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Oberammergau: A Minor American Myth

Ever since the first productions of the Oberammergau Passion Play during the seventeenth century there have been spectators from the neighboring towns and villages.¹ Nevertheless, it was only after 1840, and especially after 1850 that people from all over Germany became interested in the performance of the Play which still holds the record for the longest run in dramatic history. In 1850 the famous actor and stage manager at the Dresden Hoftheater, Eduard Philip Devrient, came to Oberammergau, saw the Play and wrote down his observations which started an extensive critical discussion and ultimately secured world-wide fame for the small village of peasants and wood-carvers.²

It did not take long before people from English-speaking countries began to attend the Passion Play and record their impressions. There are at least three English authors who are largely responsible for the interest Americans took in the Oberammergau performances. They are Anna Mary Howitt, the Baroness Tautphoeus, and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. Their critical attitude needs to be taken into account as it was their books and articles which influenced Protestant Americans and led them to give the play performed by Catholics in a predominantly Catholic country a positive and enthusiastic reception.

When in May 1850 Anna Mary Howitt went to Munich in order to continue her studies in the fine arts, the editor Henry Chorley asked her to write a description of the Passion Play for the *The Ladies' Companion*.³ Although Miss Howitt does not seem to be revolted by the appearance of Christ himself and other biblical figures on stage, she ultimately finds fault with the altogether too realistic representation of the Passion. Her criticism of the "primitive piety" of the people of Oberammergau is certainly the outcome of her Protestant upbringing, but it is also, to a certain extent, a result of the widespread English anti-Catholicism which reached its peak in the middle of the century as a reaction to the papal decision to restore a regular Catholic hierarchy in England.⁴

Mr. Nixon, a character in Baroness Tautphoeus' novel *Quits* (1857) similarly expresses his disapproval of the paraphernalia of Bavarian

Catholicism, but, on the other hand, Mr. Nixon's daughter Nora takes a more positive attitude to the "great drama" than Miss Howitt. Although she, too, had scruples about seeing Christ represented on stage, her doubts are eliminated by the theatrical arrangements and the overwhelming vividness of the play-acting.⁵ Baroness Tautphoeus' description of the Passion Play is at times mildly critical, but it is, nevertheless, a further step away from deep-seated Protestant misgivings about its Catholicism.

The third author who should be considered in connection with the early American critical reception of the Passion Play is Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, former pupil of Dr. Thomas Arnold and certainly the most prominent representative of the English Broad Church Movement which advocated a more liberal interpretation of Anglican formularies.⁶ Stanley, who in his own essay briefly refers to Miss Howitt's description as well as "the clever English novel of 'Quits,'" gives an account of the place and the history of the Play, as well as of the performance itself. Although he mentions the "peculiarly religious or ecclesiastical character" of the secluded mountain village, he calls his readers' attention to the fact that the Passion Play itself has survived despite vigorous repression exerted by the Bavarian government as well as by the Catholic Church. The Oberammergau spectacle was, as he says, ultimately saved "from the destruction to which the Church had condemned it by the protection of a latitudinarian king." The Play itself, the text of which was rewritten several times and adapted to modern taste, thus has ceased to be "a relic of medieval antiquity" and has become "a serious, and perhaps the only serious existing attempt to reproduce in a dramatic form the most sacred of all events." Thus Stanley, in pointing out the Catholic Church's opposition to the Play and by mentioning the "strict adherence to the Biblical narration," does more to disparage the common objections of Protestant Englishmen than Miss Howitt or even Baroness Tautphoeus. Furthermore, "the critical or the religious objector" is, as Stanley remarks, disarmed by a "contagion of reverence" which derives from the dramatic representation and which attests to the "all embracing power and excellence of the Bible itself," as well as from the "grave and respectful" attitude of the audience, consisting mostly of people from nearby towns and villages. The Passion Play seems to be quite "Scriptural, and even in a certain sense unconsciously Protestant"; a number of scenes are "directly suggestive of the purest Protestant sentiments." The representation of the sacred history thus "rises into a higher and wider sphere than is contained within the limits of any particular sect or opinion."

