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JOHN BROUGHAM: THE AMERICAN PERFORMANCE CAREER OF AN IRISH COMEDIAN, 1842-1880

by

DANA RAHM SUTTON

Volume I

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

1999

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

JOHN BROUGHAM: THE AMERICAN PERFORMANCE CAREER

OF AN IRISH COMEDIAN, 1842-1880

by

Dana Rahm Sutton

Adviser: Professor James V. Hatch

Reports during the nineteenth century indicate that John Brougham was one of the best known actors of his day, but little study during the twentieth century has been made of his performance career. Today he is sometimes recognized as a playwright, probably because two of his plays have been included in anthologies of nineteenth-century plays, but he considered himself primarily an actor rather than playwright. While it has been acknowledged that he was never very successful financially in his repeated attempts at theatre managements, reasons for his lack of success have not been fully explored. His artistic triumphs as a manager have been ignored because of his lack of financial acumen.

As an Irish comedian, Brougham was regarded primarily as

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a light comedian, and many of his favorite roles were those of Irish gentlemen. However, he also played Irish low comedy roles as well as a number of roles that were not Irish. In his own melodramas, he often included a comic role for himself.

In general, Brougham did not associate himself with particular companies for long periods of time. In fact, his longest consecutive period of association in America was four years in the early 1850's with John W. and Lester Wallack at Wallack's Theatre after they had taken over the theatre which had been built for Brougham in 1850.

Although he wrote that he preferred being "at home" in New York to touring, he performed in almost every principal city during his thirty-five years on the stage in America. He often participated in benefits and was one of the founding members of the American Dramatic Fund Association. He was recognized for his distinctive performance style, and his impromptu curtain speeches were often quoted verbatim in the next day's newspaper.

As an almost perfect example that illustrates that fame is fleeting, it is interesting to note that Brougham's popularity was probably as much a product of his sparkling personality as his prowess on stage. However, his versatility as an actor provides a fascinating example of the career of a nineteenth-century actor.

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Acknowledgements

Without the assistance, advice and encouragement of znumerous associates, my dissertation could never have been completed. The ephemeral nature of much documentary evidence of theatre causes me to have tremendous admiration for those who at some time must have convinced the powers in charge of budgets that old playbills, clippings, newspapers, and letters were worth the time, effort and cost that preservation involves. There being no single archive of Brougham material, I am deeply indebted to not only the collections listed in the Introduction and Bibliography but to several librarians who were especially supportive.

Annette Fern, research and reference librarian of the Harvard Theatre Collection, not only welcomed me to the vast resources of that library but made several extremely helpful suggestions about specific resources. Her questions about my project helped me to look at it in new ways, and her knowledge of Chicago theatre, in particular, assisted me greatly in tracing that part of Brougham's career. In addition to the theatre collection, the vast resources of the microfilmed newspaper collection in the Government Documents Division of Lamont Library at Harvard was of great help as I found several newspapers there that were not otherwise available.

Debra Randorf, reference librarian at the New York Historical Society, not only located the nearly complete collection of playbills from Burton's Chambers Street Theatre

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that had never been catalogued but found hard copies of rare weekly periodicals in the society's collection that saved my eyes from the strain of additional microfilm reading. Debra also helped me with suggestions for collections in other cities. I am also grateful to Wendy Shadwell, archivist in the prints department at the New York Historical Society, who not only made the collection of playbills housed in the prints department available for study but whose note in a folder of playbills led to the re-discovery of the Burton collection in the stacks of the library.

In the very early stages of my study, Geraldine Duclow, head of the theatre collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia, welcomed me there and made literally hundreds of playbills available. She also made the brilliant suggestion of writing to Stephen Archer, Professor of Drama at University of Missouri, who proved to be a strong supporter of my project. I am very grateful for his sending me a detailed list of Brougham's performances in Philadelphia which had been documented by John Durang.

At the Boston Public Library, materials contained in the Rare Book and Manuscripts collection provided a perfect complement to those at the Harvard Theatre Collection, and Eugene Zepp, reference librarian, deserves a special note of commendation for his incredible efficiency as well as kindness. The staff in the newspaper collection at the Boston Public Library were aware of details about early nineteenth

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century Boston newspapers that were extremely helpful, and I never failed to be amazed at the speed with which they delivered microfilms.

At the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of Butler Library of Columbia University, I was treated with the utmost respect and interest in my project. Even though I worked there during July and August of 1996 when several staff members were beginning or ending vacations, I was never without timely and extremely capable assistance. Late in my study there, I learned that I was the first person to request many of the playbills in the Brander Matthews Collection since it had been incorporated in the Rare Books and Manuscripts division and that librarians were working as hard "behind the scenes" organizing some of these materials as I was working to study them. This collection contained some gems relating to Brougham such as the contact between him and James Fisk for the Fifth Avenue Theatre as well as an incredible extra-illustrated Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage*. I am very grateful to the staff there for making these materials available to me as a student not enrolled at Columbia. The microfilmed newspapers collection at Butler Library also proved to have a number of early newspapers that were otherwise not available.

Countless other librarians and assistants in libraries, historical societies, and various other locales went out of their way to provide assistance and suggestions for other

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resources.

The numerous librarians and their assistants at the New York Public Library Center for the Humanities at the reference desk and in the newspaper archives deserve a special bouquet as they proved incredibly helpful in ordering materials that were not available elsewhere and in resurrecting box after box of nineteenth-century newspaper microfilm. At the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center, staff in both the Billy Rose Theatre Collection and the dance collection were helpful in searching for and making materials available.

Even before my proposal was given final approval, Dr. James V. Hatch, my advisor, suggested that I write to several theatre professors and librarians throughout the country to ask if they knew someone who was planning to write a book about Brougham's performance career. These letters led to several incredibly helpful contacts, including that with Dr. David L. Rinear, Professor of Drama at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, who is completing a book on William Burton. Dr. Rinear's advice at several stages of this dissertation has been encouraging and practical. Rosemary L. Cullen, curator of the Harris Collection at Brown University's John Hay Library, sent me information about their holdings on Brougham including a copy of the sheet music for the "Brougham Schottisch" published in 1851.

Several professors from other institutions who have an

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interest in nineteenth-century theatre have been particularly encouraging. John Frick, Professor of Theatre at the University of Virginia, and Michael Pisani, Professor of Music at Vassar College, were curious to learn more about Brougham and each applauded my efforts. Peter Davison of DeMontfort University shared information about English resources and cheered me on; his varied scholarly pursuits set a sterling example which I greatly admire. In the Graduate Center theatre program, I was particularly grateful to benefit from several illuminating discussions about nineteenth-century theatre and Irish wit with Marvin Carlson and am grateful to him for sharing his wide-ranging experience and knowledge.

There are many researchers who provided part of a path to the compilation of the calendar of Brougham's career whom I can never thank, principally those doctoral candidates who wrote histories of specific theatres or of theatrical activities in cities in earlier years. In addition, several manuscripts of theatre histories located in libraries, often compiled by true lovers of theatre and not professionals, were very helpful.

Early in my research on Brougham, I discovered that Pat Ryan, who reportedly was writing a book about him, had recently died. Through an address provided by the editors of a Greek journal which published Dr. Ryan's last article, I wrote to the university in Norway where he had been on the faculty and asked if his papers had been deposited there. My

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letter was forwarded to Dr. Ryan's wife, Janice, who kindly wrote to me twice encouraging my study and sent me a list of plays performed by Brougham during early years in London which her husband had compiled. Her support for this dissertation is much appreciated.

I also sought the expert advice of Dr. Walter Meserve, Professor Emeritus of Theatre, and former member of the Graduate School faculty at CUNY, who was delighted that I was interested in writing about someone from the nineteenth century. He made clear that he believed Brougham to be a much-neglected and important figure in nineteenth-century theatre history, and I appreciate his encouragement.

It goes without saying that the support, advice, and reassurance that I received from my committee was invaluable. Dr. James V. Hatch, who welcomed me to the Hatch-Billops Archives when I was teaching high school English some thirteen or fourteen years ago and came to New York to study several African-American playwrights, has since then been a mentor and example. His belief in my ability has helped me more than words can say. Dr. Vera Roberts' encyclopedic knowledge of nineteenth-century drama and theatre has proved helpful on several occasions, and her wise suggestions about format of the dissertation and appendices are much appreciated. Dr. Daniel Gerould, in whose tragicomedy class I first attempted some documentation of performance history, has always been the object of my utmost respect. The breadth and organization of

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his lectures coupled with his charming wit are paragons which I, among many other students, hope to emulate.

Among my friends in the Graduate Program in Theatre, I would particularly like to thank those in my dissertation writing group: Anne Beck, who not only gave me many thoughtful suggestions about my writing but who shared a gift from her grandfather allowing me to make a copy of his perpetual calendar which I have used on an almost daily basis throughout this study; Helen Huff, who has shared the whereabouts of many a precious tidbit (such as Mrs. Rea's scrapbook) since we were both working the nineteenth century and from whom I learned so much in the study groups for the both the first and second examinations; and Dr. Eszter Szalczer, who provided such a fine example to the rest of us with her study of Strindberg and theosophy and who put up with my seeing the comedy in it all. I am also grateful to many other students over the years who were encouraging and from whom I learned a great deal, especially Beth Schachter, Moon-ki Kim, Jeanne Connolly, Randy Merrifield, Barbara Waldinger, Shauna Vey, Barbara Lewis, Phil Alexander, and Christene Hutchinson. My friends outside the Graduate Center have heard much more about John Brougham than anyone has a right to expect, and I appreciate their patience and encouragement, particularly that of Paula, Carolyn, Sue, Elaine, Daniel, Kathleen, John and Ellen.

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to my mother Rosalie Rahm and the memory of my father, Daniel M. Rahm.

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CONTENTS

Volume I

Introduction. 1

Chapter One -
Early Years and Career in England, 1830-1842 24

Chapter Two -
Early Years in America, 1842-1848. 53

Chapter Three - The Burton Years, 1848-1850, and
Brougham's Lyceum, 1850-1852 114

Chapter Four - The First Wallack Period, 1852-1856. . . .204

Chapter Five - Brougham's Bowery and other
American Theatres, 1856-1860 245

Chapter Six - English Sojourn, 1860-1865, and
Return to America, 1865-1880 292

Conclusions - Summary and
Contributions of John Brougham 370

Volume II

Appendix A - Calendar of Known Performances 391

Appendix B - Plays Performed by Brougham. 547

Bibliography. 568

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TABLES

1.1 - Brougham's Performances at Tottenham Street Theatre, 1830. 34

1.2 - Performances at Olympic Theatre, 1831-1835 39

1.3 - Performances at Olympic Theatre, 1835-1839 40

1.4 - Performances, Summer, 1838 - Haymarket Theatre . . 43

1.5 - Performances at Covent Garden Theatre. 43

1.6 - Miscellaneous Performances in England. 51

1.7 - Performances at English Opera House - summer, 1840.51

2.1 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1842-1843 62

2.2 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1843-1844 77

2.3 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1844-1845 81

2.4 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1845-1846 92

2.5 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1846-1847 101

2.6 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1847-1848 111

2.7 - Plays performed at least ten times in one or more seasons between October, 1842 and June, 1848 .112

3.1 - Number of Performances of Previously Performed Plays at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre. . .142

3.2 - Performances of Works New to Brougham at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre and Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia - 1848-1849. 145

3.3 - Performances of Works New to Brougham at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre - 1849-1850 .146

3.4 - Previously Performed Roles also performed during summer and fall of 1850. 152

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TABLES (cont.)

3.5 - New Plays by other or unknown playwrights at Brougham's Lyceum and a few other venues with Brougham acting, 1850-1852. 177

3.6 - New Plays by Brougham at Brougham's Lyceum and a few other venues with Brougham acting, 1850-1852. 178

3.7 - Number of Previously Performed Plays at Brougham's Lyceum and other locations, 1850-1852. 179

4.1 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1852-1853 208

4.2 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1853-1854 217

4.3 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1854-1855 225

4.4 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1855-1856 236

4.5 - Performances or Previously Performed Plays at Wallack's Theatre, 1852-1856 (in more than one season and/or more than 10 times). 237

4.6 - Number of Performances of Previously Performed Plays performed in only one season at Wallack's Theatre. 238

4.7 - Performances of Plays by Brougham Three or more Times at Theatres other than Wallack's, 1852-1856. 242

4.8 - Performances of Plays by Other Playwrights Three or more Times at Theatres other than Wallack's, 1852-1856 243

4.9 - Plays Performed by Brougham fewer than three times at Theatres other than Wallack's, 1852-1856. .244

5.1 - Previously performed plays also acted in at least three times during 1856-1857 261

5.2 - New Plays performed at least three times during 1856-1857. 262

5.3 - Plays by other playwrights acted in at least three times during 1857-1858 271

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TABLES (cont.)

5.4 - Plays written or adapted by Brougham acted in at least three times during 1857-1858 272

5.5 - Plays by other playwrights acted in at least three times during 1858-1859 278

5.6 - Plays by Brougham acted in at least three times during 1858-1859 279

5.7 - Plays acted in at least three times during 1859-1860. 289

5.8 - Plays acted in at least ten times in one or more seasons between 1856 and 1860. 290

6.1 - Performances in British and Irish Cities - 10/8/60 - 9/30/65. 304

6.2 - Performances in New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870 .306

6.3 - Performances of Plays by other Playwrights in New York, 1870-1874 332

6.4 - Performances of Brougham's Plays in New York, 1870-1874. 333

6.5 - Performances in New York, 1874-1880. 342

6.6 - Performances of Brougham's Plays Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870 343

6.7 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870 (plays by other playwrights) 344

6.8 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1866. 346

6.9 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1866-1869. 351

6.10- Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1869-1870. 359

6.11- Performances Outside New York, 1870-1874 362

6.12- Performances Outside New York, 1874-1880 363

C.1 - Roles in Plays by others Performed Forty or More Times 373

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TABLES (cont.)

C.2 - Roles in his own plays Performed at least Forty Times by Brougham. 374

C.3 - Plays performed at least 50 times by Brougham and acted in three or more decades 379

C.4 - Plays performed at least 50 times by Brougham and in two or fewer decades. 380

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ABBREVIATIONS

In the narrative, the following abbreviations are used for frequently cited works:

Durang — Durang, Charles. "The Philadelphia Stage from the Years 1847 to the Year 1855, Partly Compiled from the Papers of his Father, the late John Durang." *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch*, 1854.

Hawes — Hawes, David. "John Brougham as American Playwright and Man of the Theatre." Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1953.

Ireland — Ireland, Joseph N. *Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860*. New York: T. H. Morrell, 1866-1867.

Nicoll — Nicoll, Allardyce. *A History of English Drama, 1600-1899*, 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Odell — Odell, George C. D. *Annals of the New York Stage*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Wilson — Wilson, Arthur Herman. *A History of the Philadelphia Theatre*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

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Key for Tables

A - Adelphi Theatre, Boston
Al - Albany
Am - American Theatre, Albany
Ar - Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia
B - Brougham's Lyceum, New York
Bal- Baltimore
Bos- Boston
Bow- Bowery Theatre, New York
Br - Brooklyn Theatre, Brooklyn
BrM- Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
Bu - Burton's Theatre, New York
Buf- Buffalo
C - Chesnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia
Ch - Chicago
Cha- Chatham Theatre, New York
Ci - Cincinnati
Cl - Cleveland
D - Detroit
F - Federal Theatre, Boston
H - Howard Athenaeum, Boston
I - Indianapolis
L - Louisville
M - Montreal
Mc - McVicker's Theatre, Chicago
Me - Metropolitan Theatre, New York
Mil- Milwaukee
Mob- Mobile
N - Niblo's Garden, New York
Na - National Theatre, Boston
NO - New Orleans
O - other theatre(s)
P - Park Theatre, New York
Ph - Philadelphia
Pi - Pittsburgh
Pr - Providence
R - Rochester
SF - San Francisco
StL- St. Louis
T - Toronto
Tr - Tremont Theatre, Boston
Troy - Troy
VA - Richmond, Virginia
W - Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia
Wa - Wallack's Theatre
Was- Washington

Titles of all plays written or adapted by Brougham appear in italics on all tables.

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Introduction

No pen but Brougham's own could write
the full chronicle
of his long and opulent experience.[1]

Although reviews of performances by John Brougham appeared in numerous American newspapers on an almost daily basis from the time of his first appearance in this country in 1842 until his final performances in 1879, very little has been written about him in the twentieth century. Many twentieth-century works about nineteenth-century theatre devote pages to his contemporaries but do not mention Brougham.

The only full-length work about Brougham's career, a dissertation by David Hawes, focused essentially on Brougham's published plays but included some information about his performance and management career.[2] Altogether, Hawes devoted only a little more than a hundred pages to Brougham's acting, highlighting the early years of Brougham's stage career. The late Pat Ryan has also written several articles about Brougham's plays but has not published any analysis of his

---

1. William Winter, Other Days, Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1908), 105.

2. David Hawes, "John Brougham as American Playwright and Man of the Theatre" (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1953).

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acting career.[3] Several general studies of theatre that do mention Brougham contain either blatant errors or such gross omissions that incorrect assumptions may be made by readers.

Since Brougham was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the most well-known actors of his time, it is my intention to document his performances in America and examine their changing nature. In addition, I hope to point out errors, cite documentation, and when possible, provide correction for errors about his performances and general reputation which have found their way into print. This will include an examination of his several attempts at theatre management, some of which have never been acknowledged in twentieth-century accounts, and speculation about the reasons for his lack of sustained success as a manager contrasted with his accomplishments as actor and playwright.

It is my contention that Brougham considered himself primarily an actor, listing himself under that occupation in city directories of the time. While he obviously enjoyed writing works for the stage, many of his plays were produced after two or three-week lapses in his acting career. He undoubtedly wrote very quickly, and after his death, his servant said that he often returned from a performance at the

---

3. Pat Ryan, "John Brougham: The Gentle Satirist," Bulletin of the New York Public Library (December, 1959): 619-640; "The Hibernian Experience: John Brougham's Irish-American Plays," MELUS 10 (Summer, 1983): 33-47; "Columbus el Filibustero: John Brougham's Mirror of Discovery," Journal of Theory and Criticism 2 (1994): 149-157.

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theatre and wrote for hours into the middle of the night.[4]

Brougham's career in the theatre began with twelve years in England, primarily with the troupe of Madame Vestris at the Olympic and Covent Garden theatres. In fall of 1842, he came to America where he acted basically as a star performer for the first six years, playing with several New York companies but also traveling as far west as St. Louis and as far south as New Orleans, and spending several extended periods of time in Boston, co-managing the Adelphi Theatre there for nearly a year. William Burton engaged Brougham as actor and stage manager for the Chambers Street Theatre in New York which opened in July, 1848, where Brougham remained for almost two years, leaving to open his own newly built theatre, Brougham's Lyceum, in 1850. Following his failure at managing his own theatre, Brougham became a member of John W. Wallack's company at the same theatre where he remained for nearly four years with tours in summers when Wallack's Theatre was closed. Another unsuccessful venture in theatrical management, this time at the Bowery Theatre, in 1856-1857, was followed by tours and periods of time at Burton's and Wallack's theatres, always largely in New York, until Brougham left for England in the summer of 1860.

Remaining in England and Ireland for more than five years during the American Civil War, Brougham was recognized there both as playwright and as actor and performed primarily in

---

4. Obituary, New York Herald, 8 June 1880.

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works that he had written, although the last several months abroad were spent in consecutive performances as Colonel O'Grady in Boucicault's Arrah-na-Pogue, a role that Boucicault repeatedly said that he had written for Brougham. Returning to America in fall of 1865, Brougham divided the remainder of his career almost equally between out-of-town appearances and those in New York, his performances beyond New York being predominantly in his own plays and those in New York largely in plays by others.

Several of the limited citations about Brougham in twentieth-century works refer to him merely as an early writer of burlesques or as a comedian who played only eccentric Irish roles, but nineteenth-century accounts indicate that he was undoubtedly one of the most versatile actors to appear on stage during his long years of acting. Statements in works written in both early and late twentieth century on nineteenth-century theatre acknowledge his authorship of the popular plays of Po-ca-hon-tas and Met-a-mo-ra, usually called burlesques although also referred to as extravaganzas, but they ignore that in neither of these plays did he act the role of an Irishman. While reviewers of his performances often commented on his talents as a comic actor, and in particular his meticulous impersonation of the American actor Edwin Forrest in manner, dress, movement and speech in Met-a-mo-ra, it was never implied that he performed either this Indian role

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or that in Po-ca-hon-tas with any Irish influence.[5] Odell claims that "one grew to associate him with Irish character....Too often John Brougham was but John Brougham under another name in the play...."[6] James Burge describes Brougham as "...a rotund Irish low comedian who proved the perfect performing foil for Burton..." and writes that he took on eccentric roles when he moved to Wallack's.[7] Brougham was a comedian, and a very popular comedian, but this dissertation will show that he was not limited to Irish roles.

The fact that he appeared on stage, often every night that the theatre was open, from 1830 through 1879, lends special credence to a study of his acting since theatre repertoire and practice changed enormously during that period. When he began his acting career, programs consisted of three or four short works, each including several songs. By the time his acting career was nearing its end, stage productions were nearly the same as those currently produced in today's major commercial theatres, with one full-length work. In addition, by the end of Brougham's career Saturday matinee performances had become a regular part of theatre life, and at

---

5. It was widely acknowledged that in Brougham's early years in America he played Hamlet in Hamlet Travesty as an Irishman, and his Iago in Othello Travesty was advertised as an Irish Iago.

6. George G. C. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, vol. 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-46), 608.

7. James Burge, Lines of Business (New York: P. Lang, 1986), 182, 192.

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many theatres Wednesday matinees were also a regular feature.

Although Brougham's repertoire varied from periods when he acted primarily in works of others to years when he appeared primarily in his own works, especially outside of New York, there were some roles which he played from early years which continued throughout his career.

Brougham was often cast in roles of Irish gentlemen, and frequently a "ridiculous" Irish gentleman, but he also played the servant Irishman as well as many roles that were not Irish at all. In addition to the roles of Indian chiefs, H. R. H. Pow-Ha-Tan I, in his best-known play, Po-ca-hon-tas or The Gentle Savage, and Metamora, in his Met-a-mo-ra or the Last of the Pollywogs, he also played the Italian explorer, Columbus, in his popular play, Columbus el Filibustero.

Although Brougham is referred to as an eccentric comedian by some twentieth-century theatre critics, male comedy roles were defined in nineteenth-century ante-bellum theatre criticism as either light comedy or low comedy, depending upon the social rank of the character. According to Michael Booth, "A light comedian who played caricatures of the English gentleman, with extreme mannerisms of dress and behaviour, was also known as an eccentric comedian; this latter term, however, was not generally employed until after 1850."[8] Theatre reviews of the early nineteenth century indicate that

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8. Michael R. Booth, English Plays of the Nineteenth Century, vol. 4 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 145.

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caricatures of gentleman of other nationalities, particularly Irish and French, were also played by light comedians.

To twentieth-century American audiences such distinctions in social class are perhaps not as obvious as they were to early nineteenth-century English audiences, but according to Booth, the class consciousness apparent as early as George Colman the Younger's John Bull (1803), in which Brougham often acted the low-comedy role of Dennis Brulgruddery, continued in Victorian comedy not as "class hostility...as in melodrama...but rather a product of the social enmity and a struggle for superiority between the established and landed aristocracy and the socially ambitious *nouveaux riches*...or the professional and managerial classes...."[9]

Throughout his career, Brougham's performances often included song and dance. He had been raised to be an Irish gentleman and thus had learned the social graces expected of a gentleman at an early age. When his family had lost his money and it became clear that he would have to work to earn a living rather than live on an independent income, he met an acquaintance from Dublin on the streets of London who was acting at Tottenham Road Theatre and through him performed mostly non-speaking roles in a few plays. The first major recognition that he received on a playbill was "The New Scenery by Mr. Brougham" for a production of Fra Diavolo for

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9. Michael R. Booth, ed., The Magistrate and Other Nineteenth-Century Plays (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), xvi-xvii.

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which Madame Vestris was the guest star. Brougham's father, who died when Brougham was a child, had been an amateur artist, and Brougham had studied art as a child and made a conscious attempt to copy paintings by his father.

Brougham continued to take star engagements throughout his career, sometimes even during a season when he was engaged by New York companies. After 1850, he played the leading role, not always the same as his New York role, in performances outside of New York, particularly in Dombey and Son, but also in other works where the role had originally been written for another actor.

As an actor, he must have learned roles easily as he seemed to have little time to study. Although other actors of the period were criticized for not knowing lines in performance, I have found no evidence of this being the case with Brougham. While some of his performances, particularly with Burton, included some improvisation, no evidence has been found to indicate that most of them did. In response to criticism about the sins of theatre professionals, Brougham stressed the importance of study in the following interview late in his life:

> As a class we are laborious. Our mornings are devoted to study and rehearsal, our evenings to acting, and we haven't the time to be very wicked. In fact, speaking generally, the vices of the theatrical profession end where the crimes of some of the ministers begin.[10]

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10. Interview, "Among the Actors: John Brougham in His Easy Chair--Retirement of the Veteran Actor" New York Herald, 26

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Ample evidence of Brougham's generous nature exists in examples of his creating opportunities for younger actors. Even when he was the manager of the theatre or the play was his own work, he was not always listed first in the cast list, and he often wrote plays for other actors with no recognition for himself. Although he was often in debt and certainly never well-off financially, he managed to lend money to those who were less fortunate and participated in many benefits both for individual actors and for those institutions which were dear to his heart.

In general, he seemed to have an uncanny ability to bounce back from adversity. He seemed always preoccupied by making a living, and except for one brief note about his being at the seaside in Lynn, Massachusetts, I've found no record of his ever taking a vacation, unlike some other actors and theatre managers of the time. It may be that Brougham enjoyed being on stage so much that he had less need for vacations than other performers; it is difficult to ascertain whether what appears to be frantic and constant activity was driven more by financial need or by his own desire to be busy.

He must have felt deeply the obligation he took on to provide for his second wife and her children. His ability to

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August, 1877. (Much of this interview was re-published in Life. However, the general introduction, omitted in the re-publication, gives an interesting impression of Brougham's life away from the theatre and includes the information that he kept a pet dog named Meg Merrilies as well as a parrot that insisted on interrupting the interview with denunciations of "You lie, John.")

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make money was greatly affected by things that would rarely or never be considered in theatrical circles today such as extremes of weather, fires in theatres, and cholera epidemics. Because he had a trusting nature and was inattentive to financial matters, he frequently put his confidence in people who did not deserve it and was the victim of ungenerous and sometimes unscrupulous theatre owners.

The affection shown to him by his fellow actors when it was discovered how poverty-stricken he had become in late life and their creation of an annuity for him provided some relief for his financial problems. Records indicate that he received only a modest monthly sum from the annuity and did not call a doctor in his final illness because he could not pay him. The committee which set up the annuity had obviously been well-intentioned, since it was recorded that all of the money raised would have gone for debts if it had not been arranged to be paid to Brougham a little at a time, but he received very little benefit from his friends' effort. If the value of a person's life can be measured by the number and length of his obituaries, it is certain that Brougham had a value far beyond what is normally recognized today.

In searching for a dissertation topic, I knew that my main interest was in a study from a historical perspective, and since the dramatic literature of the nineteenth century is not my favorite, I decided to look first at performance history. In reading through a number of general nineteenth-

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century theatre histories, the name of John Brougham recurred with regularity; however, even though it was acknowledged that he acted for a long time, little specific information was available about his performances. Because of my strong preference for comic plays, I knew that if I chose to write about a performer, I would probably prefer a comedian rather than a tragedian, and it seemed clear that Brougham certainly fit that bill. In fact, I shortly discovered that his comedic genius led him to a number of innovative stage practices, often involving the audience; these will be detailed as they occur in his career but are for devices that are commonly regarded as originating during the twentieth century.

Even in early reading, I found almost nothing negative about him; it seemed that he was popular with other actors, with playwrights, and with audiences, and he seemed to exhibit that rare sense which I so admire of not taking himself too seriously. When I found the studies of his plays by Ryan and Hawes, it became clear to me that this was a man with whose story I could live for whatever amount of time the research for and writing of the dissertation would take.

I was almost immediately attracted to Brougham because of his strong personality; as I read further I began to develop an understanding that his on-stage and off-stage persona were almost entirely the same. While I hesitate to fully accept Odell's evaluation of him as "playing John Brougham whatever the role," I believe his sense of humor, love of adventure,

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and general affection for people seriously influenced his performances. Reviews of his performances indicate that he loved being on stage; his popularity as an impromptu speaker led several critics to write that his curtain speeches were more entertaining than the dramatic works presented on the same evening. Despite his love for play, Brougham was also referred to by his contemporaries as hard-working, and he must have had enormous reserves of energy as he often wrote new stage works, acted, and sometimes managed theatres at the same time. In the fragment of his autobiography, published posthumously by William Winter, he wrote that he "would rather be everybody's friend than anybody's enemy,"[11] and even when pointing out his weaknesses as a manager, critics of the time often called him "genial John."

Brougham is widely acknowledged in general histories about nineteenth-century theatre as being a playwright and theatre manager as well as an actor. However, his acting is usually characterized as primarily a low Irish comic. It is my contention that he is much more than that as an actor, and I hope that my study will demonstrate this and provide a much more complete and different view of Brougham than has been held. Some of the points that have been made about Brougham are inaccurate, sometimes through examinations of fragmentary evidence, and some are just wrong. One of my earnest hopes is

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11. Life, Stories and Poems of John Brougham, ed. William Winter (Boston, James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), 16.

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to be able to correct these erroneous assumptions. In general, the only study I have done of Brougham's plays is to look at specific roles which he created for himself or to examine unique plays which would have caused unusual concerns in terms of management or stage practice.

In studying Brougham's performance career, I encountered many problems, some of which were anticipated, but some of which were not. One of the problems was not a lack of information but what turned out to be coping with the largess of materials that surfaced. Rather than finding only a few playbills, I found at least 2000. Of course, these were not in one location, so one of the problems in re-creating a chronology of his performances was to organize the information that I gathered from many places. Because records were scattered, a good deal of travel was involved. Many playbills were printed with only the day of the week and the month and date of the month without the year. In some cases, energetic librarians had hand-entered the year, presumably by using a perpetual calendar, and in a few cases, I found that the wrong year had been entered.

In almost every case, I was able to verify information on playbills from advertisements in local newspapers, and the few instances where there was disagreement between the playbill and newspaper advertisement have been noted in the calendar of performances. In a number of instances, newspaper advertisements were very limited, listing only the names of

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plays and sometimes only a few actors with no roles listed. However, such advertisements usually were for performances of a play after the initial presentation, and in those cases, where Brougham's role was not indicated and no playbill for a particular evening was found, I have considered it so likely that he performed that I have included him in the cast unless there was some notice which indicated that he was ill or otherwise not available. Because records of so many American performances were discovered, it was decided during the course of the research to concentrate on the American years rather than to try to complete a fragmentary survey of Brougham's performance career both abroad and in the United States.

Another problem that recurred with some regularity was that plays were often given new names; in a few instances, playwrights were given credit for writing plays that were clearly written by someone else. Those examples for which assurance can be given are explained in Appendix B which attempts to list playwrights for each play in which Brougham performed. Gathering information for the post-Civil War years, by which time the "long run" had become a more regular practice in American theatre, was easier to accomplish than for the pre-Civil War years, when bills with several plays each evening changed on an almost nightly basis. However, I found the earlier period more interesting, and because those programs from late years that were clearly organized by Brougham tend to follow the pattern of main piece and

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afterpiece from earlier years, I believe it is safe to assume that Brougham preferred theatre practices of earlier years as well.

Twentieth-century perceptions of nineteenth-century theatre and social customs may sometimes reflect attitudes that would have seemed strange to earlier writers. In order to analyze any constrast between viewpoints from today and earlier times, I reviewed many reports written in the nineteenth century and those written in the twentieth century on the subject of nineteenth-century theatre and social customs. Since much of the theatre that Brougham participated in was social comedy and a reflection of social conditions, I hope to clarify both his place in theatre from the perspective of his contemporaries and compare their opinions with those of later critics.

In the course of this research, several pieces of information about Brougham that had previously never been published came to light. One example is that he actually spent more time in Boston during the first six years of his American career than he did in New York although he made New York his home base after that time. Through a study of daily newspapers and playbills, I have been able to document two extended periods of performances by Brougham in Boston during 1844 and 1845 that were not included in Hawes' dissertation or in books written about the early Boston stage.

The examination of playbills and advertisements for

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performances during the course of the research for this dissertation led me to a better understanding of the variable length of theatre seasons which evolved during the nineteenth century. When seasons started and ended generally did not conform to a regular schedule. In Brougham's early days in the theatre, seasons were of short duration, often starting late in the fall and ending in April. Particularly in America, some theatres would announce the closing of "the season," usually with a series of benefits for regular company members, for one day and open the theatre with a "new season" on the very next day. Later, the length of seasons fluctuated based on managerial whim, and summer seasons sometimes took place under the management of a visiting artist. If a production was extremely successful, the spring season might be extended through the summer and even until the end of September. For these reason, seasons as described in this dissertation have been selected somewhat arbitrarily; some are as short as eight months with some as long as fourteen. There seemed to be little reason to make a hard and fast rule about when seasons started and ended when it would not match theatrical practice.

While Brougham's twentieth-century reputation rests almost solely on his authorship of Pocahontas and his being acknowledged secondarily for his burlesque of Metamora, during his lifetime, ten of his own plays besides Pocahontas, such as David Copperfield, Playing with Fire, Dombey and Son, and even

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a stage version of his own short story, Love and Murder, were apparently more popular than Metamora. He performed all ten of these plays more times than he acted Metamora and some of them many more times. While many of my first impressions about Brougham were verified by my research, the relative popularity of some plays associated with him, at least in terms of numbers of times they were acted, was a surprise.

This study began with a review of the standard recorded catalogues of performances in various cities. Although some errors were found, the accuracy and the diligence of those who compiled these encyclopedic works in pre-computer days is greatly admired. Much of the early impetus for this study came from information derived from such multi-volume works at George Odell's Annals of the New York Stage, Charles Durang's History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1749-1855, and Joseph Ireland's Records of the New York Stage: From 1750 to 1860. Since names of playwrights were usually not included in either playbills or newspaper advertisements until after the Civil War, Early Nineteenth Century Drama and Late Nineteenth Century Drama, volumes three and four of Allardyce Nicoll's A History of English Drama, 1660-1900, and Donald C. Mullin's Victorian Plays: A Record of Significant Productions on the London Stage, 1837-1901 were extremely useful in helping match play titles with playwrights. Appendix B contains an alphabetical list of the titles of all known plays in which Brougham acted with playwrights identified by source.

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Several dissertations focusing on nineteenth-century repertoire in specific cities and occasionally at specific theatres were useful. Often the passing mention of one performance by Brougham in a dissertation led to the discovery of programs for an entire engagement when newspapers were consulted.

Information derived from sources listed above was supplemented by a thorough study of newspaper advertisements, reviews, and notices in weekly theatrical columns, using at least one daily newspaper in cities where Brougham acted. Theatrical columns in the weekly journals, The Spirit of the Times, The Clipper, The Dramatic Mirror, and The Era were also reviewed.

A number of libraries were consulted for collections of playbills, extra-illustrated books and scrapbooks to complete information gained from newspapers. Foremost among these was the Harvard Theatre Collection, but collections in the Rare Books and Manuscript Department at Columbia University's Butler Library, in the library and the prints department at New York Historical Society, in the Billy Rose Theatre Collection at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center, in the Rare Books and in the microforms departments of the Research Division of the Boston Public Library, and in the Theatre Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia were also extensively used. The finding of a nearly complete daily collection of playbills

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from Burton's Chambers Street Theatre in the library at New York Historical Society was an enormous benefit in the early stages of this study. For several months, I used the extensive newspaper collection in the microforms division of the New York Public Library Center for the Humanities where librarians searched the stacks for obscure newspapers and ordered many out-of-town newspapers via Inter-Library Loan. The Government Documents Collection in Lamont Library at Harvard University proved to be a rich source of newspapers that were unavailable elsewhere; its being open on Saturday and Sunday afternoons during the month I studied at Harvard greatly enhanced my research at that time.

The extremely scattered nature of evidence about Brougham's career caused materials that were otherwise not available to be found at the Brooklyn Historical Society, the New York Society Library, the library and prints department at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, the Rochester Public Library's local history and newspaper departments, the Cayuga County Historian's office in Auburn, the Utica Public Library, the library at the State University of New York at Oswego, the Special Collections division of the Buffalo Public Library, the Ontario Archives in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, the New York State Library in Albany, the library of the Chicago Historical Society, the Rare Books division of the Chicago Public Library, the Newberry Library, and the newspaper division of the Library of Congress.

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The final and sole source for checking of Brougham's programs in newspapers from remote parts of the United States could only be completed in the newspaper collection at the Library of Congress which holds many nineteenth-century daily newspapers from throughout America. Unfortunately almost all of these newspapers had been made unavailable to researchers just days before I reached the library. A project to preserve those newspapers which the library holds only in hard bound copies meant that a number of newspapers which I wished to study had been sent to state libraries for microfilming. However, librarians at the Library of Congress searched the catalog and I was able to use newspapers currently available on microfilm. Since my search there involved only the completion of programs for which I already had some information, largely from Brougham's engagement book from 1865-1866, I believe that inaccessibility to these newspapers does not create an insufferable gap in the dissertation.

While the library at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York does not enjoy the distinction of being a research library, librarians there ordered dissertations and other books via Inter-Library Loan and provided access to private libraries in New York.

From the database of information that was developed from the research cited above, a day-by-day account of Brougham's acting in the United States with citations for reviews and specific elements of performance was compiled with only a few

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weeks for which no records could be found. Every effort was made to verify playbills with newspaper advertisements and vice versa. Additional information was gathered from promptbooks at the Harvard Theatre Collection and the Billy Rose Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center. Through analysis of this compilation of records, I was able to derive substantial evidence of the precise nature of Brougham's acting career and address misconceptions that have previously been stated.

Playbills and newspaper records of performances in England, Scotland, and Ireland were also studied, and evidence of over 700 performances before he came to America was found, as well as a substantial number of performances during his 1860-1865 return to Great Britain. Since the focus of this dissertation was Brougham's American years, little attempt is made to create a day-by-day-chronology of his acting during the "English" years. English and Irish newspapers were consulted, for the most part, only to verify otherwise incomplete data about specific performances from other sources. Altogether nearly 10,000 performances of over 450 plays were verified by playbills or newspaper advertisements and frequently both. Occasionally other verification was substituted when playbills and newspaper advertisements could not be found. More playbills were found than was anticipated when this study was begun; the list of performances in Appendix A indicates if a playbill was found for a specific

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performance.

In general, in the nineteenth century, rules for orthography were not as clearly delineated and closely observed as at present, and titles of plays and names of characters were often spelled in several ways. Play titles were also changed from time to time; sometimes the play was advertised using the sub-title, and names of characters were sometimes changed. Occasionally Brougham changed the title of a play during the course of a run, usually to suit a current event; sometimes the same play was resurrected after some time with a new title. Plays imported from England frequently were programmed with a new name; sometimes this was with the knowledge and permission of the playwright, and sometimes it apparently was not.

Names of playwrights were also inconsistently spelled, with Colman being spelled Coleman in many advertisements. The use of A, The, or no article at the beginning of a play title was extremely inconsistent. In general, I have tried to use the spelling most commonly used in the nineteenth century. However, since the nineteenth-century spellings of Bourcicault and Shakspere seem a little precious in the present day, I have used the common twentieth-century spellings of Boucicault and Shakespeare. Otherwise, I have made every attempt to copy quotations exactly as they are in the original, including unusual spelling, grammatical constructions, and punctuation.

Frequent references to comprehensive works on theatre in

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the text are cited by the abbreviations which are listed in the front of this dissertation following the List of Tables. To aid the reader and to avoid repetition of dates, the year has been printed at the top of pages where specific performances are discussed. Titles of plays acknowledged to have been written or adapted by Brougham are listed in italics on tables throughout the dissertation.

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Chapter One - Early Years and Career in England, 1830-1842

> *He is personally, and in his profession, undoubtedly the most popular man on the American stage to-day, a popularity he achieved on his first appearance, and which he has steadily maintained during the thirty or more years of his residence among us.*[1]

According to Brougham's brief autobiography which tells only about his life before going to England, he was born in Dublin on May 9, 1810 as registered in the family Bible.[2] Confusion about his birthdate exists because when he made his application for membership in the American Dramatic Fund Association, he wrote his birthdate as May 9, 1812, and other sources list the year as 1814. The date on the application might be construed to be a correction except that this would mean that he completed his university education at age

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1. Laurence Hutton, Plays and Players (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875), 50.

2. Life, 15, 63. The Treble Almanack, a yearly publication which contained a city directory of Dublin, was searched for several years surrounding Brougham's alleged birth, but no Brougham (or any variation in spelling) was found. It was not until 1823 that this directory contained a List of Nobility and Gentry, and two gentlemen named Broome were listed, but presumably John Brougham's father was dead by that time. The records of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints list two John Brougham's born in Dublin, one in 1810 and one in 1814, but no names of parents are given for either, and sources for the information listed in these records are unclear. Brougham did add Esquire to his name from time to time, but it is not clear whether he was actually a member of the gentry. The Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser from 1810, the only Dublin daily newspaper for this time period available in the United States, (borrowed through Inter-Library Loan from Yale University Library) lists a number of births, but no child born to a Brougham in May or June, 1810. No indication that Brougham was a "stage" name has been found.

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seventeen and was in London acting at Tottenham Street Theatre at age eighteen. The account he gives of his activities in Dublin the year before he left makes it appear that he would have been older than seventeen or eighteen. Also several independent accounts of his early life say that he spent the first twenty years of his life in Ireland. Since the autobiographical fragment was written later in his life than the application was made to the American Dramatic Fund Association, and this is the date on his gravestone, I am assuming that the 1810 date is correct until further evidence surfaces.[3]

Brougham wrote that his father was disowned by his family because he married a woman of French Huguenot stock "whose dower consisted in the wealth of womanly virtue only,"[4] and his father died before Brougham knew who he was. His mother died when he was young as well, and he was raised primarily by his mother's sister Mary and her husband Uncle William, the only relatives whom Brougham mentions by name, and for them he gives only first names. His uncle was apparently quite an influence on Brougham as a child and young man. Even though he was a pantheist, Uncle William, who had been a civil

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3. To add to the confusion, Brougham's obituary in the New York Times of June 8, 1880 states that several biographers have noted his birthdate as May 14, 1814, but that one of his most intimate friends indicates that he was born on May 8, 1808. There is an entry dated May 9, 1878, in "Extracts from Diaries," Life, 87 in which Brougham writes, "My birthday! Sick and Sicksty-eight...."

4. Life, 16.

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servant in Calcutta for the East India Company, went to church "as a gentleman." He kept a pet monkey "named William Pitt" and encouraged young Brougham's talent for mimicry.

Although Brougham never gives the first names of his father or mother, he writes that his father was both a sculptor and painter. It seems clear that this was as an amateur, and evidently none of his family had been reared with a career in mind. In fact, he writes that he "would very likely have been a lazy, worthless, and unendurable nuisance, if a severe family and pecuniary misfortune had not electrified him into personal exertion." He was presumably raised to be a gentleman, perhaps without vocation, and he states that although he spent about six months "walking" St. Peter's Hospital, he rejected surgery and sought a position with a life settlement in the Treasury Ministry in London. It is not clear whether he rejected surgery totally because of what he later termed its inappropriateness for himself or whether the change was due principally to straitened financial circumstances.

In the biographical notice in Brougham's Dramatic Works, a book of eight plays published in 1856, Dr. Robert Shelton Mackenzie, a friend "from earliest days," writes that Brougham was stripped of nearly all the "fine landed estate that would have been his by the enormous rascality of his mother's agent" to whom she had given the management of their property after her husband died. While the family had still been able to

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live in a genteel and elegant manner before Brougham reached adulthood, it appears that he totally ran out of funds shortly after leaving Trinity College.[5] Brougham apparently knew little about his father's family and he wrote to Winter that he saw his paternal grandfather only once, describing him as an "amiable old sinner, an awe-inspiring, pompous individual, fat, florid and gouty," and bemoaning the fact that gout was the only legacy his grandfather had left him.[6]

When he left Ireland for England, Brougham lost out at a civil service position because of a change in the ministry and was not successful at getting a position with the East India Company. (It is not clear precisely when Brougham came to England, but if it was in 1830, it might have been around the time that George IV died on June 26, and the change of monarchs as well as a parliamentary election that same year may have brought about significant changes in ministries. There had been quite a lot of political turmoil during George IV's reign, despite the fact that he had been Prince Regent for ten years before being crowned. It may be that some of the financial reverses in Brougham's family were related to

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5. John Brougham, Dramatic Works (New York: Samuel French, 1856), i. Although Brougham wrote in the fragment of his autobiography published in Life, that he "entered" Trinity College, Pat M. Ryan wrote that he found no evidence that Brougham had ever attended the university when he searched Trinity's records in 1966. "The Hibernian Experience: John Brougham's Irish-American Plays." MELUS 10 (Summer, 1983): 34.

6. Life, 16.

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the political situation.) The general situation in Ireland in the early nineteenth century has been described thus:

> In Ireland, the recent alienation of property has effected a fearful revolution among its old aristocracy tearing asunder those associations between "the local habitation and the name" which have for centuries wound round each other. The gentry of Ireland are now dis-located; new manners, and new men are filling the country, and the old time-honored houses are crumbling rapidly away.[7]

According to Mackenzie, in early days in London Brougham tutored several young ladies in drawing and renewed the acquaintance of Madame Vestris, whom he had previously met in Dublin. In later life, Brougham wrote to Winter that he first appeared on stage in London in 1830, his "first effort being the representation of some twelve to fourteen parts in Tom and Jerry" at Tottenham Theatre.[8] Brougham describes this first step in his theatrical career as the fact that he "drifted accidentally into the histrionic."

T. Allston Brown, who knew Brougham well enough to attend his funeral and may well have interviewed him, lists six unnamed roles in this play as Brougham's first performances and cites the name of the theatre as Queen's Theatre, Tottenham Court Road.[9] It may well be that Brougham's memory

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7. Sir John Bernard Burke, Family Romance, or, Episodes in the Domestic Annals of the Aristocracy, Vol. II (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), 17.

8. Life, 63.

9. T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1903, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 49. (In this article Brown also reversed the order of the names of Brougham's wives, an error which

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was faulty because no evidence has been found of Tom and Jerry being done at the Tottenham Street Theatre during 1830, Brougham generally acknowledging that he was not particularly gifted at recalling details. However, it was in his nature to be obliging to friends, and one can imagine him racking his brain when asked about his first professional appearance and responding with "as I recall...," his recollection later being presented as fact by Brown and Winter.

According to a group of playbills found at the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, in August 1830 Brougham began acting small roles as a member of the company at the Tottenham Street Theatre, the name at the time for what had formerly been called London West Theatre. There are several playbills for this theatre in the Harvard Theatre Collection as well, mostly in extra-illustrated volumes about Vestris and Brougham. Newspaper listings for Tottenham Street Theatre in the Times, the Sunday Times, and the Morning Chronicle, the only London newspapers which are available in New York for 1830, are very incomplete, there being no indication of performances on several days for which playbills have been found. There are also no reviews of any kind found for this theatre during the later part of 1830 in the Times of London, and the few items referring to it in the "Theatrical and Music" column in editions of the Sunday Times are little more than puffs, except for the dispute between the managers of the

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has been repeated by several subsequent authors.)

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theatre and those of the patent theatres which was covered rather extensively. The Morning Chronicle does not include the Tottenham Street Theatre in its amusements listings until November 20, 1830, and it has no reviews of performances there or any report of the managers' problems concerning the renewal of the lease.

No playbills or newspaper advertisements for this theatre have been found for July, 1830, and no production of Tom and Jerry as a part of any playbill or newspaper listing for Tottenham Street Theatre has been found; however, Brougham is listed on playbills as appearing in at least fifty-nine performances between August and December of that year, including at least two minor roles in the same play as Tyrone Power who appeared at that theatre in a starring engagement. In fact, the earliest playbill which I have found with Brougham's name is for August 23, 1830 where he played one of the unnamed servants in Etiquette Run Mad or, Happy Blundering, a new three-act musical entertainment, written for Tyrone Power, who played Captain O'More.

Madame Vestris was booked for an engagement at the Tottenham Street Theatre during late November and early December, and she apparently brought such huge crowds to the theatre that the owners of the legitimate theatres became concerned. In fact, it is alleged by Melrose and Chapman, the lessees of Tottenham Street Theatre, that the theatre owner used a ruse when they asked to renew their lease for three

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years, saying that their contract allowed either a five-year or a one-year renewal, but not a three-year renewal. According to an account in the Sunday Times, it had been reported that Charles Kemble, who was acting and managing at Covent Garden at the time, had leased the Tottenham Street Theatre "for the purpose of putting down the starring system at the minors," but it had in fact been let to a Mr. Macferren.[10] Melrose and Chapman alleged that Macferren was an agent for both of the patent theatres in a letter to the Morning Herald which was re-printed on the playbill for November 19, 1830. At any rate, it is clear that the season came to an abrupt close on December 11, 1830. The new owners or lessees renamed the theatre Queen's, the name by which it was known for several years. In January of 1831 Madame Vestris leased the Royal Olympic Theatre where, due to regulations protecting the legitimate theatres, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, she was permitted to program only burlettas,[11] and Brougham became a member of her company there. Except

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10. Sunday Times (London), 5 December, 1830.

11. Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama, 1600-1900, Vol. IV "Early Nineteenth-Century Drama" (Cambridge: University Press, 1966, 2nd edition), 137-141. "Of all the terms employed during this period, the burletta is by far the most difficult to define." Originally, in the eighteenth century, this was a term used at the legitimate theatres to describe a drama in rhyme which was entirely musical; however, with the rise of the minor theatres, the definition changed so that "it became an unwritten law that anything which could be called a burletta might be presented at a minor theatre." Essentially, this seemed to mean that any play with a few songs was all right so long as it was called a burletta on the playbill.

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during pantomime season, an evening's production usually consisted of three or four burlettas.

Most of the roles that Brougham acted at the Tottenham Street Theatre between August 23 and December 11, 1830 are derived from actual listings on playbills. However, a few, particularly in late November and early December, are assumed from newspaper listings with no cast lists but for the same play for which playbills have been found. Performances on eight evenings have been assumed from announcements, usually for the next evening, at the bottom of a playbill. On three evenings during the season, Brougham acted in three separate pieces, and on several other occasions he performed in two pieces. For performances of Don Giovanni, Brougham is listed on three playbills for two roles, Charon and Sponge, but on the last two playbills found for this play, he is listed only as playing Charon.

Interestingly, each piece at the Tottenham Street Theatre was listed on playbills as a "musical entertainment." On the second playbill found with Brougham's name, Castle Spectre was listed as a musical entertainment although Monk Lewis's play had been called a drama when originally performed at Drury Lane in 1797. It is not known how much the original play may have been adapted and if Brougham's role of Muly was as large as it had been in the original version. It is quite clear though that the minor theatres were permitted to play only pieces which had music added to them, even if in some cases

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the songs were modest additions.

All of the plays in which Brougham is known to have appeared and his roles at the Tottenham Street Theatre are annotated in Table 1.1 according to whether the information was found on a playbill, or in a newspaper listing. The table contains no duplicates; the numbers in the second and third columns reflect only performances for which playbills were not found. It is felt that the information contained in this table reflects the minimum number of performances in which he acted; there well may have been many more, but written evidence has not been found to substantiate other performances. There are also several gaps in the chronology; neither playbills nor newspaper listings were found for many days in September and early November.

Madame Vestris began her engagement on November 15, and for the first time in the newspaper on November 16, Brougham's name appears among those of the actors although no roles were listed for the opening of Fra Diavolo or, The Brigand Chief. A playbill for this same play for November 25 gives Brougham's role as Christofano and lists in rather large print, "The New Scenery by Mr. Brougham." It seems that Brougham was putting his childhood art lessons to use and created the scenery as well as acting in this play.

When Madame Vestris opened the Royal Olympic Theatre on January 3, 1831, Brougham appeared in two roles, as Lord Lindsay in Mary, Queen of Scots, and as Mars in Planché's

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Table 1.1 - Brougham's Performances at Tottenham Street Theatre, 1830

Title	Role	pb	ann	news
Benighted Travellers	Jaques	2	1	
Black Eyed Susan	Lieut. Pike	1	1	
Castle Spectre	Muly	1	1	
Corsair!	Borachio	1	2	
Death of Rolla	Valverd	1	1	
Don Giovanni	Charon/Sponge	5		1
Etiquette Run Mad	servant	4	4	
Fra Diavolo	Christofano	4		5
Guy Mannering	Joch Jabos	1		
Irishman's Fortune	Carlos	1		
Lord of the Manor	Sergeant Sash	4		2
Oscar and Malvina	traveller	1	1	
Peasant Boy	Stefano	2	1	
Redoubtables	officer	2	1	
Richard Parker	Jack Munro	1	2	
Smuggler's Isle	Dick Fagan	2		
Stratagem	O'Rafferty	2		1
Tekeli	Edmund	1		
Warlock of the Glen	Ruthven	1		

(verified by playbills, announcements of next day's performances at bottom of playbills, or newspaper listings)

extravaganza, Olympic Revels or, Prometheus and Pandora. In his published Extravaganzas, Planché acknowledged that he adapted this from a play by Colman and that Charles Dance had assisted with the writing of it. Brougham is the only actor

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listed in the dramatis personae whose name has a footnote; it reads "subsequently the popular representative of Irish characters." Planché stated that the costumes for Olympic Revels were unusual because it had formerly been the practice to dress burlesques in the most outré and ridiculous fashion.[12] Brougham, as Mars, had only one speaking line.

An evening's program at the Olympic usually consisted of four short one- or two-act burlettas each night unless a pantomime or an extravaganza was part of the program when there might be only one other piece. Seasons were short, starting in October, and at least for the first couple of years, ending in March. Through a series of appeals to the Lord Chamberlain, seasons were extended little by little, and in 1838-1839, Madame Vestris' last season as manager of the Olympic, the season lasted until May 31. Even after theatres were allowed to continue performances for several weeks after Easter, there was a mid-season closure during Holy Week and no performances on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent.

Brougham apparently was successful with several roles during his time at the Olympic as he is listed on playbills that I have seen as acting Captain Kildare in Beulah Spa at least forty-nine times during the 1833-34 season. It may well be that he played this role many more times during the season as the playbill for December 21, 1833 in the Harvard Theatre

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12. James Robinson Planché, Extravaganzas Vol. 1. T. F. Dillon Croker and Stephen Tucker, eds. (London: Samuel French, 1879), 49.

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Collection notes that this is the thirtieth performance of this two-act burletta. Playbills for many days during Brougham's early period in London have not been located, and in evaluating this part of his career, I have used only those performances for which I have found a playbill, or in a few cases a newspaper listing. Forty-nine performances is likely a serious under-estimation of his total number of appearances as Captain Kildare. Madame Vestris' practice was to continue a play, if not every evening at least several evenings a week, as long as it would attract an audience, and once Brougham was assigned a role, it became his property. It was not unusual for him to appear in some plays thirty, forty or more times.

Brougham was something of a favorite with both Madame Vestris and with Charles Mathews, who joined the company in December 1836[13] and soon became its leading man. Brougham often played a character in those pieces on the program where Vestris and/or Mathews also appeared. An example of this is the extravaganza, One Hour, or A Carnival Ball, apparently written primarily to demonstrate the dancing talents of Charles Mathews, but with an Irish role for Brougham. Another example of a role written specifically for Brougham was Killmany O'Gobble in Puss in Boots, the Christmas pantomime for the 1837-1838 season. Although only five playbills naming this piece have been found, it was undoubtedly performed many

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13. Charles E. Pearce, Madame Vestris and her Times (London: S. Paul, 1923; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 221.

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times with Brougham in his role of an Irish ogre.

Brougham's big break came in 1838 when Tyrone Power left for America after a highly successful summer engagement at the Haymarket Theatre with the Vestris troupe. In the farce, The Irish Lion, Brougham stepped into the role of Tim More that had been played by Power many times during the season, and apparently Brougham was very successful since it was repeated many times with him in the role.

During his years with Madame Vestris he had opportunities to see many famous actors perform, often acting on the same program. Such distinguished stars as Charles Kemble appeared with Madame Vestris' troupe, and on at least one such occasion, Brougham played a role in the afterpiece on the same program with Kemble playing Mercutio in Romeo and Juliet. He also acted in the summer of 1838 at the Haymarket with William Macready who played Oakley in The Jealous Wife with Brougham assigned the role of Captain O'Cutter. Another star who had an engagement with the Vestris company was Yankee Hill. The only evidence that has surfaced for this engagement is a single playbill for the Olympic Theatre for January 14, 1837 which lists Brougham for Morland to Hill's Hiram Dodge in Yankee Pedlar. However, the playbill indicates that this is the twelfth performance for this piece at the Olympic Theatre.[14]

On an evening in June in 1838, while he played the role

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14. Harvard Theatre Collection.

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of Dennis, a waiter in Naval Engagements, Tyrone Power played both Tim More in The Irish Lion and Gerald Pepper in The White Horse of the Peppers. Both of these later plays were pieces which became a large part of Brougham's repertoire when he came to the United States in 1842, and he was often compared favorably to Power, whose ship had been lost at sea when returning to England from starring engagements in America in the late March, 1841.

During the long summer breaks, Brougham wrote that he acted in provincial theatres, but little evidence of such performances has been found. One single playbill listing Brougham as Bellamy in The Suspicious Husband from Oxford's New Theatre, dated August 29, 1833, and playbills from a couple of London benefits, the summer of 1838 when most of Madame Vestris' troupe was at the Haymarket, and the summer of 1840 at the English Opera House discussed below are the only documentation found of summer engagements in England.

There seem to have been no theatre periodicals during this time which are available in America except for a couple which are devoted exclusively to the patent theatres, so an attempt to reconstruct the whole of Brougham's early acting career in England would require a trip there, probably including many journeys to provincial cities, and several months. No attempt has been made to create a complete chronology of performances in London, but sufficient playbills from 1831 through 1842 (listing about 700 of his performances) have been found, so

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that general parameters have been derived and lists of important roles for Brougham have been created. Those roles he played during the first four and one-half seasons that the Vestris company was at the Olympic Theatre are shown in Table 1.2 and Brougham's last five years' roles there are listed in Table 1.3. The increase in number of roles is particularly significant.

Table 1.2 - Performances at Olympic Theatre - 1831-1835 (verified by playbills)

		31	31-32	32-33	33-34	34-35
Beulah Spa	Captain Kildare				49	1
Court of Queen's Bench	Hubert			9		
Dumb Belle, The	Phelim O'Smirk		9			
Fra Diavolo, or the Inn at Terracina	Christofano	2				
Gervase Skinner	Patrick		21			
Hide and Seek	Mr. Charles Merton				2	
I'll Be Your Second	Lieutenant O'Bryan		19	4		
Lost Son, The	Stranger	8				
Mary, Queen of Scots	Lord Lindsay	8				
Match in the Dark	O'Flinn			2	7	
My Great Aunt; or Where There's a Will	Charles Walford	2				
Olympic Revels	Mars	54	2			
Talk of the Devil--!	Laurent		4			

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Table 1.3 - Performances at Olympic Theatre - 1835-1839
(verified by playbills)

		35-36	36-37	37-38	38-39
Beulah Spa	Captain Kildare		1		
Blue Beard	O'Shac O'Back				4
Burlington Arcade	Larry O'Slack				2
Court Beauties	Jerningham	2			
Court Favour	Colonel Kilkenny		2		
Daughter, The	Fitz Faddle Aspis	1			
Dr. Dilworth	O'Loughlin				12
Dream of the Future	Patrick			5	11
Duel, The; or, My Two Nephews	O'Manley			1	
Garrick Fever, The	Major Derrydown				3
Gentleman in Difficulties	Mr. Simmonds		4		
Idol's Birthday	Dennis Crambo				3
Love in a Cottage	Sir Murphy O'Blarny	2	1		
Naval Engagements	Dennis			9	1
One Hour, or a Carnival Ball	O'Leary	4	6	9	5
Puss in Boots	Killmany O'Gobble			5	
Queen's Horse, The	Corporal Murphy				1
Quiet Day, A	Mr. Bryan O'Reilley			3	4
Ringdoves, The	Moony			13	
Sons and Systems	Donald				3
Twice Killed	Mr. Reckless			3	
Why Did You Die?	Joseph			6	1
Yankee Pedlar	Morland		1		

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When Madame Vestris moved to Covent Garden, both Brougham and Mrs. Brougham were listed as members of the company on a playbill for the opening night of the season, September 30, 1839. Winter writes that Brougham married an actress, Emma Williams, in 1838.[15] According to many reports she was a strikingly beautiful woman. While they often both appeared on stage on the same night, they usually did not perform in the same piece, Mrs. Brougham being more frequently assigned to roles in classic plays than was the case with Brougham. He continued to be listed as a member of the company at the beginning of each of the three seasons the Vestris-Mathews management remained at Covent Garden.

Charles Pascoe lists the company according to their lines of business for the 1841-42 season, and Brougham is listed for "Irish characters." It is not clear that Brougham remained with Madame Vestris at Covent Garden for all of the 1841-1842 season which will be discussed later. While the move to Covent Garden gave Madame Vestris a legal opportunity to enrich the repertory of the company with performances of legitimate drama, she wisely took into consideration the fact that Covent Garden had been enlarged to such a great extent that it was not practical to perform witty comedies, and she frequently programmed a group of burlettas in what were advertised as "Olympic Nights."

Brougham was given opportunities to perform roles that

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15. Life, "Supplementary Memoir," 138.

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were apparently new to him, including Sir Lucius O'Trigger in The Rivals, evidence having surfaced of his having done only one previous performance of this role at the Haymarket Theatre in summer of 1838. He also played Dennis Brulgruddery in Colman's John Bull. However, his role at Covent Garden for which the most playbills have been found was that of Larry O'Log, a hunter in Sleeping Beauty in the Woods, an extravaganza written by Planché for the 1839-1840 season and continued into the next season as well. An examination of the text of this work demonstrates that Brougham's significance in the company had increased; the first scene of Act III is essentially a dialogue between Larry O'Log and Prince Perfect, who was played by one of the members of the Vining family, several of whom were associated with various companies managed by Vestris.

At the Olympic Theatre, Covent Garden and at least sometimes during summers, in addition to working with Vestris and Mathews, he had many opportunities to observe and act in the same pieces with the low comedian, William Farren, and from time to time John Liston, whom he credits in his autobiography as being the best low comedian he had ever seen. With one exception, only those performances at the Haymarket and Covent Garden Theatres for which playbills have been found are included in Tables 1.4 and 1.5. Undoubtedly Brougham acted in many more performances.

An apparent drastic change occurred in March, 1841 when

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Table 1.4 - Performances, Summer, 1838 - Haymarket Theatre

Dream of the Future, A	Patrick	1
Irish Lion, The	Tim More	16
Jealous Wife, The	Captain O'Cutter	2
Naval Engagements	Dennis	5
One Hour	O'Leary	9
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius O'Trigger	1
White Horse of the Peppers	Gerald Pepper	2
Who wants a Guinea?	Sir Larry MacMurragh	1

Table 1.5 - Performances at Covent Garden Theatre

		39-40	40-41	41-42
Alive and Merry	Patrick Day	9		
Caught Napping	Mich Oregan			1
Dr. Dilworth	O'Loughlin	1		
Fashionable Arrivals	Mr. O'Brian		19	
Irish Tutor, The	Terry O'Rourke			2
John Bull	Dennis Brulgruddery	2	1	
Naval Engagements	Dennis	2		
Omnibus, The	Pat Roony			6
One Hour	O'Leary	4		
Poor Soldier, The	Father Luke			6
Quiet Day, A	Mr. Bryan O'Reilly	1	2	1
Ringdoves, The	Sir Lucius O'Trigger	3	4	6
Sleeping Beauty in the Woods	Larry O'Log	35	16	
Sons and Systems	Donald O'McSweeney	2		

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Boucicault (then using the stage name of Lee Moreton) was given total credit for the writing of the hit play, London Assurance. It appears that on the opening night for the play Brougham thought that he would be given joint credit with Boucicault, and he appeared back stage to take his author's bow but was restrained from doing so by Madame Vestris or her designee. The origin of the play was the subject of debate for years with it being reported that Brougham told at least one interviewer in later life that he had nothing to do with the writing of this play. However, in the synopsis of his life story, he wrote that Boucicault had claimed credit for it all, and he had been advised to take half of what Boucicault had been paid for the play rather than go to court.[16] This question of authorship of London Assurance arose again and again throughout Brougham's life, although he continued to act several roles in the play. He apparently was friends with Boucicault, acting Colonel O'Grady, a role written especially for him, in Boucicault's Arrah-na-Pogue and travelling to England in 1860 on the same ship with the Boucicaults.

As was customary, the new play had been advertised for

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16. Life, 63. Here Brougham writes that he wrote London Assurance in conjunction with Boucicault "who claimed the entire authorship..." In interviews, Brougham apparently told some people that he had nothing to do with the writing of this play and others that he had written a great deal of it, so there is still confusion. In an interesting sidelight, when the first Mrs. Brougham returned to the United States in the mid-1850s, she claimed that Brougham had written a good deal of the play. In his Extravaganzas, Planché refers to Brougham as the "collaborateur of Boucicault" in the writing of the play, 249.

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the opening night at Covent Garden with no author listed. It may be true that Brougham helped with writing the role of Dazzle as reviewers from several productions remark on this being an Irish role. A reviewer of the first performance wrote in the Morning Chronicle on March 5 that Boucicault had writing assistance from several friends.

It may also be that Brougham participated in a somewhat different version of the play in America, and Dazzle may not have been acted as an Irish role in the version at Covent Garden. It was widely acknowledged that this role underwent much re-writing before the first production because it was the role which was deemed most suitable for Charles Mathews who acted it at Covent Garden. More important from the standpoint of Brougham's London performances in 1841 is the fact that London Assurance remained on stage at Covent Garden for the remainder of the 1840-1841 season, and no records have been found of Brougham appearing there at all between December 9, 1840 and September 7, 1841. It is not at all clear whether he remained a member of the company during the spring of 1841 and was paid while not acting or if he went to another company, perhaps outside of London. No playbills or advertisements with his name have surfaced for this period. What is clear is that this change in programming may have affected his wife's acting as well since her name disappeared from Covent Garden playbills, and a role that she had acted for some time, Hippolyta in A Midsummer Night's Dream, was advertised as

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being done by another actress. It may have been that Mrs. Brougham was pregnant or caring for their baby at the time as Winter reports that the couple had a child, who died when he was a few months old. It seems likely that the birth may have happened in England since Mrs. Brougham acted much of the time during their first two years in America before the Broughams decided to go their separate ways.

Although it is possible that Brougham was acting using a stage name during these ten months, it seems to be unlikely since stage names were generally used early in an actor's career, if at all, and Brougham had been acting nearly ten years under his own name. Another shorter but almost two-month period of time for which Brougham's name disappears from London playbills is from December 1, 1841 until January 28, 1842. The only clue that has been found about the Broughams' possible activities during this time is a notice in the Sunday Times of December 5, 1841, reprinting a report from an Edinburgh paper that indicated that Mrs. Brougham had made her first appearance in Edinburgh the previous Monday in The Jealous Wife at the Theatre Royal. While John Brougham is not mentioned in this notice about Edinburgh, he was acting in The Omnibus at Covent Garden, according to a playbill for Wednesday, December 1.[17] It may be that he joined his wife in Edinburgh after the Covent Garden performance, but the fact that the newspaper specifically notes that this is Mrs.

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17. Harvard Theatre Collection.

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Brougham's first appearance in Edinburgh gives an indication that at least she had not been there during the previous season.

During the autumn of 1841, Brougham acted much more infrequently at Covent Garden than in previous autumns, appearing only five times as Sir Lucius in The Rivals, five times as Father Luke in The Poor Soldier, six times as Pat Rooney in The Omnibus, twice as Terry O'Rouke in The Irish Tutor, and once is Mich Oregan in Caught Napping, a farce that was apparently so badly written that it was stopped during the performance. A review which is so unusual in its vehement denunciation of the play that it bears repeating shows that reviewers could be devastating critics of dramatic works.

> The new farce which was produced here last Thursday night is the work of Mr. Peake. We have too great a respect for Mr. Peake not to rejoice that his last offspring has departed, for had it survived for a few nights its struggles would but have increased the disgust of those who witnessed them, and have made what was originally an abortion, a still more disagreeable object. This poor creature was *"Caught Napping,"* and it would have been as well if it had never awakened, for when the nap subsided the nonsense began, and the reason the audience were not "caught napping" was, that one portion was kept awake by the groaning and hissing of the others. There was a pleasing variety of characters. An Irishman, Mr. Brougham, who spent his last penny to have his fortune told by an Irishwoman, Mrs. Tayleure, whom he knew to be an imposter, but who in return for his credulity allowed him to get drunk with the contents of a whisky bottle. Then came Miss Lee and Mrs. Humby, as a young lady from a finishing school, and her intriguing servant. These were followed by two military captains and a non-commissioned tiger, Messrs. Hemming, Brindal and Oxberry. There were also a general, Mr. F. Matthews, and several orderlies and disorderlies, attached and

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> unattached, named unknown. The whole of these people conversed in bad puns, old jokes, and bad Irish, until the audience hooted them from the stage, and Mr. Cooper stepped manfully forward to the rescue of his own character, and solicited the clemency of the house until the whole should be put out of their misery by the regular progress of the drama. As this progress was pretty near its conclusion the hissing ceased, and in a few minutes the curtain fell, to the relief of all parties. We regret that Mr. Peake has failed to please, but we rejoice that the audience were not to be cajoled into approbation by the sanction of a good name to a bad piece.[18]

Compared with Brougham's almost daily performances during previous years, these few scattered appearances, never acting in more than one play in an evening, seem to indicate a drastic reduction in the importance of Brougham's place in the company. Of course, it is true that Madame Vestris and Charles Mathews were having serious financial problems, and it was discovered in the next year that they not only had never made a profit at Covent Garden but, even with such hits as London Assurance, their expenses had exceeded income for each of the three years that they were managers there. This led to their being forced out of the management, the scenery, wardrobe and properties that had been brought with them from the Olympic Theatre being sold to help meet the rent for which they were in arrears, and to a period of time in Queen's Bench Prison for Mathews, "thanks to the oppressive law which then regarded a debtor as a criminal."[19]

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18. Sunday Times (London), 10 October, 1841.

19. Pearce, Madame Vestris, 277-278.

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In his synopsis of his life's work, Brougham says that he managed the Lyceum Theatre in London. In fact, in late spring of 1840, this theatre, then usually called the English Opera House, was managed by a consortium of actors from Covent Garden after the season had ended at the patent theatres, and Brougham was a part of this group. His name does not appear on any playbill as manager or any other member of staff, but he is acknowledged as being a member of the "union" which has taken the theatre for the summer in articles and reviews in the Times.[20] This was evidently a very successful venture, and Brougham acted almost every night in plays by others and premiered at least one or two plays of his own.

One of Brougham's plays, although not acknowledged as such on playbills, was "a new and entirely original, aboriginal, erratic, operatic, logical mythological burlesque burletta founded on an actual occurrence in High Life--Vide Virgil" and entitled Life in the Clouds or, Olympus in an Uproar. The cast, with some eighteen named roles, was divided between mortals and immortals, much as in many of Planché's extravaganzas, and Brougham's role was listed on the playbill as "O'Rion, a con.....ed constellation." The Times reviewer liked the writing and noted that as a Hibernian Orion, Brougham "plumped his cheeks to give an imitation of

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20. A review of the opening night gives the full opening address, written by Mark Lemon and delivered by Mrs. W. Lacy and lists the principal parties in the union as Mrs. Orger, Compton, Baker, Brougham and his wife, and Will. Times (London), 10 June, 1840.

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O'Connell, and drew much laughter in a small part."[21] This extravaganza evidently became a great hit with audiences as it was played every evening from its premiere on July 23, 1840 until the season ended on September 3 prior to the opening of Covent Garden on September 7. Performances by Brougham for which playbills have been found aside from the regular engagements with the companies mentioned are listed in Table 1.6. Performances during the summer of 1840 at the English Opera House verified by playbills and newspaper advertisements are found in Table 1.7.

Ryan in his handlist of Brougham's plays and Nicoll's lists of nineteenth-century dramas[22] indicate that Brougham was acquiring recognition as a playwright near the end of this first period in England; certainly both Enthusiasm, in which Brougham generally did not act, and Life in the Clouds were successes.

Given the fact that the Vestris-Mathews management team was in serious financial trouble and that new legislation left some doubts about the future of theatre in England and its effect on the earning power of those who made their living in the theatre, 1842 must have seemed like an opportune moment for the Broughams to leave for America. In the interview published at his retirement Brougham related that he had met

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21. Times (London), 24 July, 1840.

22. Pat Ryan, "John Brougham: The Gentle Satirist." Bulletin of the New York Public Library, December, 1959. Nicoll, English Drama, 271-2.

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Table 1.6 - Miscellaneous Performances in England
(verified by playbills)

3/14/32	Dumb Belle, The	Phelim O'Smirk	Queen's, London
6/7/32	Review, The	Looney MacTwolter	Haymarket
8/29/33	Suspicious Husband, The	Bellamy	New, Oxford
6/10/37	Beulah Spa	Captain Kildare	Lyceum
6/10/37	One Hour	O'Leary	Lyceum
6/1/40	Match in the Dark	O'Flynn	Olympic
6/1/40	More Blunders than One	Larry Hollaghan	Olympic
5/9/42	Beulah Spa	Captain Kildare	Lyceum
5/16/42	Irish Tutor	Terry O'Rourke	Lyceum
5/19/42	Irish Tutor	Terry O'Rourke	Lyceum
6/22/42	Dr. Dilworth	Loughlin	Lyceum
6/22/42	*Enthusiasm*	Massinger Smith	Lyceum
6/22/42	Teddy the Tiler	Teddy Mullowney	Lyceum

Table 1.7 - Performances at English Opera House - summer, 1840
(verified by playbills and newspaper advertisements)

His First Champagne	Terence Conelly	1
Ins and Outs	Terence O'Twister	18
Irish Tutor, The	Terry O'Rourke	1
Irishman's Fortune, The	O'Rafferty	1
Ladies' Club, The	Fricandeau	9
Life in the Clouds	O'Rion	17
Love's Livery	Darby Dogherty	7
Match in the Dark, A	O'Flynn	2
Second Parte of the Tragycalle Hystorie of Thomasse Thumbe, The	O'Doodle	3

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Stephen Price, the manager of the Park Theatre, in London and had made an arrangement with him to come to America.[23] He and his wife sailed from Southampton in September on the British Queen, suffering through such storms on the Atlantic that, according to Brougham's recollection, the sister ship, the President, was lost on the same trip. Arriving in New York early on Wednesday, September 28, they attended a performance at the Park Theatre shortly after their arrival where Brougham says that the twelve to fifteen spectators were outnumbered by the rats. However, he reports that he soon made friends with the editors of the New York Mirror who aided them by "stirring up a little curiosity concerning our presence, so that we opened to a large and friendly house."[24]

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23. Stephen Price died in 1840, so it may be that Brougham made arrangements to come to America with Edmund Simpson, who had assisted Price with the management of the Park for several years. Price had recruited London stars to appear at the Park Theatre for a number of years.

24. Interview, New York Herald, 26 Aug., 1877.

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Chapter Two - Early Years in America, 1842-1848

> *Mr. Brougham is an accomplished actor and a very agreeable and witty author. He is, moreover, what a Yankee would call "a confounded clever fellow."*[1]

Brougham did not leave any written record about the reasons he decided to come to the United States, but it is easy to speculate on some probable causes. During times when he and Tyrone Power appeared on the same programs in England, he must have heard stirring tales of Power's successes with audiences in America, and following Power's untimely death, there was written speculation about the identity of who would succeed him. Since Brougham took over roles from Power in England, he may have assumed that he would be welcome in the same roles in America, and he was, in fact, compared frequently to Power in early years.

Throughout his life, there is evidence that Brougham frequently made decisions and changes rapidly and in what appeared to be a careless manner. Therefore, knowing that Fanny Elssler had been triumphantly received at the Park, Brougham probably disregarded the fact that the American reception of Madame Vestris and Charles Mathews had been disastrous. Brougham was apparently easily flattered and was probably easily persuaded that he would be successful in

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1. New Orleans Daily Picayune, 25 Feb., 1844.

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America.

In addition to new regulations in England specifically related to theatrical performances, 1842 marked the introduction of an income tax for anyone who made more than 150 pounds, imposed primarily to cover the costs of simultaneous wars in China and Afghanistan. Reports of atrocities on both sides from these wars as well as domestic turmoil caused by a rebellion by Irish Catholics against paying a tithe to support the Protestant church and by industrial workers protesting losses of jobs caused by improvements in machinery probably induced Brougham to consider all the promotion of the good life in America, including opportunity for anyone willing to work, in the best possible light.

Compared to the relative stability of his time with Madame Vestris's troupe in London, the first six years of Brougham's career in the United States must have seemed a tumultuous time, with a great deal of living out of suitcases. Much of the itinerant nature of his life during these years has never been documented before this study, and acknowledgement must be given to the hints as to his whereabouts which appeared, sometimes infrequently, in the theatrical and musical columns of the New York Herald and in The Spirit of the Times.

Although the almost daily columns in the Herald cannot be considered a totally disinterested source since the

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newspaper's print shop also printed most theatres' playbills, many theatrical columns ended with a series of one-line notices about various actors and actresses who were out of town. Such columns may have been favored by the newspaper's print shop since they could be shortened at will to fit the space available on the page. Such notices as "Mr. Brougham has just finished a successful engagement in Cincinnati," however exaggerated the alleged success might have been, often were incredibly useful indicators of Brougham's movements at this time, particularly since playbills from this early period are scarce.

Despite an overwhelming image of continual travel, this six-year period did include three long periods of continuous engagement of at least six months duration with three separate companies, all of which were in Boston. The lengthiest of these was at the Adelphi Theatre where Brougham entered into a joint management with Humphrey Bland, an actor with whom he had also worked in England.

The Broughams' first engagement in 1842 was at the Park Theatre beginning on October 4, only six days after they arrived in the United States. Mrs. Brougham played Lady Teazle in School for Scandal, and Brougham appeared as O'Callaghan in His Last Legs. A review of their first night's performance in America complimented Brougham with "...he kept the house in a constant roar of laughter from the beginning to

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the end of the piece."[2] Their three-week engagement at the Park was followed by two weeks each at the Chesnut Street and Walnut Street Theatres in Philadelphia and a month or slightly more back in New York at the Park and Bowery Theatres.[3]

Brougham's performance at the Chesnut Street Theatre brought the following example of admiration from one reviewer, not only for his acting but also for his sense of fashion:

> Brougham had all the charming, easy, we may say polished gaiety, and savoir vivre of the well bred man of society. On this occasion [his first appearance as Tim Moore in The Irish Lion] Brougham wore the first sack-coat that had been seen in our city; indeed, he presented us with many little fashionable etceteras that were new to us. European fashions at that day were longer in reaching us than at present.[4]

The Walnut Street Theatre was under the management of Charlotte Cushman at the time, and London Assurance with Cushman as Lady Gay, Henry Placide as Sir Harcourt, and Brougham as Dazzle was such a hit that it was repeated several times during the Broughams' engagement.

Several first reviews of their performances at the Park

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2. Spirit of the Times, 8 October, 1842.

3. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the street in Philadelphia, named for the tree, was spelled without the first "t" to distinguish it from the spelling for the chestnut horse. After the Civil War, chestnut was adopted for both usages. Since the theatre is listed as Chesnut Street in both newspaper advertisements and on playbills until late in Brougham's career, I am using the common spelling for each period.

4. Charles Durang, "The Philadelphia Stage from the Year 1749 to the Year 1855, Partly Compiled from the Papers of his Father, the Late John Durang," (Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch, 1854), 206-207.

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were more highly complimentary to Mrs. Brougham than to her husband, but the reviewer writing in the New York Herald makes it clear that he was enchanted by the lady's appearance as well as her acting.

> Mr. and Mrs. Brougham have played every night this last week to very respectable houses. She is the best actress in genteel comedy now in this country, and the most ladylike in her style; withal she is the handsomest woman on the stage. She must become a great favorite. Brougham is very like Power in his appearance, and is a capital actor. His Sir Lucius O'Trigger was superior to Power's, but in farces he falls behind that inimitable performer; nevertheless he has a rich brogue, and thorough knowledge of stage business. The part of Dazzle, in "London Assurance," was written by him, and he makes an Irishman of it, and plays it admirably.[5]

Although both Odell and Ireland indicate that the Broughams acted at the Bowery Theatre on December 29 and perhaps other days at that time, the New York Herald was not carrying any advertisements or other news about the Bowery Theatre at this time, and other New York newspapers either do not have theatre advertisements or are not available. I have been unable to verify either the accuracy of the attributions by Odell and Ireland for these late December dates or find any playbills for that brief time period.

Evidently the Broughams gave the patrons of theatres in New York, especially the Park, quite a burst of enthusiasm as reviews make it clear that the theatres were unusually filled whenever they appeared. Mrs. Brougham did not generally act

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5. Theatricals column, New York Herald, 10 December, 1842.

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in the same piece as her husband since she often played the ingenue in the main piece of the evening's program while Mr. Brougham was usually the principal actor in the afterpiece.

The first three months in America were followed by a week's engagement at the American Theatre in Albany, New York. The trip to this snow-and-ice-bound region was described in detail by Brougham in an interview late in his life; however, he related that they went from Albany to Chicago, and no evidence for appearances in Chicago at that time has been found. In fact, after the end of the engagement in Albany on January 9, the Broughams are next found at the Tremont Theatre in Boston where they appeared from January 11 through the 20. This was followed by an engagement at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia from January 28 through February 11. No trace has been found of any engagements after this for nearly a month; it may be that they were in Chicago, but many newspapers and theatrical records from that city were destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871.

After another engagement of a week in late March at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia and another brief break in the chronology of their performances, they acted at the Chatham Theatre in New York for the first time from April 18 through April 29. There was some serious depression of theatrical activities during this winter, and the Park Theatre had closed suddenly in February. In the New York Herald of March 7, 1843, it was announced that the Park would re-open in

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ten days or a fortnight with the Broughams. In fact, the theatre did re-open, but the Broughams had apparently already accepted an engagement in Philadelphia by that time. It is not clear if the Broughams were performing at theatres during the gaps in time in this chronology or if they were unemployed for those periods.

Confusion concerning their whereabouts is reflected in the theatrical and musical column in the New York Herald on May 8 which indicates that they had gone to Boston. In fact, Brougham began an engagement at the National Theatre in Boston on May 16 which lasted until May 22; however, Mrs. Brougham, apparently always an independent woman, appeared from May 12 through May 21 in a starring engagement with George Vandenhoff at the Park Theatre in New York. The Broughams both acted at the Tremont Theatre in Boston from May 24 through June 1 and then returned to the Park Theatre from June 5 through June 14.

On June 12, the Park Theatre advertised in the New York Herald that President Tyler would attend the performance that evening in which Brougham was to act Count Pave in Boucicault's Alma Mater and Dr. O'Toole in The Irish Tutor; however, reports in the daily newspapers do not indicate that the President actually attended the theatre, and it may be that Brougham did not perform for the President.[6] Newspapers

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6. There were no advertisements for the Park Theatre during this time in the New York Evening Post. The advertisement for Niblo's in this paper said that the President was to attend the performance there on June 13, when Burton would act in the first piece.

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reported that the President did attend the performance at Niblo's Garden on June 13 where he saw the vaudeville A Thumping Legacy but apparently did not arrive in time for the first piece.

The program announced for the performance on June 14, 1843 was for Mr. and Mrs. Brougham's joint benefit; however, Brougham was ill on that evening, and while comments in the New York Herald are ambiguous, the Morning Chronicle and New York Enquirer makes it clear that the program was changed from what had been advertised. Another benefit was scheduled for the couple on June 22 at the Park, and although Brougham was still too ill to perform at that time, his wife played Hamlet as well as Mrs. Trictrac to Mr. Lovell's Flighty in Married Life.

