le Chau- dronnier de Saint-Flour)	Vaud.	30	1812	1843
Gozlan, Léon Het zwarte boek	Drama	4	1864	1865
Grenier De melomanie, of de drift tot zang en dans	Vaud.	1	1814	
Grangé, E., and R. Deslandes De dienstboden (Les Domestiques)	Vaud.	20	1862	1874
Grangé, E., and X. de Montépin Tabarin de paljas van den Pont-Neuf C. P. T. Bigot	Drama	2	1873	1873

Grangé, E., and L. Thiboust				
Het consigne is snorken	Vaud.	14	1867	1875
Guymond de la Touche, C.				
Orestes en Pilades, of Ifigenia in Tauris (Iphigénie en Tauride) J. v. 's Graven- weert	Trag.	1	1824	
Hapdé, J. B. A.				
De duivelsbrug in het Piemonteese ge- bergte	Drama	5	1808	1831
Hennequin, Alfred				
Drie hoeden. C. P. T. Bigot	Com.	2	1872	1872
Henrion, Ch., and Servièrè				
De telegraaf der liefde (Le Télégraphe d'amour) W. Greeven	Vaud.	2	1847	1847
Hoffman, F. B.				
Het geheim (Le Secret)	Vaud.	1	1809	
De verijdelde zamenkomsten, of de af- spraak der gelieven (Les Rendez-vous bourgeois) M. Engelman	Com.	9	1820	1857
Hubert				
Charles, of de gevaren der losbandigheid	Drama	1	1812	
Clara van Montalban, of het slagtoffer der ouderliefde	Drama	4	1820	1835
Hugo, Victor				
Maria Tudor, Koningin van Groot-Brit- tanje (Marie Tudor) C. A. v. Ray	Drama	2	1838	1838
Maria, Koningin van Engeland (anony- mous adaptation of Marie Tudor)	Drama	5	1863	1865
Marion Delorme (Marion Delorme) C. R. R. Spoor	Drama	2	1868	1868
Ruy Blas (Ruy Blas) F. H. Greb	Drama	3	1851	1872
Hyacinthe and Alfred				
Ali Pacha van Janina. P. V. S. de Quack	Drama	1	1822	
Jaime				
Oscar's parapluie. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	2	1865	1865
Jaime fils and H. Crémieux				
De verloting van een jongejuifvrouw (mu- sic by Offenbach)	Vaud.	2	1875	1875
Jouy, V. J. E.				
De Heer Beaufiles, of de verkeerling te Pa- rijs. H. Kup	Com.	3	1808	1809
Sylla, of de bevrijding van Rome (Sylla) A. L. Barbaz	Trag.	3	1824	1826
Jouy, V. J. E., and Saint Just				
Emma, of de gevangene op het slot Klings- burg (music by Boieldieu and Cherubini) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1832	

Kock, Charles-Paul de				
De herberg te Chantilly (L'Auberge de Chantilly) S. W. Moulijn	Vaud.	1	1851	
De korporaal en zijne landmeisje	Vaud.	1	1861	
Labiche, E. M.,				
Baron de Fourchevif. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2	1873	1873
Het huwelijksreisje. R. Faassen	Vaud.	2	1869	1869
De nasleep van een eerste huwelijk (Les Suites d'un premier lit) W. P. Bangert	Vaud.	8	1856	1867
Zonder bruidschat. C. R. H. Spoor	Vaud.	10	1864	1875
Labiche, E. M., and Delacour				
De gebroeders Blandinet (Les petits oiseaux) G. A. Johnson	Com.	5	1863	1863
De reis naar China. C. P. T. Bigot	Vaud.	3	1873	1874
Labiche, E. M., and E. Martin				
Kapitein Tic, of de terugkomst uit China (Les vivacités du capitaine Tic) J. P. Hagen	Com.	5	1861	1863
Mijnheer Parkiet, of de reis naar Zwitserland (Le Voyage de M. Perrichon) B. L.	Com.	6	1861	1862
De zevenendertig stuivers van den heer Middelburg	Vaud.	2	1873	1873
Labiche, E. M., and M. A. A. Michel				
Dat komt er van! R. Faassen	Vaud.	5	1862	1867
Ik inviteer mijn kolonel. H.G.	Vaud.	4	1861	1862
Labiche, E. M., E. Monnier and E. Martin				
Een moordaanslag. G. A. Johnson	Vaud.	4	1864	1869
Lafargue and d'Arrecour				
Nieuwsjaars-rekeningen. B. L.	Com.	1	1864	
Lafont, Charles				
Jarvis, of de eerlijke man. M. J. Ruffa	Drama	7	1841	1842
Rollo, of het onbekende meesterstuk	Drama	5	1847	1852
Lagrange, Aug., and Eug. Cormon				
De Watergeus, of de Nederlanden onder Philip de Tweede. M. J. Ruffa	Drama	2	1839	1839
Laloue, F., Bourgeois and Laurent				
De pillen van den duivel (Les Pilules du diable) B. L.	Féerie	6	1859	1859
Laloue, F., and C. Menissier				
De boodschaplooper uit behoefte (Le Commissionnaire)	Drama	2	1825	1825
Lamarténière, J. H. F.				
De geduchte regtbank (Le Tribunal redoutable, ou la suite de Robert, chef des brigands) J. G. S.	Drama	1	1808	

Lamartélière, J. H. F. (continued)				
Gustavus, of de Zweedsche mijnwerkers (Gustave et Darlécarlie, ou les mineurs suédois)	Drama	4	1804	1826
Robert, of de struikroovers (Robert, chef de brigands)	Drama	16	1805	1848
Laurencin, Paul-Aimé Chappelle, dit				
Mijn nichtje en mijn parapluï, of de klavierstemmer menschenhaater (Ma Femme et mon parapluie) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1836	
Simon, de dief. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	6	1865	1876
Laurençot, Charles-Henri-Ladislas, and Moléri				
De schoonzoon van een millionnaire (Le Gendre d'un millionnaire) J. Beems	Drama	1	1847	
Laurençot, Charles-Henri-Ladislas, and E. Nus				
De schrik der zee. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2	1867	1867
Laurençot, Charles-Henri-Ladislas, and Petit				
Honig en azijn, of ernst met scherts om- kleed (Miel et vinaigre) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	13	1837	1858
Laya, Jean-Louis,				
Falkland, of de stem van het geweten (Falkland, ou la conscience) M. G. En- gelman	Drama	8	1822	1836
Leger, F. P. A., and Guilbert de Pixérécourt				
De oude majoor (Le vieux major)	Vaud.	1	1806	
Legouvé, E., and Dinoux				
Louise de Lignerolles	Drama	2	1849	1853
Legouvé, G. M. B. J.				
Epicharis en Nero (Epicharis et Néron)	Trag.	8	1804	1840
P. J. Uylenbroek	Trag.	1	1811	
De dood van Abel (La Mort d'Abel)				
Lemierre, A. W.				
Willem Tell, of beschermer der Zwitser- sche vrijheid (Guillaume Tell) B. Ru- loffs	Drama	1	1814	
Leuven, de, de Livry and de Lhérie				
Roquelaure, of de leelijkste man in Frank- rijk (Roquelaure, ou le plus vilain hom- me de France) J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	6	1862	1869
Lockroy, J., and Edmond Badon				
Liefde en wraak, of een tweegevecht ten tijde van den Kardinaal Richelieu (Un Duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu)	Drama	8	1835	1852
C. J. Roobol				
Maillan and E. Cormon				
De vagebond. J. Zijtsema	Vaud.	13	1840	1856

- Maillot, A. F. E.**
 Mevrouw Angot te Parijs, of de visch-
 vrouw van fortuin (Madame Angot, ou
 la poissarde parvenue) Vaud. 1 1805
- Mallefille, J. P. F.**
 Gerechtigheid en wraak, of de vader regter
 over zijn' zoon Drama 2 1855 1855
 De familie Glenarvon, of de valsche be-
 schuldiging uit wraak Drama 1 1840
- Mallefille, J. P. F., and R. de Beauvoir**
 De Hertog van Northumberland. W. Gree-
 ven Drama 1 1843
- Marsollier des Vivetières, B. J.**
 Adolf en Clara, of de twee gevangenen
 (Adolphe et Clara, ou les deux prison-
 niers) H. H. Klijn Vaud. 1 1829
- Martainville, A.**
 Het bankroet van den schoenlapper (La
 Banqueroutte du savetier à propos de
 bottes) J. de Quack Vaud. 18 1804 1841
 De belagchelijke zelfmoord (La Suicide de
 Falaise) Com. 23 1805 1839
- Mazères, E. J. E. de**
 Ieder zijn' weg, of triomf der vrouwelijke
 deugd (Chacun de son côté) N. Vroom-
 broek Drama 2 1829 1849
 De jong gehuwde franschman (Le jeune
 mari) H. v. Overvest Kup Com. 4 1833 1852
- Meilhac, H., and L. Halévy**
 Frou-frou (Froufrou) Drama 8 1870 1872
 Gehuwde dienstboden. R. Faassen Com. 6 1873 1876
 Totot bij Tata (Toto chez Tata) Com. 3 1874 1874
- Mélesville**
 Het engelsche landhuis (La petite maison) Com. 2 1831 1831
 Het kleine zusje Vaud. 1 1854
 De slaapwandelaar, of de kapel van Glen-
 thorn Drama 1 1819
 Sullivan, of de tooneelspeler van Drury
 Lane (Sullivan) Drama 1 1854
 Zij is krankzinnig (Elle est folle) J. H.
 Burlage Drama 12 1846 1875
- Mélesville and Bayard**
 De vurige kamer, of het gereghof voor
 giftmengers te Parijs (La Chambre ar-
 dente) W. Greeven Drama 13 1834 1866

Mélesville and Biéville				
Juliette, of de laatste benoeming van Napoleon. F. H. Greb	Vaud.	5	1856	1866
Mélesville and Brazier				
De minnedrank uit champagne. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	6	1832	1843
Mélesville and Carmouche				
Fiorina. F. H. Greb	Drama	3	1846	1846
De procureur en zijne vrouw	Vaud.	6	1850	1852
Mélesville and Duveyrier				
De Markiezin de Senneterre (La Marquise de Senneterre)	Drama	10	1849	1873
De molenaarster van Marly (La meunière de Marly) J. Beems	Vaud.	12	1847	1860
Maurice. J. H. Burlage	Drama	1	1845	
Michel Perrin, of een aanslag op het leven van den eersten consul (Michel Perrin) R. Faassen	Drama	9	1866	1875
Mélesville and Guizot				
Suzanna en haar voogd, of het sprake-looze meisje (Suzanne) M. J. Ruffa	Com.	3	1839	1842
Mélesville and Raoul				
Het recept om zijne dochter uit te huwelijken. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	8	1827	1848
Mercier, L. S.				
De kruiwagen van den azijnverkooper (La Brouette du vinaigrier)	Drama	2	1825	1827
Merle, J. T., Brazier and Charles				
De kleine stroopers, of de school-vacantie J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	3	1827	1828
Mestépés and E. Barré				
Columbus, of de ontdekking van Amerika G. v. Beek	Drama	8	1864	1876
Meurice, Paul				
De advokaat der armen (L'Avocat des pauvres)	Drama	10	1865	1875
Fanfan, de tulp (Fanfan la Tulipe) B. L.	Drama	5	1859	1859
De schoolmeester, of schuld en lijden (Le Maître d'école) H. Gijsselman Jr.	Drama	1	1859	
Meyer, H.				
Richard Moor	Drama	7	1850	1852
Michel, M. A. A., and E. Labiche				
Een dwarsdrijver. R. Faassen	Vaud.	3	1866	1867
Michel, M. A. A., Siraudin and Delacour				
De heiden-koningin	Vaud.	2	1875	1875
Moinaux, J.				
Twee doven	Com.	5	1873	1876