Miss Howitt, Baroness Tautphoeus and A. P. Stanley have in different degrees prepared the ground for the positive appreciation of the Play. No wonder Stanley's wish "that it may never attract any large additional influx of spectators from distant regions" was not fulfilled. During the following years a visit to Oberammergau, arranged by Cook's and later made less cumbersome by the extension of the railway, came to be fashionable for members of the English middle and upper classes. And it was ultimately through those three writers' accounts that

the fame of Oberammergau reached America. Miss Howitt's as well as Stanley's essays were reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*; Miss Howitt's *An Art Student in Munich* was published in America, and last but not least there were about fifteen American editions of *Quits* printed by the end of the century.⁷ Again and again American authors writing on Oberammergau refer to the accounts given by their English contemporaries.⁸

Not only had Americans heard about the Passion Play from writers who had easier access to Oberammergau, but also in addition Miss Howitt, Baroness Tautpheous and A. P. Stanley actually helped Protestant Americans, who were no less anti-Catholic than their English brethren, to overcome their scruples. With the stream of immigrants especially from Ireland, which began pouring into the States during the 1830s and 1840s, the number of Catholics doubled between 1850 and 1860,⁹ thus causing a widespread antipathy between old Protestant inhabitants and the newcomers. This antipathy, however, was not merely religious, but political as well. The Catholic Church was considered to be an extension of the hierarchical, anti-democratic and established church in Europe. As the Catholic immigrants came from the lower social groups, they naturally became the chief source of low-wage labor, thus causing further economic grievances. A strong reaction set in with the nativism of the Know-Nothing party, founded in 1852, and carried on by the American Protective Association in 1887.¹⁰

No wonder that George Doane, wanting to "give a description of this eminently Catholic thing" from a Catholic standpoint, complains about the current misconceptions of Protestant writers and the "rationalism and hyper-Protestantism" of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Considering the widespread antipathy against Catholic immigrants, Doane's apologetic tone is quite understandable. Because of this antipathy, he quotes large sections of the articles and books of English writers such as Miss Howitt, Baroness Tautpheous or A. P. Stanley, who have already approved of the Passion Play's spirit. It is only after having presented their various points of view that he refers to native American writers and quotes from the account of the Passion Play in the *New York World*. Nevertheless, the American attitude is quite different from that of European contemporaries and cannot be understood without referring to the political and social culture of the emerging nation, especially the ambiguous concept of the American dream and the "myth-making propensities of the American mind which are so readily provoked by the encounter with Europe."¹²

Most Americans writing on the Passion Play do not deal with it as students of literature and art, but consider the Play as an instrument of religious education and edification; above all there is a tendency to transform the Play and the whole setting into a sort of modern myth, or, in the words of Robert P. Heilman, into a "dream of intramundane security."¹³

The European image of America has always had a strong mythical basis, founded on the archetypal concept of the westward movement of civilization.¹⁴ Because of the population explosion that began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries leading to the resettlement of

peoples as well as ethnic rivalries, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a mass migration from Europe to America. The psychic challenges that were produced by the acts of uprooting, migration, and resettlement on the new continent led to an intense interest in the religious meaning of the break with the past. This interest became itself a theologizing experience.¹⁵ Notions of pilgrimage and expectations of personal and cultural change came to be foremost in the thinking of all American ethnic groups and gave birth to the American dream of a "really new world in which [one can] throw off the trammels of the Old and rise to [one's] full stature as a man."¹⁶ According to H. B. Parkes, the "idea of the continual improvement of human life on earth," above all in the new world, is reflected in numerous heroes of American fiction who represent "the ideal of a natural virtue and integrity which [owes] nothing to external discipline and indoctrination and [will], in fact, be endangered by social pressure."¹⁷ In the treatment of the international theme in James's novels for instance, the innocent American is usually confronted with the wicked European. Almost always the European emerges from the confrontation with worldly gain and the American loses, but the American has held on to his dream of independent integrity and, risen to his "full stature as a man," thus wins in the moral sphere.¹⁸