In the New York Herald of June 27, it was announced that Mrs. Brougham had gone west to Buffalo and Cincinnati to perform. In August there was another notice that she had been highly successful in acting at St. Louis,[7] and in July it was noted that Brougham was spending the summer in New York engaged in literary pursuits. The only records of his acting

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7. William G. B. Carson, Managers in Distress; The St. Louis Stage, 1840-1844 (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949), 227 indicates that Mrs. Brougham arrived by steamboat from Cincinnati on July 18 and began acting the next Friday. On p. 228 Carson quotes Noah M. Ludlow's diary with facts which seem to disagree with the Herald's assessment of Mrs. Brougham's success in St. Louis, Ludlow indicating that the largest sum at the box office during her stay was only $90 and that her benefit drew only $11.25.

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during the summer which have been found are for two benefits. Mrs. Brougham did return to New York in time to appear in a benefit at Niblo's Garden on September 2.

It may be that these periods of separation were indications of the dissolution of the marriage that was to occur during the next season; however, such separations may have been more or less habitual as in December of 1841, Mrs. Brougham was acting in Edinburgh while Brougham was still appearing in London. It is not known whether Mrs. Brougham's acting her own engagements at this time was due to financial necessity or whether she was simply eager to advance her own career as an actress. Since little is known about the rest of her life and no written record of her career has been found, one can only conjecture about her possible motives at the time.

During the 1842-1843 season, Brougham made appearances at nine or possibly more separate theatres, having three engagements at the Park Theatre in New York and Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia and two engagements at the Tremont Theatre in Boston. The list of plays for which records of three or more performances during the season have been found, with roles where confirmed, in Table 2.1 clearly illustrate that Brougham was now appearing as a star performer rather than a utility player. Dates of all known performances, including pieces performed fewer than three times during a season and verified by newspaper advertisements and/or

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Table 2.1 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1842-1843

		NY			Ph		Bos		Alb
		P	Cha	O	W	C	Na	T	Am
Alma Mater	Count Pave	13			5				
Born to Good Luck	Paddy O'Rafferty	5	1		3	2	1	2	
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	3	2		4	2	1	2	
Irish Ambassador	Sir Patrick O'Plenipo	3		1	4	2		2	
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	7	3		3	2	2	4	1
Irish Tutor, The	Dr. O'Toole	3	2		1	2	1	1	
London Assurance	Dazzle	12		1	7	2		4	4
Love Chase, The	Wildrake	1	1		3	2		2	
Love's Sacrifice	St. Lo	9			3				
Married Rake, The	Frederick Flighty	1	2		1			4	1
More Blunders than One	Larry Hoolagan	5							
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	3	1		4	1	2	1	1
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius O'Trigger	3				1		1	
Rory O'More	Rory O'More	2	1		2				
Rosina Meadows	Harry *Mendon*		5						
School for Scandal	Charles Surface*	2			1			1	1
Teddy the Tiler	Teddy	2	1		1	1	1		1
Wonder, The	Colonel Britton		1		1	1		1	

*played Joseph Surface at American Theatre, Albany

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playbills, are listed in Appendix A.

Throughout the period covered in this chapter, there are many times when newspapers apparently were not accepting advertisements from theatres, especially in smaller cities, or were not accepting advertisements from specific theatres, especially in New York. Also many newspaper advertisements were minuscule with no or few actors and roles listed. Many theatres relied on the posting of handbills as the major form of information about their programs. Since it was impossible to verify most newspaper advertisements through other sources such as playbills from this early period, if it was known that Brougham was appearing at a theatre, and a piece in which he generally took a specific role was listed for performance, it has been assumed that he performed that role even if he was not listed for it in the newspaper advertisement. Some apparent inaccuracies have been found in previously published details such as Odell's giving Brougham credit for playing Mr. Oakly in The Jealous Wife on October 10, 1842 at the Park Theatre while the advertisement in the New York Herald lists Mr. Abbott for this role.

Titles of pieces were frequently changed during this period, with some plays listed under what had been the sub-title almost as often as the original title. Odell mentions that particularly at the Chatham Theatre in New York, managers were prone to re-name pieces entirely; however, this was done throughout the country, and Brougham did his share of re-

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naming. In some cases, I will call attention to this practice when it seems relevant to the discussion; in most cases, I have simply adopted the most common title.

Throughout the first year in the United States, Brougham made appearances in roles for which no records of performances in England have been found. However, in a number of cases, he had acted on the same program where plays in which he was now acting had been performed. Perhaps he had been understudy for these roles, or perhaps he simply studied them with the idea that he would one day perform them. At any rate, his repertory during this season represented a dramatic increase over that in England, and for the most part, he received excellent reviews.

The second season in America was probably one which Brougham would have had no desire to repeat; it consisted completely of performances outside of New York as well as what may have been rather lengthy periods of time between performances. In addition, during this season, his first marriage definitely unravelled, and while it is clear that during this year he met and performed with Annette Nelson, the actress who was to become the second Mrs. Brougham, it seems fairly clear that it was a difficult time both financially and perhaps emotionally for Brougham.

Brougham left little written record and apparently never spoke much about this time of his life, writing only in the several page sketch of his career that William Winter

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published with the autobiographical sketch of Brougham's early years that during the 1843-1844 season he and his wife "broke up as an acting team." In fact, although they had appeared in a number of farces together, it seems that they had quite distinct and different tastes in programming choices and lines of business. In the long run, Brougham continued to be a success on stage while Mrs. Brougham returned to England and later married a Mr. Robertson although she continued to use the name Brougham professionally at times. She taught acting to such favorite actresses as Laura Keene and continued both acting and attempts at theatre management from time to time. However, she never achieved the level of success or recognition given to her former husband.

As mentioned above, Mrs. Brougham had performed in St. Louis and Cincinnati in the summer of 1843 while Brougham was reportedly writing in New York and recovering from an illness. In fact, while Noah M. Ludlow's diary makes it clear that Mrs. Brougham's summer performances in St. Louis were not a financial success, he hired the couple to perform on his and Sol Smith's circuit in St. Louis, New Orleans, and Mobile during the 1843-1844 season. Complete records of appearances in St. Louis have not been recovered as no newspaper from that time is available in New York libraries or the Library of Congress, and the only newspaper available via Inter-Library Loan does not have theatre advertisements.

After a week in September, 1843 when Brougham played at

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the National in Boston while Mrs. Brougham was playing in New York, it appears that they spent most of October in St. Louis. William Carson lists a number of plays in which Brougham appeared, but does not give dates. However, he reports that although Ludlow had announced that the St. Louis season would end on October 23, the Smith and Ludlow company continued to perform in St. Louis another week before they sailed down the Mississippi for New Orleans because of reports of yellow fever there.[8]

Brougham's first appearance in the South was at the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans; he was featured during this engagement in pieces in which he had acted in the previous season, but David Hawes reports that Brougham appeared there as Ebenezer O'Donahoo in a piece he had apparently written during the previous summer, named The Irish Yankee; or, The Birthday of Freedom.[9] Hawes makes the assumption that this piece, which he refers to as the first play Brougham wrote in America of which there is any record, was performed in New Orleans sometime between November 15 and December 4, 1843. Although Hawes points out that Quinn does not give an exact date for the first production and Grenville Vernon lists an obviously incorrect date, advertisements for a play with this title being done at New Orleans during Brougham's first engagement there have not been found. However, this piece

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8. Carson, Managers, 243-247.

9. Hawes, "John Brougham," 301-2.

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under the title, The Declaration of Independence, was premiered in New Orleans in February of 1844. The latter title seems more likely since even though Brougham might not have been aware of Southern implications of calling any person a Yankee, he would probably have followed the advice of managers in naming the piece.

It seems quite certain that the first piece of Brougham's performed in America was probably The Page which was done in New Orleans on November 25, 1843. A local newspaper gave an excellent review of the production and reported that Brougham had left a copy of the play in London where it was to be produced about the same time as the New Orleans production.[10]

The first newspaper advertisement for a performance in New Orleans which lists Brougham as an actor was for Saturday, November 18, when he was to appear as Sir Patrick O'Plenipo in The Irish Ambassador and Tom Moore in The Irish Lion with Mrs. Brougham taking roles in both farces.[11] Neither Mr. or Mrs. Brougham appeared in The Attic Story which closed the program on the same evening, but Thomas Placide and Mrs. Farren acted. Mrs. Brougham had made her first appearance on November 17 as Rosalind in As You Like It. Sol Smith wrote that the season in New Orleans actually opened on November 15 with The Hunchback and A Roland for an Oliver, and this is confirmed by newspaper advertisements. However, Smith wrote that Brougham,

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10. New Orleans Daily Picayune, 26 Nov., 1843.

11. Advertisement, New Orleans Bee, 18 Nov., 1843.

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on his first appearance attracted a house of only $99.75 and the following night, when Mrs. Brougham also appeared, the receipts were $269.50. Smith makes it clear that he thinks these are paltry sums, and while his memory of the financial receipts may be accurate, his memory about the order of the Broughams' appearances is not verified by advertisements.[12]

Neither Mr. or Mrs. Brougham was listed in the advertisement in the Daily Picayune for a role on the opening night; the ad lists them at the top with Forrest, Macready, Henry Placide, Dan Marble, James W. Wallack, Sr., and others who are announced as appearing during the season, and what appear to be complete casts are given for the two plays on opening night.[13] According to the Daily Picayune, Mrs. Anne Sefton and James W. Wallack, Jr., who was the nephew and not the son of James W. Wallack, Sr., opened the American theatre on the same evening as the opening night at the St. Charles. In the review in the same paper on November 16, Brougham was given credit for writing the opening address for the St. Charles. It appears that Smith scattered the first appearances of the "stars" of his troupe on succeeding nights to provide a series of new faces and attract a larger audience.

Performances by Brougham in seventeen plays in eleven

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12. Solomon Smith, Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1868, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 177.

13. New Orleans Daily Picayune, 15 Nov., 1843.

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days in New Orleans were followed almost immediately by two weeks in Mobile, Alabama, and then a return to the St. Charles in New Orleans. During this time theatres were open in New Orleans seven evenings a week, so the Broughams played every night during their first engagement at the St. Charles Theatre. The Broughams' marriage may have completely fallen apart at the time of the return to New Orleans because during Brougham's second engagement at the St. Charles, Mrs. Brougham began appearing at the American theatre in the same city, and from that time, no advertisements have been found which listed their two names on the same program.

No record of the detail of Brougham's performances during January of 1844 have been found, but there are hints that he appeared in Natchez, even though William Bryan Gates assumes from the fact that the local newspaper did not carry theatre advertisements at that time that theatres there might well have been closed following a lengthy quarantine of the city because of the yellow fever in New Orleans.[14] The Dramatic and Musical column in the New York Herald of February 19, 1844 notes that Brougham and Hill, who are referred to as Old Ireland and New England, concluded a successful engagement at Natchez, Mississippi on February 3. Brougham had acted with Yankee Hill when Hill starred with Madame Vestris' company in London.

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14. William Bryan Gates, "The Theatre in Natchez," Journal of Mississippi History 3 (April 1944): 71-129.

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On February 6, Brougham was advertised as being engaged at the St. Charles in New Orleans for a few days. Macready had been scheduled to act at this theatre beginning on February 5, but because his luggage had been lost in the journey to New Orleans, he declined to appear on stage until it arrived. Brougham must have been between engagements, and he acted on February 6 and 8; although initial advertisements indicated that Macready would act only on alternate nights, after first appearing on February 6, he actually acted every night from February 8 until February 22 when Brougham once again performed. It is not clear whether Brougham may have gone to another city between February 8 and 22; there are a few references to other actors performing elsewhere in the South in local newspapers but no mention of Brougham.

Brougham's Declaration of Independence was given at the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans on February 22, and he was listed in advertisements for only one other appearance at this time, on February 25 when his version of Tom and Jerry in America was done along with The Rivals for his farewell benefit. The Spirit of the Times implies that he was a member of the stock company at the St. Charles which it called "the best in the Union."[15]

During Brougham's February engagement at the St. Charles in New Orleans is the first time written evidence has been found about William Burton and Brougham performing together.

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15. Spirit of the Times, 9 March, 1844.

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At Brougham's benefit on February 25, Burton played Jemmy Green to Brougham's Corny Tight in Tom and Jerry in American or--Fun in New York and New Orleans, a piece described as original and written for the occasion, but probably based on Pierce Egan's Tom and Jerry. Burton also was listed as volunteering to play Bob Acres to Brougham's Sir Lucius O'Trigger in Sheridan's The Rivals.

This performance was such a hit that it was given a rave review in the Daily Picayune on Tuesday, February 27, after Brougham had left the city for Mobile. This is the only instance I recall seeing of an actor leaving a city and then receiving a review; normally he or she was not mentioned in the local press until just before his or her next appearance in that city.

Exactly when Brougham first met Burton is unclear, but Brougham, in his third-person account of his career, wrote that his association with Burton went back to an unnamed time in London when Burton, "an actor at the Pavilion Theatre, London," produced the first piece that Brougham had written for the theatre, ",,,a burlesque...crude, undigested, in fact very bad, but by consequence curiously successful."[16] Brougham mentions this in the middle of a paragraph describing his early theatrical activities with the troupe of Madame Vestris,

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16. "Synopsis," Life, 63.

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and he gives no date of the production or title of the play.[17] It is known that Burton acted at the Pavilion in Whitechapel, London from approximately February, 1833 to July, 1834 when he left for America.[18]

Brougham and Thomas Placide were apparently the main attractions in Mobile from February 27 through March 2. Macready arrived on March 4, and he and Brougham acted on the same evening only twice; on March 6, Macready played the title role in Virginius with Brougham closing the program in Born to Good Luck, and on March 8, Macready opened the program with Werner with Brougham following in The Irish Tutor. Advertisements make clear that Brougham had already become engaged in his impersonations of well-known persons since a piece entitled Temperance and Repeal with Brougham impersonating Daniel O'Connell and Father Matthews was

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17. An unpublished list of plays in which Brougham acted in London and wrote before coming to the United States created by the late Pat Ryan and sent to me by his wife, Janice Ryan, lists George and the Crocodile as the title of a burlesque by Brougham done in 1834. Nicoll lists this as an anonymous play, and advertisements for its one-week production at the Pavilion beginning January 27, 1834, in the Sunday Times and the Monday edition of the Times of London list no playwright or roles. I have been unable to determine how Dr. Ryan discovered that this was Brougham's play. Dr. David L. Rinear, Professor of Drama at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, who is completing a book on William Burton's career, has also told me that he has found no evidence of an early play written by Brougham for William Burton.

18. Rue C. Johnson, "Career of William Burton" (Ph. D. diss., Indiana University, 1966), 52-53.

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performed during this Mobile engagement.[19]

It is not known whether Brougham and Macready had some dispute during this time, but it is interesting to note that farces to close the remainder of Macready's other programs were given by other actors. It is reasonable to assume that during this time Brougham had ample opportunity to observe Macready's acting, and he made good use of this in the next few years with many performances which included "imitations" of the great tragedian. According to William Winter, Brougham "manifested a particular aversion to" Macready. The incident Winter cites as an example of Brougham's disapproval has to do with Macready's mistreatment of a servant when he and Brougham were in Boston in 1848;[20] however, it may be that Brougham disliked Macready's behavior from early days. It seems likely that Brougham would have been aggravated by any actor who refused to act every day as Macready did; he also seemed to have an aversion to people who made life difficult for others, and Macready was known for such behavior.

After his brief February-March engagement in Mobile, no record of Brougham's performances for almost two months has been found. It may be that he was writing during this hiatus from performance; however, even though no theatre advertisements in newspapers in Jackson, Mississippi, have been found for this time period, The Mississippian gives the

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19. Mobile Daily Register, 4-8 March, 1844.

20. Winter, Other Days, 105-108.

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following evidence that not only Brougham was acting there in April, but he was appearing with the actress who would become the second Mrs. Brougham:

THEATER TO NIGHT.

> We beg to call particular attention to the fact that those celebrated performers Mr. Brougham and Miss Nelson, will, at the request of several of our citizens, remain with us one night longer, purpose giving their highly interesting moral and intellectual entertainment this evening at the Theatre. From the high character of the amusements offered and the friendly exertions being made for their interest we anticipate a numerous auditory. There certainly is no lack of matter in their *affiche*, songs, anecdotes, recitations, imitations; amongst others, a most perfect and life like transcript, (according to the Natchez, and other critics, on their route) of the great tragedian Macready. That of itself would be enough we think, and then the pretty and fascinating Miss Nelson, as young, buoyant, and naive as ever, contributes no insignificant share of attraction. Altogether, it will be a combination of elegance and fun, in regard to which we can safely say, go and see it, you will not be disappointed.[21]

Presumably these entertainments were similar to those which Brougham would later give in Boston and New York with good success.

No further record of performances is found until an eight-day engagement in Cincinnati at the end of May in 1844. Newspaper advertisements indicate that the repertoire was much the same as it had been in New Orleans, but it is interesting to note that not only Miss Nelson was acting in a number of performances, but that her husband, Copplestone Hodges, appeared at least once during this engagement. Realizing that

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21. Mississippian, 24 April, 1844.

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the following review may be considered a puff, it is typical of the type of out-of-town compliments extended to both Nelson and Brougham:

> **Cincinnati Theatre.** Mr. Brougham appeared on Monday night as "Sir Patrick O'Plenopo (sic)," and fulfilled every expectation that had been formed respecting him. He has a fine figure, good face, and a laughing rougeish (sic) expression, which is sure to carry his audience with him. His acting was unexceptionable, and elicited hearty applause and laughter.
>
> Miss Nelson is one of the most beautiful specimens of earth's fairest portion of creation. She played "Rose Redland" in an effective and pleasing manner. "*London Assurance*," which, by the way, was written in part by Mr. Brougham, and the character of "Dazzle" intended originally for him--as an *Irish gentleman*, Miss Nelson will sustain the character of "Grace Harkaway" charmingly, and Logan is "at home" as "Mark Meddle," in which he made his great fort here originally.[22]

This review at least implies that Brougham was playing Dazzle as an Irish role. Hawes comments on the fact that Brougham's repertoire included roles which were not "in the Irish line" citing Dazzle as an example;[23] however, the ad in the New Orleans Bee on December 18, 1843, lists Brougham's role in this play as O'Donoghue Dazzle. It is not clear if Brougham continued to play Dazzle as an Irishman, but the ad and review cited above are the only specific references to his acting the role in an Irish manner that I have found.

While recognizing that documentation has not yet been found for performances in St. Louis, Natchez, Jackson, and

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22. Daily Cincinnati Gazette, 22 May, 1844.

23. Hawes, "John Brougham," 156.

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perhaps other cities, plays which were advertised from September 1843 through May 1844 as being performed at least three times with Brougham's likely participation are listed in Table 2.2.

In contrast to the hectic period of touring, primarily in the South and West during the previous season, 1844-1845 was a very stable period for Brougham with performances as a member of the company at the National Theatre in Boston for most of the year. Almost no record of this year has ever been studied; Hawes documents some of Brougham's appearances in New York in the fall of 1844, but writes that "after the experience at the Chatham Theatre in New York (November 19-30, 1844), the trail of Brougham's activities in New York City disappears."[24] There is good reason for Hawes' assumption because Brougham was in Boston.

At the beginning of the summer, he made at least two appearances in Providence, Rhode Island, which are documented by newspaper advertisements. It may well have been that Brougham was very hard up for performances by this time, and an article in the Providence Republican Herald which was a weekly or semi-weekly newspaper, indicates that Andrew J. Allen, "the oldest native American actor extant," was opening a theatre in Providence on July 1. Although advertisements for performances with Brougham for only July 3 and July 8 have been found, the advertisement on July 3 listed the evening's

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24. Hawes, "John Brougham," 158.

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Table 2.2 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1843-1844

		StL	NO	Mob	Ci	Bos
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty		4	4	1	1
Declaration of Independence	Ebenezer O'Donahoo		1	2		
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	1	4	2		2
Honest Thieves	Teague		2	1		
Irish Ambassador	Sir Patrick		5	2	2	1
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	1	2	2		1
Irish Tutor, The	Dr. O'Toole		1	1	1	
London Assurance	Dazzle		1		2	
Married Rake, The	F. Flighty	1	1	2		1
Mysteries of Paris	Cabrion		4	2	1	
Nervous Man, The	McShane		2	2		
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	1	1	1		
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius	1	3	1		
Rory O'More	Rory O'More		2	1	1	

program as Brougham's third appearance and announced both a matinee and evening performance for July 4. Unfortunately, programs for July 1, 2, 4, and 5 have not been found although records indicate that there were no performances in Providence on Saturday or Sunday, July 6 and 7. Charles Blake reports that Allen's attempt at managing the theatre for a summer season was not successful even though he was able to present not only Brougham but also Edwin Forrest and Miss Clifton.[25]

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25. Charles Blake, An Historical Account of the Providence Stage (Providence: G. H. Whitney, 1868), 243.

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On Saturday, July 6, Brougham made his only appearance for which any record has been found at the Boston Museum. A playbill in the Harvard Theatre collection calls this performance Lights and Shadows of Irish Character and notes that it is being presented for this night only and that Brougham is being assisted by members of the Museum Company. Among the mixture of songs and dances there were definitions of blarney and mesmerism, several anecdotes and "imitations" of Daniel O'Connell, Tom Steele, Sheridan Knowles, and "sundry other Irish Worthies and Eccentrics--concluding with the Dagger Scene of Macbeth, after the manner of the great Tragedian, William Macready." Evidently Brougham's talent for mimicry, exhibited at such an early age, was still standing him in good stead.

This program was obviously related to what had been reportedly performed in Jackson, Mississippi, and in light of nineteenth-century audiences' interest in lectures and recitations and the fact that several other actors presented similar "readings" from time to time, it does not seem unusual for the time. However, since Brougham appeared to create such performances only when opportunities for acting in legitimate plays did not exist, it seems clear that he preferred the interaction with other actors that standard dramatic works provided.

The only other record of a performance by Brougham during July of 1844 is at the Chatham Theatre in New York where he

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appeared in a benefit for Miss Nelson at the conclusion of her engagement at that theatre. There follows another hiatus in his performance record of more than a month, but when the National Theatre in Boston opened on August 26, Brougham played Dennis Brulgruddery in John Bull and performed in at least one play every night the theatre was open for the next month there, Boston theatres at the time being open only Monday through Friday. A playbill for this opening night lists all of the regular company, including C. R. and Mrs. Thorne, John and Mrs. Gilbert, and Nickerson. A large section notes that "the celebrated comedian Mr. Brougham has been engaged for a portion of the season."[26]

In addition to the Irish farces which Brougham had appeared in for much of the previous season, he undertook roles, some of them new, in such standard comedies as Wild Oats, The Heir at Law, and The School for Scandal. He also was able to premiere a piece of his own, The Indian Girl, which he apparently wrote for Miss Nelson who opened an engagement at the National on September 16. His Declaration of Independence was also programmed at least twice.

The month's stay at the National was followed by almost a month for which no records of engagement have been found, but on October 21, Niblo's opened in New York under the management of William Corbyn with Brougham listed first in the

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26. Harvard Theatre Collection (Warren Theatre 1844-1847 box of playbills).

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cast as Sir Patrick O'Plenipo in The Irish Ambassador. The opening address, although spoken by Mrs. Timm, was advertised as written by Brougham. His repertoire here during this season of some twenty days consisted largely of familiar Irish farces, but Brougham also played Phelim O'Scud in a new piece, Peter Wilkins. In a farewell benefit at the Park Theatre for Mrs. Vernon, he played Sir Lucius in The Rivals. It is not clear just why the season at Niblo's ended so abruptly for Brougham on November 15, but he then appeared at the Chatham Theatre for several nights sharing programs with Yankee Hill and repeating his Declaration of Independence, three roles in Life in New York (which appears to be a re-titled and perhaps re-written Tom and Jerry in America), and New Lights (which may well have been a re-titled Irish Tutor). Odell complains about the managers of the Chatham Theatre being particularly prone to re-naming works, perhaps in an attempt to fool the audience into thinking they would see something new.

December 4, 1844 found Brougham once again at the National Theatre in Boston where he remained until his farewell benefit on June 6, 1845. A glance at Table 2.3 shows that Brougham's repertoire at the National Theatre consisted once again largely of Irish farces, with no performances of such comedies as London Assurance. The hit of the season was a "national and equestrian drama," Putnam; or, the Iron Box of '76. John Gilbert played General Washington and the remainder of the cast was largely divided into Indians and Englishmen

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Table 2-3. Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1844-1845

		Na	N	Cha	Pr
Alive and Merry	Patrick Day	7			
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty	7	3		1
Declaration of Independence	Ebenezer O'Donahoo	4		3	
Green Bushes	Wild Murtagh	4			
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	3	2		1
Honest Thieves	Teague	3			
Indian Girl, The	Terence O'Donohue	3			
Irish Ambassador	Sir Patrick	3	2		
Irish Cupid, The	O'Slack	3			
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	4	1		1
Life in New York	Corinthian Tom	4			
More Blunders Than One	Larry O'Gig	5			
My Wife's Dentist	Dick Hazard	3			
Nervous Man, The	McShane	6			
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	3	1		1
Our Irish Friend	Rory O'Conner	5			
Peter Wilkins	Phelim O'Scud		6		
Putnam	Mr. Cabbagoall	20			
Robber's Wife, The	Larry O'Gig	4			
Rory O'More	Rory O'More	3			
Rosina Meadows	Harry Mendon	4			
Snakes in the Grass	Capt. Agitate	3			
Teddy the Tiler	Teddy Mullowney	4	3		
Tom and Jerry; or...*Life in London*	Jerry Hawthorn	3			

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with Brougham interestingly playing one of the few Americans, Mr. Cabbagoall, described on a playbill as a tailor with a disdain for military life.[27]

As far as Brougham's own pieces are concerned, his Declaration of Independence was repeated a couple of times during this winter season. Buckstone's two-act comedy with some fourteen characters, Snakes in the Grass, was performed at least three times. This may well be another example of a light comedy, non-Irish role, as the character he played was called Captain Agitate. In addition to Gilbert, Mr. and Mrs. Thorne were members of the National company which was managed by Robert Hamilton, who had been involved in Boston theatricals for quite a long time. Even though theatrical performances were not permitted on Saturdays in Boston during the early to mid-nineteenth century, an unusual practice not found elsewhere, and newspaper advertisements were often extremely short, it seems that Brougham probably enjoyed the relative security of regular pay during this season. In some cases, where Brougham's name was not included in newspaper advertisements, in creating statistical data, I have assumed that he played roles for which he normally was listed on playbills or in opening night advertisements.

One piece, the first act of which was performed

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27. Harvard Theatre Collection. The title of this play is listed as Putnam; or, the Iron Son of '76 on about half of the advertisements for performances in the Boston Courier and on the few playbills which remain.

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apparently only one time with Brougham in it was North End Will. A playbill for March 26, 1845 indicates that this is the first time the piece is being performed in two years. What is particularly interesting is that this is the only apparent instance of Brougham cross dressing although he appeared a number of times in the male role with cross-dressed men taking the roles of female characters in several farces and burlesques. In this play, he was advertised to perform the role of Katty Killbroogan who ran a coffee pushcart near the shore of Staten Island. The play called for this character to sing "Rory O'More," which may be why it was assigned to Brougham. It is clear that Katty represented temperance and opposition to whiskey, a topic that was much discussed at the time. While it is not absolutely clear that Katty is a woman's name, it seems that it may have been.

If the season of 1844-1845 presented a picture of relative stability with most of the year being with the same company, the next season of 1845-1846 was nearly the exact opposite with few pieces being performed more than twice during the year and performances being given at a wide variety of theatres in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. No references have been found to any performances by Brougham during the summer of 1845 prior to August 4. On that date, he appeared as Frederick in Colman's The Poor Gentleman in a benefit for Chippendale at Niblo's with Henry Placide, John Sefton, William Burton, and Chippendale also in the cast. One

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week later, at Niblo's he took his customary role of McShane, the man of nerve, to Henry Placide's Aspen, the nervous man, in the farce The Nervous Man for Placide's benefit. He was then engaged and re-engaged at this theatre, appearing on the same program several times with T. D. Rice and a few times with Miss Nelson. He made his last appearance there on September 9, 1845 after a period of some two weeks or so when a French company alternated with the company doing English comedy. Throughout this engagement, Brougham was regularly recognized by what may have been paid "puffs" in the theatricals column of the New York Herald. One such noted:

> Brougham, is at last properly estimated, like Anderson, had to be seen by discriminating persons, which he has found at Niblo's, and now Brougham is as regularly recognized as a star of undoubted merit as the most successful artist in the country....[28]

One week after his last appearance at Niblo's Garden, he began a five-week engagement which lasted until October 18 at the Baltimore Museum and Gallery of Fine Art, playing largely Irish roles. Miss Nelson appeared in several of these performances. Many of his appearances in Baltimore were in plays which he had not done elsewhere, and most plays were done only once or twice during this engagement. At the time William Burton was managing the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore, and he advertised the Keans as appearing there for four nights in direct competition with Brougham. After a

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28. New York Herald, 22 August, 1845.

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three-week interval, Brougham began an engagement at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia on November 6, remaining there for some eight days and appearing at the Chesnut Street Theatre in the same city nine days later.

For most of the next three months, Brougham and Miss Nelson appeared at either the Chesnut or the Arch Street theatres on nearly every evening, both theatres being under the general management of William Burton at the time. During January of 1846 and perhaps a little earlier, Burton hired Brougham as stage manager at the Chesnut. The first confirmation that I have found of Brougham's stage management at the Chesnut is in an advertisement in the New York Herald on January 1, 1846. It is not clear why this Philadelphia theatre was advertising in a New York newspaper, but ads exist for several weeks. Although Wilson lists a number of pieces as performances by Brougham which are contradicted by newspaper advertisements from the time, there is evidence that Brougham was given opportunities to program some of his own works.

What may have been a new version of Brougham's adaptation of The Mysteries of Paris which had been performed in the South in 1844, was performed at least twice at the Chesnut as Fleur de Marie or, The Prince and the Notary. Also programmed twice at the Chesnut but not advertised as Brougham's work was Eva, the Page with Miss Nelson, who was soon to become the second Mrs. Brougham, as Eva. It appears likely that this was

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the same play that had been performed in New Orleans as The Page in late 1844 and acknowledged as Brougham's play.

Hawes also credits Brougham with writing Arcade, which was performed three times at the Chesnut, and a reviewer in the Spirit of the Times writes that he believes both Arcade and a burlesque called Venus and Adonis which was done at the Chesnut twice were written by Brougham.[29] As was customary, playwrights were not usually acknowledged in advertisements or on playbills, at least not until the play was a decided hit. Also since copyright laws did not yet exist, plays were frequently "stolen" and presented at different theatres under new titles.

On a playbill although not in newspaper advertisements, Brougham was given credit as the playwright for a new piece, The Rival Fakirs, which was given in January, 1846 at the

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29. "Scraps from our Philadelphia Correspondent," Spirit of the Times, 17 Jan., 1846. (column dated 6 Jan., 1846) The writer reports that Miss Nelson played the Goddess and Burton the rosy-cheeked boy! in the extravaganza of Venus and Adonis. He laments the fact that Christian Huber, a violincellist (sic), made his first appearance before a Philadelphia audience of about 500 people, performing his music between two theatrical pieces. He writes, "It is unfortunate for Mr. Huber, who is exceedingly modest and retiring--besides being in bad health, that he should make his first appearance on the boards of a Theatre, and before an audience, the majority of whom, much prefer a drum and fife to the sweetest notes ever drawn from catgut...." (This quote illustrates clearly the relative social approval of musical performances and disapproval of theatrical performances at the time. The writer admits elsewhere in the review that he is "not sufficiently skilled in music" to give a learned critique of Mr. Huber's performance.)

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Chesnut.[30] Brougham's role as Roscius O'Rant was one of two fakirs, with Burton playing the other. At both the Arch and Chesnut Street theatres as well as the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, Brougham's version of Tom and Jerry in America with Brougham as Corinthian Tom was given during this season. One of these performances was at the Chesnut on January 1, 1846 when Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean opened the program with Much Ado About Nothing.

Another new play that Brougham premiered in Philadelphia during this season was Franklin! The Boy, the Sage and the Statesman. Although Hawes says that Brougham played Franklin, newspaper advertisements list him for the role of O'Fin, an Irish adventurer, and Miss Nelson played Hunting Dove, an Indian. This play was not popular with the Philadelphia public, and the season at the Chesnut came to an abrupt close on January 20 with Brougham's benefit, the playbill announcing that the company was proceeding to Baltimore immediately.[31] The following special report from Philadelphia comments on this sad event:

> The poor old Chesnut is closed, even the energy of Burton and the tact of his stage manager Brougham, could not contend against the incomprehensible public. To be sure Brougham made one or two daring attempts to startle it (the public) out of an apathy, from which it could not be quietly awakened. "Tom and Jerry in America" was the first to make it open its sleepy eyes, and "The Rival Fakir's" fairly surprised it with a

30. Harvard Theatre Collection.

31. Harvard Theatre Collection.

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> broad laugh. Brougham's imitations in the former piece of Macready, and in the latter of Herr Alexandre the Magician, were perfect facsimiles. In point of fact, the Chesnut theatre stands in a most anomalous position; there is an aristocratic prestige about it, which, while it repels the *oi polloi*, is satisfied with nothing short of a miracle to attract. So that, like Mahomet's coffin, it remains suspended between the two extremes of society, receiving support from neither.
>
> Brougham leaves us, I understand, to go to New York or Washington; if he do, he will take with him the good will of many who have witnessed his courageous, but alas, unrewarded exertions to sustain the fortunes of Old Drury. His last Drama of Franklin, is an excellent play, and will doubtless make a great sensation any where else. Here, I am ashamed to say, that the towns-people of the illustrious philosopher, didn't evince the slightest curiosity to know *how* it was rendered.[32]

Although New York, Baltimore and Washington newspapers for the remainder of January and February, 1846 have been searched, no indications of performances by Brougham have been found until he turned up at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston on February 17, 1846.

Brougham, listed as "the celebrated Irish comedian," was the featured actor in the re-opening of the Howard Athenaeum for theatrical performances, the previous month or so having been devoted to opera. The news columns of the Boston Evening Transcript noted that Mr. Ayling had become manager and Mr. Jones assistant manager of the theatre. Brougham was apparently engaged for only one week because his benefit and last appearance was on February 20, when his The Mysteries of

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32. Spirit of the Times, 24 Jan., 1846.

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Paris and Tom and Jerry in America were done. The same newspaper announced on February 23 that the opera troupe headed by the Seguins, which had left the Howard Athenaeum to fulfill an engagement in Philadelphia, had found the theatre there closed and had returned to Boston to commence a new season at the Howard Athenaeum on Wednesday, February 25.

However, this was not to be as the Howard Athenaeum burned to the ground during the night and early morning after the performance on February 23. The Spirit of the Times reported: "Of the company Messrs. Ayling and Brougham are the principal losers, the former having kept most of his wardrobe in the house."[33] This sad event led to a series of complimentary benefits, the first of which was announced to be for Brougham; however, it was reported in the Transcript of February 28 that the Ayling's benefit would take place on March 4 and that "Mr. Brougham, with his characteristic courtesy, has given up his night for his friends." Although the Aylings were reported to have netted $1250 from their benefit, when Brougham's benefit was finally given on March 9 at the Melodeon Theatre, they were not among the artists who volunteered to participate, even though it was reported that Brougham had postponed his benefit twice in deference to benefits being given for others. The program for his own benefit featured what was called his "table talk," Lights and

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33. Letter, Spirit of the Times, 28 Feb., 1846. (letter dated 25 Feb.)

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Shadows of Irish Character, which became his main performance piece for the next several months. In fact, although the New York Herald noted that Brougham remained in Boston for the next month or more, no records of theatrical performances have been found.

However, after a series of "Irish evenings" given by Brougham at the Society Library and at Palmo's in New York, at the Brooklyn Institute, in Boston at the Melodeon and reportedly in Salem and Roxbury, Massachusetts and Newark, New Jersey, the New York Herald noted that he was enjoying the sea breezes at Lynn, Massachusetts in June, 1846 where he was writing a new piece. Unlike other actors and theatre managers, Brougham apparently did not regularly take vacations from work as this is the only reference to such that I have found for him. It seems likely that he was always either in debt or just barely scraping by financially and he may not have had the money necessary for leisure trips.

Although Odell notes that it is a shame that the only work such a talented actor as Brougham could find was what he termed "Irish evenings," it is not absolutely clear if Brougham was performing this way only because no other acting jobs were available. While it is true that he did frequently rename these evenings, calling them usually just Irish evenings in New York and Mr. Brougham's Evenings, and Pat's Peculiarities in Boston, it may well have been that he was better able to produce a living for himself than if he had

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been performing regularly in plays. The few verified repeated performances of plays during the 1845-1846 season listed in Table 2.4 clearly indicate that this was not a year when Brougham was much in demand as an actor. However, it must be acknowledged that there were many circumstances beyond his control such as the destruction of theatres by fire.

Regardless, there was a major change in his life at this time, in that the former Miss Nelson was announced as Mrs. Brougham for the first time at the Irish evening given at the Society Library in New York on April 13, 1846 when she took part in the performance. In fact, Miss Nelson had for the past several years returned to the use of her maiden name as her stage name, but she had been married to Copplestone Hodges, an actor, singer and manager, sometime before they performed in Nashville during the autumn and early winter of 1839. Winter and several others refer to the second Mrs. Brougham as a widow, and she may have been some years older than Brougham since she had been acting in the South for a number of years before they met; however, there are several references to a Copplestone Hodges acting in London, mostly in music halls, during the late 1840s in such weeklies as the Spirit of the Times, and it seems unlikely that there would have been two actor/singers with the same unusual name.[34] No

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34. "Foreign Dramatic Intelligence," The Spirit of the Times, 6 June, 1846. (column dated 18 May, 1846) This column notes that "Hodges, formerly of Mobile, is engaged as tenor singer at Vauxhall."

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Table 2.4 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1845-1846

		Bal	N	H	C	Ar
Arcade, The	O'Slack				3	
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty		2		2	1
Franklin	O'Fin				3	
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	5	5	1	2	3
Irishman in London	Murtoch Delaney		2		1	
Jonathan Bradford	Dan Macraisy					3
Married Life	Mr. Younghusband	4				
Mesmerism, or His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	3				
Nervous Man, The	McShane		5	1	2	1
Poor Gentleman, The	Frederick				1	2
Rival Fakirs, The	Roscius O'Rant					6
Tom and Jerry in America	Corinthian Tom			1	5	3
White Horse of the Peppers	Gerald Pepper	2?				
Widow's Victim	Jeremiah Clip	3				

record of the Broughams' marriage or of Brougham's divorce from the first Mrs. Brougham has been found, but it was reported in the New York Herald that the second Mrs. Brougham died on May 3, 1870, the twenty-sixth anniversary of her wedding day.[35]

35. Obituary, New York Herald, 5 May, 1870. Mrs. Brougham's maiden name is given here as Annette Hawley Nelson. It says

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Several years later in 1860 the first Mrs. Brougham, who apparently made many attempts to annoy her former husband, had a very unusual ad printed in the New York Herald on her return from England and attempt at theatre management in New York. It stated that she had been divorced from Brougham in 1852, which would have been well after the second Mrs. Brougham began using his name.[36] Of course, it may have been that the first Mrs. Brougham had obtained an English divorce while he may have been granted an American divorce. Since neither fact seems to have much relationship to his performances, I find no reason to try to solve these mysteries. It is clear that Brougham not only took on the responsibility for a wife in marrying Miss Nelson, but that he became the primary means of financial support for her two children as well.

The 1846-1847 season was a decided contrast to the

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that she was the second daughter of Captain Nelson, of the British Navy, born in Madrid, and that her elder sister married Mr. Edmund Glover, son of the celebrated actress and now manager of the Theatre Royal, Glasgow. The obituary also states that after her father's death, she studied for the stage, and after the death of her first husband, Mr. Hodges, she married John Brougham. If Mrs. Brougham died on the twenty-sixth anniversary of her marriage, this would put the marriage as taking place in 1844 which seems unlikely. This report may be another example of Brougham's habitual confusion about dates and numbers.

36. Advertisement for Mrs. Brougham's Theatre, New York Herald, 22-23 April, 1860. The last lines of this advertisement read as follows: Notice.-- Mrs. Brougham informs the "Enquirer" that she is the person who came from London in 1843, appeared at the Park theatre, and was Jno. Brougham's wife, obtained a divorce in 1852, and that "Brougham" is only a theatrical name, and having made it in this country, she will continue to use it, although by her marriage in August, 1853, she became Mrs. Robertson.

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previous season and in many ways perhaps the most stable of Brougham's career to this point. Beginning on August 24, 1846, he became a member of the company at the Federal Street Theatre in Boston with John Gilbert as stage manager. The previous season had been disastrous for theatre in Boston as not only the Howard Athenaeum had burned, but the Federal Street Theatre had burned at almost the same time. The opening on August 24 was announced with much fanfare, and the company included not only Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert and Brougham, but Mr. and Mrs. Bland, Mrs. W. H. Smith, and several other well-known actors. Thomas Placide, with whom Brougham had acted many times in the South, performed on the second night of the season.

Brougham remained with this company, performing until the season ended on March 15, 1847 on an almost nightly basis except for nearly two weeks when an opera troupe was the main attraction and during the post-Christmas period when the repertoire was devoted to spectacle. During his time at the Federal Street Theatre, he not only performed in the Irish farces that had become such a large part of his repertoire, but he undertook such new roles as Sir Andrew Aguecheek in Twelfth Night, Horatio in Hamlet, Oswald in King Lear, the third witch in Macbeth, and Roderigo in Othello. While he had played some such roles in serious productions in England, they represented a distinct departure from his customary repertoire in America. Still the preponderance of Brougham's roles in

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this company was in Irish farces although some of the plays were ones that he had not performed regularly for a couple of seasons.

Gilbert gathered an extremely strong company but also attracted major stars during the season. Several of the Shakespearian roles mentioned above were performed during the engagement of Edwin Forrest; Brougham also was listed second in the program on two nights of Forrest's engagement, playing Louis XIII to Forrest's title role in Richelieu. Although Brougham did not act at all on one of the two nights that Forrest played the title role Metamora, he did play Tim Moore in The Irish Lion on Thanksgiving night, November 26, when Forrest started the program with Metamora, and he obviously had many opportunities for close first-hand observation of Forrest's acting. While it is true that Forrest and Brougham had appeared as part of the same touring company in the South in 1843-1844, it is not clear whether they acted in the same city at the same time. The direct contact in Boston seems closely related to Brougham's depiction of Forrest in his burlesque Met-a-mo-ra, which would premiere precisely one year after simultaneous engagements at the Federal Street Theatre.

Major stars other than Forrest who appeared during the season were Henry Placide, the Keans with whom Brougham played in Twelfth Night, Wallack (for two engagements), and Murdoch, one of whose presentations was an altered version of Farquahar's play, The Inconstant. From February 10 until the

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end of the season, there were nightly benefits, apparently for each member of the large company as well as for the scene painter, the treasurer, and the officers and doorkeepers. Playbills for nearly every night of this season are preserved in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

On April 5, 1847 shortly after the Boston Federal Street Theatre closed, Brougham and Bland opened the theatre that had previously been known as the Boston Olympic calling it Brougham and Bland's Boston Adelphi; they continued this joint management for nearly a year. Although both men were primarily known as actors, Brougham was listed in the advertisement for the first night as acting manager with Bland as treasurer, and the ad indicated that programs would focus on vaudeville and burlesque. The opening night productions were Planché's Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady, a burlesque on the fairy tale, Cherry and Fair Star, called Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar, with the playwright not identified but known to be Brougham, and the farce, The Widow's Victim. On opening night an address, written by Brougham, began the program. As was customary, a musical selection, in this case a ballroom hornpipe, was performed between the first two dramatic pieces. A contemporary review stated that the opening night house was densely packed and well-performed without any "of the usual unpleasant contingencies of an opening night..., not the slightest mistake occurring." After commenting on the local allusions in Brougham's burlesque, "which were received with

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shouts of laughter and applause," the review continues:

> Such burlesques as this, containing no gross or offensive language, put on the stage with attention and full of the most refined species of wit and humor, will be sure to attract more respectable audiences and elevate the taste for such entertainments, almost lost from the breadth and vulgarity with which they usually teem.[37]

Daily reports in various newspapers of the period indicate that the theatre was filled for every performance. However, it seated only 300 people, so programs were usually repeated for at least two successive days. This practice of changing the bill on alternate days rather than each day continued in some theatres throughout the country until almost the end of the nineteenth century. Evidence of this is seen in Brougham's tours in the 1860's and 1870's. Although the rest of the program changed, Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar was apparently performed every night (except Saturdays and Sundays) through April 22. A playbill for April 13 gives the sub-title for this burlesque as Or the Singing Apple and the Dancing Waters. Brougham's role, Lord Stalk, is described as an unaffected disaffected nobleman, in a constant state of agitation. Mrs. Brougham played Cherry, the son of King Bigaroon, a "merry monarch showing an impartial partiality for all sorts of liquor."

The first season at the Adelphi provided Brougham with not only the opportunity to act every night but many chances to present his plays. Some of these were adapted to include

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37. Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 7 April, 1847.

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local allusions, as was Life in the Clouds, first presented in London, but which now was advertised as including a song "Life on the Brighton Road," as well as a medley of Ethiopian melodies. Playbills often included jokes or puns; an example is Bacchus, Brougham's role, being described as "the prime Turkey feeder and head Geologist to the entire family of Peeps."[38] The cast for this piece included eighteen Gods and two mere mortals, one of whom, Mrs. Brougham, played Ixion, a Thracian youth.

Often the Blands played the leading roles in one piece on the program with the Broughams taking the lead in another. Usually a new piece was programmed with at least one other piece that had been playing for some time, so that no audience would probably see an entirely new program. In addition to Brougham's own works, such pieces as The Irish Tiger, a new farce by Maddison Morton, was performed for the first time in America at the Adelphi on May 7, 1847, Brougham taking the role of Paddy Ryan, the Tiger.

Burlesques of Shakespeare plays were popular, with Brougham playing Iago in a travesty of Othello, Hamlet in Hamlet, and Mercutio in Romeo and Guilietta. Opera was also burlesqued, the tragedy of Norma being mocked with Nor-ma, described on a playbill as "an amoroso affectuoso, serioso, comicoso, verisomo, Anglo-Italio-Americano Opera Burlesque, being some account of an unfortunate Druidical Delinquent, who

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38. Playbill, Harvard Theatre Collection, 4 May, 1847.

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had neither Pa NOR-MA." Mrs. Brougham listed as Signora Broughamini, played Pollio, a romantic young Roman Romeo, a beau with two strings anxious to cut one, and Signor Jacki Broughamini was listed as a member of the chorus. On this particular playbill, there was a note at the bottom of the page which stated: "Books of the Opera with full instruction to visitors may be had at the door in exchange for 6 1/4 cents. Especial Notice--Hats and Canes loaned for extemporaneous presentation."[39]

At least one of the vaudevilles in which Brougham regularly performed during this season was advertised as a "melodramatic vaudeville." In this piece, Norah Creina, he played the role of Roderick, surnamed Black O'Conner. It is fairly easy to see that although the stated purpose of the management was the presentation of vaudeville and burlesque, there was more variety than might be expected. A review in the Boston Evening Transcript stated:

> This elegant little place of amusement is now thoroughly established in public favor; full and fashionable audiences visit it nightly. There is not a vestige of the ancient rowdyism apparent.[40]

Following a series of benefit performances for at least the leading members of the company and what must have been an exhausting celebration of Independence Day with three

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39. Playbill, Harvard Theatre collection, 10 June, 1847.

40. Quoted in Donald C. King, "A History of Boston's Theatres, Seen Through its Newspapers, Periodicals, and its Contemporaries." (manuscript, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Boston Public Library, copyright, 1987.)

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performances of Brougham's Declaration of Independence at 11 a.m., 2 1/2 p.m. and 5 1/2 p.m. with Brougham also appearing in Romeo and Giulietta in the early afternoon performance and Cher Ryan Dfars Tar in the late performance, the Adelphi closed for the season on July 9, 1847, many members of the troupe going with Brougham to the Chatham Theatre in New York for a series of summer performances.

The Broughams played many of the favorites from the Adelphi season between August 2 and 21 in New York being first announced for only two weeks and then re-engaged after what had apparently been a successful engagement. The Blands did not appear during this time at the Chatham, and co-starring with the Broughams were the Charles Howards. Two of the pieces in which Brougham acted during this summer were given new titles at the Chatham. Perfection was for some reason called The Cork Leg, and Presumptive Evidence, which was a part of Brougham's benefit on August 14, was listed as The Sailor's Return on the program. There are some minor differences between programs listed in Odell's Annals of the New York Stage and what was advertised in the New York Herald.[41] Performances of plays in which Brougham acted at least three times between August 24, 1846 and August 21, 1847, listed in Table 2.5, indicate that this was an incredibly busy season for him, particularly when compared to the previous

41. There are no advertisements for the Chatham Theatre at this time in either the New York Tribune or the New York Post.

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Table 2.5 - Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1846-1847 (8/24/46 - 8/21/47)

		F	A	Cha
Charles O'Malley	Mickey Free	3		
Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar	Lord Stalk		15	2
Declaration of Independence	Ebenezer O'Donahoo		5	
Dr. Dilworth	Terentius O'Laughlin	4		
Follies of a Night	Pierre Palliot		4	
Great Attraction, The	Douglas Double	4	1	
Hamlet (travesty)	Hamlet		15	7
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	1		2
Invincibles, The	O'Slash	3		
Irish Dragoon, The	Paddy Murphy	7		2
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	4		2
Irish Post, The	Terence O'Grady	3		
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan		5	2
Irish Tutor, The	Terry O'Rourke	5		
Life in the Clouds	Bacchus		23	5
London Assurance	Dazzle	3		
Lost and Won	Master Richard			3
My Fellow Clerk	Tactic	4		
Nicholas Nickleby	Mantilini	3		
Nor-ma	chorus member		7	
Norah Creina	Roderick		10	
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	2		2
Othello (travesty)	Iago		9	
Our Tom Thumb	Doodle		10	2
P! P! Or The Man & the Tiger	Mr. Splasher	4		
Return of the Volunteers	Col. Davenport		6	2
Robber's Wife	Larry O'Gig	1	2	1
Romeo and Giulietta	Mercutio (Romeo twice)		15	1
Teddy the Tiler	Teddy Mulowney	3		1

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season.

Brougham and Bland re-opened the Adelphi in Boston for the season on September 6, 1847, Brougham playing both the role of Steinburgh to Mrs. Bland's Christine in the opening vaudeville, The Queen's Lover, and the title role in the Shakespearian burlesque, Kinge Richard Ye Third! Or, Ye Battel of Bosworth Field. The playbill notes that "The text is, of course, improved by copious alterations, additions and omissions. Many of the original passages by the gentleman from Stratford, although no doubt abounding in beauties, being beyond the comprehension of the adapter." It further noted that this piece included a "Grand Ethiopian Serenade by a troupe of distinguished darkies."[42] Although Brougham's authorship was never advertised, a note in the theatrical news section of the Boston Evening Transcript of September 15 refers to this as Brougham's King Richard, so it seems likely that he wrote it.

Other successful new burlesques included J. W. Torrey's Forty Loafers! Or,--The Spirit of the Aqueduct, never listed in advertisements as the playwright, but a playbill for his author's benefit on October 14 is in the Harvard Theatre Collection. Brougham's role was Has-a-Rack in what the Spirit of the Times referred to as a burlesque on Forty Thieves, but the playbill indicates obvious local references. George Graham was listed first in the cast on a playbill as Alley Barber, a

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42. Playbill, Harvard Theatre Collection.

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close shaver, City Marshall, and sworn foe to loaferdom.[43]

Another new burlesque was Mac-Beth, with Brougham playing the title role and Bland appearing as Lady Macbeth. Paired with Irish farces and new pieces in which Brougham did not appear such as Buffalo Girls, which featured Ethiopian serenaders with Bland, it appeared that the Adelphi Theatre was off to another successful season. However, shortly after Brougham's version of Tom and Jerry in America, with new local allusions for Boston, was introduced on October 25, Mrs. Bland suddenly became ill with consumptive fever and died on November 5 at the young age of 36 years. She was of a theatrical family, her sister being the English actress, Miss Helen Faucit.

The Adelphi continued to advertise every evening, performing mostly pieces which had previously been in the repertory until Metamora; or the Last of the Pollywogs was premiered on November 29. Both a playbill from the first performance and the advertisement and news item in the Boston Evening Transcript do not use hyphens in the title of this burlesque of the Stone's play. Almost immediately Brougham received rave reviews not only as playwright but also for his impersonation of Forrest. A description in a "Theatricals in Boston" column says, in part:

> Though last, not least in our dear love, although very much so in its dimensions, the little

43. Playbill for September 30, 1847, Harvard Theatre Collection.

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> Adelphi, under the skilful (sic) pilotage of our friend Jack Brougham, sails merrily along the tide of success. I'm not good at metaphor, so I'll drop it, but you *should* see his best burlesque called Metamora, or the Last of the Pollywogs, (not underlined in original) in which he gives one of the best imitations the stage, ever saw of our great tragedian; both in looks, manner, dress and speech it is perfect; so much so as to cause such wagers to be laid as to his identity....[44]

Shortly after Metamora was introduced, Mr. Bland returned to the stage of the Adelphi, and the season continued with Metamora, Tom and Jerry in America, Life in the Clouds, a new burlesque of Kynge Johne with Brougham in the title role, and as Bob Plastic in another new piece, Living Pictures. This last piece stayed in Brougham's repertoire and was re-named Counterfeit Presentments early in the Burton years. In it, Brougham gave representations of Charles I, Franklin, Wellington, Napoleon, General Taylor, and Washington. Using various titles, Brougham revised it many times to fit the season and location, adding and subtracting characters as he desired.

At the Adelphi, there seemed to be little indication of problems although newspaper advertisements became smaller during the winter of 1847-1848, and fewer of them listed the names of actors; however, after January 14, 1848, the name of both Broughams all but disappeared. Although the advertisement in the Boston Evening Transcript on Saturday, January 15, still listed the theatre as Brougham and Bland's

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44. Spirit of the Times, 11 Dec., 1847, signed by Mundig.

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Boston Adelphi, the program did not list Brougham, and it was announced that Mrs. W. H. Smith was engaged for the season and would shortly appear. It is not absolutely clear if Brougham was acting elsewhere in Boston since this newspaper was not carrying ads for the Federal Street Theatre at the time. On Friday, January 21, the theatre was advertised for the first time as the Boston Adelphi, and Brougham's name did not appear again in the Boston Daily Transcript until there was an announcement for a complimentary benefit for him to be given at the Federal Street Theatre on February 3. After acting there on February 3 and 4, the Broughams returned to New York and once again took up the life of itinerant troupers. There is no record of the reason why Brougham left the Adelphi, but it may well have been that the tiny theatre could not bring in enough income to support all of the company that Brougham and Bland's ambitious efforts required.

From February 7 through February 12, the Broughams appeared at the Chatham Theatre in New York, introducing Metamora to a New York audience on February 8. This performance of a non-Irish role brought comments on Brougham's versatility not only in the review in the New York Herald on February 9, but also from The Spirit of the Times. This latter review provides a significant glimpse into early nineteenth-century audience distinctions of actors' lines-of-business:

> Mr. and Mrs. Brougham (formerly Miss Nelson) commenced an engagement at this theatre on Monday

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> last. Mr. Brougham heretofore has confined himself to the personation of Irish characters, and in our humble opinion, never with success, but during the week he has created quite a sensation in light comedy. He has written a very amusing burlesque on Forest's (sic) play of "Metamora," which is called "Metamora, or The Last of the Pollywogs," and in the character of the Chief is very happy. The piece abounds in passages pathetic and humorous, and has received the marked approbation of large audiences. On the first night of its representation, Mr. Brougham was called before the curtain to receive the congratulations of the audience. Mrs. Brougham is a very good actress, and is much liked by the patrons of the Chatham.[45]

After six nights at the Museum in Albany, presenting Brougham's recent plays and Irish farces, the Broughams returned to New York.[46] A two-week engagement at the re-opening of the Park Theatre under Simpson's management was somewhat unusual since in sharing the stage with Junius Brutus Booth for the first week, programs consisted of serious plays, mostly tragedies, to open the program and either an Irish farce or Metamora to close. Once again mention was made of Brougham's versatility in the review of the opening-night performance:

> Mr. Brougham has long been acknowledged as a most capital and versatile light comedian, and

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45. "Things Theatrical," Spirit of the Times, 12 Feb., 1848.

46. Advertisements in the Albany Daily Argus provide programs for this engagement. Henry Phelps in Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage (Albany: Joseph McDonough, 1880), 240 reports that this was Brougham's first appearance in Albany but that his wife had appeared there with Wallack. It appears that Mr. Phelps was not aware of Brougham's Albany performances in 1843, and it is likely that the Mrs. Brougham who appeared there with Wallack was the first Mrs. Brougham, not the person who acted there in 1848.

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> Irish actor. Such farces as the "Irish Lion," where there is full latitude for all his Hibernian comicality, as the Irish tailor, serve admirably to bring out his excellent acting....[47]

During the second week at the Park, the Broughams shared the stage with Mlle. Blangy, who it appears may have danced Giselle on her own. Still during this time Simpson reduced prices, and after the performance on March 16, the New York Herald announced: "The Park Theatre has rather suddenly suspended, until Monday evening next, assigning for cause the indisposition of a principal performer." There was apparently more cause to this closure than someone's illness as the theatre remained dark until the Viennese child dancers returned on May 22, and Simpson's retirement was announced on June 5. This sudden suspension must not have been foreseen by Brougham as he was not listed in theatrical advertisements in New York from March 16 until April 14 when he played Sir Lucius O'Trigger in a benefit at the Chatham Theatre for Charles Bass, who had played Mr. Aspen to Brougham's McShane in The Nervous Man at the Park Theatre on the last night there on March 16.

Brougham's five-act comedy Romance and Reality, had been announced as being in preparation for production as early as March 10, but the closure of the Park Theatre prevented its presentation until April 17 when it was first performed at the Broadway Theatre which was then under the management of

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47. New York Herald, 2 March, 1848.

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William Rufus Blake, whom Brougham probably first met when Blake was stage manager for Cushman in Philadelphia in 1842-1843 and who would be associated with Brougham in several ventures at co-management and otherwise in the next twenty years or so.[48] Brougham's role of Jack Swift is described on playbills as a cosmopolitan, and the play seemed to be an instant hit, running at the Broadway for twelve consecutive nights and being withdrawn apparently only because Brougham had agreed to take it to the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. After seven performances of the same play there, another three weeks of Brougham's life is unaccounted for. Although Wilson lists Brougham as continuing in Irish farces for the week of May 15 through 20 at the Walnut Street Theatre, newspaper advertisements make clear that the performer during that week at the Walnut was Mr. Collins, not John Brougham.[49]

The fifth of June, however, found Brougham once again in Philadelphia, this time at the Arch Street Theatre in The

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48. Although James Burge's account of the Broadway Theatre Stock Company in Weldon B. Dunham's American Theatre Companies, 1749-1887 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 123, lists W. R. Blake as stage manager for this theatre only for 1853-57, he is listed as manager on a playbill in the Harvard Theatre Collection for the first night of Romance and Reality. Alvah Mann and E. A. Marshall are listed as proprietors.

49. Arthur H. Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre 1835 to 1855 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 377-8, 680. Citations in Wilson's books were compared with advertisements for the theatre in the daily newspaper, the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

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Nervous Man and Metamora. Here he re-kindled his acquaintance with William E. Burton and began their collaboration, one that would last longer than any other to this point in America. Durang's review of the first performance of Metamora at the Arch Street Theatre refers to it as his "new Indian burletta" and continues:

> This humorous affusion of the Pollywogs was a very neat and ludicrous hit at Forrest's play of Metamora, but it was by no means offensive to the imitated subject, presenting in his burlesque chief a great deal of the American tragedian's peculiar style and vigorous manner. All Brougham's imitations smacked of the genteel.[50]

Durang's evaluation does not seem to agree with the later story of Brougham's that he stopped performing Metamora for many years after he had been told that Forrest had cried after seeing Brougham perform his burlesque. This story provides another example of Brougham's gentility which may be related to his continuing popularity.

Although Rue Johnson[51] writes that Burton's season at the Arch Street Theatre ended with the benefit for the treasurer on June 15, there were actually two last performances, on June 16, announced as Brougham's last night, and on June 17, for Brougham's benefit.[52] While his precise activities during the

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50. Durang, "Philadelphia Stage," 284.

51. Johnson, "William E. Burton," 583.

52. Johnson, "William Burton," 583. Philadelphia Public Ledger lists advertisements for June 16 and 17 and Durang describes Brougham's benefit on June 16 in "The Philadelphia Stage," 284.

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remainder of June prior to the opening of Burton's Chambers Street Theatre in New York on July 10 are unknown, it does appear that he had been engaged as stage manager, and there is little doubt that Burton found ways to keep him very busy. The great variety of Brougham's experiences during the 1847-1848 season is illustrated in Table 2.6 by a listing of the principal plays in which he acted.

Altogether Brougham appeared in at least twenty-six theatres in at least eight states during the six years covered in this chapter, surprisingly in more theatres in Boston than in New York. He acted in at least 148 different plays, performing in more than one play on at least 377 evenings. While Brougham continued to play many standard Irish roles, an increase in the number of non-Irish roles is clearly evident in Table 2.7. During this early period in America, he was recognized in print for his talents at playing other than Irish roles, being primarily acknowledged for roles in light comedy. He also introduced a number of his own burlesques and at least two plays which would stay in his repertory throughout his career. His first serious attempt at managing a theatre succeeded in attracting capacity audiences, and it seems likely that his lack of financial success at the Adelphi stemmed from too much ambition in a theatre with too little space for an audience. In his personal life, he separated from and divorced his first wife and re-married, taking on the additional responsibility for his second wife's children.

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Table 2-6. Plays performed at least three times by Brougham in 1847-1848

		Cha	A	Ar	W	O
Forty Loafers	Has-a-Rack		16			
Hamlet (burlesque)	Hamlet		3			
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan		6			3
Irish Dragoon, The	Paddy Murphy		4	3		
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	3	3			5
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan		3	3		2
King Richard Ye Third	Richard, Duke of Gloster		13			
Kynge Johne	Kynge Johne		3			
Life in the Clouds	Bacchus		5			
Living Pictures	Bob Plastic	3	12			3
Mac-Beth (burlesque)	Mac-beth		12			
Metamora	Metamora	5	19	7	2	13
Napoleon's Old Guard	not listed			3		
Nervous Man, The	McShane			1		2
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift				9	12
Tom and Jerry in America	Corinthian Tom		36	6		2
White Horse of the Peppers	Gerald Pepper	1				5
Who Do They Take Me For?	Terrence O'Riely		8			

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Table 2.7 - Plays performed at least ten times in one or more seasons between October, 1842 and June, 1848

Play	Role	42-43	43-44	44-45	45-46	46-47	47-48
Alma Mater	Count Pave	18					
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty	14	10	11	5	1	2
Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar	Lord Stalk					17	2
Forty Loafers	Has-a-Rack						16
Hamlet (travesty)	Hamlet					22	3
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	12	8	6		3	9
Irish Ambassador	Sir Patrick O'Plenipo	12	10	5			
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	22	5	6	11	6	11
Irish Tutor, The	Dr. O'Toole	10	3			5	
King Richard Ye Third	Richard						13
Life in the Clouds	Bacchus					28	5
Living Pictures	Bob Plastic						18
London Assurance	Dazzle	30	3			3	
Love's Sacrifice	St. Lo	12					
Mac-Beth (burlesque)	Mac-beth						12
Metamora	Metamora						46
Norah Creina	Roderick					10	
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	13		5			4
Our Tom Thumb	Doodle					12	
Putnam	Mr. Cabbagoall			20			
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift						21
Romeo and Giulietta	Mercutio (Romeo)					16	
Tom and Jerry in America	Corinthian Tom						44

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With all this frenetic activity, it seems logical that the prospect of becoming the stage manager for William E. Burton, a manager with a good deal of experience, would seem to be a golden opportunity for a stable and secure life. That it would not last more than two years may say more about Brougham's yen for adventure and new activities than his intermittent desire for security.

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Chapter Three - The Burton Years, 1848-1850, and Brougham's Lyceum, 1850-1852

> *...He [Brougham] is, moreover, an accomplished scholar, and a man who has seen the world, both of men and books. His style of acting is delicate and refined, and he can thus temper the strong points of his personations with a more polished edge than some of his compeers in the same line, thus detracting nothing from their effect while imparting to them an attractive polish.*[1]

The establishment of a relative stable period of acting and managing activity in the early part of these four years represented a significant change for Brougham from his previous theatrical experiences in America. Becoming a member of the company at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre for two years and taking on the additional duties of stage manager for much of that time gave him opportunities for growth as both actor and playwright without the constant need for seeking new venues that he had experienced in previous years.

His growth as an actor contrasted with much other experience, both past and future, since Burton was constantly presenting new works for his audience. In the first season alone Brougham acted in twenty-three plays that were new to him, and most of those were pieces that had not been played before, at least not in America, so he must have been constantly memorizing new lines. In the second season, Burton continued his watchword of novelty, and Brougham appeared in

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1. "The Irish Drama," Spirit of the Times, 14 Jan., 1854 (reprinted from the New Orleans Picayune).

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twenty-four plays that were new to him, and in most cases that were new to the audience as well. Aside from Dombey and Son, only ten other plays were revived in the second season from the first, and with one exception, these were for three or fewer performances.

While part of Burton's success at the Chambers Street Theatre can certainly be credited to strong management and the stability of the company, he was also blessed with the benefit of an improved economy in the entire nation. After a general economic downturn that had prevailed through most of the 1840s, the discovery of gold in California not only increased the wealth of the nation in a material way, but businesses in any way peripherally related to this discovery benefited, including the entertainment business. The company that Burton put together was exceptionally strong, and its acting received many highly complimentary reviews that seem to be more than puffs. A typical reviewer wrote, in part:

> Burton does not depend upon a solitary star, for from the highest to the lowest artist employed in his establishment, every one in his or her line, possesses all the professional requisites to make the most subordinate character appear as a necessary appendage, and of the deepest importance.[2]

While the exact moment and extent of their first theatrical association is unclear, Brougham and Burton did act together in New Orleans during the 1843 season. Their association was revived in 1845 in Philadelphia, where Burton

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2. New York Herald, 10 Nov., 1849.

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was managing both the Arch Street and Chesnut Street theatres, and he hired Brougham as actor and as stage manager for the Chesnut for a short period of time. However, their principal period of joint activity was when Burton moved to New York in mid-1848 to take over what had been Palmo's Opera House and reopen it as Burton's Chambers Street Theatre. Quickly becoming the most popular theatre in the city, as acknowledged in the daily press, Burton and Brougham acted together in works by each other as well as those of other playwrights that emphasized their successful joint comedy routines. During this time they first were referred to as "the Busy B's."

Burton's Chambers Street Theatre was not a large house, seating only 800 persons initially, with the addition of only a limited number of seats when the theatre was enlarged, but newspaper reviews of the period state that nearly all performances were sold out. While Northall writes that the audience was limited during the first few weeks of the July opening, reviews in the New York Herald and the Spirit of the Times claim almost capacity audiences from early days.[3]

Northall, who wrote some of the burlesques and travesties that Burton produced during the first years and had been known as a writer for Mitchell's Olympic Theatre, was apparently quite jealous of Brougham's popularity. Evidence of this comes from the fact that his book contains a very complete

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3. William Knight Northall, Before and Behind the Curtain: or Fifteen Years' Observations among the Theatres of New York (New York: W. F. Burgess, 1851), 106.

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eight-page description of the first couple of years of operation of Burton's Chambers Street Theatre without once mentioning Brougham. He managed to avoid using Brougham's name even though he wrote a great deal about Dombey and Son and Burton's role as Captain Cuttle. Still Brougham and Northall continued to work together, and Northall was given at least one benefit during Brougham's management of his Lyceum theatre. Whether Burton's theatre was immediately successful or only gradually so, it was soon noted in newspaper reviews as the theatre where the prettiest ladies were seen in the audience.

Initially, the repertoire at Burton's consisted of three or four short comic pieces each evening, with the program changing every night. The comic pieces were often separated by dance numbers or songs, and new pieces were generally introduced in the middle of the program, presumably when all of the audience was present. Prices listed on playbills during the first season were fifty cents for the parquette and dress circle and twenty-five cents for the family circle or second tier. On November 14, 1848, private boxes at three and five dollars were listed for the first time. Sometime later individual seats in boxes were added at fifty cents, and at the beginning of the second season on September 4, 1849, arm chairs in orchestra boxes at seventy-five cents were first listed. The time that the doors were scheduled to open and the curtain rise appear to have been related to hours of

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daylight as they varied from doors opening at half past seven with the curtain rising at eight on August 1, 1848 to the doors opening at half past six with the curtain at seven on October 3. Playbills and newspaper advertisements indicate that the doors opened one half hour before the performance began.

Little is known about Brougham's duties as stage manager, but he probably conducted rehearsals and perhaps assigned parts, at least to the minor players. In describing his career, he mentions that he was paid $50 a week. There is no indication if this salary was only for his duties as stage manager, but it may well have included his wages as an actor as well. Many playbills from this period list him as stage manager, George Loder as musical director, Mons. Frederic as ballet master, and J. C. Barnet as treasurer, but there are periods of time when no one other than Burton is listed in a management position in the theatre, and some playbills list no management.

Burton was not known to be a generous employer, and actors in his company had little freedom to act elsewhere, even in benefits. In fact, the only benefits in which it is certain that Brougham appeared during this almost two-year period were those within the company except for two in which he acted first at Burton's theatre and then appeared in the final piece of the program at the Broadway Theatre nearby. Brougham performed nearly every night, and virtually the only

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times that his name is not on playbills for the Chambers Street Theatre are when he was seriously ill and when he and Burton went to Philadelphia to appear at the Arch Street Theatre that Burton was continuing to manage while operating the Chambers Street Theatre in New York.

In New York, Burton's Chambers Street Theatre opened on Monday, July 10, 1848. The program consisted of three dances by the Viennoise Children and three farces, Raising the Wind, Maidens Beware, and The Irish Dragoon. Brougham played Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan, presumably the leading role, in the last of the farces; he had played this role under Burton's management at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia in June, 1848 and had previously played it in August of 1847 during an engagement at the Chatham Theatre in New York. He had also performed it on September 22, 1847 during his and Bland's joint management of the Adelphi Theatre in Boston where it was advertised as a new Irish farce by Charles Selby produced in London with the greatest success. This role seems to be typical of Brougham's repertoire at the time since it was presumably a light comedy role for an Irish gentleman, and he continued to play it for several years. Mrs. Brougham played the role of Mrs. Bloomly in this production of the farce, and J. C. Dunn played Fizgig.

The New York Herald had announced in its Friday, July 7 edition that Burton would be opening his theatre, late Palmo's, on Monday next. This notice indicates that the

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interior of the theatre had been repainted, regilded, and redecorated, and that Brougham had been engaged as stage manager. Such announcements were clearly meant to entice a fashionable audience to attend the theatre, but also show Burton's care in preparation for the opening. The company assembled by Burton was noted as being particularly strong with veteran actors such as Owens and Mrs. Vernon, young talents such as Raymond who made such a hit as Toots in Dombey and Son, a talented musical leader in George Loder, and an excellent dancer in Monsieur Frederic. Early in the first season Mr. and Miss Nickinson were added to the troupe, and Burton strengthened the troupe during the second season with the veteran actress Mrs. Russell and the singing ingenue Mary Taylor.

No playbills for the first two nights of the season have been found, but a playbill for the performance on Wednesday, July 12, indicates a program similar to that listed above for the third evening of the season. Near the top of the program it states that Mr. Brougham, in his inimitable Irish character, has been received with loud applause, and that the Irish Dragoon, a new farce, is being done the second time. In fact, this may have been the third presentation of this farce since notices in the New York Herald list the Irish Dragoon on July 10, 11, 12, and 15 for a total of four performances during the season. The playbill for July 12 lists the Viennoise Children for three dances, while the comedietta, The

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Weathercock, was done between the first and second dances and The Irish Dragoon between the second and third dances. Admission was fifty cents to all parts of the house.[4]

The Viennoise Children continued to be the mainstay of the program for the remainder of the first week of the opening of the Chambers Street Theatre under Burton's management. Then programs turned to a more usual repertoire of several comediettas performed by the acting company, the program customarily changing at least in part on a nightly basis. Out of 298 nights during this first season when performances were given, Brougham is listed on playbills and/or newspapers advertisements as acting on 234 nights. He also acted with Burton on seven nights at Burton's Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia in mid-June, 1849 and without Burton on three nights at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston. Totals for plays listed below incorporate Brougham's performances from these theatres during this season for a total of 244 nights. On 103 occasions he is listed in the cast for two or more plays, playing in three on seventeen occasions and once in four plays. Ireland indicates that on February 8, 1849, Brougham probably acted at Astor Place Opera House as one of the singing witches in Macbeth in the first benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association and then in Vanity Fair at Burton's Theatre on the same evening. However, the playbill for the event at Astor Place does not list Brougham as an

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4. New York Historical Society, collection in library.

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actor, and he played in the first piece on the program that same evening at Burton's. Ironically, Burton's name is prominent in the advertisement in the New York Herald as the first of the three witches for the Astor Place production, and Brougham is listed as among a large group of actors and actresses who provided incidental music. However, Brougham was also listed as one of six stewards of the fund on the program for the benefit.

There were four periods of a week or more during the autumn of 1848 when Brougham did not act at the Chambers Street Theatre. In October, the following announcement was published:

> John Brougham, that universal favorite and capital fellow, has I understand, just concluded a negotiation to take the Howard Athenaeum for the purpose of bringing out Dombey and Son, his own comedy, and a variety of other novelties of a high order of excellence. If tact, talent, industry and indomitable perseverance coupled with immense popularity and the good wishes and influence of his thousand personal friends in our city, has anything to do with his success, this new enterprise will prove profitable beyond even his own sanguine expectations.[5]

In fact, for four days in late October and early November of 1848, Brougham is listed in ads in the Boston Evening Transcript as the new manager of the Howard Athenaeum during a visit by William Macready, but after only four days, the same paper lists a new management, that of William Burton. Whether Brougham really tried to rebel, something that seems

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5. "Theatricals in Boston" Spirit of the Times, 21 Oct., 1848.

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quite alien to his nature, and didn't succeed, or whether this plan was developed by the two men, perhaps to raise interest in a possible feud between them, is not at all clear. Winter wrote that late in life, Brougham did tell him that he found Macready a very difficult person with whom to deal, and that he had leased the Howard Athenaeum "in association with Burton," but Winter cites no evidence to support their collaboration in such an effort.[6] In discussing the history of the Howard Athenaeum, William Clapp writes that in the latter part of October,

> Brougham leased the theatre, ostensibly for the production of one his own pieces, but after the papers were signed, Mr. Ford [Thomas Ford, the manager] discovered that Mr. W. E. Burton and Mr. Brougham had secured Mr. Macready, who, under the joint management of the two B.'s, made his re-appearance on the evening of October 30th....This appearance was profitable to the speculating B's.[7]

The most popular piece introduced during the first season at the Chambers Street Theatre was Brougham's version of Dickens' novel, Dombey and Son, with Burton playing Captain Cuttle and Brougham playing two roles as Major Bagstock and Jack Bunsby. First performed on July 24, 1848, it was given sixty performances with Burton and Brougham both playing at the Chambers Street Theatre during this season, and it became such a hit that it was performed every Wednesday or Thursday

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6. Winter, Other Days, 106-107.

7. William Clapp, A Record of the Boston Stage (Boston: James Monroe, 1853, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969) 456.

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evening for long periods of time, the evening becoming known at the theatre as Dombey Night.

Undoubtedly, one of the major reasons for the popularity of Brougham's version of Dombey and Son was the fact that Dickens had regained his popular appeal with the writing of this novel. The last number of it had been published in serial form in April, 1848, simultaneously with the first edition in book form, and after low sales from Martin Chuzzlewit in the intervening years, Dickens regained the favor of the reading public that had been his with The Old Curiosity Shop.[8] Part of Brougham's good fortune lay in the fact that he, like Dickens, could construct memorable characters; part of the popularity of the piece also probably rested with good luck in the timing and that it was riding on the coat tails of a popular publication.

In addition to the performances listed above, Dombey and Son was performed by Burton's company without Brougham on at least two occasions when Brougham was away from New York, and the Philadelphia Ledger and Transcript lists eleven performances with Burton as Captain Cuttle at the Arch Street Theatre, which Burton was still managing, between September 14 and 27, 1848. Oddly, in these advertisements Brougham is not acknowledged as adapter or as playing his customary dual roles of Bagstock and Bunsby, but the ads in this paper are small

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8. H. W. Garrod, "Introduction," Charles Dickens, Dealing with the Firm of Dombey and Son (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), vi, xiv.

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and usually list only Burton and Mr. Raymond playing Toots as actors. Since Brougham was not acting at the Chambers Street Theatre during this part of September, it is not clear whether he was with Burton in Philadelphia or not. Johnson writes that Brougham did not go to Philadelphia with Burton at this time,[9] but the Lehman family of pantomimists and a production of Milton's Comus which Burton advertised, erroneously, as the first time in America, occupied the stage of the Chambers Street Theatre with no evidence that Brougham acted in New York while Burton was in Philadelphia.

It is clear that there was disagreement between the two men over the play. Brougham wrote about this situation, implying that he had not been paid enough money for such a hit:

> He [Burton] paid me for it a small sum, I think about $10 a night,-- and after three or four weeks said he thought he had done about enough. I answered, 'Very well, if you are satisfied, I don't want any more.' The play was taken from the stage for a week, but at the end of that time it was reproduced, and held the boards for two seasons, and laid the foundation of Mr. Burton's fortune."[10]

In describing Brougham's persistent misfortune in business enterprises, William Winter wrote that Brougham sold Burton Dombey and Son for about $250, but he gives no other authority than his friendship with Brougham for this

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9. Johnson, "William Burton," 324.

10. "A Talk about the Past," Life, 73.

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statement.[11]

Dombey and Son was first performed for five almost consecutive nights in late July of 1848. Although Ireland wrote that it was withdrawn after four days for alterations,[12] in fact, the first presentation was for five days, not four, and the following reviews of the acting indicates that the play was an instantaneous hit:

> ....Mr. Burton's personation of the worthy old captain we need hardly characterize as a dramatic treat, at once "rich, racy, and rare;" it was "Edward Cuttle, mariner," who stood before the audience in his own proper person, fully realizing any idea of that most unique personage that might have been previously entertained....Mr. Brougham did ample justice to the part of Jack Bunsby--a *role* somewhat out of his line we at first thought, but erroneously as we soon found. There is a great difference, it must be confessed, between this part and the one which Mr. Brougham personates during the first act of the piece: that of Major Josh Baystock (sic)--old J.B.,--rough, tough, and dev-i-lish sly! And there *he* stood before us, in his own proper person; but the recollection is too amusing to pursue any farther. Suffice it to say that Mr. Brougham left us no cause whatever, in either part, to find any fault....Perhaps the next most clever personation was that of the well-known Mr. Toots, by Mr. Raymond, a young player whom we had never seen before, but who certainly made a most favorable impression upon the whole house by his performance of this very difficult *role*.[13]

The play was withdrawn, however, until August 21, at least partly because the Lehman family and M. J. Marzetti had been

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11. Winter, Other Days, 111.

12. Joseph Ireland, Records of the New York Stage (New York: T. H. Morrell. 1866), extra-illustrated edition in Brander Matthews collection at Columbia University's Butler Library, XIV, 513.

13. Spirit of the Times, 29 July, 1848.

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previously scheduled for a ballet and pantomime performances of more than a week in the Chambers Street Theatre. The company had also been preparing Lucy Did Sham Amour, a new burlesque of Donizetti's opera Lucia di Lammermoor, which had been done on the one evening interrupting the short initial run of Dombey and Son and was programmed with the ballets and pantomimes between August 3 and 11. Neither Burton nor Brougham appeared at the Chambers Street Theatre during this time period, and so far, no reports of performances by them elsewhere have been discovered.

When Dombey and Son was re-programmed at the Chambers Street Theatre on August 16, Mrs. Vernon, Mr. Nickinson, and Miss Nickinson had joined the cast, and every critic of the time noted the improvements in the cast. Some doubt has been raised by various writers about the relative contributions of Burton and Brougham in the revisions of this play; Joseph Jefferson alleged that Burton might have been involved in some of the re-writing, but he also stated that the play was improved from its first performance in this second run because Burton had studied his part more carefully and was much more particular in its performance.[14] About three weeks after the resumption of nightly productions of Dombey and Son, Brougham's name disappeared from the theatre's playbills for three weeks, and no evidence of performances elsewhere has yet

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14. Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson, Alan S. Downer, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 324-325.

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been found. It may be that he was negotiating for a theatre in Boston, but perhaps he was just trying to negotiate a better deal with Burton over what was obviously an extremely successful play. Perhaps he was ill, but no explanation for his absence was given on playbills as it usually was in cases of illness.

Burton continued to perform Captain Cuttle throughout his career. In fact, he was so associated with the role that his picture dressed as Captain Cuttle was used as an illustration by Joseph Jefferson in his autobiography. When Brougham left Burton's theatre and especially when he toured, he almost always played Captain Cuttle as it is clearly the major role in the play. An example of modifications Brougham made in his repertoire, it was not a change in his "line of business" as he continued to play both low-comic and light-comic roles. Throughout the remainder of his career, Brougham played Captain Cuttle in his Dombey and Son at least once nearly every year; however, it was never produced at either of Wallack's theatres during Brougham's years with that company, perhaps because the play did not contain a significant role that would have suited Lester Wallack.

The second most popular role for Brougham during the first season at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre was the principal role of Thady O'Roodle, apparently the low-comedy role of a tavern waiter, in his two-act comedy, The California Gold Mines. This piece, reflecting the hysteria of the gold

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rush, premiered on December 16, 1848 and was given thirty-six nearly consecutive performances during the season, but then was seen no more.

Another big hit of the season was Burton's one-act "indescribability" Where's BARNUM? first produced on December 11, 1848 and given twenty-eight performances featuring Brougham as Mr. Smiler, the manager of a strolling company of comedians. A playbill indicates that this piece was clearly a spoof of the exhibits at Barnum's Museum; among the many wonders included in the play are: the tallest giant, Major Jdblknwski; a mammoth baby weighing 225 pounds, played by Burton; the skull of Charles the First; the original seductive serpent from Eden; and the apple that damned the first pair (pear). The performance also included melodies sung by a band of Ethiopian serenaders called The Sable Sons of Savannah.

The only other piece which was presented more than twenty times during this season was Brougham's Socialism; or Modern Philosophy in Practice, a satire on the opinions of Horace Greeley which premiered on April 9, 1849 with Brougham playing Fourier Grisley. Greeley was well known to the public as a strong advocate of Fourierism, and the piece attempted to show the ludicrous aspects of this theory. It was reported that Greeley attended a performance, and the play was done for twenty-three mostly consecutive performances, including two in Philadelphia.

At least one spin-off of Dombey and Son was created by

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Brougham and presented eighteen times during the first season at the Chambers Street Theatre in a shorter piece called the Capture of Captain Cuttle...or Bunsby's Wedding (sometimes billed as Cuttle's Capture). This gave Burton another opportunity to play Cuttle, and Brougham acted the role of Bunsby. Often the plays of Dombey and Son and the Capture of Captain Cuttle were presented on the same evening. The Capture of Captain Cuttle was also given three times during the second season at this theatre.