Molé, <i>Gentilhomme and Gueroult</i>				
De koopvrouw van Nieuwpoort	Drama	1	1856	
Molière				
De geleerde vrouwen (<i>Les Femmes Savantes</i>) adapted by H. L. Tetar van Elven	Com.	3	1850 1853	
Tartuffe, of de huigchelaar (<i>Tartuffe</i>)	Com.	8	1810 1875	
De vrek (<i>L'Avare</i>) Taco H. de Beer	Com.	3	1875 1876	
Monnier and E. Martin				
Eene vergissing. R. Faassen	Vaud.	7	1865 1874	
Montenclos, M. E. Mayon				
Robert de bult, of de onverwachte keuze (Robert le bossu)	Vaud.	15	1805 1838	
Monvel, J. M.				
Blaize en Babet (<i>Blaize et Babet</i>)	Vaud.	4	1808 1833	
Moreau, C. F. J. B., and Delacour				
Een dienst aan mijn vriend Blanchard W. P. Bangert	Vaud.	4	1856 1858	
Moreau, C. F. J. B., and C. A. Seurin				
De reizende tooneelspeler. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	18	1832 1846	
Moreau, C. F. J. B., Siraudin and Delacour				
De koerier van Lyon, of de onschuldig veroordeelde. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	7	1866 1874	
Noyer, P. E.				
Jacoba van Beijeren en Frank van Borsse- len (<i>Jacqueline de Bavière</i>) C. A. v. Ray	Drama	3	1836 1841	
Nus, E., and Belot				
Miss Multon	Drama	2	1871 1871	
Nus, E., and A. Brot				
Johanna Gray	Drama	5	1872 1873	
Nus, E., and Tisserant				
De vicaris van Wakefield	Drama	1	1855	
Pain, M. J., and P. A. Viellard				
De vader bij toeval	Com.	11	1804 1831	
Patrat, J.				
Pottekaas, of de kladschilder van uithang- borden (<i>Pataquès, ou le barbouilleur</i> <i>d'enseignes</i>)	Com.	1	1809	
De twee grenadiers, of het misverstand H. Kup	Com.	27	1806 1843	
De verbeterde dwaas. H. Ogelwight	Com.	4	1805 1821	
Pelletier Volmeranges, B.				
De broeders op den toets (<i>Les frères à</i> <i>l'épreuve</i>) C. v. der Vijver	Drama	3	1807 1850	
Clemence en Waldemar, of het vermogen der schilderkunst (<i>Clémence et Waldé-</i> <i>mar</i>)	Drama	11	1805 1837	

Pelletier Volmeranges, B. (continued)

Natuur en pligt, of de zoon regter over zijnen vader (Le devoir et la nature) G. Brender à Brandis	Drama	15	1813	1840
De twee vrijmetselaars (Les deux Francs- Maçons, ou les coups du hasard)	Drama	4	1809	1836
Picard, L. B.				
De drie getrouwde mannen, of de heden- daagsche Parijsche zeden (Les trois maris)	Com.	3	1807	1841
De mops en het meisje, of de wederstui- ting (Les ricochets)	Com.	2	1809	1825
De oude tooneelspeler (Le vieux comé- dien) C. A. v. Ray	Com.	3	1805	1836
De reisgenooten, of de bedrogen erfge- naam (Le collatéral, ou la diligence à Joigny) C. v. der Vijver	Com.	3	1829	1829
De zieke bruidegom, of de bruiloft zonder huwelijk (Le noce sans mariage) H. Kup	Com.	1	1807	
De Visitandinis (Les Visitandines)	Vaud.	1	1814	
Pigault le Brun, G. C. A.				
De beproeving ,of de jonge echtgenooten (Les Rivaux d'eux-mêmes)	Com.	2	1849	1849
Maria Stuart, Koninginne van Schotland (Marie-Stuart) A. L. Barbaz	Trag.	5	1821	1848
Het matroosje, of de schipbreuk. C. Vree- denburg	Vaud.	5	1828	1839
Pixierécourt, Guilbert de				
Alexis d'Ambreville, of een regtsgeeding onder Lodewijk XV (La Lettre de ca- chet)	Drama	1	1838	
Celina, of het kind des geheims (Coelina, ou l'enfant du mystère) M. G. Engelman	Drama	3	1809	1833
Giafar en Zaida, of de bouwvallen van Babylonien (Les Ruines de Babylone)	Drama	1	1812	
Het gevaarvol kasteel, of de woestijn in Polen. B. A. Fallee	Drama	7	1806	1821
De hond, aanklager van den moordenaar zijns meesters, of het woud van Bondy (Le chien de Montargis, ou la forêt de Bondy)	Drama	3	1820	1845
De kapel in het bosch, of de onzichtbare getuige (La Chapelle des bois, ou le té- moin invisible)	Drama	1	1821	
De nederlaag van Karel den Stouten, of het beleg van Nancy (Charles le Téméraire, ou le siège de Nancy) C. Vreedenburg	Drama	4	1824	1838

Pixerécourt, Guilbert de (continued)			
Robinson Crusoe, op 't onbewoonde eiland (Robinson Crusoe)	Drama	3 1810	1842
Tekeli, of het beleg van Montgatz (Tékéli, ou le siège de Montgatz)	Drama	10 1805	1848
De vesting van den Donau (La Forteresse du Danube)	Drama	1 1806	
Victor (Victor, ou l'enfant de la forêt)	Drama	1 1811	
De vrouw met twee mannen (La Femme à deux maris) C. A. van Ray	Drama	3 1811	1826
De witte pelgrim, of de weezen van het gehucht Olival (Le Pèlerin blanc)	Drama	1 1808	
Pixerécourt, Guilbert de, and Anicet-Bourgeois			
Latude, of vijf-en-dertig jaren gevangenschap (Latude, ou trente-cinq ans de captivité) A. Cornelissen	Drama	2 1858	1858
Plouvier, Edouard			
IJzervreter. G. v. Beek	Drama	3 1866	1867
Pompigny, Maurin de			
De schoorsteenveger prins en de prins schoorsteenveger (Le Ramoneur prince et le prince ramoneur)	Com.	9 1832	1844
Poujol, A. V.			
Het kasteel van Verneuil	Drama	1 1844	
Prébois, Mme de			
Hond en kat. J. H. Denis	Vaud.	7 1866	1871
Pujos and J. E. Dabayna			
Eleonore van Rosalba, of de puinhopen van Paluzzi. J. Kisselius	Drama	4 1805	1823
Pyat, Felix			
De voddenraper van Parijs (Le Chiffonier de Paris)	Drama	19 1857	1876
Racine			
Fedra (Phèdre)	Trag.	3 1806	1818
Radet, J. B.			
Frosine, of de laatst aangekomene (Frosine, ou la dernière venue)	Vaud.	9 1808	1849
De valk, of iets uit vader Cats	Vaud.	3 1822	1831
Revel, V. A. Volleau, dit			
De pijper des Konings van Pruissen, of de gevangene te Spandau (Le Fifre du Roi de Prusse) M. G. Engelman	Vaud.	6 1825	1842
Ribié, C. F.			
De Tyroolsche blinde, of het slagtoffer des lasters. W. A. Bingley	Drama	3 1820	1821

Rolland, Amédée, and Gustave Aimard				
De Mexicaansche, of de vrijbuiters in Sonore. G. A. Johnson	Drama	5	1866	1867
Romagnési, J. A.				
Samson, of de zegepraal der Hebreuwen over de Philistijnen	Trag.	2	1806	1811
Roger, J. Fr.				
De jonge regtsgeleerde, of pligtbeseef en wantrouwen (L'Avocat) C. A. van Ray	Com.	2	1833	1834
De knecht van twee meesters (Le valet de deux maîtres) J. de Quack	Com.	1	1814	
Roosmalen, A. de				
De tower van Londen (Le Tour de Lon- dres) C. H. H. R.	Drama	2	1856	1856
Rosier, J. B.				
Het Kasteel van Montlouvier	Drama	2	1850	1850
Rochefort, C. L. M., and J. R. P. Lecomte, dit Paulin				
Het weesje, of het kamertje van de por- tierster en de feestzaal	Vaud.	2	1829	1829
Rougemon, M. N. Ballisson de				
De Hertogin van Vaubalière	Drama	2	1850	1850
Leon, of trotschheid en eerzucht. H. v. Overvest Kup	Drama	7	1839	1864
Rougemon, M. N. Ballisson de, Brazier en Vanderburgh				
De pleegzoon. J. Zijtsema	Vaud.	6	1840	1843
Saint-Georges				
De planter. M. Schouten	Vaud.	1	1844	
Sandeau, Jules				
Hélène de la Seiglière (Mlle de la Seiglière)	Drama	2	1871	1871
Sandeau, Jules, and A. Decourcelle				
Marcel. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	4	1874	1876
Sand, George				
Claudie (Claudie) F. H. Greb	Drama	4	1851	1851
De Markies de Villemer (Le Marquis de Villemer) B. L.	Drama	3	1866	1866
Sand, George, and Paul Meurice				
De Markies de Bois-Doré, of de laatste van het geslacht (Les beaux messieurs de Bois-Doré)	Drama	2	1870	1870
Sardou, Victorien				
Fernande. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	6	1871	1874
De goede boeren (Nos bons villageois) G. van Beek	Drama	4	1868	1868
Hananpootjes, of de lotgevallen van een minnebrief (Les Pattes de mouche) B. L.	Drama	3	1861	1864

Sardou, Victorien (continued)				
Het nieuwe huis (Maison-Neuve) G. v. Beek	Drama	5	1867	1871
Rabagas en de Commune (Rabagas)	Drama	4	1872	1873
Vaderland! (Patrie)	Drama	1	1869	
Vrienden van ons (Nos intimes) C. J. Roobol	Drama	3	1867	1871
Saurin, B. J.				
Beverlei, of de gevolgen der speelzugt (Béverlei)	Drama	1	1809	
Scribe, E.				
Bertram en Raton, of de kunst van zamenzweren (Bertrand et Raton, ou l'art de conspirer)	Drama	14	1834	1873
De Czarine, of de dood van Peter de Grootte (La Czarine) G. v. Beek	Drama	3	1865	1865
Een eenige misstap (Une Faute) C. J. Roobol	Drama	7	1831	1857
De eerste minnehandel, of de herinneringen der kindschheid (Les premières amours) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	16	1827	1852
Estelle, of vader en dochter (Estelle, ou le père et la fille) M. Schouten	Vaud.	1	1835	
Een glas water (Le Verre d'eau, ou les effets et les causes)	Drama	11	1848	1871
Goethe, of eene tooneelvoorstelling aan het hof van Weimar. W. P. Bangert	Vaud.	2	1860	1860
De laster (La Calomnie)	Drama	9	1848	1870
De Salische wet (La Loi salique) W. Greeven	Vaud.	2	1847	1847
Eene vrouw, die uit het raam springt (Une femme qui se jette par la fenêtre) W. Greeven	Vaud.	9	1848	1853
De zondenbok	Drama	2	1870	1870
Scribe, E., and Alphonse				
Eene hut en zijn hart (Une chaumière et son cœur) M. Schouten	Vaud.	2	1839	1839
Scribe, E., and Bayard				
De stiefmoeder (La Belle-Mère)	Vaud.	1	1829	
Scribe, E., and E. Vanderburch				
Clermont, of de vrouw eens kunstenaars (Clermont, ou une femme d'artiste) F. H. Greb	Vaud.	2	1853	1853
Japhet, of de twee vondelingen (Japhet, ou la recherche d'un père) J. Laurillard	Com.	4	1841	1845
Scribe, E., and G. Delavigne				
Het moedertje van zestig jaren. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	3	1832	1833