This picture, however, of America's moral force and superiority was more and more called into question by European as well as by native writers in the course of the latter half of the nineteenth and during the twentieth century. "The Gilded Age" of the post-Civil War era was, as G. Milne points out in his study of the political novel, "a time when materialism ran rampant, when the gospel of wealth was heartily worshipped, when captains of industry . . . came to the fore . . . it was an age when the newly established 'big business' allied itself with the American government . . . it was an age of guilt as well as gilt, an era of 'boodle,' of 'Get It,' of open and shameless corruption in public life."¹⁹ When Henry James finally returned to America in 1904 (the publication year for Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities* and Upton Sinclair's *Manassas*) he, too, realized that his antithesis of Europe and America was an oversimplification and that conditions in the United States had fundamentally changed.²⁰ When H. G. Wells visited the country two years later Americans seemed to be alert and questioning, as shown by the attacks of Tarbell, Hunter, Lawson and other muckrakers on oil corporations, high finance and poverty. The whole nation was aroused "to a thorough consideration of the intricate issues of the day."²¹ This increasing concern with the country's ills was more widespread than in the years before the turn of the century, mainly due to the well-written articles in leading muckraking journals which gained entrance even into the upper-middle-class homes.²² In the years to follow there emerged the nightmare picture of a land of corruption, bossism and mass culture, from the social and political novels as well as from essayists such as H. L. Mencken, showing that the ruling myth of the American dream was more or less "a shifting illusion."²³

America therefore, at least to some, no longer seemed to be a land of hope, but of frustrated expectations causing those who saw their hopes destroyed to look for new myths, ways of life or political dogmas. The attitude of American writers towards Oberammergau should be considered within the context of contemporary criticism of the American Dream which made many people more conscious of the contradictions between their cultural assumptions and political and social reality. Essays and books on the Passion Play contemporary with this new critical attitude were mostly written from a religious point of view. Criticism in these commentaries is much less articulate than that of the writers filled with the muckraking spirit. Nevertheless, they are opposed to materialism, corruption, faithlessness and commercial greed and always point to the alleged virtue and integrity of Oberammergau which for many seemed to be a hitherto overlooked place "of human perfection, . . . [of] the possibility of life lived with maximum wisdom, happiness, and intensity."²⁴

It was during the period between the American Civil War and World War One that Oberammergau acquired a world-wide popularity. Above all, it attracted tides of American visitors, who certainly to a large degree went to the place as mere sightseers "hustling for culture," "passionless pilgrims," as Henry James called them.²⁵ Although the Passion Play thus became an object of that sort of "omnivorous superficial curiosity" which Arnold Bennett in 1912 attributed to Americans in general,²⁶ there were certainly different types of visitors, some of them primarily interested in the drama itself and the alleged dramatic art of the villagers.²⁷ Specialists obviously found fault with the insufficient construction and plot of the play, with the development and execution of individual scenes and with the language.²⁸ But over and over again such criticism was brushed aside by pointing out that the Passion Play "cannot be considered solely as a drama" or "a historical panorama," that it is "rather an expression of religion," "not a play acted, but a tragedy lived before us."²⁹ These writers quoted bear witness to a quite different and deeper sense of fascination and even spiritual transformation. Many who come from mere curiosity are, as, e.g., E. E. Maplestone remarks, "permeated by the spirit of deep reverence, and go away awed by the scene and feel that they have indeed been on holy ground."³⁰ The visit to Oberammergau thus takes on a wider significance, being a sort of immersion in the origins of Christian culture making people aware of what they have lost spiritually. American writers, therefore, do not only publish practical guidebooks for future visitors or give accounts of the play as such but are mostly "eager to interpret the spirit of the people."³¹

Not a few are impressed by the "almost horrible realism" of such scenes as the betrayal or the crucifixion, "thrilled with the vivid reality of the representations," "spell-bound," and consequently deeply moved and "suffused with tears by the pathos of the scenes."³² They speak of their being carried back from the nineteenth century to medieval times, "to the Jerusalem of David, and of Solomon" or transferred to "the hills and valleys of Judea."³³ As it often seems