Another piece by Brougham which was given fifteen performances in the first season was an three-act dramatic adaptation of Thackery's novel, Vanity Fair. It was also revised and revived for a week when Brougham returned to Burton's Theatre in 1857. Brougham wrote for himself the role of Rawdon Crawley, Esq., who is described on playbills as "having run through his property, living on his wits, and with rather a small capital at that." Ireland reports that because Burton had met with an accident in the theatre, he was prevented from appearing in the low-comedy role of Joe Sedley, and that Mr. Raymond "was but a sorry substitute." However, the reviewer for the New York Herald says that the part of Joe Sedley was "admirably sustained by that promising young actor, Mr. Raymond," and a review later in the week says that "Mr. Raymond's Joe Sedley brought down roars of laughter." A playbill description of Sedley as "an oriental exquisite from Bogley Wollah, a little in love and a great deal in liquor"

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sounds like an ideal part for Burton's line, and it is interesting that throughout much of this time, Burton is listed for this part in newspaper ads even though it is obvious that ads were submitted on a daily basis and according to reviews, he did not act for several days.

Another play which premiered during the first season was Brougham's Valentine and Orson. Although Joseph Ireland says that it was successfully produced, this piece which the playbill describes as a "romantic, transatlantic, operatic, zoological extravaganza" lasted only five days. A later critic described this as a "heartless travesty" of Dibdin's melodrama.[15] Brougham played Orson. The review in the August 15, 1848 New York Herald of the premiere on August 14 says that "this new extravaganza was received last evening with great applause. It is a laughable affair full of local allusions and jokes. Miss Sinclair makes a beautiful Valentine, and Brougham a funny Orson." The playbill gives a complete synopsis of the play and lists all the characters including a she-bear played by Mr. Rea.

The farce of Tipperary Legacy; or, A Voice from Ould Ireland was premiered on Saturday, August 12, 1848. An unnamed reviewer notes that this, the first piece on the program was:

> ...a most amusing trifle, in which those capital comedians, Brougham and Dunn, and Mr. Raymond (whose performance as Toots in "Dombey and Son," by

15. Laurence Hutton, Curiosities of the American Stage (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 162.

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> the bye, was such a hit) shone out in great style. Mr. Brougham is a most versatile, and excellent comedian; in farce, lively comedy, and indeed, in serious comedy, too, Mr. B. has established for himself a high name and reputation; moreover, he is as good a stage manager as he is an actor, as the admirable manner in which things got off at Burton's, under his guidance, shows.[16]

This quote is the only comment on the quality of Brougham's prowess as stage-manager that has been found. No playwright was indicated for this piece in any advertisement or playbill, and it was programmed for only three nights. No evidence of Brougham's ever acting in this play again has been found.

The Enchanted Isle, a burlesque of The Tempest, credited on several playbills to R. B. and W. Brough, was performed five times with Brougham in the role of Prospero. Ireland comments that Mrs. Brougham's playing the role of Ariel added intensity to the amusement this piece brought to the stage. Mrs. Brougham had been noted for her svelte appearance in early days on the stage, but by 1849, she was very large.

A topical satire on an illegal prize fight that had been held in Baltimore and was a hot topic in newspapers was Fistimania, or The Man Who Saw the Fight, programmed once with only the sub-title listed and performed a total of six times. Authorship was never acknowledged on playbills or in newspaper advertisements, but the reviewer from the New York Herald assumed that it was Brougham and wrote in the Theatrical and Musical column on January 16, 1849, that "'To shoot folly as

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16. New York Herald, 13 Aug., 1848.

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it flies' should be the motto of this theatre. No incident is omitted of public notoriety that, through the prolific genius of Brougham is not converted into attractive and amusing recreation." Brougham performed the role of Paddy Whack, described in the playbill as "an Independent Hack Driver, with a thrifle bet on the fight."

Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth (first programmed as Macbeth Travesty) and credited to Dr. Northall as playwright, was performed with Brougham as Macbeth and Burton as Lady Macbeth thirteen times this season. It was given several reviews, and in general, the play was tolerated because the acting was deemed so good. The playbill for March 26, 1849 includes the following "review" from an unknown source:

> In Macbeth, Mr. Brougham unites the excellencies of all the great actors of the day. In one scene, we are reminded of the brilliant eyes and flute-like voice of the Younger Kean--in the next, the manly tones of our own Forrest salute the ravished ear--again, the intellectual whisperings of the gigantically-gifted Macready, steal in bird-like sounds on the understandings of the wonder-stricken hearers. The admirers of the late lamented Kirby recognize with rapture the style of the dying scenes, and the death combat is as ferocious and bloody as any event recorded in the annals of the Bowery Stage. Never before has such a performance as Mr. Brougham's Macbeth delighted the admirers of sterling tragic acting.

The performance included a highland piper who played during the "furious combat" between Macbeth and Macduff.

Planché's extravaganza, The King of the Peacocks, was given seven performances with Brougham in the role of O-Don't-Know-Who (pronounced O'Donoghue), described as a Greek. Since

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this last play had premiered in London in 1848, Burton must have had some means to find out the specifics of what was going on theatrically in London at the time.

Few pieces from the first season at Chambers Street Theatre other than Dombey and Son became a part of Brougham's regular repertory. One of these was The Siamese Twins. With Brougham as Dennis O'Glib and Burton as Simon Slow, it was programmed twelve times during this season, three of these being performances at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia.

Another play which featured Brougham as actor was The Fast Man by Leman Rede (indicated on a playbill as Lemon Reed, Esq.). It was performed twelve times this season with Brougham in the role of Skyrocket Ned, whose performance the reviewer in the Spirit of the Times wrote on March 3, 1849 "must be conceded as one of that gentleman's most effective assumptions." This two-act comedy became a staple in Brougham's repertoire although he often listed the character's name as Ned or Edward Hughes in later performances. The Fast Man was revived once in the second season at Burton's.

Burton closed the first season at the Chambers Street Theatre with the performance on June 22, 1849, and with the exception of a performance on July 4, the theatre remained closed until July 16. What Brougham did during this interval remains a mystery as Philadelphia and Boston papers have been checked to see if advertisements list him as a performer, but nothing has been found. For statistical purposes, the July 4

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performance has been included in the 1849-1850 season.

The second season officially opened on July 16, 1849, and Brougham continued with the company until he left after the performance on April 26, 1850. His departure was very abrupt, and he was not given a benefit as was usual for a leading member of the company, but news published in the Spirit of the Times on April 6, 1850 that "one of the busy B's" planned to co-manage Niblo's Garden with William Chippendale in the summer of 1850 may be related to his sudden exit. On the 13th of April the Spirit of the Times clarified that it was Brougham who was leaving for Niblo's. In later years Brougham reported on this time in the following manner: "I remained at Burton's two seasons, and at the end of that time, as he could not increase my salary, friends aided me in securing a theatre of my own, on the corner of Broome Street, which became known as Brougham's Lyceum."[17]

During the 246 performance nights that the theatre was open for the second season until Brougham's departure, he acted in at least one play an incredible 238 evenings. On 109 of these 238 evenings, he acted in two or more plays including twelve evenings participating in three plays and four nights when he acted in four plays. On two of these multiple-

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17. Interview, New York Herald, 26 Aug., 1877. Reprinted in Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton, Kean and Booth and Their Contemporaries, vol. 3 of Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States from the Days of David Garrick to the Present Time (New York: Cassell and Co.), 286. In Life, Winter omits the paragraph which contains the quoted sentence (See Introduction to dissertation, 8).

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performance evenings, he acted at the Broadway theatre in benefits and at Burton's on the same evening.

The big hit of the second season which surpassed even Dombey and Son in number of performances was Morris Barnet's three-act comedy The Serious Family with Brougham as Captain Murphy Maguire. This play had been successfully produced at the Haymarket Theatre in London but never given in the United States when it premiered on December 3, 1849. It had been translated and adapted by Morris Barnett from a French comedy by Bayard, Un Mari a la Campagne, and satirized religious intolerance and prudish Puritanism. Charles Torrens has married into a "Serious Family," the women of which are under the influence of Aminadab Sleek, a character somewhat reminiscent of Tartuffe. He has influenced the women to conduct themselves and the affairs of the home in a sanctimonious way, ridding it and themselves of any such frivolous pursuits as dancing, card-playing, and good food and drink. Brougham's role of Captain Murphy Maguire, an old fun-loving friend of Charles Torrens, is a foil to Sleek, and between his influence and that of a widowed friend, Torrens' young wife finally comes to her senses and tells her mother that she cares more for her husband than for the opinions of Sleek and her mother and is determined to make his home comfortable for her husband. One of the items that was continually noted on playbills was that the play contained the Serious Family polka danced by sixteen ladies and gentlemen.

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Burton was capitalizing on the prevailing craze for the polka by making it a central feature of a well-acted, interesting and amusing play.

Newspaper accounts indicate that the play was such an immediate hit that people were turned away for the second night's performance on December 4, although this evening was also the benefit for C. W. Clarke, a very popular performer. However, it is interesting that while there was a brief sketch of the play itself in an early review in a daily paper,[18] most reviews were limited to comments on what a hit the play was without giving details of the content. Perhaps this was an effort on the part of editors to avoid offending religious patrons of the newspapers. A review printed during the twelfth week or so of this production points to the morality of the play and the purpose of theater being moral improvement at the same time noting that the reviewer has noticed "several patrons of the Italian Opera (in their splendid attire) at the performance on February 20."[19] Ireland reports that The Serious Family was played 125 times during the season, and it was given 97 performances by Burton's troupe while Brougham was with the company. It remained a part of Brougham's repertoire for many years, and he played the role of Captain Murphy Maguire well over 200 times. During the next few years, he

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18. New York Herald, 4 Dec., 1852.

19. "Theatrical and Musical," New York Herald, 21 Feb., 1850.

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frequently scheduled the play for performances at theatres in direct competition with Burton, and he played it on tours throughout the United States.

Dombey and Son, the second most popular piece, was performed with both Burton and Brougham at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre thirty-six times during the 1849-1850 season. It was scheduled to be performed one additional evening, that of August 30, 1849, but a fire at the gas house on Canal Street which supplied lighting for the theatre caused the closure of the theatre and darkened most of New York on that evening. Since playbills were printed before the fire, there is a playbill for that evening in the Burton collection at the New York Historical Society, but the performance scheduled for August 30 has not been included in totals in this dissertation.

During the second season, the most popular new piece credited to Brougham as playwright was billed at various times as drama, burlesque, farce and burletta and entitled The Demon Jester or the Dutchman's Dream; an actual Legend of Spectersheim. As a venture in meta-theatre, the second scene used the same actors but playing the roles that they assumed in the dream, and the playbill indicated that the play was intended as a burlesque of the "melodramatic formula." Brougham's character was that of Hans Ketzler, an author in search of an idea. This play held the stage for over a month in the fall of 1849 and was revived in spring of 1850 for a

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total of twenty-five performances. It also was revived at Brougham's Lyceum in 1852 with a new sub-title.

Brougham's new two-act comedy, Temptation, or the Price of Happiness was produced thirteen times in the fall of 1849 and continued in his repertory as well as being performed many times by such actors as the Florences, usually under the title The Irish Emigrant. Brougham's role was that of O'Bryan, an emigrant, just landed, and Burton played Tom Bobalink, a carman, with Mrs. Brougham as his wife.

One of the most popular new pieces in the second season, the writing of which is often attributed to Brougham, was billed with several variations in title as A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion Committed by Mr. Brougham to the Annoyance of Mr. Burton. The New York Herald calls Brougham the playwright in the ad on August 20, 1849, but no playbill from this time gives him writing credit. It may be that both Brougham and Burton were aware that a one-act comedy, sometimes called a farce, by J. Maddison Morton, entitled A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion, had premiered at the Adelphi Theatre in London in June of 1849.[20] In London, this piece was performed by the Adelphi's low comedians, Wright and Bedford, not Morton. Booth explains that such pieces were largely tags

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20. Donald Mullin, comp., Victorian Plays: A Record of Significant Productions on the London Stage, 1837-1901 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 253 and Nicoll, History of English Drama, IV, 363. Michael Booth, in English Plays of the Nineteenth Century, IV, 17, gives the full title of the play as A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion Committed by Mr. Wright to the Annoyance of Mr. Paul Bedford.

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which were used to directly address the audience and raise its awareness of a comic mechanism that was similar to prologues and epilogues in performances from earlier times.

Whether Brougham really used Morton's material or not poses an interesting question since he continued to program the piece with other managers in the title in place of Burton throughout much of his career. In later life he wrote the following description of how this piece evolved:

> Then came "The Serious Family." In this was developed that quality which I seemed to possess of extemporaneous talking to an audience. It occurred in this manner. At the end of the piece the audience invariably called me out for a speech. Sometimes it was one thing, sometimes another, but always a lot of nonsense, born of the moment, until I came to regard it as an intolerable nuisance. I don't know whether Burton liked it or not, but, at any rate, on one occasion he rushed to the stage while I was speaking, and assuming to be very much annoyed, exclaimed, "Don't believe a word that comes out of his Irish mouth; he's so, and so, and so." I don't remember what he did say, but I answered him on the spot, and a war of words followed. The audience fairly yelled with delight, and after that they looked for and demanded that quarrel as a part of the business of the evening.[21]

This account was related near the end of Brougham's life, so it may be that he had forgotten about the Morton comedy, and it could be that he and Burton only adopted the title. The piece was formally listed as part of the program eleven times during the 1849-1850 season.

Another play that Odell credits to Brougham as playwright and Pat Ryan includes in his 1959 handlist of Brougham's plays

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21. "A Talk about the Past," Life, 73-74.

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but which is not credited to him on either playbills or newspaper advertisements is The Confidence Man, which was given nine performances in the summer and early fall of 1849. A topical play about the new temperance movement, Brougham's role was that of Brass, the confidence man, with Burton playing Mr. Colliwob, collection agent for the movement. The playbill describes it as "a new farce, written by steam, and expected to be forcibly puffed." There is no evidence that it survived the season or appeared later.

One of the most popular new pieces given during the second season was Burton's New York Directory, or the Cockney in America, sometimes listed on the program without Burton's name, but presumably written by him. This burletta premiered on October 10, 1849 and was produced twenty times during the season with Brougham taking the role of Benjamin Brown among the actors in a large cast.

During the second season, out of twelve pieces which were new to Brougham, there were relatively few which became a part of his regular repertory. Titles and possible playwrights for all of these plays can be found in the appendices.

One of the most incredible productions during this second season must have been when Burton decided that opera should be a part of the company's repertory, and Mozart's The Marriage of Figaro was performed on four evenings in September and October of 1849. This production indicates that Brougham must have had a extremely good singing voice since he sang the role

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of Count Almaviva, and the newspaper critic for the New York Herald wrote that he "sustained his role with admirable success." It is interesting to note that even with a full-length opera being done, there was always at least one other piece scheduled on the program.

One play in which Brougham acted for the first time during the second season and which stayed in his repertory was Bamboozling, with Brougham as Captain Bamboozle, performed twice in August, 1849. A reviewer wrote that Brougham is one of the best light comedians on the stage and that he admires "his easy manner of extricating himself from any inconsistency in his description of his imaginary wedding."[22]

The extent to which Brougham's repertoire prior to the opening of Burton's Chambers Street Theatre was used is seen in Table 3.1 which includes performances during the season at the Arch Street Theatre and Howard Athenaeum as well as those at the Chambers Street Theatre. It should be noted that Tom and Jerry in America was also programmed once as Thomas and Jeremiah in America and it appears that The Irish Tiger was programmed four times as Irish Help. In the latter instance, at least the name of the character Brougham played is the same in both plays. Romance and Reality was played on May 10, 1849, the night of the Astor Place Riot.

Counterfeit Presentments had been previously programmed in Boston as Living Pictures and was listed that way the first

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22. New York Herald, 22 Aug., 1849.

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Table 3.1 - Number of Performances of Previously Performed Plays at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre

Play	1st perf	Role	48-49	49-50
Bamboozling	1845	Capt. Bamboozle		2
Beulah Spa	1833	Kildare		1
Capture of Capt. Cuttle	1848	Bunsby	new	3
Counterfeit Presentments	2/1848	Plastic	8	
Dombey and Son	1848	Bagstock/Bunsby	new	36
Fast Man, The	1849	Skyrocket Ned	new	1
Hamlet Travesty	1847	Hamlet		2
Haunted Man, The	1849	Ghost	new	3
Heir at Law	1846	Kenric(k)	3	1
His Last Legs	1843	O'Gallagan	1	
Hunchback	1843	Tinsel		1
Irish Engagement	1848	Rafferty	new	1
Irish Lion, The	1842	Moore	3	
Irish Tiger, The	1847	Ryan	7	2
John Bull	1842	Brulgruddery	8	
London Assurance	1842	Dazzle	1	5
Married Life	1845	Younghusband		6
Met-a-mo-ra	1847	Metamora	4	
Money	1842	Blount		1
Nervous Man	1845	McShane	2	
Omnibus, The	1843	Rooney	2	
Poor Gentleman	1845	F. Bramble		7
Rivals	1842	O'Trigger		3
Romance and Reality	4/1848	Swift	7	3
Rory O'More	1842	Rory O'More	1	
Siamese Twins	1849	O'Glib	new	4
Tom & Jerry in America	1844	Corinthian Tom	13	
Wags of Windsor	1832	McTwolter	2	4
Who Do They Take Me For?	1847	O'Reilly		2

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time it was done at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre. Even though Burton describes it on the playbill for October 21, 1848 as "an entirely new phisiographic sketch," it seems that the only thing that was new was the title. Colman's comedies John Bull and Heir at Law were usually compressed into two acts.

Even more impressive than the number of previously performed plays is the large quantity of new plays presented in the first two seasons at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre. An examination of Tables 3.2 and 3.3 indicates that there were not only a large number of new pieces but that many of these new pieces were presented a number of times, twenty-four of them being given ten or more times.

The repertoire at Burton's included a substantial number of plays, extravaganzas, and especially operatic burlesques in which Brougham did not act. Herr Nanny (a burlesque on Verdi's opera *Ernani* of Victor Hugo's play Hernani) is an example. Newspaper accounts of the time indicate that the fact that Ernani had failed at the Astor Place Opera House pleased many New Yorkers at the time because there was still much grumbling about the anti-democratic attitude with which the opera house had been established. Unlike other New York theatres, the Astor Place Opera House catered to the elite and predominantly the wealthy and its architecture confirmed a more definite division of the classes with upholstered seats in the pit and tiers of open boxes being available only by

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Table 3.2 - Performances of Works New to Brougham at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre and Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia - 1848-1849

Play	Role	Premiere	#'s
Begone Dull Care	Young Revel	6/9/49	2
California Gold Mines	Thady O'Roodle	12/26/48	36
Capture of Captain Cuttle	Bunsby	9/7/48	18
Dombey and Son	Bagstock/Bunsby	7/24/48	60
Enchanted Isle, The	Prospero	1/13/49	7
Fast Man, The	Skyrocket Ned	2/23/49	12
Fistimania	Paddy Whack	2/14/49	6
Haunted Man, The	the Ghost	1/10/49	12
Irish Engagement	Tim Rafferty	11/13/48	13
Irish Patriot	Gerald Pepper	9/5/48	1
Irish Post	Terence O'Grady	12/6/48	3
King of the Peacocks	O-Don't-Know-Who	2/24/49	7
Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth	Macbeth	3/23/49	13
Mr. Lobjoit and his Papa	Oversiphorous Lobjoit	10/7/48	4
St. Patrick's Eve	Major O'Doghery	3/16/49	2
Siamese Twins	Dennis O'Glib	5/28/49	12
Simpson and Co.	Mr. Brombley	6/1/49	1
Slasher and Crasher	Christopher Crasher	1/3/49	11
Socialism	Fourier Grisley	4/9/49	23
Tipperary Legacy	Lanty Scrimmage	7/31/48	3
Valentine and Orson	Orson	8/14/48	5
Vanity Fair	Rawdon Crawley	1/25/49	15
Where's Barnum	Mr. Smiler	12/11/48	28
Wigwam, The	Patrick O'Pluffy	5/19/49	1

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Table 3.3 - Performances of Works New to Brougham at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre - 1849-1850

Play	Role(s)	#
Abduction of Rea, The	Goosequill/Grisley/ Grindhurst	1
Bird of Passage, A	Casey Chick	3
Burton's New York Directory	Mr. Benjamin Brown	20
Capture of Captain Cuttle	Jack Bunsby	3
Confidence Man	Brass	9
Demon Jester	Hans Ketzler	23
Hearts are Trumps	Captain Wagstaff	11
Horn's Last	Shales, a tragedian	2
Hundred Pound Note	O'Socknessey	1
Jersey Monopoly	Jack Robinson	8
John Dobbs	John Dobbs	11
Keeping the Line	Mr. Pennipother	3
Lady in a Fix, A	Count Natzmar	6
Leap Year	Walker	18
Marriage of Figaro, The	Count Almaviva	4
Methinks I See my Father	Felix Flighty	4
Most Unwarrantable Intrusion, A	Intruder	11
Peep from a Parlour Window	Darby Dougherty	8
Platform, or the Honors of an Irish Election	not named	5
Rake's Progress	Harry Markham	3
Serious Family, The	Capt. Murphy Maguire	97
Sphinx, The	Adelpates/Mercury	10
Temptation	O'Bryan	13
Turning the Tables	Jeremiah Bumps	4
Who Do They Take me For?	Terence O'Reilly	2

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subscription. Only the upper gallery provided general-admission benches which were accessible by a separate entrance and narrow separate staircase, effectively quarantining those in the audience who could not afford a subscription from the genteel classes below them.

In addition to all of this performance activity, Brougham also wrote a few plays in which he did not act, some of which were produced at other theatres. They included Don Keyser de Bassoon, a burlesque of Dumanois and Dennery's popular Don Cesar de Bazan, a dramatic sketch entitled The Revolt of the Sextons, and a dramatic version of the novel Jane Eyre.

The Summer of 1850

When Brougham left Burton's Chambers Street Theatre after the performance on April 26, it was with the knowledge that he would co-manage Niblo's Garden during the summer with Chippendale. Also it had not yet been announced, but he had probably begun negotiations for financial backing and was heavily involved in plans to open a brand new theatre in direct competition with Burton in the fall. However, delays in the building of the new theatre caused a series of postponements in its opening, and Brougham acted during the fall of 1850 at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston and at the Brooklyn Museum. He may have appeared elsewhere as well, but no confirmation of other appearances has yet been found. (A note in the September 28, 1850 edition of a new weekly,

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Figaro: or, Corbyn's Chronicle of Amusements, indicates that Brougham had been on a visit to the city of Washington. However, daily Washington papers did not include advertisements for any performances by him during September.) The calculations in the current section of Chapter Three include all known performances by Brougham between his departure from Burton's and the opening of Brougham's Lyceum in December, 1850. As mentioned before, his departure from Burton's may have been somewhat more abrupt than he had anticipated. Perhaps Burton and Brougham's "stage quarrel" had some truth to it. No record of any performances has been found between Brougham's last performance at Burton's in April and the complimentary benefit given to him at Niblo's Garden on May 7.

This benefit was announced in the New York Herald on April 28, and Burton was among those listed as members of the committee. The playbill for this evening shows that the program started with Brougham's play of Temptation with the playwright in his customary role of O'Bryan. This piece was followed by nine pieces of music, dance and songs, and the program ended with Naval Engagements. Among those who acted were Lester Wallack, Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams, Miss Wemyss and Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert. Although no record of the receipts of the benefit has been found, the ticket price was the unusually steep price of $1 to all parts of the house. After the musical interlude, Brougham was presented with a group of

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silver pieces.

The summer season and the autumn following it offered a distinct contrast to the hectic atmosphere at Burton's with its constant emphasis on "the new." Although Brougham did play at least six new roles, the overwhelming part of his repertoire was not only familiar, but well-known, many being plays that he had been acting for years. Also in contrast to the previous season, there were only four evenings when he was listed as appearing in more than one play. Often Brougham acted in one of the two primary pieces for the evening, and Chippendale took the lead in the other main piece.

On the opening night of the summer season, May 13, 1850, Brougham did act in two pieces, playing Dan Duff in his new and original operatic drama of Home and the new role of the Duc de Chartes in Follies of a Night. Others in the cast of Home included Nickinson, Thompson, Florence, Conover, Mrs. Vernon and Miss Taylor. The evening's performance started with the Star-Spangled Banner sung by Mary Taylor, Julia Barton and Mr. Leach with the whole company on stage for the chorus. A reviewer remarked that the chorus for Home was well drilled and made the various scenes effective and continued, "Messrs. Brougham and Nickinson appear to very great advantage in this pleasant trifle, and their change in the second act is quite marvellous."[23] The play was divided among characters at Home, from Home and "without Ostensible Homes," and Brougham

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23. "Theatrical and Musical," New York Herald, 15 May, 1850.

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and Nickinson exchanged roles in the "Characters from Homes segment."[24]

Although Duc de Chartes in Follies of a Night was a new role for Brougham, he had played the role of Palliot in that play in Boston in 1847. More significant than this new role was Brougham's assuming the role of Captain Cuttle in his own Dombey and Son which he played five times during the summer, one of those being at Niblo's. Dombey and Son was performed one additional time during the summer at Niblo's, but for this performance Burton was the guest star, and he played the role of Captain Cuttle with Brougham as Bagstock and Bunsby. Brougham played Captain Cuttle three times during October at the Brooklyn Museum and once in late August at the Howard Athenaeum.

During Burton's visit to Niblo's Garden, Brougham also played the new role of O'Scuttle to Burton's Pillicoddy in Poor Pillicoddy. A newspaper ad announced that Brougham was playing this role "on this occasion," and it seems to be the only time that he ever played it although Mrs. Brougham frequently acted Mrs. Pillicoddy.

Another piece which appears to at least have a new title and was probably put together by Brougham was My Fellow Clerk, performed with Brougham as Tactic at the Brooklyn Museum for the first time and only time this season on October 16.

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24. John Purdy Blair, Jr., "Productions at Niblo's Garden Theatre, 1849-1862" (Ph. D. diss., University of Georgia, 1962), 31.

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Brougham continued to perform this piece with this title and several other titles for the next several years. It may be related to Counterfeit Presentments or Living Pictures in which Brougham performed what were then always called "imitations" of prominent actors. However, a newspaper advertisement indicates that this initial performance may also have included elements of A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion.

The Catspaw, Brougham playing Captain Brugonet and Chippendale as Snowball, was performed at Niblo's on June 7 and 8. This was an example of an attempt at direct competition with Burton as he had been programming this piece and in fact acted Snowball on June 7 at his own theatre.

During the summer and fall of 1850 in the interval between his departure from Burton's and the opening of Brougham's Lyceum, Brougham settled into his established repertoire rather than taking on many new roles. However, many plays were performed relatively few times as an examination of Table 3.4 shows.

Brougham's engagement at the Howard Athenaeum began on August 19, before the season had ended at Niblo's Garden, and extended through August 30. The following strong review of the presentation of The Rivals at the opening of the Howard Athenaeum comments on Brougham's popularity in Boston:

> John Brougham, last, though not least, was, as everybody is aware, a glorious, rollicking,

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Table 3.4 - Previously Performed Roles
also performed during summer and fall of 1850

Play	Role	N	H	BrM
Bamboozling	Capt. Bamboozle	1		1
Dombey and Son	Bagstock/Bunsby	1		
Hamlet Travestie	Hamlet	1		
Irish Dragoon, The	Paddy Murphy	3		
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	4	1	1
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan	1		
John Bull	Dennis			1
John Dobbs	John Dobbs	1		
London Assurance	Dazzle			2
Married Life	Younghusband			1
Nervous Man	McShane	2	1	
Omnibus	Pat Rooney	2		4
Poor Gentleman	F. Bramble	1		
Review, The	Looney McTwolter			1
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius	1	1	
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	13	4	8
School for Scandal	Sir Benjamin	2		
Serious Family	Murphy Maguire	12	8	4
Siamese Twins	O'Glib	1		
Temptation	O'Bryan	2		3
White Horse of the Peppers	Gerald Pepper	3		

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> dashing--full of life, full of fight, and full of fun, Sir Lucius; and most gloriously, too, was he received by his troops of friends, with cheer after cheer, until I could plainly see Jack's good old Irish heart jumping under his jacket, as though it was anxious to leap from its confinement, and bound round amongst its Yankee friends!! The cheering was so rapturous, that it was some time before it subsided sufficiently to go on with the performance.[25]

No records of any performances by Brougham after August 30 have been found until October 14 when he began an engagement at the Brooklyn Museum that included almost every evening until November 9. There were additionally three nights' performances on November 19 and 30 and December 20 (as benefits for Mary Taylor and Mrs. Lovell) at the Brooklyn Museum and one night on December 21 at the third annual benefit for the American Dramatic Fund at Niblo's Garden. These have been included in the total calculations for this chapter. Brougham also gave an original address as part of the benefit for T. D. Rice at Tripler Hall on December 10.

A dissertation on mid-nineteenth century theatrical productions in Cincinnati by James F. Dunlap lists a play by Brougham, Paris and London; or a Trip to Both Cities, as being such a hit at the National Theatre between August 26 and September 14, 1850 that it was repeated at the same theatre between September 27 and October 5. This play does not appear on any inventory of Brougham's plays, and only one of the three Cincinnati daily newspapers of this period lists an

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25. "Boston Theatricals," Spirit of the Times, 31 Aug., 1850.

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advertisement for this play and the National Theatre, but neither the advertisements nor the several reviews in the Daily Cincinnati Commercial make any reference to Brougham as either playwright or performer. What appears to be a fairly complete cast is listed in ads for this "drama or operatic extravaganza," which included a moving panorama and masquerade, and it seems unlikely that Brougham was in Cincinnati at this time. Dr. Dunlap indicates that his principal source is a large group of playbills which is only available in Ohio.[26]

As mentioned in earlier chapters, it may well have been that Brougham appeared in more performances during the summer than have been listed. Many of the newspaper advertisements for the summer are short, and few playbills have been found. As an example, although Brougham was in companies which performed Planché's one-act comedy, Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady, many times, no record has been found of his acting. However, the advertisement for this play's performance at Niblo's on June 24, 1850 lists only five roles, and Brougham sometimes did not advertise his role, regardless of its significance.

It does appear that he was impresario perhaps more than he would have liked during the summer. In addition to some farces and comedies that featured Chippendale or John Sefton

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26. James Francis Dunlap, "Queen City Stages: Professional Dramatic Activity in Cincinnati, 1837-1861" (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1954), 45-46, 924.

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rather than Brougham, one of the mainstays of the season was an almost three-week run of a spectacular extravaganza, The Island of Jewels. Brougham is never listed as appearing in this. Since the New York audience was accustomed to the appearance of the Ravels, the ballet family, during the summer season at Niblo's, and they were not scheduled to appear, Brougham and Chippendale engaged Mlle. Blangy and Mon. Durand to present a series of ballets toward the end of the season. Although the stock company was regarded as one of the best ever assembled to play light comedy, certain modifications of programs were made to accommodate the expectations of Niblo's audiences. For example, on the evenings when Brougham's Romance and Reality was performed, no other piece was programmed, and there was an intermission for a promenade between the third and fourth acts of this five-act comedy.

In addition to Burton's appearances for a few nights toward the end of the season, Charlotte Cushman performed Meg Merrilies in Guy Mannering on June 10 in her last performance in this country before her return to England. One report on this performance follows:

> This house was on Monday crowded almost to suffocation (there being upwards of three thousand persons present, of whom a large majority were ladies,) to witness the last performance of Miss Cushman, prior to her departure for Europe.[27]

Miss Wallack performed the same role on June 17.

As in 1849, Burton's theatre was closed for a good part

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27. Spirit of the Times, 15 June, 1850.

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of the summer of 1850, and in both of these summers, there were numerous deaths throughout the country because of severe cholera epidemics. What impact this had on the fortune of Niblo's Garden during the summer of 1850 is not clear. While newspaper reviews indicated mostly crowded audiences, there were also a few mentions of weather and the lack of frivolous programming keeping families away. Certainly it seems that Brougham did not make as much money as he might have anticipated or he would not have left for Boston before the summer season was finished.

Brougham's Lyceum

In July, the first published notice of a new theatre to be erected for Brougham reads:

> Rejoice, ye laughter-loving denizens of Gotham! fling up your caps, ye revellers in fun! John Brougham is to have a theatre built for him, by subscription--one of the greatest, and allow us to observe, most deserved compliments ever bestowed upon a poor player since the year one. We learn from the best authority that, although the "papers" have only been in private circulation for a few days, yet the majority of the needful is planked, and by some of the best names in the city; indeed, we have *seen* the documents, and merely say that the name at the head--were we not restrained by delicacy, we should like to give it to the world--is an earnest of the most complete success. No enterprise of credit and responsibility ever seeks that same individual's aid in vain, flourishing in the hey-day of prosperity through the instrumentality of his own original talent and unabated energy. No beginner in the world, anxious to try his strength in buffeting life's current, ever appeals to him in vain--be sure of this. The work is going on; the matter is what our French

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> friends call *au fait accompli*--just fancy the wit, genius and humor, which irradiated every sphere in which it has hitherto shone, blazing away on its own hook. Why, the thought of a failure would be preposterous--go ahead Jack, our "pile" is ready on the result![28]

This announcement was followed by a second on July 16 in the Music and the Drama column of the New York Herald that the building of Brougham's new theatre "may be considered an opposition to Niblo's establishment" which was soon to be surrounded by a hotel, causing it to become a theatre and not a garden. The writer assumed that Brougham's theatre would probably bring about an improvement in the literature of the drama during the next season.

While the first season in this new theatre was in many ways a financial success, Brougham's failure during the second season seems to be largely related to the finances of the theatre although it is never made completely clear if it was the initial financing arrangement or ones made at the beginning of the second season that proved the most disastrous. Much later Brougham wrote that he put all the money that he could into the theatre and borrowed money from the old minstrel, E. P. Christy, who required a heavy interest, to secure the Lyceum. He blamed the need to assume new obligations in the second season on architectural changes in the neighborhood. When he couldn't pay a loan immediately, the sheriff took possession of the theatre even though his

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28. "The Projected New Theatre," Spirit of the Times, 13 July, 1850.

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friend, Col. Stebbins, offered to pay twice what was owed.[29] Wallack relates the story of Brougham's retirement from the management of the Lyceum in a way that makes Major Rogers, the owner, the villain. He also indicates that his father, who took over the Lyceum after a short interval and made a success of it, was a better businessman than Brougham.[30]

Whatever the reasons for Brougham's failure as manager of the Lyceum were, from a financial standpoint it appears that the theatre started on a very shaky basis. The first published reports in the New York Herald on September 7 and in Figaro on August 31 sought to assure the public that the architect expected the building to be completed by the third week in October. The Herald stated, "The opening of this place of amusement, magnificently conducted, as it is certain to be by its popular and talented proprietor, will create an amount of enthusiasm amongst our play-goers, only to be exceed (sic), by the present Lind-phobia." During the first week of September, Jenny Lind had arrived in New York, and she hardly sneezed without it being recorded in the paper. Nearly all of the theatres were doing some kind of piece that referred to her. Barnum had hired Castle Garden for her performances, the first of which was scheduled for Wednesday, September 11.

Evidently, even during the time that the new theatre was

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29. "A Talk about the Past," Life, 74.

30. Lester Wallack, Memories of Fifty Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1889), 112-116.

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under construction, there were financial problems. These are hinted at but not fully explained in the following published report:

> "Prosperity makes friends and adversity tries them," is an old adage, the truth of which has been often tested; so also has that which tells us that "promises and pie crust are made to be broken." Of these facts Mr. Brougham had lately good evidence, and it is something for him or any other man, to feel proud of, that when those most fluent in protestations, and affluent in praises fell from him, a few staunch and disinterested friends came up manfully to his aid and at once put him in a position to complete the erection of his theatre. By the middle of December Brougham's Lyceum will be opened, and with the excellent artistes engaged by him and his ability as author, actor, and manager, backed by his popularity as a man, success is as certain as death or rent day.[31]

In the next edition of Figaro, a short item explained that the theatre was now progressing rapidly toward completion and would be opened on December 16.

Although no printed evidence has been found to support Brougham's statement about architectural changes in the neighborhood during the second season, there is a newspaper report that a wall of the theatre was demolished during construction, burying four men and killing one of them. The supports of a gable end of a stable next door to the theatre had been removed causing the end of the stable to fall against the partially completed wall. This misfortune occurred just a day or two after a similar accident nearby, and such

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31. "Brougham's Lyceum," Figaro, 9 Nov., 1850.

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accidents were frequently reported during the next year.[32] The collapse may have caused some delay in completion of the theatre and may have been the reason why the Figaro published a statement that Mr. Trimble was allowing the brickwork to settle before the roof was added.

Much later Brougham recalled that a combination of rumor and problems with the demolition of the building next door were partially responsible for his failure at this theatre:

> There was every indication that the adventure would be profitable and permanent; but, unluckily for us, the corner building was torn down, which compelled us at our own expense to shore up the theatre, and this had the effect of making it look dangerous,--a report very industriously spread by a few disinterested people. The consequence was an abrupt desertion of the place and a period of much tribulation to "yours truly."[33]

While it is true that the theatre was not as well attended during the second season as the first, no published reports have been found to substantiate Brougham's claim that the building next door was demolished during 1851 or 1852. In fact, shortly after the accident involving the collapse of the wall in 1850, a letter from Brougham to the publisher of the New York Herald was published on the front page of that paper on August 8, 1850. This humorous missive is addressed to Madam Rumor and assures her that not only will the building not be opened until it is completely safe but the deposits of subscribers are safe as well. It may be that at the distance

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32. New York Herald, 6 Aug., 1850.

33. "Supplemental Memoir," Life, 125.

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of seventeen years, Brougham recalled these experiences as occurring near the end of his tenure at the Lyceum rather than the beginning.

Although all contemporary accounts indicate that J. M. Trimble was the architect and builder of the theatre, Donald Mullin illustrates his Development of the Playhouse with an architectural drawing by Calvin Pollard from the collection at the New York Historical Society that is presumed to be for Brougham's Lyceum. The drawing, dated January, 1847, which is one of the drawings that were given to the historical society at Pollard's death, was attributed to Brougham's Lyceum early in this century by Talbot Hamlin, an architectural historian and professor at Columbia University. However, the facade of the building in the Pollard plan is extremely different from two published drawings of Brougham's Lyceum which are remarkably similar to each other, and several details in the complete description of the theatre space provided by William Corbyn in the December 21, 1850 edition of Figaro are not reflected in the plans by Pollard. Since Brougham was mostly still acting as a touring star during late 1846 and early 1847, Pollard's plans may have been for another theatre which was projected for the same or nearly the same piece of land. It may also be that Trimble knew of these plans and incorporated some elements of them into the house which he built. Pollard died in the cholera epidemic during August of 1850, so he was not involved in the actual construction of

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Brougham's Lyceum. While Pollard had built several theatres in New York, Odell gives Trimble credit for the three that were built most recently before Brougham's Lyceum was constructed.

A criticism leveled by nearly every reviewer of the time was that this theatre had been built too far uptown, and compared to other theatres of its day, it probably was, but the city soon grew to surpass it. A description of the sumptuous detail in Figaro from December 21, 1850 makes it clear that no expense was spared in decoration of the auditorium and stage. Even though some of the decoration was not completely finished by opening night, the theatre was admired as being particularly beautiful. It was designed to accommodate 1200 persons, so it was substantially larger than Burton's Theatre on Chambers Street although not as large as the Bowery, the Broadway, and Niblo's Garden. However, the size may have created some problem for Brougham since he had apparently intended to program witty comedies as well as extravaganzas and spectaculars.

Even the deadline for opening night of December 16 was missed, but only by one week, the first performance taking place on December 23, 1850. It is not known whether or not Brougham paid the actors during the period of time when they were engaged to be a part of his company but the theatre was still being completed. Certainly if he did so without any income from ticket sales, it would have been a drain on his

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purse as he was never a rich man. Advertisements were published for season tickets at fifty dollars, and such revenue might have been used for payments to actors and other theatre personnel who had signed on with Brougham, but payments to personnel in addition to expenses for scenery, costumes, and the interior decoration of the theatre must have put the establishment of the theatre on precarious financial footing.

When the theatre opened on Monday, December 23, 1850, the playbill listed Brougham as proprietor and manager, and the names of all the staff and even the architect are listed. In her first appearance in America, the ballerina, Mlle. Ducy-Barre from the Academie Royale, Paris, is given top billing, and in another unusual move, the women in the company are listed before the men. Especially noted is Mr. John Owens, the celebrated comedian in his first appearance in New York, who is listed before Mr. H. Lynne, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Brougham.

The performance began with the overture to Norma by orchestra which was followed by a "rigmarole" entitled Brougham and Company which had no cast listed but which was used to introduce the principal artists of the company to the audience. A musical intermezzo, Echoes of the Nightingale, and a grand pas de deux were followed by a farce, Deeds of Dreadful Note which had five characters listed, the first one being called Fright. Another dance number preceded the "new

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importation," The Light Guard or, Woman's Rights. Brougham played Mr. Ginger Green, one of four yeomanry officers, in the final number. Although the New York Herald gave an extensive and extremely complimentary front-page review of the opening night in the next day's paper, nothing was written about either of the last two programmed dramatic pieces. The Light Guard and the rest of the same program were repeated on December 24 and 25 with Brougham and Company being done for a total of six nights. On December 26, Brougham created a direct challenge to Burton by programming The Serious Family.

During the first season at his own theatre, Brougham was often cited in the press as a tireless worker. It is true that he appeared on stage almost every night between the opening of the theatre and the closing of the season on July 7, 1851. In fact, on almost every evening he appeared in at least two roles, and during this time, he was also writing new plays and being ultimately responsible for the management of the theatre. Actors and actresses were probably the subjects to more gossip than usual as newspapers were filled with the proceedings in the divorce of Edwin Forrest and his wife. Indelicate details, even by twentieth-century standards, were reported at length, often in several columns of print, on a daily basis throughout this period.[34]

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34. The most scandalous allegation and the one that may have won the case for Mrs. Forrest Sinclair since each had sued the other for divorce on grounds of adultery was testimony that when Forrest was touring, he had been seen coming out of an actress's hotel bedroom in the early morning attired

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Of the 168 evenings for which advertisements and/or playbills for performances at Brougham's Lyceum during this abbreviated first season have been found, Brougham is listed as acting on 162 evenings. On 110 nights he was scheduled to act in more than one play, and on nine of these evenings, he was listed as performing in three pieces.

The collection of the New York Herald at New York Public Library has no edition for January 2, 1851, and in fact, papers were often not published on the day after holidays, but usually theatres advertised for the following day when this was the case, and the paper for January 1 contains no ads for any theatrical performances on January 2 except for Niblo's. Brougham may not have acted on February 1, 1851 or perhaps a few days before since a brief item in the theatrical column in the Sunday New York Herald on February 2 also says, "We are happy to learn that Mr. Brougham has entirely recovered from his recent indisposition, and that he will appear *in propria persona* to-morrow evening." In the theatrical column of the

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in only his nightshirt. Rumors circulated that perhaps they had been rehearsing Metamora, and he needed to be dressed in something approximately like his Indian costume. The jury decided in Mrs. Sinclair's, not Mr. Forrest's favor. However, the New York Herald (27 Jan., 1852) editorialized that even if Mrs. Forrest had been found not guilty, she set an example of extreme behavior which the editor cited as influenced by Fourierism. The detail which was deemed so offensive was that she stayed up until very late at night with groups of gentlemen friends in her home but more particularly that the gentlemen served themselves wine after the servants had gone to bed. It was considered shocking that a gentleman would pour his own wine rather than having a servant do so for him.

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same paper on February 4, there is a short item which says "the worthy manager is himself once more, and was cordially greeted last night on the occasion of his return after his brief but very serious illness." He had been listed all of the previous week as appearing as Fortunatus in Loder's version of Auber's opera, The Ambassadress, and the review from January 28 indicates that he had performed the role on the opening night of January 27. However, the ad for the performance on February 3, lists Mr. Lynne to play Fortunatus, and Brougham is listed for Micawber in David Copperfield.

It is not clear how many evenings Brougham may have been absent from the theatre after January 27 and before February 3, but no further mention of any possible absence in February has been found. He was not listed as a member of the cast in newspaper advertisements for two nights in April and three nights in May, but otherwise he was on the stage every night during the season. The Ambassadress was programmed several other evenings during the season with Brougham being listed as playing Fortunatus a total of thirteen evenings.

Brougham, like Burton, presented many new pieces during his first season at the Lyceum, and while a few pieces were done for only one or two nights, quite a few had longer runs. During the first abbreviated season of just slightly more than six months, Brougham acted in thirty pieces that were new to him, many of which are listed on playbills with no attribution to playwright, but which may have been by Brougham.

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One of the most successful new plays was Brougham's version of Dickens' novel, David Copperfield, which was first presented on January 6, 1851 with Brougham playing Wilkins Micawber. Burton had first produced a version at the Chambers Street Theatre the previous week, and a third version was being performed at the Bowery Theatre on the same night. According to Odell, Brougham outlasted the version at the Bowery but not that of Burton. It was performed twenty-six times during the first season with nine performances at the Lyceum and in Boston and Philadelphia during 1851-52. David Copperfield continued to be a popular piece throughout Brougham's career, and he performed it to excellent crowds in many locales.

Almost equally popular was Brougham's A Row at the Lyceum, or Green Room Secrets, first presented on April 22, 1851, and performed twenty-two times during the first season and four times in the second. Brougham's role was that of the manager and husband, and he concealed himself in the disguise of a Quaker gentleman in the audience at the beginning of the play, going up onto the stage in a rage and alleging that one of the performers was his wife and demanding that she leave the theatre. The woman in question was in fact Mrs. Brougham, and W. J. Florence, who like Brougham, was in the audience at the beginning of the performance, played the role of Mose the Fireboy. The audience apparently was cautioned to tell their friends to go see the play but not to give away the secret of

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the performers' actual identity.

Corbyn, the editor of the weekly Figaro and also the box office manager at the Lyceum, published an account of the first performance stating that Brougham disguised himself so perfectly that the officers [theatre employees] did not recognize him and had him removed from the theatre by the local authorities. According to Corbyn, "'Glorious John' subsequently had a night at the station but was, of course, acquitted next morning by the benevolent justice, after a hearty breakfast and a slight reprimand."[35] Corbyn says that he was fooled himself and declared to the police that the person was not the manager, and the treasurer refused to refund the "patron" the price of the ticket. Whether or not this story is true and how widely it was circulated is unknown. If it is true, it may be indicative of limited rehearsals of new pieces since apparently the other actors were as confused as Corbyn and the treasurer Buckland and did not come to Brougham's defense.

It may have been that Brougham and Corbyn created the story to gain a little more publicity for the theatre. What is clear is that a number of writers called A Row at the Lyceum a hit, and it was still being written about as a theatrical coup in the latter part of the century. In addition to two of the actors' occupying audience space, thus breaking the theatrical convention of the fourth wall, the

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35. Figaro, 26 April 1851.

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play contains another example of Brougham's metatheatrical writing since the playbill includes a separate title for a play-within-a-play, Horror on Horror's Head or, The Liar and the Slave.

Another new production which was successful enough to draw an audience for fifteen performances was The Home Book of Beauty, a local drama by Madame Julia de Margueritte which was a satire on the aristocracy of the city. It was first performed on May 30, 1851 with Brougham playing Albert Roseville, an artist. One reviewer reported, "...certainly a more humorous, and at the same time good-natured satire, has never been presented to our public. Mary Taylor's song is alone worth the price of admission--the costumes of all the ladies is faultless."[36]

A topical extravaganza, performed for the first time on February 10, 1851, and counted as a work by Brougham in Ryan's list of his plays but not acknowledged on playbills or in newspaper advertisements, was The World's Fair or Columbia in the Clouds. This featured Mary Taylor as Columbia with Brougham as Jove. A review gives a clue about the local allusions in this play, "...there is not a subject of interest passing at the time which is not wittily commented on, from the gas monopoly to the disappearance of the signs....Brougham's Jove is a fine specimen of the

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36. Spirit of the Times, 14 June, 1851.

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magniloquent...."[37] Although Odell writes that Burton was also producing an entirely different play with the same title, and the newspapers of the period were filled with accounts of the World's Fair then being held in London, Brougham's play did not premiere on the same evening when that at Burton's was being done, and Brougham's play may have turned out to be the more successful of the two since it was performed a total of thirty-five times during the first season.

In October of the second season, Burton permitted Mary Taylor to return to Brougham's Lyceum to participate in this piece as part of a benefit performance for the widow and children of William Conover, a comedian who had recently died. The newspaper advertisement for the October 11, 1851 benefit performance lists only Mary Taylor as appearing in The World's Fair, but since it was being performed at Brougham's theatre, this is one of few times that I am making an assumption that Brougham performed.

Almost all of the other new pieces in the first season were advertised with no playwright mentioned. A few are identified on playbills or in the theatrical review column in the New York Herald. An example which illustrates Brougham's fascination with current fashions, The Bloomers, or Pets in Pants, first performed with Brougham as Mike on June 25, 1851 and five additional times during the first season and twice during the second, was acknowledged to have been written by

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37. New York Herald, 11 Feb., 1851.

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him. Newspapers had reported several stories about both favorable and unfavorable reactions to the new "Turkish costume" being worn by some women.[38]

My Friend Jack, a farce by Brougham, was first performed on March 10, 1851 with Brougham in the role of Jack Devilskin. A reviewer writes that in this play, "...Mr. Brougham presented a new phase of his versatility, in the immediate personation of three most opposite characters, with a fidelity to nature truly artistic...."[39] However, this farce was programmed only eight times during the first season at the Lyceum and revived for three performances during the second.

Ye Deville and Dr. Faustus, also by Brougham and programmed as "the new romantic, necromantic, gyromatic, operatic, hippodramatic, and heterogenous burlesque spectacle, founded on recent transparent circumstances" was also first performed on March 10, 1851. It burlesqued a revival of an old play, Faustus; or, The Demon of the Drachenfels, then playing at the Broadway. A reviewer comments on two matters that frequently recur in observations of Brougham's productions, writing that the play "...took the audience by storm...." and continuing "It is the very kind of piece full

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38. During the mid-nineteenth century the term bloomers referred to extremely full trousers which were gathered at both the waist and ankle. They were worn with either a dress or jacket that extended to the wearer's knees so that only the lower part of the legs of the bloomers were visible. In pictures, they are remarkably similar to trousers worn by women in illustrations of harems.

39. New York Herald, 11 March, 1851.

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of fun, spirit, and local allusions always amusing and never offensive, especially fitting at the elegant description of audience for which this beautiful theatre is already famous."

Another reviewer indicated that Brougham had even made a very pointed joke about the transparency which had covered part of the front of the stage at the Broadway Theatre and said that the play contained "some capital satires upon the recent doings of the city authorities." It is apparent that Brougham incorporated at least part of what was often programmed as Counterfeit Presentments into this production since the reviewer commented on his imitations of Forrest, Macready and Kean, which received very hearty applause. Mary Taylor played the devil, and it was noted that "she dressed for the part with exquisite taste," while Brougham appearing as Dr. Faustus was noted as an "admirable piece of acting." The reviewer opines that broad burlesque is Brougham's forte which is the first time that his talent for low comedy rather than light comedy roles has been particularly admired.[40] Ye Deville and Dr. Faustus was performed for ten almost consecutive performances.

Another new play featuring Mary Taylor and probably by Brougham although no author was listed in newspaper advertisements or on playbills was The Devil in Paris. This play was first produced on March 26, 1851 but was performed only two nights, returning on April 16 for ten nearly

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40. Spirit of the Times, 15 March, 1851.

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consecutive further performances. Brougham played the role of Count Vanille in what was described as an adaptation from the French, and Mary Taylor played six roles. It may be that it was withdrawn at least partially because Mary Taylor did not perform for over a week because of a serious illness. However, the theatrical and musical column in the New York Herald on March 28 contains some indication that Brougham may have already been in serious financial trouble. A reviewer writes, "By the way, we hear of a movement on the part of the stockholders, to give Mr. Brougham a substantial proof of their confidence, and approval of his tact and talent in management, by interesting themselves in a benefit to the capable and most industrious manager."

Several new pieces that were clearly not by Brougham were presented during the first season. One of these was a two-act comedy, A Curious Case, or Mind How You Visit Your Uncle, written by Charles Mathews and presented to the Lyceum. This was first done on February 17, 1851 with Brougham playing John Twiggleton. It was performed a total of six times during the first season and not again. A playbill in the collection in the prints department at the New York Historical Society clearly indicates that the piece was written by Charles Mathews and was consigned to the Lyceum exclusively. Mullin lists a comedy with this title by T. H. Reynoldson with performances in London at the Princess in October, 1846, at Drury Lane in March, 1857, and at the Lyceum in February,

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1850, always with Mathews as Twiggleton.[41] Nicoll confirms that the play was written by Reynoldson. Of course, copyright laws were not in effect at this time, and Mathews may have felt he had a right to claim the play as his own.

A piece attributed to Lester Wallack, The Fortune of War, was given four performances at the Lyceum on nearly consecutive evenings, the first being on May 14, 1851. Brougham played the officer gentleman, Captain Maurice O'Brien. One reviewer thought very highly of the production and wrote in part:

> A triumph of mechanical and scenic effect has been achieved here, in the surpassingly beautiful way in which the management has placed Mr. Lester's drama...upon the stage. Every scene is a positive work of art, and every dress an historical picture, complete from hat to spur. The drama itself is highly interesting, and although rather of a more serious cast than the usual staple of the Lyceum productions, is much relished by the elegant audiences who have made this beautiful theatre their especial pet.[42]

Brougham's Lyceum apparently gave the American premiere of Boucicault's comedy Love in a Maze which was produced at the benefit for Brougham on March 29, 1851 two nights before it was done at Burton's. Brougham played the role of Colonel Buckthorne, a role which he continued acting during his period at Wallack's Lyceum. The production at the Brougham's Lyceum lasted only three nights although the play continued its run at Burton's.

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41. Mullin, Victorian Plays, 72.

42. "Theatrical and Musical," New York Herald, 17 May, 1851.

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That Odious Captain Cutter, a new comedietta never attributed to any author, was first performed at Mrs. Brougham's benefit on April 17, 1851 with Brougham as Captain Cutter. A reviewer, who acknowledged that Mrs. Brougham's benefit drew "by far the largest assemblage ever within the Lyceum walls" in spite of inclement weather, wrote in part:

> The new piece is essentially drawing roomy, and was admirably sustained throughout. The quaint, but graceful formality of style, which characterized the eighteenth century, was done to the life by Mr. and Mrs. Brougham, their beautiful costumes being the theme of the greatest admiration. Mrs. Blake also dressed and acted her character most efficiently; indeed, altogether we have seldom seen a play so well dressed and represented.[43]

Odell notes that this piece was also seen at other stages during the season. However, it lasted only three nights at the Lyceum.

The Card Case, sometimes listed as A Card Case, but never identified by playwright, was performed three times during the first season at the Lyceum and twice during the second, with Brougham appearing as Barney Flinn (or Flynn). The first performance during the second season on September 11, 1851 was a benefit for Mr. Raymond, the originator of the role of Toots in Dombey and Son, and was his last appearance on stage as he died at age twenty-five on October 25, 1851.

Brougham's emphasis on new plays, usually without any acknowledgement of playwright, is evident through an

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43. "Theatrical and Musical," New York Herald, 19 April, 1851.

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examination of Tables 3.5 and 3.6. It may well be that some of the plays listed on Table 3.5 were written by Brougham, but no playwright was listed in newspaper advertisements or on playbills. One of the most interesting things that can easily be seen is that many of the new plays lasted for one, two or three performances; in fact, out of thirty-nine new plays presented during the course of the two seasons, only thirteen had ten or more performances.

In addition to the thirty new plays that Brougham appeared in during the abbreviated 1850-1851 first season at his Lyceum, he also acted in ten productions of plays that were in his repertoire from former years. Proof that his repertoire in both 1850-1851 and 1851-1852 included a wide variety of previously acted plays is denoted in Table 3.7. Many of these plays were performed only a few times in either of these seasons.

During the first season, there were also a number of premieres of important plays in which Brougham apparently did not act since he was never listed in a newspaper advertisement and no playbill which includes him for a role has been found. One of the most important of these was The Spirit of Air(advertised on the first night as The Spirit of Air or The Enchanted Star), a romantic opera with new music by George Loder, which featured Mary Taylor. This was confused by David Hawes with The Enchanted Isle which had first been done on January 13, 1849 at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre, but it

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Table 3.5 - New Plays by other or unknown playwrights at Brougham's Lyceum and a few other venues with Brougham acting - 1850-1852

Play	Role(s)	#
All That Glitters is not Gold	Toby Twinkle	2
Ambassadress, The	Fortunatus	13
Anything for a Change	Mr. Swoppington	2
Card Case, A	Barney Flinn	8
Christmas Carol, A	Bob Crachit	11
Cool as a Cucumber	cool Irishman	2
Curious Case, A	Mr. John Twiggleton	6
Devil in Paris, The	Count Vanille	12
Don Giovanni in London	Finnikin	3
Esmeralda	Pierre Gringoire	5
Fortune of War, The	Capt. Maurice O'Brien	4
Great Mistake, A (renamed?)	Henry Aubrey	1
Home Book of Beauty, The	Albert Roseville	15
Invincibles, The	O'Slash	4
King and the Mimic, The	Stolbach, a comedian	8
Ladies' Battle	Gustave de Gugon	11
Lesson for Lovers, A	Jack Spriggs	2
Lesson of the Heart, A	Colonel Wilder	2
Light Guard, The	Ginger Green	3
Love in a Maze	Colonel Buckthorne	3
My Friend in the Straps	O'Blarney	8
My Friend Jack	Jack Devilskin	11
Old Love and the New, The	Capt. Sydney Courtdown	3
See Saw	Mr. O'Flynn	6
Serve Him Right	Harry Bellamy	10
Teacher Taught, The	Mr. Henry Aubrey	8
That Odious Captain Cutter	Captain Cutter	3
Wanted a Wizard	Mr. Crummles	8
Wild Indian	Dennis O'Brien	9

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Table 3.6 - New Plays by Brougham at Brougham's Lyceum and a few other venues with Brougham acting - 1850-1852

Play	Role(s)	#
Bloomers, or Pets in Pants	Mike	8
Brougham and Company	not given	6
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	35
Irish Emigrant and the Philadelphia Carman (renamed? - programmed once as Temptation)	O'Bryan	5
J.B. & B. J., or Who'll Rule the Seas? (various names)	Pat	11
Kossuth's Kum	Mr. Pennfether	27
Money Market, The	Mr. Crippledrake	12
What Shall We Do For Something New?	Ghost of Wilkins Micawber	4
World's Fair, The	Jove	36
Ye Deville and Dr. Faustus	Dr. Faustus	10

clearly was a new piece and according to several accounts, it was a very successful one.

In addition to forty-one new roles in mostly new plays which Brougham performed during the two seasons at his theatre, he acted in nineteen plays that had been in his repertoire prior to the opening of the theatre and was responsible for 102 other productions in which he probably did not act.

In the June 28, 1851 edition of the Spirit of the Times, there was a note that Brougham had advertised his theatre complete with scenery to be let from July 7 until

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Table 3.7 - Number of Previously Performed Plays at Brougham's Lyceum and other locations - 1850-1852

Play	1st Performed	50-51		51-52			
		B	O	B	H	C	O
Bamboozling	8/26/45					3	
Belle's Stratagem	8/31/46	2					
Bloomers, The	6/25/51	new		2			
Card Case, A	6/30/51	new		2			
David Copperfield	1/6/51	new		3	2	4	
Demon Jester	10/8/49			9			
Dombey and Son	7/24/48	9			3	6	3
Fast Man, The	2/23/49	5				2	
Hamlet Travestie	5/24/47			6	5		
His Last Legs	10/4/42	1	1				1
Hunchback, The	4/21/43			2			
Irish Emigrant	8/10/52			new name			
Irish Lion	7/13/38	1		1	1	1	
Irish Tiger	5/7/47	2		4			
John Bull	12/27/39				1		1
Ladies Battle	6/16/51	new		4			
London Assurance	10/6/42	2		2	1		3
My Friend Jack	3/10/51	new		3			
Nervous Man	12/30/42				2	1	
Omnibus, The	11/16/41	1		6	1		1
Rivals, The	8/14/38		1	1			
Romance/Reality	4/17/48			5			
Row at the Lyceum	4/22/51	new		4			
School for Scandal	12/30/42	1		11			2
Serious Family	12/3/49	8		1	2	3	1
Stage-S.Irishman	9/16/45			1	1	1	
Wh. Horse/Peppers	7/27/38	5					
World's Fair	2/10/51	new		1			

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mid-August.

Although the last night of the season was July 7 when a benefit for Mr. de Milt, the machinist, was given, the theatre continued to be advertised as Brougham's Lyceum during the time when a French company under the direction of M. Kemp occupied the premises from July 10 to 23, 1851. On the last night of the season, it was reported that John Brougham had an elegant and substantial compliment from a few of his friends, in the shape of a magnificently worked purse, containing five hundred dollars in gold, whereupon he looked ludicrously indignant, and declared to the audience, that although circumstances made it necessary for him to pocket this affront, he would like to see any one attempting to do it a second time.[44]

In the July 12, 1851 issue of the Spirit of the Times, the reviewer stated that "We learn from the best authority, that the Lyceum has made a profit of over eight thousand dollars this season." The writer goes on to say that this is certainly a great success, particularly considering that the season began in mid-winter, and concludes:

> One of the peculiar elements of his success is the friendly terms he and his audience are upon; it would almost seem as though it were the host of a house entertaining his guests in a drawing room, rather than a performer to the general public. His friends and patrons will find an unfilled vacuum until the Lyceum opens for the fall season, which will be, we believe, the later end of August.

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44. New York Herald, 12 July, 1851.

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The first season was highly successful by many accounts, but the theatre was apparently dark during the summer after the departure of the French troupe except for July 26 when Brougham had "tendered the night" to assist Andrew Jackson Allen, an aged actor, with a benefit. Apparently Mr. Allen thought he had an agreement with Burton to hold a benefit at Niblo's Garden during the summer, and he had paid for a newspaper advertisement to that effect, but Burton had advertised that there had been no such agreement. On July 26, Allen played Goldfinch in The Road to Ruin and F. C. Wemyss assisted him as Old Dornton. The afterpiece was listed as Sylvester Daggerwood with Allen as Daggerwood.

There is no evidence that Brougham participated in the benefit other than generously allowing the use of his theatre. Pat Ryan points out that Brougham sponsored many benefits and that this may have well had an impact on his failure as a theatre manager.[45] Certainly if a theatre continues to gain only expenses and makes no profit, it cannot long stay in business. Also while the New York Herald published editorials lauding the cultural addition of French and German-speaking theatre in New York, it regretfully noted on July 20 in the theatrical and musical column that "The performances of the French dramatic company are excellent, but, we regret to say, they are not so well supported as they should be...." Still

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45. Pat Ryan, "Brougham's Lyceum Theatre Stock Company" American Theatre Companies, 1749-1887, Durham, ed., 129.

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probably one of the reasons why Brougham was so popular with his fellow actors and with the public was the respect he showed to everyone, even those who were less fortunate. It appears that he had been in rather desperate need of an engagement when Allen hired him to play in Providence in 1844, and it would not have been true to Brougham's nature to turn his back on an old man in need even though it may have been inconvenient and even expensive to open his theatre for this benefit.

Brougham did close his theatre and volunteer the services of his company on June 24, 1851 when a complimentary testimonial and grand dramatic festival in honor of Thomas S. Hamblin took place in Castle Garden. A playbill lists both Mr. and Mrs. Brougham as among those artist who volunteered their services.[46] However, it appears that Mr. Chippendale, Mr. Lynne, and Miss Kate Horn were the only members of Brougham's company at the time who were selected to act in the performance. All of the theatres in New York were closed that evening except the Bowery, and the actors there advertised that they were volunteering their salaries for the evening to the cause of the benefit. The text of Hamblin's speech was fully quoted in the theatrical and musical column of the New York Herald on June 25, and Brougham was one of six persons who were especially thanked.

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46. Brander Matthews collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Columbia University's Butler Library.

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On July 14, 1851, Brougham appeared as Charles Surface in Sheridan's The School for Scandal in Philadelphia in a benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association. Durang writes that this program was produced under the direction of F. C. Wemyss.[47]

As early as July 9, programs were advertised in Brooklyn at the Military Gardens as being given by Brougham's Lyceum Company. Brougham himself was not involved although several members of his company were, and he apparently did not object to their use of his name. No other advertisements for Brougham's Lyceum other than for the company in Brooklyn were listed between July 26 and mid-August. Brougham's activities during this time remain a mystery although he undoubtedly needed a rest after the hectic pace of the first Lyceum season. The Spirit of the Times reported that he was writing a new comedy.

He was listed as performing in a benefit for Messrs. Lynne, Johnston, Phillips and Palmer at the Military Gardens in Brooklyn on August 5. No casts are given in the advertisement in the New York Herald, but the program included His Last Legs and extracts from David Copperfield. He also played the role of Sir Benjamin in Sheridan's School for Scandal in an all-day benefit for E. A. Marshall of the Broadway Theatre at Castle Garden on August 12. A programme of the performances for this grand dramatic jubilee is in the collection at the Brooklyn

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47. Durang, "History of Philadelphia Stage," 326.

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Historical Society library, and it indicates that the School for Scandal was given the prominent performance time of 6:30 p.m.

The second season at Brougham's Lyceum brought about several changes, some of them rather ominous, such as the retirement of Mrs. Vernon and the departure of Mary Taylor for Burton's Theatre. Mrs. Blake and Kate Horn, two other favorites among the ladies, also left the troupe before the season began. During the season, George Loder, the gifted orchestra leader, left to try his luck in California. Actors who were added were W. H. Chippendale, who had joined toward the end of the previous season, Mr. and Mrs. Skerrett, and Mrs. Maeder, the latter having been away from the stage for some years. Even though the Spirit of the Times was always supportive of Brougham, a writer pointed out that "his company is weak, and by no means equal to that of last season." Still the writer said that Brougham "in his treble capacity of author, actor, and manager" is a strong man and "a man of tact and talent," so it was believed that he would be successful.[48]

The season opened on August 25, 1851 with Brougham's play of Romance and Reality, Brougham playing his usual role of Jack Swift, followed by a "whimsicality" for which authorship was credited to Brougham and Bellini called What Shall We Do For Something New? The playbill stated that this piece would contain occasional glimpses from La Sonnambula, Bellini's

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48. "Theatrical," 23 Aug., 1851.

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opera that had previously been burlesqued by Burton and Mitchell. The role Brougham wrote for himself was the Ghost of Wilkins Micawber, and the piece introduced the whole company in favorite parts while taking part in a burlesque rehearsal of the opera. Mlle. Malvina, a new dancer joining the troupe, performed between the main pieces.

Although he programmed some favorites from the previous season including The Bloomers, along with new pieces, within a month of the opening Brougham took a decided turn in his approach by bringing in Charlotte Cushman as a star performer. According to the Spirit of the Times, she drew fine houses to the theatre and both the star and company received excellent reviews.[49] Among other pieces, she premiered a highly praised version of The Actress of Padua that Brougham had translated for her.

Her engagement was followed by the Rousset sisters for some six weeks, interrupted by a particularly unsuccessful week for the tragedian, Mr. Neafie in a new play, Mahommed. The Roussets' ballets combined with the acting company's comedies to produce happy audiences at the Lyceum although the houses were somewhat smaller than desired; however, smaller houses were usual during an election season. On November 15, it was announced that Charlotte Cushman would be returning to the Lyceum after the engagement of the Rousset sisters was concluded, and the following week, it was announced as a

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49. 27 Sept. and 11 Oct., 1851.

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"fixed fact" that Mrs. Edwin Forrest would shortly make her first appearance as an actress at the Lyceum. Although Forrest had not appeared on stage during the trial, he also resumed acting at the Broadway Theatre exactly one week after his former wife made her debut at the Lyceum. In fact, more star performers than had been customary in the previous season or two were making appearances in New York in the fall of 1851.

During the autumn, Brougham continued to act nearly every day and often in more than one piece per evening. He also introduced three new dramatic pieces, one of his own being Wanted, a Wizard; or, The Rival Magicians. Laurence Hutton asked a question concerning this piece which could be applied to many other works by Brougham: "Who ever equalled, or who ever will equal, John Brougham in the eccentric originality of his play-bills?"

Hutton's question is followed by details from this particular bill: "The performance will conclude with a new and wonderful romantic, mysterious, and original production, to be called Wanted, A Wizard; or, The Rival Magicians." Brougham was listed as Mr. Crummles, Manager of the Aeropagus, with his own Idea of Legitimacy, Thompson was Babble, Stage Manager, going in for the Regular Drama, H. B. Phillips was Squeak, Prompter, another Stickler for the Old School, Tom Johnstone was Roscius Rant, an aspiring Genius, and W. J. Florence was Mr. Stall, a Disinterested Friend to Crummles and the Drama.

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Crummles was also listed as Wizard No. 1 and Rant as Wizard No. 2. At the bottom of the cast was printed: "In the course of the piece will be presented many novel and interesting experiments in Natural and Unnatural Magic, Pneumatics, Dogmatics, and Psychological Phenomea. N. B. -- The Experiments will be varied Slightly! Nightly!" Hutton sadly concludes, "Despite its originality, it did not draw or pay, and was 'sacrificed on the altar of more novelty.'"[50] This piece was first done on September 1, but lasted for only eight performances.

John Bull and Brother Jonathan, also programmed as J. B. and B. J., or Who'll Rule the Seas? and later as The Yacht Race, or Who'll Rule the Seas? was apparently a topical piece. Although John Bull was a common nickname for England, the United States often being called Brother Jonathan, the piece appears to be based on the fact that the New York Yacht Club, having sailed the schooner America to Cowes, England, challenged the Royal Yacht Squadron to a race. The only conditions that were asked by the Americans were that the competing ship be a schooner and that the race be held on a day when there was at least a six-knot breeze. This challenge from the New World to the Old was front-page news, and when the race was held on August 22, America won. Unfortunately, no copy of Brougham's play and no newspaper reviews have been found. It is not clear why the title was changed, but perhaps

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50. Hutton, Plays and Players, 73-75.

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the public was confusing the original title with the name of a well-known steamship, the Brother Jonathan. Little can be gleaned from newspaper advertisements, but the play was apparently done at the Lyceum twelve times during September.

During the month of September, the theatrical and musical columns in the New York Herald were mostly reduced to puffs which simply put the advertisements for the day into narrative form, and there were virtually no reviews of new or old plays.

Finally, on November 3, Brougham introduced a new piece of his that was highly successful. Kossuth's Kum, programmed at least twice as Kossuth Has Come, took advantage of the mania that existed at the time on behalf of the Hungarian revolutionary independence leader and exiled president, Louis Kossuth, who came to the United States to raise money for the Hungarian cause after being imprisoned for a year in Turkey. Americans likened him to George Washington and absolutely mobbed the harbor of New York for his arrival. Even before he arrived, the New York Times devoted twelve full columns in one issue to his story.[51]

When Kossuth arrived on December 5, ironically on the same ship as Lola Montez, he was given an overwhelming reception, and Congress made him an honorary American citizen, an honor that had previously been given only to Lafayette. Entrepreneurs took advantage of the admiration for Kossuth by hawking "Kossuth oysters," opening a "Kossuth Restaurant,"

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51. 3 Dec., 1851.

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selling miniatures of his portrait, and wearing black felt hats that had been modified by the left side of the brim being stitched to the crown and the addition of a shiny feather to resemble a hat that Kossuth often wore.

Brougham was not the only entertainer to find a blessing in this craze as marches and dances honoring Kossuth were exhibited in several theatres. However, Brougham's Kossuth's Kum was given for at least twenty-seven performances including four in the spring at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston. One reviewer wrote:

> A comic hit at the times, by the veritable John himself, called Kossuth's Kum, has nightly sent the auditors home with aching sides. It is well written, and full of keen satire; in short, it is one of the best things of the kind we have ever laughed at.[52]

Nothing is known of Brougham's role of Mr. Pennfether except that he was described on playbills as a journalist; the play has not been found.

Other than the four new pieces mentioned above, Brougham acted in only seven additional plays that were new to him during the second season at his Lyceum. Most of these plays lasted for no more than two performances but an adaptation of Dickens' A Christmas Carol was programmed eleven times during the holiday season with Brougham playing Bob Cratchit (with various spellings). No adapter was ever listed in advertisements; it was always listed as Dickens' work.

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52. Spirit of the Times, 8 Nov., 1851.

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After January 4, 1852, there were no advertisements for Brougham's Lyceum in the New York Herald, the New York newspaper that had the most extensive coverage of theatre news. At the same time any mention of his theatre was eliminated from the theatrical and musical column. It was as if the theatre ceased to exist, at least in this newspaper. The New York Daily Tribune and the New York Times continued to carry advertisements for the theatre, but they published little theatrical news and almost no reviews. Not only did the New York Herald cease advertising for Brougham's Lyceum, but occasional snide remarks were published, that seemed to be in direct contradiction with the paper's earlier opinion of the theatre. An example is from the issue of February 1, 1852 in an article titled, "The Forrest Case on the Stage," in which it is announced that while Forrest is playing at the Broadway, Mrs. Forrest (as the newspapers always referred to her) will be at Brougham's Lyceum, "the smallest and meanest theatre in the city."

A few days later in the review of her debut the paper defended its action in its having suggested that a riot might erupt on the night of her debut between her supporters and those of Mr. Forrest similar to that which had occurred three years earlier in the Forrest/Macready disagreement which resulted in the Astor Place Riot. In a review/editorial, it was written in part:

> In order to give a color of truth and plausibility to the falsehood of the abolition

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> journals, they pretend that the reason why we called on the Mayor to make adequate preparations to suppress a riot, which everybody expected would take place, was because Brougham withdrew his printing from the Herald office. Now, so far from this being the fact, it was we withdrew. We did not do so till he broke every promise, and there was not the slightest prospect of payment. When we stopped him, he stood in our books debtor for advertising $31, for printing $221, making a total of $242. [The error in math is what was printed in the paper.] This was before the close of the last year. We have not been paid to this hour. Would the Tribune and Times go any further under such circumstances? So little, then, had the printing and advertising to do with anything we felt it our duty to write. Mr. Brougham may have been annoyed at our ceasing to print for him but it was all the other way with us...."[53]

In fact, playbills from this period, although often not so acknowledged, were usually printed by a newspaper press, and it appears that Brougham's playbills up to this time had been printed by the New York Herald. The few that have been found from performances in 1852 were printed by Snowden printers on Wall Street. While it is true that the newspaper had taken on its own expenses in payment for labor and supplies and was no doubt justified in asking for payment from Brougham, it is interesting that he and no one who has written about his failure at the Lyceum has ever mentioned this interruption in advertisement although Brougham did acknowledge that attendance had fallen. Certainly while playbills printed at another shop could continue to be posted around town, theatres at this time depended for much of their audience on visitors to the city who might buy only one newspaper. Anyone who

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53. New York Herald, 5 Feb., 1852.

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happened the buy the New York Herald would have assumed, with few exceptions after January 1, 1852, that Brougham's Lyceum was no longer in operation. Years afterward Brougham said that it took him eight years' work to pay back the debt that he had accumulated in the management of the Lyceum. From this near disaster in terms of advertisement, it seems that he was in serious difficulty financially before he fully recognized it.

An earlier notice of a financial nature had appeared in November, and had been treated almost as a joke. The article alleged that on the last evening of the engagement of the Rousset sisters, their father had gone to the treasurer's office and received their proportion of the receipts for the night. However, he did not mention that the family was still due some $250. At the close of the performance, someone served an injunction on the treasurer forbidding him to pay anyone until the balance due to the Roussets had been paid. The treasurer sent for Mr. Chippendale, the stage manager, who tried to reason with M. Rousset, but to no avail, and finally the mild-mannered stage manager took the Frenchman by the collar and shook him. Then all of the daughters besieged Mr. Chippendale, with one of them actually delivering a couple of blows into his "bread basket," but he escaped. The piece was printed as being quoted from the New York Day Book, and it seems that most of the receipts for the evening had already been paid out, so the Roussets did not profit by their

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pugilistic tendencies.[54] However, printing this story might well have been the New York Herald's way of bringing Brougham's debt to the newspaper to his attention.

As far as the debut of Catherine Sinclair is concerned, she was given surprisingly good reviews for her performance of Lady Teazle in Sheridan's School for Scandal on February 2, 1852. It was remarked that although she had not previously appeared on stage, she had been in the company of theatre professionals for many years, so she seemed to be less nervous than the audience anticipated. The New York Times noted that a strong body of police had been stationed in the vicinity of the Lyceum to prevent a large gathering of those who did not have tickets for the performance. All of the papers commented on the fact that her first appearance in the second act was greeted with prolonged and loud cheering. According to the report in the New York Tribune, there were a few supporters of Mr. Forrest who had gained admission to the theatre who were promptly ejected when they tried to create even a mild disturbance. At the conclusion of the play, Mrs. Sinclair, as she preferred to be called, received a sustained ovation. When Brougham attempted to speak, there were so many rival cheers for Forrest and for Brougham that almost all of the audience departed, leaving before the afterpiece.

The Spirit of the Times printed a second extensive review

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54. "Grand Pas de Chippendale," New York Herald, 25 Nov., 1851.

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of Mrs. Sinclair's debut in the February 14, 1852 edition. Acknowledged as being written by W. Corbyn, not a totally disinterested observer since he managed the box office at the theatre, it noted that after seeing her perform "under less exciting circumstances than those then [during the first week] surrounding her....we are free to confess that we have never, since the first appearance of Fanny Kemble, seen or heard of a more perfectly successful *debutante*."

Several papers commented that it was wise that Mrs. Sinclair had chosen Brougham's Lyceum rather than another theatre because her physical appearance was enhanced by the excellent sight lines of the house. She continued to draw large crowds to the house and to generally receive favorable notices although fewer critics were pleased with her performances in The Lady of Lyons, Love's Sacrifice, Much Ado About Nothing, and other classics than those who were charmed by her Lady Teazle. During this time it is probable that Brougham played the role of Sir Benjamin in all of the performances of The School for Scandal, but he was not among the members of the cast listed in newspaper advertisements. Playbills which do list him for this role from only one or two evenings of this era have been found.

Several items were published about speculation in tickets for her performances and yet Brougham apparently did not increase admission prices. Since other theatres did change prices at times, it seems that there was no restriction

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against this, but Brougham apparently did not try to profit from her generally excellent drawing power. Mrs. Sinclair continued at the theatre until mid-March and then began a tour throughout the United States. Extant playbills list her as Mrs. Sinclair, the late Mrs. Forrest.

During the time that Mrs. Sinclair was performing, Brougham also hired a new comedienne whose primary duties consisted of being the principal attraction in the afterpieces. Miss Annie Lonsdale became a great favorite with audiences during this time.

As if poor Brougham didn't have enough problems with dealing with the lack of paid advertising and free puffs in the Herald, the complication of hiring another printer for playbills, the notoriety surrounding the appearances of Mrs. Sinclair, and sundry miscellaneous claims on his finances and time, the first Mrs. Brougham returned to the city after several years in England. She chose to make her first appearance at the Broadway theatre beginning on February 16 as Mrs. Trictrac in The Married Rake and appeared with Davidge in A Lady and A Gentleman in A Peculiarly Perplexing Predicament. Of course, this was when Forrest was appearing at the Broadway, and in the February 10 New York Herald review of his first performance there it was noted that she had applied to play on his first night in the same play with Forrest, but that Forrest did not agree. The writer noted that Mrs. Brougham, "who is also separated from her husband..." implying

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that the person in question was the second Mrs. Brougham. Since both of Brougham's wives continued to be known professionally as Mrs. Brougham, it is a confusing matter, but Odell confirms that it was the first wife who acted with Forrest, and it appears that the second Mrs. Brougham was not separated from her husband.

After the financial success in management with Mrs. Sinclair's engagement, Brougham attempted to continue with star performers, but he had an almost immediate failure. Announced for Monday, March 15 was the English version of Rossini's opera La Gazza Ladra with Madame Julia de Marguerittes in the principal role of Ninetta and making her first appearance on the English stage. The advertisement for Brougham's Lyceum in the New York Daily Tribune on March 15 announced that the theatre would be closed for that evening "in consequence of time being required for the proper production of the opera..." which would be produced on Tuesday.

On Monday evening, March 15, at Hope Chapel, Brougham gave the first lecture on the invasions of Ireland in a course sponsored by the Benevolent Order of United Irishman. One wonders if he has was so hard up for money that he needed the fee he probably was paid for the lecture. Although the Harvard Theatre Collection has playbills for performances of La Gazza Ladra for both March 16 and 17, it seems clear that no performance of the opera ever took place at the Lyceum. On

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March 18, the New York Herald printed the following at the bottom of the theatrical and musical column:

> English Opera - A Card
> To the Editor of the Herald;--
>
> Sir--Will you have the kindness to publish the following note, received by me this evening, at half past four o'clock--
>
> Lyceum, Wednesday,
> My dear Madame--I regret to be obliged to inform you that in consequence of the refusal of the orchestra to perform, and other internal annoyances, I am compelled to close the Lyceum suddenly. Believe me, I most sincerely regret the necessity for your sake, and remain, &c., yours truly,
> JOHN BROUGHAM.
> We do not open to-night.
>
> In consequence of this sudden and unexpected announcement, I am placed in the disagreeable predicament of bringing my first engagement in English Opera in New York, to a premature close. Will you, as an act of justice to me, give publicity to this statement?
> Yours, very respectfully,
> JULIE DE MARGUERITTES,
> 14 Leroy Place, March 17th.

Of course, the editors of the New York Herald were probably happy to print bad news about Brougham since they still were owed money. Odell takes this to mean that the Lyceum closed permanently on this date. However, the theatre was closed for only the remainder of the week although it is true that it did not last much longer. Julia Davenport appeared the next week in The Hunchback, The Stranger, and the Belle's Stratagem, Brougham appearing as Flutter in the Belle's Stratagem and Lord Tinsel in The Hunchback. Mrs. Mowatt was scheduled to succeed Miss Davenport as the star attraction, but none of the

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fates were smiling on Brougham, as Mrs. Mowatt was injured in a fall from a horse and had to cancel her engagement at the Lyceum. The last regular performance at Brougham's Lyceum was with Miss Davenport on Saturday, March 27. On April 8, there was a benefit for Mr. Lynne, the stage manager, who was seriously ill, and though both Brougham and his wife are among the actors and actresses who volunteered their talent, the newspaper advertisement in the New York Times does not give specifics of the program and roles.

Some of the reasons for Brougham's failure at the Lyceum that have been cited are his lack of financial acumen or adequate advice, which is probably the most serious, and his extravagant expenditures on costumes and scenery, which are verified by reviews. This may have been even more excessive than formerly realized since few productions received more than a few performances. Never mentioned in writings about Brougham has been the dreadful influence of the lack of press in the New York Herald and the negative notices mentioned above. Even if Brougham had not been caught up in being unable to pay his debt to his financial backers, the lack of advertisement alone might have been enough to halt productions at the theatre. Of somewhat dubious validity is whether Brougham's remembrance of the razing of the building next door to the theatre had any impact on the demise of his management there.

While Odell suggests that Brougham probably hung on too

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long to the type of programming that Mitchell popularized with three or more farces each evening, it is easy to see that Brougham interspersed such programs with other adventures, and probably tried too many different types of programming rather than imitating Mitchell. If he had stuck to comedy rather than trying extravaganza, ballet, and opera, he might have been more successful. Of course, he did not have the luck to come up with a single play that was a sure draw such as Dombey and Son had been and Pocahontas would be. While his version of David Copperfield was moderately successful, his story at the Lyceum might have been different with a strong hit.

During the second season, advertising was so erratic and often of such limited space, it is difficult to determine how much acting he actually did. It is clear that he was probably on stage many nights when he was not listed in the newspaper ads. Still it appears that even with all his managerial problems during the second abbreviated season at the Lyceum, he acted on at least 122 evenings, appearing in more than one play at least thirty-five times, one of those evenings acting in three pieces.