Scribe, E., and G. Delavigne (continued)				
De oude vrijer en het jonge meisje (Le vieux garçon et la petite fille) B. A. Fallée	Vaud.	10	1827	1836
De slaapwandelaarster (La Somnambule) M. G. Engelman	Vaud.	2	1836	1845
Het testament, of de erfgename (L'Héritière)	Vaud.	1	1836	
Scribe, E., and Dupin				
Michel en Christine (Michel et Christine) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	1	1828	
Scribe, E., and Duveyrier				
Oscar, of de man die zijn vrouw bedriegt (Oscar, ou le mari qui trompe sa femme)	Com.	2	1864	1864
Scribe, E., Gensoul and de Courcy				
Het wisselregt (Le baiser au porteur) A. Ruijsch	Vaud.	12	1837	1866
Scribe, E., and Legouvé				
Adrienne Lecouvreur	Drama	5	1854	1872
De sprookjes van de Koningin van Navarre (Les Contes de la Reine de Navarre, ou la revanche de Pavie) B. L.	Drama	2	1865	1865
Scribe, E., Lockroy and Chabot				
De peettante, of het huwelijk tegen wil en dank (La Marraine)	Vaud.	15	1829	1847
Scribe, E., and Mazères				
Vatel, of de kleinzoon van een groot man (Vatel, ou le petit-fils d'un grand homme)	Vaud.	2	1840	1847
Scribe, E., and Mélesville				
Het blinde meisje (Valérie)	Drama	1	1823	
De goede grootvader. M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	4	1839	1841
De huwbare dochter, of de eerste zamenkomst (La Demoiselle à marier) C. J. Roobol	Vaud.	14	1838	1857
De kleine tegenspoeden in het mensche-lijke leven (Les petites misères de la vie humaine) M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	11	1850	1873
De minnehandel in de provoost, of de gedenkschriften van een' kolonel der huzaren (Mémoires d'un colonel de hus-sards) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	4	1832	1847
De student en de voorname dame (L'Etudiant et la grande dame) B. Lamot	Vaud.	3	1844	1845
Het tweede huwelijks-jaar, of wie heeft er schuld (La seconde année, ou à qui la faute?) W. Greeven	Vaud.	2	1850	1850

Scribe, E., and Mélesville (continued)			
Zoé, of de geleende minnaar (Zoé, ou l'amant prêté) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	3 1831	1831
Scribe, E., Mélesville and Bayard			
Philippe (Philippe) M. Schouten	Vaud.	2 1835	1835
Scribe, E., Mélesville and Carmouche			
De wittebroods-dagen (La Lune de miel) M. Schouten	Vaud.	9 1829	1850
Scribe, E., and Poirson			
Een bezoek te Bedlam (Une visite à Bedlam) G. v. Beek	Vaud.	9 1849	1857
Scribe, E., Poirson and Mélesville			
Het doopfeest, of de Peter (Le Parrain) M. E. Stoopendaal	Vaud.	1 1822	
Scribe, E., and T. Sauvage			
Het evenbeeld (L'Image) W. Greeven	Vaud.	4 1846	1847
Scribe, E., and Varner			
César, of de hond van het kasteel (César, ou le chien du château) B. Lamot	Vaud.	4 1844	1871
De jong gehuwde. F. H. Greb	Vaud.	2 1847	1847
Theobald, of de terugkomst uit Rusland (Théobald, ou le retour de Russie) J. Zijtsema	Vaud.	6 1840	1843
De twee zusters (Jeanne et Jeanneton) F. H. Greb	Vaud.	5 1845	1847
Scribe, E., and Théaulon			
Stanislas en Poleska	Vaud.	1 1829	
Scribe, E., Ymbert and Varner			
De oude kopiïst, of men schikt zich naar de omstandigheden (L'intérieur d'un bureau, ou la chanson) J. de Quack	Vaud.	14 1827	1850
Scribe, E.			
Het Hebreuwsche meisje, of de kerkvergadering te Konstantz ten jare 1414 (translation from the English adaptation by Burroughs of the opera <i>La Juive</i> , with music by Wilkinson replacing the Halévy score)	Musical Play	5 1836	1836
Séjour, Victor			
Ben-Léil, de zoon der duisternis (Ben-Léil, le fils de la nuit)	Drama	18 1857	1868
De kaartlegster (La Tireuse de cartes) B. L.	Drama	4 1860	1861
De witte en roode roos, of de grafkelder der grijze monniken. B. Lamot	Drama	3 1870	1870
Séjour, Victor, and Jules Brésil			
De dochter van den emigrant	Drama	3 1860	1860
Gillhoff, Theatre			12

Seurin, C. A.				
De reiziger. P. G. Renaud	Com.	2	1823	1824
Seurin, C. A., and Verentini				
Rataplán, of de jonge trommelslager. J. F. Majofski	Vaud.	18	1827	1860
Simonnin and Merle				
De loteling (Le conscrit) W. Greeven	Vaud.	17	1834	1860
Siraudin and A. Choler				
Verliefd op mevrouw! R. Faassen	Vaud.	4	1862	1863
Soulié, Frédéric				
De banneling (Le Proscrit) C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	3	1864	1864
De kinderen van den schrijnwerker. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	3	1863	1864
De schrijnwerker, of wie is zijn zoon? M. Schouten	Drama	3	1841	1842
Destulp in de bremstruiken (La Closerie des genêts) J. Beems and A. J. Cornelissen	Drama	3	1854	1867
Soulié, F., and A. Bossange				
Clotilde, of de wraak eener vrouw. B. L.	Drama	3	1858	1858
Souvestre, Emile				
Henri Hamelin. A. H. de Bruine	Drama	2	1851	1852
De rijke en de arme, of verleiding en straf C. A. v. Ray	Drama	2	1838	1838
De scheepsjongen. F. H. Greb	Vaud.	2	1846	1846
Sue, E.				
De wandelende jood (Le juif errant)	Drama	17	1861	1876
Théaulon de Lambert, M. E. G. M.				
De gravin van de ton, of de twee nichten W. Greeven	Vaud.	18	1842	1868
De kapergast, of de man met negen vrouwen. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	4	1839	1841
De zeekapitein, of de twee onnoozele meisjes. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	8	1828	1844
Théaulon and Th. Anne				
De barbier van Straatsbourg, of de Frankforter loterij (Le Barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort) J. de Boer	Vaud.	13	1830	1847
Théaulon and A. Choquant				
De Heer Lustig, of de deurwaarder liedjesdichter (M. Jovial, ou l'huissier chansonnier) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	10	1834	1839
Théaulon and Dartois de Bournonville				
Frankrijk en Savoije	Vaud.	2	1845	1845
De vrouwensoldaten, of de slecht verdedigde vesting (Les Femmes soldats, ou la forteresse mal défendue) J. de Quack and B. A. Fallée	Vaud.	30	1823	1856

Théaulon, Dartois and Francis				
Klara Wendel, of de jonkvrouwelijke struikroover (Clara Wendel, ou la de- moiselle brigand) C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1831	
Théaulon, Dartois and Laloue				
De boezemvriend. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	12	1828	1850
Théaulon and Gabriel				
De Heer Lustig, of de deurwaarder in gij- zeling. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	1	1834	
Thiboust, Lambert				
Het geheim van Miss Aurore. J. P. Hagen	Drama	3	1863	1863
Gekoesterd als een schoothondje	Vaud.	5	1865	1866
Twee invaliden	Vaud.	6	1873	1876
Thiboust, L., and Delacour				
De straatvogeld R. Faassen	Vaud.	1	1870	
De graaf van St. Germain	Drama	3	1874	1875
Zomerpret. R. Faassen	Vaud.	14	1867	1870
Thiboust, L., and E. Grangé				
De kinderroofster	Drama	4	1873	1874
Uchard				
Fiammina	Drama	1	1872	
Vaez, Gustave, and A. Royer				
De reis naar Pontoise, of de erfenis uit Rusland	Com.	1	1850	
Valville, F. B.				
De twee sprekende schilderijen, of de ge- stoorde maaltijd	Com.	10	1805	1835
Vanderburch				
99 beesten en 1 boer (Quatre-vingt-dix- neuf moutons et un champenois)	Vaud.	2	1860	1861
Varin, Ch. V.				
De gebroeders Dondaine (Les Frères Don- daine)	Vaud.	3	1848	1848
Varin, Ch. V., and Laurencin				
De blinde en zijn stok. W. Greeven	Vaud.	2	1842	1842
Varin, Desvergers and E. Arago				
De zieke door tijdsomstandigheid, of lief- de en minnenijd. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	2	1834	1835
Varin, Desvergers and Laurencin				
Georgette (Georgette) A. J. Cornelissen	Vaud.	1	1851	
Varner, A. F., and Duvert				
De zuster van Jocrisse. M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	15	1842	1859
Vial, J. B. Ch.				
De echtgenoot en de minnaar. P. G. Re- naud	Com.	1	1824	

Villeneuve, Th. F. Vallou de, and Ch. Dupeuty De hussaar van Felsheim (Le Hussard de Felsheim) B. A. Fallée	Vaud.	5	1828	1860
Villeneuve, Th. F. Vallou de, and de Livry De dochter van Dominique (La Fille de Dominique) A. van der Hoop Jr.	Vaud.	11	1841	1853
Mejuffrouw Dangeville	Vaud.	7	1851	1873
Villeneuve, Th. F. V. de, Vanderburch and Desforges Hendrik de Vierde als huisvader, of het driekonings-feest te Fontainebleau. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	18	1829	1869
Voltaire Amelia, of de Hertog van Foix (Amélie, ou le duc de Foix) J. Nomsz	Trag.	2	1820	1824
Brutus (Brutus) J. Haverkamp	Trag.	1	1821	
Edipus (Oedipe) A. L. Barbaz	Trag.	2	1821	1827
Mahomet (Mahomet, ou le fanatisme) A. Hartsen	Trag.	3	1813	1827
Mérope (Mérope)	Trag.	3	1806	1813
Sémiramis (Sémiramis) P. Pypers	Trag.	2	1804	1806
Zaire (Zaire) J. Nomsz	Trag.	2	1820	1827
Wafflard, A. J. M., and J. D. Fulgence de Bury Van Amsterdam naar Scheveningen, of een vastenavondsreisje (Le Voyage à Dieppe) J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	16	1828	1846
Xavier, Boniface, dit Saintine Henriette, Rosalind en Charlot (Henriette et Charlot)	Vaud.	2	1858	1867
Xavier and Demoustier Patineau, of de erfenis van mijne vrouw	Vaud.	4	1847	1848
Xavier, Duvert and Lausanne Een heer en eene dame (Un monsieur et une dame) M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	5	1853	1864
Leen mij vijf francs! J. H. Denis	Vaud.	3	1865	1866
Xavier and de Montépin De vrouw van Paljas	Drama	3	1875	1875

UNIDENTIFIED FRENCH PLAYS

1814, of de jongejjfrouwen kostschool van Montereau. M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	8	1841	1843
De advokaat Patelijn (This may be Cailleau's Les Ruses, finesses et subtilités de Pathelin l'avocat)	Com.	15	1811	1840
Af en aan. M. A. Maas Geesteranus	Com.	2	1875	1875
De afgrond, of de smederijen van Noorwegen	Drama	2	1813	1813