"almost impossible to shake off the belief that one [has] not set foot on Holy ground,"³⁴ visitors see themselves not as mere onlookers but as participants in the great drama itself. This sense of being immersed in the events is certainly in part to be attributed to the "strangeness of the environment," the "suggestiveness of the country around," to its "perfect naturalness" and "picturesqueness," and especially to the "solemn sight" that confronts them: "upon the summit of the Kofel, one of the highest peaks, outlined against the sky and flashing in the sunlight, stands a cross, the emblem of the Passion."³⁵ On the other hand most writers are deeply moved by the villagers' way of acting which is repeatedly called "simple, unaffected," "altogether unsophisticated, entirely unconscious of self" and full of "dignity and simplicity."³⁶ The actors moreover seem to live their characters on and off the stage, to show an all-embracing "religious spirit" and "a quality of deep earnestness" even in private conversation.³⁷ The lack of sophistication and affectation in the villagers is attributed to the geographical seclusion of the place which is said to shut out the world at large, civilization as represented by Paris, New York or London, "the strife of the outer world."³⁸ As the place has for a long time been "inaccessible, the people neither influencing, nor being influenced by, the outer world," the villagers seem to have preserved their "cloistered dispositions and integrity."³⁹ Thus, the "people of Oberammergau [are] different from the common run of humanity"⁴⁰ which is considered to be dominated by materialism, greed, big business and corruption.

In Oberammergau the spectator's impression that he lives "in these faithless days" is as well blotted out as "the casualness of [his] workaday-world" and "the clear, practical light of [his] own day," thereby losing the sense of being "a prosaic American citizen" of the immediate present.⁴¹ As Reiss remarks:

This little valley in the Bavarian mountains, shut in from the outside world and strangely untouched and uncorrupted by the thousands of visitors who have come to it, has been a laboratory of the human spirit. Here the great experiment of a common devotion to an uplifting and beautiful observance has developed in the peasants' purity of heart and simple goodness that are everywhere reflected in their faces. . . . It is one of the few spots in all the world where faith and idealism have successfully withstood materialism and commercial greed.⁴²

As the "corruption of modern civilization has not as yet thrust itself into this quiet corner"⁴³ the Passion Play and Oberammergau have a wider significance for the American visitor. Significantly, Jesus Christ "obeys the inner voice unmoved by the opposition of business, church or government assuming their most authoritative tones," and consequently Richard McSherry cannot help thinking, "that if any village of 1200 inhabitants in the United States had ten thousand strangers a week to entertain, they would not neglect the opportunity of over-charging,"⁴⁴ in contradistinction obviously to the people in Oberammergau.

Because of this, most writers on the Passion Play are anxious to point out the dangers which threaten the integrity of the place. Ever since the

villagers have been accused of mercenary tendencies there have been American visitors who defended them against these charges, pointing out their refusal to numerous propositions, especially from Americans themselves, to bring over the principal performers to the United States or to make a film of the Passion Play.⁴⁵ Significantly, Louise Parks Richards, whose essay "Life Stories of the Oberammergau Players" appeared in the muckraking *McClure's Magazine* in November 1910 (shortly before the periodical passed into the hands of a group of opposing financiers), discusses questions of commercialization and financial speculation. As she goes on to show at great length, the Passion Play is no profitable source of individual wealth and the Oberammergauers should not be termed a speculator:

That he has come to look upon the Play as a means of revenue, as well as a religious performance, is naturally and necessarily true, so long as the world continues to pour into the village every decennium, and that he is not insensible to the material advantages that thus accrue to himself and the village, only means that he is human, and not born with a halo about his head.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the ideals of integrity and natural virtue which appeared to be more and more endangered in America itself by social and political forces tending to corrupt the American Dream seemed for most visitors to be left intact in the secluded Bavarian village. Oberammergau thus came to represent in a certain way the idea of a "divinely granted second chance for the human race."⁴⁷

Ferdinand Reyher's essay "Christ in Oberammergau" bears explicit witness to the fact that Oberammergau during the last three or four decades had obviously gained the status of a minor myth for Americans. Reyher who visited Georg Lang, then stage manager of the Passion Play, is deeply impressed by a "remarkably practical knowledge of the Valuta and foreign accents" and disappointed by Lang's cynical statement that, "while he hoped the Passion Play would be the instrument for promoting fraternity to the world, he hoped that no Frenchman would come to Oberammergau." The reason for his disappointment is, as Reyher finally remarks,

that I had come to the wrong place in search of the wrong thing. I had come to an artistic and shopkeeping community in search of an ethic philosopher, or an apostle—in search of Christ Himself, indeed. And I did not find him. Common humanity has a gift of sometimes pointing the irony of high expectations.⁴⁸