One additional influence that may have had more to do with the demise of Brougham's management of the Lyceum than has ever been recognized is the fact that his attention was also focused during the last months of 1852 on the initial issues of a weekly magazine of which he was the editor. Commonly known as The Lantern, its full name was Diogenes, hys

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Lanterne. Brougham wrote the following evaluation of this effort in his diary:

> Wrote, during the Dianian interregnum:--Not much, theatrically, being mainly busy at the devilish Lantern,--a mistake into which I entered *con amore*.
>
> The Lantern, after being kept alive for eighteen months, exploded, June 1853, costing the unfortunate subscriber about $4,000![55]

It is a mystery what Brougham meant by the Dianian interregnum, but it was unusual that such a periodical would even last into a second year since most perished within their first few issues. Mott quotes several critics who declared that "It was the best comic paper ever published in America."[56]

While Brougham probably wrote most of the articles published, the paper carried writings by Fitz-James O'Brien, George G. Foster, William North, and others and remarkable illustrations by Frank Bellew. Noted for satire and humorous social criticism. it attacked the physical conditions of the city of New York, but also sang its praises.[57] Several writers relate an incident where William Burton allegedly told Brougham that he never read the Lantern unless he was drunk. On this occasion, Brougham is reported to have risen from his table and making a bow, responded, "Then, Mr. Burton, I am

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55. "Extracts from Brougham's Diaries," Life, 81.

56. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, II (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1938), 182.

57. Eugene T. Lalor, "The Literary Bohemians of New York City in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," (Ph. D. diss., New York: St. John's University, 1976), 236-237.

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sure of one constant reader."[58]

An example of Brougham's popularity with all classes of people is an announcement that in August of 1850, five young mechanics undertook the formation of a company of sharpshooters and in less than a week had thirty-six members enrolled. The troupe was named Brougham's Light Guards in honor of the popular comedian. They made their first parade in September of 1850 and were complimented by Brougham from the stage of the Lyceum.[59]

Brougham's Lyceum remained dark for a few nights, Corbyn and Buckland taking over the lease for a few months beginning on April 19, 1852. In the meantime, Brougham began a star engagement at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston on April 26. Always popular there, he received the following review:

> Last evening, that glorious, good, and whole-souled John Brougham, made his appearance at the Howard Athenaeum, to a large and fashionable audience; and was received with such a glorious and hearty welcome as much have made that good old Irish heart of his dance under his jacket. At the conclusion of the first piece, he was, as a matter of course, called before the curtain, to receive once more the congratulations of his old friends,

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58. Rufus R. Wilson, New York in Literature (Elmira: Primavera Press, 1947), 46.

59. New York Clipper, 17 Sept., 1853. Timothy W. Scholl, a graduate student at University of Nebraska-Lincoln, who presented a paper, "In Search of Dan Mulligan: Finding Truth in Harrigan and Hart's Theatre of Life" at the annual Mid-America Theatre Conference at Omaha, Nebraska, in March, 1998, and who has made a study of the history of nineteenth-century volunteer guard troupes, has told me that this is the only instance he has heard of where a volunteer guard troupe was named for an actor. Ordinarily they were named for politicians or prominent local authorities.

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> when he delivered one of his characteristic speeches, such as none but John Brougham can "get off." He appears again this evening.[60]

Brougham continued in Boston through May 7 mostly performing Captain Cuttle in Dombey and Son, his usual roles in John Bull, The Serious Family, London Assurance, and David Copperfield and such new and old farces as Kossuth's Kum, Hamlet, and the Nervous Man.

When Brougham returned to New York, he appeared as Dazzle with Charlotte Cushman in a single performance during her star engagement at the Broadway and in three other benefits during May, June and early July. Finally on July 5, a benefit was held for Brougham at the Lyceum. This program was not advertised in the New York Herald, but an ad in the Times indicated an "army of volunteers." The School for Scandal opened the program with Brougham as Sir Benjamin, and after several songs and dances, Brougham himself closed the program with a familiar piece newly named The Stage-Struck Irishman in which he gave "imitations" of the great tragedians.

After a week's engagement at the Brooklyn Museum in July, Brougham appeared as Dazzle in London Assurance at a benefit for the Rousset sisters at Castle Garden on July 30. This was followed by three weeks in August at the Chesnut Street theatre in Philadelphia.

During the summer it was announced that John W. Wallack was

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60. "Theatricals in Boston," signed by Acorn and dated 27 April, 1852, Spirit of the Times, 1 May, 1852.

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the new lessee and manager of the Lyceum Theatre, and that Brougham would be a member of the company. Lester Wallack acknowledged that the first thing his father did when he took possession of the Lyceum was to engage Brougham and Blake.[61]

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61. Wallack, Memories, 112.

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Chapter Four - The First Wallack Period, 1852-1856

The Mopus of Mr. Brougham was a highly finished portrait....[1]

Brougham as Blackstone, disguised as a foreign Count, was excellent for the dry humor, as well as the serious or sentimental humor of his acting.[2]

Mr. Brougham rendered the money-hunter Plantagenet with his usual broad humor.[3]

Brougham's first season at Wallack's Theatre presented him with new challenges but a less hectic pace and a more financially successful period of time than several previous years. Wallack was known for paying good salaries, and in describing his career, Brougham wrote in later years, "The brightest part of my artist life was passed in Wallack's Theatre. The management was generous, and the companionship congenial."[4] Advertisements for this theatre were almost always under the name of Wallack's Theatre, but since the same location had been called Brougham's Lyceum, the theatre was continually referred to in reviews as Wallack's Lyceum, and early playbills were headed this way.

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1. "Review of Boucicault's Love in a Maze," New York Herald, 5 Sept., 1853.

2. "Review of The Mysterious Lady," Spirit of the Times, 17 Sept., 1853.

3. "Review of Boucicault's Love and Money, or, The School for Scheming," Spirit of the Times, 7 Nov., 1853.

4. Life, 74, 77.

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James W. Wallack, always called Mr. Wallack, was the manager and lessee of the theatre, and while he did not make many appearances on stage during the first season, either being too ill to act or being on the road performing in various theatres throughout the country, his presence was certainly felt. His son, Lester W. Wallack, who used the stage name of Mr. Lester, was stage manager, and a second son, Charles Wallack, was treasurer. There is little doubt that part of the Wallacks' success is related to the fact that the family kept a tight rein on the total management of the theatre.

In contrast to Burton and Brougham, the Wallacks did not concentrate initially on bringing new plays to their theatre; in fact, during the first season a rather steady diet of old comedies and standard plays with just a dash of the new was presented. Even though Brougham was already widely known as a playwright, none of his plays was programmed during the first season. He did act in some of his plays during this season, but these performances were always out of town or during the summer of 1853 when the Wallacks closed the theatre for refurbishing. Brougham does relate in his autobiography that he was still busy until June, 1853 with the journal The Lantern and wrote little theatrically during this period.[5]

Although Brougham appeared in twenty-seven different plays at Wallack's during the first season, only eight of

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5. "Extract from the diaries," Life, 81.

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these were new to him. In three additional plays, he undertook the new roles of Dr. Pangloss in The Heir at Law, Dr. Ollapod in The Poor Gentleman, and Sir Oliver Surface in The School for Scandal, so that he played a total of eleven known new roles during the season. He often performed in plays that had been in his repertoire in early years in London or in America.

At Wallack's during the first season, he appeared in the principal role in only the afterpiece rather than in the main piece on the program much of the time. The most popular role for him during the season was Looney Mac Twoulter in The Review, which he played twenty-four times at Wallack's. He had played this same role in 1832 in his first appearance at the Haymarket Theatre in London. His second most popular role was as Sir Harry's servant in a farce that was apparently new to him, High Life Below Stairs, which he played twenty-three times this season. This play continued in the company's repertoire the next season at Wallack's, but the role of Sir Harry's servant was usually assumed by a younger member of the company in successive years as Brougham's function in the company continued to evolve. He revived the role at Burton's Theatre a few years later. These were the only plays which featured Brougham as actor which were performed more than twenty times during the first season at Wallack's.

Some of this casting of roles must have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the Wallacks to make it clear that

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Brougham was now only a member of the company since he had previously managed the same theatre. While the Wallacks claimed that they were primarily interested in forming a company which focused on ensemble playing and had little sympathy for stars, benefits, and much of what was customary theatrical practice of the period, exceptions were made, and Lester Wallack was nearly always named first in cast lists except when his father was performing. Of course, Brougham could always be counted on to bring admirers to the theatre, so he was usually assigned the primary role when he played only in afterpieces. It is easy to compare the relative importance of new plays between Wallack's Theatre and Brougham's previous experience at Burton's and in his own theatre through an examination of the plays which were clearly new to Brougham during the first season at Wallack's in Table 4.1. All four seasons' performances of plays in which he had previously performed are shown in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 on pages 237 and 238.

On thirty-five evenings during the first season at Wallack's, Brougham acted in both the main piece and either the afterpiece or the curtain raiser. Contrasting with practices at Burton's and Brougham's theatres, only two rather than three pieces were usually performed on a single evening at Wallack's Theatre.

In addition to associating with the Wallacks, Brougham's most important new colleague during the first season and until

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Table 4.1 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1852-1853

Play	Role	#
Boarding School, The	Cornet Kavanagh	6
Every One Has His Fault	Mr. Harmony	4
Happy Man, The	Paddy Murphy	14
High Life Below Stairs	Sir Harry's Servant	23
Irish Heiress, The	Major Fuss	8
Ladies' Club, The	Flammer	2
Old Heads and Young Hearts	Colonel Rocket	12
Speed the Plough	Ashfield	5
Time Works Wonders	Truffles	3

her departure during the second, was Laura Keene, who joined the company on September 20, 1852, two weeks into the season. Her American debut was on the same evening that Edwin Forrest made his first appearance of the season at the Broadway Theatre. (One of Laura Keene's early teachers had been the first Mrs. Brougham who had returned to England after the breakup of her marriage.)

There is some evidence that Brougham was not entirely happy with the Wallacks' focus on comedy to the exclusion of extravaganza, burlesque, and American works, since a reviewer noted that, among other things, Brougham was acting in Philadelphia, and "something is rotten in Denmark" at the Lyceum.[6] He did appear at the Chesnut Street Theatre for one

6. Spirit of the Times, 18 Dec., 1852.

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week from December 13 through 18, acting mostly in his own plays.

Some friction may have been caused by the programming of London Assurance at Wallack's. For the past several years, Brougham had habitually played Dazzle, the light comedy role which had perhaps been written for him but which had been played by Charles Mathews in London, and he was widely recognized as the leading exponent of this role in New York. Unfortunately, just as the play contained no other appropriate role for Charles Mathews, there was nothing but Dazzle for Lester Wallack. The play was presented at Wallack's on December 13, 1852, the first night of Brougham's appearance in Philadelphia, and Mr. Lester's Dazzle was described as "sepulchral" by one reviewer.[7] London Assurance was done only once more that week and not programmed again at Wallack's during the first season. However, Brougham played Dazzle in two benefit performances during the summer of 1853 at Castle Garden.

No evidence that Brougham acted anywhere other than Philadelphia during the first season has been found although after Wallack's Theatre closed for the season on June 10, 1853, he made several appearances with Burton at Niblo's Garden in June and acted during most of July at Chesnut Street in Philadelphia. Brougham's performances at theatres other than Wallack's Theatre during the four years that this chapter

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7. Spirit of the Times, 18 Dec., 1852.

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covers are discussed in pages 239 through 241 and illustrated in Tables 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 on pages 242, 243, and 244.

One of the most interesting comments about the quality of theatrical criticism in the local newspapers comes from the summer of 1853. The New York Clipper, a sporting weekly which prior to the issue quoted had not regularly reviewed theatrical performances other than recommending Wood's Minstrels and giving a rather lengthy obituary for a performer, began a Theatricals column with this item:

> We are making arrangements to give correct intelligence respecting the different places of amusement in this city, and will commence operations at the beginning of the next season. The Press, it is acknowledged on all sides gives favorable notices always, but this is not to be wondered at when we say that they get well paid for them, and it would be depriving themselves of a good sum of money if they were to be more truthful in their criticisms than they now are. The following is a specimen of the Sunday Dispatch's theatrical notices:
>
> "Niblo's Garden--We can only briefly refer to the past, and state that *Mr. Burton* closed a short but most successful engagement here on Thursday evening, with the ever-fresh, ever attractive "Dombey and Son," aided and abetted therein by his excellent coadjutor, *Brougham*. Mr. Burton's three or four last nights were such as he had every reason to be proud of; for despite the intense heat, his friends and admirers crowded the house."
>
> Now this was not the case. During the engagement of Mr. Burton at Niblo's there was not one crowded house, or even one *tolerably* well-filled house. Even on the night Mr. Burton took his benefit, on which occasion the attractions were greatly increased, there was but a poor audience in attendance. So it is with nearly all the papers; their readers cannot depend upon them for correct information, and it would add much to the character of the Press if the theatrical notices were to be

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omitted altogether.[8]

It is difficult to judge 150 years later how much truth this commentary contains. Certainly most theatrical criticism of the period was highly complimentary; on occasion, it was non-committal, but only rarely was a play or a performer harshly judged. While it is true that the print shops of daily newspapers also customarily printed playbills for theatres, theatre owners and managers probably found some means to assure glowing notices from those newspapers that were not hired to produce playbills. Whether more was demanded than payment for advertisements is unclear, but it is true even today that large city newspapers often find a means to avoid confronting major advertisers. Certainly, the writer presents a view that should be considered in the use of many opinions expressed in newspaper reviews.

During the second season with the Wallack company, significant changes occurred in the way that Brougham was employed at Wallack's Theatre. First, each of four plays in which he acted had more than twenty performances, and three of these were acknowledged to be his creation or adaptation. In early October, an adaptation of Charles Dickens' Bleak House was first performed with Brougham playing Mr. Turveydrop. No attribution for the adaptation was made for the first several performances, but after it was successful, it was acknowledged to be Brougham's work. It was played on consecutive nights

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8. New York Clipper, 9 July, 1853.

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for more than two weeks, and after a brief interlude, several other performances brought the total to twenty-eight for the season.

Bleak House was followed in early December by The Game of Life, a five-act comedy by Brougham. While the play was primarily a social comedy, it used elements of satire to deride some of society's customs and such melodramatic components as characters who manifest extremities of either good or evil behavior. One reviewer wrote that he liked the play but thought that some of the scenes were spun out too long. However, he wrote that, "Mr. Brougham's [Dr. Chatterton] Drake was an excellent portrait, and it could not have been in better hands than his. The hits it contained against scandal mongers were palpable and hard."[9] There is no indication that Dr. Drake was an Irish character. It was performed twenty-one times at Wallack's during the 1853-54 season.

In early January of 1854 before the run of The Game of Life was over, the Wallacks began to program a new farce, A Pretty Piece of Business. The playwright of this farce was not listed in advertisements or on playbills during this season, but later programs indicate that it was by Morton.[10] Programmed thirty-three times during the season at Wallack's

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9. Spirit of the Times, 17 Dec., 1853.

10. Playbill for Wallack's Theatre, 4 Aug., 1857, Harvard Theatre Collection.

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with Brougham in the role of Captain Felix Merryweather, this was a part of the Wallacks' direct competition with William Burton who programmed the same play the following evening. A reviewer wrote, "John Brougham is always raising the d---l at this place. Nobody can keep him still, and if you had been at the theatre during the week you would have seen what 'A Pretty Piece of Business' he was engaged in."[11]

The other highly successful new piece during this season was Brougham's adaptation of his own short story, Love and Murder. A playwright named Baker had also adapted Brougham's short story, and the earlier play had been performed at the Olympic Theatre in 1848. Wilson also lists Brougham giving one performance of a piece with this title in Philadelphia in 1848, but it appears that the 1854 version was a totally new adaptation. It ran for twenty-two performances at Wallack's with Brougham as Mickey Magra and remained in Brougham's repertoire for many years.

One other piece that is sometimes attributed to Brougham as playwright that was premiered at Wallack's during the second season was A Bachelor of Arts. Ryan includes this in his handlist and census of Brougham's plays but undercuts his decision to list it with the following annotation: "Possibly an adaptation of the play bearing this title by Pelham Hardwicke, produced at the Lyceum, London, November 23, 1853, and published by Lacy. It is unlikely that Brougham had any

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11. Spirit of the Times, 14 Jan., 1854.

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hand in this version." Hawes credits Brougham as playwright, and he is also given writing credit on playbills seen in the Prints Department at the New York Historical Society, Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Books and Manuscript division, and the Harvard Theatre Collection although all of these bills indicate that this is a three-act comedy. While Mullin credits Pelham Hardwicke with this play, he calls it a two-act comedy, so it is likely that Brougham revised it for its American production.[12]

To add to the confusion about playwright, the New York Herald and the Spirit of the Times both credit Thomas Taylor with the adaptation A Bachelor of Arts in their reviews of the first performance at Wallack's; however, neither reviewer lists Taylor as a solid attribution, and the reviewer in the Spirit of the Times writes that the play was "rehashed from the French."[13] What is clear is that it was first performed on January 12, 1854 with Lester playing the primary role of Harry Jasper and Brougham not listed in newspaper advertisements as being in the cast. In the following season at Wallack's, Brougham played Andrew Wylie to Lester's Jasper, but Brougham played Harry Jasper when he was performing out of

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12. Pat M. Ryan, "John Brougham: The Gentle Satirist." 632. Hawes, "John Brougham," 393. Mullin, Victorian Plays, 18. Playbills at Columbia University (Howard Athenaeum, 22 July, 1857 and 29 Aug., 1860); Harvard Theatre Collection (Howard Athenaeum, 29 Aug., 1860); and New York Historical Society Prints Department (Wallack's Theatre, 30 Nov., 1854).

13. New York Herald, 13 Jan., 1854. Spirit of the Times, 21 Jan., 1854.

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town for a number of years. Brougham wrote in his diary that it was a hit when he played it in Philadelphia in August of 1854, and Durang says that it had run over 100 nights at Wallack's prior to this time.[14]

Another significant change during the second season was the fact that Brougham acted in forty separate plays at Wallack's during the season, nineteen of them new to him and many of which were completely new, at least in the United States. In addition to this, he played new roles in two plays, Mopus in Boucicault's Love in a Maze and Gibble in Centlivre's The Wonder; A Woman Keeps a Secret. On June 16, 1854, Centlivre's comedy was performed at Brougham's benefit with A Soldier's Courtship and Sketches in India; the playbill referred to the evening as the last night but one of the season. On a playbill for the following evening, it was announced that the program for Mr. Wallack's benefit on June 19, 1854 would be exactly the same program as had been done at Brougham's benefit[15] which is confirmed by the advertisement

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14. Durang, "History of Philadelphia Stage," 415.

15. Playbills, Wallack's Theatre, 16 and 17 June, 1854. Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Books and Manuscripts division. Even though the Wallacks made a great deal of effort to abolish benefits, the practice was such a common dimension of theatrical compensation that they were not able to eradicate them immediately. The benefit described above was a "regular benefit" and was a part of the actor's contract for the season when he would receive the proceeds of the evening's box office receipts after expenses. The level of compensation depended upon the actor's individual negotiating skill, with some actors receiving "half benefits" or "one-third benefits" (half or one-third of the box office receipts after expenses).

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in the New York Herald.

The expansion of the repertoire and focus on new plays contrasts with the previous season when Brougham acted in only twenty-seven plays, only eight of which were new. Of course, the increased number of plays also means that several plays were done very few times. In fact, of the nineteen new plays in 1853-54, nine of them were presented five or fewer times. It is also true that the 1853-54 season was at least two weeks longer than the previous season extending past the middle of June. Also Brougham did not make star appearances out of town as he had the previous season. Probably the most significant factor in what appears to be additional time on stage for Brougham is that he acted in more than one piece on fifty-five nights, taking on three pieces on one of these evenings. It is clear that he was not only a larger part of the Wallack company as playwright but also as actor during the second season than he had been during 1852-53. An examination of Table 4.2 reveals that many more new plays were performed at Wallack's during the 1853-1854 season than during the previous year. This includes not only a number of plays where Brougham acted the leading role but also three new plays written by him.

Usually actors chose the program for the evening, subject to the manager's approval, and sometimes they played roles which were not ordinarily assigned to them. Many other types of benefits were held, and still are, often for worthy causes or to recognize the needy or someone worthy of honor. These will be described in more detail as they occur.

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Table 4.2 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1853-1854

Play	Role	#
Bleak House	Turveydrop	28
Cure for Coquettes, A	Major O'Gorman	3
Folly as it Flies	Dr. Infallible	6
Game of Life, The	Chatterton Drake	21
Good Fellow, A	Rushton Sunnyside	5
Immediate Satisfaction	Morgan O'Connor	1
Love and Money	Claude Plantagenet	15
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	22
Love for Love	Ben	12
Love, Law and Physic	Flexible	2
Man and Wife	O'Dedimus	4
Mysterious Lady, The	Blackstone	2
Nice Firm, A	Mr. Messiter	2
No Song No Supper	Endless	3
Number One Round The Corner	Nobbler	15
Penelope's Web	Augustus Twill	3
Pretty Piece of Business, A	Capt. Merryweather	33
Scholar, The	Dr. Keppelcranck	8

Much of the 1854-55 season at Wallack's was a continuation of the same practices and much of the same repertoire from the previous season. One notation concerning Brougham's salary for the season is found in the fragments of his diary that William Winter included with his partial autobiography; dated July 4, 1854, it states: "Settled with Wallack for next

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season; $100 a week; one half benefit and one third; pieces as before."[16] It is not clear whether this was the salary for the entire year or whether a new contract would be negotiated at the end of the calendar year when theatres normally closed the season, but it gives some sense of what his income from acting was likely to be.

While Brougham probably acted in forty-seven different plays during the third season at Wallack's, only seventeen roles were in new plays, and only two of those new plays were acknowledged to be from his pen. In fact, a number of the plays that were new to Brougham were classics; it is surprising that he had not previously performed in such plays since he had been acting for twenty-four years professionally.

He also took new roles in three plays which were very familiar to him, playing Sir Harcourt Courtly in London Assurance to Mr. Wallack's Dazzle, Lester's Charles Courtly and W. R. Blake's Meddle. This play was performed more often than any other during the season, a total of sixteen times. He took on the new role of Goldfinch in The Road to Ruin and played Tony Lumpkin in She Stoops to Conquer for the first time. The New York Herald reviewer wrote that Brougham's Sir Harcourt was a "judicious and sensible performance," but a review signed by Meerschaum in the Spirit of the Times objects to the casting. He writes that the first time he saw this play was in Boston with Blake as Sir Harcourt. He continues:

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16. Life, 83.

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> ...the cast at Wallack's would be much strengthened by an exchange of parts between Mr. Blake and Mr. Brougham. The latter gentleman does all that he attempts well, but the peculiarities of an English would-be Chesterfield are not best portrayed by (however accomplished) an Irish gentleman with an impossible-to-be-got-rid-of touch of the brogue.[17]

Wallack did not take Meerschaum's advice, and Brougham continued to play Sir Harcourt.

A Gentleman from Ireland was the hit of the season for Brougham, who appeared as Gerald Fitz Maurice twenty-three times. At the first performance on December 11, 1854, when Brougham was called before the curtain, he announced that it was written by Fitz-James O'Brien, who acknowledged the audience by bowing from his private box. A playbill from this performance notes that this is the first night of this entirely new and original two-act comedy but does not acknowledge the playwright. A lengthy front-page review gives nearly the whole plot and indicates that Fitz Maurice is a poor young Irish gentleman who is in love and whose romantic aspirations are achieved by his coming into a fortune. The reviewer concludes, "The weight of the piece rests on the shoulders of Mr. Brougham, and its success must be, in a great measure, attributed to his excellent acting."[18]

Although Brougham was again on stage almost every evening

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17. New York Herald, 20 Oct., 1854. Spirit of the Times, 28 Oct., 1854.

18. Playbill, Wallack's Theatre, 11 Dec., 1854, Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Books and Manuscripts division. New York Herald, 12 Dec., 1854.

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during the 1854-1855 season, the only other play which received more than ten performances was his five-act adaptation of Bulwer-Lytton's novel, Night and Morning. Hawes describes Brougham's role of Gawtrey as an adventurer who is a "gentlemanly rogue" possessing a mixture of good and evil qualities who assumes many interesting disguises. The front-page review in the New York Herald includes the comment that Brougham's melodramatic adaptation has "enough fun to set off properly the heavy business." Listing a cast of sixteen, Blake and Brougham are noticed as giving "fresh testimony in favor of their genius and versatility." While the style is new to audiences at Wallack's, the critic notes that the great crowd on the first evening seemed to enjoy the play.[19]

The other new play which created a bit of controversy was O'Flanigan and the Fairies, first programmed on February 13, 1855 and performed a total of seven times. Brougham played the principal role of Phelim O'Flanigan (or O'Flannigan as it is often spelled), and this one-act comedy became a part of his regular repertory when traveling. It was noted in a contemporaneous Dramatic and Musical Matters column that this was a "revival of Sam Lover's effective temperance sketch."[20] In the summer of 1855 when Brougham was on a starring tour in Canada, Barney Williams played Phelim at the Broadway, giving

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19. Hawes, "John Brougham," 411. New York Herald, 16 Jan., 1855.

20. New York Herald, 19 Feb., 1855.

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Brougham credit for writing the play. The New York Herald immediately objected, writing that it was Lover's play, but then published a front-page retraction and a statement from Brougham:

> It was stated, "upon information and belief," last week, that "O'Flanigan and the Fairies," announced on the bills of the Broadway theatre, as by Mr. John Brougham, was veritably the work of Samuel Lover. Mr. Brougham says in reply:--
>
> > The simple facts are these--A valued friend of mine, upon the occasion of my last benefit at Wallack's, wished me to play "O'Flanigan and the Fairies." I accordingly instituted a search for the original play, but discovered that there was no copy extant--upon which, never having seen it myself, I inquired of those who had played in it what the character of the piece was; and having ascertained that, set to work and wrote what I called "A Recollection of O'Flanigan and the Fairies." The main idea is, I believe preserved, but, of course, much altered in the detail.
>
> The plot is the same as that of Lover's piece, which was played here by Tyrone Power--the words and part of the stage business is different. What we desired to do in calling attention to these facts was, to prevent managers and others from tacking the names of popular writers upon mediocre pieces, in order to given them an undue amount of importance in the eyes of the public.[21]

It is true that the acting edition of this play, published as the work of Brougham and in fact copyrighted by him in 1856, is entitled A Recollection of O'Flanigan and the Fairies, but for Wallack's Theatre the play was advertised in

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21. New York Herald, 30 July, 1855.

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newspapers simply as O'Flanigan and the Fairies.[22] Later at the Broadway Theatre it was listed as Recollections of O'Flannigin and the Fairies.[23]

During the spring of 1855, Wallack's Theatre began a series of extremely short advertisements in daily newspapers, listing titles of plays to be given during the evening with no or extraordinarily limited cast lists. Usually the plays were listed with only a notation at the bottom of the advertisement listing the players for that evening and no indication of roles. For this period of some six weeks or more, I have assumed that Brougham acted in roles that he had previously performed during the season.

In addition, there was a period of several months during the 1854-55 season and continuing into the next season when there was almost no mention of Wallack's Theatre in the dramatic columns of The Spirit of the Times. In the middle of this time, there was a highly critical review of the acting at this theatre. Since no independent recognition of this fact has been found, it can only be assumed that there was some kind of disagreement between the management at Wallack's and

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22. A copy of the play is in the Brander Matthews Collection of Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Book and Manuscript Division. New York Herald advertisements for winter and summer of 1855 list simply O'Flanigan and the Fairies. To add to the confusion, Nicoll credits Tyrone Power with writing a play by this name in 1836. He also credits Boucicault with writing a play by this name in 1851, apparently acted in London at the time, but Mullin does not mention this.

23. Advertisement, New York Times, 8 July, 1855.

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that at perhaps several journals and newspapers.

The lack of specific news about the theatre means that there are few reviews of Brougham's acting during the last part of the season, and it is difficult to be precise about the number of times he acted and what roles he undertook. However, it appears that he acted in two plays on forty nights during the season. He did write at least one new play, a two-act farce, in which he apparently did not have a role, The Demon Lover; or, My Cousin German although he acted in it when he revived it at his own theatre, the Bowery.

In July it was announced that Castle Garden where grand theatrical and musical festivals had been given would be turned into a depot to process the ever increasing number of immigrants. During July and August Brougham was out of town performing in Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton in Canada and in Chicago and perhaps other American cities.

Two important members of Wallack's company joined for the 1854-55 season. One was Henry Placide with whom Brougham had acted in early years in America. The other new addition was a young actor who used the stage name of Douglas Stewart (sometimes spelled Stuart). After several years, Lester Wallack persuaded him to use his own name, and as E. A. Sothern he became most famous for playing Lord Dundreary in Our American Cousin. Lester Wallack relates a wonderful story that Sothern's frock coat which became widely known as the never-changing part of the costume of Lord Dundreary had

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actually originally belonged to Wallack. On another occasion Brougham had borrowed the coat from Wallack, and when Sothern was fretting about not being able to find the perfect costume, Brougham absent mindedly passed Lester's coat on to Sothern. There is some confusion about who owned the coat originally as Sothern's son related to his father's biographer that the frock coat in question was borrowed from Mr. Boucicault.[24] However, this may be another example of Brougham and Boucicault being confused for each other. An examination of Table 4.3 reveals that the number of performances in new roles during 1854-1855 was approximately the same as during the previous season.

When Wallack's Theatre re-opened for its fourth season, it did so with a new play by Brougham, The Game of Love. This new five-act comedy, which was called "the very best play that has ever come from Brougham's facile pen," ran uninterruptedly to October 10 and became a part of Brougham's regular repertory. It was a comedy of manners, which Brougham later revised and re-titled Flies in the Web. The cast included Lester Wallack, Henry Placide, Mrs. Vernon, and Mrs. Brougham among others; Brougham played the role of Ted Murphy. The review noted: "The house was crowded to excess before the curtain rose, notwithstanding the fact that the night was one

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24. Lester Wallack, Memories, 123-126. T. Edgar Pemberton, Lord Dundreary: A Memoir of Edward Askew Sothern. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1908), 26.

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Table 4.3 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1854-1855

Play	Role	#
Bold Dragoons, The	Hannibal Fuzee	10
Bold Stroke for a Husband	unknown	1
Busybody, The	Sir Jealous Traffick	7
Critic, The	Whiskerandos	5
Elopements in High Life	Tom Singleheart	9
Fashion	Snobson	5
Gentleman from Ireland, The	Gerald Fitz Maurice	23
Heads or Tails	Christopher Qualie	3
Look Before You Leap	Jack Spriggs	3
Night and Morning	Gawtrey	13
O'Flanigan and the Fairies	Phenlim	7
Prison and Palace	Count Scharchloff?	3
She Would and She Would Not	Trappanti	5
Tit for Tat	unknown	6
Two Can Play at That Game	Charles Arundel	9
Violet, The	Trinquet	7
Weeds Among the Flowers	Symthe of Smythe Hall	4
Where There's a Will	unknown	2

of the hottest of the season."[25]

Most of the plays during the season were repeated from previous seasons, although Planché's The Knights of the Round Table was done for the first time in America; Brougham played

25. New York Herald, 13 Sept., 1855.

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the role of Mr. Smith. After the run of The Game of Love, Wallack programmed the three-act comedy, The Man of Many Friends, which was playing simultaneously at Burton's Theatre. In the review of the Wallack version, it was written, "Brougham's make up and personation of the Hon. Arlington Veneer, the elegant friend, entitled the part to be considered one of his happiest hits."[26]

Usually Brougham's acting was highly praised, but during this season he played one role which was called a "mistake." That was the role of Dogberry in Much Ado About Nothing. It was noted that this was the first time he was playing the role although he may have acted another part in the play when it was done at Brougham's Lyceum. Wallack had a penchant for including a few Shakespearian comedies in his season, and Walcot chose Twelfth Night for his end-of-the-season benefit. Brougham was announced as playing Sir Toby, and the piece was repeated two nights later "owing to the unusual applause" as announced in the advertisement, but the review made no mention of Brougham's role or his performance. However, it does seem to indicate that Brougham was willing to try just about anything. The few negative reviews of Brougham's acting that have been found are moderate in nature and are mostly from the last two years of his acting when he was obviously suffering

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26. New York Herald, 25 Oct., 1855. Although Odell refers to this play as Tom Taylor's comedy (Records, VI, 442), the review in the Herald says that the play was by Sterling Coyne. Nicoll also credits Coyne with the work saying it was first performed in 1855.

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physically. Some of his positive press may have been a reflection of his being considered such a likeable person. However, some actors who were popular with audiences, such as Burton, received negative press reviews related to tastelessness; Brougham was noted as extremely funny but always genteel.

The big hit of the season was Brougham's new burlesque/extravaganza, Po-ca-hon-tas, or the Gentle Savage. In his autobiography Brougham tells the story of having surgery and writing this play during his recuperation, and it is true that his name disappeared from newspaper advertisements from December 3 through 20. In the New York Herald on December 20, it was announced that he would make his first appearance "since his long and severe illness" on Friday, December 21, in The Game of Love. Po-ca-hon-tas was announced for December 24. As a burlesque of romantic Indian plays which had been popular during previous years, it was an instant hit.

Brougham took several liberties with the Pocahontas legend, creating a story where John Smith wins the hand of Pocahontas in a card game, and omitting the character of John Rolf, whom Pocahontas married in real life. There had been a number of plays written and acted based on the story of Pocahontas, and Americans had become very fond of portraying Indians on stage, particularly in such tragic style as Stone's Metamora. Of course, Brougham had successfully poked fun not

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only at Stone's play but at Forrest's depiction of Metamora in his own burlesque of that play. While his Po-ca-hon-tas did not make fun of Indians, it did burlesque the tradition of Indian plays, and in fact, there were few serious plays about American Indians written after Po-ca-hon-tas until the mid-twentieth century.

By the fall of 1855 when Brougham wrote Po-ca-hon-tas, Wallack's Theatre was considered one of the diversions suitable "...for the 'upper ten,' New York's ruling class..." the others being the opera, the first American appearance of the great French actress Rachel, and the acting of Edwin Forrest at the Broadway. For the middle and lower classes, there were circuses, waxworks, gymnasts, jugglers, pantomimists, singing families, Ole Bull, Sigismund Thalberg, and minstrelsy.[27]

As Brooks points out, Brougham not only burlesqued a theatrical genre, the "classical" tragedy, but also "commented on the nature of history and the nineteenth century's emerging historical consciousness." In addition, he mirrored the times by contrasting the idealism of women with the corruption of men, and in a sense made a group of Indian maidens represent the heroines of the play since they rescue Smith after he has been captured by Powhatan, thus making the marriage of Pocahontas and Smith possible. A good deal of Brooks' article

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27. William Brooks, "Pocahontas: Her Life and Times" American Music (Winter, 1984): 19.

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deals with the issue of the lost score of Po-ca-hon-tas, which had been written by James G. Maeder, but he points out that Maeder in his music often quoted well-known operatic arias just as Brougham used well-known lines from Shakespeare.[28]

In the first performance, Brougham's role of H. R. H. Pow-ha-tan I, King of the Tuscaroras and father of Pocahontas, was complemented by the acting of Charles Walcot as Captain John Smith and Georgina Hodson as Pocahontas. The play was on the bills at Wallack's every night until January 25 and then again in February, March, May and June, 1856; it continued being done not only by Brougham but also by many other companies and was even programmed in Boston in 1862 by the Webb sisters who were touring as star performers, being performed at a benefit for Miss Ada Webb at the Howard Athenaeum with Miss Ada playing Pocahontas and Miss Emma Webb playing Captain John Smith. The first program on which it appeared was unusual for Wallack's Theatre, being the middle piece after the petite comedy, Where There's a Will There's a Way and followed by the farce, The Secret, or a Hole in the Wall. Because it was such a success, it continued as the afterpiece when the program resumed more normal fare for Wallack's with one main piece and an afterpiece on the bills.

Lester Wallack relates the story of the night that Georgina Hodson eloped without notice leaving Brougham and Smith to essentially play the piece on their own. As he tells

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28. Brooks, "Pocahontas," 20-35.

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the story, he went on stage before the performance and told the audience that he would refund their admission, but if they wanted to stay, the company would give them a charming novelty instead, and most of the audience remained. He writes that the "result was one of the greatest sprees ever seen upon the stage. Those two men were so clever that they absolutely improvised all that was required in verse, and the burlesque never went better--perhaps from that very fact."[29] Brougham repeated this story in an interview that was published in the New York Herald in August, 1877, and it has become one of the most-repeated stories of his career.[30] An illustration of Brougham's quick wit occurred at one point in the play when he was required to address Pocahontas directly; he reportedly grabbed a broom from backstage to use as a substitute for the actress. It is easy to see why the audience howled, but it must have been quite a feat to play Po-ca-hon-tas with no Pocahontas.

It has not been possible to determine exactly when this performance took place because no report of it has been found

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29. Wallack, Memories, 117.

30. Most of the interview published in the New York Herald was included by William Winter as supplementary material in Life although these pages are missing from the microfilmed copy of this book at New York Public Library and presumably from copies of the microfilm at other libraries. Bound copies of the book are available in a few libraries including that of the New York Historical Society. Brougham's account of the performance was repeated by Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton in Actors and Actresses.

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in daily papers. It may have occurred on March 3, 1856 at Mrs. Brougham's benefit as Miss Hodson was advertised for the role that evening, but the performance had previously been advertised as the last night for Po-ca-hon-tas. Lester Wallack recalls that he had played in the first piece on the night, and while this would be consistent with the program of March 3 because he took a role in The Game of Life, it does not fit with Wallack's assertion that Mary Gannon took over the role of Pocahontas on the next evening since the play was not advertised again until May 28 when Miss Gannon was listed in the ad. Wallack implies that Georgina Hodson, who had acted in Boston and was eager to make her New York debut, was hired only for the role of Pocahontas, and that she had come to him saying that she had heard that Brougham was writing such a play. Wallack describes her as "one of the handsomest women I ever saw." He also says that her departure without notice was exactly like the stunt Laura Keene had pulled in late 1853.[31]

This performance is one of the only known records of Brougham's improvisation. Although he admits that he "learned to talk to the audience" when he was at Burton's Theatre, and he must have improvised some due to the incredible number of roles that he undertook, there are no published reports of his not knowing his lines as there are of other actors of the period. It is true that several of his plays include a main

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31. Wallack, Memories, 112-119.

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character who is essentially on the stage all of the time and only interacts with one other character at a time; such writing seems to provide plenty of opportunities for improvisation, but it is a matter of speculation whether or not this was frequent. The revival of Po-ca-hon-tas in May was reviewed with the following comment:

> Pocahontas, the best burlesque, by the best fellow that ever lived--most excellent John Brougham--has been revived, to the immense delectation of crowded audiences! It is, in point of wit, satire acting, and getting-up, most excellent--excellent--and yet again excellent. In the language of the politicians, "keep it before the people."[32]

The same issue of this journal notes that at Laura Keene's Varieties, a version of Jane Eyre by John Brougham has been produced and well-received.

Laura Keene's Varieties had been due to open on the night that Po-ca-hon-tas was premiered, but a notice, including an actual certificate from her physician, in the newspaper reported that she had a sudden and severe indisposition and was postponing the opening. In fact, Laura Keene was not ill, but when she had gone to her theatre on the morning of December 24, she had discovered that the scenery had been "slashed beyond recognition." Keene offered a reward for information about the vandalism two days later.[33]

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32. The Spirit of the Times, May 31, 1856.

33. Veranne Bryan, Laura Keene: A British Actress on the American Stage, 1826-1873 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1997), 64.

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January of 1856 was one of the most severe winters that New York had witnessed in many years, but apparently audiences attended Wallack's Theatre in droves, principally to see Po-ca-hon-tas. While attempts had been made to dress actors in Indian costumes before, and the similarity of Edwin Forrest's costume for Metamora to a nightshirt had been an element in his divorce trial, it was remarked that the costumes for Po-ca-hon-tas were particularly authentic, Brougham wearing a full warchief's headdress and Pocahontas wearing a leather dress without a hoop skirt. In addition, the program notes and descriptions of characters were of a most amusing nature, being full of puns which have lost much of their meaning today. Part of the description of Pow-ha-tan I, for example, was that he was a "crotchety monarch, in fact, a semi-breve." Anyone in the audience with the barest elements of musical knowledge would have recognized crotchet and semi-breve as the terms for what are commonly called quarter note and whole note in this century.

Joseph Ireland writes that Po-ca-hon-tas was the most successful extravaganza ever produced in America.[34] Several writers have commented that it caused the demise of the romantic Indian play. It became popular with audiences of all classes and was frequently put on by amateur actors, reportedly even by soldiers as camp entertainment during the Civil War. Productions were modified in many ways, and it was

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34. Ireland, Records of the New York Stage, II, p. 646.

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allegedly in a New Orleans production of Po-ca-hon-tas that Mrs. John Wood introduced the song "Dixie" to a Southern audience just prior to the Civil War.[35]

The printed edition used italics for every pun, and apparently Brougham was quite insistent that these be clearly indicated in performance. In 1866, a reviewer wrote:

> Mr. Dunn's reading is too hasty and indistinct--we fail to catch the countless puns with which the whole play is crammed. All actors may profitably study the elocution of Mr. Brougham in this respect. He evidently believes that words are to be spoken and not mumbled; his clear ringing voice gives due effect to every syllable, and the auditor who fails to take in the complete sense of his lines must be dull indeed.[36]

It is not clear whether the success of this play gave Brougham the urge to try management again, but not only did he leave Wallack for a two-week engagement during late January and early February at the Theatre in Richmond, Virginia, and again in late April and early May for appearances in Chicago, but rumors in print started circulating as early as May 24 that Brougham was leaving New York to make his home in Philadelphia and then later that he was planning to open a theatre with McVicker in Chicago. All of this changed when it was announced in mid-June that Brougham would be taking over the lease of the Bowery Theatre.[37] It is true that Brougham

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35. Carl Wittke, Tambo and Bones (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930), 207.

36. Spirit of the Times, 30 June, 1866.

37. New York Clipper, 24 May, 14 June, and 21 June, 1856.

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was not the only person who was making changes in assuming a management role; Wallack's Theatre was leased to Mr. Sothern, still using the name of Stewart, for the 1856-1857 season, although the theatre continued to be known as Wallack's.

An examination of Table 4.4 reveals that once again there were relatively few new roles played by Brougham during the 1855-1856 season at Wallack's; however, it must be recognized that he was focused on Po-ca-hon-tas for several weeks during the season. Additionally, with his time off for surgery and for engagements elsewhere, the 1855-1856 season for Brougham at Wallack's was considerably shorter than usual.

In contrast to new plays performed in the four seasons of 1852 through 1856, an examination of Tables 4.5 and 4.6 shows that Brougham's repertoire at Wallack's was primarily in those roles that he had also acted prior to his years with the Wallacks.

Evidence seems to indicate that the Wallacks allowed Brougham relatively more freedom than Burton had regarding appearances in benefit performances in other theatres. While benefits for company members at this time still largely featured only members of the actor's or actress's company Brougham did participate in several special or city-wide benefits during his time at Wallack's. One example occurred on May 10, 1855 when Brougham and others appeared in the first piece Elopements in High Life at Wallack's and then most of the company, including Lester, Rosa Bennett and Mrs. Brougham,

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Table 4.4 - Plays New to Brougham Performed at Wallack's Theatre, 1855-1856

Play	Role	#
As You Like It	Adam	4
Game of Love, The	Ted Murphy	27
Knights of the Round Table	Mr. Smith	13?
Man of Many Friends, The	Veneer	12
Po-ca-hon-tas	Pow-ha-tan I	39
Rule a Wife and Have a Wife	Cocofago	3
Still Waters Run Deep	Hawksley	2
Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are	Lord Priory	2

went to the Metropolitan Theatre to play Naval Engagements as part of a complimentary benefit to Madame Augusta. Brougham played the role of Admiral Kingston, the benefit being given by many theatrical friends of Madame Augusta, who had danced at numerous theatres for several years, and whose husband had recently died leaving a title but little money.

On May 29, 1855 Wallack's Theatre was closed for the day, and at the Academy of Music an all-day testimonial was given for Mr. Wallack who was recovering from a serious illness. Both an afternoon and an evening performance took place with the evening performance beginning with Damon and Pythias with Edwin Forrest as Damon and E. L. Davenport as Pythias. The Poor Gentleman followed with Brougham listed as among the actors. Unfortunately advertisements do not list Brougham's role, but it may well have been Dr. Ollapod, his usual role.

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Table 4.5 - Performances of Previously Performed Plays at Wallack's Theatre, 1852-1856 (in more than one season and/or more than 10 times)

Play	Role	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56
Bachelor of Arts, A	Andrew Wylie	-	-	new	2
Boarding School, The	Kavanagh	new	0	0	1
Bold Dragoons, The	Fuzee	-	-	new	3
Game of Life	Drake	-	new	5	4
Happy Man, The	Paddy Murphy	new	5	3	0
Heir at Law, The	Dr. Pangloss	8	4	4	3
Irish Heiress, The	Fuss	new	3	4	2
John Bull	Brulgruddery	1	1	3	5
London Assurance	Sir Harcourt	0	0	16	5
Love and Money	Plantagenet	-	-	new	8
Love and Murder	Magra	new	0	8	4
Money	Mr. Stout	15	6	3	1
Old Heads & Young Hearts	Col. Rocket	new	7	4	0
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	6	3	0	0
Poor Gentleman, The	Dr. Ollapod	5	2	5	0
Pretty Piece of Business	Merryweather	-	new	0	8
Review, The	Looney	24	8	0	3
Rivals, The	O'Trigger	10	5	1	3
Road to Ruin, The	Sulky	9	6	0	0
	Goldfinch	0	0	5	0
Scholar, The	Keppelcranck	-	new	3	5
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver	7	2	3	3
Sketches in India	Tom Tape	0	1	3	0
Teddy the Tiler	Teddy	6	1	0	0
Tit for Tat	Sowerby	0	0	new	1
Town and Country	Trot	0	0	11	0
Wild Oats	John Dory	5	2	6	2
Wonder, The	Gibble	0	2	0	2

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Table 4.6 - Number of Performances of Previously Performed Plays performed in only one season at Wallack's Theatre

Play	Role	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56
Belle's Stratagem, The	not known	0	0	2	0
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty	6	0	0	0
Fast Man, The	Skyrocket Ned	0	0	4	0
Follies of a Night	Duke	3	0	0	0
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	10	0	0	0
Irish Dragoon, The	O'Brallaghan	0	0	5	0
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan	9	0	0	0
Irish Tutor, The	Dr. O'Toole	0	1	0	0
Jealous Wife	Capt. O'Cutter	0	0	0	1
Lady of Lyons, The	Damas	0	1	0	0
Leap Year	Walker	0	3	0	0
Love Chase, The	Fondlove	0	0	1	0
Love in a Maze	Mopus	0	7	0	0
More Blunders Than One	Larry	0	6-7	0	0
Much Ado About Nothing	Dogberry	0	0	0	4
My Fellow Clerk	Tactic	3	0	0	0
Nervous Man, The	McShane	3	0	0	0
Paul Pry	Paul Pry	0	0	3	0
Richard III	Richmond	0	0	1	0
Rob Roy	Galbraith	0	0	0	2
She Stoops to Conquer	Tony Lumpkin	0	0	3	0
Sons and Systems	Donald O'MacSweeney	0	0	4	0
Speed the Plough	Ashfield	5	0	0	0
Teacher Taught, The	Mr. Aubrey	0	0	9	0
Temptation	O'Bryan	0	5	0	0
White Horse of the Peppers	Gerald Pepper	3	0	0	0

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This was one of few times that Brougham and Edwin Forrest appeared on the same stage on the same evening.

Roles that Brougham undertook when touring often were in his own plays as his reputation throughout the country seemed to be based at least as much on his writing as on his acting. The four years after he began at Wallack's in fall of 1852 and through his last performances there prior to his early summer opening at the Bowery Theatre in June of 1856 included several periods of touring. In addition to the tours to Philadelphia during the 1852-53 season and to Richmond, Virginia and Chicago during the 1855-56 season, Brougham acted in the following locations during summers: Niblo's Garden with Burton and Chesnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, 1853; Walnut Street and Chesnut Street Theatres in Philadelphia, 1854; and Theatre Royal in Montreal as well as theatres in Toronto, Hamilton, and Chicago in the summer of 1855.[38]

These starring roles must have been rather strenuous as often Brougham acted in two or sometimes even in three plays on a single night. Often he acted in a different play each night of the engagement too. For example, in a eleven-day engagement in Montreal (for which papers from only ten days are available), appearances in seventeen different roles were advertised.

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38. Local newspapers from Hamilton, Ontario, Canada for the summer of 1855 were examined in the Hamilton Public Library, but no advertisements or news items about Brougham's appearances there were found. His engagement in Hamilton had been mentioned in Montreal and Toronto newspapers.

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In spite of the strain brought on by touring, such events were probably more lucrative financially than being engaged as a member of a company in New York. While his regular salary at Wallack's in at least one season of 1854 was $100 a week, he may have made considerably more money out of town. According to records copied from John B. Rice's journal, Brougham made $339.12 the first week of his 1856 engagement at Rice's Theatre in Chicago and $252.87 during the second week.[39]

Often the plays and roles that were done out of town were not in the regular repertory at Wallack's. Of at least fifty-five roles in fifty-two plays performed out of town or in New York at theatres other than Wallack's, twenty-six were roles that were not done at Wallack's during the four seasons that this chapter covers. Several of the plays that were featured out of town were done only once at Wallack's, perhaps for benefits.

Sometimes plays were advertised by titles that were different from what was normally used in New York. For example, The Review was advertised as The Wags of Windsor in Montreal, and Boucicault's Irish Heiress was advertised by its sub-title, The West End in Philadelphia. Also Brougham sometimes re-named characters; in Montreal it appears that he

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39. James N. Wilt, "The History of the Two Rice Theatres in Chicago from 1847 to 1857" (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1923), 369-370. Much of the data concerning Brougham's repertoire in Chicago comes from information copied from Rice's journal into this dissertation since Chicago newspapers for this period are unavailable now and were unavailable when Wilt wrote his dissertation.

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used the name of O'Buskin for his role in The Stage-Struck Irishman; it had previously been listed as Tactic.

Advertisements for touring appearances gathered from newspapers and playbills show that many different plays were performed away from Wallack's. Because of the large number of plays, Tables 4.7 and 4.8, which list plays most frequently performed, had to be divided into plays by Brougham and those by other playwrights. Less frequently performed plays are listed in Table 4.9.

During this period is the first instance of the term "eccentric" that I have found in print to describe a type of Irish actor. Prior to this time, "low comedians" were distinguished from "light comedians" primarily on the basis of class distinction of the characters portrayed as mentioned in the Introduction. While Brougham's Irishness was often mentioned in reviews, he was not referred to as an eccentric actor at this time but more usually as a light comedian; however, a glance through lists of plays in which he appeared shows that he often acted low-comedy roles as well, particularly in farces. This versatility would continue throughout the remainder of his career.

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Table 4.7 - Performances of Plays by Brougham Three or more Times at Theatres other than Wallack's - 1852-1856

Play	Role	52-53		53-54		54-55			55-56	
		C	N	C	W	T	M	Ch	VA	Ch
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	3		1		1	1	3	2	2
Declaration of Independence	Ebenezer O'Donohoo	3								
Dombey and Son	Captain Cuttle	5	1	2		1	1	3	2	3
Game of Life, The	Dr. Drake				4					
Po-ca-hon-tas	King Pow-Ha-Tan								5	5
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	5							3	2
Row at the Chesnut, A	manager/ lessee	7								
*Stage Struck _____**	Tactic, O'Buskin, or Tom Tape	1			1		1	1		
Unwarrantable Intrusion	intruder	4								

* programmed as The Stage Struck Clerk, The Stage Struck; or Clerks on a Spree, The Stage-Struck Irishman, and The Stage-Struck Tailor.

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Table 4.8 - Performances of Plays by Other Playwrights Three or more Times at Theatres other than Wallack's - 1852-1856

Play	Role	52-53		53-54		54-55			55-56		
		C	N	C	W	T	M	Ch	VA	Ch	O
Bachelor of Arts	Harry Jasper	2				1		1	1	1	
Fast Man, The	Edward Hughes	2		2			1				
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice					1	1	2	2	1	
His Last Legs	Felix O'Callaghan	1		1		1	2	1		1	
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore					2	1		1		
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan					1	1	1	2	1	
London Assurance	Dazzle						1				2
Money	Graves-2, Stout-1			2							1
Old Heads & Young Hearts	Colonel Rocket				3						
Omnibus, The	Paddy Rooney					1	1		1	1	
Poor Gentleman, The	Dr. Ollapod		1		1						1
Pretty Piece of Business	Capt. Merryweather			3							
Rory O'More	Rory O'More						1	1		1	
Serious Family	Capt. M. Maguire	1	5	2		1		1			1
Siamese Twins	O'Glib		4								
Sketches in India	Tom Tape			2						1	

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Table 4.9 - Plays Performed by Brougham fewer than three times at Theatres other than Wallack's - 1852-1856

Play	Role	Theatre	#
Bamboozling	unknown	Chesnut St.	1
Born to Good Luck	Paudeen	Chesnut St.	2
Game of Love	Ted Murphy	Richmond, VA	2
Happy Man, The	Paddy Murphy	Montreal	1
Hunchback, The	Lord Tinsel	Chesnut St.	1
Irish Ambassador, The	Sir Patrick	Montreal	1
Irish Emigrant	O'Bryan	Chesnut St.	1
Irish Tutor, The	Dr. O'Toole	Chesnut St.	2
John Bull	Dennis	Niblo's	1
Lady of Lyons, The	Damas	Chesnut St.	1
Last Man, The	not listed	Chicago	1
Lethe	Fine Gentleman	Castle Garden	1
Love and Murder	not listed	Chicago	1
Love Chase	Sir William	Chesnut St.	1
More Blunders than One	Larry	Montreal Chicago	1 1
My Fellow Clerk	Tactic	Richmond, VA Chicago	1 1
Naval Engagements	Admiral Kingston	Metropolitan	1
Nervous Man, The	not listed	Chicago	1
O'Flannigan and the Fairies	O'Flannigan	Montreal Toronto	1 1
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius	Walnut St.	1
Rob Roy	Major Galbraith	Chesnut St. Walnut St.	1 1
School for Scandal, The	Sir Charles Sir Oliver	Walnut St. Acad. of Music	1 1
Slasher and Crasher	not listed	Chesnut St.	1
Teddy the Tiler	Teddy	Montreal	1
Wags of Windsor, The	Looney	Montreal	1
West End, The	Major Fuss	Walnut St.	2
Wife for an Hour, A	Frank	Chesnut St.	1

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Chapter Five - Brougham's Bowery and Other American Theatres, 1856-1860

Mr. Brougham's farewell benefit at Niblo's on Saturday drew together an audience which packed the house to an uncomfortable degree. Two thousand and five hundred people were present in a house which seats but two thousand and two hundred.[1]

Given the rumors in late spring of 1856 that Brougham might open a theatre in Philadelphia or Chicago, his management of the Bowery in late June must have begun without a great deal of advance planning. While it was unusual to open a theatre at the beginning of the summer when the season was closing for most theatres, it was not unheard of. In fact, Burton had opened the Chambers Street Theatre with Brougham as stage manager at the beginning of the summer in 1848, and in 1856 Brougham had good fortune in being able to put together a company of actors for the Bowery without a great deal of trouble. Because Brougham never wrote about his reasons for wanting to return to management when he had never before been entirely successful, his goal remains something of a mystery.

His perpetual activity throughout his life leads one to assume that he was always seeking new adventures, perhaps to avoid boredom. Of course, it may well be that he thought that he would make more money in theatre management than as an

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1. New York Herald, 24 Aug. 1857.

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actor; it does seem that he felt obliged to support his wife's family, and he reportedly otherwise spent money freely. Whatever his reasons, it does appear that this time in particular, he had not given a great deal of thought prior to taking on the lease of the Bowery, which boded ominously for his eventual failure.

The Bowery opened under Brougham's management on Monday, June 30, 1856 with the double bill of Macbeth and The Married Rake. Brougham was not listed in playbills or advertisements as appearing in Macbeth, but in the afterpiece, he played the role of Flighty, a role he had played a number of times in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere during his first years in the United States, but apparently not with Burton or Wallack.

The review on the editorial page of the New York Herald quoted Brougham's entire opening address, written in verse, and reported that in spite of the hot night, the fully refurbished house was "jammed" for the opening and that people even sat on other people's knees. The reporter wrote that Brougham can safely say that he opened in a blaze of triumph with "the warmest approbation of the public.... There is need of a good theatre in the Bowery, and Mr. Brougham is the man for the occasion."[2] Macbeth was repeated on the next two evenings and then was seen no more; these two performances concluded with different afterpieces in which Brougham is not

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2. New York Herald, 1 Sept., 1856.

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listed as performing. Such frequent change of the primary section of bills may have had something to do with Brougham's financial failure at the Bowery.

One of Brougham's objectives in trying management again may have been more control over the programming of plays which he had written. After the three initial evenings of Macbeth, he programmed his own Birth of Freedom, followed by several days of Dombey and Son, with Brougham as Captain Cuttle. Birth of Freedom was probably a re-named Declaration of Independence since Brougham's character was Ebenezer O'Donahoo, the same as in this play which he had revived around several Independence Days.[3] Ebenezer is an low-comedy servant who speaks with a strong Irish accent but claims American birth. He also is a rather typical clever servant and the hero of the play even though many of the other characters are such traditional American heroes as George Washington.

On July 21, Brougham presented a new work of his, Pirates of the Mississippi, playing Patrick O'Toole. Given on

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3. Hawes writes that this play was first called The Irish Yankee and was first performed in November, 1843 in New Orleans. Hawes, "John Brougham," 155-6. However, I have found no advertisements for the play with Brougham performing under the title The Irish Yankee. The French's acting edition of the play, with the title, The Irish Yankee; or The Birthday of Freedom, published in 1856, lists it as being performed in New Orleans and in Boston, both with Brougham as Ebenezer O'Donahue, and at the Broadway Theatre with Barney Williams in that role. (The character's name is spelled O'Donahue in the acting edition but more often O'Donahoo in advertisements.) There is a record of Barney Williams performing Ebenezer at the Broadway on June 19, 1854; the play was done again at that theatre on July 4, 1855 but called The Battle of Bunker Hill.

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consecutive evenings for four weeks, the last three with Po-ca-hon-tas as the afterpiece, this melodrama did not attract outstanding reviews, but it did seem to attract an audience to the Bowery, where audiences had been known for favoring melodrama or productions which featured blood and gore. While Brougham could not claim total authorship of Life in New York, or Tom and Jerry on a Visit, which followed the four weeks of Pirates of the Mississippi, he did advertise it as his own adaptation of Pierce Egan's original, and he apparently created such a new piece that the critics referred to it as a "local drama." A playbill for the premiere on August 18, 1856, given as one of three theatrical productions that evening which were for the benefit of the American Dramatic Fund, also lists it as a "new local drama."[4] The bill at the Bowery included entr'acte dances and Pocahontas and concluded with a fireworks display. The other benefits for the Dramatic Fund that evening were given at the Academy of Music and at Wallack's. In spite of the fact that there was cholera throughout the country and extreme heat in the city, there were periodic items in the Theatricals column of the New York Herald during the summer and early fall which noted that Brougham's Bowery continued to attract capacity crowds.

Two weeks of Life in New York was followed by a Brougham adaptation of Marble Hearts, succeeded by his version of Mrs.

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4. Brander Matthews Collection, Columbia University's Butler Library.

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Stowe's novel, Dred, Me-ta-mor-a, a revival of The Demon Lover, and a new Brougham melodrama, The Red Mask or the Wolf of Bohemia. While there were productions of works by other playwrights, it is clear most of the performances during Brougham's first four to six months at the Bowery featured his own plays. He acted in all of these plays, taking the two roles of Diogenes in the prologue and Ferdinand, a journalist and proprietor of the Magic Lantern, in the four acts of Marble Hearts, and playing Uncle Jack, a savage slave owner, to T. D. Rice's Old Tiff in Dred, the villain Morak in The Red Mask, and Albert Ehrenstein and Mephistopheles in The Demon Lover.

Other new plays that Brougham presented at the Bowery included a local domestic drama, Broadway and the Bowery, or the Young Mechanic and the Merchant's Daughter, attributed to Cornelius Matthews although listed on the playbill only as being written by an eminent American author, in which Brougham played Peter Funk, Jr., a collector, commission merchant, and general speculator on a small scale. This piece was apparently written to be produced at Brougham's theatre since the title was the address of the theatre.

During January of 1857, Brougham presented his adaptation of Sylvanus Cobb's serial story, The Gunmaker of Moscow, playing the serious role of the monk Vladimir who turns out to be the Emperor, Peter the Great, in disguise. Apparently he was still trying to satisfy the established taste of the

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habituees of the Bowery as he first presented this on the same evening as Dr. Bird's Nick of the Woods or, Bloody Nathan, the Avenger. In addition to lowering prices of admission during this month, the city was in the grip of particularly cruel winter weather with the front page of the newspapers being devoted entirely to stories concerning the severe cold, ice and snow. In spite of the bad weather, reviews stated that Brougham's theatre continued to attract large audiences, but one wonders how accurate such evaluations were. Brougham also produced two plays by Tom Taylor, Love and Duty, and Retribution, but neither was terribly successful.

Finally in May of 1857, Brougham produced S. Barry's farce, Romance in High Life or the Coachman and the Heiress, several times at the Bowery, playing the roles of Charles Seymour and Dennis O'Slash to what was reported as shouts of applause. However, a playbill for one performance clearly shows that few of the same actors who started the season remained with the company by May. During the early part of the season, it appears that Brougham was acting both as general manager and as stage manager, and the demands of theatrical management may have required more than Brougham's industry and diligence could supply without additional resources.

In spite of all of his feverish activity with new plays, the favorite play with audiences was clearly Po-ca-hon-tas. It was performed at least fifty-one times by Brougham at the

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Bowery Theatre during 1856-1857 as well as being done at the National Theatre in Philadelphia at the two-city performance on November 13, 1856 discussed below. It was also played once at the Academy of Music and four times at Wallack's Theatre in April and May of 1857.

Much has been made by several writers of the fact that Brougham, while still being advertised as the manager of the Bowery, acted for several weeks at both Burton's Theatre and at Wallack's during the winter and spring of 1857. Odell surmises that he was acting to provide financial support for his own theatre.[5] However, nothing has been found in either Brougham's memoirs or contemporaneous newspaper accounts to substantiate such an assumption, and it was not unheard of for other theatre managers to appear, even for extended periods of time, at theatres other than their own, both James W. Wallack and William Burton having done so at various times.

It is interesting to note that although Brougham performed in Po-ca-hon-tas at Wallack's Theatre, this play was not presented during his engagement at Burton's. Perhaps this is an indication of the deep rivalry that still existed between Burton and Wallack; apparently Brougham could ignore this dispute since he was able to work with both men.

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5. Odell, Annals, VI, 536. In a description of Wallack's Theatre in spring of 1857, Odell writes, "In many of the old comedies John Brougham appeared. How this man, engaged in managing the Bowery, could get away to act, first at Burton's then at Wallack's, I cannot say. Perhaps he needed money to carry on operations at his own failing theatre."

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At Wallack's, Brougham played largely in standard comedies that were such a large part of that theatre's repertoire while at Burton's in addition to reprising roles that he had habitually played there, he acted in the premieres of at least two new comic plays. In Four Phantoms, he played Con Sweeney, the Irish groom, described on playbills as the Irish phantom, to Burton's English butler, and he played the author in his own burlesque of Camille, with Burton playing the title role and Polly Marshall as Armand. This last play was listed on playbills as A New Camille, The New Camille, Burlesque Camille, and Camille Burlesque; it was a typical nineteenth-century burlesque, being a direct hit at Wallack's where Matilda Heron was claiming great success as the tragic heroine in Camille as well as in other legitimate roles.

The Spirit of the Times near the end of 1856 noted that a group of his friends wanted to give Brougham a complimentary benefit, this having been done previously when he was in financial difficulties. However,

> ...the indefatigable manager preferred entertaining a house full of his friends at the usual prices, and fixed on Tuesday evening for that purpose, when an immense gathering greeted him, and another crowd, of no mean pretensions as regards numbers, were obliged to content themselves by reading the bills; for getting inside was out of the question. Brougham's comedy of The Game of Life and Paddy Ryan's Dream were presented on the occasion, and were so well received that the same pieces were announced for Wednesday."[6]

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6. Spirit of the Times, 20 Dec., 1856. The theatre advertisements column, New York Herald, 15 Dec., 1856, contains an "especial notice" with a letter to Brougham from

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While Brougham brought out many of his own pieces at the Bowery, he also made a great effort to incorporate classic plays, which were then referred to in the press as "the legitimate." He also enticed star performers to perform, notably Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Davenport in December of 1856 and January of 1857. An example of the modification of usual programs that such stars caused is the presentation of Jane Shore at the benefit for the Davenports on December 27. In the course of the season, Brougham included The Stranger, Richard the Third, and Othello in the repertory of the theatre in addition to starting the season with Macbeth. It is not clear how this repertory was received by the audience at the Bowery, but the reviewer for the Spirit of the Times was highly critical of Mr. McDonough, who was the company's leading man for part of this season, and wrote of his acting in Othello:

> We are no admirers of this gentleman in the higher walks of tragedy, and would suggest the propriety of a little more attention to the words of Shakespeare--interpolations, however good, rarely improve upon the original language. Mr. McDonough is a favorite here, and in this particular at least, does himself injustice. Critics may and will differ about the abilities of actors--Garrick, Booth, Kemble, and Kean had their opponents as well as admirers. Acting is but a matter of taste, and he who has the majority on his side is pretty sure to be correct; but want of study is an obvious defect that cannot be palliated, and one which we trust we shall not have

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twenty named correspondents "plus 600 others" and his response concerning this proposed complimentary benefit.

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to again allude to.[7]

Although numerous references to Brougham's own acting are noted in daily and weekly papers of the time, no accounts of his not knowing the words of a play have been found. It is true that he many times appeared in plays that he had written and certainly acted in dramatic pieces that were not as well known as Othello, and he may have added or changed wording, but he was apparently popular enough with reviewers for them to ignore this practice, if it was a problem. Even though Brougham's life shows evidence of lack of organization, no evidence has been found that he neglected his homework in terms of memorization.

At least one of Brougham's attempts to elevate the tastes of the Bowery audience was given a review that indicated some remarkable success. This was Brougham's production of King John, which was first done on December 29, 1856. The house was described as "filled from bottom to top--the pit being literally crammed." Brougham had spared no expense for the production, purchasing the costumes from Charles Kean. The following week, the same journal noted that "The house is densely crowded every night, and we are pleased to say that good order prevails throughout the evening--the hi-hi's and whistling being very properly forbidden and now entirely done away with." A playbill for the opening night contains the comment, "The Spectacle produced under the direction of Mr.

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7. Spirit of the Times, 25 Oct., 1856.

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Brougham."[8] Such an early notation using the word "direction" is highly unusual.

One of the most interesting theatrical evenings in which Brougham was involved was undoubtedly that of November 13, 1856. It is widely acknowledged that he performed in both New York and Philadelphia the same evening, but what is omitted from published accounts in Odell and elsewhere is that he not only acted in the two cities in one evening, but took nearly his whole company with him. In fact, as an advertisement for that evening makes clear, it was at least his intention that twenty-five members of the audience should make the excursion with the actors. The ad announces that certificates at ten dollars will entitle the holder to "an orchestra seat at the Bowery Theatre for the beginning of the program, a carriage ride to the ferry, ferriage to Jersey City, passage to Kensington Depot (which presumably included the express train ride to the Philadelphia area and ferry passage across the Delaware River), carriage hire from Depot to the theatre in Philadelphia, admission to the National Amphitheatre in Philadelphia for the performance of Po-ca-hon-tas, ticket to the grand banquet at Girard House at the conclusion of the performance, conveyance to the station, and return trip to New

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8. Spirit of the Times, 3 and 10 Jan., 1857. Playbill in the Davenport volume of the extra-illustrated Actors and Actresses at Harvard Theatre Collection.

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York all on the same night."[9]

Newspaper advertisements for the date make clear that Brougham appeared at the Bowery as Tactic in the Stage-Struck Irishman with the program starting at seven o'clock. He also left a nucleus of his company in New York so that a complete program of The Red Mask and Love and Duty were presented to the audience who remained at the Bowery.[10]

Although reviews of this stunt indicate that Brougham took it on as a bet after another actor had performed in both Philadelphia and Baltimore in one evening, the only indication found about whether or not any members of the audience actually went on the excursion is a brief mention that there were sixty-five passengers on the train which is surely more people than would be needed both on stage and backstage to produce Pocahontas. The reviewer was particularly enthusiastic about the speed of the trip writing that the journey from Trenton to Kensington depot was "said to be the best time ever made on any railway in this country." Reportedly there were crowds of people in the streets of

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9. Playbill type of advertisement in extra-illustrated edition of Hutton and Matthews, Actors and Actresses, Brougham volume, Harvard Theatre Collection.

10. The actors listed for roles in the plays at the Bowery include a Mr. Hodges who had not previously been advertised for a role in The Red Mask. It is not known if this was the son of the second Mrs. Brougham, but a Frank Hodges was listed for parts in several plays at the Bowery as well as at the Metropolitan when Brougham was there in June of 1859 and in Neptune's Defeat and The Veteran at Wallack's.

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Philadelphia as well as nearly 3000 people in the theatre.[11] Still Brougham might have lost enough money in financing this accomplishment that he had to consider closing the Bowery Theatre in early December, as discussed above.

Anyone who has ever organized a group trip will acknowledge that while it was a feat to act in two cities one hundred miles apart on the same evening in 1856, it was a major accomplishment to make the arrangements for the entire cast for a play on such a trip, particularly in light of the fact that so many types of transport were required. A review in the Philadelphia Evening Journal of the performance in Philadelphia and the adventurous journey was so complimentary that it was reprinted in its entirety in the Spirit of the Times.[12]

While the laudatory reviews of Brougham's inventiveness were extensive, his endeavors were probably too ambitious, and they went unappreciated many times. Although G. C. Foster's piece New York by Gaslight, probably based on his newspaper articles although the sub-title Or, The Forger and his Victim indicates there may have been allusions to Foster's problems with William Burton, was performed for three evenings at the Bowery, after being first programmed as part of the Thanksgiving evening program under the direction of Brougham

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11. New York Herald, 15 Nov., 1856. (A shorter article in the New York Herald on November 14 had ended with "The party numbered about one hundred.)

12. Spirit of the Times, 22 Nov., 1856.

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and Jarret at the Academy of Music, it was not popular enough to continue. Foster later went to jail for forging Burton's signature, and he ignored Brougham's efforts at putting on his play by never mentioning Brougham's name in any of his books.

Several other plays lasted only one or two nights, and with Brougham away from the theatre acting at Burton's and then at Wallack's, it was inevitable that his management should come to a close. After a week beginning May 11, 1857 with a "hippodramatic spectacle," The Devil's Horse, written by Brougham to feature the work of Derr, a famous horseman, with Brougham probably appearing in The Omnibus on May 16, it was announced on May 18 that the Bowery would be opening that evening under the management of T. S. Murphy with Robert Johnston as stage manager.

Brougham's letter to the editor of the Herald responding to allegations about his income from the Bowery was published about a month after he gave up the management. In it he writes that the theatrical critic of the Sunday Times has asserted that Brougham received $70,000 into the treasury of the Bowery during his tenure as manager and suggests that this person can examine the books if he thinks the income had been spent recklessly. He writes that he had been urged by "influential and trustworthy gentlemen" to undertake this management but that through his efforts to elevate the standards of the theatre, he has instead incurred a large amount of indebtedness which he plans to repay.

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Interestingly, he blames some of the failure on the German environs of the theatre, saying that he "found the legitimate drowned in lager bier, and that every block contained one of those unlicensed dens of drunkenness and disgusting buffoonery, which are the real demoralizers of a community, and against the baneful influences of which it is impossible for respectability to contend."[13]

Brougham's customary response to defeat had always been to tour, and he followed this pattern almost immediately, starting a two-week engagement on May 18 in Albany at the Green Street Theatre playing mostly his own pieces, sometimes supported by Ada Clifton. This was followed by nearly a month at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia and more than a month at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston. Under E. L. Davenport's management at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, the Davenports' daughter Fanny had made her stage debut as Trot-er-ound, a target bearer, in Brougham's Pocahontas on July 20, 1857.[14] Brougham was always a great favorite in Boston, and it must have cheered his heart to read such a favorable review of his opening-night performance as follows in part:

> The peculiarities and beauties of Mr. Brougham's acting are its entire naturalness, unaffected ease, and evident command of the widest sweep of comic power. If there is a vein of humor anywhere hidden in the character, it is sure to

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13. New York Herald, 8 June, 1857.

14. Handwritten note on the back of a playbill for 20 July, 1857 in Harvard Theatre Collection. Fanny Davenport's mother was Fanny Vining Davenport.

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> reveal itself in the personation of this unrivalled actor. At the conclusion of the piece he was called before the curtain, and made one of those side-splitting addresses, brimming over with fun and rare humor, for which he is so famous. Some of his local hits were highly appreciated by the audience. Three or four stenographic reporters who were present, attempted to report his remarks, but gave over in despair. The next time Brougham makes a speech, he should be careful not to speak "as funny as he can."[15]

The extensiveness of Brougham's repertoire during the 1856-1857 season is illustrated by the vast number of plays in which he performed at least three times listed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 according to whether or not they were new repertoire. With a few performances at various New York theatres between engagements and at the end of the summer, Brougham was apparently ready to begin another theatrical season, this time in the form of an adventure that he had not undertaken for a while, once again assuming the role of a touring star rather than spending the major portion of the winter season in New York as he had each year since 1848.

Opening in Louisville, on September 14, 1857, Brougham apparently had a highly successful two-week engagement there playing almost exclusively in his own plays but occasionally in those roles written for him or closely associated with him, such as Captain Murphy Maguire in The Serious Family and Gerald Fitzmaurice in A Gentleman from Ireland. The Louisville engagement was followed by two weeks at the National Theatre in Cincinnati with much the same repertoire

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15. Boston Evening Transcript, 14 July, 1857.

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Table 5.1 - Previously performed plays also acted in at least three times during 1856-1857 (6/30/56 - 8/27/57)

Play	Role	Bow	Bu	Wa	Al	Ar	H
Bachelor of Arts	Jasper				1	2	2
Born to Good Luck	O'Rafferty	3				2	
David Copperfield	Micawber	3			2	2	3
Dombey and Son	Cuttle	4	3		3	3	3
Game of Life	C. Drake	2		2			
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice				2	4	1
Hamlet travesty	Hamlet	9					
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	1	4		1		
Irish Lion, the	Tim Moore	1			1		2
John Bull	Brulgruddery		3				
Life in New York	Tom Smith	22					
London Assurance	various			1			2
Love and Murder	M. Magra	7	6				
Met-a-mo-ra	Metamora	10			2	5	5
Much Ado about Nothing	Dogberry	3					
Nervous Man	McShane		3				
Omnibus	Pat Rooney	2					
Peep from a Parlour Window	not listed		3				
Po-ca-hon-tas	Pow-Ha-Tan	51		4	5	6	14
Pretty Piece of business	Merryweather			1			4
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius		4	4			
Serious Family	Maguire		3		1	3	1
Siamese Twins	O'Glib		5				
Stage-Struck Irishman	Tom Tactic	2			1	1	2

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Table 5.2 - New plays performed at least three times during 1856-1857
(6/30/56 - 8/27/57)

Play	Role	Bow	Bu	Wa	Al	Ar	H
*Birth of Freedom**	O'Donahoo	7					
Broadway and the Bowery	Peter Funk	9					
Camille Burlesque	Author		14				
Comedy of Errors	Dromio of Ephesus		4				
Demon Lover, The	Ehrenstein	8					
Dred	Uncle Jack	12					1
Duality	Intruder		9				2
Four Phantoms	Con Sweeny		9				
Gunmaker of Moscow	Vladimir	7					
Love and Duty	Maldonadi	3					
Marble Hearts	Diogenes/ Ferdinand	11					
New York by Gas Light	Faust Guttenberg	3					
Paddy Ryan's Dream	Paddy Ryan	2			1		
Pirates of the Mississippi	Patrick O'Toole	28					
Red Mask, The	Morak	5					
Retribution	De Beaupre	3	3				
Romance in High Life	Charles Seymour	6					

* appears to be renamed Declaration of Independence

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and two weeks at the Chicago Theatre.

Three days after closing in Chicago, he appeared for the first time in Rochester, New York, acting at Plunkett's Metropolitan Theatre, where after a week, it was announced that he was re-engaged for six more nights.[16] His farewell engagement was advertised for Friday, November 6, with the same program advertised for Saturday, November 7, but the following item was reported in the local newspaper on November 10: "Illness of John Brougham. We are sorry to hear that the distinguished actor Mr. John Brougham is lying seriously ill of fever at the Osburn house, where he has been confined to his room since Friday night."[17] In New York, a news item published on November 23, states:

> Mr. John Brougham has returned to town, after a tour in the West. Mr. Brougham was seized at Rochester with an intermittent fever, from which he has not yet entirely recovered. By order of his physicians he has been obliged to give up all his Southern engagements. Mr. Brougham has been engaged at Burton's where he will shortly appear in his adaptation of Thackery's "Vanity Fair." Every one will be glad to welcome Brougham and Burton back to the same boards, and the Southerners' loss

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16. Nellie E. Bitz, "A Half-Century of Theatre in Early Rochester; A Record of the Struggle to Establish a Permanent Theatre," (M. A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), 128. Typescript in Local History Room, Rochester Public Library, Rochester, New York. Ms. Bitz writes: "October 27, 1857 was the first Rochester appearance of John Brougham, Irish comedian, his only visit until October 1877. He charmed the audience with his burlesques of Indian dramas, particularly his Pocahontas."

17. Rochester Union and Advertiser, 10 Nov., 1857.

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is our gain...."[18]

Brougham did begin an engagement at Burton's on November 30, 1857, and he continued there on an almost nightly basis until his farewell benefit and last appearance on February 25, 1858. Not only did he premiere his version of Vanity Fair during these three months, but he achieved another triumph with the premiere on December 30, 1857 of his extravaganza, Columbus el Filibustero, playing the role of Don Christoval Colon, alias Columbus.[19] This piece became the third best known play of Brougham's after Pocahontas and Metamora.

Brougham incorporated many elements of extravaganza into this piece, and an early playbill describes the piece as "a new and audaciously original historico-plagiaristic, ante-nation, pre-patriotic, and omni-local confusion of circumstances, running through two acts and four centuries...."[20] Early in the new year, Burton advertised the piece as having "new scenery, comprising the Royal Palace, the Deck of Columbus' ship, the Egg of Columbus, and grand magical

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18. "Theatricals Movements" in the Dramatic and Musical Matters column, New York Herald, 23 Nov., 1857.

19. Pat Ryan at least implies that Brougham played the role of King Ferdinand, not Columbus, in his article "John Brougham: The Gentle Satirist," 628. He writes, "King Ferdinand (portrayed, predictably, by the author) roars an order...." However, in advertisements and on playbills for over 100 performances, I have never seen Brougham listed to play any role other than Columbus. Hawes, "John Brougham," lists two separate dates for the first performances, 204, 476.

20. Playbill for Burton's Theatre, 30 Dec., 1857. Brander Matthews Collection, Columbia University's Butler Library.

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change in the Temple of Fame, with Allegorical Tableaux on a Revolving Pyramid." (capitalization as in the original)[21]

An advertisement for an out-of-town performance lends credence to the opinion that this piece was something of a "girlie" show with a note that stated that full-grown states and juvenile territories would be represented by an energetic host of beautiful young ladies.[22] Finally in Boston a special notice was listed among the theatre advertisements that advised that Columbus was in preparation and that a canvas was being readied. It stated that a visit to the theatre at this time was not warranted. Apparently people had been showing up at the theatre to inquire if they were going to have an opportunity to see Brougham's latest hit.[23] More than eighty performances with Brougham playing Columbus during the three years between the play's introduction and his departure for England in 1860 have been verified.

Columbus was a big success at Burton's Theatre playing every night with different programs for four consecutive weeks; in fact it was such a big success that it was played as part of the program on January 7, 1858 for Charles Mathews' benefit, even though Mathews did not have a role in Columbus. Mathews had joined Burton's company on December 14, 1857, and he played on an almost nightly basis for sixty days, ending

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21. Advertisement, New York Herald, 1 Jan., 1858.

22. Advertisement, Chicago Daily Tribune, 8 March, 1858.

23. Advertisement, Boston Evening Transcript, 30 May, 1858.

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his engagement with a farewell benefit on February 20, 1858.

Much of the remainder of Brougham's repertoire while at Burton's during the winter consisted of such comedies as The Serious Family and Romance and Reality, often programmed with Pocahontas, Metamora, or The Wags of Windsor, but there were also roles which were new to Brougham, specifically Squeers in Nicholas Nickleby and The Host of the Garter in The Merry Wives of Windsor. It seems clear that Burton was trying to cater to a more serious audience than usual by combining programs of social comedy with farce, burlesque and extravaganza.

At the end of February, 1858, Brougham again resumed his travels, appearing at McVicker's Theatre in Chicago for two weeks, followed by two weeks in Washington, D. C. He returned to Burton's on April 12 for another month's engagement. During this month, he premiered another new extravaganza, playing the role of Marcus Brutus Richelieu Smith in A Great Tragic Revival. The reviewer in the New York Herald stated:

> Mr. Brougham's bit of "contemporaneous drama," announced in a clever parody upon the Academy advertisements, is founded upon a funny idea. He makes the persons of today--the Smiths and the Browns--act and talk the stilted heroes of old fashioned tragedies. It serves a good purpose--shows the utter absurdity of the humbug which it ridicules, and has, moreover, one or two bon mots. The author, with the aid of Burton, Walcot, Barret, Setchell, Polly Marshall, and a gong, succeeded in impressing the audience with "the joke." There was an exquisite bit of satire in the final tableau, where all the personages kill each other, and a Metropolitan policeman stands quietly looking on,

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and smoking a segar.[24]

Although this piece did not achieve the success of Brougham's more popular pieces, it did apparently fill the bill as novelty while providing local allusions for the audience. It was revived the next two seasons by Brougham during his engagements at the Metropolitan Theatre in New York and at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston. A playbill for the June 18, 1860 performance under E. L. Davenport's management at the Howard Athenaeum contains the following: "IMPORTANT NOTICE! In order that the invigorating and indispensable mental ailment should be administered at the proper period, A GONG WILL BE SOUNDED Whenever a Joke of Sufficient Magnitude shall have eventuated."[25]

Another new piece of Brougham's that was premiered during the spring at Burton's was The Musard Ball, or Love at the Academy with Brougham's role being Orlando Furioso Brown. Brougham's play was a burlesque of the popular and heavily advertised Musard Concerts, an international tour of concert artists, including the pianist, Thalberg. The play was primarily a display piece for the low-comedy talents of both Burton and Brougham which included such antics as Brougham flirting with the woman who played Burton's wife, a challenge to a duel, and a drunken scene. Hawes compares the piece to

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24. Musical and Dramatic Matters, New York Herald, 19 Apr., 1858.

25. Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

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commedia dell'arte.

From May 11 through June 4, 1858, Brougham appeared at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, and from June 7 to 19 he ended the season at Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia. A local critic hailed the production of excellent comedies by the management of the Howard Athenaeum saying that this theatre is attracting "the intelligence of our city" night after night. In part he writes:

> ...instead of seeing one star, as is usual, in a piece, you really, without puffing, see a star in each part, or if not a star, still you see an artist, exerting his or her talents for the gratification of the audience, in a manner that would put to the blush many a so-called star.
>
> The starring system is going out. Mr. Barrow wisely adopts Mr. Wallack's plan in his successful New York theatre; he has collected a combination of first rate talent, and in consequence his success is as much assured as anything can be in this world....[26]

By going to Boston in May, Brougham missed an opportunity to be a first-hand witness to one of the most prominent theatrical scandals of the period; on Sunday, May 9, it was announced that Burton's Theatre would be converted into an Italian opera house beginning on May 10, but that Burton's troupe would perform on Tuesday, May 11. The ad on May 9 also indicated that Charles Mathews has been engaged once again "for a few nights."[27]

However, on Saturday May 23, newspapers gave an account

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26. Boston Evening Transcript, 20 May, 1858.