Alle goederen gemeen!	Vaud.	2	1855	1855
De ambtenaar en zijn liefje, of de bedrogen Pierrot. G. J. Beelenkamp	Vaud.	1	1854	
Asmodée, of de duivel beschermgeest	Vaud.	1	1863	
De belegering van den tooren	Com.	3	1810	1825
Het Belgische meisje, of de vrouwelijke spion J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	4	1832	1833
Bertrand en Suzette, of het huwelijk door rede gewettigd. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	2	1831	1831
De beschermengel	Vaud.	1	1813	
Een blanke Othello	Vaud.	4	1855	1875
De blinde Cassander	Vaud.	1	1804	
Het borstbeeld, of de Hongaarsche deserteur	Drama	1	1810	
Bravo en paruikmaker	Vaud.	2	1872	1872
De bruiloftsnacht, of de valsche munters. F. A. Rosenveldt	Drama	1	1834	
Het burgtspook, of het spook-kasteel. C. J. Roobol	Drama	2	1808	1831
Christina van Rusland en Milna Peterhoff, of de vorstin en de kamerjuffer. C. J. Roobol	Vaud.	3	1849	1856
Celestine van Florian, of de minnares rechter over haar minnaar	Drama	1	1811	
Dertig jaren tooneeldienst, of de vertooning ten voordeelen van een' oud souffleur. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	4	1829	1843
De diligence op Orleans, of de vergissing	Com.	15	1820	1845
Het dubbel leven	Vaud.	11	1868	1872
Dwaling en schuld, of een gewetenszaak. W. Greeven	Drama	1	1847	
De eerste liefde van Hendrik den Vierden, of de fontein van St. Jan te Nerac. C. A. v. Ray	Drama	2	1838	1838
Het eerste grijze haar	Drama	5	1869	1871
Er is zoo weinig toe noodig, of de gewaande verminkte	Com.	5	1809	1827
Eugenius Aram, de geheimzinnige misdadiger C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	3	1868	1869
De ezelinnenmelk	Vaud.	10	1858	1863
Het gebroken kopje. G. van Beek	Vaud.	2	1851	1851
Gestoffeerde kamers te huur, of de echtgenoot neef	Vaud.	4	1840	1847
De Graaf Orzano, of de gewaande spaansche bedelaar	Drama	1	1857	
De geheime fondsen	Vaud.	3	1851	1852
Het geld van den duivel. W. P. Bangert	Drama	1	1857	
Genoveva van Braband	Drama	2	1867	1867
Eene gewetenszaak	Drama	3	1867	1869

De getrouwde mannen zonder vrouwen, of een uur vaderschap. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1834
De gouden karos.	Vaud.	3	1870 1871
De gruweldaden van Pepermans. C. P. T. Bigot	Vaud.	7	1873 1876
Hariadan Barbarossa, groot admiraal van Soliman. B. A. Fallée	Drama	4	1812 1832
Het hart eener grootmoeder	Vaud.	1	1857
De heiden-koningin. B. L.	Vaud.	2	1855 1855
De hertogin en de markies, of de twee gebochelden. W. Greeven	Vaud.	1	1855
De herstelde misslag	Com.	1	1808
Hoe men de mannen beet neemt!	Com.	1	1868
De hofnar. D. J. Kamphuizen	Vaud.	18	1838 1854
Het hoofd van Martin. A. J. Cornelissen	Vaud.	5	1853 1853
Het huismoedertje. J. Beems	Vaud.	11	1850 1861
Hussarentrouw, of tienjarige militaire standvastigheid. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	1	1833
De jager, de hussaar en het oestermeisje, of de verpande krijgslieden. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	5	1839 1843
Jonathan en Jonas. W. P. B.	Vaud.	5	1855 1858
Een kamer te huur	Com.	1	1812
Karel de Twaalfde, Koning van Zweden	Drama	2	1808 1808
Het kamertje van een waschmeisje. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	16	1826 1859
De kapitein van de ruiterswacht (Le Chevalier du guet) C. J. Mienikus	Com.	3	1841 1843
Een keukenpiet. R. Faassen	Vaud.	2	1869 1869
Het kind van den huize	Vaud.	3	1857 1860
De kindermeid (with music by Offenbach)	Vaud.	2	1875 1875
Het kleine nichtje	Vaud.	1	1870
Klaverenvrouw	Vaud.	3	1868 1868
De klompenmakers, of de wolvenklem	Vaud.	1	1860
De koopman in kinderspeelgoed. W. Greeven	Vaud.	4	1849 1852
De lastige schoonvader. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	3	1865 1866
Het leven van Cesar, of hoe Cesar met zijne vrouw leefde! R. Faassen	Vaud.	9	1865 1865
Liefdeketenen	Drama	1	1870
De loods, de sloopstimmerman, en het garnaalmeisje. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	22	1831 1861
De loterij-briefjes, of de bedrogen schoenlapper. Ward Bingley	Com.	8	1806 1827
Een man van zijn woord. R. Faassen	Vaud.	3	1863 1864
Maria Leckzinska	Drama	2	1868 1868
De mariniers van Cherbourg	Vaud.	5	1862 1863
De matroos. W. Greeven	Drama	4	1835 1836
De markiezin en de oude tooneeldanser	Vaud.	3	1841 1841
Men vraagt een gouverneur!	Vaud.	4	1857 1859

Met slaande trom. R. Faassen	Vaud.	11	1861	1872
Mevrouw slaapt. R. Faassen	Vaud.	6	1868	1875
Mijne vrouw en mijn parapluie	Vaud.	2	1868	1868
Mijnheer Lafleur, of knecht en minnaar. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	9	1866	1875
Mijnheer Wankel, of de Parijsche zamenzwering in 1831. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	3	1835	1836
Het militaire klaverblad, of de drie geslachten	Vaud.	3	1852	1853
Mylord met lange ooren en bruin haar	Vaud.	2	1872	1872
De nacht van den 13den November. C. J. Roobol	Drama	2	1862	1862
De nieuwe landheer, of de gewaande marquis (with music by Boieldieu) M. G. Engelman	Mus. Play	4	1831	1834
Nicht en tante				
Noord en zuid. Büchner	Com.	3	1869	1872
Ontrouw en vergeving, of de schuldige echtgenoot	Drama	1	1808	
De onbedreven minnaar	Com.	1	1812	
Het Oost-Vriesch dorps-pleidooi, of de herbergier burgemeester. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	17	1834	1858
Oud bij jong en jong bij oud. R. Faassen	Vaud.	9	1867	1872
De pagiestreken	Vaud.	1	1830	
Papa Voorheen	Com.	1	1858	
De parel der dienstboden. Napoleon Destanberg	Vaud.	1	1863	
Eene Parijsche grizette	Vaud.	2	1872	1872
Pieter Spreeuw, of een uur boerenkermis. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	2	1835	1835
De pleiziertrein van Parijs naar Londen. R. Faassen	Vaud.	1	1872	
De polytechnicus	Vaud.	1	1868	
De profet (met geen woorden van Scribe en zonder muziek van Meyerbeer)	Vaud.	1	1859	
Richardini, of de waterleidingen van Cosenza	Drama	2	1813	1813
Het rijk der vrouwen	Drama	5	1868	1868
Rikko, of de gewaande marquis	Com.	1	1811	
Rita, of het chemische masker. B. L.	Drama	2	1856	1856
Rosita, of de schat van eene vrouw (This may be Laurencin's Rosita, ou tenir sa promesse)	Vaud.	3	1862	1863
De schoolmeester, of een examen ten platte lande. J. Dekker Cz.	Vaud.	2	1862	1862
Slaap wel, mijnheer Pantalon	Vaud.	2	1872	1872
Een slagtoffer van het magnetismus. J. P. Hagen	Vaud.	2	1863	1864
De sluikers. G. v. Beek	Vaud.	1	1850	
De staatkundige weerhaan, of het huis achter den wal. C. A. v. Ray	Com.	1	1830	

Eene stem des hemels. G. v. Beek	Vaud.	3	1862	1871
Te zijn en niet te zijn, of de schilders winkel	Vaud.	18	1827	1860
Het spookschip, of de vliegende Hollander C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	8	1870	1870
De tijd baart rozen. G. v. Beek	Com.	1	1860	
De tooverdrank van Cagliostro. J. Beems	Vaud.	1	1848	
De tower van Londen in 1661	Drama	3	1876	1876
De twee bedienden bij geval, of het dubbeld ontbijt	Com.	2	1811	1812
De twee bescherm-engelen. W. Greeven	Vaud.	2	1853	1853
De twee bruijgoms, of de plaatsvervanger. M. Schouten and W. Greeven	Vaud.	1	1839	
De twee Eliza's, of wie is zij? J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	1	1827	
De twee ex-pages. J. Beems	Vaud.	1	1850	
Twee jonge Savoyards (music by Dallayrac)	Vaud.	13	1822	1845
Twee moeders. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2	1875	1875
De twee vlakken, of het dorp in opschudding C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	17	1833	1844
Een uur achter het slot, of de brief van aanbe- veling. J. C. Honig	Vaud.	13	1824	1844
Een uur te laat, of het verijdelde tweegevecht A. v. der Hoop Jr.	Vaud.	2	1852	1852
De vaderlijke vloek, of het verlaten klooster C. A. v. Ray	Drama	4	1835	1837
Vasten-avond, of de wassenbeelden. J. H. Gravé	Vaud.	1	1834	
Vergelding, of een avontuur onder Karel IX van Frankrijk	Drama	2	1862	1863
De verijdelde zamenkomsten	Vaud.	4	1872	1872
Het verhinderde tweegevecht. W. Hempel	Vaud.	5	1839	1847
Verliefd op mevrouw. R. Faassen	Vaud.	1	1868	
De vermomde gelieven. B. A. Fallée	Vaud.	5	1804	1830
Eene verschrikkelijke dochter. M. J. A. v. Ber- kel	Vaud.	5	1859	1863
De verschrikkelijke kinderen	Vaud.	1	1869	
De verwoesting van Lissabon				
De vischvrouw. W. Greeven	Vaud.	10	1848	1861
De vos en de raven	Vaud.	3	1874	1875
De vrolijke schoenlapper, of de wedergevonde- ne dochter. W. B.	Vaud.	3	1831	1832
Eene vrouw die haar man bedriegt. A. J. Cor- nelissen	Vaud.	3	1852	1852
De vrouw is de baas. C. A. v. Ray	Vaud.	5	1837	1840
De vrouwenhater. J. C. Honig	Vaud.	4	1829	1848
Vrouwen, blijft van de rumflesch af!	Vaud.	2	1872	1872
Vrouwentranen (Les femmes qui pleurent) W. P. Bangert	Drama	4	1858	1866

Vruchteloze list (This may be Pompigny's La Ruse inutile)	Com.	1	1821
Wat doet het lot niet!	Com.	1	1806
Een weduwnaar. J. G. Beelenkamp	Vaud.	2	1847 1847
Het weekblad van het regt (La Gazette des tribunaux) A. J. Cornelissen	Vaud.	4	1850 1852
De weg tot het hart	Vaud.	7	1872 1876
Het welbewaakte kind. Belinfante	Vaud.	19	1854 1875
Het wetboek der vrouwen. J. Beems	Vaud.	6	1847 1852
De wonderkuur, of de twee eenoogigen. M. J. Ruffa	Vaud.	2	1841 1842
De zeekapitein, of de twee weezen	Vaud.	1	1848
De zeekapitein en zijne vrouw	Vaud.	4	1850 1852
De zijdewerker, of de afschaffing der loterij	Vaud.	2	1855 1856
De zilveren neus	Vaud.	1	1858
Zoo jaloersch als een tijger	Vaud.	2	1862 1863

II. GERMAN PLAYS

Albini

De bemoeial, of eindelijk heeft hij toch eens wat goeds gedaan (Endlich hat er es doch gut gemacht) Com. 7 1845 1849

De gevaarlijke tante (Die gefährliche Tante) Com. 2 1840 1840

De hof-kleermaker-generaal. C. J. Roobol Com. 1 1846

Amalie, Princess of Saxony

De bruid uit de residentie. J. Zijtsema Com. 3 1838 1839

Leugen en waarheid (Lüge und Wahrheit) Drama 3 1838 1838

De oom (Der Oheim) Drama 3 1837 1838

De rentmeester. J. Zijtsema Com. 6 1838 1848

Angely, Louis

Het feest der ambachtslieden (Das Fest der Handwerker) H. G. Kiehl Vaud. 8 1855 1875

Het oordeel van Parijs, of wie is de leelijkste (Paris in Pommern) J. Ph. Sterk Vaud. 1 1855

Van zeven de leelijkste (Von Sieben die Häszlichste) H. v. der Sprong Com. 2 1845 1845

Arresto, C. G. H.