Although Oberammergau resisted every effort on the part of American producers to bring the play across the Atlantic the village itself lost its reputation of being a secluded mountain village where human goodness and integrity could be found as nowhere else. Thus, again and again the villagers were accused of mercenary tendencies. In 1930 even Wall street voices were, as Graham Greene remarks, protesting "that the whole affair was a matter of money."⁴⁹ To J. B. Priestley it has in the same year "a fine stimulating Derby Day atmosphere," but the unique-

ness of the village, "filled as it is with crucifixes and Cook's agents, apostles and the American Express," does not please him; it is "a durned sight too quaint and pious and old-worldly for my taste: it might have been invented by a tourist agency."⁵⁰ In August 1930 *The Literary Digest* points to similar German accusations of the baleful "dollar effect" and the adaptation of the play to American tastes: "We Americans are too lacking in taste to realize what a travesty the Passion Play at Oberammergau has become."⁵¹ Nevertheless, the question of who is to be held responsible for the so-called travesty is ultimately left unanswered.

Besides this, the Passion Play is accused frequently during these years of latent or open anti-Semitism. Thus, for instance, the New York *Jewish Tribune* asserts that the Play instills hate into the hearts of the players, the populace and the spectators from all over the world. Even the undenominational *Christian Century* admits that "dramatizing the physical agony of Jesus . . . may psychologically arouse social attitudes for ill which neither Jesus nor his followers ever intended."⁵² Similar opinions have been voiced up to the present day.

Moreover, a third type of reaction to the Passion Play which, nevertheless, remains a deeply religious spectacle, has to be taken into account. It stems from the growing secularization of society and the diminishing role of religion in everyday life. Thus, the American poetess Leonora Speyer, in her poem "Oberammergau," which was anthologized several times, wavers between dreaming and doubting: "Lord, help Thou mine unbelief!"⁵³ She demonstrates the ultimate ambiguity of the American visitor toward the myth of Oberammergau.

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Notes

¹ For a general overview of the history of the Passion Play and related matters consult Otto Günzler and Alfred Zwink, in collaboration with Günther Woehl, *Oberammergau: Berühmtes Dorf—berühmte Gäste: Drei Jahrhunderte Passionsspiel im Spiegel seiner Besucher* (München: Domverlag, 1950); Uwe Böker, "English Visitors to Oberammergau: Amelia Matilda Hull, Jerome K. Jerome, Graham Greene," in *Bavaria anglica*, Vol. I, *A Cross-Cultural Miscellany Presented to Tom Fletcher*, ed. Otto Hietsch (Frankfurt: Lang, 1979), pp. 205-24.

² Devrient's text and similar essays have been collected in Martin Deutinger, "Das Passionsspiel in Oberammergau: Berichte und Urtheile über dasselbe," *Beiträge zur Geschichte, Topographie und Statistik des Erzbisthums München und Freysing*, 2 (1851), 397-570; 3 (1851), 1-460; 6 (1854), 384-401. For Devrient, see vol. 3, 125 ff.

³ See *An Art-Student in Munich* (London: Longman, 1853), 2 Vols., I, 45-65; quotations are from the reprint of the essay in the American journal *Littell's Living Age*, 27 (1850), 87-92. On the author herself see Mary Howitt, *An Autobiography*, ed. Margaret Howitt (Boston: Houghton, 1889), 2 Vols., II, 56 ff.

⁴ See Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, rev. ed., 1972), pp. 24 ff. In one of her letters to her daughter in Munich Mary Howitt writes that "there never was so anti-Catholic a nation as this" (*Autobiography*, II, 64).