27. New York Herald, 9 May, 1858.

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of an attempted horse-whipping of Charles Mathews by A. H. Davenport which had taken place on the previous day at about 6 p.m. in front of the hotel where Mathews was staying with his new wife. The problem between Mathews and Davenport related to the fact that the new Mrs. Mathews had previously been Davenport's wife, known on stage as Lizzie Weston Davenport. Rumors were rampant that Mathews had recently announced to anyone present in the Green Room of Burton's Theatre that he had paid Davenport for his wife. Mathews clearly did pay costs of her divorce, which he alleged included charges made by Davenport's lawyer, a fact which Davenport disputed. It is not clear whether or not the Davenports were already living separately during the previous year when an affair between Mrs. Davenport and Mathews allegedly took place, but they had been acting in separate New York theatres during the 1857-1858 season.

Since the Mathews were near the end of their engagement, they left town shortly after the attempted altercation, and Davenport continued to act at Wallack's Theatre where he had been a member of the company for some time. In the days immediately after the fracas in the street there were signed, sometimes front-page, letters printed in the daily newspapers by both Davenport and Mathews.[28] Whatever the full story of the disagreement between the two men, Mr. and Mrs. Mathews soon made their way to England. Although Brougham had been

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28. New York Herald and New York Tribune, 23 - 25 May, 1858.

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associated with Mathews since he had joined Madame Vestris's troupe, it seems that Brougham and others mostly supported Davenport, while at least attempting to maintain some degree of cordial relations with Mathews.[29]

During the 1857-1858 season Brougham continued his practice of re-naming pieces which he had performed in previous seasons; the piece that included "imitations" of famous tragedians and had been previously programmed as the Stage-Struck Irishman or My Fellow Clerk was now given in Louisville, Rochester, Boston, Cincinnati, and Chicago during this season under its new title, Amateur Actors or Clerks on a Spree. The same piece was also programmed outside of New York at least once under each of its previously used titles. The most popular piece continued to be Pocahontas with records of at least fifty-three performances verified during the ten months included in this season. The variety of Brougham's repertoire and the differences between his New York programs and those in other cities are illustrated through an examination of those pieces which he performed at least three times during the season listed in Tables 5.3 and 5.4.

Compared with the itinerant nature of the previous season, the new 1858-1859 season must have seemed fairly stable to Brougham, most of it being spent in New York. In

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29. A. H. Davenport was apparently not related to the better-known E. L. Davenport. Brougham acted with both men in various theatres but perhaps was better acquainted with the E. L. Davenports whom he hired for a star engagement at the Bowery under his management.

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Table 5.3 - Plays by other playwrights acted in at least three times during 1857-1858 (8/14/57 - 6/19/58)

Play	Role	L	Ci	R	Bu	Mc	Was	Ch	Ar	H
Bachelor of Arts	Jasper	2				2				
Bachelor's Wife	F. Maywood				5					
Critic, The	Earl of Leicester				5					
Fast Man, The	Sky Rocket Ned		1	1		1		1		
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice	3	2	1		2	4	2		
Hamlet travesty	Hamlet				4					
Irish Lion, the	Tim Moore		1	1	1	1				
John Bull	Brulgruddery				1					5
Life among the Players	Skyrocket				3					
London Assurance	various			1	4					2
Merry Wives of Windsor	Host of the Garter				10					
Nervous Man	McShane	1			3	1			1	1
Nice Firm, A	John Ripton				4					
Nicholas Nickleby	Squeers				4					
Serious Family	Maguire	2		1	5	1		1		1
Siamese Twins	O'Glib				7					
Wags of Windsor, The	Loony M'Towlter				4					
You're Another	Twitter				12					

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Table 5.4 - Plays written or adapted by Brougham acted in at least three times during 1857-1858 (8/14/57 - 6/19/58)

Play	Role	L	Ci	R	Bu	Mc	Was	Ch	Ar	H
*Amateur Actors**	Tactic	2	1	1		1		1	1	1
Columbus el Filibustero	Columbus				30	6	5		6	4
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	2	1	1		2	2	2	1	2
*Dombey and Son***	Captain Cuttle	1	2	1	3	1	2	2	1	1
Great Tragic Revival	Marcus Brutus Richelieu Samith				7					
*Life in New York****	Smith/ Bowlin-green	1	2	2	2			2		
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	2	2	2	4	2		2		2
Metamora	Metamora	1	1	1				2		
Musard Ball or Love at the Academy	Orlando Furioso Brown				7				2	
Pirates of the Mississippi	Patrick O'Toole	1	2					2		
Pocahontas	Powhatan	4	7	4	10	4	8	7	5	4
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift			1	2		2	1		1
This House to be Sold	not listed				7					
Vanity Fair	Rawdon Crawley				6					

*programmed as My Fellow Clerk at Chicago Theatre and Stage-Struck Irishman at Arch Street Theatre
**played Bagstock and Bunsby at Burton's Theatre
***title varied

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fact after a two-month summer season at Niblo's Garden, the entire main season from October 1858 through June 7, 1859, was passed at Wallack's Theatre, the first entire season that Brougham had performed with exclusively one company for two years.

During the summer at Niblo's, Brougham had the opportunity to act again with Henry Placide, William Blake, John Gilbert, and even Charlotte Cushman who played Lady Gay Spanker to Brougham's Dazzle in London Assurance on the opening night of the season. While no managers were listed on any playbills found from this summer season, Blake and Brougham were clearly the leading actors, and not only did they remain with the company through the summer, but Brougham's extravaganzas were featured on programs with both Columbus el Filibustero and Pocahontas being performed a number of times. The remainder of the programs consisted largely of old comedies with virtually nothing new being done. Brougham's last night and benefit at Niblo's Garden, on September 4, marked Mrs. Brougham's first appearance after a long and severe illness.[30] She took the role of Lady Franklin in Bulwer's Money with Brougham as Stout, John Dyott as Evelyn, Blake as Graves, and Jane Coombs playing Clara Douglas for the first time. It may be that Brougham remained in New York during the summer of 1858 primarily on account of his wife's illness.

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30. Advertisement, New York Herald, 4 Sept., 1858.

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After a month between September 4, 1858 and October 5 for which no records of performances by Brougham have been found, the season at Wallack's opened with a new piece by Brougham following the comedy on opening night. There had recently been much excitement in the news related to the successful completion of the first transatlantic cable, and Brougham's extravaganza, Neptune's Defeat, or the Seizure of the Seas, was described on a playbill as "a new, but not especially original, allegoric, metaphoric, mythologic filtration of (sur)passing events." Brougham's role of Neptune was described as "a son of Malt and 'Ops, a deeply distressed monarch, reduced to the lowest extremity, but making superhuman exertions to keep a head above water." The remainder of the cast was divided into Ancient and Fish-like Fogies and Modern Innovators.[31] It was reported that this piece seemed to draw large crowds to the theatre, and even though the main piece was changed frequently during the beginning of the season, Neptune's Defeat received thirty performances.

However, as was usual when Brougham acted at Wallack's Theatre, he received recognition predominantly as an actor, and not as a playwright. The only other plays of his which were performed at Wallack's during the 1858-1859 season were a revival of his Love and Murder, and a new farce, Take Care of Little Charley, each of which received five performances.

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31. Playbill, Brooklyn Historical Society.

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In the new piece, Brougham played Mickey Fogarty, a low-comedy servant role.

The hit of the season which premiered on January 17, 1859 was Lester Wallack's The Veteran, or France and Algeria, a five-act melodrama always performed without farce or afterpiece. Brougham's role was Oflan Agan, the Grand Vizier of the Sultan of Myran, and Odell describes him as "the absurd Irishman (O'Flanagan) turned Oriental." The cast was divided into the French, the Arabs and the Myrans with Brougham being one of the last group. A review of the first performance stated that Brougham's song was so popular that he sang an encore, and that he was irresistible as the Grand Vizier.[32]

However, advertisements make clear that Oflan Agan is a Scot, not an Irishman, and he turns out to be the long lost husband of a Mrs. McShake. Lester Wallack played the leading role of Leon Delmore and Mr. Wallack played Colonel Delmore, but neither of them ever received the laudatory notices that Brougham and Mrs. Vernon did. The costumes for the play are documented in a hand-painted photograph which shows their colorful nature;[33] Brougham wears loose baggy Oriental-style trouser and a Turkish outer coat, but he has tossed his turban to the floor in renouncing his service to the Sultan and loyalty to the Colonel. While the play was criticized for its episodic nature and its inordinate length of four hours, it

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32. New York Herald, 18 Jan., 1859, 1.

33. Harvard Theatre Collection.

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was repeated sixty-eight times during the season. At the end of the second week of performances, an advertisement in the New York Herald announced as proof of the drama's great attractiveness that "the receipts from the first ten performances are the GREATEST EVER KNOWN IN THIS THEATRE."[34]

It is interesting to note that Wallack was presenting this piece at the same time as Laura Keene was presenting Our American Cousin at her theatre with no afterpiece. Operas had only recently been performed in New York with no curtain raiser or afterpiece, and this new theatrical practice may have been some attempt to distance the practices of "legitimate" theatre from those of minstrelsy and other "low-brow" forms of entertainment which continued to feature multiple-play evenings mixed with songs and dances.

The extremely long run of The Veteran seems related to the facts that there were no changes in the company during this period and almost no benefits. While it is true that benefits more often took place in the last month of a theatre's season, most theatres terminated the engagements of visiting performers with benefits, and depending on the prestige of the artist, there was often an intermediate benefit night during the course of the engagement. As a principal member of the company, Brougham was given a benefit on March 21, but the program remained The Veteran, not the usual choice of program being left up to the honoree.

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34. Advertisement, New York Herald, 29 Jan., 1859.

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In the middle of the run of The Veteran, a melodrama written by Brougham, The Miller of New Jersey; or, the Prison Hulk premiered at the Bowery Theatre on March 29, 1859. Hawes points out that Brougham incorrectly states in his autobiographical writings that this piece was first done during the 1856-1857 season at the Bowery, and the Samuel French edition also gives this misinformation. However, the cast list in the French edition includes actors who were members of the Bowery company in 1859, not in 1856-1857.

One of the mainstays of Wallack's season was The Merchant of Venice; it was advertised that Mr. Wallack's playing of Shylock was his first time to play a Shakespearian role in two years. Brougham's role was Gratiano, which he had played in Boston at least twice, once with the Charles Keans as Shylock and Portia.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show that most of the remainder of the plays in which Brougham acted at Wallacks' Theatre in 1858-1859 were revivals, the only new plays not already mentioned being Americans in Paris for which a playwright was never listed,[35] Falconer's Men of the Day, Tom Taylor's Going to the Bad, or My Scotch Aunt, and Dr. D. Wadsworth Wainwright's Wheat and Chaff. An advertisement for the Taylor piece, for which the sub-title was sometimes or My Dutch Aunt, included a fashionable fancy ball for which Brougham was listed first

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35. Odell, Annals, VII, 26 credits Henry Hurbut for this piece.

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Table 5.5 - Plays by other playwrights acted in at least three times during 1858-1859 (6/23/58 - 9/1/59)

Play	Role	N	Wa	Me	H	Mc	O
Americans in Paris	Dr. Bothers		4				
Boarding School	Cornet Kavanagh		3				
Bold Dragoons	Hannibal Fuzee		4				
Box and Cox	John Box		15	2	1		
Charles XII	Charles XII		3				
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice		9				
Going to the Bad	Peter Potts		15				
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore				2	1	
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan	1			1	3	
London Assurance	Dazzle	5	3	1			
Men of the Day	Dr. Playfair		10				
Merchant of Venice	Gratiano		34				
Money	Stout	1	3				
Old Heads and Young Hearts	Col. Rocket	5		1			
Poor Gentleman	Dr. Ollapod	2		3			
Pretty Piece of Business	Capt. Felix Merryweather		2		2	1	1
Review, The	McTwolter		10				1
Rivals, the	Sir Lucius	2	2	3			
Road to Ruin, The	various	2		1			
School for Scandal	various	7	3	1			
Serious Family	Capt. Maguire				1	2	
Veteran, The	Oflan Agan		68				
West End, or The Irish Heiress	Major Fuss	3					
Wheat and Chaff	Job Merryweather		4				

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Table 5.6 - Plays by Brougham acted in at least three times during 1858-1859 (6/23/58 - 9/1/59)

Play	Role	N	Wa	Me	H	Mc	O
Art and Artifice	Moritz Wilde			4			
Columbus el Filibustero	Columbus	13		3	4	4	
David Copperfield	Micawber				3	2	
Dombey and Son	Capt. Cuttle				2	2	1
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	1	5		2	2	1
Neptune's Defeat	Neptune		30				
Pocahontas	Powhatan	12		5	4	3	
Take Care of Little Charley	Mickey Fogarty		5				

as Mephistopheles.

A review of the first night of Going to the Bad indicates that Brougham played his role of Peter Potts admirably even if it was not his usual type of role. The reviewer writes:

> The author gives to Potts a series of laughable situations, rather than to the other personages a number of connected events. In the first act, we find Potts loaning Hardingham money, wherewith that hero may marry the woman who has rejected Potts. In the next Potts gets drunk at a Belgravian ball, challenges numerous people to fight duels, and in the end he reforms and marries Lucy Johnson....Mr. Brougham's drunken Mephistopheles was admirably sustained... The part played by Mr. Brougham was written for Mr. Robson, whose style is smooth, quiet, and even, while Mr. Brougham's is sketchy, off-hand and demonstrative to a degree. The part is weighty, and the actor seemed sometimes to feel it. Indeed, we have not seen Mr. Brougham play so carefully, so well and so conscientiously for a long time, and he triumphed over a difficult part, written, as we have said, for an artist whose idiosyncracies (sic) are quite

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> opposite to those of the author of "Pocahontas." So Mr. Brougham's changes from the serious to the comic side of the character, if not so quiet and so subtle as the words would seem to denote, are still very well done, and Mr. Brougham may count Peter Potts among his best successes...." [36]

There were two additional roles which were new to Brougham during the season; even though he had appeared on stage many times when the program included the play Box and Cox, frequently with William Burton playing the role of John Box, a journeyman printer, there are no records of Brougham's appearing in this play prior to the 1858-1859 season. As Table 5.5 shows, he played John Box eighteen times during the season; it is interesting to note that even though Brougham later appeared when Box and Cox was programmed, he never acted in it again after this season. The other new role was that of Charles XII, the King of Sweden, in Planché's extravaganza of that name although he had played Muddlework in this piece at Burton's during the previous season.

Many differences exist between Brougham's roles at Wallack's and those at other theatres, particularly out of town. For example, while his Columbus el Filibustero was done thirteen times at Niblo's and eleven times at other theatres during the season, it was not done at Wallack's at all. Again the assumption may be made that this piece was too strongly associated with Burton, at least in the minds of the Wallacks.

After the season ended at Wallack's on June 7, 1859,

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36. Operatic and Dramatic Matters column, New York Herald, 15 Nov., 1858.

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Brougham appeared for a month at the Metropolitan Theatre, which had previously been Burton's Theatre, in New York. Conway managed the theatre until June 23, and then a change to Duffield's management was announced. W. R. Blake, Ada Clifton, Charles Walcot, Mary Gannon, George Holland, and Barton Hill, as well as the Conways, at least until they left the management, were members of the company. Brougham's melodrama, Art and Artifice, was given its premiere during the last week of Conway's management, and after four performances, was seen no more. Odell lists this as being founded on an old play of Quentin Matsys, but Hawes explains that it was an original five-act drama based on a historical incident and depicting in dramatic terms the personages illustrated by fifteenth-century Flemish artist Quentin Matsys in his painting, The Misers. The change in management not only affected Brougham's play, but programs generally took on a less serious nature, Duffield programming primarily such pieces as Pocahontas and The Great Tragic Revival where Conway had produced such classics as John Bull, The Poor Gentleman, and London Assurance.

On July 11, Brougham began a three-week engagement at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston which was followed by two weeks at McVicker's Theatre in Chicago. No records have been found for engagements between August 13 and September 19 when Brougham returned to Wallack's for the 1859-1860 season.

If the 1858-1859 season was a stable one for Brougham

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compared to the hectic pace of previous times, 1859-1860 was even more so, since he appeared in only three theatres except for the odd benefit during the whole of the season. Admittedly the season was short since Wallack's did not open until September 19, and crises both in the United States and elsewhere in the world must have affected not only Brougham but almost anyone who was concerned about suffering. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry took place on October 18, 1859, and Brown was hanged in early December, at about the same time that there was a great deal of controversy in New York about the premiere of Boucicault's The Octoroon.

In addition, with the rise of nationalism in Italy, movements of Garibaldi's troops were causing people to flee that country. One of the indications of how differently terms were used in the nineteenth century from the twentieth is gathered from a newspaper article from December, 1859 which described the condition of ten or so Italian refugees who had just arrived in New York.[37] Although a few of the men identified themselves as attorneys or medical doctors, most of them simply listed their occupation as gentlemen, something that would be unlikely today.

Another slightly earlier example of nineteenth-century decorum occurred in 1856 when an American attempted to attend a levee of England's Queen wearing a yellow waistcoat. The correspondent from the London Times wrote, in part: "When

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37. New York Herald, 26 Dec., 1860.

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will Americans learn manners? Who shall teach our transatlantic cousins how to behave?...."[38]

In addition to such national and international hubbub, the final settlement in the Forrest-Sinclair divorce case was announced with Mrs. Forrest being awarded $4000 a year when she would have agreed to have settled for $1500 at the beginning of the proceedings. Forrest himself declared that he intended to retire from the stage and open a hospital for aged actors in Philadelphia. Shortly into the new year of 1860, William Burton died after a short illness; while he and Brougham had not always been on the best of terms, Burton had disagreements with almost everyone, and theirs had been a long association.

Even though Brougham apparently did not act in venues other than Wallack's until almost the end of the 1859-1860 season, he was recognized elsewhere as playwright and actor. A playbill from the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia for Thanksgiving night, November 24, 1859 lists a program featuring Frank Drew. The program concluded with the laughable farce entitled the Stage Struck Lawyer in which Drew gave "vocal imitations" of John Brougham, John Drew, Mrs. W. J. Florence and Madame Gazzeniga. A program at the Chestnut Street Theatre on the previous November 12 had listed what was probably the same piece but under the title of the Oxenford

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38. "Americans at the Queen's Levee," New York Herald, 12 July, 1856, from the London Times of 26 June 26.

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Farce, Acting Mad! Or, When the Cat's Away the Mice will Play; in this case Frank Drew was listed to give "imitations" of John Brougham, John Drew, Mrs. Barney Williams, Adelina Patti, Edwin Forrest, Charles Kean, Frank Brower, and others.[39] In both cases, Brougham is listed first among the artists who are being impersonated, which must indicate that his manner and brogue would be instantly recognizable to a Philadelphia audience.

Although the advertisement for the opening of Wallack's Theatre on September 19, 1859, lists the first piece as "a new and original comedy written expressly for Wallack's," a playbill indicates that this five-act comedy, The Ruling Passion, was in fact written by Brougham.[40] There were also several mentions in news items that Brougham was the author. Before the farce, a "Quadrille of all Nations" and other music were performed. The acting was praised in reviews, but the play was not a success. Differing assessments of its reception were published in the same edition of the newspaper with a review of Wallack's saying that the play had been very favorably received but the dramatic column opening with the fact that the continuous rain in the previous week had

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39. Both playbills at Columbia University's Butler Library Manuscripts and Rare Books Division.

40. Advertisement, New York Herald, 19 Sept., 1859. Playbill for September 29 at Brooklyn Historical Society (dated by hand).

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seriously affected receipts at most New York theatres.[41]

After a series of revivals of old comedies, The Road to Ruin, The Rivals, The School for Scandal, and Money, sometimes paired with Boucicault's Love and Money or Brougham's Love and Murder, the season continued with one of its hits, Fast Men of the Olden Times, which was a re-titled version of Moncrieff's Rochester. Perhaps because this play opened on the same night as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, newspapers devoted little space at this time to theatrical matters, and a review was not published. Brougham's role was George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, with Mr. Lever as Charles II and Lester Wallack as John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. A playbill dated October 19 indicates that because "a house crowded to the ceiling pronounced the entire and grand success of the new play! it will be repeated to-night and every evening till further notice."[42]

After a couple of weeks, this three-act drama was paired with a new "comic musical duality" adapted expressly for this theatre from Les Deux Aveugles, with the English title Going It Blind.[43] Walcot played Bogus, a blind musician, and Buncomb, Brougham's role, is described as "a ditto a little more ditto." It is clear that part of this piece's amusement

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41. New York Herald, 26 Sept., 1859.

42. Columbia University's Butler Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

43. Odell mistakenly titles this piece Going Blind, but no newspaper advertisements support his title.

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comes from the fact that the musicians were pretending to be blind in order to con the public.

Although Brougham was announced in a newspaper advertisement on November 9, 1859, for the leading role, Miles Bertram, the Squire of Mostley, in a melodrama new to Wallack's, Buckstone's The Wreck Ashore, beginning on November 10, he apparently did not appear even for one night, as Mr. Dyott was announced to play Bertram in the advertisement on November 10. After a few days, it was announced that Brougham was returning as the Duke of Buckingham in Fast Men of the Olden Times, having recovered from his recent severe indisposition.[44]

After a couple of weeks of revivals of Wild Oats, John Bull, The Irish Heiress, The Clandestine Marriage, Americans in Paris, and Brougham's Romance and Reality, the second most popular piece of the season opened on December 7. The three-act comedy, Coyne's Everybody's Friend, had been a big hit at the Haymarket Theatre in London and had apparently been written expressly for the Mathews. In the role of Mr. Icebrook, Brougham was judged "...capital as a bashful lover..." although the reviewer wrote a less flattering opinion about Lester Wallack's acting.[45]

Brougham continued to appear on stage every evening either in Everybody's Friend or as the lead in the farce, The

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44. New York Herald, 9, 10 and 16 Nov., 1859.

45. Review, New York Herald, 8 Dec., 1859.

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Happy Man, sometimes called The Irish Post, until the true hit of the season began on January 24.

The Romance of a Poor Young Man, adapted from Octave Feuillet's work by Pierrepont Edwards and Lester Wallack, sustained an uninterrupted run of sixty-four performances with no curtain raiser or afterpiece starting January 25, 1860. A five-act drama with prologue, it was highly praised for the quality of the ensemble in the acting as well as the way the production was mounted. The character assigned to Brougham, Dr. Desmarets, was described as being formerly of the French army. After a month of miscellaneous programs, the season ended with four weeks of Tom Taylor's The Overland Route, beginning May 14; this comic drama had been a hit in London and focused on the overland route between India and England. A reviewer praised the whole cast including Brougham's acting of his role, Major McTurk, but noted that the character is "not as happy as usually falls to Mr. Brougham's lot."[46]

Brougham left Wallack's shortly before the end of the season and opened at the Howard Athenaeum for a three-week farewell engagement. It may have been that Brougham was particularly happy to get out of New York for a while because the first Mrs. Brougham had recently opened at the Bowery Theatre playing Hamlet on her first night. In Boston, as was usually the case for Brougham's out-of-town performances, the programs were largely filled with his own pieces or plays

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46. New York Herald, 16 May, 1860.

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associated with him such as The Siamese Twins or The Gentleman from Ireland. On July 2, Brougham returned to New York and appeared for fourteen nights at Niblo's Garden, appearing in Columbus el Filibustero, Pocahontas, and The Irish Tiger for his farewell benefit on July 14. He continued for two additional performances after his benefit, giving his last performance in America for several years on July 17. During this last engagement, his burlesque The Great Eastern, was premiered at Wallack's Theatre which was under the management of the Florences during the summer. A newspaper review calls this a burlesque on the "recent Japanese excitement."[47]

Plays in which Brougham acted at least three times during his last season in America prior to the Civil War are listed in Table 5.7, and Table 5.8 provides a comparative list of those plays performed at least ten times in one or more of the seasons covered in this chapter.

On July 18, 1860 Brougham and Mr. and Mrs. Dion Boucicault were listed as passengers on the Persia which sailed for Liverpool that day. Mrs. Brougham did not go with them.[48] On August 20, the New York Herald announced that Brougham had arrived in London and would probably soon appear

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47. Operatic and Dramatic Matters column, New York Herald, 9 July, 1860. Two Japanese princes had recently visited the city, and a ball and parade had been given in their honor. Also the largest steamship ever yet built, named The Great Eastern, had sailed from Liverpool on June 17 and arrived in New York on 28 June, 1860.

48. Shipping news column, New York Herald, 18 July, 1860.

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Table 5.7 - Plays acted in at least three times during 1859-1860 (9/2/59 - 7/17/60)

Play	Role	N	Wa	H
Americans in Paris	Dr. Bothers		3	
Columbus el Filibustero	Columbus	4		4
Everybody's Friend	Mr. Icebrook		34	
Fast Men of Olden Times	Buckingham		22	
Going It Blind	Buncomb		9	
Great Tragic Revival	Marcus Brutus Richelieu Smith			4
Happy Man, The	Paddy Murphy		5	
Heir at Law, The	Dr. Pangloss		3	
Irish Post, The	Terence O'Grady		7	
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra		6	
Love for Love	Ben		5	
Marriage Bliss of Box and Cox	Mr. Box		8	
Money	Stout		3	
Old Heads and Young Hearts	Col. Rocket		4	
Overland Route, The	Major McTurk		24	
Pocahontas	Pow-Ha-Tan I	12		6
Pretty Piece of Business	Capt. Felix Merryweather		3	
Private Theatricals	Tag			3
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius		3	
Road to Ruin, The	Mr. Sulky		4	
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift		4	2
Romance of a Poor Young Man	Dr. Desmarets		64	
Ruling Passion, The	Maurice O'Connor		10	
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver		6	
This House to be Sold	Auctioneer			5
Town and Country	Trot		3	
Wild Oats	John Dory		3	

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Table 5.8 - Plays acted in at least ten times in one or more seasons between 1856 and 1860

Play	Role	56-57	57-58	58-59	59-60
Box and Cox	John Box			18	
Camille Burlesque	Author	14			
Columbus el Filibustero	Columbus		51	24	8
David Copperfield	Micawber	10	12	5	
Dombey and Son	Cuttle*	16	14	5	
Dred	Uncle Jack	13			
Duality	Intruder	11			
Everybody's Friend	Mr. Icebrook				34
Fast Men of Olden Times	Buckingham				22
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice	7	14	9	
Going to the Bad	Peter Potts			15	
Life in New York	Tom Smith	22	9		
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	13	16	11	6
Marble Hearts	Diogenes/Ferdinand	11			
Men of the Day	Dr. Playfair			10	
Merchant of Venice	Gratiano			34	
Merry Wives of Windsor	Host of the Garter		10		
Met-a-mo-ra	Metamora	22	5		
Neptune's Defeat	Neptune			30	
Overland Route, The	Major McTurk				24
Pirates of/Mississippi	Patrick O'Toole	28	5		
Pocahontas	Pow-Ha-Tan I	80	53	24	18
Review, The	McTwolter			11	
Romance/Poor Young Man	Dr. Desmarets				64
Ruling Passion, The	Maurice O'Connor				10
School for Scandal	various			11	6
Serious Family	Maguire		11	3	
Veteran, The	Oflan Agan			68	
You're Another	Twitter		12		

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at the Haymarket Theatre. In writing about this journey later in his life, Brougham said that he was looking forward to a short rest; as with much else in Brougham's life, it seems that his sojourn of five years abroad was not planned. However, he was always able to make the best of any situation and be ready for a new adventure.

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Chapter Six - English Sojourn, 1860-1865, and Return to America, 1865-1880

> *He first gave to burlesque its crowning comic conceit of utter earnestness, of solemn seriousness; the which is now vaunted as a brand-new Gilbertian invention.*[1]

In the "Synopsis of Brougham's Career," written in the third person "by himself," he remarked that he sailed to England in 1860 with the intention of taking a holiday after finally paying off all the debts he had accumulated from his unsuccessful attempt at managing the Lyceum Theatre. He must have realized that political tensions in the United States were becoming more and more war-like, but he wrote that he had intended to stay away only a few months; "but the [United States Civil] war occurring in the mean time, he determined to remain away as long as it lasted, not wishing to be a witness to the fratricidal strife."[2]

The last twenty years of his stage career differ markedly from the previous thirty, primarily because of changes in theatre managerial practice which brought about ever-increasing long runs. Wallack had been particularly successful with long runs just prior to the Civil War, but they had been evolving for many years. Noted earlier were

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1. Benjamin Ellis Martin, "John Brougham" in Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton, Kean and Booth and Their Contemporaries, vol. 3 of Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1900), 283.

2. Life, 64-65.

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Vestris' many consecutive performances of London Assurance and other works in London in the late 1830's. In the United States, Burton's success with Dombey and Son and Po-ca-hon-tas could be counted as long runs although Burton more often programmed the same piece on a frequent and regularly recurring basis than on consecutive nights.

In addition to the practice of long runs, theatre managers made efforts to reduce the importance of the actor and focus more on the playwright as made evident by increasing mention of the playwright's name in newspaper advertisements and on playbills; fewer advertisements listed names of actors. There were certainly exceptions to this practice, but it is particularly true that during Brougham's sojourn in England, reviews concerning him focused more on analytic descriptions of his plays than on his stage appearances. When he returned to America, he was still extremely popular both as an actor and as a playwright, but outside of New York, advertisements in local newspapers increasingly listed him as playwright as well as actor.

In addition to the playwright, the theatre manager began receiving more regular notice in newspaper advertisements. For years in the London Times, even brief advertisements had included the name of the theatre manager, but in the United States, the manager's name had often been omitted prior to the Civil War. Nearly all post-war American advertisements listed the name of the manager or manageress at the head.

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These changes in theatre practice influenced the breadth of Brougham's repertoire, and for these reasons, Chapter Six will be divided into three sections rather than being strictly chronological as previous chapters have been. The three sections will focus on: 1) Brougham's activities in England and Ireland during the American Civil War; 2) his performances in New York after his return to the United States; and 3) his performances outside of New York. It is hoped that this division will make clear to the reader that the nature of his performances in New York at times contrasts even more with those outside of it than in previous years.

Life in England and Ireland, 1860-1865

Given Brougham's hectic activity in New York and Boston just prior to his departure for England in the summer of 1860, it is likely that he had made no arrangements to perform in England. However, in October he acted for a little more than a month at Theatre Royal, Haymarket in London which was under the management of Buckstone, whom Brougham had previously known in London. According to advertisements in the London Times and the occasional playbill, he acted the role of Jack Swift in his Romance and Reality twenty times during this engagement. On ten other evenings, he played the role of Sir Patrick O'Plenipo in The Irish Ambassador. The critic of the London Times, like many during Brougham's stay there, was quick to point out that Brougham was Irish, not English, and

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like many reviewers, focused his comments on what he termed faults in construction of the play with almost no comment on Brougham's acting. However, the reviewer in the weekly Era was more generous in praise of the play, and it was apparently quite attractive to audiences.

Brougham's engagement in London was followed by a week in Manchester where Romance and Reality was featured each day. The Era reported that this play had been a big hit in Manchester and that Brougham was given a complimentary banquet by prominent citizens of the city. The article includes a synopsis of Brougham's speech at the banquet.[3] It contained a reference to the "first sensation that he experienced on catching a glimpse" of his native land after so many years of estrangement; perhaps he went to Ireland before he made the tour to Manchester or even before he performed at the Haymarket in London. Of course, it may be that as an Anglo-Irishman, Brougham was referring to England as his native land, at least to a group of distinguished Englishmen.

Brougham apparently continued to tour in northern England after his appearances in Manchester because it was reported in the next week's edition of The Era that he had played at the Royal Amphitheatre in Liverpool.

In early 1861 Brougham returned to the Haymarket for several performances and had the pleasure of performing Sir

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3. "Handsome Compliment to Mr. John Brougham," The Era, 16 Dec., 1860.

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Lucius O'Trigger in front of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on February 11. He had played this same role and at least three others at performances at Covent Garden attended by the Queen in 1840. She was widely recognized as supporting and enjoying theatre and the company of actors; she was the first English monarch to bestow a knighthood on an actor, Sir Henry Irving. Brougham could not have known that the February performance of The Rivals would be one of the last that the Queen attended in a theatre, but the Queen's mother died a few weeks later, and Prince Albert died only about a year later. While the royal children were encouraged to engage in amateur dramatics, and a series of command performances were given by a number of English and French companies at various castles, the Queen never again attended a theatrical performance in public.[4]

There may have been extensive periods of time during Brougham's stay in Britain when he was not acting; the pantomime still reigned supreme at most British theatres during the months of December and January. Although the Florences gave Brougham's Dombey and Son in Edinburgh in December, 1861, I have found evidence of Brougham acting during only two Decembers during the five years that he lived in England. The first was in Manchester from December 3 through 14, 1861, the two weeks prior to the presentation of

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4. George Rowell, Queen Victoria Goes to the Theatre (London: Paul Elek, 1978), 129-130, 138.

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the pantomime at the Theatre Royal, during which time he appeared in Playing with Fire and premiered Flies in the Web.[5] The second December was in 1863 during the long run of Bel Demonio with Fechter at the Royal Lyceum.

Essentially of course long runs meant that Brougham played fewer roles; in fact, only sixteen roles during the whole of the five years that he performed in Britain have been validated. A seventeenth role can be presumed to be Captain Cuttle in a few performances which were advertised with no roles listed of his version of Dombey and Son. An eighteenth role is unnamed but includes what are advertised as "imitations of celebrated tragedians" in the farce, The Stage-Struck Tailor, performed a few times in Manchester in 1861. This piece was probably the farce often presented in America as The Stage-Struck Actor; perhaps Brougham adjusted the title to make a better fit with Manchester's primary industry, clothing and textile manufacturing, although he had previously played it with that title once in Philadelphia.

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5. In his dissertation, Hawes gives two possible years for the premiere of Flies in the Web but emphasizes that he thinks it occurred sometime between 1863 and 1865. The printed edition of the play gives a cast list (including Henry Irving) and states that it was first produced in Manchester. The Manchester Guardian advertised this play from December 11 through 14, 1861 and stated that it was being played for the first time in England. The advertisement's ambiguity does not clarify if the play had been produced in Ireland or if it is referring to the fact that it was revised from Brougham's The Game of Love, which had been performed extensively in the United States. No published review has been found. Hawes states that Nicoll lists the first performance of Flies in the Web as occurring in 1870, and Mullin does not list the play at all.

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The Era reports that Brougham played Myles-na-Coppaleen in Boucicault's The Colleen Bawn and Hawkshaw in The Ticket-of-Leave Man in Birmingham in 1864, but I have not included these roles because I have found no confirmation of exact dates. Following the engagements with the Boucicaults in Dublin, he may have repeated the role Kyrle Daly in The Colleen Bawn in Belfast in late 1864 or early 1865, but the engagement in Belfast was terminated early because of Mrs. Boucicault's illness.[6] I have been able to find programs for only a few performances in Edinburgh, and no programs have been found for Liverpool and Belfast where Brougham reportedly acted. Still even if he played twenty roles during these five years, the total was remarkably fewer roles than in previous single years in the United States. As an actor, he was certainly not required to learn as many new roles as he had in past years.

During the first two years of his stay in Great Britain, Brougham's acting engagements were interrupted by periods of relative inactivity although he wrote several plays, some apparently on commission. However, when Fechter re-opened the Lyceum Theatre in London in January of 1863 featuring The Duke's Motto, Brougham became regularly employed not only as a playwright but also as an actor. Although he later said that Fechter gave him only a box of cigars for the rights to the play, it was clear that by translating and adapting a

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6. The Era, 28 Aug. and 4 Sept., 1864 and 18 Jan., 1865.

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three-act romantic drama from Paul Feval's Le Bossu, he became an integral member of the Lyceum company. The Duke's Motto spawned a series of burlesques, always a sign of popularity, and continued for 179 consecutive performances.[7] Brougham's role of Carrickfergus was Irish but not particularly comic being a worldly, dashing soldier of fortune and supporter of Legardere, the principal character played by Fechter. Another sign of the early popularity of this play is the fact that William Wheatley produced it in New York at Niblo's Garden in the summer of 1863 where it was done with only brief interruptions for nearly three months of consecutive performances.

When Fechter finally closed the Royal Lyceum Theatre for the season on August 8, 1863, he did not re-open it until October 31, once again with an adaptation by Brougham from Stendhal's Italian Chronicles in what was advertised on a playbill as a love story in twelve tableaux, Bel Demonio. Critics carped that this was really a melodrama and explained that in writing the role of Cardinal Montalto, Brougham had created a better character for himself than Carrickfergus, but that Fechter's role of Angelo was not as good as that of

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7. One of the burlesques on The Duke's Motto was first produced at the Grecian Saloon on July 28, 1863. It was written by George Conquest and titled The Motto on the Duke's Crest "I Am Here." This is only one of a whole large group of burlesques on the Brougham adaptation of Feval's play, some of which received their own reviews in the London Times, and many of which are mistakenly listed by Hawes as alternate titles for Brougham's play.

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Legardere in The Duke's Motto.

Bel Demonio continued nightly throughout the Christmas and pantomime season and into the spring even when Fechter was unable to perform in March because of an injury from an accident. After 140 consecutive performances of Bel Demonio, the season continued with nine performances of Brougham's Playing with Fire. Finally, Fechter closed the Princess Theatre for three weeks in May to prepare his production of Hamlet.

In the early spring of 1864 hundreds of people in Sheffield had perished in a devastating flood when an earthen dam in a valley above the city had broken in the middle of the night giving victims no chance for escape. Fechter announced that the proceeds of the first night of Hamlet on May 21 would be given to the survivors of the Sheffield flood, many of whom had lost family members as well as all material possessions. With Kate Terry as Ophelia and Brougham in the role of Polonius, the tragedy was performed nightly until June 25.[8]

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8. In comparing Fechter's portrayal of Hamlet to that of Edwin Booth and discussing the controversy in the theatrical community over the relative merits of each, Odell writes that both Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins admired Fechter's production of Hamlet greatly. Charles Dickens wrote an article "On Mr. Fechter's Acting" which was published in Atlantic Monthly in August 1869 (242-244) in which he highly praises Fechter's Hamlet and his acting in general. He acknowledges that he has become Fechter's friend, but states that he admired him as an actor before they became friends. This article was published just prior to Fechter's first American tour. Dickens does not mention Brougham's acting or that of any other actor in the Fechter production of Hamlet. The review in the London Times also does not mention Brougham.

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This production marked the end of Brougham's association with Fechter; in fact, when Fechter later came to the United States, he performed The Duke's Motto on a regular basis, but there are almost no notices that give any indication that Brougham was involved in the writing of this play.[9] It is not known if they parted on a friendly or unfriendly basis, but Brougham implied that Fechter was not a generous manager in the few words that he later wrote about their relationship.

However, it appears that Brougham, as usual, had warm feelings and good relations with the rest of the Lyceum Theatre company, and the 1863-1864 season in London was followed by a short summer season in Manchester and Birmingham which Brougham might have arranged and led. At least the Manchester Guardian implied his leadership in advertisements for the company's engagement at the Theatre Royal in that city. The principal attraction was Brougham's The Golden Dream, a new three-act romantic comic drama based on The History of Venice. Brougham's role was Marco Bragadino, a famous alchemist who possessed the ability to turn dross metal into gold and also had a formula for a medication that induced visions.

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9. Lawrence Barrett, with whom Brougham appeared in California in 1869, later made The Duke's Motto his own stage vehicle as well. He revised Brougham's version slightly, and it is the Barrett version which is published, under Brougham's name in America's Lost Plays, Barrett H. Clark, general editor, Vol. XVI, Metamora and Other Plays, Eugene R. Page, ed. (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1941, Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1965). Brougham's original version of the play is available in the Library of Congress.

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Most of the rest of Brougham's time in Britain was consumed by a working relationship with Dion Boucicault. The Boucicaults had been extremely successful throughout the British Isles, acting nearly every night in long run after long run. Boucicault's Irish play The Colleen Bawn had been subjected to at least as many parodies as Brougham's The Duke's Motto. Boucicault later told many times that he admired Brougham's acting so much that he wrote the role of Colonel O'Grady in Arrah-Na-Pogue for him, and together they premiered the play in Dublin in November, 1864.

A section of an undated clipped newspaper article discovered in a scrapbook gives the only instance of an improvisation by Brougham within a play that I have found:

> That genial, whole-souled Irishman, John Brougham, who was the living embodiment of the O'Grady, must be given a line to himself. Long an exile from his native land, Brougham as actor, author, and manager, had written his name large in the picturesque annals of the American stage. Boucicault has left it on record how night after night he used to stand unseen in the prompt entrance to drink in Brougham's exudation of the magnanimous Celtic spirit in his realisation of the O'Grady. Loyalty to his friend made him avow that the finish line in the play, that uttered by the O'Grady on going off in the second act, "Oh, Father Adam, why didn't you die with all your ribs in your body," was Brougham's own interpolation.[10]

Arrah-Na-Pogue ran in Dublin for thirty consecutive performances, including one by the command of Lord Lieutenant

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10. W. J. Lawrence, "The Metamorphosis of Arrah Na Pogue," Special to the "Saturday Herald," undated newspaper clipping in Dion Boucicault scrapbook, Townsend Walsh Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

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and Lady Wodehouse; the only interruption to the long run was for four performances of The Colleen Bawn. Following a brief interlude where Boucicault made some revisions to the play and Brougham acted in Belfast, Arrah-Na-Pogue opened at the Princess Theatre on March 22, 1865 in London and ran there for 164 consecutive performances.

One of the special hits of the Dublin production had been Boucicault's revision of the Irish street ballad, "The Wearing of the Green," but his lyrics were judged to be too strident and were banned by Queen Victoria's cabinet ministers after the first performance of the London production.[11] The play was a big hit though and ran through the summer, finally closing on September 30, 1865. Brougham left Liverpool for New York on the Scotia on October 7.

A study of Table 6.1 reveals a much smaller number of verified performances of far fewer plays in British and Irish cities during his five-year visit there than in previous five-year periods during his career.

Brougham's stay in the British Isles had certainly been good to him in many ways. Not only had he avoided a great deal of the grief of seeing the sadness brought about by the American Civil War, but he increased his reputation both as an actor and as a playwright. For the most part, the roles that

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11. Townsend Walsh, The Career of Dion Boucicault (New York: Dunlap Society, 1915, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), 104. Walsh reports that the last time Queen Victoria visited Ireland, she was greeted with the playing of that song.

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Table 6.1 - Performances in British and Irish Cities - 10/8/60 - 9/30/65

Play	Role	City	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5
Arrah-Na-Pogue	Colonel O'Grady	Dublin					30
		London					144
Bel Demonio	Count Montalto	London				140	
Colleen Bawn	Kyrle Daly	Dublin					6
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	Manchester		3			
Dombey and Son	not listed	Manchester		4			
Duke's Motto, The	Carrickfergus	London			162		
Flies in the Web	C. Foxglove	Manchester		8		3	
		Dublin		6			
Golden Dream, The	Marco Bragadino	Manchester				15	
Hamlet	Polonius	London				31	
His Last Legs	O'Calla-ghan	Manchester		4		4	
		Dublin		1			
Irish Ambassador	Sir Patrick	London	10	3			
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	Manchester		2			
Love and Murder	Terry Magra	London		5			
		Manchester	17	1			
		Dublin		6			
Playing with Fire	Doctor Savage	London		45	1	9	
		Manchester	25	13		6	
		Dublin		7			
		Edinburgh		4			
Po-ca-hon-tas	Pow-Ha-Tan	London		12			
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius	London	11				
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	London	20				
		Manchester	13				
Stage-Struck Tailor	not listed	Manchester	5				

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he played during his stay in Britain were light comedy rather than low comedy. Having played so few roles during these five years, it is not clear if Brougham had lost any of his facility for learning new roles or any of his memory of familiar ones, but it seems unlikely as he was soon playing roles that he had not played since he left America in 1860. He also was soon writing new plays and performing both his and others' post-war creations.[12]

New York Performances in Later Years

1865-1870

During the first five years that Brougham was back in the United States, his performances in New York and Brooklyn[13] were much like those in the rest of the country, that is being primarily of his own works or those long associated with him such as A Gentleman from Ireland, The Nervous Man, or His Last Legs. However, as Table 6.2 illustrates, Brougham's repertoire in New York was much more extensive than it had

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12. Shortly before Brougham returned to the United States, his first wife, Emma Williams Brougham, died in New York on June 30, 1865. The first Mrs. Brougham had married again and sometimes used her new married name of Robertson but often used the name Brougham which seemed to cause no end of confusion.

13. Brooklyn was not incorporated into the City of New York until after Brougham's death, but since his appearances in Brooklyn were just a short ferry ride away and did not require an overnight stay, I am considering that they are "home" and not "road" appearances. To avoid redundancy, readers may assume that references to New York appearances in this chapter include those in Brooklyn.

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Table 6.2 - Performances in New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870

		65-66	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70
Better Late Than Never	Major Fergus				12	
Columbus Reconstructed	Columbus	24		2		
David Copperfield	Micawber	2	6	2		4
Dombey and Son	Capt. Cuttle	6?	3	2		3
Fast Man, The	Skyrocket Ned					
Flies in the Web	Corydon Foxglove	12				
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice	12	2	1	18	2
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	14	1		6	
Irish Stew, An	Bryan				15	
Lottery of Life, The	Terry, the Swell			54		10
Minnie's Luck	Horatio Pryor					14?
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	Shylock				24	12
Nervous Man	McShane	6				
O'Donnell's Mission	Capt. O'Donnell	23	1	6		
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	18	1			2
Pocahontas	Powhatan	25	12	5	12	5
Red Light, The	Ned MacDermott					
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver				2	

*does not include one performance each of customary roles in Metamora and Serious Family in 1866-1867 and one each as Polonius in the second act of Hamlet and Dazzle in London Assurance in 1869-1870.

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been in England and Ireland. With the exception of a half season at Wallack's Theatre and a less-than-four-month season in his own last attempt at theatre management at Brougham's Fifth Avenue Theatre, engagements in New York theatres were not as a member of a company but more in the nature of star engagements. It seems that Brougham rented New York theatres during a couple of summers since no manager was listed in advertisements or on playbills, and he was the leading member of the company in each case.

During the early years of Brougham's return to America, much of the arrangements for his career were announced as assumed by T. E. Morris, an actor who had married Brougham's step-daughter shortly after Brougham left for England. In fact, several of Brougham's plays were published in the United States during the years that he was abroad with the notation that Morris should be contacted for the rights to the play.

Advertisements for Brougham's engagements in several cities indicate that Morris was also engaged as an actor in the same productions, giving evidence that Brougham provided acting opportunities for Morris. However, there were times when they were in direct competition, and it seems likely that there was a serious rift in their relationship near the end of Brougham's career. Brougham and Morris are listed at the same address in some city directories during Brougham's trip to England, but after his return, they are always listed at separate addresses. In some fragments of Brougham's diary

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that William Winter published, which may have been written during a time when Brougham was burning many of his diaries and unpublished works, Brougham wrote, "wrote to Mr. _____ who is in mortal fear of losing the royalty on my plays. He deserves but little consideration from me; nevertheless, I shall not interfere, though I am as badly off as he is."[14] During the course of this chapter I will point out examples of their cooperation and disagreements and will try to prove that it may be likely that Brougham was referring to Morris in his diary.

Brougham arrived in New York on October 19 (on the steamship Scotia from Liverpool) and made his first acting appearance as Doctor Savage in his Playing with Fire at the Winter Garden Theatre on October 30. His first appearance was reviewed in part as follows:

> A thoroughly hearty reception was extended to Mr. John Brougham last evening by his numerous friends. That the latter constitute no limited circle may be inferred from the fact that the theatre was crowded, and that Mr. Brougham's friends are hale and hearty and of one mind, was manifest by the tumultuous applause with which they regaled themselves on every possible opportunity. We have rarely seen a more genial gathering, and we can readily believe that Mr. Brougham was--as he stated in his amusing speech--thoroughly bewildered at his reception--which word, we may add, applied to the entire play, and not merely to Mr. Brougham's entry in the first act. Every scene was applauded, and at the end of each act the fortunate favorite was called out. There was no one in the house, we venture to say, who did not feel pleased at this spontaneous and entirely genuine ovation to

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14. "Extracts from Brougham's Diaries," Life, entry for 11 Aug., 1878, 89-90.

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an admirable author and actor.[15]

It should be noted that theatres had already booked star performers by the time Brougham arrived in New York, and J. S. Clarke received some extremely complimentary notices for yielding several days of his engagement at the Winter Garden so that Brougham might appear. However, Brougham's engagement book indicates that he paid Clarke $300 cash each week for this opportunity.[16] Brougham's slightly more than three weeks at the Winter Garden Theatre concluded with a benefit attended by General Meade, the mayor, and several other prominent citizens. Brougham's entire curtain speech was printed in the New York Times the next day, and the article related that he and a group of friends had been followed by much of the audience from the theatre to the New York Hotel where he had given another short speech to the crowd. The program included the first American presentation of a piece of music written by Brougham while in England called the Bobolink Polka. This piece was performed throughout the country and became at least as popular as the Serious Family Polka of some years earlier. Brougham also wrote other musical pieces such as the Keystone Waltz; these were often first programmed to commemorate some special occasion.

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15. New York Times, 31 Oct., 1865.

16. Brougham kept an engagement book for the 1865-1866 season, listing receipts of the theatre and his own gross and net income. This book is in the Harvard Theatre Collection and will be more fully described in the section below on his out-of-town engagements during this season.

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Brougham's successful engagement at the Winter Garden was followed by a little more than a month in Philadelphia which will be described in the next section. After a brief hiatus during the week of Christmas, Brougham appeared on the evening of New Year's Day and the following three nights in Brooklyn at the Park Theatre from January 1-4, 1866 before leaving on an extended tour encompassing the first six months of 1866.

Two days after concluding an engagement in Boston, he opened at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York on June 4; he apparently rented this theatre for the summer of 1866 since he appeared there for nearly three and a half months, mostly in old favorites but introducing O'Donnell's Mission to New York on August 13, 1866. This was such a hit that it continued through the end of Brougham's engagement on September 1. However, the actor who succeeded Brougham failed miserably, and Brougham returned to the Winter Garden on September 6, playing O'Donnell's Mission through September 11 and ending this brief re-engagement on September 15. Another few nights at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn were followed by another year on the road.

On May 6, 1867, Brougham reappeared in New York at the Olympic Theatre for what was initially announced as a six-night engagement. On May 10, the advertisement in the New York Times announced that fifty ballet ladies were wanted at this theatre for Mr. Brougham's great extravaganza of Columbus which was to be produced next week. Brougham had revised and

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retitled his 1857 Columbus el Filibustero as Columbus Reconstructed.

Retaining the structure of what Pat Ryan described as a "formless patriotic pageant" with Brougham as Columbus, the play included a good deal of history from Columbus' meeting with Ferdinand and Isabella to the current status of statehood in the United States. Columbus was guided in his voyage to the New World by the mythical figure of Columbia, whom he meets in a dream. The procession at the end of the play included young ladies representing each of the states currently admitted to the Union. In the new version of the play, Brougham left Miss Colorado reclining in the middle of the stage, reflecting the state's indeterminate status since Congress had approved it for statehood but President Andrew Johnson had vetoed the bill.[17]

However, the immediate production of this play probably was postponed as all advertisements for this theatre disappeared after May 18, and Brougham appeared in a couple of benefits in Philadelphia in late May. On July 22, 1867, he and Emily Thorne headlined at the Olympic, first appearing in Columbus, and continued until the summer season ended on August 31. It is not clear just who the manager of this theatre was; one short item in a newspaper column refers to a "Mr. Grover [who] has effected an engagement with Mr. Brougham

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17. Ryan, "Columbus el Filibustero," 149-157.

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and Miss Emily Thorne."[18] No general manager or lessee was listed on playbills or advertisements, but T. E. Morris was sometimes listed as stage manager during the summer. Although reviews of the period indicate that the theatre was crowded, it is not clear if Brougham actually made a profit. In a list of engagements that he kept intermittently for a couple of seasons, he indicated that he had appeared at the Olympic for six weeks during this summer. All other engagements in this book include the names of the plays in which he appeared; for the Olympic, he simply wrote "No Returns" under the name of the theatre and underlined these words twice.[19] It is not clear whether he meant that he did not make any money or if he did not plan to return to this theatre, but an examination of New York newspapers for the summer indicates that a great many theatres remained open during this particular summer, and it may have been that there was just too much competition to make a comfortable profit possible for anyone in the theatre profession.

During the 1867-1868 season, Brougham did not appear at all in Manhattan although he twice had two-week engagements at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn, one in October-November, 1867 and the second in April of 1868. All of the repertoire at these engagements was identical to programs on the road.

The review of the initial appearance in Brooklyn marks

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18. "Amusements," New York Times, 22 July, 1867.

19. Engagement book, Harvard Theatre Collection

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the only time that I have found a pun on the pronunciation of Brougham's name in print. The critic writes in part:

> At Mrs. Conway's pleasant symposium, the Park Theatre, we are soon to have a regular genuine unadulterated sensation in the shape of a new play by the most genial of playwrights, and in the shape too of the most fascinating of comedians, John Brougham. Talk about your new broom sweeping clean, where's the new broom that can for an instant compare to John Brougham?[20]

In summer of 1868 Brougham rented Wallack's Theatre where he presented his Lottery of Life every night for two months. Apparently this play was considered a great hit, and there was an announcement in the New York Times as early as June 28 that James Fisk was refurbishing the Fifth Avenue Theatre for an autumn reopening, and Brougham would be manager.

Whatever possessed Brougham to try his hand at theatre management again will never be clear to those who try to understand this man. He had been very successful as an actor and perhaps even more successful as a playwright, especially since his return from the British Isles, but he clearly had no head for anything financial, and his creativity as a manager had always exceeded his business acumen. Perhaps he was really "taken in" by James Fisk, who was widely known as unscrupulous in business dealings; in fact, Fisk was assassinated when entering the Grand Central Hotel in New York only four years after Brougham had been unsuccessful in

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20. "Theatricals at Home and Abroad," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 21 Oct., 1867.

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dealing with him concerning the Fifth Avenue Theatre.[21]

The contract between Fisk and Brougham (which Odell mentions owning in his multi-volume work, Annals of The New York Stage) is now in the Brander Matthews collection at Columbia University's Butler Library Manuscripts and Rare Books Division. Even a layman's perusal of this document makes it clear that Brougham was entering a contract that would be impossible to fulfill. All of the financial advantages were on the side of Fisk, and Brougham would have had to limit his company to a tiny size and fill every seat every night in order to meet expenses. The Fifth Avenue Theatre was small by standards of the time, seating only between 900 and 1000 people, but it had been decorated with mirrors to make it appear larger. Laurence Hutton reports that the building had been built in about 1865 to be used as a "gold-room at the time of the absurd excitement in New York called the gold-fever."[22]

However, Odell writes that the building was designed for an evening stock exchange but closed soon after opening because of objections from Wall Street. Soon it was let to George Christy who called it the Fifth Avenue Opera House and

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21. Fisk was gunned down by Edward S. Stokes on the afternoon of January 6, 1872 as he was entering the hotel to visit a woman who was also a friend of Mr. Stokes. William Winter writes disparagingly of the way in which Fisk had treated Brougham and tells of Winter's refusal to work for Fisk in his article on Brougham in Other Days, 114-117.

22. Hutton, Plays and Players, 78.

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programmed minstrels and other variety acts. It was then used by a series of minstrel troupes until it opened in September 1867 as the Fifth Avenue theatre presenting burlesque and extravaganza. Because of a piece of bad luck, it was closed in January 1868 and remained closed for nearly an entire year before Fisk bought it. Edwin Kelly, of Kelly and Leon's Minstrels, got into a quarrel in the street in front of the theatre with Sam Sharpley and his brother Tom Sharpe, competing minstrels. The quarrel got out of hand and ended with Kelly shooting and killing Sharpe in the street. As Odell points out, it was no fault of the theatre that the men chose this location for their quarrel, but it did apparently affect attendance enough so that the theatre closed.[23] While others might have accepted this occurrence as a grim omen, Brougham was always one to accept a new challenge.

While Brougham, as usual, did not have any initial trouble drawing full houses, many pieces he had been playing elsewhere, such as The Lottery of Life, had been designed for larger theatres and would have been impossible to present at the intimate Fifth Avenue Theatre. Audiences of all classes had now become more accustomed to melodrama and spectacle and were less ready for witty comedy suited for a small theatre. Brougham's opening programs indicate that he obviously still preferred the multiple play format even though this practice was rapidly disappearing from most theatres and would be

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23. Odell, Annals, vol. 9, 82-83, 217-219, 339-340.

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entirely gone within a matter of just a few years.

When he finally was able to open the theatre on January 25, 1869, the opening program was reminiscent of that for Brougham's Lyceum in 1850. The two pieces were called Dramatic Review for 1868 and Better Late than Never, Brougham taking the role of Major Fergus O'Shaughnessy in the latter. The audience apparently did not get Brougham's joke because after twelve performances, the latter piece disappeared and was replaced by a new Brougham local drama, adapted from a French farce, An Irish Stew, or, the Mysterious Widow of Long Branch. The cast of this new work included Mrs. William Winter, the wife of the critic who according to several sources had been trying her hand at acting; Brougham played the role of Bryan Magilder, an Irish journalist and the new correspondent for the London Times.

On February 15, during the run of this piece, a new theatre, The Waverly, the refitted Hope Chapel, was opened by T. E. Morris and H. Wall specializing in burlesque and variety entertainment. Located at 720 Broadway, it was within easy walking distance of Brougham's new theatre. Certainly this direct competition would not have eased any friction between Brougham and Morris.

Whatever friction may have developed during early 1869, it appears to have eased in 1870 as indicated by the following short item which appeared on the second page of The Season, the house bill for Booth's Theatre, Fifth Avenue Theatre,

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etc.:

> Mr. John Brougham has shown his large heartedness in a signal and substantial manner towards the estimable Mr. Thos. E. Morris, his son-in-law, to whom he has recently transferred all benefit, title and interest in his entire repertoire of original plays. Mr. Morris is a worthy custodian of this rich mine of literary wealth. Let us remind Mr. Morris that The Season is the only authorized house-bill at Booth's Theatre.[24]

Less than a month after opening his theatre, Brougham gave up on new works and began programming such old favorites as A Gentleman from Ireland and Pocahontas, with occasional performances of An Irish Stew and Jenny Lind. Finally in early March, Brougham premiered one of the funniest pieces he ever wrote, Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice, with the role of Shylock assigned to himself. According to William Winter, a not entirely unprejudiced critic, this piece was a "brilliant burlesque;" He writes in part:

> I do not think a more sparkling effect of comic humor can have been produced upon the stage than that which ensued upon his [Brougham's] tempestuous entrance as Shylock, when wildly

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24. The Season, Monday, 9 May, 1870. Playbill collection, New York Historical Society, prints department. (Noted in the obituary of Phyllis Morris, Brougham's daughter-in-law, in the New York Dramatic Mirror (31 Mar., 1900): "Mrs. Morris had been a widow since 1885, and during the last years of her life she suffered from extreme poverty. She derived an income for some years from several of Mr. Brougham's plays that he had given her and that were let on royalty. When this source of income failed, Mrs. Morris became almost destitute. Her pride prevented her from seeking assistance, and it is said that her continued anxiety over money matters brought upon her the affliction from which she died. The funeral services were held in the rooms of the Actors' Fund on March 24, and the remains were buried in the Fund plot in the cemetery of the Evergreens.)

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rushing toward his brother Hebrew, he broke into song, with

"O, Tubal deal, did you not hear
The news that's going round?
My Jessicay has cut away
And nowhere can be found."

Winter points out that Brougham set these words to the tune of the "Wearing of the Green" which had been made widely popular through the medium of Boucicault's Arrah-Na-Pogue.[25] While the burlesque was given extremely cordial reviews by most writers, there was a segment of the audience even in New York who had lost any taste for Shakespearian burlesque and regarded Shakespeare's writings as close to sacred, never to be the subject of fun. However, Brougham's piece ran, usually accompanied by A Gentleman from Ireland, but ironically played with His Last Legs for the last six nights, until the season ended abruptly for Brougham on April 3. Brougham claimed that he left because Fisk had tried to interfere with his artistic decisions, but he also made it clear that he had lost $20,000 in dealing with him. It is true that Brougham apparently did not pay much heed to the contract that he signed, and it is also true that Fisk did take over the running of the theatre on his own for a while, but Brougham's failure at the Fifth Avenue Theatre was not his first dismal lack of success at theatre management. No evidence has been found of his ever trying direct management of a theatre again.

Brougham headed out of town almost immediately, returning

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25. "Recollections and Relics," Life, 121.

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to play a three-week engagement at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn in late May. On May 19, a day-long benefit was given for Brougham with the afternoon performance taking place at Niblo's Garden and the evening performance being done at the Theatre Francais. Brougham was scheduled to appear as Sir Oliver in The School for Scandal in the afternoon and to play Wilkins Micawber in David Copperfield at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn before playing Gerald Fitzmaurice in the evening performance of A Gentleman from Ireland at the Theatre Francais. A playbill for the whole day's benefit gave a list of volunteer artists which was three columns wide and included just about everyone who had been or was currently involved in New York theatre including both Wallacks, Edwin Booth, and Dan Bryant.[26] It appears likely that even if Brougham's failure as a manager was at least partly his own fault, he was so popular that his theatrical colleagues were willing to give their own time and money to assist him.

The remainder of 1869 was filled with the adventure of a trip to California where he must have enjoyed the fabulously complimentary reviews he received in San Francisco. With the exception of a three-week engagement at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn in January of 1870 and occasional benefits at theatres in New York, Brougham did not play in New York until he again apparently rented Wallack's Theatre for the early

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26. Brander Matthews Collection, Columbia University's Butler Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

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part of the summer of 1870.

From June 6 through July 9 Brougham performed either Ned MacDermot in The Red Light, or A Signal of Danger, a new work that he had premiered in San Francisco in August of 1869 or Horatio Pryor in Minnie's Luck, or Ups and Downs of City Life. Odell classifies The Red Light as a failure, but reviewers often liked the play, which was done at least eighty-seven times, mostly outside of New York. After the New York premiere, the following was written about Brougham's acting:

> Mr. John Brougham is so captivating an actor in nearly all he undertakes that it is scarcely necessary to say he delighted his audience last night as Ned McDermott; or that his incidental speeches between the acts were in all particulars worthy of the occasion.[27]

Minnie's Luck was a somewhat less successful domestic melodrama, Minnie being described as the child of a divorced woman whose husband steals her child and undertakes to train her up in misery and shame. Brougham played Horatio Pryor, who rescued the child.

Brougham had almost always made an effort to spend Christmas week during his recent travels in New York with his family, and he was probably deeply affected by the death of his wife, the former Annette Nelson, on May 3, 1870. Although there had been rumors in the early 1850's that their marriage was not always stable, notes from a few days of Brougham's diary that were published posthumously by Winter indicate that

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27. New York Times, 7 June, 1870.

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Brougham apparently enjoyed spending time with his wife when he could. As always, it seems that he was hard pressed to make a living. However, it also seems that he regarded his wife as providing a stability to his life and one letter from Detroit dated Sunday, 1869 that he wrote to Winter implies Brougham's eagerness and delight at the thought of returning home to New York from his travels. Brougham wrote that he was eager to reach "home, sweet home" in New York after touring, adding the line, "Shall I ever be permitted to settle down to it?"[28]

Mrs. Clara Fischer Maeder in her autobiography tells of an incident which occurred when she was staying one evening with Mrs. Brougham who was ill while Brougham had to go to the theatre. She reported that after he returned from the theatre, he took her place as nurse for his wife.

Only a month after his wife died, Brougham was again performing in Philadelphia, but it is interesting to speculate about whether his decision to remain in New York during the fall of 1870 and join Wallack's company was part of an effort to provide a type of stability to his life that his wife could no longer supply.

1870-1874

At the beginning of the 1870-1871 season, Brougham's

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28. Letter to William Winter, Life, 124-126. The letter is headed "Detroit, Sunday (but no *sun*), 1869. A precise date has been developed through an examination of a Detroit newspaper and comparison to the itinerary developed through the compilation of Brougham's performances.

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professional career as an actor took a definite change of course, and the next four seasons contrasted markedly with the previous five, primarily in the fact that most of these four years were devoted to acting in New York rather than to touring.

The autumn of 1870 with Wallack also provided an opportunity to play many of the old comedies that Brougham had not had a chance to play for several years. The first two months of the season consisted of productions of The Rivals, John Bull, The School for Scandal, and The Serious Family. Not only was this an opportunity to play roles that were comfortable and delightful to Brougham, but the company included John Gilbert who had been a member of Wallack's company for several years. Brougham must have enjoyed working again with such a consummate professional as Gilbert; together they played the same roles in John Bull that they had played at the Tremont Theatre in Boston in 1843.

Although reviews for this season were of extremely modest length, and advertisements for the most part were skimpy, Brougham received the following glowing notices after his portrayal of Sir Lucius O'Trigger in Sheridan's The Rivals on opening night, September 26, 1870:

> Sir Lucius O'Trigger was represented by Mr. John Brougham with all the graceful freedom and vivacity peculiar to this gentleman when playing the part of an Irish gentleman.[29]

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29. Spirit of the Times, handdated 1 Oct., 1870. Found in Locke collection scrapbook on John Gilbert, Billy Rose

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> ...his Sir Lucius was as delicious a piece of acting as rollicking humor, irresistible blarney and careless gayety (sic) could make it.[30]

The month of December, 1870 at Wallack's was devoted almost exclusively to a comedy by Albery, Coquettes, or the Two Joneses, which was being given its American premiere; the play had been produced in London as The Two Thorns. Brougham's role was Arthur Minton, listed first in the cast in advertisements and playbills. Critics generally did not like the play but said that Brougham did as much with the role as anyone could have done. At the beginning of January, Lester Wallack brought out another play new to New York which had been successful in Boston, T. W. Robertson's War. Again Brougham was listed first in the cast as Captain Sound. Apparently New York audiences were not as impressed with the piece as Boston audiences had been because it was withdrawn after only nine performances.

After three weeks in February when Brougham was the guest artist at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn, he returned to Wallack's for a revival of his Romance and Reality and other favorites including John Bull, The Serious Family, The Nervous Man, and His Last Legs which were played intermittently until the end of the season. Three weeks in May at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia were followed by a week of Playing

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Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center.

30. New York Herald, 27 Sept., 1870.

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with Fire at Wallack's. June began with brief appearances at New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut and Providence, Rhode Island, and the trail of performances grows cold until a benefit for J. C. Williamson at Niblo's Garden on July 13.

In the fall of 1871, Brougham again began the season as a member of the company at Wallack's Theatre, again with old comedies such as The Rivals, The Serious Family and The Nervous Man, with the addition of Centlivre's The Busybody in which Brougham played Sir Jealous Traffick with Charles Mathews as Marplot and John Gilbert as Sir Francis Gripe.

In December, Brougham appeared for two weeks at the Brooklyn Theatre, which had been opened in October by the Conways, and premiered his play Gold Dust, adapted from Dickens' Our Mutual Friend, playing Nicodemus. Evidence of the somewhat unreliable nature of memoirs comes from a published article by an unnamed correspondent signed Oldtimer referring to the play as The Golden Dustman. In responding to a previous correspondent's allegation that Our Mutual Friend had never been dramatized, the writer recalled that "the facetious John Brougham" withdrew his play after five performances because his role of Boffin was overshadowed by Silas Wegg, who was played by Lamb. Although Oldtimer called it a "good play," he related that Brougham went into the dressing room of Edward Lamb, one of the company's leading actors, after a performance and threw the play on the table saying, "You took the performance tonight, Ned, now take the

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play. I make you a present of it." Oldtimer states that Brougham was such an experienced actor and dramatist that he realized that the play was hopeless with Boffin as the star part. Even though Lamb apparently tried to perform the play with Wegg as the starring role, he was not successful with the play because the audiences' sympathy was with Boffin.[31]

Brougham was much more successful with his next play, John Garth, which was premiered by Wallack in mid-December, with no role for Brougham. However, on January 2, 1872, Brougham took over the role of Deerham from an actor who was ill. Newspaper advertisements at this time generally list actors' names only for the opening of a new play, but it is likely that Brougham continued the role until January 17 when he was forced to withdraw because of his own illness. John Garth was a hit and continued until Wallack presented his own play, The Veteran, on February 12 with Brougham as the Grand Vizier Ofl-an-agan (O'Flanigan).

The Veteran contained a little of something for everyone consisting of melodrama combined with comedy. The cast was divided into the English, the Arabs and the Myrans, and Brougham was one of the latter, being the personal advisor to the Grand Sultan of Arabia. One review of unknown origin describes Brougham's contribution as follows:

> Lester Wallack struts about the stage as the dashing Highland officer in a way that must make many of his juniors quite envious. But it is on

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31. Brooklyn Eagle, 29 Feb., 1912.

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> John Brougham that devolves the task of making "The Veteran" as popular as it has become. The Grand Vizier, Ofl-an-agan, is one of those happy creation (sic) which are droll without being vulgar. It has also the merit of being an original creation, quite distinct from any other stage Irishman we have ever seen. It bears the impress of Brougham, and evidently owes to him the inimitable drollery which constantly bubbles over and keeps the audience thoroughly amused, while the Ofl-an-agan gives them the benefit of his proverbial philosophy....[32]

This play continued every night without interruption for fifty-eight nights through April 17 although, according to Odell, Brougham missed several performances; lack of detail in newspaper advertisements have made it impossible to ascertain just how many performances he did miss, but there are references to his return after his indisposition on playbills.

On April 18, London Assurance began a long run of more than a month's continuous play. In this piece, Brougham played another role which had not been in his prior repertory, that of Max Harkaway. The cast included Lester Wallack and John Gilbert with Charles Mathews as Dazzle.

Brougham and his friend John Gilbert participated in three performances in early June to end the season at the Globe Theatre in Boston with The School for Scandal, The Nervous Man, and Brougham playing Dazzle in London Assurance. It appears that they remained in Boston at least two more days because it was reported that they were seen in the audience when The Veteran was produced at the Boston Museum on the

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32. In extra-illustrated edition of Actors and Actresses, Lester Wallack, volume 5, Harvard Theatre Collection.

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Monday following their performances at the Globe on Friday and Saturday.[33]

Wallack ended the season with two weeks of Watts Phillips' domestic sensational drama On the Jury with Brougham in the role of Dexter Sanderson. The critic for the New York Times was not terribly complimentary about the play or its presentation on opening night, the sensation scene being described as a collision on the Thames, but he wrote that Brougham's portrayal of Dexter Sanderson was "genial and manly." The play ran from June 17 through July 1.

Although it had been noted that Brougham was transferring to Daly's company at the Grand Opera House in the autumn of 1872 and that the season would begin on August 21 with Daly's version of the Sardou/Offenbach version of Le Roi Carotte with Brougham as King, the opening was postponed until August 26. Numerous critics have written that this was probably the most ungrateful role ever assigned to Brougham, but the spectacle was apparently popular and continued through November 23 being immediately followed by Round the Clock, another Daly spectacle which continued with Brougham as Roderick through January 18, 1873.

Such performances clearly gave Brougham a steady source of income and lacked the insecurity that was always a major aspect of touring; however, they must not have been artistically rewarding. For all of his apparent disregard for

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33. New York Clipper, 22 June, 1872.

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organization, Brougham was an industrious man who was obviously a reliable and steady member of a company, and if he had made a bargain, he would do his level best to live up to it. He also had a reputation for finding something good in the most difficult people. In addition to acting for Daly, he wrote the opening address for the opening of Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre on January 21, 1873 even though this was the second night of his performance as Tim Donovan in Daly's Cataract of the Ganges at his Grand Opera House. It obviously was not easy for Brougham to refuse people, and Daly did give Brougham credit in the program as the author of the opening address. The Cataract of the Ganges continued until it was replaced by Roughing It on February 18, and this was followed by another spectacle called Uncle Sam, with Brougham playing the role of Samuel.

Apparently Brougham's association with Daly ended with the last night of this play on April 12, 1873, and for several months Brougham did not act in New York. It was announced that a new Park Theatre was being built in Brooklyn, and that T. E. Morris would be the stage manager when it opened in the fall. However, during the summer when the company was announced, there was no mention of Brougham.

During the early 1870's Brougham was very active as a founding member and early president of the Lotos Club, a civic gentleman's club modeled on the Garrick Club of London. Some of the duties of the club involved entertaining visiting

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celebrities, among whom were Charles Dickens, Jacques Offenbach, and Edmund Yates. Yates reported that soon after he arrived in New York he had seen Brougham in the street and realized that he had one friend in the city; however, after he visited the Lotos club, he realized that he had 100. Brougham reportedly spent some of 1873 editing a book entitled Lotos Leaves which consisted of short stories, essays and poems by the members of the club and others, including Wilkie Collins. The book was dedicated to Alfred, Lord Tennyson (before he was made a peer) who wrote an acceptance of the honor which was published as the first page.[34]

Between April 1873 and January 1874, I have found evidence of only one performance by Brougham and that is of a reading at the Music Hall in Boston on October 11, 1873. Odell lists two lectures on unknown dates in October, one at the Music Hall in Harlem and the second at the Church of the Disciples at Madison Avenue and 45th Street, but I have not found specific newspaper advertisements to confirm these engagements. Brougham was listed for one of a series of ten lectures in a advertisement in the New York Herald on Sunday, October 19, but this series may not have been completed; at least no further individual advertisements were found after November 3. However, this paper did advertise on November 16

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34. Lotos Leaves, ed. by John Brougham and John Elderkin. (Boston: William F. Gill and Company, 1875). Information about the early history of the Lotos Club and its visitors is from John Elderkin, A Brief History of the Lotos Club (New York: MacGowen and Slipper, 1895), 7-18.

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that Brougham would give a Galaxy Course at Association Hall on November 17. The venue may have been changed because an acting company began an engagement at the Harlem Theatre and Music hall. This nearly total lack of performance activity for Brougham is very unusual; a check of several out-of-town newspapers for this period and careful examination of theatrical notices columns in The Clipper and several other newspapers provided only the few lecture engagements listed here.

However, on January 17, 1874, Brougham once again appeared at Wallack's as Sir Benjamin Stout in a six-week run of Money. A review of the opening night's performance included the following account of Brougham's reception by the audience:

> Mr. Brougham's reappearance in the role of Benjamin Stout, M. P., was the signal for a perfect ovation. The cheering lasted for more than five minutes, and the actor applauded was kept painfully waving his broad hat and endeavoring to go on with his role in alternate efforts. His make-up for the part was what we have been accustomed to associate with Toodles and was somewhat more farcical than justly belonged to an English legislator, but it heartily tickled the audience, and that was well.[35]

Following a few performances as Dr. Pangloss in The Heir at Law and Sir Lucius O'Trigger in The Rivals, The Veteran was revived and continued until May 1. The season ended in late May with three weeks of Brougham's playing Beau Farintosh in School and a few performances of The Clandestine Marriage and The Nervous Man.

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35. New York Times, 18 Jan., 1874.

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Brougham had planned to return to England in the summer of 1874 and was given a grand farewell dinner by his friends and fellow members at the Lotos Club, but in fact, he did not go because he was too ill to travel. Interestingly, he appears to have recovered sufficiently to begin touring again in the autumn of 1874. It remains a mystery whether he undertook the life of a touring artist out of necessity or from desire.

Performances in New York, including Brooklyn, in which Brougham participated between 1870 and 1874 are listed in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Because of the large number of plays in which he acted during these years, the list was divided into Brougham's own works and works by others. It is interesting to notice that during this period he acted much more frequently in works by other playwrights than in his own.

1874-1880

At the beginning of the 1874-1875 season, Brougham once again resumed touring in a serious way, and the next six seasons were a mixture of years devoted almost exclusively to performances in New York interspersed by periods of travel.

However, the 1874-1875 season is unique in that Brougham participated in only ten performances in Brooklyn and three in Manhattan between September 21, 1874 to May 31, 1875. All of the pieces performed were either his own works or those which had been in his repertory for many years. These performances

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Table 6.3 - Performances of Plays by other Playwrights in New York - 1870-1874

		70-1	71-2	72-3	73-4
Busybody, The	Sir Jealous		6		
Cataract of the Ganges	Tim Donovan			29	
Clandestine Marriage	Canton				4
Coquettes	Arthur Minton	19			
Gentleman from Ireland	Fitzmaurice	1	1		
Heir at Law	Dr. Pangloss				8
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	12	3	1	
John Bull	Dennis	7			
London Assurance	Max Harkaway/ Dazzle		40		
Money	Benjamin Stout				41
Nervous Man	McShane	10	7		4
On the Jury	Dexter		12		
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius	19	6		8
Roi Carotte	King Carrot			92	
Round the Clock	Roderick			58	
Roughing It	Denis McDuffie			27	
School	Beau Farintosh				22
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver	8	1		1
Serious Family	Capt. Murphy Maguire	13	3		
Uncle Sam	Samuel			28	
Veteran, The	Ofl-an-agan		58		19
War	Captain Sound	13			

*Does not include one performance of Toodles.

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Table 6.4 - Performances of Brougham's Plays in New York - 1870-1874

		70-1	71-2	72-3	73-4
David Copperfield	Micawber	2	2		
Gold Dust	Nicodemus		5		
John Garth	Deerham		1?		
Lottery of Life	Terry the Swell	6			
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	Shylock	5	2		
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	7	3		
Pocahontas	Pow-Ha-Tan	3	2		
Red Light, The	Ned Mac Dermot	6			
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	10			

*Does not include one performance of Dombey and Son and a lecture entitled Flies in the Web.

will be discussed in the last section of this chapter which focuses on touring productions.

In total contrast, in the autumn of 1875, Brougham signed on with Augustin Daly to be a member of his Fifth Avenue Company, ironically in the same theatre where he had been so unsuccessful as manager in 1869. Daly's repertoire focused on new pieces and long runs, and although the season started with Our Boys, most of it was taken up with Pique, which played for 234 nearly consecutive performances. While Pique did not achieve the length of run of The Black Crook or the earlier Humpty Dumpty, its run was certainly unusual and while it brought a steady source of income to Brougham it must have

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presented new challenges in terms of tedium. In contrast with previous touring seasons, Brougham acted almost every evening in Daly's Fifth Avenue Company although he also did participate in the annual benefit which he organized for many years for the Roman Catholic Orphans Asylum. On the program for the benefit, he was listed first in the list of actors, presumably playing Captain Murphy Maguire in The Serious Family although no roles are listed in the advertisement.[36] Evidence shows that Daly solidified the practice of matinees on Saturday in addition to evening performances and was a strong advocate of mid-week matinees, often deliberately advertising them as being attractive to ladies, and on three occasions, The Serious Family and Pocahontas were programmed rather than Pique during its long run. Daly extended his regular season through July 29, 1876, and after a brief engagement in Philadelphia, Brougham was again at the Fifth Avenue Theatre in September of 1876.

Beginning the season with fourteen performances of the comedy Money, Daly programmed classics intermittently with a series of his adaptations. The first of his plays, Life, a comedy of city types adapted from two French pieces, included both "Characters of Reality" and "Characters of Fairyland," Brougham's character of Chumley Clevert being the first-named of the latter. He was described as a type of Shakespearian revivalist, and the review in the following day's New York

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36. New York Times, 4 Nov., 1875.

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Times described his role as small but "done to perfection, of course." Nearly two months of this piece was followed by fifteen performances of Sheridan's School for Scandal, which gave way to The American, a Daly adaptation of Dumas' L'Etangere. Among the others in the cast for this play were Charles Coghlan, Fanny Davenport, and Mrs. Gilbert.

In mid-January 1877, Daly finally launched the most successful play of the season, Lemons, adapted from the German play by von Moser, Citronen. Brougham's role was an example of his continuation of light comedy roles, Lord Loftus being described in advertisements and on the playbill as "being of Loftus Grange, Connaught, on a Centennial tour." The review of the first night's performance gives the additional information that Lord Loftus is pursued by a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Victoria Stark, described as having the soul of an Empress beating in her bosom, and played by Mrs. Gilbert. It is not entirely clear whether Mrs. Stark was pursuing Lord Loftus for herself or on behalf of her daughter, Mary, played by Fanny Davenport, but one critic wrote that "Brougham lends to Lord Loftus a sympathetic dignity the illustration of which is all the role calls for."[37]

Almost two months of Lemons was followed by a few performances of another Daly adaptation from a von Moser play, Blue Glass, which lasted only a week. This was followed by a week of London Assurance with Brougham once again playing

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37. New York Times, 16 Jan., 1877.

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Dazzle. Brougham did not appear for the rest of Daly's season at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, but after a month in which evidence of no acting engagements could be found, he assumed the role of King Frederick the Great of Prussia in The Princess Royal which Charles Fisher had been playing at the Grand Opera House which was also under Daly's management. Apparently this was part of a shift in performers on Daly's part because Miss Adelaide Neilson who had been appearing at the Grand Opera House was beginning a farewell engagement at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, and Charles Fisher transferred with her, both of them acting in Twelfth Night.

Although Brougham had given an extensive interview saying that he was retiring from the stage which was published in the New York Herald on August 26, 1877, the fall season started on an adventurous note. However, what began as a great adventure proved disastrous for Brougham. Much of a projected grand tour will be discussed in the section below on out-of-town performances in the 1877-1878 season, but suffice it to say here that in October Brougham became very ill while performing in upstate New York, and his health was in a critical state for a number of weeks. Undoubtedly this disaster left him both physically and financially weakened for he had undertaken the tour with a company which he had assembled rather than appearing as a star performer with local companies. This touring company represented another change in theatre management which was becoming a rather standard practice. The

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following account of his return to New York illustrating Brougham's irrepressible humor was published posthumously:

> When he was brought home, apparently to die, from his last Western trip, several gentlemen of his own profession received him, after much running back and forth, at the railway station, and accompanied him to his rooms, where, more dead than alive, he was propped up in an easy chair, while one of the party, who had just left a convivial dinner-table, made to him a speech of welcome. "Mr. Brougham," said the orator, holding by the back of a chair, "we are prepared to minister to your slightest want. We will stay with you; we will sit up with you, if you need watchers; and if you die, we will act as pall-bearers at your funeral." This was too much for the poor old man, who lifted his head painfully, and murmured, "Hear! hear!" Uncle John outlived the orator, and he used to tell of this melancholy reception with great glee.[38]

Brougham's illness kept him off the stage for several months, but his popularity with his fellow actors and with New Yorkers in general was made evident by an all-day benefit given for him on January 17, 1878. Programs for this event show that Brougham was scheduled to sing a ballad, Happy as a Bird, but reviews report that he was still too ill to attend, and Lester Wallack read a brief letter to the audience on Brougham's behalf. To protect the money raised from claims that could have been brought by Brougham's debtors, of which there were apparently many, the committee decided that the proceeds of this benefit should be put into an annuity from

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38. Noah Brooks, selection from letter to William Winter, published as "Brougham in his Club Life," Life, 151-152.

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which he could draw a monthly stipend.[39] Unfortunately, the money was allocated in such small amounts that Brougham actually was unable to derive much benefit from what had obviously been meant as a sincerely helpful gesture.

By February 18, 1878, Brougham was able to appear on stage again at Wallack's Theatre as Sir Benjamin Stout in Bulwer-Lytton's Money, and he ended a short season with several performances as Max Harkaway in London Assurance.

Brougham spent the fall season of 1878-1879 with Wallack's Theatre, again largely appearing in a series of old comedies, but taking on a brand new role of Herr Willner, a poor Treasury clerk, in My Son, an English version by Dr. F. Harris and Fred Williams of a German play which had been playing at the Germania Theatre. It appears that Lester Wallack was having a feud with the editor of the New York Times, and most of the advertisements for his theatre at this time are tiny, listing only actors and no roles. Perhaps as retribution, most reviews of Wallack's productions are scanty, and Brougham's roles are only infrequently mentioned. However, one reviewer of The Rivals during this season, while allowing that Brougham was due respect as "an old an honored actor," alleged that Brougham's "appearance last night marred the performance considerably."[40] This is one of very few

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39. The amount raised from the benefits and the financial arrangements are described in great detail by William Winter in Life, 140-141.