De militaire stand (Die Soldaten) J. W. J. Steenbergen v. Goor Drama 5 1805 1832

Het plan tot een blijspel (Der Plan) Com. 3 1805 1849

De Oost-Indien-vaarder (Der Indienfahrer) J. W. J. Steenbergen v. Goor Drama 4 1823 1827

De zoon in vijandelijken dienst (Der feindliche Sohn) Drama 1 1805

Babo, J. M.				
De beloonde moederliefde, of de gevolgen eener nuttige opvoeding (Bürgerglück) H. Kuyper Gzn.	Drama	5	1826	1845
De pols, of de kracht van het bloed (Der Puls) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	12	1809	1845
Beck, Heinrich				
Het cameleon (Das Chamäleon)	Com.	3	1832	1833
Redding voor redding (Rettung für Rettung)	Drama	1	1813	
Benedix, Roderich				
Dokter Wesp (Doktor Wespe)	Com.	6	1843	1846
Eigenzinnigheid, stijfhoofdigheid en koppigheid (Eigensinn) H. van der Sprong	Com.	6	1853	1857
De gevangenis (Das Gefängnis) B. L.	Com.	1	1855	
Een huwelijksreis (Die Hochzeitsreise) H. van der Sprong	Com.	4	1854	1856
Die jaloerschen (Die Eifersüchtigen) C. R. H. Spoor	Com.	3	1857	1857
Een koopman van den echten stempel, of adel- en handelsstand. J. Ph. Sterk	Drama	1	1855	
De oude magister (Der alte Magister)	Drama	1	1852	
Mathilda, of een vrouwenhart (Mathilde) J. Ph. Sterk	Drama	4	1854	1857
Neef Zegel (Der Vetter) H. van der Sprong	Com.	4	1849	1852
Het proces	Com.	1	1855	
Berg, O. F.				
De oudekleerkooper, of een vriend in den nood (Einer von unsere Leut)	Com.	15	1871	1876
Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte				
Anna van Oostenrijk (Anna von Oestreich) J. Veltman	Drama	4	1853	1870
De dochter van den houtvester (Das Forsthaus)	Drama	6	1853	1855
Dorp en stad, of de vrouw van een' professor (Dorf und Stadt) J. Ph. Sterk	Drama	2	1854	1856
De Engelschen te Parijs. C. J. Roobol	Com.	1	1852	
Eene familie (Eine Familie) H. v. der Sprong	Drama	7	1848	1858
De Goudboer (Der Goldbauer)	Drama	3	1872	1872
De hertog van Richelieu. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	4	1864	1864
Hinko, de vrijknecht (Hinko) C. J. Roobol	Drama	7	1846	1849
Hoe men huizen bouwt (Wie man Häuser baut)	Com.	1	1858	
Jane Eyre, de wees uit Lowood (Die Waise aus Lowood) B. L.	Drama	14	1854	1875

Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte				
Kardinal Mazarin, of Frankrijk in 1659 (Mazarin) F. H. Greb	Drama	5	1852	1853
De Lady van Worsley Hall (Die Lady von Worsley Hall)	Drama	2	1858	1858
De Markiezin de Villette (Die Marquise von Villette) C. J. Roobol	Drama	1	1846	
Moeder en zoon (Mutter und Sohn)	Drama	19	1846	1867
Nacht en morgen, of de familie Beaufort (Nacht und Morgen) C. J. Roobol	Drama	21	1844	1869
Nelly	Drama	7	1869	1871
De orgeldraaier en zijn pleegdochter (Der Leiermann und sein Pflegekind)	Drama	8	1871	1874
Steven Langer uit Glogau, of de Holland- sche schoorsteen (Steffen Langer)	Com.	3	1852	1852
De vrouw in 't wit. C. J. Roobol	Drama	2	1870	1870
Brachvogel, A. C.				
De zoon van den woekeraar. H. Maronier	Drama	4	1856	1858
Brandes, J. C.				
De vrouw naar de wereld. A. Hartsen	Drama	3	1822	1826
De nieuwsgierige vrouwen	Com.	1	1822	
Brühl, K. F. M. P., Graf von				
De burgemeester (Der Bürgermeister)	Drama	9	1820	1837
Bunsen, P. L.				
Siegfried van Lindenberg (Siegfried von Lindenberg)	Com.	5	1808	1835
Carlschmidt				
De graaf van Monte-Christo. G. van Beek	Drama	12	1847	1868
Castelli, Ignatz Franz				
Victorijn, of het weeskind en de moorde- naar (Der Waise und der Mörder)	Drama	6	1820	1855
Clauren, H.				
De Herberg de Gouden Zon (Das Gasthaus zur goldenen Sonne)	Com.	7	1835	1860
De vogelschutters, of het volksfeest eener kleine stad in Duitschland (Das Vogel- schieszen)	Com.	2	1823	1823
De wolmarkt, of het hotel van Wibourg (Das Hotel de Wibourg)	Com.	2	1844	1844
Cuno, H.				
De bruidskroon, of de droomverschij- ning	Trag.	4	1821	1834
Devrient, Ph. Ed.				
Een gunstig oogenblik (Die Gunst des Au- genblicks) G. van Beek	Com.	3	1848	1853
Marie, of de getrouwde liefde (Treue Lie- be) B. L.	Drama	3	1855	1856

Elmar, Karl					
Oost, west, t'huis best! of de reizen van een Hollandschen kapitalist. A. A. Mey- senheym Knipschaur and J. Ph. Sterk	Féerie	23	1855	1876	
Elsholz, F. von					
Kom hier! (Komm her!) T. J. Kerkhoven	Com.	3	1838	1838	
Elz, Alexander					
Hij is niet jaloersch. R. Faassen	Vaud.	10	1864	1874	
Muller en Miller, of de twee kandidaten (Müller und Miller) H. van der Sprong	Com.	4	1850	1853	
Engel, J. J.					
De pagie (Der Edelknabe)	Drama	1	1821		
Freytag, G.					
George en Valentine, of de Sint-Valen- tijnsdag (Die Valentine)	Drama	1	1856		
Fusz, F.					
De snijder en zijn zoon (Der Schneider und sein Sohn)	Com.	10	1805	1831	
Gormansky, Friedrich					
De rijke erfgename (Der bucklige Mar- quis, oder die reiche Erbin) B. L.	Drama	11	1849	1869	
Görner, K. A.					
De huisjapon van mijn' oom (Meines On- kels Schlafrock)	Com.	2	1861	1861	
Nicht en tante. M. J. Ruffa	Com.	3	1853	1854	
Zout. C. R. H. Spoor	Com.	8	1857	1875	
Zwarte Piet (Schwarzer Peter) M. J. Ruf- fa	Com.	1	1853		
Gotter, F. W.					
De oude oom, of het mislukt bedrog (Die Erbschleicher)	Com.	2	1820	1827	
Grillparzer, F.					
Bertha en Jaromir, of de stamvrouw (Die Ahnfrau)	Trag.	2	1828	1828	
Grosse, F. W.					
Zij moet van het tooneel af, of eene zege der tooneelspeelkunst	Com.	5	1830	1853	
Gunther, Leopold					
Lot is dood. C. B. T. Bigot	Vaud.	2	1872	1873	
Gutzkow, K.					
Richard Savage, of moeder en zoon (Ri- chard Savage) E. A. v. Gogh	Drama	1	1842		
Het Pruisische hof onder Frederik Wil- helm I (Zopf und Schwert) G. v. Beek	Drama	2	1874	1875	
Hagemann, F. G.					
De dubbele vader (Der Doppel-Papa) W. v. Dinsen Jr.	Com.	2	1845	1845	

Hagemann, F. G. (continued)				
De vorst en zijn kamerdienaar (Der Fürst und sein Kammerdiener) H. Kuyper Gzn.	Com.	2	1821	1822
Hagemeister, J. G. L.				
Het hoogste lot (Das Lotterieloos) A. Hor- dijk Verstolk	Com.	13	1806	1832
Sint Maerten, of de gestolen ganzen	Com.	5	1807	1855
Halm, Friederich				
Griseldis, of de drie proeven (Griseldis)	Drama	9	1839	1867
De kampvechter van Ravenna (Der Fech- ter von Ravenna) G. van Beek	Drama	3	1866	1866
Hensler, K. F.				
Het vrouwtje van den Donau, of de ko- ningin der spooknymphen (Das Do- nauweibchen) A. Fokke Simonsz.	Mus. Play	40	1809	1875
Holbein, F. I. von				
Fridolin, of de boodschap naar de ijzer- smelterij (Fridolin)	Drama	15	1811	1846
Klaartje en Jakob, of zijne mouw ver- raadt hem. D. J. Kamphuizen	Com.	1	1822	
Holtei, Karl von				
Laurierboom en bedelstaf, of drie jaren uit het leven van een' dichter (Lorbeer- baum und Bettelstab) G. v. Beek	Drama	21	1850	1875
Zij schrijft aan zich zelve (Sie schreibt an sich selbst, oder Ziegenpeter und Sohn) M. J. Ruffa	Com.	6	1851	1857
Hopp, Friedrich				
Het wonderkapje van Dokter Faust, of de roover-herberg in het bosch (Dr. Fausts Zauberkäppchen, oder die Räuberher- berge im Walde) B. L.	Féerie	4	1854	1859
Iffland, A. W.				
De advokaaten (Die Advokaten)	Drama	12	1808	1852
De behoeftige uit weldadigheid	Drama	1	1826	
Dienstpligt, of de regtvaardige vorst (Dienstpflicht) M. G. Engelman	Drama	8	1810	1835
Elize van Valberg (Elise von Valberg)	Drama	4	1821	1833
De Familie Lonau (Familie Lonau)	Drama	1	1808	
Het geweten (Das Gewissen)	Drama	14	1808	1837
De herfstdag (Der Herbsttag) B. Rekker and J. van der Stam	Drama	1	1830	
De huwelijksgift (Die Aussteuer) G. J. Hammius	Drama	5	1825	1837
De Jagers (Die Jäger) B. Rekker and J. van der Stam	Drama	17	1808	1853

Iffland, A. W. (continued)