⁵ Baroness Jemima von Tautphoeus, *Quits: A Novel* (London: Bentley, 1857), 3 Vols., II, 39. On the popularity of Baroness Tautphoeus' novels in America, even with such writers as W. D. Howells and Henry James, see William Veeder, *Henry James—the Lessons of the Master: Popular Fiction and Personal Style in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 247, n. 8.

⁶ See his "The Ammergau Mystery; or Sacred Drama of 1860," *Macmillan's Magazine*, 2 (October 1860), 463-77 (for the following quotations see pp. 465-67 and 476-77); it was afterwards included in *Essays Chiefly on Questions of Church and State* (London: Murray, 1870). On Stanley, see Frances J. Woodward, *The Doctor's Disciples: A Study of Four Pupils of Arnold of Rugby—Stanley, Gell, Clough, W. Arnold* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954).

⁷ For Miss Howitt's essay, see note 3 above; her book was reprinted by Ticknor in Boston in 1854. Stanley's essay was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 67 (1860), 482-94. Baroness Tautphoeus' novel was republished by Lippincott, Munro and Putnam.

⁸ See, e.g., George Hobart Doane, *To and from the Passion Play in the Summer of 1871* (Boston: Donahoe, 1872), pp. 206 ff.; W. S. Perry, "Ober Ammergau," *American Church Review*, no. 134 (July 1881), 1-18, especially pp. 12 and 15; William Allen Butler, *Oberammergau 1890* (New York: Harper, 1891), p. 12; Laurence Hutton, "Literary Notes" [in part a review of Butler's poem], in *Harper's Lost Reviews: The Literary Notes by Laurence Hutton, John Kendrick Bangs and Others*, comp. by Clayton L. Eichelberger (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson, 1976), pp. 253-54; Marian Harris, "The Passion Play at Oberammergau," *Catholic World*, 131 (1930/1), 22-28, see especially p. 22.

⁹ See Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1946), p. 214.

¹⁰ See W. Seward Salisbury, *Religion in American Culture: A Sociological Interpretation* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1964), pp. 36 f.

¹¹ See Doane, pp. 133 and 137.

¹² See Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York: Harper, 1963), p. 120.

¹³ See Robert P. Heilman, "The Dream Metaphor: Some Ramifications," in *American Dreams, American Nightmares*, ed. David Madden, with a preface by Harry T. Moore (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 1-18, see especially p. 9.

¹⁴ See Harold Jantz, "The Myth about America: Origins and Extensions," in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: Neuere Forschungen zur Amerikarezeption der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Alexander Ritter, Germanistische Texte und Studien, Vol. 4 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), pp. 37-49.

¹⁵ See Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *The American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), 1155-85, see especially p. 1174.

¹⁶ J. T. Adams, as quoted in Madden, p. xxii.

¹⁷ See Henry Bamford Parkes, *The American Experience: An Interpretation of the History and Civilization of the American People* (New York: Vintage, 1959), p. 194.

¹⁸ See John O. McCormick, "'The Rough and Lurid Vision': Henry James, Graham Greene and the International Theme," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 2 (1957), 158-67, see especially p. 160.

¹⁹ See Gordon Milne, *The American Political Novel* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 24 and 25.

²⁰ See McCormick, p. 163.

²¹ See Joseph Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York: Kelley, rpt. 1969), p. 453.

²² See Harold S. Wilson, *McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 120. On the muckrakers' impact on public opinion, see *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future*, eds. John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1973).

²³ Maxwell Geismar, "The Shifting Illusion: Dream and Fact," in Madden, pp. 45-57.

²⁴ Ferdinand Reyher, "Christ in Oberammergau," *Atlantic Monthly*, 130 (1922), 599-607, see especially pp. 604-05.

²⁵ See *The Art of the Novel*, intr. by R. P. Blackmur (New York: Scribner, 1934), p. 189.

²⁶ See Arnold Bennett, *Your United States* (New York: Harper, 1912), as quoted in Nevins, p. 456.

²⁷ See, e.g., William Henry Frost, "Some Notes on Oberammergau," *Harper's Weekly*, 44 (1900), 1020; Henry L. Gideon, "The Music of the Passion Play at Oberammergau," *The Forum*, 44 (December 1910), 733-37; William M. Sloane, "The Passion Play," *The Outlook*, December 31, 1910, pp. 1012-17; A. W. Ward, "The Oberammergau Passion Play in 1871," *Living Age*, 266 (August 1910), 521-31.