40. New York Times, 29 Oct., 1878.

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negative reviews of Brougham's acting that have been found.

Brougham was not scheduled to appear in the next play given at Wallack's, but in February, 1879, he revived the role of Colonel O'Grady in Arrah-Na-Pogue with the Boucicaults at Booth's Theatre. The reviewer from the New York Times wrote, "...Others in the cast who were heartily welcomed were...Mr. John Brougham, who, in the part of O'Grady, seemed to be once again in his rightful place. Mr. Brougham's usefulness as an actor is a thing of the past, but it is not the less pleasant to see his genial face and person amid familiar surroundings." There may be some truth in this critic's judgment since it is likely that Brougham was having great difficulty moving because of his rheumatism and gout. As a gentleman of some nearly sixty-nine years, as well as can be determined, he would have been considered "of quite advanced age" in the nineteenth century. The critic from the New York Herald was kinder and in comparing Brougham to Mrs. Boucicault, the former Agnes Robertson, writes that he "was equally at home as the honest, bluff and impulsive O'Grady...."[41]

After a short engagement with the Boucicaults in Boston, Brougham again appeared in Arrah-Na-Pogue at the Grand Opera House for two weeks in May, 1879, which with Wednesday and Saturday matinees now meant sixteen consecutive performances. A critic noted that "Mr. John Brougham received a warm welcome

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41. New York Times and New York Herald, 11 Feb., 1879.

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when he appeared as Colonel O'Grady."[42]

Boucicault leased Booth's Theatre for the 1879-1880 season, and Brougham made his last stage appearances there playing in Boucicault's "sensation drama," Rescued, or a Girl's Romance. This was interrupted on October 11 by nearly a week for Louis XI, a new piece by Boucicault. Although Odell claims that C. W. Clarke, who told him the story probably recalled the incident as more exaggerated than what actually occurred, he relates that when Boucicault appeared on stage in the leading role of Louis XI, the audience was amused by the contrast in his appearance as a French king and his strong Irish accent. Brougham, who was playing the role of Coitier, sensed the audience' amusement, and as he was always in the humor for a good joke, began to exaggerate his own Irish brogue, and the rest of the cast joined in. Odell points out that the review in the New York Herald did not mention the commotion, but another reviewer stated the following:

> There were three persons in the cast last night whose speech was flavored with a very decided brogue, namely Mr. Brougham, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Boucicault himself. Brogue and tragedy do not harmonize, it must be confessed, and in this case they were certainly exercised together in a very malign influence, exciting laughter where tears should have flowed.[43]

Within a few days of the opening there was at least one

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42. New York Herald, 20 May, 1879.

43. New York Times, 12 Oct., 1879.

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newspaper report of a spokesman for Boucicault claiming that he was critically ill; the reporter seemed to question the veracity of this statement. Rescued was revived to replace Louis XI on October 17. Brougham made his last appearance on stage the following week with the matinee and evening performances of Rescued on October 25.

An examination of Table 6.5 makes it easy to see that even with the two years of steady employment with Daly's company, Brougham was less in demand as an actor in his last years. The post-Civil War, out-of-town performances will now be examined and contrasted with those in New York.

Performances Outside of New York in Later Years 1865-1870

During the first five seasons after his return from England and Ireland in the autumn of 1865, Brougham's repertoire in performances outside of New York was considerably more extensive than his New York repertoire, as shown in Tables 6.6 and 6.7. In fact, the list of his known out-of-town performances was so large that a single table could not be accommodated on one page; thus it is divided into performances of his own works and performances of plays by other playwrights. Certainly Brougham's appearances both in New York and away began with a healthy dose of those plays which had been extremely popular in England, Flies in the Web and Playing with Fire. Such old favorites as A Gentleman from

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Table 6.5 - Performances in New York - 1874-1880

		74-5	75-6	76-7	77-8	78-9	79-80
American, The	Dr. Remoine			26			
Arrah-Na-Pogue	Col. O'Grady					21	
Blue Grass	Brevet			7			
Gentleman from Ireland	not listed	1					
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	1			1		
Jealous Wife	Capt. O'Cutter					10	
Lemons	Lord Loftus			57			
Life	Chumley Clevert			52			
London Assurance	Sir Harcourt	1				6	10
Lottery of Life	Terry the Swell	4					
Louis XI	Coitier						5
Money	Stout		1	14	27		
My Son	Herr Willner					26	
Our Boys	Perkyn		23				
Pique	Dr. Gossitt		234	1			
Pocahontas	Powhatan	1	3				
Princess Royal	Frederick the			22			
Red Light, The	Ned MacDermott	3					
Rescued	Felix O'Reilley						44
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius					10	
Road to Ruin	Sulky					13	
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver			15		23	
Serious Family	Capt. Murphy	2	4				
Siamese Twins	O'Glib		1				

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Table 6.6 - Performances of Brougham's Plays Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870

		65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70
Columbus (both versions)	Columbus	6	29		2	
David Copperfield	Micawber	19	19	14	2	14
Dombey and Son	Capt. Cuttle	15	6	7	1	8
Flies in the Web	Corydon Foxglove	24	14	3		10
Hearts or, Serpents	Patrick			4		
Irish Stew, An	Bryan					8
Lottery of Life, The	Terry, the Swell			79	18	15
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	4	1			
Metamora	Metamora	7		4		
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	Shylock				8	16
O'Donnell's Mission	Capt. Roderick O'Donnell	8	10	4		
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	37	21	5	2	6
Pocahontas	Powhatan	31	19	23	5	13
Red Light, The	Ned MacDermott					47
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	1	6			5
Stage Struck	not listed					1

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Table 6.7 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1870 (plays by other playwrights)

		65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70
Arrah Na Pogue	Colonel O'Grady					1
Bachelor of Arts	Harry Jasper		3			
Fast Man, The	Skyrocket Ned		4			
Gentleman from Ireland	Gerald Fitzmaurice	17	12	5	2	13
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	20	12	5	1	2
Irish Lion, The	Tom Moore		7			
Irish Mesmerism	O'Callaghan	5				
John Bull	Dennis		1			
London Assurance	Sir Harcourt		3	1		3
Nervous Man	McShane	1				1
New Way to Pay Old Debts	Justice					1
Othello	Roderigo					1
Robber's Wife, The	Larry O'Gig		2			
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius					1
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver					1
Serious Family	Capt. Murphy Maguire	6	1		2	2

Ireland and His Last Legs were played in nearly all venues, and Pocahontas was always a hit.

However, in November 1865 Brougham gave the premiere of his new romantic drama, O'Donnell's Mission at the Walnut

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Street Theatre in Philadelphia where he began his post-Civil War American tour. The review of this piece indicates that it was based on the story of the Irish brigadier, Roderick O'Donnell, who was sent to Spain on a secret mission to Cardinal Alberoni and who married a noble woman thus creating the house of the O'Donnell's of Spain. Brougham's acting was described as follows:

> Brougham as O'Donnell was immense. His representation of the gay, rollicking, gentlemanly Irishman was true to the life. His acting was natural, his songs well rendered, and his witticisms both refined and pointed. His costumes were superbly elegant and entirely appropriate, and his acting throughout devoid of that stagey (sic) manner which spoils so many of the stars of the present day.[44]

Brougham's repertoire for the 1865-1866 tour is outlined by city in Table 6.8. His engagement book indicates that the tour began the new year of 1866 with two weeks at McVicker's Opera House in Chicago followed by two weeks at Pike's Opera House in Cincinnati and two weeks in Louisville. Then it was back to Chicago for another week at McVicker's followed by a week in Milwaukee and two weeks in Indianapolis. This was followed by two weeks each in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and in Philadelphia at the Walnut Street Theatre. After a brief two weeks for which no entries were listed, Brougham appeared in Boston at the Howard Athenaeum for four weeks.

During 1866 Columbus was advertised in some cities as soon as Brougham arrived with a request for young women to

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44. Philadelphia Inquirer, 11 Dec., 1865.

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Table 6.8 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1865-1866

	Bos	Ch	Ci	I	L	Mil	Ph	Pi	StL
Columbus (both versions)	6								
David Copperfield	3	5	2	1	2	1	1	3	2
Dombey and Son	2	2	2	1		1	5	1	2
Flies in the Web	6	3	2	1	1	1	7	1	2
Gentleman from Ireland	4	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	1
His Last Legs		2	2	1	3	1	9	3	1
Irish Mesmerism	5								
Love and Murder					1	1		1	
Metamora		2					2		3
Nervous Man	1								
O'Donnell's Mission							8		
Playing with Fire	4	6	5	2	5	1	13	3	2
Pocahontas	7	6	5	5	6	1	4	2	2
Romance and Reality	1								
Serious Family		2		1			2	1	

audition to play the roles of the various states in the procession and tableau at the end of the play, and both playbills and advertisements of the period are heavily noted as having this play in rehearsal. Of course, such a practice did not hurt Brougham's popularity because the parents, friends, and acquaintances of all the young women selected to hold a flag would come to see them in the performance, assuring a bumper crowd for at least one night. Brougham often arranged for this performance to take place on the night of his farewell benefit.

However, it is safe to say that this piece was advertised far more often than it was performed. It may be that it required more rehearsal time than most theatres could support; it may also be that Brougham used the interest in this piece, with its notion of local beauties being included in the performance, primarily as an inducement to attract audiences to other productions. In some communities, theatre might have been still so frowned on that it was not possible to persuade an adequate number of young women to participate in the performance; whatever the reason, after a few years Columbus disappeared from Brougham's repertoire. With the exception of six performances at the Walnut Street Theatre in August of 1876, I have found no evidence of any performances of this piece later than April 1868.

An examination of Tables 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 which indicate the number of Brougham's performances by city outside

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of New York and Brooklyn between late 1865 and mid-1870 lets some interesting conclusions be drawn. During the 1865-1866 tour, Brougham stayed with an extremely limited repertoire, essentially playing only fourteen pieces (if one assumes that His Last Legs and Irish Mesmerism are the same piece but listed under two different titles). Since Columbus, The Nervous Man, and Romance and Reality were played only in Boston, and O'Donnell's Mission was played only in Philadelphia, his out-of-town repertoire consisted primarily of only ten pieces, seven of which were his own plays and all of which he had played prior to his trip abroad, if one recalls that Flies in the Web was a new version of The Game of Love.

Brougham's engagement book kept on this 1865-1866 tour shows that he was probably more successful financially during this time than at any other time. It is interesting that someone else apparently audited the book since there are pencil corrections to the math. Since Brougham left no other records of this type with the exception of a partial year in the same book, one wonders why he kept this journal. Entries are skimpy, usually giving only the name of the city, an abbreviated date, name of the play and afterpiece (the latter if Brougham appeared in it) and an extremely brief description of the weather, such as "fine," "rainy," or "wet." At the right hand side of most pages is a list of the receipts for the evening and a second column with Brougham's share; on

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later pages, only his share is listed. Totals are carried to the next page. Attendance and income seemed often to be more related to the weather than to the program or the night of the week. If the weather was fair, there was likely to be a large audience; if the weather was extremely bad, there occasionally was not enough income on that night for Brougham to have any share.

According to calculations labeled "Settlement made August 1867" in Brougham's engagement book, he made $11,327.10 after expenses between October 1865 and August 1867. This page lists his expenses while touring for these two seasons as $34,890,30, but except for the payment to Clarke mentioned in connection with his initial appearance at the Winter Garden Theatre in October, 1865, they are never itemized. Evidence that his income varied greatly includes a total of $2853.20 profit after expenses for the three weeks at the Winter Garden Theatre in October, 1865. However, on the road, not only were expenses much higher, but income was remarkably lower in some instances. The most extreme example is the $68.08 profit he gained each week of his two-week engagement in Indianapolis in the spring of 1866. Much of the repertoire of the year 1866-1867 was repeated from the previous year; however, it was more extensive, and while most of the season was in Philadelphia and Boston, other cities were new venues. After a long engagement at the National Theatre in Washington, there were three weeks at Albany, New York, two short engagements at

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Providence, Rhode Island, and one evening in Lowell, Massachusetts.

Table 6.9 which lists the plays Brougham performed outside of New York during the 1866-1869 seasons shows an increase in repertoire, both in works new from Brougham's pen, such as Lottery of Life and Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice as well as occasional performances of such old favorites as The Fast Man, John Bull, and London Assurance. However, it seems that managers were assuming more control over programs than visiting stars; it may be that theatres were becoming more stable as the devastation of the Civil War was becoming more distant. Philadelphia was obviously the city where Brougham played the most during these three years; however, in Philadelphia more than in other cities at this time, Brougham often appeared in only one piece, usually the main piece and not the afterpiece. At both the Walnut Street and the Arch Street theatres the afterpiece was performed more frequently by the stock company than in theatres in other cities.

Brougham was obviously a great favorite in Philadelphia; in fact he was the subject of an impersonation at an actor's benefit in January, 1868. Mr. R. Craig began his program with a "protean piece" entitled A Dress Rehearsal which concluded with an "imitation of Mr. John Brougham's Speech Before the Curtain." This piece also included "imitations" of Kemble, Clarke, and Robson, with Brougham listed first, and there is

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Table 6.9 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1866-1869

	Al	Bos	D	Ph	Pi	Pr	Troy	Was
Bachelor of Arts				2				1
Columbus (both versions)		9		10	6			6
David Copperfield	2	8	2	9	4	1	4	6
Dombey and Son	1	3	1	4	1	1	3	1
Fast Man, The				2				2
Flies in the Web	2	2		6	3	1		3
Gentleman from Ireland	2	4	3	4	4	1	2	5
Hearts!				4				
His Last Legs	3	4	1	6	2	2		2
Irish Lion, The	2	1		2		1		
John Bull				1				
London Assurance				4				
Lottery of Life		27	4	36	6	7	14	9
Love and Murder				1				
Metamora		2					1	1
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice			2	6				
O'Donnell's Mission				6	4			4
Playing with Fire	3		2	10	3	3		5
Pocahontas	4	8	3	13	5		2	7
Robber's Wife, The				2				
Romance and Reality				6				
Serious Family			1	1	1			1

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every indication that Brougham's after-curtain speeches were well enough known that the audience would have recognized another actor's impersonation of Brougham.[45] This is reminiscent of the pre-Civil War impersonations of Brougham done in Philadelphia by Frank Drew that are noted in Chapter Five.

In an interview published in 1874 Brougham said that The Lottery of Life was the most profitable play he had ever written.[46] First presented on September 23, 1867 at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, Brougham played Terry, the Swell, a scampish character, who is pretending to be a detective but is really a resourceful criminal who decides to reform. It was billed as a sensational drama based upon a series of pictures of New York life, and it featured a program of "concert entertainments," which would be regarded today as a minstrel performance, during the second act. In the original production in Boston, this section was performed by the Abyssinian Serenaders; subsequently it was often done by whatever troupe of minstrels or other comic performers was handy. It was given at least 163 times by Brougham during the 1867-1870 seasons as well as being programmed by other actors. Brougham continued to act it occasionally in later years, including in October 1877 in Rochester, New York, less than a

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45. Playbill, Arch Street Theatre, 11 Jan., 1868. Harvard Theatre Collection.

46. Boston Times, 25 Oct., 1874. quoted in Matthews and Hutton, Actors and Actresses, v.3, 289.

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week before he fell ill in Auburn.

The other new piece that was premiered out of town during this period was The Red Light, or The Signal of Danger, which first achieved success in San Francisco and Chicago during the summer and early autumn of 1869. Although one reviewer called this piece a tragi-comedy[47] others called it a melodrama, a sensational drama, and even a comedy drama. It was widely acknowledged to be based on an apparently popular story of "Anne Judge" by Robinson, but few critics were willing or able to write substantial reviews. Usually they avoided the issue by referring to another aspect of the evening's performance as in the following about a performance at Wallack's Theatre:

> Mr. John Brougham is so captivating an actor in nearly all he undertakes that it is scarcely necessary to say he delighted his audience last night as Ned McDermott; or that his incidental speeches between the acts were in all particulars worthy of the occasion.[48]

Although Brougham had written a few melodramatic works early in his career, his later work often incorporated more melodrama, as well as elements of minstrelsy. In addition to The Lottery of Life, Brougham's play, Little Nell and the Marchioness, written for and performed many times by Lotta Crabtree, often with no credit for the playwright, included a minstrel section. In his later melodramas, he often wrote a role for himself that displayed his comedic talents even when

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47. San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle, 11 Aug., 1869.

48. New York Times, 7 June, 1870.

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he portrayed the hero. In his discussion of the elements of melodrama, Michael Booth points out, "A sudden switch from the darkest violence or the most heart-rending pathos to the extremes of farce was a common melodramatic technique, and demonstrates the emotional and situational eclecticism of the genre."[49]

Traveling about the country involved some risks which may have been more prevalent than they might have been in New York. In February 1868 Brougham had shipped costumes to Albany, New York for his anticipated engagement there just prior to the total destruction by fire of the Academy of Music. Not only did Brougham lose the engagement but he lost his costumes as well. While the Albany company was given two benefits at other theatres, it seems that Brougham remained in New York although interestingly the main piece on the program for at least one of the benefits was his Gunmaker of Moscow.[50]

Certainly the most interesting aspect of the 1869-1870 season was the fact that Brougham's tour was far more extensive than before. It is unfortunate that he left no record of his trip to California and back, but he not only acted at the San Francisco Theatre but played in other cities that were new to him like Buffalo and Cleveland and returned

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49. Booth, Magistrate, xii.

50. New York Clipper, 8 Feb., 1868 and Albany Evening Journal, 1 and 2 Feb., 1868.

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to New Orleans where he had not been seen for many years.[51]

San Francisco was apparently delighted with Brougham and he was initially recognized as being a member of the "fashionable" audience for a benefit at the California Theatre for the Mercantile Library. The review of this occasion on July 1 noted that "the genial countenance of John Brougham shone for a time in the dress circle." Brougham was announced to act for the first time on Monday, July 5.[52] There was also a notice that forty young ladies were wanted to apply at the box office for the corps de ballet. Although it was never stated, this advertisement may have been for a production of Columbus which did not occur. San Francisco reviewers wrote extremely detailed criticisms noting items that one doesn't often see in newspapers from other cities. An example was a hysterical account of a crying baby in the theatre during a complimentary and complete review of Playing with Fire on July

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51. Spirit of the Times, 31 July, 1869 gives an extract from a letter from Brougham who tells of luxurious accommodations given to him and his travelling companion, Captain McIntyre, on their railway journey to California. After he arrived in California, Brougham was told by a railroad official that someone had telegraphed that Commodore Vanderbilt, with whom they had traveled for a short distance from New York, had started for California with a committee that was considering the consolidation of all roads to California or inaugurating a new one. It appears that Brougham and McIntyre were mistaken for the committee and thus treated to every luxury.

52. An undated note in the Extra-Illustrated Actors and Actresses, John Brougham volume, at the Harvard Theatre Collection confirms that the first performance was on July 5, there being no newspaper published on that date, and notes that the Hon. William H. Seward occupied one of the private boxes.

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8. Among other things, the critic suggested that babies be checked at the door or muzzles provided for them.[53]

The California Theatre was being managed by Lawrence Barrett and John McCullough, and two weeks after Brougham began his engagement, he began to share the billing with Elise Holt, an English burlesque actress. The program for July 19 was Brougham's comedy, An Irish Stew, and Lucretia Borgia, M. D., in which Miss Holt appeared as Gennaro, a student of medicine. The reviewer in the next day's Chronicle wrote, "The engagement of the nearly nude Elise Holt will, doubtless, be a greater success than that of the fine actor and gentleman, John Brougham." Miss Holt was compared to Adah Menken and her prior scandalous appearance. Ten days later when Brougham appeared in Romance and Reality and Miss Holt took a role in Paris, or The Judgment, the reviewer wrote that the ladies' costumes were too short at both ends, but that the proprieties were observed by the ladies' wearing kid gloves. Less than a week later, when two new theatres were open and the circus was in town, Miss Holt did not appear for the advertised program on August 5, and Ixion was substituted for Paris, or The Judgment. Interestingly, for Brougham's benefit on August 6, Othello was performed, with Brougham as Roderigo, Neil Warner as Othello, and John McCullough as Iago. The next day's review said that the house was crowded.

Even though she had not acted in over a week, a benefit

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53. San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle, 9 July, 1869.

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was given for Elise Holt on August 13 with Brougham playing Shylock in what was advertised as Shylock! or Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice and Miss Holt appearing in The Little Treasure. On August 14, prominent citizens of San Francisco sponsored a complimentary benefit for Brougham where he played both The Red Light and Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice. Altogether the California experience seemed to be a satisfactory one for Brougham; it certainly was a longer engagement than most others were. However, it is important to acknowledge that California theatres probably had to agree to longer engagements than those in other cities because of the cost and time incurred by the actor in travelling there.

One of the reasons why Brougham may have gotten such good press reviews became apparent from reading comments in the local newspaper about his appearances in 1869 in New Orleans. The editor mentions that Brougham and W. R. Floyd, the manager of the Varieties Theatre, had dropped into the newspaper office to visit with the editor, and he commented on how young Brougham looked. The only negative press that Brougham received during this visit was a review of Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice on October 21 which stated that the audience didn't seem to care much for the play, but that no one could find any fault with Brougham's acting. This criticism may be a reflection of many Southerners' high regard for Shakespeare in the original as the writer stated that he

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would have preferred to see Brougham play the real Shylock.[54]

Performances by city during the 1869-1870 season are listed in Table 6.10. In general, the first five seasons after Brougham's return to the United States must be considered fairly successful for him, in spite of his lack of success with theatre management in New York. He was at perhaps the highest point in his popularity, being known from coast to coast and widely recognized as both actor and playwright. Certainly during this period there is evidence which support David Hawes contention that Brougham never completely settled on one line of business[55] but continued to play both light and low comedy roles throughout his career often choosing to play one role of each type in one evening. Table 6.10 gives evidence that this practice was particularly prevalent during tours at this time when Brougham was so popular.

It is difficult to look back from more than 100 years and assess the impact of any one event in a person's life, but it certainly appears that the death of his wife in spring of 1870 caused him to reflect on the hectic nature of the past five years. Of course, the necessity to keep earning a living did not allow him much time for reflection.

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54. New Orleans Picayune, 14 and 20 Oct., 1869.

55. Hawes, "John Brougham," 57.

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Table 6.10 - Performances Outside New York and Brooklyn, 1869-1870

	Al	Buf	Ch	Ci	Cl	NO	Ph	Pr	SF	Wa
David Copperfield	2	1		2		2	1		4	2
Dombey and Son				1		1	3		3	
Flies in the Web						3	3		5	
Gentleman from Ireland		2		3	1	1	1		5	1
His Last Legs									2	
Irish Stew				1		2			5	
London Assurance									3	
Lottery of Life	4	4		4				3		
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	2	2				5			4	3
Nervous Man									1	
New Way to Pay Old Debts									1	
Othello									1	
O'Donnell's Mission										
Playing with Fire						2	3			
Pocahontas	2	2		2		4			2	
Red Light, The	3	5	14	5		4	11		5	4
Rivals, The									1	
Romance and Reality							2		3	
School for Scandal									1	
Serious Family	1					1				

*Does not include one performance each of Arrah-Na-Pogue in New Orleans and Stage Struck in Albany.

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1870-1874

In distinct contrast with the preceding five years, Brougham made only eighteen confirmed performances outside of New York and Brooklyn during the 1870-1871 season and only three appearances during the 1871-1872 season. Because of the long runs at the Grand Opera House, no evidence of any appearances outside of New York during the 1872-1873 and 1873-1874 seasons has been found. As has been mentioned above, Brougham was ill during the summer of 1874. One of the most wistful accounts of the concern that his close friends had for him is recounted in the story of the dinner given in his honor at the Lotos Club prior to what had been announced as his departure for England in summer of 1874. The account, published after Brougham's death, stated that many members believed that he was so ill that he would not return to America, and what should have been a joyous occasion became quite serious. When Brougham's journey was postponed indefinitely, he often made a joke about the solemnity of the dinner at his own expense, "...protesting that he had roused all this sorrow to no purpose...."[56]

Brougham's only performances during the 1870-1871 season for which programs have been found were from May 1 through May 13 at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia and two nights, June 2 and 3, at Roberts Opera House in Hartford,

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56. Brooks, "Brougham in his Club Life" Life, 149-150.

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Connecticut.[57] All of the pieces played were either Brougham's own works or those with which he had been associated for years. As mentioned above, in spring of 1872, he and John Gilbert appeared in three performances at the close of the season at the Globe Theatre in Boston.

These few performances outside of New York in the 1870-1874 seasons are listed by title in Table 6.11.

1874-1880

In the autumn of 1874, Brougham once again took up touring in a serious way with lengthy engagements at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, McVicker's Theatre in Chicago, and Robinson's Opera House in Cincinnati. After apparently spending the Christmas and New Year's season in New York, he played more than two months at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia. A large number of these performances were of Lottery of Life which seemed to gain new life after having not been performed by Brougham for four seasons. Pocahontas (oddly spelled Po-Ka-Hon-Tas) was also a hit in Boston. Table 6.12 shows that once again Brougham's out-of-town repertoire was extremely small, the total number of different plays being

57. A brief article announcing Brougham's engagement in the Hartford Daily Courant quotes part of a review from the New Haven Register, so it seems that Brougham was in New Haven immediately prior to his engagement in Hartford. However, it has been impossible to find a New Haven newspaper from this time.

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Table 6.11 - Performances Outside New York - 1870-1874

		70-1	71-2	72-3	73-4
Flies in the Web	Corydon Foxglove	2			
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	3			
London Assurance	Dazzle		1		
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	Shylock	4			
Nervous Man	McShane		1		
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	3			
Pocahontas	Pow-Ha-Tan	3			
Red Light, The	Ned Mac Dermot	2			
Robber's Wife	Larry O'Gig	1			
School for Scandal	Sir Oliver		1		

given during the 1874-1875 season being only eight.

No evidence of any out-of-town performances during 1875-1876 season has been found, and in August of 1876, an engagement at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia consisted of six performances of Columbus and five of Pocahontas.

Brougham's attempt at a last grand tour in the fall of 1877 has been mentioned above. He began in Boston playing the new role of Major McMuddle, in his comedy Slander, or The Iron Cross, which had been given its premiere in April at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. According to reviews, the play focused on aristocrats, and Major McMuddle was described as "a Briton with a talent for blundering and a

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Table 6.12 - Performances Outside New York - 1874-1880

		74-5	75-6	76-7	77-8	78-9	79-80
Arrah-Na-Pogue	Col. O'Grady						8
Columbus	Columbus			6			
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	9					
Flies in the Web	Corydon Foxglove	6			2		
Good Bye	Frank				7		
His Last Legs	O'Callaghan	1			1		
London Assurance	Sir Harcourt	1					
Lottery of Life	Terry the Swell	26			2		
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	6			6		
Pocahontas	Powhatan	8		5			
Serious Family	Capt. Murphy Maguire	7			1		
Slander	Major				9		

genius for mislaying his spectacles without which he can see nothing."[58]

After the Boston stay, there probably were daily performances in other cities for which no records have been found. Following four performances, two each of Slander and Good Bye, in the three days from September 20 through 22 at the Griswold Opera House in Troy, New York, Brougham and his company settled in Albany for a week's engagement at the Leland Opera House. Much of the review of the first night's performance on October 1 appears to be based on information from an interview with Brougham which apparently focused on his early life. While it includes interesting stories, it seems only slightly related to known fact. While Brougham was great at remembering and relating stories, he apparently considered details such as his birth date and titles of plays unimportant. At any rate, the article gives a feeling of what his early life was like with little apparent attempt at accuracy.

Another example of Brougham's faltering memory comes from an article published in January 1878 and probably based on an interview while he was quite ill. Claiming to answer once and for all time the question of who wrote London Assurance, the reporter quotes Brougham as saying that he did not write any of it, but he did read it before it was produced. He admits that he tried to persuade Boucicault to make the role of

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58. Boston Globe, 11 Sept., 1877.

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Dazzle for an Irishman but was unable to convince him. It is interesting that he did not mention, and the reporter did not know, that Brougham had programmed the role as O'Donoghue Dazzle in early American performances. At any rate, Brougham indicated that he was rather tired of being asked about this alleged dispute and somewhat irritated with printed reports claiming to tell the truth without seeking his advice. When asked about his relationship with Boucicault, he responded:

> "Mr. Boucicault has a warm heart and has done me many favors.... I would be the most ungrateful of men did I not speak of Mr. Boucicault in the warmest terms.... His methods and mine are widely different, and his work and mine bear very little resemblance, but professionally as well as personally I entertain the highest opinion and the truest regard for Dion Boucicault."[59]

This opinion differs widely from accounts of Brougham's opinion published in works by William Winter after the deaths of both men.

One of the disasters that befell Brougham during his last tour was that he was apparently robbed at his hotel during his October 1877 stay in Albany. Although I found no mention of the robbery in local newspapers, Brougham still seemed consumed by this on January 1, 1878 when he wrote in his diary:

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59. "An Interview with 'Genial John' / His Relations with Dion Boucicault / An Article of Interest to the Whole theatrical World / Who wrote 'London Assurance?' / The Vexed Question Settled at Last / John Brougham Speaks / He says that he did not write 'London Assurance,' but that Dion Boucicault did." The Illustrated Dramatic and Sporting News. Fred J. Engelhardt, ed., New York (12 Jan., 1878), 132.

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> 1877 is dead and buried, thank God! It stole away my money, my watch, my health and very nearly my life. I begin the new year more hopefully through the very generous assistance of my good friends, with improving health and a brighter prospect.[60]

The company's next known engagement was for six nights in Rochester, New York at the Opera House. Brougham had not appeared in Rochester for twenty years, and he was apparently very well received. After describing Brougham's role of Frank Fitzgerald as what a man would do in the circumstances of unrequited love, the reviewer of Brougham's new piece, Good Bye, wrote in part as follows:

> The audience was held in willing chains by the magnetism of acting from the opening to the close of the play. Too often a "star" loses half his brilliancy by the poor support of other characters, but Mr. Brougham's company are thoroughly familiar with witnessing natural representation of how ladies and gentlemen feel and act on occasions of more than every day interest. People who enjoy good acting will miss a rare treat if they neglect to see Mr. Brougham in this his farewell tour in America, and those who are indifferent to the attractions of the stage should see a master of the art before admitting their incapacity to enjoy honest portraiture of human life. No one who desires to hear broad expressions substituted for wit, or see the interest of the play depend on scenes that neither ladies or gentlemen can regard without disgust need go to see Mr. Brougham but those who enjoy wit, mirth, and intelligent society without vulgarity can pass a very pleasant evening at the Opera House this week.[61]

Even though Rochester audiences seemed pleased with

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60. "Extracts from Diaries," Life, 85-86. Phelps, Players of the Albany Stage, 242 also writes that a valuable gold watch was stolen from him at his hotel, business was bad, and he was seriously ill.

61. Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser, 10 Oct., 1877.

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Brougham, he indicated that he thought that he could have performed better. Reportedly in one of his characteristic speeches on October 13, his last night in Rochester, after The Lottery of Life, he apologized "for his deficiencies in acting because he was seriously affected with rheumatism and it was somewhat painful for him to get around."[62]

After Rochester, the company went on consecutive nights to Utica, Oswego and finally Auburn, New York, performing Playing with Fire each night and intending to go to Oil City, Pennsylvania for a performance on October 20. Each of the local newspapers in these small cities gave prominent notice about the engagement of Brougham's company; interestingly, in the Oswego Palladium, it is noted that Boucicault's The Shaughraun with a company selected by him would be performed at the Academy of Music in that city on the Saturday following Brougham's Tuesday performance.

In the office of the Auburn County Historian, two local newspapers from the week of October 15 indicate that Brougham's appearance there was well advertised. However, even though Brougham's company was performing Playing with Fire, one of the articles contains a quote from the Boston Globe describing his make-up and acting as Major McMuddle in Scandal. The puffs published prior to his appearance emphasize the fact that this will be the last opportunity for

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62. John Fenyvessy, "The First Ninety Years: A History of Rochester's Opera House" Typescript in the local history division of the Rochester, New York public library.

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review the day after the performance noted that Brougham had been forced to leave the stage after the first act of Playing with Fire by an attack of rheumatism; however, the play was finished by the company and the audience seemed pleased.[63]

After Brougham was transported to New York to recover, he did not act for several months, and no evidence of any performances outside of New York has been found until March, 1879 when he played Colonel O'Grady in Arrah-Na-Pogue eight times with Boucicault in March at the Boston Theatre. The review in the Boston Evening Transcript after the first performance referred to Brougham as "an old-time favorite." Brougham's acting career ended, as his American years had begun, in New York.

As in previous periods of his life, Brougham's endeavors proceeded at a most hectic pace up until almost the end of his life. According to reports, he remained vigorous until quashed by ill health; even then his friends thought that he would be able to continue to provide for himself by writing as had been his habit when acting engagements were limited. Unfortunately, he was so extremely poverty-stricken during the last few months of his life that he was unable to call in a doctor. Only when Lester Wallack went to visit Brougham and discovered his circumstances, did he receive proper medical attention.

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63. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 15 and 18 Oct. (the latter misdated), 1877, and Auburn Daily Bulletin, 18 Oct., 1877.

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Brougham's death on June 7, 1880 was widely noted in all the newspapers and brought to an end a remarkable career of a versatile actor and popular man. For a number of years, some of his plays continued to be performed, but soon theatrical fashion passed him by. Now he is little remembered, but he was a well-known man in his time.

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Conclusions - Summary and Contributions of John Brougham

> *[Brougham] found in Sheridan's Irish gentleman the one character in all his long stage career in which he had simply to suggest himself--or at least in which he had seemingly not to assume a part but merely to be what he was.*[1]

Although the contributions of John Brougham as a nineteenth-century playwright have been partially recognized, his popularity as a performer and his influence on and involvement with the changing nature of nineteenth-century American theatre have never been fully studied and appreciated. When his acting is mentioned, he is often dismissed as a comedian of the "eccentric Irish" school without an acknowledgement of the varied nature of the roles that he played, both as an Irish character and in non-Irish roles. Brougham was popular both on-stage and off-stage, and although he never was a rich man, he had a reputation for being generous to those who were less fortunate. He was held in high esteem by people from all walks of life.

If the late twentieth century is known in theatre circles for the importance of the director and director/producer, rather than the prominence of playwrights or actors, with references to the Brook A Midsummer Night's Dream or the Strehler or the Wolf Tempest, much of the nineteenth century

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1. Brander Matthews, These Many Years: Recollections of a New Yorker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 348. (Matthews is describing his experience at seeing Brougham play Sir Lucius O'Trigger.)

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was known for the prominence of the actor. Audiences appeared to have little concern about what the play was, although they did have favorite forms of theatrical entertainment such as social comedy, melodrama and minstrelsy. Playwrights were often given almost no recognition in advertisements or playbills, but people went to the theatre again and again to see popular actors and actresses. In the United States from 1842 until 1880, one of the best known actors was John Brougham. I contend that his versatility and the multiplicity of his talents have never before been fully recognized. However, in 1901, William Keese wrote this pointed observation about the extent and diverse nature of Brougham's repertory:

> It was quite natural that Brougham should succeed in the Irish Drama. He had a native relish for Irish Character, and was familiar with its many phases, and his mother-wit and captivating readiness aided him greatly in his portrayals. Had he given special attention to this field, I see no reason why he should not have rivaled Power; but he was too versatile to be confined to one line of parts. As a matter of fact, he played anything that had the promise of artistic success in it, and soon acquired an extensive repertory.[2]

Although Winter was obviously a fan of Brougham's and saw him act many times, he notes that "...the parts in which he was preeminent were the dashing cavaliers, especially those of the Irish race,--the ardent, generous, reckless souls that sparkle through life without heed for to-morrow, doing

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2. William L. Keese, A Group of Comedians (New York: Dunlap Society, 1901; New York: Burton Franklin, 1970), 46.

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kindness and making laughter all the way...."[3] He claims that in roles depicting the Irish gentleman, Brougham had no peer.

According to usual practice in the nineteenth century, young actors apprenticed themselves to one of the major actors in a company, and eventually developed a "line of business" as a tragedian, a light comedian, a low comedian, or one of several other lines. This did not mean that a company had only one light comedian or only one low comedian; sometimes there were several, and depending on the company's repertoire, actors who did not specialize in comedy might well take on secondary roles of a comic nature, especially when social comedies with their plethora of comic roles were being performed.

It is difficult for us as Americans and not living in the nineteenth century to know just how roles were divided into light comedy and low comedy roles, but this classification had more to do with the social rank or class of the character than the nature of their role. In analyzing the forty-nine roles for which at least forty performances of each have been verified, the names of the characters indicate that at least half of the roles would fall into the light comedy category. (Tables C.1 and C.2) Even where plays have been lost, it is fairly easy to understand the nature of the role from descriptions written on playbills or failing that by the name and title assigned to the character. That Brougham frequently

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3. Winter, Other Days, 99.

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Table C.1 - Roles in plays by others performed forty or more times

		Total
Arrah-Na-Pogue	Colonel O'Grady	224
Beulah Spa, The	Captain Kildare	48
Born to Good Luck	Paddy O'Rafferty	60
Fast Man, The	Skyrocket Hed	43
Gentleman from Ireland, A	Gerald Fitzmaurice	160
Hamlet (travesty)	Hamlet	54
His Last Legs	Felix O'Callaghan	178
Irish Ambassador, The	Sir Patrick O'Plenipo	44
Irish Lion, The	Tim Moore	122
Irish Tiger, The	Paddy Ryan	56
John Bull	Dennis Brulgruddery	58
Lemons	Lord Loftus	56
Life	Chumley Clevert	52
London Assurance	Dazzle/Max Harkaway	90/42
Money	Benjamin Stout, M.P.	121
Nervous Man, The	McShane, the man of nerve	74
Olympic Revels	Mars	63
Omnibus, The	Pat Rooney	73
One Hour	O'Leary	42
Pique	Dr. Gossitt	235
Pretty Piece of Business	Captain Felix Merryweather	61
Rescued	Felix O'Reilly	44
Review, The	Looney MacTwoulter	61
Rivals, The	Sir Lucius O'Trigger	146
Roi Carotte	King Carrot	91
Romance of a Poor Young Man	Dr. Desmarets	64
Round the Clock	Roderick Killgobbin	58
School for Scandal, The	Sir Oliver Surface	75
Serious Family, The	Captain Murphy Maguire	216
Sleeping Beauty	Larry O'Log	51
Veteran, The	Grand Vizier Ofl-an-agan	145

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Table C.2 - Roles in his own plays performed at least forty times by Brougham

		Total
Bel Demonio	Cardinal Montalto	139
Columbus (various titles)	Columbus (Don Cristoval Colon)	163
David Copperfield	Wilkins Micawber	194
Dombey and Son	Captain Cuttle	136
	Bagstock/Bunsby	105
Duke's Motto, The	Carrickfergus	179
Flies in the Web	Mr. Corydon Foxglove	95
Lottery of Life, The	Terry, the Swell	213
Love and Murder	Mickey Magra	116
Met-a-mo-ra	Metamora	94
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice	Shylock	73
O'Donnell's Mission	Captain O'Donnell	58
Playing with Fire	Dr. Savage	232
Po-ca-hon-tas	H.R.H. Pow-Ha-Tan I	420
Red Light, The	Ned MacDermott	87
Romance and Reality	Jack Swift	141
Tom and Jerry/Life in New York, Boston	Corinthian Tom (with other roles)	112

played roles associated with what the British would call the middle classes can be derived from the number of times his character is addressed as Sir, Doctor, Captain, Major, Colonel and Mister. Although not as often, he did also play roles associated with the upper classes such as Lord Tinsel in The Hunchback, Lord Priory in Wives as They Were and Maids as They

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Are, and one of his first roles on stage was Lord Lindsay in Mary, Queen of Scots. Many of the light comedy roles were for Irish characters although not exclusively so; frequently the characters were military men, and often there was a love interest involved, although sometimes a ridiculous one.

The remainder of the roles Brougham played were often low comedy types, either working laborers, tavern keepers, managers of theatres, servants, or characters of unknown occupation although clearly working class. Many of these characters were Irish although most were not what a twentieth-century audience might expect from a stage Irishman. While there were occasional falling-down drunk scenes, these were relatively few, and many of Brougham's servant roles were more the clever servant than the servile peasant.

Historians may have regarded Brougham as playing exclusively Irish roles since he was listed for Irish roles (rather than a light or low comedian) in Madame Vestris' oft-reprinted list of her company of 1841. However, the role he played most often was not Irish, but that of His Royal Highness Pow-Ha-Tan I, King of the Tuscaroras, in his own extravaganza/burlesque, Po-ca-hon-tas. He also played Metamora in his burlesque of Stone's play by that name, Columbus in his Columbus el Filibustero, and a number of other non-Irish roles such as Gratiano in Wallack's famous production of The Merchant of Venice and Polonius in Fechter's Hamlet. Brougham's versatility meant that he played many roles in

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several plays, such as Sir Oliver, Sir Joseph, Sir Charles, and Sir Benjamin in Sheridan's School for Scandal; he also occasionally played minor roles such as one of the witches in Macbeth, and very occasionally he played a standard role in a burlesque manner such as his Irish Iago in Othello Travesty. Other roles that twentieth-century Americans would not necessarily recognize as Irish may have been played that way by other actors, or at least in one case, perhaps Brougham altered the role. On several occasions, he played the role of Dazzle in London Assurance, the role which he claimed to have written for himself in Boucicault's play, and it was programmed as O'Donahue Dazzle. Brougham was quoted as giving several different responses about the writing of this play, claiming at times that he had written most of it and at other times that he had nothing to do with it. It appears that Madame Vestris decided that Boucicault, or Lee Moreton, as he was then known, would be given the credit as playwright, and while Boucicault and Brougham did apparently have a falling out over it, they did not stay mad forever. In late life, although Brougham continued to play Dazzle, he stated that he had originally tried to convince Boucicault that it should have been an Irish role but seemed to consider that he no longer played it in that manner.

Some reviews do make the modern critic wish that recordings of Brougham's performances were available since his brogue is mentioned at least on occasion. One wonders if it

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was so pronounced that almost any role had a tinge of Irish. It was true that Brougham had been raised to be an Irish gentleman, and he probably came as close as anyone to playing such a role off-stage. There must have been times when the off-stage persona influenced the role within a play.

John P. Harrington claims that Brougham became an American rather than an Irish playwright, but he seems to base much of his claim on Brougham's play The Irish Yankee, first performed in New Orleans as The Declaration of Independence, in which Brougham played Ebenezer O'Donahoo, a native-born American of Irish parentage.[4] However, even though Brougham wrote many plays which depicted American or more particularly local scenes and interests, including Neptune's Defeat which celebrated the successful laying of the first transatlantic cable, in which he played Neptune, with the exception of Pocahontas, Metamora, and adaptations of Pierce Egan's extravaganza attributed to Brougham, usually titled Tom and Jerry in America, these American or local roles did not make up the bulk of his performance career.

In addition to acting, Brougham often sang in performance, usually comic songs, but he sang well enough to perform the role of Count Almaviva in Mozart's The Marriage of Figaro when William Burton produced that at the Chambers Street Theatre. He also danced and according to reviews took

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4. John P. Harrington, The Irish Play on the New York Stage, 1874-1966 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 13-14.

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the lead in such social dance pieces incorporated into plays as the Serious Family Polka.

Some critics allege that Brougham acted primarily in his own plays. While it is true that particularly outside of New York and more often in later life, his repertoire was largely works that he wrote, certainly that gives scant recognition to the vast number of works by others in which he performed. A number of playwrights of the period acknowledged writing roles with Brougham in mind, and some of these were very successful. An examination of Tables C.3 and C.4 show that of the forty-three plays that Brougham performed in at least fifty times, only sixteen of these were his own works. These tables further show the influence of the long run on his acting, particularly in the final two decades of his life. It is interesting to note that the only two plays in which he performed in all five decades of his performance career are standard classical comedies by Sheridan and Colman the younger. While the total number of performances of The Rivals did not come close to equalling that of several of his own plays, notably Po-ca-hon-tas, Playing with Fire, David Copperfield, and Dombey and Son, he continued to play the role of Sir Lucius O'Trigger on a regular basis throughout his career, with his first performance of this role at London's Theatre Royal, Haymarket on August 14, 1838 and his last in November, 1878 at Wallack's Theatre in New York.

If the instances cited above help to prove that Brougham

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Table C.3 - Plays performed at least 50 times by Brougham and acted in three or more decades - by decade

	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	Total
Born to Good Luck	1	46	13			60
Columbus (various titles)			76	81	6	163
David Copperfield			76	99	19	194
Dombey and Son		80	96	59	6	241
Gentleman from Ireland, A			63	90	7	160
Hamlet (travesty)		26	27	1		54
His Last Legs		47	28	79	24	178
Irish Lion, The	16	71	26	9		122
Irish Tiger, The		20	34	2		56
John Bull	1	21	28	1	7	58
London Assurance		42	54	7	59	162
Met-a-mo-ra		50	30	14		94
Money		4	40	1	83	128
Nervous Man, The		25	20	8	21	74
Po-ca-hon-tas			205	184	31	420
Review, The	1	5	55			61
Rivals, The	6	40	45	12	43	146
Romance and Reality		31	53	45	12	141
School for Scandal, The		8	50	6	48	112
Serious Family, The		20	150	14	32	216

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Table C.4 -Plays performed at least 50 times by Brougham and in two or fewer decades - by decade

	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	Total
Arrah-Na-Pogue				195	29	224
Bel Demonio				139		139
Duke's Motto, The				179		179
Flies in the Web				82	13	95
Lemons					56	56
Life					52	52
Life in the Clouds (two versions)		70				70
Lottery of Life, The				161	52	213
Love and Murder		78	38			116
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice				51	22	73
O'Donnell's Mission				58		58
Olympic Revels	63					63
Omnibus, The		38	35			73
Pique					235	235
Playing with Fire				204	28	232
Pretty Piece of Business, A			58	3		61
Red Light, The				35	52	87
Roi Carotte					91	91
Romance of a Poor Young Man, The				64		64
Round the Clock					58	58
Sleeping Beauty		51				51
Tom and Jerry/Life in New York, Boston		83	33			116
Veteran, The			68		77	145

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was a versatile performer, perhaps the recognition that he played at least 477 roles in at least 443 different plays illustrates his endurance. From the time that he first appeared on the stage in 1830 until he made his last appearance on October 25, 1879, just eight months before he died, he was usually engaged as an actor. In reading references to performers' activities during the summer when many city theatres were closed, I have found only one reference to a possible vacation being taken by Brougham. It seems that when he did not have an acting engagement, and those times were remarkably few, he was usually busy with writing a new play because it is inevitable that a period when evidence of no acting activity can be found is followed by the premiere of a new piece from his pen.

Brougham had always been recognized for his gift at impromptu speeches on almost any occasion, but in later life and particularly as a charter member of the Lotos Club, he became a somewhat unofficial greeter for prominent guests to the city. Gregarious by nature, Brougham had a reputation for liking people, and people apparently liked him. In his third-person synopsis of his career he stated: "Would rather be everybody's friend than anybody's enemy, from sheer selfishness, inasmuch as bearing malice weighs down the spirits and disturbs digestion."[5] There are many instances of Brougham's kindnesses to others, particularly to younger

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5. Life, 66.

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members of the theatrical profession, quoted in memoirs of other actors. An example of such was when a young actor reported that he didn't know how to portray a particular action in one of Brougham's plays, he gently took the young man aside and explained out of the hearing of the other actors how he should proceed to "swallow a nightcap."[6]

Brougham also reported in an interview that when he was acting with William Burton, he started to become very comfortable on stage with the audience and developed the ability to speak extemporaneously,[7] and reviews of the period frequently cite his rapport with the audience. Even though a few critics have stated that he made interpolations into plays, such statements were made by critics who either saw him act during the last few years of his career or who didn't see him at all. There were obviously a few pieces that were largely improvisation, such as the two-person piece first named A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion Committed by Mr. Brougham to the Annoyance of Mr. Burton, and given various names to suit the occasion afterward, but I estimate that such made up less than five percent of Brougham's repertoire. In fact, Brougham claimed late in life that this piece developed from an incident where he was called out at the end of a performance, and Burton came out while Brougham was speaking

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6. Joseph Whitton, Wags of the Stage (Philadelphia: George H. Rigby, 1902), 16-18.

7. New York Herald, 26 Aug., 1877.

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and told the audience that they should not believe a word out of that lying Irishman's mouth. This accusation was followed by an apparently good-natured dispute that the audience loved; however, Michael Booth and others point out that a one-act comedy called A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion Committed by Mr. Wright to the Annoyance of Mr. Paul Bedford, had premiered at the Adelphi Theatre in London in June of 1849 some two months earlier than the Burton/Brougham "dispute". Since the repertoire at the Chambers Street Theatre focused on new pieces, and Burton often programmed new plays within a month or so of their London premiere, it seems unlikely that he and Brougham would not have at least heard about the similar piece done in London. While some scholars have chosen to believe that Brougham's claim that he could speak extemporaneously meant that he made up words during the course of a play, I believe he was indicating that he began to develop a reputation for extremely funny after-curtain speeches. I take this position because although other actors were rather often criticized by reviewers for not knowing lines, I have found not a single review faulting Brougham in this regard. There were times when critics thought that he was assigned the wrong role, and there were even a few times when his acting was not adored, although his reviews were overwhelmingly positive; however, he apparently knew his lines, regardless of the number of new pieces in which he might be appearing.

While Brougham claimed to be indolent by nature, he was

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widely recognized as hard-working, not only as a member of the team of "Busy B's" with Burton, but also on many other occasions. It seems clear to me that Brougham's industry included a great deal of his paying attention to the business of being a theatrical professional. That he was a reliable actor is verified by the day-by-day chronology of his performances. Records indicate that when he was engaged at a theatre, he seldom failed to appear, and reportedly he was always well-received following absences for illness. He was also adventurous, being among the first to travel by train to California shortly after the laying of the cross-country railway. While he apparently nearly always found something to enjoy in the places where he toured and the people he met, he also regarded New York as his home, and at least one letter preserved by William Winter cites Brougham's eagerness to return home from a tour. Brougham was always interested in local affairs and continued to modify both his own plays and those of others to include allusions to the locality where he was performing.

Brougham was known for innovative stage practices, sometimes regarded as being twentieth-century inventions, such as having a cast member appear in the audience, thus breaking the "fourth wall." He also made use of metatheatrical structure, writing several plays which contained a play within a play. He seemed to be always aware of the audience; an example of his desire for audience participation in the

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performances is illustrated with a playbill from his tenure as manager of Bland and Brougham's Adelphi Theatre in Boston for June 10, 1847 indicating "Hats and Canes loaned for extemporaneous presentation" for audience members who wished to become a part of the performance of what was advertised as Brougham and Bellini's burlesque, Nor-ma.

His efforts to entice audience members to his own theatres included the use of elaborate scenery and costumes and such innovations as giving a performance at both a New York theatre and one in Philadelphia on the same evening. This last event has been mentioned in several accounts of nineteenth-century theatre; however, except in newspaper reports of the time, it has never been acknowledged that Brougham not only acted himself in the two cities but took nearly his whole company and some of the audience with him on this elaborate journey, which included several carriage rides, ferry service across the Hudson and Delaware rivers and a railroad trip from northern New Jersey to Camden.

I have alluded to the fact that Brougham was given good press; my insight into how he may have gotten better press than other actors developed from reading a notice about his appearances in New Orleans in 1869. The editor of the New Orleans Picayune mentions that Brougham and the manager of the Varieties Theatre had "dropped in" at the newspaper and says that Brougham looks no older than when he first played there in 1843. Not only does Brougham seem to have shown good

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political sense in visiting the editor, but because the editor considers Brougham primarily as a writer, he refers to him as a member of the same profession. It appears that Brougham had the uncanny ability to find similarities between himself and others, regardless of their profession.

Not only was Brougham popular with writers, but there are countless reviews of performances in which he participated where the crowd was reported as immense, often outnumbering the seats in the theatre. While some of the adulation accorded to him by writers may be dismissed as "puffs," it is true that he received more generous praise than many actors. One journalist even wrote in 1857 that while the economy was in rather desperate straits, people seemed to be able to come up with the money to get in to see Brougham when he was playing in Cincinnati.

In spite of the fact that Brougham never remained with any company for longer than four years, his popularity was also tremendous in New York. In fact in September 1850 a drill team was organized and named Brougham's Light Guards in his honor.

In general, I think it is safe to say that Brougham was popular not only because he was a good actor but also because he was a genuine human being with an uncanny ability to get along with people, even when they were people he didn't particularly like or admire. He was generous to a fault and apparently spent freely when he had money. He was the first

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secretary of the American Dramatic Fund primarily established to assist indigent elderly actors and their widows and children, and for some time this organization accepted Brougham's offer of the use of a room in his home as its first office. For a number of years, even though he was a member of the Anglican Church, he directed an annual all-day benefit for the Roman Catholic Orphans Asylum. Playbills for these events often note that the performances were "under the direction of Mr. John Brougham." Because he had no inclination toward thrift, his last few months were spent in extreme poverty, and his death was likely hastened by the fact that he did not have enough money to pay for a doctor during his last illness.

His inability to manage his own finances was also reflected in his lack of success as a theatre manager. Although his artistic decisions were widely praised, Brougham's ambition seemed to exceed his financial resources. Critics wrote incredibly complimentary reviews of productions at the theatres he managed, but it appears that Brougham always spent more than the box office brought in, even with full houses, and it is likely that he was a "soft touch" for anyone with a hard luck story. In addition to his lack of financial acumen, Brougham's acknowledged reputation as a most agreeable person probably stood in the way of his success at theatre management; his easy-going nature probably made it nearly impossible for him to discipline actors and others

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employed in his theatres. It is quite easy to imagine him excusing behavior that would not have usually been tolerated.

In fact, Brougham probably had a "soft heart" for almost anyone, even people for whom he normally had little regard. I have been able to find a record of only one evening where both Stone's Metamora with Forrest and Brougham's Metamora with Brougham as Metamora was performed, but there are numerous accounts of Brougham's acting in such a serious manner and in such close impersonation of Forrest that critics wrote that they were sure they had been seeing Forrest rather than Brougham on stage. It is not known if it was on the evening with the two Metamora performances or at another time, but reportedly Forrest at last saw Brougham doing his role in the burlesque and was so upset by it that he cried. Although Brougham did not particularly like Forrest and clearly sided with Forrest's wife in their scandalous divorce which occupied the front pages of newspapers for weeks, he immediately stopped playing Metamora because he did not like the idea that Forrest's feelings had been hurt by an action of his.

Although Brougham apparently had fairly cordial feelings for William Burton for a number years, it appears that there was always some bad blood between the two men, Burton being widely recognized as a manager with poor interpersonal skills. Brougham did not completely succeed in challenging Burton when he left the Chambers Street Theatre to run his own theatre. Still Burton was a clever scamp, and even though Brougham was

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associated with the Wallacks who were much more successful at challenging Burton's supremacy, Burton also hired Brougham to act at his Metropolitan Theatre both during Brougham's tenure as manager at the Bowery and when he became ill on a tour and had to return to New York the following year. Whether or not this was primarily because Burton was just an astute manager is not known; in his later years, Brougham wrote of Burton: "A clever actor, but a close manager. Yet after all, what good did it do him? He made $200,000, and not a twentieth part of it reached his children,--all devoured by lawyers and litigation."[8] This comment may reveal as much about Brougham as about Burton; apparently Brougham saw little purpose in making money other than in being able to give more away.

Throughout much of his performance career, Brougham was also associated with Dion Boucicault, also widely considered to be one of the most litigious men ever involved in theatre. At the time that they were both associated with Madame Vestris' troupe at Covent Garden in 1841, Brougham had been acting with the troupe for several years. How much the dispute of the authorship of London Assurance affected their relationship remains a mystery. Brougham continued to act in many of Boucicault's plays, and Boucicault wrote at least one role (Colonel O'Grady in Arrah-na-Pogue) specifically for Brougham. It is likely that Boucicault hired Brougham to act near the end of his life when other engagements were few.

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8. Life, 76.

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Brougham's sense of humor tempered with a strong recognition of the necessity for decorum has been documented many times. He was never criticized for vulgarity in his humor; in fact, some critics wrote that his revisions of others' humorous pieces often omitted anything that would offend. He was known as an actor who succeeded at comedy partly through being totally serious. His wit was lively and quick, and he often drew both verbal and visual sketches of other theatre personnel.

An example of Brougham's off-stage wit occurred when he went with a friend to his tailor's shop to pick up a coat that he had ordered. He tried the coat on, and although it was longer than he had wanted, he said that being longer might be a "good fault." He paid the bill and was leaving the store, when the proprietor stopped him and said that the clerk had made an error, and that Brougham owed $10 more. Brougham said that he didn't have the additional $10 but said: "I'll tell you what you may do. The coat is about that much too long; suppose you cut ten dollars' worth off the tail of it and call it square." The proprietor laughed and said that would not be possible but that they would make up the $10 some other way. Brougham was about to leave the shop when he stopped, turned back and whispered into the proprietor's ear, "In making up that $10, please don't cut it off the legs of those trousers I ordered yesterday."[9]

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9. Whitton, Wags, 15-16.

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A

JOHN BROUGHAM: THE AMERICAN PERFORMANCE CAREER OF AN IRISH COMEDIAN, 1842-1880

by

DANA RAHM SUTTON

Volume II

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

1999

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Appendix A - Calendar of Known Performances

(B = benefit, M = matinee, E = evening, * = play produced under Brougham's management without him as performer)

1830

Tottenham Street Theatre
London

August 23, 27, 28, 31, September 1-4: *Etiquette Run Man or, Happy Blundering* (one of the servants). PB

August 27, 28: *Castle Spectre* (Muly). PB

September 3-4, 11: *The Benighted Travellers* (Jaques). PB

September 11: *An Irishman's Fortune, or Paddy O'Rafferty* (Carlos). PB

September 11, 20-21: *The Redoubtables* (one of four officers). PB

September 20-21: *Black Eyed Susan* (Lieut. Pike). PB

September 20-21: *The Death of Rolla* (Valverde).PB

October 11-13: *The Corsair! Or, an Escape from Slavery* (Borachio). PB

October 11-13: *Richard Parker* (Jack Munro). PB

October 26: *Guy Mannering* (Joch Jabos). PB

November 3-4: *Oscar and Malvina* (one of the travellers). PB

November 3-4: *The Peasant Boy; Or, The Amethyst Ring* (Stefano). PB

November 15, 19, December 1, 3, 11: *The Lord of the Manor* (Sergeant Sash). PB, ad-12/1

November 15, 22: *The Smuggler's Isle* (Dick Fagan). PB

November 16, 24-26, 29, December 2, 7-8, 10: *Fra Diavolo; or, the Brigand Chief* (Christofano). ad-11/16, 24-25, 29, 12/7-8 (no roles listed), PB-11/26, 12/2, 10 (new scenery by Brougham)

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November 19, 22, 26, December 3, 6, 9, 11: *Don Giovanni* (Charon/Sponge). PB (only listed for Charon on 12/3), ad-12/6, 9

November 20, 22: *The Stratagem; Or, An Exquisite at Fault* (O'Rafferty). 11/20-ad (no roles listed except for Madame Vestris), 11/22-PB

November 25: *Tekeli* (Edmund). PB

December 2: *The Warlock of the Glen* (Ruthven). PB

T. Alston Brown wrote that Brougham made his first theatrical appearance as several unimportant characters in *Tom and Jerry* at the Queen's Theatre, Tottenham Court Road. I have found no evidence to support this report.

1831

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 3, 5-8, 10-11, 18: *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Lord Lindsay). PB

January 3, 5-8, 10-11, 14-15, 18-22, 24-29, 31, February 1-5, 7-12, 14-15, 17, 19, 21-22, 24, 26, 28, March 1, 3, 5, 7-8, 10, 12, 14-15, 17, 19, 21-22, 24, October 6-7, 13-14, November 21, December 12-13: *Olympic Revels or, Prometheus and Pandora* (Mars). PB

January 14-15: *Fra Diavolo or, the Inn at Terracina* (Christofano). PB

January 18-19, 21, February 10-12, 14-15: *The Lost Son* (Stranger).

March 5, 7: *My Great Aunt! or, Where There's a Will* (Charles Welford). PB

October 6-7, 13-14: *Talk of the Devil--!* (Laurent, one of the servants of Chevalier D'Arcy). PB

October 13-14, 25-26, 31, November 21-22, 26, December 2-3, 7, 27: *I'll be your Second* (Lieutenant O'Bryan). PB

October 25-26, 31, November 5, 24-25, December 8-9, 12-15, 20-23, 26-27: *Gervase Skinner* (Patrick). PB

December 14-15, 20-23: *The Dumb Belle* (Phelim O'Smirk). PB

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1832

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 7, 23-26, February 10, 23, October 1, 5, 23-24: *I'll Be Your Second* (Lietenant O'Bryan). PB

January 20, 27, February 10: *The Dumb Belle* (Phelim O'Smirk). PB

February 6-7, 21: *Gervase Skinner* (Patrick). PB

February 16, April 23B: *Olympic Revels* (Mars). PB, (4/23- benefit of Mrs. Glover)

October 23-24, November 2, 12, 21, 23, 29, December 6: *The Court of Queen's Bench* (Hubert).PB

Queen's Theatre, Tottenham Street
London

March 14B: *The Dumb Belle* (Phelim O'Smirk). PB (benefit for Mr. Hooper)

Theatre Royal Hay-Market
London

June 7: *The Review; or, the Wags of Windsor* (Looney Mactwolter). PB

1833

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

February 5: *The Court of Queen's Bench* (Hubert). PB

March 2, 30, September 30, October 1, 5, 14, November 7-9: *A Match in the Dark* (O'Flinn). PB

November 18-22, 25-30, December 2-7, 9-14, 16, 21, 30-31: *The Beulah Spa* (Captain Kildare). PB

New Theatre
Oxford

August 29: *The Suspicious Husband* (Bellamy). PB

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1834

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 1, 6-9, 13-15, 20-21, 31, February 1, 10-11, 13, 15, 17, March 3-4, 17-18, 20, October 14: *The Beulah Spa* (Captain Kildare). PB

March 13, 15: *Hide and Seek* (Mr. Charles Merton). PB

1835

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

September 30, October 19: *Court Beauties* (Jerningham). PB

September 30, October 19: *Love in a Cottage* (Sir Murphy O'Blarney). PB

December 7: *The Daughter* (Fitz Faddle Aspis). PB

1836

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 12, February 11, 13, March 22, October 3: *One Hour or, A Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB

October 3, 21: *Court Favour or, "Private and Confidential"* (Colonel Kilkenny). PB

October 21: *A Gentleman in Difficulties* (Mr. Simmonds). PB

October 21: *Love in a Cottage* (Sir Murphy O'Blarney). PB

1837

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 14, May 12, 24, 31: *One Hour or, A Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB

January 14: *Yankee Pedlar* (Morland). PB

April 22: *Beulah Spa* (Capt. Kildare). PB

May 19, 24, 31: *A Gentleman in Difficulties* (Mr. Simmonds). PB

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October 30, November 9, 20: *A Quiet Day* (Mr. Bryan O'Reilly). PB

November 9, 20, 30, December 8, 11: *A Dream of the Future* (Patrick). PB

November 20, 30, December 8, 11, 16, 18: *Why Did You Die?* (Joseph). PB

November 30, December 8, 11: *Twice Killed* (Mr. Reckless). PB

December 11, 16, 18: *The Ringdoves* (Moony). PB

December 16: *The Duel; or, My Two Nephews* (O'Mauley). PB

December 26: *Puss in Boots* (Killmany O'Gobble Killmore, an Irish ogre). Evans dissertation

Queen's Theatre
London

March 1: *One Hour: or, A Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB (The Vestris/Mathews Olympic company played at Queen's Theatre on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent.)

English Opera House
London

June 10B: *The Beulah Spa* (Capt. Kildare). PB (benefit for Mr. James Vining)

June 10B: *One Hour! or, A Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB

1838

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 4, 15, February 12, 14: *Puss in Boots* (Killmany O'Gobble Killmore). PB

January 4, 15, February 12, 14, April 16, 18, 20, 24-25, 27: *The Ringdoves* (Moony). PB

March 1, 8, 10, 15, 19, 22, 26, April 5, 7: *One Hour* (O'Leary). PB

May 5, 11, 14, 17-18, 23, 28, 30, 31, October 17: *Naval Engagements* (Dennis, a waiter). PB

October 17, 29: *A Quiet Day* (Mr. Bryan O'Reilley). PB

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October 17, 29, November 13: *Sons and Systems* (Donald O'McSweeney). PB

November 13, December 1, 3: *The Idol's Birthday* (Dennis Crambo). PB

December 3: *"The Queen's Horse," or, The Brewer of Preston* (Corporal Murphy). PB

Haymarket Theatre
London

June 9, 14, 27, July 4, 9: *Naval Engagements* (Dennis). PB

June 9, 16, 20, 26, 29-30, July 4, 9, 11: *One Hour* (O'Leary). PB

June 18, 22, July 6: *A Dream of the Future* (Patrick). 6/8-Mullin, ad, other dates-PB

July 13-14, 16, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-27, 31, August 3, 7, 11, September 26-27: *The Irish Lion* (Tim More, a traveling tailor). PB

July 27, 31: *The White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). PB

July 30, August 2: *The Jealous Wife* (Captain O'Cutter). PB

August 10: *Who Wants a Guinea* (Sir Larry MacMurragh). PB

August 14: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

1839

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

January 1, 5, 21, March 14: *Blue Beard* (O'Shack O'Back). PB

January 5, 21: *The Burlington Arcade* (Larry O'Slack). PB

January 21: *Why Did You Die?* (Joseph). PB

April 4, 6, 11: *The Garrick Fever* (Major Derrydown). PB

April 4, 6: *A Quiet Day* (Mr. Bryan O'Reilly). PB

April 15, May 15, 17, 20-23, 27-31: *Dr. Dilworth* (O'Laughlin). PB

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May 15, 17, 20-23, 27-31: *A Dream of the Future* (Patrick). PB

May 27-31: *One Hour or a Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB

Theatre Royal, Covent Garden
London

September 30, October 1-4, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18: *Alive and Merry* (Patrick Day). PB

October 5, 12, November 5: *Sons and Systems* (Donald O'McSweeney). PB

October 8, 14, 23, 30: *Naval Engagements* (Dennis). PB

October 10, 17, 24, November 6, 14: *The Ringdoves* (Mooney). PB

October 15, 18, 29, November 4: *Dr. Dilworth* (O'Laughlin). PB

October 20, 28, November 4: *The Queen's Horse* (Corporal Murphy). PB

October 26, November 2, 15: *One Hour* (O'Leary). PB

October 26: *A Quiet Day* (Mr. Bryan O'Reilly). PB

November 2: *Why Did You Die?* (Joseph). PB

November 28, December 5, 12, 19, 28: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

December 27: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB

1840

Theatre Royal, Covent Garden
London

January 2, 9, 16, 23, February 6, 20, 25, March 10, 18, April 9, September 17, October 12, 21, November 4: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

January 3, 10, February 10, April 21, May 16, October 30: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB

February 4, March 23, 26, 30, May 20: *One Hour: or, A Carnival Ball* (O'Leary). PB

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March 31, October 29, 31, December 9: *A Quiet Day* (Mr. Bryan O'Reilly). PB

April 3, 10, October 17, November 17: *The Ringdoves* (Mooney). PB

April 20-25, 27-30, May 1-2, 4-9, 11B, 12-16, 18B, 19, 20B 21-23, 25-29B, September 7-12, 14-19, 21, 28, October 14-15: *Sleeping Beauty in the Woods* (Larry O'Log). PB (5/11-benefit for Madame Vestris) (5/18-benefit for Mr. Farren) (5/20-benefit for Mr. Harley) (5/29-benefit for Charles Mathews)

June 22MB: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke as Dr. O'Toole). PB (6/22-benefit for Mr. Notter, 17 years box-book keeper to Covent Garden)

June 22MB: *The Ladies' Club* (not listed). ad

October 29-31, November 2-7, 9, 11-14, 17, 20, 23, 27, December 1: *Fashionable Arrivals* (Mr. O'Brian). PB

Royal Olympic Theatre
London

June 1B: *A Match in the Dark* (O'Flynn). PB (benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

June 1B: *More Blunders Than One* (Larry Hollaghan). PB

English Opera House
London

June 9-13: *A Match in the Dark* (O'Flynn). PB-6/10, ad-other dates

June 9-13, 15-20, 22E, 23, 25-27: *The Second Parte of the Tragycalle Hystorie of Thomasse Thumbe* (O'Doodle). PB-6/10, 18, ad-other dates (This piece was not listed on the playbill for 6/25 but was advertised in the *Morning Chronicle* for that date.)

June 18-20, 22E, 23, 25-27, 29-30, July 1-2B, 3-4, 6-11, 20-22: *The Ladies' Club* (Fricandeau). PB-6/18, 25, 7/2, 6, 9, ad-other dates (7/2-benefit of Mr. T. Green)

June 26-27, 29-30, July 1, 3-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-31, August 1: *Ins and Outs* (Terence O'Twister). PB-6/26, 7/6, 9, 13-18, 23, 27, 30, ad-other dates

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July 23-25, 27-31, August 1, 3-8, 10-15, 17-20, 22, 24-26, 27-28, September 1-5: *Life in the Clouds, or Olympus in an Uproar* (O'Rion, a con.....ed constellation). PB-7/23, 27, 30, 8/3-8, 10, 17, 25, 27, 9/1, 3, ad-other dates

July 30-31, August 1, 3-4, 6-8, 10-12: *Love's Livery* (Darby Dogherty). PB-7/30, August 3, 6, 10, ad-other dates

August 27-28: *His First Champagne* (Terence Conelly). PB-27, ad-28

September 3: *The Irishman's Fortune* (O'Rafferty). PB

Royal Victoria Theatre
London

June 24M: *The Ladies' Club* (not listed). ad (performance by the English Opera Company at the Royal Victoria Theatre)

June 24M: *Thomasse Thumbe* (O'Doodle). ad

1841

Royal Theatre, Covent Garden
London

September 7, 10, 18, November 3, 10: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

October 7: *Caught Napping* (Mich Oregan). PB

October 16, 19, 21, 23, 27: *The Poor Soldier* (Father Luke). PB

November 13, 30: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). PB

November 16, 18, 20, 23, 27, December 1: *The Omnibus* (Pat Roony). PB

1842

Royal Theatre, Covent Garden
London

(Information for Covent Garden performances for 1842 comes from *The Theatrical Observer*, abbreviated as TO.)

January 28: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). TO

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February 23, March 28: *The Ringdoves* (Mooney). ad-2/23, TO

February 25: *The Poor Soldier* (Father Luke). ad, TO

(Mullin lists a performance of Moore in *The Irish Lion* by Brougham at Sadler's Wells Theatre in London for March, 1842. I could find no evidence of this in newspapers or among playbills.)

Theatre Royal, Lyceum and English Opera House
London

May 9: *The Beulah Spa* (Captain Kildare). PB

May 16, 19: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). PB

June 22B: *Dr. Dilworth* (Loughlin). PB (T. Green's benefit)

June 22: *Enthusiasm* (Massinger Smith). PB

June 22: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Mullowney). PB

Park Theatre
New York

October 4, 10, 24: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, Ireland, *Spirit of the Times*, *New York Herald*, ad-10/10, 24 (Odell writes that Brougham played Mr. Oakly in *The Jealous Wife* on 10/10, but Mr. Abbott is listed for that role in the ad.)

October 5, 13, December 21: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, Ireland, ad-10/5, 13

October 5: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy the Tiler). Odell, Ireland

October 6, 11, 14, 25, December 3: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). Ireland, PB, ad-10/11, 14, 25, 12/3 (It is not clear whether or not Brougham acted in *Croton Celebration, or Love's Jubilee*, listed as an "occasional burletta" for the program on October 4 as part of the celebration of the completion of the Croton aqueduct. The ad in the *New York Herald* lists no actors for this piece.)

October 6, 8, 11, 14, 17B, 20, 26B, November 29, December 2, 15: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, PB, ad-10/8, 11, 14, 17, 26, 11/29, 12/2, 15 (10/26-benefit for Mr. Abbott)

October 7: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). Odell, ad

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October 8: *The Irishman in London* (Dr. O'Toole). ad

October 12-13, November 29: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

October 15, 18: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad

October 17: *The Wife* (St. Pierre). Odell, Spirit

October 19-20, November 30, December 5, 13: *Irishman's Fortune* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

October 21-22, 27, December 2, 7: *More Blunders than One* (Larry Hooligan). Odell, ad

October 24-26B, 27-28B, November 28, 30, December 10, 14: *Love's Sacrifice* (St. Lo). Odell, Ireland, Spirit, ad-11/24-27, 11/28, 30 (10/28-Brougham's benefit)

October 28B, November 28: *The Irish Ambassador* (not listed). ad

December 1, 6: *The Irish Tutor* (not listed). ad

December 5-10, 12-14, 16, 21: *Alma Mater, or, Life in Oxford* (Count Pave). Odell, Ireland, ad

December 19B, 30B: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad, PB-30 (12/19-Mrs. Brougham's benefit) (12/30-Mr. Abbott's benefit)

December 19B: *Love Chase* (Wildrake). ad

Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

October 31, November 5B: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). Durang, Weymess-10/31, ad-10/31 (11/5-Brougham's benefit)

November 1: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Durang, ad

November 1: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy the Tiler). Durang, ad

November 2B, 3: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Durang-11/2, ad (11/2-benefit for Mr. Peter Richings, stage manager) (Durang also lists Brougham as the Irish tutor in *The Red Gauntlet* for the evening of 11/2; this may be an error as the newspaper refers to this play as a "new national drama" and does not list Brougham's role.)

November 3, 4: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad, PB-11/4

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November 4, 7: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). Durang, PB-11/4

November 5B: *The Wonder, or a Woman Keeps a Secret* (Col. Britton). Durang, ad

November 7, 10: *The Love Chase* (Wildrake). Durang-11/7, ad

November 8, 9: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

November 8, 10: *The Irish Ambassador* (Patrick O'Plenipo). Durang-11/8, ad

November 11-12B: *The Enthusiasm* (Manager Smith). ad

November 12B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Durang, ad (Mrs. Brougham's benefit)

The American Theatre, Walnut Street
Philadelphia

November 14, 16, 17B, 18B, 19B, 25B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). PB-11/14, 17, 18, 25, Wilson-11/14, Durang-11/16, ad-11/16, 18 (11/17-H. Placide's benefit) (11/18-Mrs. Brougham's benefit) (11/19-Brougham's benefit)(11/25-benefit of Miss S. Cushman)

November 14: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy). PB

November 15: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). Durang, ad

November 19B, 25B: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). PB

November 21: *Love Chase* (Wildrake).Wilson, Durang, PB

November 22, 26B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Wilson, PB (11/26- Mrs. Brougham's benefit)

November 22: *The Wonder, or--A Woman Keeps a Secret* (Colonel Britton). PB

November 23: *Money* (Sir Frederic Blount). Durang, ad

November 26B: *Love's Sacrifice, or the Rival Merchants* (St. Lo). Durang, PB

Bowery Theatre
New York

December 29B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, Ireland, ad (benefit for Mr. Shaw)

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1843

American Theatre
Albany

January 3, 5-7: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad (It is not absolutely clear from the microfilm version of the *Daily Albany Argus* whether the ad for the first date is for January 3 or 4; it may be that a page was misplaced.)

January 5: *Last Legs* (sic) (Felix O'Callaghan). ad

January 6: *Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

January 7: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy). ad

January 9B: *The Blighted Flower* (Morgan). ad (benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

January 9B: *Irish Lion* (Tom Moore (ad)

January 9B: *Married Rake* (Fred Flightly). ad

January 9B: *The School for Scandal* (selections) (Joseph Surface). ad

Tremont Theatre
Boston

January 11, 13, May 25, 29B: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB (5/29-benefit for Mr. Ayling)

January 11, May 26: *The Love Chase* (Wildrake). PB

January 12, 17: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB

January 12-13, 16, May 30: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). PB

January 16, 19: *An Irishman's Fortune! or, Born to Good Luck!* (Paddy O'Rafferty). PB

January 17: *The School for Scandal* (Joseph Surface). PB

January 18B, May 31B: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo, the Irish Ambassador). PB (1/18-benefit for Brougham, 5/31-benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

January 18B, 20B, May 24, 26: *The Married Rake* (Mr. Fredrick Flighty). PB (1/20-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

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January 18B: *The Wife! or A Tale of Mantua* (Julian St. Pierre). PB

January 19: *The Rivals Or--A Trip to Bath!* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

January 20B: *The Irish Tutor! or...New Lights!* (Dr. O'Toole). PB

May 25: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB

May 30: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). PB

June 1B: *The Wonder, A Woman Keeps a Secret!* (Col. Britton). PB (benefit for C. Howard)

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

January 28, February 11B: *The Love Chase* (Wildrake). Wilson, ad, PB-2/11 (2/11-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

January 28, 31. March 24: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad (3/24-title was *The Convenience of a Convenient Distance*)

January 30, March 26B: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB-1/30, ad-3/26 (3/26-Brougham's benefit)

January 30-31: *Love's Sacrifice* (St. Lo). ad, PB-1/30

February 1B, 3, 8, March 22: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad (2/1-benefit of C. Cushman)

February 1B: *Married Rake* (Flighty). ad

February 2-4, 6, 9: *Alma Mater* (Count Pave). Durang-2/2, ad

February 2-3, March 21: *The Irishman's Fortune; or, Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). Wilson-2/2-3, ad (3/21-title listed as *Born to Good Luck*)

February 4, March 21, 24-25: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). Wilson-2/3, ad, Durang-3/25

February 6: *London Assurance* (acts 3-5) (Dazzle). ad

February 10: *Money* (Stout?). Wilson (no role listed in ad)

February 10: *The Philadelphia Rifles* (the Voice). Durang, ad

February 11B: *Bubbles of the Day* (Capt. Smoke). Wilson, PB

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March 23B: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad (benefit for Chippendale)

March 23B: *Married Life* (Mr. Frederick Younghusband). ad

March 24: *The Youthful Queen* (Steinberg). ad

March 25, 26B: *Tom and Jerry* (Tom). Durang-25, ad-26

March 26B: *School for Scandal* (screen scene) (Charles Surface). ad

(Durang lists Brougham as playing Modus in *The Hunchback* on 2/1 during this engagement, but the ad in the *Pennsylvanian* lists Davenport as Modus.)

Chatham Theatre
New York

April 18, 27-28: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). Odell, ad

April 18: *The Love Chase* (Wildrake). Odell, Ireland, ad

April 19: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, ad

April 19: *The Wonder* (Colonel Britton). Odell, ad

April 20, 22: *Married Rake* (not listed). review, ad-4/22

April 20: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Odell, ad, review

April 21: *The Hunchback* (Lord Tinsel). Odell, ad

April 21: *Teddy, the Tiler* (Teddy Muloney). Odell, ad

April 22, 29B: *Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad, Odell-4/29 (4/29-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

April 22: *Robber's Wife* (not listed). ad

April 24B: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad (Brougham's benefit)

April 24B, 25-28: *Rosina Meadows* (Harry Mendon). Odell, ad

April 25: *Irishman's Fortune* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

April 26: *Irishman in London* (Murtoch Delaney). ad

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National Theatre
Boston

May 16, September 19: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

May 16, 22B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB-5/22 (5/22-Brougham's benefit)

May 17: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke, alias Dr. O'Toole). ad

May 17: *Jonathan Bradford* (Dan Macraisy). ad

May 18-19, September 20: *The Irish Lion* (Tim More). ad, PB-9/20

May 18: *Sons and Systems* (Donald O'McSweeny). ad

May 22B, September 15: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). PB

May 22B, September 22B: *Othello* (burlesque) (Iago). PB

September 18: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sit Patrick O'Plenipo). PB, ad

September 20: *Jack of Clubs or---Presumptive Evidence* (Pryce Kinchela, an outcast). PB

September 21: *Honest Thieves! or the Faithful Irishman!* (Teague). PB

September 22B: *The Married Rake* (Mr. Flighty). PB

Park Theatre
New York

June 5, 12: *Alma Mater* (Count Pave). Odell, ad

June 6: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). Odell, ad

June 7, 13: *Irish Lion* (Tom More). ad

June 8: *The School for Scandal* (Charles). Odell, ad

June 9, 13: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

June 12: *Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad

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(On June 14, Brougham was scheduled to play the role of the Gentleman in *A Lady and a Gentleman in a Peculiarly Perplexing Predicament*, Flighty in *The Married Rake*, Iago in *Othello Travesty*, and an unnamed role in a series of tableaux called *Shakespeare's Dream*. This was to be a joint benefit for him and his wife, but according to an account in the *Morning Courier* on 6/15, the performance was changed because of Brougham's sudden and severe indisposition. Odell lists this performance, and there is a "review" of Brougham's performance as Iago in the weekly *Brother Jonathan* issued on 6/24/43. Brougham was advertised to appear as Flighty in *The Married Rake* in a second benefit scheduled for 6/22, but an editorial the *Morning Courier* announced that he was still too weak to appear.)

Niblo's Garden
New York

August 30B: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). Odell, ad (benefit for Miss Reynolds)

Theatre
St. Louis

October 13: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Carson

October 14: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Carson

October 16B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Carson (benefit for Mrs. Smith)

October 16B: *The Married Rake* (not listed). Carson

October 18B: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad (Mrs. Brougham's benefit)

In Managers in Distress, William Carson lists several other plays and some roles which Brougham acted in St. Louis; unfortunately, no advertisements for these performances have been found in any St. Louis newspaper, and Carson does not list many dates.

St. Charles Theatre
New Orleans

November 18, 22B, December 19, 25: *Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad (11/22-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

November 18, 23: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

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November 19, 25, December 21: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

November 20, 27, December 24: *His Last Legs* (O'Callahan). ad, PB-11/27

November 20: *The Wonder: A Woman Keeps a Secret* (Don Felix). ad

November 21: *The Married Rake* (Mr. Flighty). ad

November 21, 26: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad

November 22B, December 21: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad, news

November 24: *The Omnibus* (Pat Roony-sic). ad

November 26, December 20: *Honest Thieves* (Teague). ad

November 28: *Othello Travestie* (Iago, an Irishman). ad

November 28, December 20: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad

December 18: *London Assurance* (O'Donoghue Dazzle). ad

December 23: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). ad

December 23-26B: *Mysteries of Paris* (not listed). ad (12/26-Brougham's benefit)

December 26B: *King O'Neal* (O'Neal). ad

Theatre
Mobile

December 4: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). ad

December 5: *Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

December 6, 8B: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad (12/8-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

December 6, 15B: *The Married Rake* (Mr. Flighty). ad (12/15-benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

December 7: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moor-sic, the Irish Lion). ad

December 7: *Pat Roony* (not listed). ad (probably was *The Omnibus*)

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December 9: *Our Irish Friend* (Larry Lawless). ad

December 11: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

December 12, 14: *The Nervous Man* (McShorne-sic). ad

December 13-14: *His Last Legs* (O'Calaghan-sic). ad

December 15B: *Mysteries of Paris* (not listed).

1844

unnamed theatre
Natchez, Mississippi

February: An article in the *New York Herald* on 2/19 relates that Brougham and Yankee Hill concluded a very successful engagement at Natchez on February 3. No information has been found about their programs.

St. Charles Theatre
New Orleans

February 6: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

February 8: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

February 22: *The Declaration of Independence, or the Struggle for Freedom* (Ebenezer O'Donohoo, an Irish Yankee). ad

February 22: *Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

February 25B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad (Brougham's benefit)

February 25B: *Tom and Jerry in America; Fun in New York and New Orleans* (Corny Tight). ad

Mobile Theatre
Mobile

February 27: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

February 27: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moor). ad

February 28, March 6: *Born to Good Luck* (not listed). ad

February 28, March 1: *Declaration of Independence* (not listed). ad

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February 29: *Money* (Sir Frederick Blount). ad

February 29: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

March 1: *Mysteries of Paris* (Cabrioli). ad

March 2B: *How to Pay the Rent* (Morgan Rattler). ad (Brougham's benefit)

March 2B: *Rory O'Moore*-sic (Rory O'Moore). ad

March 8: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). ad

March 9B: *The Faithful Irishman* (Teague, the faithful Irishman). ad (Brougham's benefit)

March 9B: *Temperance and Repeal* (not listed). ad (listed as an "impersonation piece" with Brougham giving "imitations" of Father Matthews and Daniel O'Connell)

Theatre
Vicksburg, Mississippi

April: There is a note in the *Spirit of the Times* in April that Brougham and Miss Nelson had been giving entertainments at Vicksburg last week. No additional information has been found.