De minderjarige weezen (Die Mündel)	Drama	4	1825	1829
De misdaad uit eergierigheid (Verbrechen aus Ehrsucht)	Drama	6	1822	1838
De ongehuwden (Die Hagestolzen)	Drama	6	1832	1834
De reis naar de stad (Die Reise nach der Stadt) M. G. Engelman	Com.	4	1822	1827
Schijnverdienste (Scheinverdienst) J. W. J. Steenbergen van Goor	Drama	8	1809	1838
Schuldbesef (Bewusstsein)	Drama	1	1822	
De speler, of Revenge Praag (Der Spieler)	Drama	30	1805	1876
Het vaderlijk erfdeel (Das Erbtheil des Vaters)	Drama	1	1825	
Het vaderlijke huis (Das Vaterhaus) P. G. Witsen Geysbeek	Drama	4	1829	1836
Kaiser, F.				
Wie heeft er een kind verloren? R. Faassen	Drama	4	1873	1873
Kalisch, David				
Dokter Peschke, of kleine heeren (Doktor Peschke) J. H. Aalbers	Vaud.	7	1861	1874
De effektenkramer, of zoo gewonnen, zoo geronnen (Der Aktienbudiker) R. Faassen	Vaud.	8	1869	1871
Kalisch, David, and A. Wehrauch				
De grove diamantslijpers (Die Bummler von Berlin)	Vaud.	1	1856	
Kneisel, Rudolf				
De liederen van den muzikant (Die Lieder des Musikanten) C. R. H. Spoor	Vaud.	6	1870	1875
Kotzebue, August von				
De arme dichter (Der arme Poet)	Drama	29	1821	1855
Armoede en grootheid (Armut und Edelsinn) C. Loots	Com.	19	1808	1875
De avond-uur (Die Abendstunde) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	3	1811	1852
Het bezoek, of de zucht tot uitblinken (Der Besuch)	Drama	8	1821	1840
De bloedverwanten (Die Verwandtschaften)	Drama	19	1819	1844
De brandschatting (Die Brandschätzung)	Com.	13	1806	1847
De breinaalden (Die Stricknadeln)	Drama	3	1806	1844
De brief uit Cadix (Der Brief aus Cadix) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	4	1820	1827
Cora, of de zonnenmaagd (Die Sonnenjungfrau)	Drama	5	1806	1829
De deserteur (Der Deserteur)	Drama	2	1808	1808

Kotzebue, August von (continued)

De dochter van Pharao (Die Tochter Pharaonis) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	3	1824	1826
De duitsche man (Der deutsche Mann und die vornehmen Leute)	Com.	3	1820	1821
De echtgenoot kluizenaar (Die Beichte) C. v. der Vijver	Com.	10	1810	1846
E.A.W.G. (Um Antwort Wird Gebeten)	Farce	5	1821	1824
Eduard in Schotland, of de nacht eens vlugtelings (Eduard in Schottland)	Drama	15	1804	1852
De erfenis (Die Erbschaft)	Drama	22	1809	1875
De gebannen Amor, of de achterdochtige echtgenooten (Der verbannte Amor) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	8	1811	1833
De gevaarlijke buurman (Schneider Fips) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	21	1806	1846
De Graaf Benjowsky, of de zamenzweering op Kamtschatka (Graf Benjowsky) B. Rekker	Drama	1	1827	
De Graaf van Bourgondien, of de kluizenaar in 't woud (Der Graf von Burgund)	Drama	2	1819	1820
De grootmama (Die Grossmama)	Com.	2	1822	1822
De hagelbui	Com.	4	1826	1827
De houten sabel, of de wapenschouwing (Der hölzerne Säbel)	Vaud.	3	1830	1831
De huisselijke twist (Der häusliche Zwist)	Com.	14	1821	1853
Het incognito (Incognito)	Com.	1	1804	
De Indianen in Engeland (Die Indianer in England)	Com.	4	1808	1851
De intrigue aan 't venster (Das Lustspiel am Fenster)	Com.	3	1808	1808
De jaloersche vrouw bekeerd (Die eifersüchtige Frau)	Com.	21	1820	1847
Johanna van Montfaucon (Johanna von Montfaucon)	Drama	15	1805	1846
Keizer Claudius (Kaiser Claudius) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	1	1822	
De kleine stad in Duitschland (Die deutschen Kleinstädter) A. Fokke Simonsz.	Com.	1	1824	
De kleinigheden	Com.	8	1821	1826
De kruisvaarders (Die Kreuzfahrer)	Drama	37	1804	1869
De kwaade luim (Üble Laune)	Drama	15	1824	1844
De Kwakers (Die Quäker) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	1	1820	
Het landhuis aan den grooten weg (Das Landhaus an der Heerstrasse)	Com.	3	1811	1814
De landjonker in Berlijn (Das Intermezzo)	Com.	16	1810	1838

Kotzebue, August von (continued)

Loon der waarheid, of de gesluijerde vrouw (Lohn der Wahrheit)	Drama	2	1820	1820
Het losse schot (Blind geladen)	Comedy	9	1812	1835
Menschenhaat en berouw (Menschenhass und Reue)	Drama	30	1808	1866
De lasteraar (Die Verl��umder)	Drama	22	1804	1859
De moeder des huisgezins, of Is er geene orde voor edele huisvrouwen? (Die deutsche Hausfrau) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	17	1814	1846
De mooie kleine modemaakster (Die h��b- sche kleine Putzmacherin) J. S. v. Es- veldt Holtrop	Com.	2	1805	1827
De onechte zoon (Das Kind der Liebe)	Drama	22	1808	1857
De ongehuwde vrouw (Die Unverm��hlte) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	6	1809	1845
Onze Fritz (Unser Fritz)	Drama	4	1820	1853
De oude lijfkoetsier van Peter den Derden (Der alte Leibkutscher Peter des Drit- ten)	Drama	11	1822	1845
Pachter Veldkomijn van Tippelskerken (Pachter Feldk��mmel von Tippelskir- chen)	Farce	1	1821	
De pagiestreken (Die Pagenstreiche) A. Fokke Simonsz.	Farce	34	1805	1870
Het puntdicht (Das Epigram)	Com.	12	1822	1862
Robert Maxwell (Der Opfertod)	Drama	1	1860	
De Spaniaarden in Peru, of de dood van Rolla (Rollas Tod)	Trag.	22	1805	1868
De spiegel, of laat dat blijven (Der Spiegel)	Com.	5	1820	1824
De spaarpot (Die Sparb��chse oder der arme Kandidat)	Com.	1	1806	
Het spook (Das Gespenst)	Drama	9	1811	1859
Het strandregt (Das Strandrecht) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	2	1808	1824
Het toegemetselde venster (Das zuge- mauerte Fenster) J. S. v. Esveldt Hol- trop	Com.	5	1813	1844
De tooneespeler tegen dank (Der Schau- spieler wider Willen)	Com.	1	1809	
De Turksche gezant, of de jongejuffrou- wen kostschool (M��dchenfreundschaft) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	16	1808	1862
De twee kleine Auvergnaten (Die beiden kleinen Auvergnaten) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Drama	5	1820	1824

Kotzebue, August von (continued)

De twee Klingsbergen, of de oude en jonge losbol (Die beiden Klingsberg)	Com.	3	1825	1827
Ubaldo of het slagtoffer van pligt (Ubaldo) J. S. v. Esveldt Holtrop	Trag.	12	1809	1843
Het verdeelde hart (Das geteilte Herz)	Com.	6	1820	1826
De verkeerde schaamte (Falsche Scham)	Drama	1	1809	
Het verloren kind (Das verlorene Kind)	Drama	4	1809	1823
De verstrooiden, of het door verstrooidheid bewerkt huwelijk (Die Zerstreuten)	Farce	17	1809	1860
De verwarde schaking, of de nacht der zotheid (Der Wildfang) P. G. Witsen Geysbeek	Farce	7	1820	1845
De verwarring (Der Wirrwarr)	Farce	42	1821	1874
De verzoening, of de broedertwist (Die Versöhnung)	Drama	14	1821	1873
De vrijmetselaar (Der Freimaurer) M. G. Engelman	Com.	6	1820	1825
De wijze vrouw in het bosch, of de spraaklooze ridder (Die kluge Frau im Walde)	Féerie	6	1805	1841
Het zakboek (Das Taschenbuch)	Drama	2	1828	1828
De zilveren bruiloft (Die silberne Hochzeit)	Drama	17	1810	1849
De zintuigen der hersenen (Die Organe des Gehirns)	Com.	1	1808	
Zorgen zonder nood en nood zonder zorgen (Sorgen ohne Not und Not ohne Sorgen) J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	1	1828	
Kratter, Franz				
Het meisje van Marienburg (Das Mädchen von Marienburg)	Drama	2	1820	1823
Kreuger, J.				
De waarzegster van Parijs. J. H. Aalbers	Drama	3	1866	1867
Kurlander, F. A. von				
De koopman uit Riga, of de staatjuffer M. G. Engelman	Drama	6	1821	1833
L'Arronge, Adolph				
Gebroeders Bok. C. P. T. Bigot	Com.	10	1871	1875
Lederer, J.				
De vrouwelijke studenten. J. Ph. Sterk	Com.	2	1867	1867
Lebrün, C.				
Nr. 777, of het verloten landgoed (Nummer 777) W. Hempel	Farce	25	1838	1872
Lembert, J. W.				
De dichter en de tooneelspeler, of een blijspel in het blijspel. P. L.	Com.	4	1846	1852
Lessing, G. E.				
Emilia Galotti	Trag.	8	1805	1832
Gillhoff, Theatre				

Lindau, Paul				
Maria en Magdalena (Maria und Magdalena)	C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	2	1873 1873
Linden, G.				
De nieuwe Proteus, of de zonderlinge gelieven (Der neue Proteus)		Com.	1	1809
Marsano, W. von				
Twee helden, of eene les voor de vrouwen (Die Helden)	J. Ph. Sterk	Com.	8	1856 1862
Möller, H. F.				
De Graaf von Walltron, of de subordinationie (Der Graf von Walltron)		Drama	6	1806 1822
Mosenthal, S. H. Ritter von				
Debora (Deborah)	G. van der Schaft	Drama	5	1867 1872
De Landhoeve de Keerkring (Der Sonnwendhof)	B. L.	Drama	3	1857 1858
Moser, G. von				
De laatste der maand (Ultimo)	Soranus	Com.	3	1875 1875
Het zangersfeest (Das Stiftungsfest)		Com.	6	1875 1876
Moser, G. von and W. Drost				
De zieke familie en de kwakzalver.	C. R. H. Spoor	Com.	3	1874 1875
Müllner, A.				
De schuld (Die Schuld)		Trag.	2	1821 1821
Nestroy, J.				
Het lustige klaverblad (Lumpaci-Vagabundus)	R. Faassen	Féerie	1	1871
Oettinger, E. M.				
Twee zielen en eene gedachte, of twee lijken en geen graf		Com.	4	1856 1858
Perinet, J.				
De nachtmerrie (Das neue Sonntagskind)				
G. Vreedenberg		Mus. Play	8	1829 1840
De zusters van Praag (Die Schwestern von Prag)		Mus. Play	2	1830 1830
Plötz, Joh. von				
De huistiran		Drama	2	1876 1876
Pohl, Emil				
Klein Geld.	C. P. T. Bigot	Vaud.	4	1876 1876
Oscar Carro, de kunstrijder van het Cirque Renz.	C. P. T. Bigot	Farce	7	1876 1876
Putlitz, Gustav zu				
De student in eene badplaats.	H. v. der Sprong	Com.	2	1850 1851
Willem van Oranje aan het hof van Engeland		Drama	2	1867 1867