²⁸ See, e.g., Mary Catherine Smeltzley, *The Last Passion Play* (Boston: Christopher, 1919), p. 22.

²⁹ See H. H., "The Passion Play at Oberammergau," *The Century*, 3 (1880), 913; Smeltzley, p. 23; Mabel Loomis Todd, "The Passion Play of 1900," *The Nation*, 71 (1900), p. 68.

³⁰ Esse Esto Maplestone, *The Passion Play at Ober Ammergau* (New York: Broadway Publ. Co., 1911), p. 7.

³¹ Smeltzley, p. 5.

³² Richard Meredith McSherry, "The Passion Play at Ober Ammergau," in *The National Medals of the United States: Essays and Addresses* (Baltimore; Murphy, 1897), pp. 127-66, see especially p. 161; Maplestone, p. 17; Perry, pp. 14 and 17; H. D. Rawnsley, "Ober-Ammergau in 1900," *Atlantic Monthly*, 86 (1900), p. 409.

³³ W. A. Snively, *The Ober-Ammergau Passion Play of 1880* (New York: Pott, 1881), p. 61; Mattie Johns Utting, *The Passion Play of Oberammergau* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1937), p. 6; McSherry, p. 128.

³⁴ Louise Parks Richards, *Oberammergau: Its Passion Play and Players* (Munich: Piloty, 1910), p. 27.

³⁵ Richards, p. 86; Smeltzley, p. 8; Perry, pp. 3 and 6; H. H., p. 913.

³⁶ Perry, p. 4; McSherry, pp. 129 and 145; Sloane, p. 1017.

³⁷ Perry, p. 4; Harris, p. 24; Winold Reiss, "Oberammergau Players," *The Century Magazine*, 104 (September 1922), 727-42, see especially p. 741.

³⁸ Smeltzley, p. 9; Sniveley, p. 16; Maplestone, p. 5; Butler, p. 39.

³⁹ Doane, p. 125; Utting, p. 24.

⁴⁰ Reiss, p. 741.

⁴¹ Perry, p. 9; Sniveley, pp. 16-17; Rawnsley, p. 412; McSherry, p. 128.

⁴² Reiss, p. 737.

⁴³ Wilfrid Dallow, "Oberammergau and its Passion Play in 1900," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 4 (1901), 63-82, see especially p. 63.

⁴⁴ Jesse S. Dancy, "The Oberammergau Passion Play," *Methodist Review*, 106 (January 1923), 87-92, see especially pp. 90 and 92. McSherry, p. 143; Doane, p. 228; Dallow, p. 68.

⁴⁵ Rawnsley, p. 411; McSherry, p. 140; Reiss, p. 738; H. H., p. 915; Sniveley, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Louise Parks Richards, "Life Stories of the Oberammergau Players," *McClure's Magazine*, 35 (November 1910), 388-401, especially pp. 209-10. On McClure's, see Wilson, pp. 320-21.

⁴⁷ R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 5.

⁴⁸ Reyher, pp. 604 and 607.

⁴⁹ Graham Greene, "Oberammergau," *The Graphic*, May 17, 1930, p. 345.

⁵⁰ J. B. Priestley, "Oberammergau," in *Self-Selected Essays* (London: Heinemann, 1937; rpt. 1950), pp. 216-22, see especially pp. 217 and 219.

⁵¹ *The Literary Digest*, August 16, 1930, p. 16.

⁵² Quotations are from *The Literary Digest*, September 13, 1930, p. 21.

⁵³ The poem was published in *The Home Book of Modern Verse: An Extension of The Home Book of Verse*, ed. Burton Egbert Stevenson (New York: Holt, 1925, 2nd ed., 1953), pp. 1024-25, and in *An Anthology of American Poetry*, ed. Alfred Kreyborg (New York: Tudor Publish. Co., 2nd ed., 1941), pp. 268-69. Unfortunately, I have been unable to procure a copy of her *Oberammergau* (New York: Wall, 1922; ²1924).