Theatre
Jackson, Mississippi

April 24: The newspaper *The Mississippian* apparently did not accept theatre ads, but an article on the editorial page for this date announces an additional performance, "at the request of several of our citizens," of Brougham and Miss Nelson. No other information about their performances in Jackson has been found.

Cincinnati Theatre
Cincinnati

May 20, 27: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

May 20: *The Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad

May 21: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad

May 22, 24: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

May 23: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

May 24: *The Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). ad

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May 25B: *The Mysteries of Paris* (Cabrion). ad (Brougham's benefit)

May 25B: *Tom and Jerry in America, or, Life in Cincinnati* (Tom). ad

May 28B: *Life in the Clouds* (not listed). ad (benefit of Miss Nelson)

Providence Theatre
Providence

July 3: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

July 3: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad (Ad indicates that this is the third appearance for Brougham, and there would be both afternoon and evening performances on July 4; validation of these performances has not been found.)

July 8B: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad (Brougham's benefit)

July 8B: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

July 8B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

Boston Museum
Boston

July 6: *Lights and Shadows of Irish Character*. PB (presented for one night only; Brougham noted as being assisted by members of the Museum company)

Chatham Theatre
New York

July 15B: *The Irishman's Fortune* (Paddy O'Rafferty). Odell (benefit for Miss Nelson)

November 25-26, 29B: *Declaration of Independence* (O'Donohoo). ad (11/29-Brougham's benefit)

November 27-29B, 30: *Life in New York* (Corinthian Tom). ad

November 30: *New Lights* (Doctor O'Toole). ad

National Theatre
Boston

August 26, September 24: *John Bull! Or...A Tradesman's Fireside!* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB, ad-9/24

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August 27, 30: *Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). PB

August 28, September 12, December 13: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad, PB-9/12

August 29, September 3, December 4, 11, 18: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). PB, ad-12/11, 18

August 30, September 20, December 26: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). PB, ad-9/20

September 2: *Wild Oats! Or,--The Strolling Gentleman!* (Rover). PB

September 3: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

September 4, 10, 26, December 9, 19: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). PB, ad-10

September 5, 19, December 5: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB

September 6, December 12, 17, 26, 30: *Our Irish Friend* (Rory O'Conner). PB, ad-12/30

September 9: *School of Reform* (Ferment). PB

September 10: *Honest Thieves* (Teague). ad

September 11: *The School for Scandal* (Charles Surface). PB

September 13B: *Heir at Law* (Dick Dowlas). PB (benefit of George Andrews)

September 16-18: *The Indian Girl* (Terence O'Donohue). PB, ad-9/18

September 16, 27B, December 27B: *More Blunders than One* (Larry O'Gig). PB, ad-9/27 (9/27-benefit of Miss Nelson, 12/27-Brougham's benefit)

September 18, 27B, December 10, 16: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Mullooney). ad

September 20, 24: *The Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad

September 23: *The Country Girl* (Sparkish). PB

September 25B, 26, December 10, 25: *Declaration of Independence! or...Boston in '76* (Ebenezer O'Donohue). PB, ad-12/10, 25 (9/25-Brougham's benefit)

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September 25B: *Othello*-burlesque (Iago, with an imitation). PB

December 23, 25: *Tom and Jerry; or....Life in London* (Jerry). ad

December 24: *The Irish Cupid* (O'Slack). ad

December 27B: *The Bohemian Girl* (Philip Ormison). PB, ad

December 27B: *Life in Boston; or--A Row at the National* (Tom/Corney Tight/The Broken Hearted Brigand). PB, ad

December 30-31: *Putnam; or the Iron Son of '76* (Mr. Cabbagoall). ad

Niblo's Garden
New York

October 21-22: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). Odell, ad

October 23: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

October 24: *The Irish Lion* (not listed). ad

October 25-26, November 2: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

October 28, November 1: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

October 30, November 9, 12B: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Mullowney). ad (11/12-benefit for Mr. Dunn)

November 7-9, 11, 13B, 15: *Peter Wilkins* (Phelim O'Scud). Odell, ad (11/13-Brougham's benefit)

November 13B, 16B: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom/Larry O'Bull/Killemquicki). Odell, ad (11/16-benefit for Mr. Stevens)

Park Theatre
New York

November 6B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius). Odell, news (benefit for Mrs. Vernon)

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1845

National Theatre
Boston

January 1, March 28: *More Blunders than One* (Larry O'Hoolaghan). ad

January 1-3, 6-10, 13-17, 20-23B, 24: *Putnam; or, The Iron Son of '76* (Mr. Cabbagoall). ad, PB-1/7-8, 10, 13, 20 (On January 9, subtitle was changed to *The Iron Box of '76*.) (1/23-benefit for Mr. G. F. Brown)

January 3, 7: *The Irish Cupid* (O'Slack, the Irish Cupid). ad, PB-1/7

January 6, March 4: *Honest Thieves, Or, The Faithful Irishman* (Teague, the Faithful Irishman). ad

January 8: *Little Sins and Pretty Sinners* (Harry Wilder). PB, ad

January 10, 14, 27, February 5, March 5, 21B, April 15: *Alive and Merry, Or, The Dead Philadelphian* (Patrick Day). PB, ad (ad only for 2/5, 3/5, 21, 4/15) (3/21-benefit of Messrs. Brown and Davis)

January 16, 27: *How to Pay the Rent* (Morgan Rattler). ad, PB-1/27

January 29B: *Englishmen in India* (Tom Tape). PB (benefit for J. Gilbert)

January 30, March 3: *Born to Good Luck, or--The Irishman's Fortune* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

January 31: *As You Like It* (Touchstone). ad

February 6: *Charles II-Or, The Merry Monarch* (Rochester). ad

February 7B: *Tom and Jerry or--Life in London* (Jerry Hawthorn). PB (benefit of George Barrett)

February 26B: *Life in Boston; Or a Row at the National* (Tom/Corney Tight/The Broken Hearted Brigand). PB, ad (benefit of Miss Ayres)

February 28B: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad (Brougham's benefit)

February 28B: *The Irish Lion* (Tom More). ad

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February 28B, May 2: *The Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad

March 12, June 6B: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). PB, ad also for 6/6 (6/6-Brougham's benefit)

March 24B, 26, April 1: *Snakes in the Grass* (Capt. Agitate). ad (3/24-benefit for J. B. Wright)

March 26: *North End Will* (first act) (Katty Killbroogan). PB

March 27: *Chaos is Come Again* (Jack Bunce). PB

March 31B: *Anne of Austria or, A Queen's Frolic* (Duke of Buckingham). PB (Brougham's benefit)

March 31B, April 1-2B, 4: *Green Bushes! or...A Hundred Years Ago!* (Wild Murtogh, Horse Jobber, Piper and General Dealer). PB, ad (ad only for 4/1, 2, 4) (4/2-benefit for the door keepers)

April 8B, 10, 23: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). PB, ad (ad only for 4/10, 23) (4/8-benefit of S. D. Johnson)

April 14B, 18B, 22B, May 1B: *Rosina Meadows* (Harry Mendon). PB, ad (4/14-benefit of J. T. Gill, machinist) (4/18-benefit of Mrs. Thorne) (4/22-benefit of Miss Gann) (5/1-benefit for the author or *Morton*)

April 21, 23: *The Pump and Sucker* (Jack Swift/Qua-she-cum-als-she-ra-boo/Faddleton Fad/Ebenezer Saw/Count Killamanaizey). PB, ad

May 12: *King Lear* (Oswald). ad

May 19, 27, June 6B: *My Wife's Dentist* (Hazard). ad, PB-6/6

June 6B: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad, PB

Niblo's Garden
New York

August 4B: *The Poor Gentleman* (Frederick). Odell, ad (benefit for Chippindale)

August 11-12, 15B, 23: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Odell, news (8/15-Brougham's benefit)

August 12: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad

August 13, 15B, 18, 23, September 9B: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad (9/9-Brougham's benefit)

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August 14, 16: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

August 19: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

August 20B: *Married Life* (Mr. Frederick Younghusband). ad (benefit of Mr. John Sefton)

August 21B, 22: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy the Tiler). ad (8/21-benefit of T. D. Rice)

August 26, 30: *Bamboozling* (Captain Patrick Bamboozle). ad

August 26, September 2: *Irishman in London* (Murtoch Delaney). ad

August 30: *The Honest Thieves* (Teague). ad

September 2: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

September 6: *John Bull* (Denis Bulgruddery-sic). ad

September 9B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius). Ireland, ad

Baltimore Museum
Baltimore

September 16: *Stage Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad

September 17: *Irish Tutor* (Terry O'Rourke). ad

September 17, 20: *Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

September 18, 23, October 9: *Mesmerism; or, His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

September 19, October 6: *Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

September 20, 24B: *Our Irish Friend* (Rory O'Conner). ad (9/24-Brougham's benefit)

September 22: *A Husband at Sight* (Ferdinand). ad

September 23, 25: *Married Rake* (Mr. Frederick Flighty). ad

September 24B: *Loan of a Lover* (Capt. Amesfort). ad

September 25: *Perfection* (Charles Paragon). ad

September 26, 29, October 7, 10, 16: *Irish Lion* (Tom More). ad

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September 27, October 10: *Day After the Wedding* (Col. Freelove). ad

September 30, October 1, 4, 11: *Married Life* (Mr. Younghusband). ad

October 1: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad

October 2-3: *The Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad

October 8B, 13, 18: *Widow's Victim* (Jeremiah Clip). ad (10/8-benefit for Miss Nelson)

October 8B: *Zanonah: The Bohemian Girl* (Philip Ormiston). ad

October 13, 15: *Matrimony* (Colonel Deleval). ad

October 14B: *Honest Thieves* (Teague). ad (benefit for Johnston)

October 15: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Mulowny). ad

October 17B: *Othello* (Iago). ad (benefit for Brougham and Miss Nelson)

October 17B, 18: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). ad

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

November 6: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). Durang, ad

November 6: *Zanonah* (not listed). Durang, ad

November 7, 11, 13: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

November 8, 10, 14: *The Counterfeiters* (Larry O'Gigg). ad

November 10-11, 14B: *Jonathan Bradford* (Dan Macraisy). ad (11/14-Brougham's benefit)

November 13: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Durang, ad

November 14B: *The Declaration of Independence* (Ebenezer O'Donohoo). Wilson, Durang, ad

(Wilson lists Brougham for *Tour de Nesle* on 11/15, but he is not listed in the ad.)

December 17, 20, 25E: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom). ad

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December 24, 26: *The Poor Gentleman* (Frederick). Durang, ad

Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

November 24, December 15: *Born to Good Luck* (O'Rafferty). ad

November 24, 26: *Eva, the Page* (Guilderschoff). Wilson, ad

November 25: *Rob Roy*-opera (Dougal). Wilson, ad

November 27, December 16: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

November 28: *Card Drawer* (not listed). Wilson (newspaper for this date missing)

November 29B: *Matrimony* (Delaval). PB, ad (benefit of Miss Nelson)

November 29B, December 2, 6: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom). PB, ad (ad only for 12/2)

(Wilson lists Brougham for *Venice Preserved* on 12/1, *Julius Caesar* on 12/2, *Othello* on 12/3, and *Grandfather Whitehead* on 12/4, but he was not advertised to act in these plays. A playbill for 12/4 does not list Brougham.)

December 29: *Charles the Second* (Earl of Rochester). ad

December 31: *The Railway*..... (last word of title obscured) (Stag). ad

(Durang writes that during December, Brougham gave "a most admirable imitation" of Herr Alexander, the magician, "in a dramatic sketch concoted by Brougham and Burton. It was a very cleverly executed theatric conceit." Unfortunately, he gives no date for this performance, and no advertisements for it have been found.)

1846

Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

January 1, 7: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom). ad

January 2: *The Railway Mania* (Stag). ad

Beginning with the advertisement for 1/3, Brougham was listed as stage manager for Chesnut Street Theatre.

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January 5-6, 14: *The Arcade* (O'Slack). Wilson, ad, Durang-6, PB-14

January 5, 8: *Venus and Adonis* (Mars). ad

January 6, 9: *Fleur de Marie* (Cabrion). Wilson, Durang, ad, PB-9

January 7, 16: *Nervous Man* (McShane). Wilson, ad, PB-16

January 8: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Wilson, ad

January 9, 10, 12-13: *Rival Fakirs! Or, Conjuring Made Easy* (Roscius O'Rant, ambitious to act). PB-9, 12, ad, Wilson-10

January 12: *Poor Gentleman* (Frederick). Wilson, ad

January 13: *John Bull* (Dennis). Wilson, ad

January 17, 19-20B: *Franklin, The Boy, The Sage, and the Statesman* (O'Fin, an Irish adventurer). Wilson, ad (1/20-Brougham's benefit)

January 20B: *The Irishman in London* (Murtoch Delany). PB, ad

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

February 17: *The Irishman's Fortune, or Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

February 17: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad

February 18B: *His Last Legs* (O'Calahan-sic). ad (benefit of Mr. Sullivan)

February 18B: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

February 19: *The Irish Lion* (Tom More). ad

February 19: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). ad

February 20B: *The Mysteries of Paris or, The Prince and the Notary* (Cabrion). ad (Brougham's benefit)

February 20B: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom). ad

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Melodeon Theatre
Boston

March 9B: *Lights and Shadows of Irish Character*. ad (complimentary benefit and miscellaneous entertainment for the benefit of Mr. Brougham)

April 22, 24, May 9: *Pat's Pculiarities of Ireland and England*. ad

April 27, 29, May 2B: *Mr. Brougham's Evenings*. ad

Highland Hall
Roxbury

April 5: concert and miscellaneous entertainment. ad

Society Library
New York

April 13, 16: *Irish evening*. Odell, news

Brooklyn Institute
Brooklyn

April 15: evening of songs and stories. Odell,

Palmo's Opera House
New York

April 18: *Irish evening*. Odell, news

unnamed locale
Brooklyn

April 20: *Irish evening*. Odell, news

Boston Theatre, Federal Street
Boston

August 24, September 1, October 13, November 26: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB, ad

August 26, September 28, October 14, November 19, December 31: *The Irish Tutor* (Teddy O'Rourke alias Doctor O'Toole). PB, ad

August 27, October 21: *The Hunchback* (Lord Tinsel). PB

August 31, December 28B: *The Belle's Stratagem* (Flutter). PB (12/28-benefit of Mrs. G. Barrett)

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September 2, December 15: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin Backbite). PB

September 4, December 14: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB

September 10, December 21: *West End! or:::The Irish Heiress!* (Major Bellamy Fuss). PB

September 30: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB

October 2, October 21: *The Married Rake* (Mr. Frederick Flighty). PB

October 5, 8: *The Irish Post* (Terence O'Grady). PB

October 7, 22: *Dr. Dilworth* (ternetius O'Loughlin). PB

October 15, 20, November 2: *Teddy the Tiler!* (Teddy Mulowney, the Tiler). PB

October 20: *The Jealous Wife* (Lord Rinket). PB

October 30B: *The Merchant of Venice* (Gratiano). PB (benefit for Mr. Kean)

November 2, 5, 16, December 29: *P!P! or...The Man and the Tiger* (Mr. Splasher). PB

November 3, 17: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). PB

November 3: *Twelfth Night* (Sir Andrew Aguecheek). PB

November 16: *King Lear!* (Oswald). PB

November 17: *Othello The Moor of Venice* (Roderigo). PB

November 19, December 10: *Macbeth King of Scotland* (3d Witch). PB

November 20B, 24: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). PB (11/20-benefit for Forrest)

November 24: *Richard III* (Tressel). PB

November 25, December 2: *Richelieu! Or....The Conspiracy!* (Louis XIII). PB

November 30, December 1, 3, 10, 24: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). PB

December 7: *Hamlet* (Horatio). PB

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December 9, 11B: *The Inconstant* (Duretete). PB (12/11-benefit of Mr. Murdoch)

December 16: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB

December 17-18, 22: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). PB

December 23: *Perfection! Or...The Maid of Munster* (Charles Paragon). PB

December 29: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane, the man of nerve). PB

December 30: *Englishmen in India* (Tom Tape). PB

1847

Boston Theatre, Federal Street
Boston

January 18, March 11B: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). PB (3/11-benefit of the officers and door-keepers)

January 20: *The Irish Post* (Terence O'Grady). PB

February 3, March 11B: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). PB

February 10B: *The Soldier's Daughter* (Heartall). PB (2/10-complimentary benefit to Mrs. G. Barrett)

February 17B: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). PB (benefit of S. B. Stockwell, scenic artist of the theatre)

February 18B, 22B: *Lucretia Borgia!* (Jeppo Linneretto). PB (2/18-benefit of Mr. Fleming, 2/22-benefit of Mrs. Phillips)

February 18B: *The Merchant of Venice* (Gratiano). PB

February 19B, 23B, 24B, March 10B: *Great Attraction! Or...The Stage-struck Yankee!* (Douglas Double, Esq., manager of the Eagle circuit company). PB, (2/19-benefit of Mr. Whiting, 2/23-benefit of S. D. Johnson, 2/24-benefit of Mrs. H. Cramer, 3/10-benefit of Miss Wagstaff)

February 19B, 25: *Tom and Jerry or...Life in London* (Corinthian Tom). PB

February 22B: *Love's Sacrifice* (St. Lo)

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February 23B, 24B, March 2B: *The Invincibles or.....The Female Volunteers* (O'Slash). PB (3/2-benefit of Mr. W. Parker)

February 23B: *Presumptive Evidence or..The Innocent Condemned* (Pryce Kinchela, the murderer). PB

February 26B, March 3B, 4B: *Nicholas Nickleby* (Mantilini). PB (2/26-benefit of Mrs. W. H. Smith, 3/3-benefit of H. J. Conway, 3/4-benefit of Mr. Brydges)

March 1B: *More Blunders than One* (Larry Hollagan). PB (benefit of Mrs. Bland)

March 1B: *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (Gentleman). PB

March 3B, 4B, 8B: *Charles O'Malley* (Mickey Free). PB (3/8-first and third acts for benefit of Mr. Gilbert)

March 5B, 15B: *Rival Magicians! or What Shall We Do for a Star!* (Roscius O'Rant). PB (3/5-Brougham's benefit, 3/15-benefit for Mr. Craft, treasurer)

March 5B, 10B: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). PB

March 5B: *Titus A. Peep or, The Mysterious Count* (Titus A. Peep/Rooney McFin/Count Nonymous). PB

March 8B, 15B: *Dr. Dilworth* (Terentius O'Laughlin). PB

March 12B: *Dead Alive! Or...Which is Which?* (Abon Hassan). PB (benefit of T. Placide)

March 12B: *A Roland for an Oliver* (Alfred Highflyer). PB

Adelphi Theatre
Boston
Brougham and Blake, co-managers

April 5-7, 12-16, 19-22, May 5-6, 19, July 5E, November 22-23: *Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar* (Lord Stalk). ad, news, PB-5/13, 15, 11/23

April 5-6: **Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. ad

April 5-6, 14-15, 26, June 30, July 1, November 24, 29-30: **The Widow's Victim*. ad, PB-4/15, 11/24, 29

April 7, June 14: **The Daughter*. news, ad

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April 7, June 10?, September 15-17, October 18-19, December 29: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). news, PB-6/10, 9/16, 10/18, 19 (The ad in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for 6/10 lists the program as *Norah Creina*, *Nor-Ma*, and *Hercules, King of Clubs*, while the playbill indicates the program of *Love in a Prison*, *Nor-Ma*, and *His Last Legs*.)

(*Boston Evening Transcript* from April 8 is missing; other Boston papers were apparently not taking ads from the Adelphi at this time. The ad in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for April 9 simply reads, "Performance Every Evening" without listing the program.)

April 12-13, May 20-21: **Two Mechanics*. ad, PB-5/20, 21

April 12-13, 16: *Great Attraction* (not listed). ad

April 14-16, 26-28, June 7-9, 10?: *Norah Creina* (Roderick, surnamed Black O'Conner). ad, PB-4/15, 27, 6/8

April 19-20: **A Day After the Wedding*. ad

April 19-22, 29-30, June 29B, 30, July 1: *Othello* (Iago). ad, review (6/29-benefit of Mrs. Brougham)

April 21-22, July 7B: **Matrimony*. ad (7/7-benefit of Miss Wagstaff)

April 26-30, May 3-7, 10-14, 17-21, June 11, June 22B, July 7B, December 15-17, 20-21: *Life in the Clouds* (Bacchus, the prime Turkey feeder, and head Geologist to the entire family of Peeps). ad, PB-27, 5/4, 7, 20, 21, 6/11 (6/22-benefit of Mrs. Bland)

April 27-28: **The Secret*. ad, PB

April 29-30, May 14: **Perfection*. ad

May 3-4, June 25B: *Lost and Won! or... A Wife's Trials* (Master Richard Cottrell, a roysterer). ad, PB-5/4, 6/25 (6/25-benefit of Goerge Graham)

May 7, 17-18, 26-27, September 8-9, October 13: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan, the Tiger). PB-5/7, 9/8, ad

May 7, 24-25, September 24, 27-28, October 6, December 20-21: ***Blue Devils*. PB, ad

May 10-13: **Three Weeks After Marriage*. ad

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May 10-14, 20-21, 24-28, June 18B, 28: *Romeo and Giulietta* (Mercutio). ad, PB-5/20, 21

July 5M: *Romeo and Giulietta* (Romeo). PB, ad

May 17-18: **Wedding Day*. ad

May 24-28, 31, June 1-4, 15-17, July 9B, November 10-12: *Hamlet*-travestie (Hamlet). ad, PB-5/31, 6/1-2, 4, 11/11, news-6/15 (7/9-benefit of Mr. Bland)

May 28, 31, June 1-2: **Angeline*. ad, PB-5/31, 6/1-2

May 31, June 1-2, 7-9, 10?, 23-24, July 5M: **Hercules, King of Clubs*. PB-5/31, 6/1-2, 8, 7/5

June 3-4: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad, PB-6/4

June 7-11, 14-15, June 21: *Nor-ma* (Jacki Broughamini, member of the chorus of virgins). ad, PB-6/8, 10-11

June 10?: **Love in a Prison*. ad

June 11: **A Wife's Lesson*. PB

June 14-18B, June 21, 23-25B, July 9B: *Our Tom Thumb* (Doddle). ad, news-6/15, PB-6/25 (6/18-benefit for Mr. Whiting)

June 15-17: **The Weathercock*. ad, news-6/15

June 21: **The Lost Ring*. ad

June 22B, 23-24, 28: *Follies of a Night* (Pierre Palliot). ad, PB

June 25B, 28, July 2B: **Savage and the Maiden*. ad, PB-6/25 (7/2-benefit of S. D. Johnson)

June 29B: **The Two Queens*. ad

June 29B, 30, July 1-2B, 6, 8: *The Return of the Volunteers* (not listed). ad

July 2: **The Trump Card*. ad

July 5MME, 6, 8: *Declaration of Independence* (performances on July 5 at 11 a.m., 2:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m.) (Ebenezer O'Donahoo). PB-7-5, ad

July 7B, 8: **The Swiss Cottage*. ad

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July 9B: **Katherine and Petruchio*. ad

September 6-9, 13-17, October 1, 13, December 30B: *Kinge Richard Ye Third, Or, Ye Battel of Bosworth Field* (Richard, Duke of Gloster). PB-9/6, 8, 13, 16, 10/1, ad (12/30-Brougham's benefit)

September 6-7: *The Queen's Lover* (Steinburgh). PB-9/6, ad

September 6-7: **A Pleasant Neighbor*. PB-9/6, ad

September 8-9: **The Dreadful Secret*. PB-9/8, ad

September 13-17, 20-21, October 25-26: **Beacon Street Beauty*. PB-9/13, 16, 20, 10/25, ad

September 13-14: *The Three Secrets* (Monsieur Darbert). PB-9/13, ad

September 20-24, 27-30, October 1, 4-5, 7-8, 14B, 15: *The Forty Loafers* (Has-a-rack). PB-9/20, 22, 29, 30, 10/1, 14, ad (10/14-benefit of Mr. J. W. Torrey, author of *The Forty Loafers*)

September 20-23: *Jenny Lind* (Baron Swigstop Barry). PB-9/20, 22, ad

September 22-24, October 29: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). PB-9/22, 23, ad

September 27-30, October 1, 7-8, 11-12, 14B, 15: **Buffalo Girls*. ad, PB-9/29, 30, 10/1, 14

September 29-30, October 13: **The Christening*. PB-9/29, 30

October 4-5: **The Dead Shot*. ad

October 4-8, 11-12, 14B, 15, 20-22: *Mac-Beth* (burlesque) (Mac-Beth). ad, PB-10/14, 22

October 6, 11-12: *Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

October 18-20, 28: **The Young Scamp*. PB-10/18, 19, 28, ad

October 18-22, November 5, 8-9: **Bluebeard the Barbarous*. PB-10/18, 19, 22, ad

October 21-22, 28: **My Fellow Clerk*. ad, PB-10/22, 28

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October 25-26, 28-29, November 1-5, 8-12, 15-19, 22-24, 26, December 6-7, 9-10, 13-14, 22-24B, 30B: *Tom and Jerry in America or Life in Boston* (Mr. Corinthian). PB-10/25, 28, 11/3, 11/11, 23-24, 12/10, ad (12/24-benefit for Mr. Whiting)

(*Boston Evening Transcript* for 11/27 is missing. Apparently no paper was published on 11/25, Thanksgiving; two performances at 6 and at 9 p.m. were announced for Thanksgiving evening, but no specifics were given.)

October 25-26, November 3-4: **Boots at the Swan*. PB-10/25, 11/3, ad

October 29, November 1-5, 29-30: **Oblivious Top, or The Man Without a Head*. ad, PB-11/3, 29

November 1-2: **How to Settle Accounts with your Washerwoman*. ad

November 8-9, 15-16, 24, December 15, 22-23: *Who Do They Take Me For?* (Terrence O'Riely). ad, PB-11/24

November 10-12, 26, December 1-3, 16-17: **Shaking Props*. ad, PB-11/11, 12/2

November 15-19, 22-23, 26, December 10, 13-14, 24B: **Ladies Beware*. ad, PB-11/23, 12/10

November 17-19, December 1-3: **Robert Macaire*. ad, PB-12/2

November 29-30, December 1-3, 6-10, 13-14, 20-21, 24B, 29: *Metamora; or The Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). PB-11/29, 12/2, 10, ad

December 6-8, 22-23, 29: **Wedding Breakfast*. ad

December 8-9, 27-28: **The Glass*. ad

December 15-17: **Spirit of the Fountain*. ad

December 27-28: *Born to Good Luck* (not listed). ad

December 27-28: **Dead Head*. ad

December 30B: *Living Pictures* (not listed). ad

Chatham Theatre
New York

August 2-3: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, Ireland, ad

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August 2-3: **Grist to the Mill*. Odell, Ireland, ad

August 2-3, 6-7, 21B: *Life in the Clouds* (Bacchus). Odell, Ireland, ad (8/21-benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

August 4-7, 11-12, 20B: *The Hamlet Travestie* (spelled *Hamlet* on 8/5 playbill) (Hamlet). Odell, ad, PB-8/5 (8/20-benefit for Whiting)

August 4-5: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad, PB-8/5

August 4-5: **The Trumpeter's Daughter*. ad, PB-8/5

August 6-7: **The Married Rake*. ad

August 9-10: *Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar* (Lord Stalk). Odell, ad

August 9-10: **A Roland for an Oliver*. ad

August 9-10: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

August 11-12: **Naval Engagements*. ad

August 11-12: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

August 13: *The Cork Leg* (Charles Paragon). ad

August 13: **My Grandfather's Will*. ad

August 13: *Romeo and Guilietta* (Romeo). ad

August 14B, 20B: *The Return of the Volunteers* (Colonel Davenport). Odell, ad (8/14-Brougham's benefit)

August 14B: *Sailor's Return* (Pryce Kinchela). Odell, ad

August 14B, 16: *The White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). Odell, ad

August 16: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

August 16: **A Man About Town*. ad

August 17B: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Malony-sic). ad (benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Charles Howard)

August 17B: **Queen's Own*. ad

August 17B: **Irish Pretender*. ad

August 17B: **The Widow's Victim*. ad

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August 18-19: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). Odell, ad

August 18-19: **The Maid of Croissey*. ad

August 18-19: *Our Tom Thumb* (Doodle). ad

August 20B: **Luke the Labourer*. ad

August 21: **Turnpike Gate*. ad

August 21B: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad

1848

Adelphi Theatre
Boston

January 1: *King Richard Ye Third* (Richard). ad

January 1, 3-7, 10-14: *Living Pictures* (not listed). ad

January 1, 12-14: **Wedding Breakfast*. ad

January 3-4, 10: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad

January 3-4: **The Man Without a Head*. ad

January 5-7: *Kynge Johne*-burlesque (Kynge Johne). ad

January 5-7: **Ladies Beware*. ad (According to an ad in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, *Who'll Lend Me Five Shillings* may have been performed in place of *Ladies Beware* on 1/7.)

January 10-11: **Who'll Lend Me Five Shillings*. ad

January 11: **Widow's Victim*. ad

January 12-14: *Tom and Jerry in America or Life in Boston* (not listed). ad

Boston Theatre, Federal Street
Boston

February 3B: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB (complimentary benefit for Brougham)

February 3B: *Living Pictures* (Bob Plastic/an old gentleman). PB

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February 3B, 4: *Metamora; or, The last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). PB

February 3B: *Presumptive Evidence* (Lewey Madigan). PB

February 4: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). PB

Chatham Theatre
New York

February 7-9: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). Odell, ad

February 7: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). Odell, ad

February 8-12B: *Metamora* (Metamora). Odell, ad, PB-2/10 (2/12-benefit for the Broughams)

February 10-12B: *Living Pictures* (Bob Plastic). PB, ad

February 12B: *Jonathan Bradford* (Dan Macraisy). Odell, ad

April 14B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius). Odell, ad (4/14-benefit for Charles Bass)

Olympic Theatre
New York

February 11B: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). Odell, ad (2/11-benefit of Miss Partington, the dancer; the Broughams appeared in this piece at the Olympic after performing in two pieces the same evening at the Chatham.)

Museum
Albany

February 16: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Phelphs, ad

February 16: *Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

February 17: *Irish Tutor* (Dr. Toole-sic). ad

February 17-18: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). ad

February 18-19, 22B: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad (2/22-benefit for the Broughams)

February 19, 21: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

February 21-22B: *Living Pictures* (Bob). ad

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February 21-22B: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Tom). ad

Park Theatre
New York

March 1-2: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-3/2

March 3, 11: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

March 4, 13: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

March 6-7, 9-11, 14: *Metamora* (Metamora). Ireland-3/6, ad, PB-3/14

March 10, 13-14: *The White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). ad, PB-3/14

March 15-16: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad

Broadway Theatre
New York

April 17-22, 24-27B, 28-29B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, Ireland, PB-4/17, 26, ad (4/27-Mr. Blake's benefit) (4/29-Brougham's benefit)

April 22, 29B: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

May 4-6, 8-12B, 13: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Wilson, ad (5/12-benefit for Brougham)

May 12B, 13: *Metamora; or the Last of the Pollywogs* (not listed). ad

(Wilson lists Brougham as appearing at the Walnut Street Theatre on May 15-20, but ads in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* indicate that Collins was acting, not Brougham.)

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

June 5-10, 17B: *Metamora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). Durang, ad, PB-6/5, 7 (6/17-benefit for Brougham)

June 5: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Durang, ad, PB-6/5

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June 6: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). ad

June 7-9: *Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). ad, PB-6/7

June 8: *Seeing the Elephant* (not listed). ad

June 9-10, 14: *Napoleon's Old Guard* (not listed). ad

June 10: *Fortune Telling* (not listed). ad

June 11-12B, 16: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). Durang, ad (6/12-benefit for Brougham)

June 11-12B, 13-15B, 17B: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Tom). Durang, ad (6/15-annual benefit of Mr. Edmonds, the treasurer)

June 11-12B, 13: *Rascal Jack* (not given). Durang, ad (Durang implies that Brougham and John Dunn appeared together in this play, but he does not list Brougham's role.)

(On June 13, ads in the *Philadelphia Daily Ledger* listed the Arch Street theatre as Burton's Theatre for the first time.)

June 15B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Durang, ad

June 16: *The Fortune Teller; or, Presumptive Evidence* (Larry Madigan). Durang, ad

Burton's Chambers Street Theatre
New York

July 10-12, 15B: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). Odell, Ireland, news, ad, PB-7/12 (7/15-farewell benefit for the Viennese children)

July 13: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB-7/13, ad

July 14, 22, October 4: *Irish Help* (Paddy Ryan). PB-7/14, 22, 10/4, Odell

July 18, August 31, September 1, November 18: *Metamora* (Metamora). PB-7/18, 8/31, 9/1, Odell

July 19: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB-7/19, Odell

July 20, August 2: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Odell, PB-7/20, 8/2

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July 24-27, 29, August 16-18, 21-25, 28-29, 31, September 1-2, 4-5B, 9B, 28-29, 10/3, 19, 23, 25, November 6-10, 13, 15-17: *Dombey and Son* (Major Bagstock/Jack Bunsby). Odell, Ireland, PB-7/24-27, 29, 8/16-18, 24-25, 28-29, 31, 9/1-2, 4, 29, 10/3, 23, 25, 11/6-10, 13, 15-17, ad, review of 8/21 performance in *New York Herald* of 8/22 (Paper from 8/21 is missing.) (9/5-benefit for Brougham, 9/9-benefit for Mr. Raymond) (*Dombey and Son* was scheduled for 8/30 but the theatre was closed because of a gas house accident in lower Manhattan.)

July 31, August 1, 12: *The Tipperary Legacy, or, a Voice from Old Ireland* (Lanty Scrimmage). Odell, PB-7/31, 8/1, 12

August 14-15B, 16, 18-19: *Valentine and Orson* (Orson). Odell, Ireland, PB-8/14-16, 18-19, ad (8/15-benefit for John Dunn)

September 5B: *Rory O'More* (not listed). ad

September 5B: *The Irish Patriot* (Gerald Pepper). ad

October 2-5, November 13, 15: *Capture of Capt. Cuttle and Bunsby' Wedding* (Bunsby). PB-10/2-4, 11/13, 15

October 7, 9-11: *Mr. Lobjoit and His Papa, Or, A New Way to Borrow a Wife* (Mr. Ovesiphorous Lobjoit, a Dramatic Author). PB-10/7, 9-11

October 20, November 20: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). PB-10/20, 11/20 (characters have the same names as in *Irish Help*)

October 21: *Living Pictures!!* (Bob Plastic). PB-10/21

October 24, November 11, 21, December 5, 18, 25: *Counterfeit Presentments* (Bob Plastic). PB-10/24, 11/11, 21, 12/5, 18, 25 (apparently the same as *Living Pictures*)

November 13-18, 21, 27: *An Irish Engagement* (Tim Rafferty). Odell, PB-11/13-17, 21, 27

November 21, 25, 30: *Cuttle's Capture* (Bunsby). PB-11/21, 25, 30 (listed as *Cuttle's Capture and Bunsby's Wedding* on 12/1)

November 21, 23-25, 28-30, December 1B, 2, 8-9: *Thomas and Jeremiah in America, or, Life in the New World* (Corinthian Thomas). PB-11/21, 23-25, 28-30, 12/1-2, 8 (listed as *Tom and Jerry in America* on 11/23 and after) (12/1-complimentary benefit to Mr. T. Johnston)

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December 6-7, 23: *Irish Post* (Terence O'Grady). PB-12/6-7, 23

December 11-16, 18-22, 25-30: *Where's Barnum?* (Mr. Smiler, manager of a strolling Company of Comedians). Odell, PB-12/11-16, 18-22, 25-30

December 16, 18-23, 25-30: *The California Gold Mines* (Thady O'Roodle). Odell, PB-16, 18-23, 25-30

Howard Athenaeum
Boston
(Brougham as acting manager)

October 30: **Macbeth*. PB

October 31: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

October 31: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

November 1: **Richelieu*. PB, ad

November 2: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

November 2: **Othello*. ad

November 3: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB, ad

November 3: **Werner*. PB, ad

(Burton was announced as lessee and director of the Howard Athenaeum on November 4 with T. J. Barton as acting manager and director.)

1849

Burton's Chambers Street Theatre
New York

January 1-5B, 6, 9, 11, 20B, 23-27, 29-31, February 1, 7, 9, 13, 20, March 3, April 7: *California Gold Mines* (Thady O' Roodle). ad, PB-1/2, 6, 9, 11, 20, 25-27, 29-31, 2/1, 7, 9, 13, 20, 3/3, 4/7 (1/5-benefit for Brougham, 1/20-benefit for Herr Cline, the rope dancer)

January 1-2, 4, 8, 16, February 20-21: *Where's Barnum?* (Mr. Smiler). ad, PB-1/2, 8, 16, 2/20-21

January 3-5B, 6, 8-10, 12-13, 15. June 1: *Slasher and Crasher* (Christopher Crasher). Odell, PB-1/3, 6, 8-10, 12, 15, 6/1, ad

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January 5B, 6, 8-9, 11, March 12-15, 19-21, 23, 26-27, 29, April 4, 11, 18, 27, May 4, 11, 19, 25, June 22, July 27B, 28, August 3, 9, 11, 17, 22, 28, September 22, October 18, 25, November 1, 8, 15, 22, 28, December 6, 13, 20, 27: *Dombey and Son* (Bagstock/Bunsby). ad, PB-1/6, 8-9, 11, 3/12-14, 19-20, 23, 26, 29, 4/4, 11, 18, 27, 5/4, 11, 19, 25, 6/22, 7/27-28, 8/9, 11, 17, 22, 28, 9/22, 10/18, 25, 11/1, 8, 15, 22, 12/6, 13, 20, 27 (7/27-benefit for Miss M. Taylor)

January 10-13, 15-17, 19, 22-23, February 16-17, December 31: *The Haunted Man, and the Ghost's Bargain* (the Ghost). Odell, PB-1/10-12, 15-16, 2/16-17, 12/31

January 13, 15-17, 19, 22-23: *The Enchanted Isle* (Prospero). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/15-16 (described as a burlesque *Tempest*)

January 18B, 24, February 19, 21, April 23, June 20: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). ad, PB-2/19, 21, 4/23 (1/18-Burton's benefit)

January 22, March 5B, April 14, October 5: *Irish Engagement* (Tim Rafferty). ad, PB-3/5, 4/14, 10/5 (3/5-benefit for the relief of the widow and orphans of Simpson, the late manager of the Park Theatre)

January 25-27, 29-31, February 1-2, 5-10, March 9: *Vanity Fair* (Rawdon Crawley). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/25-27, 29-31, 2/1-2, 5-10, 3/9

February 8: the American Dramatic Fund Association's first benefit at the Astor Place Opera House; Brougham was not listed as a performer although Ireland lists him as one of the Singing Witches in *Macbeth*. This seems unlikely since *Vanity Fair* was done at Burton's on the same evening. Brougham was listed as one of six stewards for the American Dramatic Fund Association.

February 10: *Counterfeit Presentments* (Bob Plastic). PB

February 14-17, 19: *Fistimania or, The Man Who Saw the Fight* (Paddy Whack). PB-2/14-17, 19

February 23-24, 26-28, March 1-3, 7, 30, April 7, May 7, November 10: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned). Odell, PB-2/23, 26-28, 3/1-3, 30, 4/7, 4/7, 11/10 (role listed as Ned Hughes on playbill for 11/10)

February 24, 26-28, March 1-3: *The King of the Peacocks* (O'Don't-Know-Who). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/24, 26-28, 3/1-3

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March 6, 31, April 6, 28, May 4, 26, June 8, 22: *The Capture of Capt. Cuttle or Bunsby's Wedding* (Bunsby). PB-3/6, 31, 4/28, 5/4, 26, 6/8, 22, ad

March 8: *Irish Help* (Paddy Ryan). ad

March 12-13: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). PB, review (The playbill for 3/13 does not list *The Nervous Man*, but the review in the *New York Herald* on 3/13 indicates that the piece will be repeated at the 3/13 performance. However, on 3/14, the review of the performance on 3/13 does not mention the piece.)

March 16-17: *St. Patrick's Eve or, The Order of the Day* (Major O'Dogherty). Odell, PB-3/16-17

March 22-24: *Macbeth Travestie* (Macbeth). Odell, Ireland, PB-3/22-24

March 26-31, April 2-5, June 7: *Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth* (Macbeth). PB-3/26, 28-31, 4/2-5, 6/7, ad (The playbill from 3/26 lists "reviews" of previous performances, apparently of the same play as *Macbeth Travestie*.)

April 9-14, 16-21, 23-28, May 2, June 6, 20: *Socialism, or Modern Philosophy Put in Practice* (Mr. Fourier Grisley). Odell, Ireland, PB-4/9-14, 16-21, 23-28, 5/22, 6/6, ad

April 21, 24: *Tom and Jerry in America* (Corinthian Thomas). PB-4/21, 24

April 30, May 1-3, 5, 8, 10, November 19-20, 23B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, PB-4/30, 5/5, 11/19-20 (11/23-farewell benefit for Mrs. Winstanley)

May 17B, 28, August 16: *The Wags of Windsor* (Looney McTwolter). Odell, ad, PB-5/17, 28 (5/17-benefit for Annie Walters)

May 18B, 30, June 8: *The Heir at Law* (Kenrick). ad, PB-5/30, 6/8 (5/18-benefit for Miss Chapman)

May 19B: *The Wigwam or Pat Amongst the Pottawotomies* (Patrick O'Pluffy). Odell, PB (benefit for Brougham)

May 28-29, 31, June 2B, 4-7, 21, July 4M, October 4, 9: *The Siamese Twins* (Dennis O'Glib). PB-5/28-29, 31, 6/2, 4-7, 21, 7/4, 10/4, 9 (6/2-benefit of G. Loder, the musical director)

May 31: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB

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June 1B, August 16: *Simpson & Co.* (Mr. Bromley). ad (6/1-benefit for Mr. Logan)

June 9B, 19: *Begone Dull Care!* (Young Revel). Odell, Ireland, PB-6/9, ad (6/9-Burton's benefit)

July 4: *Artist's Triumph! or..Counterfeit Presentments* (Bob Plastic). PB

July 16-19, 21: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-7/17, 21

July 20: *Hundred Pound Note* (O Socknessey). PB

July 20, 26, September 3, October 9: *Turning the Tables* (Jeremiah Bumps). Odell, Ireland, PB-7/20, 26, 10/9

July 23-26, 30-31, August 4B, 10, September 1B: *The Confidence Man* (Brass). Odell, ad, PB-7/23-24, 26, 30-31, 8/10, 9/1 (8/4-benefit of Mrs. Knight) (9/1-benefit for Burton)

July 23B: *The Review* (Lo'ny McTolter-sic) Odell, ad (benefit for the widow and children of W. A. Vache)

July 25B: *The Hunchback* (Tinsel). Odell, ad (benefit for Fanny Wallack)

July 30-31, August 1B, 2B, 8, 25, September 1, October 1, 3, 6: *John Dobbs* (Dobbs). Odell, ad, PB-7/30, 8/8, 25, 9/1, 10/1, 3 (8/1-benefit for C. W. Clarke, 8/2-benefit for John Dunn)

August 7B: *Beulah Spa, or the Two B'hoys* (Captain Kildare). ad (benefit for George Holland)

August 8-9: *Horn's Last* (Shales, a tragedian). PB

August 11, 13, 16: *Keeping the Line* (Mr. Pennipother). Odell, ad, PB-8/11, 13

August 18B, 21: *Bamboozling* (Capt. Bamboozle). PB-8/21, ad (8/18-benefit for Mary Taylor)

August 20-21, 23, 25, 29, September 1, 4, 8, 17, 29B, October 31: *A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion* (role generally not listed but called "Intruder" in ad for 8/23). Odell, ad, PB-8/20-21, 25, 29, 9/1, 4, 8, 17, 10/31 (described on playbill for 8/20 as an interlude) (on playbill for 9/1 first listed simply as *Unwarrantable Intrusion;* subsequently listed that way) (9/29-benefit for Mrs. J. Sloan)

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August 23B, 30B, September 5, 7, November 27B: *Married Life* (Mr. Younghusband). Odell, ad, PB-8/30, 9/5, 11/27 (8/23-benefit for Wm. B. Chapman) (The Theatrical and Musical column in the *New York Herald* on 8/24 relates that this piece had not been played on 8/23 because of the unexpected illness of Mrs. Knight, and *John Bull* was substituted.) (8/30-farewell benefit for Mary Taylor,11/27-benefit for Miss Chapman)

August 29B: *Money* (Sir Frederick Blount). PB (C. W. Clarke's benefit)

August 31B: *The Poor Gentleman* (Frederick Bramble). PB (Mr. M. Wright's benefit)

September 1B: *The Abduction of Rea* (Goosequill/Horace Grisley/Ned Grindust). Odell, PB (Burton's benefit)

September 3-8, 10-12, 14: *The Sphinx* (Adelpates). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-9/4-6, 8, 10

September 10-15, 18, 20-21, October 2, 4, 16, December 14: *Temptation, or, the Price of Happiness* (O'Bryan). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-9/10, 13, 15, 18, 20-21, 10/2, 4, 16, 12/14

September 17, 19, October 2, 5: *The Marriage of Figaro*-opera (Count Almaviva). ad, PB-9/17, 10/2, 5

September 24, 28B: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). PB-9/24, 28 (9/28-farewell benefit of Mr. Hadaway)

October 8-13, 15-16, 18-20, 22, 24, 30, November 1, 3, 10, 15, 29E: *The Demon Jester, or the Dutchman's Dream* (Hans Ketzler). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-10/9-11, 15, 18-20, 22, 30, 11/1, 3, 10, 15, 29

October 10-13, 15-17, 19-20, 22-27, 29, 31, November 2, 8, December 1: *Burton's New York Directory, or, the Cockney in America* (Benjamin Brown) Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-10/10-11, 15, 19-20, 22-23, 25-26, 29, 31, 11/2, 8, 12/1 (One playbill and Odell list the title of the play as *New York Directory, or, the Cockney in America*.)

October 11-13, 15-16, 20, 23, November 3: *A Peep from a Parlour Window* (Darby Dougherty). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-10/11, 15, 20, 23, 11/3

October 15-16, 18-20: *Platform or, The Humors of an Irish Election* (not listed). PB-10/15, 18-20 (described on playbills as a comic sketch in which the whole company will appear)

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October 23-24, 26-27, 29-31, November 5, 7, 9, 11: *Hearts are Trumps* (Captain Wagstaff). Odell, ad, PB-10/23, 26, 29-31, 11/5, 7, 9, 11

November 12B, 14: *Who Do They Take Me For?* (Terence O'Reilly). PB-11/12, 14 (11/12-benefit for Burton)

November 16B-17: *Hamlet* (travesty) (Hamlet). PB-11/16-17 (11/16-Brougham's benefit)

November 16B, 17, 19-20, 24, 29, December 1, 8: *The Jersey Monopoly* (Jack Robinson). Odell, PB-11/16-17, 19-20, 24, 29, 12/1, 8

November 21, 24, 26: *A Bird of Passage* (Casey Chick). Odell, PB-11/21, 24, 26

December 3-4B, 5, 7-8, 10-12, 14B, 15, 17-19, 21B, 22B, 24-26, 28-29: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Odell, Ireland, ad, news, PB-12/3-5, 7-8, 10-12, 14-15, 17, 19, 21-22, 24, 26, 28 (12/4-benefit of C. W. Clarke, 12/14-benefit of Lynne, 12-21-benefit of T. Johnston, 12/22-benefit of Mr. Lloyd Bryant)

December 13, 17-19: *Methinks I See My Father* (Felix Flighty) Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/13, 17, 19

December 4, 15: *The Rake's Progress* (Ned Markham, listed as Harry Markham in the ad in the *New York Herald* and on the playbill for 12/15). PB-12/4, 15

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

June 13-16, 18: *Where's Barnum?* (Mr. Smiler). Wilson, Durang, ad

June 18B: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). Wilson, Durang, ad (6/18-benefit of Burton and Brougham)

(Wilson lists Brougham as acting in *Jane Shore* on 6/20, the same date as ads list him acting in *John Bull* in New York. The ad in the *Philadelphia Ledger* does not list Brougham in the cast for *Jane Shore*.)

June 11-12: *Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth* (Macbeth). Wilson, Durang, ad

June 15-16: *Socialism* (Fourier Grisley). ad (Durang lists the program for 6/16 as including *The Siamese Twins* rather than *Socialism*.)

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June 13-14, 18: *Siamese Twins* (Dennis O'Glib). Durang, ad

1850

Burton's Chambers Street Theatre
New York

January 1, February 13, 18-19, 23, March 13: *The Demon Jester, or, The Dutchman's Dream* (Hans Ketzler). ad, PB-1/1, 2/13, 18, 23, 3/13

January 1, 3: *The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain* (The Ghost). PB-1/1, 3

January 2, 4-5B, 7, 9, 11-12, 15, 16, 18B, 19, 21-23, 25-26, 28-30, February 1-2, 4-6, 8-9, 11-13, 15-16B, 18-20, 22-23, 25-27, March 1-2, 4-6, 8B, 9, 11-13, 15-16, 18-23, 25-27, 29-30, April 1-2, 5-6, 8-9, 11-13, 15, 17, 20, 22-23, 26: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). PB-1/2, 4, 9, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-23, 25-26, 28-30, 2/1, 4-6, 8-9, 11-13, 15-16, 18, 20, 22-23, 25, 3/2, 8-9, 11-13, 15-16, 18-23, 25-26, 30, 4/1, 11-13, 15, 17, 22-23, (1/5-benefit of J. B. Phillips, 1/18-benefit for Mrs. Russell, 2/16-benefit of Mr. Hadaway, 3/8-benefit for Miss J. Hill)

January 3, 10, 14, 17, 24, 31, February 7, 14, 21, 28, March 7, 14, 28, April 4, 18, 25: *Dombey and Son* (Bagstock/Bunsby). PB-1/3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 2/7, 14, 21, 28, 3/7, 14, 28, 4/18

January 7, 12, 15, 22, February 6, 16B: *Poor Gentleman* (Frederick Bramble). ad, PB-1/15, 22, 2/6, 16

January 8-11, 14, 16: *A Lady in a Fix* (Count Natzmar, an officer in the Royal Dragoons). Ireland, PB-1/8-11, 16

January 18: *Heir at Law* (Kenric). ad

January 31: *The Wags of Windsor* (Looney McTwoolter-sic). PB

Feburary 22: *Married Life or, Connubiality in Couples* (Mr. Younghusband). PB

March 1B, 2, 4-6, 11, 19, 27, 29, April 2, 5, 8, 10, 12, 16, 19, 26: *Leap Year or, the Ladies' Privilege* (Walker). Ireland, PB-3/2, 11, 19, 25, 4/10, 12, 19, ad (3/1-Mrs. Brougham's benefit)

March 8, 21, April 11: *Capture of Captain Cuttle or, Bunsby's Wedding* (Bunsby). PB-3/8, 21, 4/11

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April 20: *Rake's Progress* (Harry Markham). ad

April 24B: *John Dobbs* (John Dobbs). PB (4/24-benefit of C. W. Clarke)

Broadway Theatre
New York

March 20B: *The Siamese Twins* (not listed). Odell, Ireland, ad (Benefit for Blake who was leaving for New Orleans) (Burton and Brougham performed in Blake's benefit after acting in *The Serious Family* at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre on the same evening.)

Niblo's Garden
New York
Brougham and Chippendale, managers

May 7B, 17: *Temptation* (O'Bryan). Blair, PB-5/7, ad (5/7-complimentary benefit for Brougham)

May 7B: **Naval Engagement*. Blair, PB, ad

May 13: *Follies of a Night* (Duc de Chartes). Ireland, ad

May 13-15, 18: *Home* (Dan Duff). Ireland, ad

May 14: **Dr. Dilworth*. ad

May 15: **Advice Gratis*. ad

May 16: *Poor Gentleman* (Frederick Bramble). Blair, ad

May 18, June 6, August 3: **Delicate Ground*. ad

May 20-25, 27-28, June 5, 12, 19, 22, August 6: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Blair, ad, PB-6/12, 22

May 29-31, June 1, 3, 6, July 20, 23, August 5, 8, 12-13: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell, ad, Blair, PB-6/12

May 29-31, June 1, 4, July 18: **Ticklish Times*. ad

June 3: **Not a Bad Judge*. ad

June 4, 7, 20: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). Blair, ad

June 4: **Captain of the Watch*. ad

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June 7-8: *The Catspaw* (Captain Brugonet). Blair, ad

June 10, 17: **Guy Mannering*. ad

June 10: **Napoleon's Old Guard*. ad

June 11, 29: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Blair, ad

June 11, August 2: **Who's the Composer*. Blair,ad

June 11: **The Miseries of Human Life*. ad

June 13: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). Blair, ad

June 13, 15, 20, July 31, August 1: **The Chaste Salute*. Blair, ad

June 13-14: **Out on a Lark*. ad

June 14-15: *The Nervous Man* (M'Shane). Blair, ad

June 17: **The Veteran of '76*. ad

June 18, 25: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin Backbite). Blair, ad

June 20: **The Lost Letter*. Blair, ad

June 21: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Blair, ad

June 24: **Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. ad

June 24, 26-27, July 1, 10, 17, 25: **Friend Waggles*. ad

June 26-27, July 1-6, 8-12, 15-20, 23-24, 27, August 10: **Island of Jewels*. Blair, Ireland, ad

June 28, July 5: **The Maid of Croissey*. Blair

July 2-3, 9, 12: **Where There's a Will, There's a Way*. Blair

July 4, 11, 22, August 12: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). Blair, ad

July 6: **The Day After the Wedding*. Blair, ad

July 8: **The Woman Hater*. Blair ad

Niblo's Garden was closed on Saturday, July 13 because of the funeral of President Taylor.

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July 15-16, 27: *White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). Blair, ad

July 22, 24-25, August 9B: **Fortunio*. Blair, ad

July 26B: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). Blair (7/26-Mrs. Brougham's benefit)

July 26B, 29-30, August 14B: **Esmeralda and her Gifted Goat*. Blair, ad (8/14-benefit for Brougham)

July 29-30: **The Pet of the Village*. Blair, ad

July 31, August 1-3, 5: **La Fille de Marbre*. ad

August 6, 8, 9B: **Les Fleurs Animees*. ad (8/9-benefit of Mlle. Blangy)

August 7B: *Poor Pillicoddy* (O'Scuttle). Blair, ad (8/7-benefit for John Sefton)

August 7B: **Breach of Promise*. Blair, ad

August 7B, 15: **Sketches of India*. Blair. ad

August 9B, 10: **La Giselle*. Blair, ad

August 13: **Turning the Tables*. Blair, ad

August 14B: *Hamlet-Travestie* (Hamlet). Blair, ad

August 14B: **His Last Legs*. Blair, ad (Collins played O'Callaghan)

August 15-16: *Dombey and Son* (Bagstock/Bunsby). Blair, ad

August 16: *Siamese Twins* (Dennis O'Glib). Blair, ad

August 17B: *John Dobbs* (John Dobbs). Blair, ad (8/17-benefit for Burton)

August 17: **Laughing Hyena*. Blair, ad

August 17: **Crimson Crimes*. ad

(August 17 was the last night for Brougham as co-manager at Niblo's; Sefton was advertised as co-manager on 8/20.)

December 21B: *Bamboozling* (Captain Bamboozle). Ireland, PB, ad (third annual benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association; play was listed as *Husband for an Hour* on the playbill and in ad)

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Howard Athenaeum
Boston

August 19: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

August 20: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

August 20: *Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad

August 21-23, 27: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad, PB-8/21-22, 27

August 26, 28-30B: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-8/30 (8/30-Brougham's benefit) (It is not absolutely clear if there was a performance on Saturday, August 26 or if the advertisement in the newspaper on that date was for the performance on August 28.)

August 30B: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, PB

Brooklyn Museum
Brooklyn

October 14-18, 24, 26B, November 30B: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-10/14 (10/26-Brougham's benefit, 11/30-benefit for Mary Taylor)

October 15: *The Review* (Looney McTwolter). ad

October 16: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). ad

October 19B, 23: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, ad (10/19-Brougham's benefit)

October 21-22, 26B: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, PB-10/21, ad

October 22, 24, November 19, December 20B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad (12/20-complimentary benefit to Mrs. H. V. Lovell)

October 25: *John Bull* (Dennis). ad

October 28-31, November 1-2, 7, 9B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, ad (11/9-Brougham's benefit)

November 4-5, 8: *Temptation, or the Brooklyn Carman* (O'Bryan). ad

November 5: *Bamboozling* (Capt. Bamboozle). ad

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November 6: *Married Life* (Mr. Younghusband). ad

November 9B: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

Tripler Hall
New York

December 10: address, written and delivered by Brougham, at a complimentary festival benefit to Thomas D. Rice

Brougham's Lyceum
John Brougham, manager
New York

December 23-27: *Brougham and Company* (role not listed). Odell, ad, PB-12/23-26 (used to introduce the principal artists of the company) (The ad in the *New York Herald* lists this piece for 12/28 as well.)

December 23-25: *The Light Guard, or Women's Rights* (Ginger Green). Odell, PB-12/23-25, ad

December 23-25: **Deeds of Dreadful Note*. Odell, ad, PB-12/23-25

December 26: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell, PB-12/26

December 27-28, 30: *My Friend in the Straps* (O'Blarney). Odell, ad, PB-12/30

December 27-28, 31: **A Kiss in the Dark*. ad (The ad in the *New York Herald* does not include this farce for the program on 12/28, but Odell and the ad in *Figaro* do.)

December 28: **Jenny Lind*. ad

December 30-31: **Esmeralda and her Gifted Goat* (Gringoire). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/30

December 30: **Rough Diamond*. ad, PB-12/30

1851

Brougham's Lyceum
New York

January 1, 3-4: *Esmeralda* (Pierre Gringoire). ad, PB-1/1

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January 1, 4, 7, 11, 14, 28, April 10-11, 28, June 30B, September 30, October 14, 27, December 20, 22, 24, 26: **Rough Diamond*. ad, PB-1/1, 7, 11, 14, 4/10, 28, 6/30, 9/30, 10/14, 12/20, 22, 24, 26 (6/30-Brougham's benefit)

January 1, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 24, May 16, June 21: **Jenny Lind*. ad, PB-1/1, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 24, 6/21

January 3, 8, February 14: **A Kiss in the Dark*. ad, PB-1/8, 2/14

January 3, 7, 21, April 7: *My Friend in the Straps* (O'Blarney). ad, PB-1/7, 21, Odell (4/7)

January 4: **Deeds of Dreadful Note*. ad

January 6-11, 13-18, 20-24, February 3, 8, 28, March 5, 21, 26, April 3, May 21, June 7, September 16, November 29B, December 29: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/6-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-24, 2/8, 28, 5/21, 6/7, 9/16, 11/29, 12/29 (11/29-ticket to T. B. Johnston's benefit)

January 6, December 17-18, 25: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB-1/6, 12/17-18

January 9, 16, 22, February 7, 13, April 9, June 28B, December 19B: *Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). PB-1/9, 22, 2/7, 13, 6/28, 12/19 (6/28-benefit for Mary Taylor, 12/19-benefit for Skerrett)

January 10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 25, 27, February 15B: *The Wild Indian* (Dennis O'Brien). Odell, ad, PB-1/10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 2/15 (2/15-Owens' benefit)

January 15: **The Andalusian*. ad, PB-1/15

January 18, 21: **King's Gardener*. ad, PB-1/18, 21

January 20, 23, 25, 29, February 15, 22, March 6, April 2, June 6: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, ad, PB-1/20, 23, 2/15, 22, 3/6, 4/2, 6/6 (Brougham played Bagstock and Bunsby on 2/15 while Owens played Captain Cuttle for his benefit.)

January 24, 28: **The Happiest Day of my Life*. PB-1/24

January 25, 27, February 18-19: **Where There's a Will There's a Way*. Odell, ad

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January 27-31, February 1, 3-7, 18, 20, 27, March 13, 18, 27: *The Ambassadress or, A Manager's Miseries*-opera (Fortunatus). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/31, 2/4, 7, 3/18 (Lynne was advertised to play Fortunatus on 2/3 and 2/6.)

January 30, February 11B, 20, 28, March 10, 19, April 10, 23, 29: **Eton Boy*. ad, PB-2/11, 28, 3/10, 4/10, 29

January 30: **Spectre Bridegroom*. ad

January 31: **Paul Pry, or I hope I don't Intrude*. ad, PB

February 1, 14, 21, March 22: **Wilful Murder*. ad, PB-2/14, 21

February 1, 25-26, March 19: **Sudden Thoughts*. ad

February 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 21, 26, March 8, April 12: *Serve Him Right* (Harry Bellamy). Odell, ad, PB-2/4, 8, 10, 12, 21

February 4-5: **Sent to the Tower*. Odell, ad, PB-2/4

February 10-11B, 12-15B: **Betsey Baker*. ad, PB-2/10-15

February 10-11B, 12-15B, 17-19, 20-22, 24-26, 28, March 1, 3-8, 17-22, 29, April 25, May 28B, 31B, June 12, July 4, October 11B: *The World's Fair or Columbia in the Clouds* (Jove, the original Don Joveanni, an uncontroverted Pagan of very doubtful repute, famous for his attachment to the fair of all nations). Odell, PB-2/10-15, 17, 21-22, 24, 28, 3/1, 6-7, 18, 20, 29, 10/11 (2/11-benefit for Miss Mary Taylor, 5/28-benefit of J. C. Dunn, 5/31-benefit for Mr. Hunt, 10/11-benefit for the widow and children of the late William Conover, comedian)

February 11B: **Perfection*. PB

February 17, 19, March 1, 7, 14, April 1: *A Curious Case, or, Mind How You Visit Your Uncle* (John Twiggleton). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/17, 3/1, 7

February 18: **She Would and She Would Not*. ad (This may be an error; *Where There's a Will* may have been done instead.)

February 24-25, 27: *The Old Love and the New* (Captain Courtown). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/24

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March 1, 3-4, 8, 11, 24: **Allow Me to Apologise*. ad, PB-3/1, 11, 24

March 3-4, 7, April 3, 5: *The Fast Man* (Edward). Odell, ad, PB-3/7, 4/5

March 10-12, 18-19, 22, April 2, 14: *My Friend Jack* (Jack Devilskin). Odell, ad, PB-3/10-11, 18, 4/2

March 10-15B, 17, 20-22: *Ye Deville and Dr. Faustus* (Dr. Faustus). Odell, ad, PB-3/10-11, 20 (3/15-benefit of Mr. Lynne)

March 12, 14, 17, 27, April 8: **Ladies Beware*. ad

March 15B, 20, 28, April 2, 8, 11, 15, July 7B: *The King and the Mimic* (Stolbach, a comedian). ad, PB-3/20, 28, 4/2, 7/7 (7/7-benefit for Mr. Demilt, the machinist)

March 15B: **Val D'Andorre*. ad

March 24, 31: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad, PB-3/24, 31

March 24-25: *A Lesson for Lovers* (Jack Spriggs). Odell, ad, PB-3/24

March 26, 28, April 16, 18, 21, 23, 26-28, May 1, 3, 7, 27: *The Devil in Paris* (Count Vanille). ad, PB-3/28, 4/16, 21, 26, 28 (A handwritten note on the playbill for 3/28 may indicate that *David Copperfield* was substituted for *The Devil in Paris*. Miss Taylor, who played six roles in *The Devil in Paris*, was ill.)

March 29, 31, April 1: *Love in a Maze* (Colonel Buckthorne). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-3/29, 31

April 4B, 5: *All that Glitters is not Gold* (Toby Twinkle). Odell, ad, PB-4/4-5 (4/4- benefit for Kate Horn)

April 4B, September 12: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad, PB-4/4, 9/12

April 7-12, 14-15, 17-19, 22, 24: **The Spirit of Air; or The Enchanted Isle*. (burlesque of *The Tempest*) Ireland, ad, PB-4/7, 10, 19, 22

April 14-16, 19, 22, May 15B, July 1, 5: *Teacher Taught* (Henry Aubrey). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-4/16, 19, 22 (5/15-Mlle. Ducy-Barre's benefit)

April 17-19: *That Odious Capt. Cutter* (Captain Cutter). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-4/19

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April 21: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PB-4/21

April 24-25: *Cool as a Cucumber* (cool Irishman). ad

April 22-26, 28, 30, May 1-3, 5-9, 12-14, 20, 26B, 30, June 11: *A Row at the Lyceum or, Green Room Secrets* (manager/husband). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-4/22, 26, 28, 5/9, 12-14 (5/30-benefit of Miss Julia Gould)

April 29-30, May 2, 5-6, 8-9, 12, June 14: **The Child of the Regiment*-opera. PB-4/29, 5/9, 12, 6/14, ad (listed as *La Fille du Regiment* on playbill for 6/14)

May 13B, June 2B, September 19, October 9B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/13, 6/2, 9/19, 10/9 (5/13-benefit for Mrs. Blake, 6/2- Corbyn's benefit) (10/9-the ad says first three acts of *London Assurance* will be done for Miss Cushman's benefit; the playbill says the last three acts)

May 14-15B, 16, 19: *The Fortune of War, and, a Soldier's Honor* (Captain Maurice O'Brien). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/14

May 14, 26, 29: **The Irish Widow*. ad, PB-5/14

May 15B, 16: **La Fille de Danube*. ad

May 20B, June 9, September 26B: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin). Odell, ad, PB-6/9 (5/20-the screen scene was done for the benefit of John Buckland, the treasurer; it is not clear if Brougham performed) (9/26-benefit for Charlotte Cushman)

May 20, 24, September 10, 15, October 15, 21, November 4, December 5B, 11B: **Delicate Ground*. ad, PB-5/24, 9/10, 15, 10/15, 21, 11/4, 12/5, 11 (12/5-benefit for Mr. G. Jordan, 12/11-benefit for officers and doorkeepers)

May 19-21: **Don Giovanni in London*. ad, PB-5/21

May 22B, 26-27, June 4: *The Invincibles* (O'Slash). Odell, ad, PB-5/22 (5/22-benefit for H. B. Phillips)

May 22B: **Charles II*. Odell, PB-5/22

May 23B: *Savage and the Maiden* (Crummles). Odell, ad (benefit for Walcot)

May 23B, 24: **Cinderella* (first act). ad, PB-5/24

May 23B, July 2B: **Used Up*. ad

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May 26: Brougham allowed a group of actors to use Brougham's Lyceum to hold a benefit for Andrew Jackson Allen, who had been involved with theatrical life for fifty years.

May 28B, 29: **National Guard*-opera. ad, PB-5/28

May 30B, 31B, June 3B, 4-7, 10-11, 13-14, 16-18, 20: *The Home Book of Beauty* (Albert Roseville). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/30, 6/3-7, 13-14, 16-17, 20 (6/3-benefit for George Loder)

June 3B: **The Beggar's Opera*. PB-6/3, ad

June 5, 19: **Naval Engagements*. ad, PB-6/5, 19

June 11, 14: **Loan of a Lover*. ad, PB-6/14

June 10, 12, December 1B: **Grist to the Mill*. ad, PB-12/1 (12/1-benefit for Mrs. Skerrett)

June 13: **Ransom*. PB

June 16-21, 26B, August 28, 30, September 4, December 31: *The Ladies Battle* (Gustave de Gugnon). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-6/16-17, 19-21, 26, 8/28, 30, 9/4, 12/31 (6/26-benefit for Lynne, stage manager)

June 23B, September 24, October 8: **The Lady of Lyons*. ad, PB-6/23, 10/8 (6/23-benefit of Julia Bennett)

June 23B, 25-26B, 27-28: **Queen of the Frogs*. ad, PB-6/23, 25-26, 28

June 28, 30B, July 1, 5: **The Great Exhibition*. ad, PB-6/28

June 25, 26B, 27-28, July 4, 7B, September 6, 9: *The Bloomers, or Pets in Pants* (Mike, a cook and housemaid). Odell, ad, PB-6/25-26, 28, 7/7, 9/6, 9

June 25, 27, July 3B: **Lottery Ticket*. Odell, ad, PB-6/25

June 30B, July 2B, 3B September 11B, 12: *The Card Case* (Barney Flinn). Odell, ad, PB-6/30, 9/12 (7/2-benefit for Chippendale, 7/3-benefit for the officers. etc., 9/11-benefit for Oliver B. Raymond)

June 30B: **The Widow's Victim*. Odell, PB-6/30

July 1-2B, 3B, 4, August 30, September 1-2, 5, 12, 17, 29 October 1, 16, 22, November 7, 17: **The School for Tigers*. ad, PB-8/30, 9/1-2, 5, 12, 29, 10/1, 16, 22, 11/7, 17

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July 1: **My Precious Betsy*. ad

July 5: **The Jolly Millers*. ad

July 7B: **All the World's a Stage*. ad, PB-7/7

August 28-29, September 2-3, 6, 24, October 3, 17, November 20, 24: **The Fire-Eater*. ad, PB-8/28-29, 9/2-3, 6, 10/17, 11/20, 24

August 25-27, 29, November 25B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Ireland, ad, PB-8/25-27, 29, 11/25 (11/25-benefit for the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society)

August 25-28: *What Shall We Do for Something New?* (The Ghost of Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-8/25-28

September 1-6, 8-9: *Wanted a Wizard; or, The Rival Magicians* (Mr. Crummles). ad, PB-9/1-6, 9 (This piece seems to have been omitted from the playbill for 9/8.)

September 1, 3: **Uncle Foozle*. ad, PB-9/1, 3

September 5, 8, 23, October 20, December 16B: **The Miseries of Human Life*. ad, PB-9/5, 8, 9/23, 10/20, 12/16 (12/16-benefit for Lynne)

September 8-10, 12-13, 15-16: *J. B. & B. J. or, Who'll Rule the Seas* (Pat). ad, PB-9/8-10, 12-13, 15-16 (advertised as *John Bull and Brother Jonathan* on 9/8) (Mr. Florence acted the role of Pat in this piece on 9/16.)

September 18-20, 24, 27: *The Yacht Race, or Who'll Rule the Seas* (Pat). Odell, ad, PB-9/18-19, 27 (renamed from *J.B. and B.J.*) (According to playbills, Mr. Florence played the role of Pat on 9/18, 19 and 27.)

September 8-10, 13: **Alcestis*. ad, PB-9/8-10, 13

September 11B: **Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. ad

September 11B, October 2, 23: **Dr. Dilworth*. ad, PB-10/2, 23

September 13, 15, October 13-16: *See Saw Or, Paddy's Sliding Scale* (Mr. O'Flynn). Odell, ad, PB-9/13, 15, 10/13-16

September 17: **The Stranger*. Ireland, ad

September 18, 20, 23, 27, October 7, 10, November 28: **Guy Mannering*. ad, PB-9/18, 23, 27, 10/7

September 22: **Macbeth*. ad, PB-9/22

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September 25: **As You Like It*. ad

September 26B, October 4: *A Lesson of the Heart* (Colonel Wilder). Odell, ad, PB-10/4

September 29-30, October 1-4: **The Actress of Padua*. ad, PB-9/29-30, 10/1-2, 4

October 7-8: *Any Thing for a Change* (Mr. Swopington). ad, PB-10/7-8

October 11B: *Black-Eyed Susan*. ad, PB (It is extremely unclear just what the third piece on this benefit was; *Cross of Gold* is listed in the advertisement, the playbill lists miscellaneous pieces by White's Serenaders, and the Theatrical and Musical column in the *New York Herald* lists the *Maid of Croissy*.)

October 13: **Advice Gratis*. ad, PB-10/13

October 13-14, 16: **Un Jour de Carnival*-ballet. ad, PB-10/13-14, 16

October 17-18B, 21, 25B, November 8, 21: **Somebody Else*. ad, PB-10/17-18, 21, 25, 11/8, 21 (10/18 and 25-benefits of the Roussets, 11/21-benefit of Caroline Rousset)

October 17-18B, November 21B, 22: **La Fete de Fees*. ad, PB-10/17-18, 11/21-22

October 18B, 22-25: **Les Folies*. ad, PB-10/18, 22-25

October 18B, 20, 22, November 26, December 8B: **Brother Ben*. ad, PB-10/18, 20, 22, 11/26, 12/8 (12/8-benefit for Brougham)

October 20-21: **Vivandiere*. ad, PB-10/20-21

October 23-25B, 30-31B: *The White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). Odell, ad, PB-10/23-25, 30-31 (10/31-Mr. Neafie's benefit)

October 24, 28, November 1, 6, 27, December 3B: **The Four Sisters*. ad, PB-10/24, 28, 11/1, 6, 27, 12/3 (12/3-benefit for Mr. Florence)

October 24-25B, November 11: **La Giselle* (first act). ad, PB-10/24-25, 11/11

October 27-28: **Mahommed, the Arabian Prophet*. ad, PB-10/28

October 30, November 1: **Rob Roy*-opera. ad, PB-10/30, 11/1

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October 31B, December 4: **Richard III*. ad, PB-10/31, 12/4

November 3-8, 10-15, 17, 19-20, 26-27, December 1B, 2-3B, 5B, 8B, 13, 15: *Kossuth's Kum* (Pennfether). Odell, ad, PB-11/3-8, 10-15, 17, 19-20, 26-27, 12/1-3, 5, 8, 13, 15 (Playbill for 12/13 listed title as *Kossuth Has Come*.)

November 3, 5, 15, 21B: **A Wife for an Hour*. Odell, ad, PB-11/3, 5, 15, 21

November 3-8, 10-11: **Catarina*-ballet. ad, PB-11/3-8, 10-11

November 10, 12-14, 25B, 26-27, December 2, 6B, 15, 27, 30: *The Money Market, a Romance of Wall Street* Crippledrake). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-11/10, 12-14, 25-27, 12/2, 6, 15, 27, 30 (12/6-benefit for H. B. Phillips)

November 12-15, 17-18B, 19-21B, 22: **La Bayadere*. ad, PB-11/12-15, 17-22 (11/18-benefit for Mlle. Theresine Rousset)

November 18B, 19, 22, 28, December 4, 12: **An Alarming Sacrifice*. ad, PB-11/18-19, 22, 12/4, 12

November 24: **Hamlet*. (Miss Cushman as Hamlet) ad, PB-11/24

November 29: **Dutch Governor*. ad

December 1B, 2, 9: **Circumstantial Evidence*. ad, PB-12/1-2, 9

December 1B, 17, 23, 26: **Turn Out*. ad, PB-12/1, 17, 26

December 3B, 9: **Limerick Boy*. ad, PB-12/3, 9

December 5B, 12: **Country Squire*. ad, PB-12/5, 12

December 6B: **Theresa's Vow*. ad, PB-12/6

December 6B: **The Mountain Sylph*. ad, PB-12/6

December 8B, 9-10B: **A Decided Novelty*. PB-12/8-10 (12/10-benefit of D. B. Palmer)

December 8B, 9, 12: *Hamlet* (Hamlet). ad, PB-12/8-9, 12

December 10B, 11B, 13: *Captain of the Watch*. ad, PB-12/10-11, 13

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December 10B, 11B, 13, 15: **Spirit of the Fountain*. ad, PB-12/10-11, 13, 15

December 10B: **The Irish Tutor*. (H. Tuthill played Teddy O'Rourke.) PB-12/10

December 16B, 18: **King Henry IV, pt. 1*. ad, PB-12/16, 18

December 17: **Charles XII*. ad, PB-12/17

December 19B: **She Stoops to Conquer*. ad, PB-12/19

December 20: **Merchant of Venice*. ad, PB-1/20

December 22-27, 29-31: *Christmas Carol* (Bob Crachit). Odell, ad, PB-12/22, 24, 26-27, 29-31

December 25: **Lost Letter*. ad

Broadway Theatre
New York

January 4B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, Ireland, ad (testimonial benefit for J. W. Wallack Jr. prior to his departure for Europe) (Brougham acted in *Esmeralda* at his own theatre, Brougham's Lyceum, prior to appearing in this piece at the Broadway on the same evening.)

Niblo's Garden
New York

March 19B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, ad, PB (benefit for C. W. Clarke) (Brougham acted in the first two pieces at his Lyceum this evening and then in this final piece at Niblo's for Clarke's benefit.)

November 1B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Odell, Blair, ad (benefit for Captain James M. Turner)

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

July 14B: *School for Scandal* (Charles Surface). Durang, Wilson, ad (benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association)

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Military Garden
Brooklyn

August 5B: *His Last Legs* (not listed). ad (benefit for Lynne, Johnston, Phillips, and Palmer) (No casts are listed in the *New York Herald* ad, but extracts from *David Copperfield* were also done. There was a note in the ad that Brougham was participating in this benefit.)

Castle Garden
New York

August 12B: *School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin). Odell, Ireland, PB (all day benefit for E. A. Marshall, manager of the Broadway theatre; the program began at 10 a.m. and ran until midnight)

1852

Brougham's Lyceum
New York
John Brougham, manager

January 1-2, 3B, 10: *Row at the Lyceum* (manager/husband). ad, PB-1/1-2, 10 (1/3-benefit of Kossuth Fund)

January 1-2, 5B, 13: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad, PB-1/1-2, 5, 13 (1/5-benefit of R. M. Martin, treasurer)

January 1-2, 10: **The Lost Letter*. ad, PB-1/1-2, 10

January 1-3B, 7, 8, 10: *Columbia at Home*. ad, PB-1/1-2, 10

January 3B, 7: *A Christmas Carol* (Bob Crachit). ad, PB-1/7

January 5B, 6, 7, 16, 23, 26, February 4-7, 13: **The Two Bonnycastles*. ad, PB-1/7, 26, 2/4, 6-7

January 5B, 9B: **Lola Montes*. ad

January 6, 8: **Operatic Scenes in Costume* (title on 1/8 is *Operatic Records*). ad

January 9B, February 26-27: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB-1/9, 26, 27 (1/9-complimentary benefit to T. B. Johnston)

January 9B: **Delicate Ground*. ad, PB-1/9

January 9B: **The Maid of Munster*. ad, PB-1/9

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January 10: **Turn Out*. ad, PB-1/10

January 12B: benefit of French Company

January 13-14B: *A Romantic Idea* (Ketzler). ad, PB-1/13-14 (1/14-benefit of H. Isherwood, scenic artist)

January 13, 15, February 11-12, March 12: **Caught in His Own Trap*. ad, PB-1/15

January 14B, 15, 20, February 14: **A Man Without a Head*. ad, PB-1/15

January 14B, 15-17, 19-20, 22-23, 28, 30: **Beauty and the Beast*. ad, PB-1/14-16, 19-20, 23, 30

January 14B, February 2-3: **The Illustrious Stranger*. ad, PB-2/2

January 15-17, 19-20, 22B, 23, 27B, 30: *Demon Jester, or a Romantic Idea* (Ketzler). ad, PB-1/15-16, 19-20, 23, 30 (1/22-farewell benefit of George Loder, 1/27-Mrs. Skerrett's benefit-ticket to this benefit)

January 17, 19, 23, March 25, 27: **Who Speaks First?* ad, PB-1/19, 23, 3/25

January 19-20, 28: *My Friend Jack* (Jack Devilskin). ad, PB-1/28

January 21: Mrs. Caroline Lindeman's benefit (German Company)

January 22B: **The Limerick Boy*. ad

January 24B, 26, 31B: *Hamlet Travestie* (Hamlet). ad, PB-1/24, 31 (1/24-Mr. Walcot's benefit, 1/31-W. M. Foster's benefit)

January 24B: **Used Up*. ad, PB

January 24B, 26, 28-29B, 30-31B - **John of Paris*. ad, PB-1/24, 29, 31 (1/29-benefit of the Indigent Soldiers and Widows of the Veteran Corps of the War of 1812, 1813, and 1814.

January 27B: **A Roland for an Oliver*. ad

January 27B: **The Married Rake*. ad

January 27B, 29B: **The King and the Peasant*. ad, PB-1/29

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January 31B: **Legion of Honor*. ad, PB

February 2-7, 9-10, March 8B, 11: *School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin Backbite). ad, PB-2/2, 4, 6, 7, 9-10, 3/8-9, 11 (2/2-first appearance on any stage for Mrs. Sinclair), (3/8-benefit of Mrs. Sinclair, 3/11-benefit for Brougham)

February 9-10, April 8B: **Rough Diamond*. ad, PB-2/9-10, 4/8 (4/8-benefit for Mr. Lynne)

February 11-14, 24, March 27: **Love's Sacrifice*. ad, PB-2/11-14, 24

February 16-21, 23, March 6: **The Lady of Lyons*. ad, PB-2/17-21, 23, 3/6

February 16-21, 26-27: **Captain Charlotte*. ad, PB-2/17-21, 26-27

February 23, 24: **Dead Shot*. ad, PB-2/23-24

February 25, March 3, 4, 10: **Patrician's Daughter*. ad, PB-2/25, 3/3-4

February 25-28, March 1-6, 8B, 9-10, 12-13, 16-17, April 8B: **The Good for Nothing*. ad, PB-2/25-28, 3/1-4, 6, 8-9, 16-17, 4/8

February 27: **Chaste Salute*. ad, PB

February 28: **The Soldier's Daughter*. ad, PB

March 1-2, 5: **Much Ado About Nothing*. ad, PB-3/1-2

March 9: **Money*. ad, PB

March 11B, 12B: **Rival Pages*. ad, PB-3/11-12 (3/12-benefit for W. H. Chippendale)

March 12B: **A Loan of a Lover*. ad, PB

March 13B: **The Heir at Law*. (benefit for Dr. Northall)

March 16-17: **La Gazza Ladra*. ad, PB-3/16-17 (This opera was advertised for several days, but was apparently never performed.)

March 22, 25: *The Hunchback* (Lord Tinsel). ad, PB-3/22, 25

March 22: **Advice Gratis*. ad, PB

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March 23-24: *The Belle's Stratagem* (Flutter). ad, PB-3/23-24

March 23-24: **The Miseries of Human Life*. ad, PB-3/23-24

March 26B: **The Stranger*. ad, PB(Julia Davenport's benefit)

March 26B: **Honey Moon*. ad, PB

April 8B: **Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. ad, PB

April 8B: **Eton Boy*. ad, PB

Corbyn and Buckland took over the Lyceum Theatre beginning advertising their management around April 19.

Hope Chapel, New York

March 15: lecture, "The Invasions of Ireland," for the Benevolent Order of United Irishmen.

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

April 26, May 1M: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad, PB-4/26,5/1

April 26-29, May 1: *Kossuth's Kum* (Pennfether). ad, PB-4/26-28, 5/1

April 27: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad, PB

April 28, 30B: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-4/28, 30 (4/30-Brougham's benefit)

April 29: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). ad

April 30B, May 3-4: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad. PB-4/30, 5/3-4

May 1B: dramatic sketch with imitations of Booth, Kean, Forrest, Macready, etc. (benefit of dramatic company at the late National Theatre)--no named pieces other than an original poetic address and the *Star Spangled Banner* is listed on playbill.

May 3-7B: *Hamlet* (burlesque) (Hamlet). ad, PB-5/3-6 (5/7-benefit for Brougham)

May 5-6: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-5/5-6

May 7B: *The Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad, PB

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May 7B: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad, PB

May 7B: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB

Broadway Theatre
New York

May 13: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

Burton's Chambers Street Theatre
New York

May 18B: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). ad, PB (benefit of J. Barnet, treasurer)

Lyceum Theatre
New York

June 10B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB (benefit for Julia Bennett)

July 3B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad, PB (benefit for George Jordan)

July 5B: *School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin Backbite). ad, PB (benefit for Brougham)

July 5B: *The Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad, PB

Brooklyn Museum
Brooklyn

July 19-21: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, ad

July 20-21: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

July 22-23: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Odell, ad

July 24: *Temptation* (O'Bryan). ad (The ad in the *New York Herald* is for *Temptation*, but *Serious Family* is listed in the "Amusements This Evening" column.)