Putlitz, G. zu, and W. Alexis				
Zout-directeur zonder protectie (Der Salz-				
direktor) J. Ph. Sterk	Com.	6	1854	1858
Räder, G.				
Robert en Bertrand, of de lustige vagebon-				
den (Robert und Bertram) J. H. Aalbers	Farce	35	1863	1876
Raupach, E.				
De brandstichter, of broeder en zuster				
H. v. der Sprong	Drama	1	1854	
De sonnet, of pronk niet met een's ander's				
vederen. M. J. Ruffa	Com.	2	1842	1843
De tijdgeest	Com.	3	1842	1842
Schiller, F. von				
Don Karlos, Kroonprins van Spanje (Don				
Carlos) M. Westerman	Trag.	5	1814	1829
Kabaal en liefde, of de slagtoffers van eer-				
zucht en minnenijd (Kabale und Liebe)	Trag.	5	1820	1836
De roovers (Die Räuber)	Drama	4	1873	1873
Schmidt, F. L.				
De ligtzinnige leugenaar (Der leichtsin-				
nige Lügner)	Com.	13	1826	1851
De nieuwsgierigen	Com.	2	1828	1828
Schmieder, H. G.				
De wrekers, of het verblijf der verschrik-				
king (Die Rächer)	Trag.	1	1821	
Schneider, L.				
Een huwelijksvoorstel op Helgoland (Der				
Heiratsantrag auf Helgoland) H. van				
der Sprong	Drama	14	1848	1873
Schröder, F. L.				
Het huwelijk door een weekblad (Die Hei-				
rat durch ein Wochenblatt)	Com.	1	1808	
Schijn bedriegt, of de een houd den ande-				
ren verdacht	Com.	1	1811	
Steffel de idioot	Drama	2	1861	1861
Victorine, of het verruilde kind (Victo-				
rine, oder Wohltun trägt Zinsen) M. G.				
Engelman	Drama	3	1808	1828
Schütze, Johan Stephan				
De koning van gisteren	Com.	6	1824	1829
Sonnleithner, Joseph				
Over en weer (Dir wie mir)	Com.	2	1822	1823
Spiesz, C. H.				
De brandstichting, of de onschuldig ver-				
oordeelde. H. Kuyper Gzn.	Drama	2	1826	1830
De gevolgen van een eenige leugen (Die				
Folgen einer einzigen Lüge)	Drama	5	1823	1841

Spiesz, C. H. (continued)

Klara von Hoheneichen (Klara von Hoheneichen)	Drama	1	1821
Stein, Karl			
Garrick, of de zegepraal der kunst. B. L.	Drama	1	1820
De gunsteling, of kabaal en burgertrouw			
C. J. Roobol	Drama	3	1837 1837
Het vrouwtje van den Spree	Farce	1	1809
Stephani, G.			
De apotheker en de dokter (Der Apotheker und der Dokter)	Mus. Play	1	1809
De werffofficieren (Die Werber)	Drama	1	1804
Thumb, Freiherr von			
Zij moesten vechten	Com.	1	1840
Toepfer, Karl			
De aanbevelingsbrief. H. v. der Sprong	Com.	5	1843 1844
Eene les voor de mannen (Nehmt ein Exempel dran!) M. H. Binger	Com.	14	1840 1859
Vogel, Wilhelm			
Generaal Moreau, of de drie tuiniers. P. L.	Drama	8	1820 1836
Vier schildwachten op eenen post. C. Sauer	Com.	7	1810 1837
Wehl, F.			
Een bruidegom die zijn bruid uithuwd (Ein Bräutigam, der seine Braut verheiratet) G. van Beek	Com.	2	1864 1865
Weisse, C. F.			
Romeo en Julia, of het doodelijk misverstand (Romeo und Julie) P. J. Uylenbroek	Trag.	4	1805 1829
Weissenthurn, Johanna von			
De boekhandelaar, of het welbetaald handschrift (Das Manuscript)	Com.	3	1835 1835
De bruid van Vreeland, of wie is de bruidegom? (Welcher ist der Bräutigam?)			
C. J. Roobol	Com.	16	1837 1853
De dood van Dessalines	Drama	1	1828
De eerste stap. C. J. Roobol	Com.	16	1841 1857
De landheer van Sterrenberg, <i>also</i> De verloting van het landgoed Sternberg (Das Gut Sternberg)	Com.	10	1827 1853
Maria, Koningin van Zweden, en Catharina, Hertogin van Finland. C. J. Roobol	Drama	18	1835 1873
De stiefmoeder, of welke is de bruid? (Welche ist die Braut?)	Drama	15	1827 1854
Zoo helpt de eene man den anderen	Com.	4	1843 1846

Wolff, Pius Alexander				
Preciosa, of het Spaansch heidinetje (Preciosa, oder die Zigeuner in Spanien)				
F. J. Kerkhoven	Mus. Play	24	1834	1873
Ziegler, F. J. W.				
De groote wereld en goedhartigheid (Weltton und Herzensgüte)		Drama	13	1808 1849
De lauwerkrans, of het gezag der wetten (Der Lorbeerkranz, oder die Macht der Gesetze)		Drama	2	1829 1831
Partijwoede, of Engeland in 1651 (Partei- enwuth, oder drei verhängnisvolle Tage aus Cromwells Schreckenheerrschaft)		Drama	27	1820 1865
De schoonzoon, of de misdaad uit ouder- liefde		Drama	5	1827 1833
De vermomde vorst (Das Incognito, oder der König auf Reisen)		Com.	1	1808
Vrouweneer		Drama	2	1827 1827
Wreedheid en grootmoedigheid, of het veemgerigt (Barbarei und Grösse)		Drama	2	1821 1821
Zschokke, Heinrich				
Aballino, de groote bandiet (Abällino)		Drama	37	1805 1869
Hipoliet en Roswida		Drama	1	1806
Julius van Sassen (Julius von Sassen)		Trag.	13	1810 1855
De Maarschalk van Saxen (Der Marschall von Sachsen)		Drama	1	1806
De tooveres Sidonia (Die Zauberin Sido- nia)		Drama	5	1805 1832
De vrek (adaptation of Molière's L'Avare)				
J. S. van Esveldt Holtrop	Com.	17	1808	1876

UNIDENTIFIED GERMAN PLAYS

Balletdanseressen. C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	4	1874	1875
De betooverde prins. F. D. Zimmer Bzn.	Vaud.	6	1866	1869
De bloemenkrans, of de minnaar in den boom H. v. der Sprong	Com.	14	1831	1847
Boek III, hoofdstuk I. J. W. v. Hoek	Com.	5	1870	1872
Een bruidspartij met hindernissen (This may be J. Schick's Die Brautfahrt mit Hin- dernissen, oder der Räuberüberfall im Gebirge) A. Wijnstok	Com.	7	1871	1875
Een dag getrouwd en mijne vrouw is zoek J. M. Albers	Farce	4	1869	1872
Geld is de ziel van alle zaken	Com.	1	1811	
De gevondene brieven-tasch, of berouw en vol- doening	Drama	14	1810	1850

Hinderpalen. H. v. der Sprong	Com.	1	1850
Jonge mannen en oude vrouwen. M. J. Ruffa	Com.	1	1857
Koopman Stark, of het duitsche huisgezin	Drama	3	1820 1826
Kunstrijder en schoolmeester. J. Both	Vaud.	4	1870 1871
Het levend doode snijderpaar. R. Faassen	Vaud.	6	1866 1869
Een lid van het matigheids-genootschap	Farce	6	1871 1875
Mijnheer Fritze, of wie ben ik?	Com.	1	1862
De minnaar op de proef, of het zonderlinge tweegevecht. J. de Boer	Com.	11	1831 1848
De molen bij Auerstadt	Drama	1	1812
Oom Botte	Com.	7	1830 1835
De oom uit Californië. J. Both	Farce	2	1876 1876
Op water en brood. D. F. v. Heyst	Vaud.	5	1862 1866
De telegraaph. J. J. A. P.	Com.	1	1838
Het testament eens vaders	Drama	1	1858
De twee kraaijen	Com.	1	1842
De twee vaders, of de les in de kruidkunde	Vaud.	3	1840 1840
De vaderlijke zegen	Drama	1	1829
De vrouwelijke deserteur	Com.	1	1825
Het weeshuis, of de triumph der moederlijke liefde	Com.	1	1811

III. DUTCH PLAYS

Banck, J. E.			
Een stem der natuur	Sketch	2	1874 1874
Beelenkamp, G. J.			
De huisknecht en de baron	Vaud.	3	1843 1844
Leer om leer, of de kunstgrepen der co- quetterie	Vaud.	11	1862 1874
Bergh, P. T. Helvetius van den			
De Neven	Com.	13	1838 1853
Bigot, C. P. T.			
Twee dragonders	Vaud.	1	1874
Brunings, P. F.			
De koopmansdochter	Drama	2	1874 1874
Buren, J. Huf van			
De ware menschlievendheid	Com.	4	1875 1876
Buysero, D., and J. v. Ryndorp			
De bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje	Farce	115	1804 1876
Cramer, A.			
Het geraamte, of de Leeuwenridders	Drama	8	1814 1853
De hut in het bosch, of de gewaande ban- driet	Drama	1	1811
Het visschersmeisje, of de ruïne aan den oever van den Rhijn	Drama	1	1811
De werkplaats eens schilders, of de ten- toonstelling te Amsterdam	Com.	1	1826

Cremer, J. J.				
Emma Berthold	Drama	4	1870	1870
Titulair	Com.	2	1874	1874
Delcroix, D. (Flemish)				
Lena	Drama	3	1872	1872
Delcroix, D., and J. Dodd				
De familietwist	Drama	2	1860	1860
Deventer, L. W. van				
Maria van Baarland	Drama	1	1857	
Dorp, Gerard J. van				
Het feest van den landbouw, of Holland boven al!	Sketch	2	1862	1862
De roem van Nederland, herdacht in drie tijdvakken	Sketch	4	1862	1869
Dresselhuijs, H. C.				
Leicester, of het kasteel Kenilworth	Drama	2	1862	1862
Faassen, Rosier				
Blonde Mietje	Com.	4	1875	1876
De broederhand	Sketch	1	1875	
De hond van den tuinman	Drama	3	1873	1874
De koopman in oudheden	Vaud.	10	1873	1876
De militaire Willemsorde	Drama	8	1873	1876
De oude kassier	Drama	3	1875	1875
De werkstaking	Drama	7	1872	1874
Feith, R.				
Ines de Castro	Trag.	6	1821	1861
Focquenbroch, W. G. van				
De min in 't Lazarus-huis	Farce	2	1821	1821
Foppe, H. J.				
De fortuinzoeker	Com.	3	1834	1835
Gravé, J. H.				
Ezopus op zijn praatstoel, of de geschaak- te nicht en de marionetten	Vaud.	2	1830	1830
Het Hollandsch familie-feest, of de terug- komst der drie gebroeders	Vaud.	1	1833	
Hollands Zeeroem	Sketch	8	1831	1832
Minerva's lauwerkrans	Sketch	2	1831	1831
Niets	Sketch	1	1814	
Niets (parody of the above work)	Farce	1	1814	
De onverwelkte winterbloempjes	Sketch	2	1813	1813
De eerste reize van den Heer Fortuin	Vaud.	1	1835	
Rozendaal, of de ontmoeting	Vaud.	4	1831	1831
De sneeuw, of de proefsteen van den trouwing	Vaud.	22	1827	1840
't Is maar weer paauw! of Naatje de sto- venzetster	Vaud.	1	1814	

Gravé, J. H.				
De tijden veranderen en wij met hen, of		Sketch	4	1829 1829
November 1813 en 1828				
De Hollanders, of het gelukkig uur		Com.	2	1814 1814
Halmael Jr., A. van				
De hekelaar		Com.	1	1841
Haverkorn de jonge, W.				
Elizabeth Woodeville, weduwe van Eduard den Vierden, Koning van Engeland		Trag.	1	1826
Hemert, C. K. van				
De pleegdochter, of de Sint-Nikolaasgeschenken		Drama	2	1839 1839
Honig, J. C.				
Vader en dochter, of de gevolgen van een enkelen misstap		Drama	2	1821 1822
Hoop Jr., A. van der				
De bekeerde liberaal		Vaud.	1	1831
Johanna Shore, of de hongerdood (partly based on Nicholas Rowe's „Jane Shore")		Trag.	2	1835 1842
Oranje's wederkomst in 1813		Sketch	2	1838 1838
Hummel, P.				
Als de oppositie regeert		Com.	1	1864
Huydecoper, B.				
Achilles		Trag.	1	1828
Kerckhoven, P. F. van				
De dronkaard		Drama	1	1863
Kerkhoven, T. J.				
Sara, of de slaapdrank		Drama	2	1845 1845
Kiehl, H. G.				
De ellendigen (based on Hugo's Les Misérables)		Drama	9	1863 1867
De laatste dagen van Pompeji (based on the Bulwer-Lytton novel)		Drama	4	1864 1864
Klijn, H. H.				
Montigni		Trag.	11	1822 1874
Koning, G. van Enst				
Ada, Gravinne van Holland, of het slagtoffer der heerszucht		Drama	1	1827
Kraijestein, H.				
De Watergeuzen, of het beleg der stad Middelburg		Drama	2	1826 1826
De joden		Drama	4	1835 1837
Kuiper, Hendrik				
Het hospitaal, of de verjaardag der kroonprinses		Sketch	1	1836

Langendijk, P.				
Don Quichot, of de bruiloft van Kamacho	Com.	30	1804	1873
Krelis Louwen, of Alexander de Groote op het poëtenmaal	Com.	20	1804	1839
De wiskunstenars, of het gevlugte juf- fertje	Com.	2	1805	1812
Xantippe, of het boose wijf des filosoofs Socrates beteugeld	Com.	1	1808	
Lennepe, J. van				
Het dorp aan de grenzen	Vaud.	14	1831	1834
Het dorp over de grenzen	Vaud.	8	1832	1832
Lochman van Königsfeldt-Meyenheim, W. C.				
Wanhoop en redding	Drama	1	1808	
Loo, D. H. ten Kate van				
De dood van Jan van Schaffelaar, of de vaderlandsche held	Trag.	1	1823	
Loosjes Pzn., A.				
Kenau Hasselaar, of de heldin van Haar- lem	Trag.	1	1824	
Laurens Koster, d. uitvinder der druk- kunst	Vaud.	1	1824	
Muller-Westerman, A. P.				
De admiraal Piet Hein te Delfshaven	Drama	10	1833	1854
Multatuli				
De bruid daarboven	Drama	1	1875	
Nomsz, J.				
Maria van Lalain	Trag.	1	1814	
Michiel Adriaansz. de Ruiters	Trag.	9	1826	1835
Peene, H. van (Flemish)				
Everhard en Suzanne, of het boetende landmeisje	Drama	1	1858	
De gek van 's Gravenhage	Drama	2	1857	1857
Joost van den Vondel, de prins der Neder- landsche dichters	Drama	1	1862	
Een man te trouwen	Vaud.	3	1858	1861
De wereld binnen duizend jaar	Vaud.	5	1858	1858
Wit en zwart	Vaud.	3	1858	1858
Quack, Jan de				
Zuma, of de ontdekking van den kinabast	Drama	1	1819	1845
Ray, C. A. van				
Het achttienjarige meisje, of de beschaaf- de wereld	Vaud.	6	1836	1838
Adriaan Brouwer en Joost Graasbeek, of de vrolijke Nederlandsche kunstschilders	Vaud.	14	1821	1842
Frans van Mieris	Vaud.	1	1820	
Een Noordhollandsche vrijstermarkt in 1695	Vaud.	1	1835	

Ray, C. A. van (continued)

Robert Hennebo en zijne vrienden, of een Amsterdamsch zomernachtje in 1718	Vaud.	2	1826	1826
De schilderkamer van Frans Hals te Haarlem, of het portret van Anthonie van Dijck	Vaud.	2	1840	1840
De verbeterde losbol, of men kan dwalingen herstellen	Drama	1	1836	
De 24ste Augustus, of het feest van Nederland	Sketch	1	1831	
Het vrouwen horlogie, of een huisselijk voorval	Vaud.	6	1834	1847
Rosenveldt, F. A.				
Ja of neen	Vaud.	1	1809	
De gewaande duivel	Com.	1	1812	
Ruijl, J.				
Groningen ontzet	Trag.	2	1833	1833
Ruisch, A.				
Een bankbiljet van 1000 gulden, of de Amsterdamsche schoenenpoetser	Vaud.	2	1860	1869
De bloedzuigers, of de minnehandel in de apotheke	Vaud.	17	1836	1858
De gans met de paauwenstaart, of het geneesmiddel der hoogmoedsdolheid	Vaud.	12	1840	1843
De Hertog van Alençon te Antwerpen, of burgertrouw en verraad	Drama	3	1869	1869
Het kasteel van Tourville, of de Hollandsche zeelieden in Frankrijk	Drama	3	1836	1836
Moederliefde en heldenmoed, of de gevangenis op het slot 's Gravenstein	Drama	16	1837	1873
De twee ringen, of de schipbreuk bij Egmond	Drama	2	1830	1830
De wees van Brussel	Drama	2	1848	1848
Zoo werd hij rijk	Drama	2	1854	1854
Schimmel, H. J.				
Giovanni di Procida	Drama	1	1849	
Joan Woutersz	Drama	11	1847	1870
Oranje en Nederland	Sketch	2	1849	1849
Schuld en boete	Drama	2	1832	1852
De twee Tudors	Drama	2	1847	1847
Napoleon Bonaparte, eerste consul	Drama	2	1870	1870
Sprong, H. van der				
Clausse, of Hollandsche trouw	Drama	2	1831	1832
Tollens, H.				
Verleiding en vergoeding, of Claudine van Florian	Drama	1	1821	
De Hoekschen en Kabeljauwschen	Trag.	1	1806	

Tweeman, J.				
De Haagsche Robinson Crusoe	Com.	7	1868	1868
Veder, A.				
De mislukte smokkelpartij	Vaud.	2	1831	1831
Vijver, C. van der				
Het turfschip van Breda	Drama	18	1812	1848
Kenau Hasselaar, of een blijk van Haar- lemsch heldenhart	Drama	6	1814	1836
Visscher, L. G.				
De Koningin te Breda	Vaud.	1	1823	
Vondel				
Gijsbrecht van Aemstel	Trag.	82	1804	1876
Phaëton	Trag.	1	1808	
Vreedenberg, C.				
De Ortenbergsche familie	Drama	9	1805	1833
Walré, Jan van				
Diederik en Willem van Holland	Trag.	3	1823	1831
Westerman, M.				
De eerste April	Vaud.	1	1822	
Het huishouden van Jan Steen	Vaud.	7	1806	1833
Marco Bozzaris, of de Grieken	Drama	2	1825	1825
De medeminnaar van zichzelf	Vaud.	5	1820	1828
De naamgenooten	Com.	6	1820	1824
Het ontzet der stad Leiden	Drama	22	1808	1858
Wijnstok, A.				
Asschepoester	Féerie	15	1873	1875
Roodkapje	Féerie	6	1873	1875
De schoone slaapster in het bosch	Féerie	8	1874	1874
25 jaren	Sketch	1	1874	
De zegepraal der Watergeuzen	Drama	3	1872	1872
Winter, N. S. van				
Monzongo, of de koninklijke slaaf	Trag.	4	1812	1834
Winter-van Merken, L. W. van				
Maria van Bourgondien, Gravinne van Holland	Trag.	1	1824	
Jacob Simonszoon de Ryk	Trag.	1	1813	
Wiselius, S. Izn.				
Adel en Mathilda	Trag.	2	1849	1850
De dood van Karel, Kroonprins van Spanje	Trag.	3	1847	1848
Walwais en Adelheid, of de zegepraal der vriendschap over de liefde	Drama	4	1813	1831
Zubli, A. J.				
Gesner, of het Zwitsersche huisgezin	Drama	8	1808	1832

UNIDENTIFIED DUTCH PLAYS

Het bijgeloof, of de gevreesde bruidegom	Com.	2	1842	1842
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Eleonora, dochter van Maria Stuart, aan het hof van Koningin Elizabeth	Trag.	1	1823
Elizabeth van Walden, of het slagtoffer van haat en bijgeloof	Drama	1	1837
Fleurette, of de eerste minnehandel van Hendrik den Vierden, Koning van Frankrijk	Vaud.	2	1828 1828
Grootheid en weldadigheid, of het Willems-Hospitaal	Vaud.	1	1833
Ida van Falkenstein, of de regtbank der edelen	Drama	13	1819 1833
Jacob Cats van Zorgvliet, of een meimorgen in 1652	Vaud.	3	1832 1833
De kalkoen van Breda, of menig voordeel komt onverwacht	Vaud.	8	1826 1834
Klaasje Zevenster (based on a novel of J. v. Lennep)	Drama	7	1867 1868
Twee Hollandsche schilders te Rome	Vaud.	1	1849
Twee dagen in November, of, hulde aan burgerdeugd, weldadigheid en heldenmoed	Sketch	3	1830 1830
Vaderlandsliefde en huwelijkstrouw, of de Hertog van Alba in de Nederlanden	Drama	5	1827 1831
Waterloo, herinnering uit de dagen van Junij 1815	Sketch	2	1832 1833
Willem van Focquenbroch, of de Amsterdam-sche rederijkers	Vaud.	23	1823 1848

IV. ENGLISH PLAYS

Beaumont and Fletcher			
Stille waters hebben diepe gronden (translation by D. Onderwater of F. L. Schröder's adaptation of Rule a wife and have a wife)	Drama	12	1820 1852
Bulwer-Lytton, E.			
Geld (Money)	Drama	2	1850 1850
Collins, Wilkie			
De boetvaardige (The New Magdalen)	Drama	7	1873 1874
Garrick, David			
Het zestienjarig meisje (Miss in her Teens)			
Ward Bingley	Com.	5	1810 1826
De logen om bestwil	Drama	1	1832
Goldsmith, Oliver			
Wie niet sterk is moet slim zijn, of een avond vol vergissingen (She stoops to conquer) M. P. Lindo	Com.	6	1871 1874
Inchbald, Mrs.			
De eerste bruidsdag (The Wedding Day)			
J. H. Burlage	Com.	12	1835 1844

Morton, J. Madison				
Uw leven is in gevaar. G. A. Johnson	Com.	2	1859	1859
Poole, J.				
Simpson en Co. (Simpson and Co.)	Com.	10	1845	1856
Shakespeare,				
Romeo en Julia (Romeo and Juliet) J. v.				
Lennep	Trag.	2	1853	1853
De plaaggeesten, of veel leven om niets (translation of H. Beck's adaptation of Much Ado About Nothing)	Com.	1	1920	
Taylor, Tom, and Charles Reade				
Masker en gelaat (Masks and Faces) B.L.	Drama	2	1855	1855

UNIDENTIFIED ENGLISH PLAYS

Gratis advies. B. Lamot	Com.	1	1845	
Hyder-Ali, of de dankbare leeuw	Drama	2	1839	1839
Mijn vriend, de gouverneur. F. Bernet	Vaud.	3	1836	1837

V. SPANISH PLAYS

Calderon de la Barca				
De bekeerde mannenhaatster (translation by C. R. Roobol of an adaptation by Pius Alexander Wolff)	Com.	4	1836	1853
Quintana, M. J.,				
Pelayo. L. W. v. Deventer	Trag.	1	1855	
Rosa, Martinez de la				
Rugiero, of een zamenzwering te Venetie H. Toets	Drama	1	1850	

VI. ITALIAN PLAYS

Frederici				
De Amerikaan (translated from the Ger- man adaptation of W. Vogel)	Com.	3	1821	1823
Giacometti, P.				
Elizabeth, Koningin van Engeland	Drama	4	1871	1871
Marie-Antoinette (Maria Antonietta) C. R. H. Spoor	Drama	15	1870	1876

UNIDENTIFIED ITALIAN PLAY

De leermeester in verlegenheid	Vaud.	6	1830	1833
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