Castle Garden
New York

July 30B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, ad (benefit for the Roussets)

September 6B: *Lethe* (Fine Gentleman). Ireland, ad, PB (benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association)

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Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

August 3: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). Durang, ad

August 3: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Durang, ad

August 4, 16: *Bamboozling* (Captain Bamboozle). Durang, ad

August 4-7, 9B, 17, December 13-14: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Durang, ad (8/9-Brougham's benefit)

August 5: *Wife for an Hour* (Captain Bamboozle). ad

August 6, 10-11: *Serious Family* (Capt. Maguire). ad

August 6: *A Great Mistake* (Henry Aubrey). ad

August 7: *Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad

August 10-13: *Irish Emigrant and the Philadelphia Carman* (O'Bryan). ad

August 12-14, 17, December 15: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). Durang, ad

August 14, 16B: *The Fast Man* (Edward Hughes). Wilson, Durang, ad (8/16-Brougham's benefit)

December 13, 16: *Unwarrantable Intrusion* (intruder). ad

December 14-15, 17-18: *A Row in Chesnut Street* (manager and lessee pro tem). Druang, ad (Advertised title on 12/17-18 was *A Row at the Chesnut*.)

December 14: *Slasher and Crasher* (not listed). ad

December 16-18: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Durang, ad

Wallack's Lyceum
(advertised in November and after as Wallack's Theatre)
New York

September 8-11, 13, 28, October 15, November 20: *The Boarding School* (Cornet Kavanagh). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-9/8, 10-11, 28, 11/20

September 10: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). Odell, ad, PB

September 11, 16: *The Follies of a Night* (Duke de Chartes). Odell, ad, PB-9/11

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September 14, October 13: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). ad

September 15, 25, 29, October 2, December 10: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad, PB-9/15, 25

September 18, October 25, November 24B: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Odell, ad, PB-10/25, 11/24 (11/24-Brougham's benefit)

September 20, 24, October 4, 19, 28, November 12, 17: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PB-10/4

September 22, October 7, 20, 29: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). Odell, ad, PB-9/22, 10/20

September 25, 28, 30, October 6, 13, 21, 27, 30, November 8, 18, December 25, 28: *The Happy Man* (Paddy Murphy). ad, PB-9/25, 28, 11/8, 12/28

October 4, 6, 8, 12: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). Odell, ad, PB-10/4

November 1, 3, 6, 10, 16: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad, PB-11/3, 10

November 4-6, 9, 19: *Wild Oats* (John Dory). Odell, ad, PB-11/19

November 22B, 23, 25, 27, 30, December 1, 9, 11, 20, 22-23, 27: *High Life Below Stairs* (Sir Harry's Servant). Odell, ad, PB-11/22, 25, 27, 30, 12/11 (11/22-benefit of Mr. Lester)

November 24B, 26, 29: *The White Horse of the Peppers* (Gerald Pepper). ad, PB-11/24, 26

November 30B, December 2B, 6, 8, 22: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). Odell, ad, PB-11/30 (11/30-benefit for Mr. Blake, 12/2-benefit for C. Mason)

December 7, 10, 21, 24: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

December 9B, 20, 24, 27, 31: *Money* (Mr. Stout). ad, PB-12/27 (12/9-benefit for Walcot)

December 23: *Speed the Plough* (Ashfield). ad, PB

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1853

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 3, 6, 14, 22: *Speed the Plough* (Ashfield). ad, PB-1/3

January 4, 8: *Born to Good Luck* (Paudeen O'Rafferty). ad, PB-1/4

January 5, 8, 11, 15, February 24, March 5, 18B, April 7B, 30, September 15, 21, October 5, November 5, November 30, December 10: *The Road to Ruin* (Mr. Sulky). Odell, ad, PB-1/15, 4/7 (3/18-benefit for Miss Malvina, 4/7-benefit for Mrs. Stephens)

January 6, 12, 22, 31, February 16, 19, 28, March 28, April 19, May 11, 25: *High Life Below Stairs* (Sir Harry's servant). ad

January 7, 13, 21, 29, February 16, 23, March 28, April 6, 13, 29B, September 19, 24, November 4, 24, December 2: *Money* (Mr. Stout). ad (4/29-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

January 10, 26, March 1, October 10, November 21: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver). ad

January 11, April 28, May 9: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PB-5/9

January 12, 25, February 14, March 2, 19, 22, May 6, September 22, November 2: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). ad

January 17, 19, 27, February 18, 26, March 30B, April 15, May 17, October 31, November 23: *The Irish Heiress* (Major Fuss). Odell, ad, PB-1/17, 19, 2/18, 3/30 (3/30-Brougham's benefit)

January 18, February 25, April 12, May 5, September 9, 13, November 25, December 8: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius). ad, PB-9/13

January 20B, 24, 28, February 19, March 4, 26, April 2, May 3, September 7, 16: *The Heir at Law* (Dr. Pangloss). ad, PB-1/20, 28 (1/20-benefit for Laura Keene)

January 26, March 5, September 10, 12, 21: *The Happy Man* (Paddy Ryan). ad

January 27, June 1: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

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February 1-5, 7-12, 15, 18, 26, March 11-12, 24, 30B, April 4, 18, 22, 27B, May 10, 13, 20, September 20, November 2, 24, December 10: *The Review or, The Wags of Windsor* (Looney MacTwoulter). Odell, ad, PB-2/2, 5, 18, 3/30, 4/27, 5/10, 13 (4/27-benefit for Mr. Blake)

February 17, 21, March 1, April 26: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

March 3, 21, 31, December 5: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). ad

March 7-10: *Every One Has His Fault* (Mr. Harmony). ad, PB-3/7, 10

April 11: *The Follies of a Night* (The Duke). ad

April 18, 20, 26: *Time Works Wonders* (Professor Truffles). Odell, ad

April 29B, 30: *The Ladies' Club* (Flammer). ad

June 3, 6-9, 11, September 17: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy Malowney). Odell, ad

June 10B, 13B: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). ad, PB-6/13 (6/10-benefit for Mr. Moore, assistant treasurer, 6/13-benefit of Mr. Wallack)

September 5-6, 8, October 11: *Love in a Maze* (Mopus). Odell, ad, PB-9/5

September 5-6, 14: *No Song No Supper* (Endless). Odell, ad, PB-9/5

September 12, 14: *The Mysterious Lady* (Blackstone). Odell, ad

September 23: *The Lady of Lyons* (Colonel Damas). Odell, ad

October 13-15, 17-22, 24-29, November 1, 3, 9-12, 15, 17-19, December 5, 7: *Bleak House* (Turveydrop). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-11/9

November 7-12, 14-19, December 6: *Love and Money, or, the School for Scheming* (Claude Plantagenet). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-11/8-9

November 14, 16: *Love, Law and Physic* (Flexible). ad

November 28B, 29, December 7: *A Cure for Coquettes* (Major O'Gorman). Odell, ad (11/28-Brougham's benefit)

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November 28B, 29-30, December 1: *More Blunders than One* (Larry). ad

December 12-17, 19-24, 26-31: *The Game of Life* (Chatterton Drake). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/26

Bowery Theatre
New York

March 24B: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Maguire). Odell, ad (complimentary testimonial to William Hamblin) (Brougham appeared here in *The Serious Family* and then went to Wallack's to act on the last piece on the program there.)

Niblo's Garden
New York

June 10B, 14, 16, 22: *The Serious Family* (Murphy Maguire). Odell, Ireland, ad (6/10-benefit for C. W. Clarke; Ireland lists this performance for 6/9, but ads in various papers and Odell clearly indicate that it took place on 6/10. Brougham acted in this piece which opened the program at Clarke's benefit and then returned to Wallack's to play the last piece on the program there.)

June 16, 22, 24, 28: *The Siamese Twins* (O'Glib). ad

June 20: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). Blair, ad

June 30B: *Dombey and Son* (Bagstock/Bunsby). Blair, PB (6/30-benefit for Burton)

Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

July 4: *Bamboozling* (not listed). Wilson, ad

July 4-6: *The Declaration of Independence* (Ebenezer O'Donohoo). Wilson, Durang, ad

July 5, 7: *The Fast Man* (Edward Hughes). ad

July 6: *A Wife for an Hour* (Frank Bamboozle). ad

July 7, 11: *An Unwarrantable Intrusion* (not listed). ad

July 8: *Irish Emigrant* (O'Bryan). Durang, PB-7/8

July 8-9, 15B: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). Durang, Wilson, ad, PB-7/8, (7/15-Brougham's benefit)

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July 9, 12, 16: *Row at the Chesnut* (Mr. Brougham, Manager Pro. Tem.). ad, PB-7/12

July 11, 13: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins). Wilson, ad, PB-7/13

July 12: *Serious Family* (Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-7/12

July 13: *The Stage Struck; Or, Clerks on a Spree* (Tactic). ad, PB-7/13

July 14, 16: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Durang, ad

July 15B: *His Last Legs* (Felix O'Callaghan). ad

Castle Garden
New York

July 28B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad (7/28-farewell benefit for Mrs. Skerrett)

August 11B: *London Assurance* (fourth act). Odell, ad, PB (sixth annual benefit of the American Dramtic Fund Association)

1854

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 2, 10: *Love and Money* (The Honorable Claude Plantaganet). ad, PB-1/2

January 6, 19, 21: *More Blunders Than One* (Larry). ad

January 7, September 16, 20: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). ad, PB-9/20

January 9, February 20, 24, April 21B: *The Game of Life* (Mr. Chatterton Drake). ad, PB-1/9, 2/24 (4/21-benefit for Mrs. Brougham) (A playbill for 2/24 lists *The Game of Life* and *A Soldier's Courtship*, but the ad in the *New York Herald* for the same evening lists *Folly as it Flies* and *Temptation*.)

January 10-14, 16-21, 23, 25, 31, February 3, 6-7, 13, 17-18, 28, March 9, 11, April 4, 7, 13, 28B, 29, May 6, 11, 29, June 10, 14: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Captain Felix Merryweather). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/18, 2/7, 6/10 (4/28-benefit for F. A. Vincent)

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January 12, June 12B, December 9, 29: *The Happy Man* (Paddy Murphy). ad, PB-6/12 (6/12-benefit for Mr. Lester)

January 16, 24, May 2, 15: *The Review* (MacTwoulter). ad

January 18, 20, 25: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB-1/18

January 27, February 2, 4, 6-9, 15, 17-18, 27, March 7, 16B, April 5, 14B, 15, 17, May 6, 10, 13, 22, 26, September 22, October 17, November 24, December 6-8: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/7, 15, 27, 4/17, 5/22, 12/8 (3/16-benefit for L. Thompson, 4/14-benefit for Mrs. Conway)

February 7-9: *Love in a Maze* (Mopus). ad, PB-2/7

February 10-11, 14, 16, 23-24: *Folly as it Flies* (Dr. Infalliable). Odell, ad, PB-2/11

February 13, September 7: *Irish Heiress* (Fuss). ad

February 21-25: *Temptation* (O'Bryan). Odell, ad

March 1B, 2-4, 6-11, 17, 20: *Love for Love* (Ben). Odell, ad, PB-3/3, 6, 8 (3/1-benefit for Mr. Lester)

March 15, June 3, September 15, November 25: *The Heir at Law* (Pangloss). ad

March 17-18, 20, April 4-5, May 2: *A Good Fellow* (Mr. Rushton Sunnyside). Odell, ad, PB-3/17 (There are conflicting ads about who would play Sunnyside in the performance on 4/4.)

(Brougham did not appear at Wallack's between March 20 and April 3; an extra advertisement on April 3 lists him as "having recovered from his protracted illness.")

April 3, May 30B, September 8: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). ad (5/30-benefit for Blake)

April 6, 8, 12-13: *Man and Wife* (Cornelius O'Dedimus). Odell, ad, PB-4/6

April 10-12: *Penelope's Web* (Mr. Augustus Twill). Odell, Ireland, ad

April 18-20, 22, 24-27, 29, May 3, 5, 8, 12, 31: *Number One Round the Corner* (Nobbler). Odell, ad, PB-5/8, 12

April 21B: *Immediate Satisfaction, or, an Affair of Honour* (Morgan O'Connor). Odell, Ireland, ad

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May 18, 20: *A Nice Firm* (Mr. Messiter). Odell, ad, PB-5/20

May 19, June 8, September 29, October 4: *Wild Oats* (Rory). ad, PB-6/8, 9/29

May 24B, 25, 27, 29, June 7, 9B, 13, 17, September 25, 28, October 3: *The Scholar* (Doctor Keppelcranck). ad, PB-5/24, 6/17, 9/28 (5/24-benefit for Charles Walcot, 6/9-benefit for Mr. Moore, assistant treasurer and box book keeper)

June 1: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

June 2B, November 29, December 2: *Money* (Mr. Stout). ad, PB-6/2 (6/2-benefit for Walcot)

June 5B, 6: *Leap Year* (Walker). ad, PB-6/6 (6/5-benefit for Mrs. Hoey)

June 8: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad, PB-6/8

June 16B, 19B: *Sketches in India* (Tom Tape). ad, PB-6/16 (6/16-benefit for Brougham, 6/19-benefit for Mr. Wallack)

June 16B, 19B: *The Wonder; A Woman Keeps a Secret* (Gibble). ad, PB

September 9: *The Love Chase* (Fondlove). ad

September 11, 13, 19: *Heads or Tails* (Christopher Quaile). Odell, ad

September 12: *School for Scandal* (not listed). ad

September 14: *She Stoops to Conquer* (Tony Lumpkin). Odell, ad

September 18: *A Bold Stroke for a Husband* (not listed). ad

September 23, December 1: *Prison and Palace* (Count Scharchloff). ad

October 2: *Rent Day* (Silver Jack). PB-10/2

October 9-14, 18: *The Violet, or, Napoleon's Favourite Flower* (Monsieur Trinquet). Odell, ad, PB-10/9

October 18, November 10, 15, 28, December 1: *Sons and Systems* (Sweeny). Odell, ad, PB-11/28

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October 19-21, 23-28, 31, November 13, 16-18: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt). Odell, ad, PB-10/19, 23-24, 27-28, 11/13, 16-17

November 1-4, 6-7, 25: *Two Can Play at That Game* (Charles Arundel). Odell, ad, PB-11/1-2

November 21-24: *Weeds Among the Flowers* (Smythe of Smythe Hall). Odell, ad, PB-11/21

November 27, 30, December 22: *A Bachelor of Arts* (Andrew Wylie). ad, PB-11/30

December 4-5: *The Road to Ruin* (Goldfinch). ad

December 11-16, 18-21, 25-26, 29-30: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/11

December 23: *Speed the Plough* (Farmer Ashfield). ad

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

June 21: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Wilson, ad, PB

June 22: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). Durang, ad, PB

June 23-24, 30: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). Durang, ad, PB-6/23-24, 30

June 26-28B, 29: *The Game of Life* (Doctor Drake). ad, PB-6/26-29 (6/28-Brougham's benefit) (Durang lists *The Game of Life* for June 24, but playbills and ads indicate that the first performance was on 6/26.)

June 28B: *The Stage-Struck Tailor* (Tom Tape). ad, PB (Brougham lists this piece in his diary as *Sketches in India*.)

July 1: *The School for Scandal* (Charles Surface). Durang, ad

July 3-4: *The West End* (Fuss). Durang, ad

Chesnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

August 7, 18: *Born to Good Luck* (Paudeen O'Rafferty). ad

August 7, 24: *The Irish Tutor* (Dr. O'Toole). ad

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August 8B, 12: *Sketches in India* (Tom Tape). Durang, ad, PB-8/8 (8/8-benefit for Mrs. F. N. Drew)

August 9: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Durang, Wilson, ad

August 9: *The Irish Lion* (not listed). Wilson, ad

August 10B: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Edw'd Cuttle). Wilson, Durang, ad (8/10-benefit to Messrs. R. Quinlan, Vanstvern and Wilson, treasurer, door-keeper and box-tender)

August 11B, 17: *The Fast Man* (Colonel Rocket). Wilson, Durang, ad, PB-8/17 (8/11-Brougham's benefit)

August 12, 14: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (Wilson lists *Idels* for 8/14, but the ad in the *Philadelphia Daily Ledger* announced that this was the first night of Brougham's re-engagement.)

August 15-16: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). Durang, ad, PB-8/15

August 17-18, 24: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Capt. Felix Merryweather). ad, PB-8/17

August 19, 22: *Money* (Graves). ad

August 21: *The Lady of Lyons* (Damas). ad

August 23, 26: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Durang, ad

August 25B: *The Hunchback* (Lord Tinsel). ad (8/25-farewell benefit of Mrs. D. P. Bowers)

August 30B: *Love Chase* (Sir William Fondlove). Durang, PB-8/30 (8/30-complimentary benefit to Mr. and Mrs. Brougham)

August 30B: *Rob Roy* (Major Galbraith). Durang, PB-8/30

Niblo's Garden
New York

November 14B: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). Odell, ad (11/14-benefit for widow and children of Lysander Thompson)

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1855

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 1-5, 11, April 11, 20, June 2B, November 17, 20: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, PB-1/1 (6/2- benefit of W. B. Moore, assistant treasurer)

January 6, March 13: *Two Can Play at that Game* (Charles Arundel). ad

January 10, 13: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-1/13

January 12: *Prison and Palace* (not listed). ad

January 15-20, 22-27, March 31: *Night and Morning* (Gawtry). Odell, ad, PB-1/15, 18

January 29B, 30-31, February 1-3, 5, 8, 12, March 21, May 15B: *Town and Country* (Trot). Odell, PB-1/29, 5/15 (1/29-benefit for Lester, 5/15-benefit for Mrs. Blake)

January 29B, 30, February 3, 5, 8: *The Critic* (Whiskerandos). Odell, ad, PB-1/29

February 6B, 7, 9-10, 21: *Fashion* (Mrs. Mowatt) Snobson. Odell, ad, PB-2/7 (2/6-Blake's benefit)

February 13B, 15, 17, 22, March 30: *The Game of Life* (Mr. Chatterton Drake). Odell, ad (2/13-Brougham's benefit)

February 13B, 14, 16-17, 20, 24, March 3: *O'Flannigan and the Fairies* (Phelim). Odell, ad

February 19, 23, April 13, June 2B: *A Bachelor of Arts* (Andrew Wylie). ad

February 26-28, March 1, 3, 5, 24: *The Busy Body* (Sir Jealous Traffick). Odell, ad, PB-2/28, 3/5

March 2B, 6, 10: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Olapod-sic). ad, PB-3/2 (3/2-benefit for Mr. Dyott)

March 7, April 3, May 21B: *The Irish Heiress* (Major Fuss). ad, PB-5/21 (5/21-Brougham's benefit)

March 8, 19, May 28: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). ad

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March 9B, 12, 15, 17, 22, 24, 29-30, April 25: *The Teacher Taught* (Mr. Aubrey). Odell, ad (3/9-benefit for Mr. F. A. Vincent)

March 12: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). ad

March 13, April 24: *She Stoops to Conquer* (Tony Lumpkins-sic). ad

March 14, April 4, May 24B: *The Road to Ruin* (Goldfinch). ad (5/24-benefit for Blake)

March 16B, 22: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad (3/16-benefit for Mrs. Hoey)

March 20: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

March 23B, May 25, June 1: *Sketches in India* (Tom Tape). ad, PB-5/25, 6/1 (3/23-benefit for Mrs. Stephens)

March 26-29, May 31: *She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not* (Trappanti). odell, PB-5/31, ad

April 5, 7, 9, 11: *Paul Pry* (Paul Pry). Odell, ad

April 6, 10, 19, 25, June 4: *Wild Oats* (John Dory). ad, PB-6/4

April 12, May 19: *The Heir at Law* (Dr. Pangloss). ad, PB-4/12

April 14, 16-18, 20-21, 26, 28, May 3, 18: *The Bold Dragoons* (Hannibal Fuzee). ad (Odell lists this as beginning on 4/13, but newspaper ads do not agree.)

April 21: *Happy Man* (not listed). ad

April 23, May 1: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt Courtly). ad, PB-5/1

April 26-28, 30, May 3, 10, 18, 23, June 1: *Elopements in High Life* (Tom Singleheart). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/10, 6/1

May 2, 4-5, 11, 17, 26: *Tit for Tat* (Mr. Sowerby). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/2, 4, 11, 17 (Odell lists the premiere of this piece as 5/1, but Ireland, newspaper ads, and the playbill all list 5/2.)

May 7, 9, 14: *Look Before You Leap* (Jack Spriggs). Odell, ad, PB-5/7, 9

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May 8B: *The Belle's Stratagem* (not listed). ad (5/8-benefit for Miss Rosa Bennett)

May 12B: *Money* (Mr. Stout). ad, PB-5/12 (5/12-benefit for Mrs. Brougham)

May 12B, 15B, 16-17, 26: *The Irish Dragoon* (Paddy Murphy O'Brallaghan). ad, PB-5/12, 15-17

May 21B, 23, 15, 30: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned). Odell, ad, PB-5/21, 25

May 24B: *Richard III*-fifth act (Richmond). Odell, ad (This was the comic version.)

June 5B, December 1B: *The Jealous Wife* (Captain O'Cutter). PB (6/5-benefit for Mr. Lester, 12/1-benefit for Mrs. Hoey)

September 12-15, 17-22, 24-29, October 1-6, 8-10, November 27B, 21: *The Game of Love* (Ted Murphy). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-9/12, 21 (11/27-Brougham's benefit)

October 15, 17, 20, 22, November 13, 24B, 26: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Captain Felix Merryweather). ad, PB-11/13 (11/24-benefit for Lester)

October 24-27, 29-31, November 1-3, 12, 15: *The Man of Many Friends* (The Honorable Arlington Veneer, the elegant friend). Odell, ad, PB-10/24, 29, 11/15

November 24B, 26, 28: *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (Cocofago). Odell, ad

(Brougham did not act at Wallack's from December 1 to 21; in his dairy, he writes that during this season he had back surgery and during his recovery, he wrote *Po-ca-hon-tas*.)

December 24-29, 31: *Pocahontas, or the Gentle Savage* (Pow-ha-tan I). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/24

Academy of Music
New York

April 10B: benefit costume ball for the American Dramatic Fund Association featuring a seris of tableaux from Shakespeare's plays. Brougham played Cornwall from *Henry VIII*; this was apparently done after the performance of *Wild Oats* at Wallack's on the same evening.

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May 29B: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Olapod). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB (all-day testimonial for J. W. Wallack; *The Poor Gentleman* was part of the evening program.)

October 18B: benefit for the Irish Orphan Asylum--arranged by Brougham. It appears that he did not act.

November 20B: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB (benefit for the retirement of George H. Barrett; Brougham also acted at Wallack's on the same evening.)

Metropolitan Theatre
New York

May 10B: *Naval Engagements* (Admiral Kingston). ad, PB (complimentary benefit to Madame Augusta; apparently Brougham and some other actors appeared first at Wallack's on this evening and then went to the Metropolitan to act in this benefit.)

June 21B: *Money* (Stout) ad (6/21-farewell testimonial for Thomas R. Johnston, sponsored by the New York Dramatic Society)

Royal Lyceum Theatre
Toronto

July 2, 5: *The Irish Lion* (not listed). ad

July 2: *Serious Family* (not listed). ad

July 3: *A Bachelor of Arts* (not listed). ad

July 3: *The Omnibus; Or, a Convenient Distance* (not listed). ad

July 4: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). ad

July 5: *His Last Legs* (not listed). ad

July 6B: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). ad (benefit for Brougham)

July 6B: *The Irish Tiger* (not listed). ad

July 7: *O'Flanigan and the Fairies* (not listed). ad

July 7: *David Copperfield* (not listed). ad

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(According to information published in the *Toronto Daily Patriot*, Brougham moved from Toronto to Hamilton, but no advertisements or other notice of performances in Hamilton newspapers were found.)

Theatre Royal
Montreal

July 23: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

July 23: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

July 24: *The Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad

July 24: *Dombey and Son* (captain Cuttle). ad

July 25: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

July 25: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned). ad

(The newspaper for 7/26 is missing.)

July 27B: *The Stage-Struck Irishman* (O'Buskin). ad (Brougham's benefit)

July 27B: *The Happy Man* (Paddy Murphy). ad

July 27B: *Teddy the Tiler* (Teddy the Tiler). ad

July 28: *O'Flannigan and the Fairies* (O'Flannigan). ad

July 28, August 2: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

July 30: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

July 30: *The Wags of Windsor* (Looney MacTwoutler). ad

July 31: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). ad

July 31: *More Blunders than One* (Larry Hoolagan). ad

August 1: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

August 3: *Rory O'More* (Rory O'More). ad (Brougham's benefit)

Rice's Chicago Theatre
Chicago

August 13, 22: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Wilt

August 14: *The Irish Tiger* (not listed). Wilt

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August 15, 18: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). Wilt

August 17B: *Bachelor of Arts* (not listed). Wilt (Brougham's benefit)

August 17B: *My Fellow Clerk* (not listed). Wilt

August 20-21, 24: *David Copperfield* (not listed). Wilt

August 22: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Wilt

August 23B: *More Blunders than One* (not listed). Wilt (8/23-Brougham's benefit)

August 23B: *Rory O'More* (not listed). Wilt

August 23B: *The Serious Family* (not listed). Wilt

August 23B: *Stage Struck Clerk* (not listed). Wilt

August 24: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). Wilt

1856

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 1-5, 7-9B, 11-12, 14-19, 21-24, 17, February 12, 14-16, 18, 22-23, March 3B, May 28-29B, 30, June 2, 4B: *Po-ca-hon-tas; or, the Gentle Savage* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad, PB-1/2, 4, 8-9, 19, 5/29 (1/9-benefit for Walcot, 3/3-Mrs. Brougham's benefit, 5/29-benefit for Mr. Stewart, 6/4-benefit for Sig. La Manna)

January 3, 8: *Bachelor of Arts* (Andrew Wylie). ad, PB-1/8

January 4: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, PB-1/4

January 9B: *Still Waters Run Deep* (Hawksley). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/9

January 11, March 13, April 15: *The Bold Dragoons* (Hannibal Fuzee). ad

January 16-17, 19, 21, 23, 27, February 12, 15, May 30: *Love and Money* (The Honorable Claude Plantagenet). Odell, ad, PB-1/19

February 11, 13: *Money* (Mr. Stout). ad

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February 18, 21B, March 15, 20, May 23: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). ad (2/21-benefit for H. Placide)

February 19, March 17, 22, May 21: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, ad, PB-2/19

February 20, March 18, May 22: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad

February 25, March 1, 4-5, 11, 14, May 29B: *Knights of the Round Table* (Mr. Smith). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/25, 3/11, 14, 5/29

March 3, 7, 10, May 27B: *The Game of Life* (Chatterton Drake). Odell, ad (5/27-benefit of Mrs. Stephens)

March 5, 7, 11: *The Review* (Looney McTwolter). ad, PB-3/11

March 6B, 8, 12: *The Heir at Law* (Pangloss). ad (3/6-G. Holland's benefit)

March 8, 10, 12: *The Boarding School* (Cornet Kavanagh). ad

March 19, 21: *The Irish Heiress* (Major Fuss). ad

March 24, 26, April 1, 5: *Much Ado About Nothing* (Dogberry). Odell, ad, PB-3/24

March 27, 31, April 2, 4: *As You Like It* (Adam). ad, PB-3/31

April 7-12, 16: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt). Odell, ad

April 14-15, 17, May 7, 20B: *The Scholar* (Dr. Kepplecranck). ad, PB-5/7 (5/20-benefit for Mr. Wallack)

(Mr. Brougham was clearly listed to play Lady Clutterbuck in *Used Up* in the *New York Herald* ad on 4/18, but this must have been a printer's error because Mrs. Brougham was listed for this role in subsequent performances.)

May 10, 13, 17, 19: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). Odell, ad

May 9: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Merryweather). Odell, ad

May 14, 16: *The Wonder* (Gibby). ad

May 24B, 26: *Twelfth Night* (Sir Toby). Odell, ad (5/24-benefit for Walcot)

May 31B, June 5: *Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are* (Lord Priory). ad (5/31-benefit for Mrs. Hoey)

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June 3B, 5B: *Rob Roy* (Major Galbraith). ad (6/3-benefit for Mr. Dyott, 6/5-benefit for G. Holland)

June 7, 10: *Wild Oats* (John Dory). ad

June 9B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad (6/9-Brougham's benefit)

June 11B: *Tit for Tat* (Sowerby). ad (benefit for Mr. Lester)

Theatre
Richmond, Virginia

January 28-29: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad

January 28: *The Irish Lion* (Tom More). ad

January 29-30: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy Flynn-sic on 29th, Paddy Ryan on 30th). ad

January 30-31: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

January 31: *The Omnibus* (Paddy Roony-sic). ad

February 1B, 2, 6: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad (2/1-Brougham's benefit)

February 2: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). ad

February 4-7, 9: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (King Powhatan). ad

February 4, 7: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

February 5: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad

February 8B, 9: *Game of Love* (Ted Murphy). ad (2/8-farewell benefit for Brougham)

Rice's Chicago Theatre
Chicago

April 21-22: *Romance and Reality* (not listed). Wilt

April 23: *The Gentleman of Ireland* (not listed). Wilt

April 23: *Love and Murder* (not listed). Wilt

April 24-25B, May 1: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). Wilt (4/25-Brougham's benefit)

April 24: *Irish Tiger* (not listed). Wilt

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April 25B: *Sketches in India* (not listed). Wilt

April 25B: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Wilt

April 26, 28-29, May 1-2: *Pocahontas* (not listed). Sturtevant, Wilt

April 28, May 3: *David Copperfield* (not listed). Wilt

April 29: *The Nervous Man* (not listed). Wilt

April 30: *The Last Man* (not listed). Wilt

May 2B: *The Bachelor of Arts* (not listed). Wilt (Brougham's benefit)

May 2B: *Omnibus* (not listed). Wilt

May 3: *Rory O'More* (not listed). Wilt

Bowery Theatre
New York
John Brougham, manager

June 30, July 1-2, December 18: **Macbeth*. Odell, Ireland, ad

June 30, July 3, 21: *The Married Rake* (Flighty). Odell, Ireland, ad

July 1, 4M, 11: **The Dead Shot*. ad, PB-7/4

July 2, 21: **Perfection*. ad

July 3: *The Robber's Wife* (not listed). ad

July 3: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

July 4ME, 7-12: *The Birth of Freedom* (Ebenezer O'Donahoo). Odell, ad, PB-7/4, 10

July 4E, 26: **Robert Macaire*. ad, PB-7/4

July 7, 10, 15: **Masks and Faces*. ad, PB-7/10

July 8, 25, October 4, December 5: **Black Eyed Susan*. ad

July 9: *Presumptive Evidence* (Lewy Madigan). Odell, ad

July 12: *Rory O'More* (not listed). ad

July 14, 16, 18-19: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, ad, PB-7/14

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July 15: *His Last Legs* (not listed). ad

July 17-19, 24: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). news, ad

July 21-26, 28-31, August 1-2, 4-9, 11-16, 20, 23: *The Pirates of the Mississippi* (Patrick O'Toole). Odell, ad, PB-8/20

July 22: **A Day in Paris*. ad

July 22: **The Dumb Belle*. ad

July 23: **The Day After the Wedding*. ad

July 23, September 1-2, 29-30: **The Wandering Minstrel*. ad, PB-9/1

July 26: *The Irish Tiger* (not listed). ad

July 28-31, August 1-2, 4-9, 11-16, 18B, 19-23, 25-30B, September 6, 8-13, October 6-9, 28-30, November 20M, 27-28, December 25E, 26: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). Odell, ad, PB-8/18, 9/9-13 (8/18-benefit of the American Dramatic Fund Association, 8/30-benefit for Brougham)

September 1, 3, December 3: **Lady of Lyons*. Ireland, ad, PB-9/1

September 2: *School for Scandal* (Charles Surface). ad

September 3-5: **The Jolly Cobbler*. ad

September 4-5, December 5: **Pizarro*. ad

September 6: *Rob Roy* (Major Galbraith). PB, ad

September 8-13, 22, 24-27: *Marble Hearts* (Diogenes/Ferdinand). Odell, ad, PB-9/9-13

September 15-20, 27, October 1-3: *Met-a-mo-ra, or, the Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). PB-9/16-18, 20

August 18B, 19-23, 25-30B, September 15-19, October 31B, November 3, 5, 8, December 25E: *Life in New York, or Tom and Jerry on a Visit* (Tom Smith/Fitzgammon Bowlingreen). Odell, ad, PB-8/18, 30, 9/16-18 (10/31-benefit of Mr. Entwistle)

During September, Brougham also hosted a company of "wonderful artists" under the name of M. Calixto's Troupe; it appears that they were acrobats.

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September 29-30, October 1-4, 6-10B, 11, 13-14: *Dred, a Tale of Dismal Swamp* (Uncle Jack). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-10/10-11 (10/10-benefit to Mr. Davidge)

October 10B, 11, November 14B: **All That Glitters is not Gold*. PB-10/10-11 (11/14-benefit of Madame Ponisi)

October 13-14, 17-18: *Love and Duty, or A Wife's Honor* (Maldonadi). ad (A. T. Morton played the role of Maldonadi on 10/18)

October 15-18, 20: *Retribution* (De Beaupre). Odell, ad

October 15-16, November 20E, 25: **An Alarming Sacrifice*. Odell, ad

October 20-24, 31B, November 6-7: *Demon Lover* (Albert Ehrenstein/Mephistopheles). Odell, ad

October 20, 24: **Warlock of the Glen*. ad

October 21: **The Stranger*. ad

October 22: **Richard III*. ad

October 23, December 10: *Othello* (Roderigo; not listed to act in ad on 12/10). ad

October 24: **Virginia Mummy*. ad

October 25, December 8: *Hamlet* (Osric; not listed to act in ad on 12/8). ad

October 25: **The Lazy Miller*. ad

October 27, December 18: *The Hunchback* (Modus). ad

(On November 1, the theatre was let to "the committee to further the election of James r. Whiting, the people's candidate for Mayor" who spoke to his "fellow citizens.")

November 3-8, 19: *The Red Mask, or The Wolf of Bohemia* (Morak). Odell, ad (On 11/6, 7 and 19, Brougham did not act in *The Red Mask*.)

November 6-8, 10-12, 15, 20E: *Hamlet Travestie* (Hamlet). ad, PB-11/10-12

November 10-12, 14B, 15, 17-19, 21: *Broadway and the Bowery, or the Young Mechancic and the Merchant's Daughter* (Peter Funk). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-11/10-12

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November 10-12, December 30-31: **Betsy Baker*. PB-11/10-12

November 13: *Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad, PB (Ireland calls this play *My Fellow Clerk*; this was the evening that Brougham and most of his company played both at the Bowery and at National Theatre in Philadelphia.)

November 15: **The Miller's Frolic*. ad

November 17-18: *Macbeth Travestie* (Macbeth). ad, promptbook

November 20E: **Soldier of Fortune*. ad

November 20E: **The Golden Farmer*. ad

November 21-22, 24: *New York by Gaslight* (Faust Guttenberg Bore). Odell, ad

November 22, 25-26, December 22B: **Jack Sheppard*. ad (A playbill from 12/22 lists Brougham for the role of Blueskin, but he is not listed in the newspaper ad for that date.) (12/22-benefir for Kate Reignolds)

November 24, 26-29: **The Dice of Death, or, the Spectral Avenger*. ad

November 25: **The Idiot Witness*. ad

November 29, December 1: *False and True* (Jaspar Thornton). Odell, ad

December 1-2: **Charity's Love*. ad

December 2, 6: *Orion, the Gold Beater* (Jaspar Thornton). ad (re-titling of *False and True*)

December 3-4: **The Lottery Ticket*. ad

December 4, 9, 11: **St. Marc*. ad, PB-12/11

December 8-9, 11, 24, 27, 29: **Peter White*. ad, PB-12/11, 27

December 10: **Loan of a Lover*. ad

December 12B, 15: *Much Ado About Nothing* (Dogberry). ad, PB-12/12 (12/12-benefit for Mrs. Davenport)

December 16B, 17: *The Game of Life* (Chatterton Drake). ad (12/16-Brougham's benefit)

December 16B, 17: *Paddy Ryan's Dream* (Paddy Ryan, the Irish tiger). ad

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December 19: **Clari*. ad

December 19: **M. Lecompte and his Valet*. ad

December 20B: **Jane Shore*. ad (benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Davenport)

December 20B: **The Honeymoon*. ad

December 22B: **The Rose of Penrith*. ad

December 23B: **Virginius*. ad (benefit for J. B. McDonough)

December 23B: **Mary, the maid of the Inn*. ad

December 24: **Therese*. ad

December 24: **Sketches in India*. ad

December 25M: **A Tale of Blood*. ad

December 26: **Wild Oats*. ad

December 27: **Julius Caesar*. ad, PB

December 29-31: **King John*. ad, PB-12/29

National Theatre
Philadelphia

November 13: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). Ireland, ad

Academy of Music
New York

November 20E: *Metamora* (Metamora). PB

November 20E: *New York by Gas Light* (Mr. Faust Guttenburg Bore). PB (The playbill indicates that the matinee of this Thanksgiving program was a performance of *The Drunkard* and a tableau of *Home* with 1000 children; the evening performance was "under the direction of John Brougham" and included *The Black Rangers or the Battle of German* and a scene from *The School for Scandal* as well as the two plays listed here. Brougham acted at the Bowery in the first piece there and then went to the Academy of Music to appear in this festival.)

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1857

Bowery Theatre
Mew York
John Brougham, manager

January 1M, 15-17, 24, 29-30: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-1/24

January 1M: *Hamlet*-travestie (Hamlet). ad

January 1M, 12, 13: *Born to Good Luck* (Paddy O'Rafferty). ad

January 1, 3, 5-10, 12-13: **King John*. ad

January 1E, 23B: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad (1/23-benefit for James Dunn)

January 3, March 31: **Peter White*. ad

January 5: **Grim, Bag, and Bagshaw*. ad

January 7, 29-30: **The Two Buzzards*. ad

January 8-10: **The Man of War's Man*. ad

January 10: **The Privateer*. ad

January 15, March 20B: **Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*. ad (3/20-benefit of Thomas S. Murphy, treasurer)

January 16: **Richard III*. ad

January 17: **A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. ad

January 19-21, 26-28, 31: *The Gunmaker of Moscow* (Vladimir/Peter the Great). Odell, ad, PB-1/19-20

January 19-21: **St. Marc*. ad, PB-1/19-20

January 22B: *Much Ado About Nothing* (Dogberry). ad (farewell benefit for Mr. and Mrs. Davenport)

January 23: **Charity's Love*. ad

January 23-24: **Blue Jackets*. ad, PB

January 24, February 20: **Merchant of Venice*. ad, PB

January 26-31, February 2-5: **Ondine or, The Enchanted Knight and the Spirit of the Waters*. ad

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February 2-3: **The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. ad

February 4: **Chamber of Death*. ad

February 5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 26, March 30: **The Bleak Hills of Erin*. ad

February 5, 7, 11, 13-14: **All Right*. ad

February 7, 13: **Wallace, the Hero of Scotland*. ad

February 9-10: **The British Slave*. ad

February 9-10: **Tom Cringle; or Mat of the Iron Hand*. ad

February 11: **Magic Harp of Altenberg*. ad

February 14: **Don Caesar de Bazan*. ad

February 14, 19, 24-25: **Sixteen String Jack*. ad

February 16, 19-21, 24-25: **Uncle Sam; or, the Maniac of the Tombs*. ad

February 19, 24-25: **The Lottery Ticket*. ad

February 21: **Richard III*. ad

February 26: **Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette*. ad

February 27: **Othello*. ad

February 27: **The Golden Farmer*. ad

February 28: **Lucrezia Borgia, the Poisoner*. ad

February 28, March 10-11: **Gilderoy*. ad

March 2-5, 7, 9-14, 26, 27B, April 17: **Matteo Falcone, the Brigand's Son*. ad (3/27-benefit for Brougham)

March 2-5, 7, 9-14, 17: **Karmel, the Scout*. ad

March 2-5, 9: **The Gipsy Farmer*. ad

March 6B, 7: **Six Degrees of Crime*. ad (3/6-benefit for Howe)

March 6B: **Jumbo Jem*. ad

March 6B: **The People's Lawyer*. ad

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March 12-13: **Australia*. ad

March 14, 17, April 4: **Jack Sheppard*. ad

March 16, 18: *Jonathan Bradford* (Dan Macrainey). ad

March 16, 18: **Ernest Maltravers*. ad

March 20B, 23-24, 26-27B, 28, April 1: *Romance in High Life, or, the Coachman and the Heiress* (Charles Seymour). Odell, ad (listed only as *Coachman and the Heiress* on 4/1)

March 23-25B: **The Conquest of Mexico*. ad (3/25-benefit for Mrs. Virginia Cunningham)

March 23-24: **The Maniac Lover*. ad

March 26, 28: **Claude Loraine*. ad

March 27B: **Minority*. ad

March 27B: **All the World's a Stage*. ad

March 27B: **The Maid of Munster*. ad

March 27B: **The Day After the Wedding*. ad

March 28, April 15: **Jack and Jack's Brother*. ad

March 30: **Dick Tarlton*. ad

March 30-31, April 2, 4, 6: **In and Out of Place*. ad

March 31: **Fazio*. ad

April 1, 3B: **Our Gal*. ad, PB-4/3

April 1: **Persecuted Dutchman*. ad

April 3B: *Stage Struck Irishman* (Tactic). ad, PB (benefit for Charles Hale)

April 3B: **The Will Forger*. ad, PB

April 3B: **Box and Cox*. ad, PB

April 3B, 17: **The Limerick Boy*. ad, PB

April 4: **Heeran Hafke*. ad

April 6: **The Golden Eagle*. ad

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April 6: **The Wife of the Wishton Wish*. ad

April 8: benefit for the machinist

April 15, 17: **The Career of Crime*. ad

April 15: **The Loan of a Lover*. ad

April 17: **The Swiss Cottage*. ad

April 21: **Hatred or a Father's Curse*. PB

April 21: **Nick of the Woods or the Avenger of the Prairie*. ad

May 5, 14, 16: *The Omnibus* (not listed). ad

May 5, 11, 14, 16: **The Devil's Horse*. ad

May 5, 14: **Black Eyed Susan*. ad

May 11, June 22: **Ion*. ad

May 16: **Katherine and Petruchio*. ad

May 16: **Robert Macaire*. ad

Ireland writes that Brougham "retired from the management" on May 29, but Odell indicates that Brougham had given up the Bowery several weeks before that date.

Burton's New Theatre
New York

February 2-3, 7, 14B, 16, 26B, March 5, June 3B, August 25, 27, November 30, December 1, 9: *Duality* (role not listed). Odell, ad, PB-2/2-3, 7, 14, 16, 26, 3/5, 8/25, 11/30, 12/1, 9 (another name for *An Unwarrantable Intrusion*) (listed as *Burton Worried by Brougham* on 11/30 and 12/1) (2/14-benefit for Brougham, 2/26-benefit for Burton, 6/3-benefit for C. Fisher)

February 2-3, March 5, December 12: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-2/2-3, 3/5, 12/12

February 4-5, March 4: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad, PB-2/4-5, 3/4

February 4-5, 14B, 16, December 7, 12, 25-26: *The Siamese Twins* (Dennis O'Glib, the man of Captain Vivid). ad, PB-2/4-5, 14, 16, 12/7, 12, 25-26 (ad for 2/16 lists Brougham for the roles of O'Glib and Chang)

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February 6-7, 13, March 6, 13-14: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-2/13, 3/6, 14

February 6, March 6, August 25, 27, December 10: *Serious Family* (Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-3/6, 8/25, 12/10

February 9-12: *Comedy of Errors* (Dromio of Ephesus). ad, PB-2/9, 12

February 9-11, June 2B: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad, PB-2/9, 6/2 (6/2-benefit for J. C. Barnet, treasurer)

February 12-13, 18: *Retribution* (Oscar de Beaupre). Odell, ad, PB-2/12-13, 18

February 14, 16, 19, March 9: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PB-2/14, 16

February 17-18, 20-21, 23-25, 28, March 3: *The Four Phantoms, or the Legend of St. Mark* (Con Sweeney). Odell, ad, PB-2/18, 20-21, 23-24, 28, 3/3

February 19-21, 23-26B, 27-28, March 2B, 3-5, 7: *A New Camille* (the Author). Odell, ad, (listed with various titles). PB-2/20, 25, 3/2-4, 7 (3/2-benefit for Mrs. C. Howard)

February 26B, 27, March 7, December 8, 11: *Dombey and Son* (Joe Bagstock/Jack Bunsby). ad, PB-3/7, 12/8, 11

March 10-12: *A Peep from a Parlour Window* (role not listed). Odell, ad, PB-3/10-11

November 30, December 1-5: *Vanity Fair* (Rawdon Crawley). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-11/30, 12/1-4

December 2-5: *Hamlet*-travesty (Hamlet). ad, PB-12/2-4

December 7, 9: *Tom and Jerry in New York* (Tom Smith/Fitzgammon Bowlingreen). PB-12/7, 9

December 14, 16, 29: *London Assurance* (Max Harkaway, Esq.) Odell, ad, PB-12/14, 29

December 15, 17-19, 21, 25-26, 31B: *You're Another* (Samson Agonistes Twitter). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-12/17, 19, 21, 25-26, 31 (12/31-Brougham's benefit)

December 18-19, 23: *The Critic* (Earl of Leicester). Odell, PB-12/19, 23

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December 22: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin). Odell, PB, review

December 23-24, 28: *A Nice Firm* (Mr. John Ripton). Odell, PB-12/23-24, 28

December 28: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB

December 30-31B: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). Odell, Ireland, PB-12/30-31

Niblo's Garden
New York

March 20B: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB (benefit for W. A. Moore, stage manager; Brougham also performed at the Bowery this evening)

April 4MB: *Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB (all day testimonial to H. C. Jordan; the *Omnibus* was scheduled for 12 noon.)

August 22B: *London Assurance* (Max Harkaway). Odell, ad (benefit for Brougham)

Wallack's Theatre
New York

April 6, 11, 16, 24: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Ireland, ad

April 7: *The Heir at Law* (not listed). ad

April 7: *Promotion* (not listed--the ad does say that Blake, Brougham, Lester and Walcot will appear this evening). ad

April 8: *The School for Scandal* (not listed). ad

April 9, 21: *The Road to Ruin* (not listed). ad

April 10: *Wild Oats* (Rover). ad, PB

April 13, 18: *The Irish Heriess* (Major Fuss). ad, PB-4/18

April 14, 28: *Money* (not listed). ad

April 15B: *The Poor Gentleman* (Ollapod). ad, PB (benefit for George Holland)

April 17B: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Colonel Rocket). ad, PB (benefit for Mr. Dyott)

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April 20B, 23: *Town and Country* (Trot). ad, PB (4/20-benefit of H. B. Phillips, assistant stage manager)

April 22B: *London Assurance* (not listed). ad (benefit of Mr. Sothern)

April 25B, May 9B: *The Game of Life* (not listed). ad (4/25-benefit of Mr. Blake, 5/9-benefit of Brougham)

April 27B: *Knights of the Round Table* (not listed). ad (benefit of Mr. Walcot)

April 29-30, May 1-2, 6: *Pocahontas* (Po-wa-tan I). Odell, ad

(May 4-theatre closed because of complimentary testimonial for Mr. Lester at the Academy of Music)

May 5: *Love and Money* (not listed). ad

May 7, 8B: *The Review* (not listed). ad (5/8-benefit of Signor La Manna, orchestra leader)

May 9B: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (not listed). ad

Broadway Theatre
New York

April 18B: *Love and Murder* (Micky Magra-sic). Odell, ad (benefit for Lizzie Weston Davenport; Brougham must have acted at Wallack's on the same evening first and then appeared in this final piece at the benefit.)

Academy of Music
New York

May 4B: *Rob Roy, or, "Auld Lang Syne"* (Dougal). ad (testimontial benefit to Mr. John Lester)

Albany Theatre, Green Street
Albany

May 18-20, 23, 25-26: *Pocahontas* (Pow-ha-tan). ad

May 18, 22B: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald). ad. (5/22-benefit for Brougham)

May 19, 21, 30: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad

May 20, 27: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad

May 21: *Flanigan and Fairies* (O'Flanigan). ad

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May 22B, 26: *Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tom Tactic). ad

May 22B: *Paddy Ryan's Dream* (Paddy Ryan). ad

May 23: *Serious Family* (Aminadab Sleek). ad

May 25: *Coachman and Heiress* (Seymour). ad

May 25: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy). ad

May 26: *Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

May 27: *Presumptive Evidence* (Madigan). ad

May 28: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

May 28: *Irish Emigrant* (O'Brien). ad

May 29B, 30: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad (5/29-benefit for Brougham)

May 29B: *Bachelor of Arts* (Jasper). ad

Academy of Music
Philadelphia

June 6MB: *Pocahontas or, Ye Gentle Savage* (H. R. H. Pow-Ha-Tan). PB (complimentary testimonial to Miss Effie Germon)

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

June 8, 11: *Born to Good Luck* (Paudeen O'Rafferty). ad, PB-6/11

June 8-9, 13: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, PB-6/13

June 9: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

June 10, 13: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-6/10, 13

June 10-12, 25: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, PB-6/10-11, 25

June 12: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad

June 15-16, 25-27, July 2B: *Pocahontas or, The Gentle Savage* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad, PB-6/15, 25

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June 26, 30, July 4: *Serious Family* (Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-7/4

June 29B, July 3: *The Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad, PB-7/3 (6/29-Brougham's benefit)

June 29B, 30, July 1, 3-4: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad, PB-7/1, 3-4

July 2B: *Stage Struck Irishman* (not listed). ad (benefit for J. Dunn)

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

July 13: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Mr. Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, PB

July 14, August 14B: *The Stage-Struck Irishman* (Tom Tactic). ad, PB-7/14 (8/14-farewell benefit for Brougham)

July 15-16: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad, PB-7/16

July 17, August 5: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad, PB-7/17, 8/5

July 20-25M, 27-31, August 1M, 3, 6: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan I). ad, PB-7/20-25, 27, 31, 8/1, 6

July 22-23: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad, PB-7/22-23

July 24B, 25M, 28: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB-7/24-25, 28 (7/24-benefit of Brougham)

July 29-30, August 1M: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad, PB-7/29-30, 8/1

July 31, August 3-4, 7B: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Felix Merryweather). ad, PB-7/31, 8/4, 7 (8/7-farewell benefit for the Davenports)

August 4, 10-13: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad, PB-8/4, 10-12

August 6-7B: *Davenport Worried by Brougham* (Intruder). ad, PB-8/6-7

August 10: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, PB-8/10

August 12B: *A Decided Case* (Dudley Vane). ad, PB (benefit for Mr. H. Ashley)

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August 13B: *Still Waters Run Deep* (Hawksley). ad (benefit of Mr. E. B. Williams)

August 14B: *The Game of Love* (Ted Murphy). ad

Louisville Theatre
Louisville

September 14, 16: *Amateur Actors* (Tactic). ad

September 14, 19, 25B: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad (9/25-benefit for Brougham)

September 15: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

September 16, 21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

September 17, 22: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

September 17: *O'Flannigan and the Fairies* (Phelim O'Flannigan). ad

September 18B, 24: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad (9/18-benefit for Brougham)

September 18B: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad

September 19: *Life in New York, or Tom and Jerry on a Visit* (Tom Smith). ad

September 21: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad

September 22-25B: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan). ad

September 23: *Temptation, or The Irish Emigrant* (Paddy O'Bryan). ad

September 25B, 26: *Love and Murder, or the Irishman in Spain* (Mickey Magra). ad

September 26: *Pirates of the Mississippi* (Patrick O'Toole). ad

National Theatre
Cincinnati

September 28: *Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad, PB

September 28, 30: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, PB-9/28, 30

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September 29, October 2B: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad, PB-9/29 (10/2-benefit for Brougham)

September 29: *Amateur Actors, or, Clerks on a Spree* (Tactic). ad, PB

September 30, October 9: *Love and Murder or an Irishman in Spain* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-9/30, 10/9

October 1-2B, 3, 5, 7-9: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad, PB-10/9

October 3, 6: *Life in New York, or, Tom and Jerry in America* (John Smith/Capt. Bowlingreen/Lafore). ad

October 5: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

October 6: *Metamora, or, The Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). ad

October 7-8: *Pirates of the Mississippi* (Patrick O'Toole). ad

October 9: *The Fast Man, or, A Financial Crisis* (Skyrocket Ned). ad, PB

Chicago Theatre
Chicago

October 12, 24: *Love and Murder* (Micky McGra-sic). ad

October 12, 14: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Sherman, ad

October 13, 20: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Sherman, ad

October 13: *My Fellow Clerk* (Tactic). ad

October 14-16B, 17, 19, 23B, 24: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). Sherman, ad (10/16-benefit for Brougham)

October 15: *The Fast Man* (Edward Hughes). Sherman, ad

October 16B: *Serious Family* (Capt. Maguire). Sherman, ad

October 17, 20: *Life in New York* (Tom Smith/Capt. the Hon. Fitzgammon Bowlingreen). Sherman, ad

October 19, 21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-10/21

October 21-22: *Metamora or, the Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). ad, PB-10/21

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October 22, 24: *The Pirates of the Mississippi* (O'Toole). Sherman, ad

October 23B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Sherman, ad (Brougham's benefit)

Plunkett's Metropolitan Theatre
Rochester

October 27, November 4: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad

October 27: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Edward Cuttle). Bitz, ad

October 28: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

October 28: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

October 29: *The Fast Man; or, The Financial Crisis* (Sky Rocket Ned). ad

October 29, November 3: *Amateur Actors* (Tactic). ad

October 30B, 31, November 2-3: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan). ad (10/30-Brougham's benefit)

October 30B: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

October 31, November 4: *Tom and Jerry on a Visit* (Tom Smith/Captain the Hon. Fitzgammon Bowlingreen). ad

November 2: *Gentleman from Ireland* (The Gentleman from Ireland). ad

November 5: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

November 6B, 7: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad (11/6-farewell benefit for Brougham)

November 6B, 7: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad

1858

Burton's New Theatre
New York

January 1-2, 4-7B, 8-9, 11-16, 18-22B, 23B, 25-27, February 16, 25B, April 12-13, 30: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus--sometimes listed as Don Christoval Colon, alias Columbus). Odell, ad, PB-1/2, 4-9, 11-14, 16, 18-23, 26-27, 2/1 (1/7 and 1/22-benefits for Charles Mathews, 1/23-benefit for Brougham, 2/25 farewell benefit for Brougham)

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January 1: *A Nice Firm* (role not listed, but Brougham listed as an actor in this piece). ad

January 4, 15, 20, February 20B: *You're Another* (Samson Agonistes Twitter, Esq.). ad, PB-1/4, 20, 2/20 (2/20-farewell benefit for Charles Mathews)

January 5-6: *Too Late for Dinner* (Rafter). PB-1/5-6

January 11-15, 19: *A Bachelor's Wife* (Felix Maywood). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/11-14, 19

January 23B, April 15, 24: *Siamese Twins* (not listed). ad

January 27-28: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Tom Coke). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/27

January 29, February 1-6, 17, 25B, April 14: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan, the first). ad PB-2/1, 17

January 30B, February 1-6, 8, 16, 19: *Merry Wives of Windsor* (The Host of the Garter). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-1/30, 2/1, 8, 16, 19 (1/30-Burton's benefit--although Odell writes that the program on this evening included *Pocahontas*, both the ad in the *New York Herald* and the playbill list *Forty Winks* as the afterpiece.)

February 8, 12, 18, April 29B: *The Wags of Windsor* (Loony M'Twolter). ad, PB-2/12, 18, 4/29 (4/29-Brougham's benefit)

February 9B, 10-11, 18: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Odell, ad, PB-2/10-11, 18 (2/9-Charles Mathews' benefit)

February 10-11, 13, 15: *Nicholas Nickleby* (Squeers). Odell, PB-2/10-11, 13, 15

February 12, 15: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, PB-2/12, 15

February 13, 20: *The Critic* (Earl of Leicester). PB-2/13, 20

February 17: *London Assurance* (Max Harkaway, Esq.). PB

February 22: *Comedy of Errors* (Dromio of Ephesus). Odell, ad

February 22, April 15, 23, May 1: *Love and Murder* (Mickey). ad

February 23B, 24: *Savage and the Maiden* (Lenville, the tragedian). ad (2/23-benefit for Walcot)

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February 23B, 24: *The Road to Ruin* (Brougham played Goldfinch in the second act; during the course of the evening, three different actors played this role.)

February 25B, May 6B: *High Life Below Stairs* (Lovel). ad

February 25B, April 15, 17, 22: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (not listed). ad

April 12: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

April 13: *Victorine, or the Dream* (not listed; Brougham may not have acted in this piece). ad

April 17, 19-24: *A Great Tragic Revival* (Marcus Brutus Richelieu Samith). Odell, Ireland, ad

April 19-21: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad

April 26-28: *Life Among the Players in England and America* (Skyrocket). Odell, Ireland, ad

April 29B, 30, May 1, 3-5, 8: *The Musard Ball* (Orlando Furioso Brown). Odell, PB-4/29

April 29B, 30, May 1, 3-5, 8: *This House to be Sold* (prologue). PB-4/29

May 6B: *Charles The Twelfth* (Muddlework). ad (Walcot's benefit)

McVicker's New Chicago Theatre
Chicago

March 1: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad, PB

March 1: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). Sherman, ad, PB

March 2, 5B: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). Sherman, ad (3/5-Brougham's benefit)

March 2, 11: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). Sherman, ad

March 3-5B, 6, 12: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Pow-Ha-Tan). Sherman, ad

March 3: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Sherman, ad

March 4, 9: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). Sherman, ad

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March 5B, 8: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Sherman, ad

March 6: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Sherman, ad

March 8-13: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Don Christoval Colon, alias Columbus). Sherman, ad

March 10: *The Fast Man; or, A Financial Crisis* (Sky Rocket Ned). ad

March 13: *The Most Unwarrantable Intrusion* (The Intruder). Sherman, ad

March 13: *Amateur Actors* (Tom Tactic). Sherman, ad

Washington Theatre
Washington

March 21-23, 30: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). news, ad

March 22-27B, 31, April 3B: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan I). ad, PB-3/31 (3/27-Brougham's benefit, 4/3- advertised as a complimentary testimonial, presumably for Brougham)

March 24, 31: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-3/31

March 25-26: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

March 27, 29: *An Unwarrantable Intrusion upon Mr. Whiting* (not listed). ad

March 29-30, April 1-3B: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). ad

April 1-2: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad

Mozart Hall
New York

April 27: appearance in a concert (Mr. Maeder was giving a series of Musard concerts this week, and Odell writes that Brougham, Burton and Walcot were scheduled to be included on Tuesday evening. Ads in the *New York Herald* do not mention them, and if they appeared, they must have done so before or after the performance at Burton's theatre.) Odell

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Howard Athenaeum
Boston

May 11: *Amateur Actors or Clerks on a Spree* (Tom Tactic). ad, PB

May 11: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad, PB

May 12: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

May 13, 27: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad, PB-5/13, 27

May 14-15E, 18, 21, June 4B: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). ad, PB-5/14-15, 21 (6/4-farewell benefit for Brougham)

May 17: *Money* (Sir Frederick Blount). ad, PB

May 19-20: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad, PB-5/19-20

May 22M, 25, 27, 29E: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). ad, PB-5/22, 27, 29

May 24B, 26: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad, PB-5/24, 26 (5/24-benefit for Mrs. Barrow)

May 24B: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad, PB-5/24

May 28: *The Hunchback* (Modus). adm PB-5/28

May 29E, June 2: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-5/29, 6/2

May 31B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). review, PB (benefit for Brougham)

June 1-2, 4B, 5: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). ad, PB-6/1-2, 4-5

June 3: *An Unwarrantable Intrusion or Owens Worried by Brougham* (not listed). ad, PB

June 3: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, PB

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

June 7: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad

June 8: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB

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June 9-12, 18B: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad, PB-6/9, 12 (6/18-Brougham's farewell benefit)

June 9: *Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). ad, PB

June 10: *The Stage-Struck Irishman* (original part). ad

June 11B, 12: *The Musard Ball or, Love at the Academy* (Orlando Furioso Brown, of the Staff). ad, PB-6/12 (6/11-Brougham's benefit)

June 14-16B, 17B, 18B, 19B: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). ad, PB-6/16 (6/16-testimonial benefit to Mr. George Hood, 6/17-benefit for James Dunn, 6/19-benefit for Master Stewart)

June 17B: *Two Gregories* (role not listed, but ad indicates that Brougham appeared in all three pieces). ad

June 17B: *The Pleasant Neighbor* (not listed). ad

Niblo's Garden
New York
(According to Blair, the company at Niblo's this summer was led by Brougham and Blake; he does not refer to them as managers, and no ads list them in that manner.)

June 28, 30, August 16, 18, 20: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, Ireland, Blair, ad, PB-6/28, 30

July 3, August 23, 25, 27B; 30-31, September 2: *School for Scandal* (Sir Benjamin Backbite). Odell, Blair, ad, PB-7/3 (8/27-Brougham played Charles Surface in this benefit for Jane Coombs; only the fourth act of *School for Scandal* was performed. He also played Charles Surface in the fourth act only on 8/30, 8/31 and 9/2.)

July 7: *The Heir at Law* (Dr. Pangloss). Odell, Blair, ad, PB

July 8, 10: *Sketches in India* (Tom Tape). Blair, ad, PB-7/8, 10

July 9: *Jenny Lind* (Granby Gag). ad, PB

July 10: *Paddy Ryan's Dream* (Paddy Ryan). Blair, ad, PB

July 12, 30: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, Blair, ad, PB-7/12, 30

July 13-17, 20, 29, August 14, 17, 19, 21, 26, 28: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). Odell, Blair, ad, PB-7/13-14, 16-17, 29

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July 19B, 21, 23, August 6: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Col. Rocket). Blair, ad, PB-7/19, 21, 23, 8/6 (7/19-benefit for Blake)

July 22B, 24, 27, 31, August 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 24, September 1-2: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad, Blair, PB-7/22, 24, 27, 31, 8/3, 5, 7, 10, 9/2 (7/22-Brougham's benefit)

July 26, 28: *The Road to Ruin* (Goldfinch). ad, Blair, PB-7/26, 28

August 2, 4: *The Poor Gentleman* (Ollapod). Blair, ad, PB-8/2, 4

August 9, 11, 13: *West End, Or, The Irish Heiress* (Major Fuss). Blair, ad

September 3B: *The Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). Odell, ad (Blake's benefit)

September 4B: *Money* (Stout). Blair, ad, PB (Brougham's benefit)

Academy of Music
New York

August 2MB: *The Review* (Looney McTwolter). PB, Ireland (benefit for the American Dramatic Fund Association; this late matinee started at 6:30; *Shakespeare's Dream*, a historical pageant arranged by Brougham, was also performed, but it is not clear if Brougham acted. He also was advertised to perform at Niblo's Garden the same evening.)

October 14EB: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (not listed). Odell, ad (benefit for the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum-both afternoon and evening; ad lists the program as "under the direction of" John Brougham. Brougham apparently acted here and then went to Wallack's to appear in the second piece there.)

December 18MB: *Vision of Columbus*-recitation. Odell, ad (benefit for the Mount Vernon Association--formed to buy Washington's home for the nation)

Wallack's Theatre
New York

October 5-9, 11-16, 18-23, 25-29, November 4-6, 8-11, 18M: *Neptune's Defeat, or the Seizure of the Seas* (Neptune). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-10/16

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October 30, November 1-3: *Wheat and Chaff* (Job Merryweather). Odell, ad

November 5-6, 8-11, December 6-8: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

November 12-13, 15-18E, 19-20, 22-27, December 1: *Going to the Bad, or, My Dutch Aunt* (Peter Potts). Odell, Ireland, ad

November 26-27, 29-30, December 2: *Take Care of Little Charley* (Mike Fogarty). Odell, Ireland, ad

November 29-30, December 3: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad

December 4, 6-8: *Americans in Paris* (Dr. Bothers). ad

December 9-11, 13-18, 20-25ME, 27-31: *Merchant of Venice* (Gratiano). Odell, Ireland, ad

(A prompt book of *Columbus el Filibustero* in the Harvard Theatre Collection contains a notation that this play was performed at Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore during 1858. Baltimore newspapers from this year have been checked, and no advertisements for its performance have been found.)

1859

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 1, 3-8, 10-15, May 5, 11: *The Merchant of Venice* (Gratiano). ad

January 17-22, 24-29, 31, February 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 21-26, 28, March 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 21B, 22-26, 28-31, April 1-2, 5, 7: *The Veteran* (Oflan Agan, the Grand Vizier to the Sultan of Myra). Odell, Ireland, ad (3/21-benefit for Brougham)

April 4, 6, 8, May 17, 20, October 7, 10: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-4/4

April 9, 11, 13, 15-16, 20, 23, May 4, 12, 19: *The Review* (Looney McTwolter). ad

April 12: *Blue and Cherry* (role not listed, but Brougham listed as in the cast on this date, not when piece was advertised subsequently). ad

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April 14, 19: *The Scholar* (Doctor Keppelcranck). ad

April 18, 22: *The Stranger* (Solomon). Odell, ad

April 19, 21: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (no role listed, but Brougham listed as actor). ad

April 25-30, May 2-3, 6-7, 9-10, 13, 18, June 4: *Box and Cox* (John Box, a journeyman printer). ad

May 3-4: *The Iron Chest* (Capt. Fitzharding). ad

May 9-10, 13: *Charles XII* (Charles XII, King of Sweden). ad

May 14B: *Much Ado about Nothing* (Dogberry). Odell, ad (benefit for Wallack)

May 16-21B, 23, 25-26B, 27: *Men of the Day, or, Extremes* (Dr. Playfair). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-5/23 (5/21- Mary Gannon's benefit, 5/26-Wheatleigh's benefit)

May 21B, 24B, June 1: *The Boarding School* (Cornet Kavanagh). ad (5/24-Dyott's benefit)

May 24B, June 2, October 1, 4, 6: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

May 28B, 31: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad (5/28-Mrs. Hoey's benefit)

May 28B, 30B, 31, June 2: *The Bold Dragoons* (Hannibal Fuzee). ad (5/30-Brougham's benefit)

May 30B, June 1, 4, October 12, 15: *Money* (Stout). ad

June 3B, 7B: *The Knights of the Round Table* (Mr. Smith). ad (6/3-Walcot's benefit, 6/7-benefit for Theodore Moss, treasurer)

June 6B: *High Life Below Stairs* (Sir Harry's servant). ad (Lester Wallack's benefit)

June 6B, November 19, 21, 23-24: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, ad

September 19-24, 26-29: *The Ruling Passion* (Maurice O'Connor). Odell, Ireland, ad, PB-9/29

September 30, October 3, 5, 8: *The Road to Ruin* (Mr. Sulky). ad

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October 11, 14: *Love and Money* (Sir Charles Plantaganent). ad

October 13, 17: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad

October 18-22, 24-29, 31, November 1-5, 7-9, 17-18: *Fast Men of the Olden Time* (George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham). Odell, Ireland, ad

October 31, November 1-5, 7-9: *Going It Blind* (Buncomb). Odell, ad

November 10: *The Wreck Ashore* (Miles Bertram, Squire of Mostley). ad (Brougham was scheduled to perform this role, but information in the *New York Herald* of November 10 lists Mr. Dyott in this role; Brougham was not listed in ads for the theatre for several days due to a severe indisposition.)

November 22B, 25, December 1: *Wild Oats* (John Dory). ad (11/22-benefit for Lester Wallack)

November 26B, 29: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). ad (11/26-Brougham's benefit)

November 28B: *The Irish Heiress* (Major Bellamy Fuss). ad (11/28-Blake's benefit)

November 30B, December 2: *The Clandestine Marriage* (Canton). Odell, Ireland, ad (11/30-Walcot's benefit)

December 3B, 5-6: *Americans in Paris* (Dr. Bothers). ad (12/3-benefit for Mrs. Hoey)

December 7-10, 12-17, 19-24, 26-31: *Everybody's Friend* (Mr. Icebrook). Odell, Ireland, ad

Burton's Theatre
New York

February 7B: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad (benefit for the widow of Francis Courney Weymess; it appears that Brougham acted in this benefit and then went to Wallack's in time for his appearance in the second act of *The Veteran*.)

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Metropolitan Theatre
(formerly Burton's)
New York

June 8, 15, 27: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, Ireland, ad

June 9-10, 17: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). ad

June 11, 14: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad

June 13: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad

June 16, 18, 24: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). ad, PB-6/24

June 18, 24: *Box and Cox* (John Box). ad, PB-6/24

June 20-23: *Art and Artifice* (Moritz Wilde). Odell, Ireland, ad

June 25: *The Road to Ruin* (Mr. Sulky). Odell, ad

June 28, 30, July 2, 4M, 6: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad

June 28, July 2, 4E: *Sketches in India* (not listed). ad

June 29: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Col. Rocket). ad

July 1: *The Omnibus, Or, a Convenient Distance* (Pat Rooney). ad

July 4E, 7B, 8: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Don Christoval Colon). ad (7/7-Brougham's benefit)

July 7B, 9B: *The Great Tragic Revival* (Marcus Brutus Richelieu Smith). ad, PB-7/9 (7/9-benefit for Walcot)

July 9B: *Bleak House* (Turveydrop). Odell, ad, PB-7/9

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

July 11: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, PB

July 12, 14: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, PB-7/12, 14

July 13, 16, 25: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, PB-7/13, 16, 25

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July 13: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad, PB (The ad in the *Boston Evening Transcript* lists *The Gentleman from Ireland* rather than *The Irish Lion*, but playbills list *The Irish Lion*.)

July 14, 28B: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad, PB-7/14, 28 (7/28-Brougham's benefit)

July 15B, 19, 21: *Irish Tiger* (Paddy Ryan). ad, PB-7/15, 19, 21 (7/15-Brougham's benefit)

July 15B, 18, 28B: *Pretty Piece of Business* (Capt. Felix Merryweather). ad, PB-7/15, 18, 28

July 15B, 16, 18, 22B: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). ad, PB-7/15-16, 18 (7/22-Brougham's benefit)

July 19-20: *Hamlet* (Hamlet). ad, PB-7/19-20

July 20: *His Last Legs* (Mr. O'Callaghan). ad, PB

July 21-22B, 23, 27: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Don Christoval Colon). ad, PB-7/21-23, 27

July 22B: *Omnibus* (Pat Rooney). ad, PB

July 23, 26: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). ad, PB-7/23, 26

July 25: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad, PB

July 26-27: *Life in New York* (Tom Smith/Capt. the Hon. Fitzgammon Bowling Green-sic). ad, PB-7/26-27

July 28B: *Davenport Worried by Brougham* (Intruder). ad, PB

July 28B: *Box and Cox* (Box). ad, PB

July 28B: *Tag, Ragg and Bobtail or, Private Theatricals* (Tag). ad, PB

McVicker's Theatre
Chicago

August 1: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

August 1: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

August 2, 10: *Dombey and Son* (Cap. Ed'ard Cuttle). ad (Sherman lists *Serious Family* and *The Irish Lion* for 8/2.)

August 3: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). ad

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August 3-4, 11: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. J. Pow-Ha-Tan). Sherman, ad

August 4, 12B: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (8/12-Brougham's benefit)

August 5B: *The Irish Tiger* (Pat Ryan). ad (Brougham's benefit)

August 5B, 13: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad

August 5B, 6: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad

August 6: *Red Murdock, The Robber; or, The Irishman's Blunderbuss* (Larry O'Gigg, the fighting Irishman). ad

August 8: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

August 8-11: *Columbus el Fillibustero*-sic (not listed). ad

August 9: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (not listed). ad

August 12B, 13: *Little Piccolomini* (Mickey Fogarty). ad

August 12B: *An Unwarrantable Intrusion* (not listed). ad

August 12B: *Amateur Actors; or, Clerks on a Spree* (not listed). ad

August 13: *The Horse Railways, Or, Living at a Convenient Distance* (Pat Rooney). ad

1860

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 2, 16-21, 23, April 14, 19, 26, 30: *Everybody's Friend* (Mr. Icebrook). PB-1/17, ad (no roles listed in most ads)

January 2-6: *The Happy Man* (Paddy Murphy). ad

January 7, 9-14: *The Irish Post* (Terence O'Grady). ad

January 24-28, 30-31, February 1-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-29, March 1-3, 5-10E, 12-17, 19-24, 26-31, April 2-6: *The Romance of a Poor Young Man* (Dr. Desmarets). Odell, PBs, ad

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April 7, 9-11, 18, 20, May 4, 7B: *Marriage Bliss of Box and Cox* (Mr. Box). Odell, PB-4/7, ad (5/7-benefit to door keepers, ushers and other employees)

April 11-13, 17E, 24: *Love for Love* (Ben). Odell, ad

April 12-13, 17E, 24: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). ad

April 15B, 25, May 5, 9: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad (4/15-Mr. Dyott's benefit)

April 18B, 20, May 4, 10: *Old Heads and Young Hearts* (Col. Rockett-sic). ad (4/18-benefit for Mr. Blake)

April 21, 27, May 2: *Town and Country* (Trot). ad (4/21-Mrs. Hoey's benefit)

April 23B, May 3: *The Poor Gentleman* (Dr. Ollapod). PB, ad (4/23-Brougham's benefit)

April 23B, May 3, 8: *A Pretty Piece of Business* (Capt. Felix Merryweather). PB, ad

April 28B, May 1, 11: *The Heir at Law* (Dr. Pangloss). PB-4/28, ad (4/28-benefit of Theo. Moss, treasurer)

May 12: *Money* (Mr. Stout). PB, ad

May 14-19, 21-26, 28-31, June 1-2, 4-9: *The Overland Route* (Major McTurk). Odell, PBs, ad

Academy of Music
New York

March 10MB: *Everybody's Friend* (Mr. Icebrook). (benefit for the widow and children of one of the principal agents of the Italian Opera)

April 17MB: *London Assurance* (third act) (Max Harkaway). Odell, PB, ad (benefit for the American Dramatic Fund)

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

June 11-12: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). PBs

June 13, 16: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB

June 14: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle) PB, ad

June 15B: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB, ad (Brougham's benefit)

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June 15B, 18, 19, 29B: *Great Tragic Revival!* (Marcus Brutus Richelieu Samith). PB, ad (6/29-Brougham's farewell benefit)

June 15B, 20-21: *Private Theatricals!* (Tag). PB, ad

June 16: *Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). PB

June 18-21, 27, 30: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). PB, ad

June 22B, 23: *Metamora Or, the Last of the Pollywogs* (Metamora). PB (6/22-Brougham's benefit)

June 22B: *The Siamese Twins* (Dennis O'Glib). PB

June 22B, 23, 25-26, 28: *This House to be Sold* (not listed). PB (no roles are listed, just names of actors and actresses)

June 25-26, 28, 30: *Columbus* (Don Christoval Colon). PB, ad

June 27: *Davenport Worried by Brougham* (not listed). PB, ad

June 29B: *Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). PB

June 29B: *Hamlet*-comic version (Hamlet). PB

Niblo's
New York

July 2-7, 12-13, 14B, 16-17: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). Odell, ad, PB-7/17 (7/14-Brougham's farewell benefit)

July 9-11, 14B: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Columbus). Odell, ad

July 14B, 17: *The Irish Tiger, or, Paddy's Dream* (Paddy Ryan). ad

Theatre Royal, Haymarket
London

October 8-13, 15-20, 25-27, October 2-3, 6-8: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). PBs, ad

October 22-24, 29-31, November 1, 5, 9-10: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo. PB-11/9, ad

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Theatre Royal
Manchester

November 26-30B, December 1: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad (most ads do not list roles) (11/30-Brougham's benefit)

1861

Theatre Royal, Haymarket
London

February 4-9, 11-12, 14-16: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PBs, ad (theatre closed on 2/13, Ash Wednesday)

Theatre Royal
Manchester

May 27-31, June 28B-29: *Romance and Reality* (not listed). ad (6/28-Brougham's benefit)

June 1, 3-8, 10-15, 17-22, 24-28B, 29, December 3-7, 9-10: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

June 3-8, 10-15, 22, 24-27: *Love and Murder* (not listed). ad

June 17-21: *The Stage-Struck Tailor* (not listed). ad

December 11B, 12, 13B, 14: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove). ad (12/11-Brougham's benefit, 12/13-benefit for the Liliputian Company that was appearing in ballet numbers at the theatre)

Princess Theatre
London

September 28, 30, October 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 21, 24, 29, 31, November 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PBs, ad (role sometimes not listed in ads)

October 14-18: *Love and Murder* (Magra). PBs, ad

October 19, 21, 24, 29, 31, November 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (His Imperial Majesty Powhattan the First). PB-10/21, ad (role not listed in ads)

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1862

Princess's Theatre
London

January 6-11, 13-18: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). PB-1/6, ad (role not listed in ads)

June 5, 6B, 7: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). PB-6/5, ad (6/6-benefit of Miss Maria Harris) (The *London Sunday Times* indicates that these performances were done because of an accident which had happened to Charles Kean who had been scheduled to perform.)

Octoer 17B: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). PB, ad (benefit of Mr. H. Barnett, acting manager)

Theatre Royal
Dublin

March 4: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB, ad

March 6-7, 10-14: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage, an Irish physician practicing in London). PBs, ad (Harvard has a playbill for this piece for March 3, but the playbill for March 4 indicates that the piece was postponed until March 6.)

March 8B, 13-14: *The Irish Ambassador* (Sir Patrick O'Plenipo). PB, ad (3/8-benefit of Mrs. Burkinshaw who played Aladdin on the last night of *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*)

March 15, 17-21: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Corydon Foxlogve). PBs, ad

March 15, 17-22B: *Love and Murder or the Irishman in Spain* (Terry Magra). PBs, ad (3/22-benefit for Mr. Harris, the manager; last night of the season)

Royal Queen's Theatre and Opera House
Edinburgh

April 28-30, May 1-3: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). PBs

Theatre Royal
Manchester

May 5-6: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). ad

May 5-10: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

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May 7-8, 14-15: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

May 9: *Love and Murder* (not listed). ad

May 10, 12-13: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

May 12-13, 16B, 17: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). ad (5/16-Brougham's benefit)

May 14-16B, 17: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). ad

1863

Royal Lyceum Theatre
London

January 10, 12-17, 19-24, 26-31, February 2-7, 9-14, 16-21, 23-28, March 2-7, 9-14, 16-21, 23-28, 30-31, April 1-2, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-30, May 1-2, 4-9, 11-16, 18-23, 25-30, June 1-6, 8-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29-30, July 1-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-31, August 1, 3-8B: *The Duke's Motto* (Carrickfergus). PBs, ad (There may have been no performance on February 12 which may have been Ash Wednesday. A free night was held on March 10 to celebrate the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales. All London theatres were closed on April 3 for Good Friday, and the Lyceum was also closed on April 4. 8/8-benefit for H. Barnett, acting manager.)

October 31, November 2-7, 9-14, 16-21, 23-28, 30, December 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 26, 28-31: *Bel Demonio* (Cardinal Montalto). PBs, ad (most ads have no roles listed; no performances December 21-25.

1864

Royal Lyceum
London

January 1-2, 4-9, 11-16, 18-23, 25-30, February 1-6, 8-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29, March 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 28-31, April 1-2B, 4-9, 11-16, 18-22: *Bel Demonio* (Cardinal Montalto). PB-2/22, ad (Theatre was closed from March 21 through March 26 for Holy Week. On 4/2, all profits went to aid of the Sheffield sufferers. Fechter was not able to act for several weeks due to slow recovery from an accident; since most ads do not list roles, it is not clear if Brougham may have been acting the lead while Fechter was not performing. The theatre was closed on April 23.)

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April 25-30, May 2-3: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). Mullin, ad (Theatre was closed from May 4 through May 13 for preparations for Hamlet. The opening was later postponed from May 14 to May 21.)

May 21B, 23-28, 30-31, June 1-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25: *Hamlet* (Polonius). ad (Profits from first night were to be divided between the National Shakespeare Committee and the Dramatic College Schools' Fund. The collection of playbills at Harvard includes an undated one from this run.)

Theatre Royal
Manchester

July 11-16, 18-23, 25B-27: *The Golden Dream* (Marco Bragadino, the Alchemist). PBs, ad (ads list no roles) (7/25-Brougham's benefit)

July 25B-30: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB, ad

August 1B-3, 6: *His Last Legs* (Mr. Corydon Foxglove, not listed in ads). PB-8/6, ad (8/1-benefit for H. Widdicomb)

August 4B-6: *Flies in the Web* (Felix O'Callaghan, not listed in ads). PB- 8/6, ad (8/4-benefit for Mr. Shore)

Theatre Royal
Dublin

November 7-12, 14-19, 21-26, 28-30, December 1-2B, 3, 12-17B: *Arrah-na-Pogue or The Wicklow Wedding* (The O'Grady). PBs, ad, (12/2-benefit for the Boucicaults, 12/17-farewell benefit for the Boucicaults)

December 5-10: *The Colleen Bawn* (Kyrle Daly). ad

1865

Princess Theatre
London

March 22-25, 27-31, April 1, 3-8, 10-13, 17-22, 24-29, May 1-6, 8-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29-31, June 1-3, 5-10, 12-17, 19-24, 26-30, July 1, 3-8, 10-15, 17-22, 24-29, 31, August 1-5, 7-12, 14-19, 21-26, 28-31, September 1-2, 4-9, 11-16, 18-23, 25-28B, 29-30: *Arrah-na-Pogue* (Colonel O'Grady). PBs, ad (Theatres closed on 4/14, Good Friday; Princess did not advertised on 4/14.)

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Winter Garden Theatre
New York

October 30-31, November 1-4, 6-10B, 11: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad, PB-10/31 (11/10-Brougham's benefit)

November 13-16: *Flies in the Web* (Corydon Foxglove). Odell, ad

November 13-16: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, ad

November 17B-18: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, ad (11/17-Brougham's farewell benefit)

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

November 20-24B, 25, 27-28, December 6-7E, 23M: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PBs, ad (11/24-Brougham's benefit)

November 29-30, December 1B, 2, 4-5: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove). ad, PBs (12/1-Brougham's benefit)

November 29-30, December 1B, 2, 4-5, 15B, 16: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PBs (12/15-Brougham's benefit)

December 8B, 9, 11-15B, 16: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). PBs, ad

December 18-21: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PBs, ad

December 22B-23E: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). PB, ad (12/22-Brougham's benefit)

December 22B-23E: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. I. Pow-Ha-Tan). PB, ad

1866

Academy of Music
Brooklyn

January 1-2: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad, review, engagement book

January 1-4: *His Last Legs* (not listed). news

January 3-4: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). news, engagement book

September 17: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). ad

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September 18, 22: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad

September 18, 22: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad

McVickers Theatre
Chicago

January 8-11, 13M: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad, engagement book (A favorite farce was announced to start the program each evening, but title was not given, and it is unknown if Brougham acted in the farce.)

January 12B-13E: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove, attorney-at-law). ad, engagement book (An unnamed favorite farce too) (1/12-Brougham's benefit)

January 15-16, 20M: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad, engagement book

January 15-16: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, engagement book

January 17-18: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad, engagement book

January 17-18: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzsimmons - sic). ad, engagement book

January 19B-20E: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad, engagement book (1/19-Brougham's benefit)

January 19B-20E: *Pocahontas* (Pohowatan-sic). ad, engagement book

Pike's Opera House
Cincinnati

January 22-25, 27M, February 23B: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad, engagement book (2/23-Brougham's benefit)

January 26B, 27E, February 21: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove). ad (Engagement book lists *Playing with Fire* for 1/26.)(1/26-Brougham's benefit)

January 26B, 27E: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

January 29-30, February 20, 24M: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad, engagement book

January 30-31, February 1, 3M, 20-22, 24M: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad, engagement book

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January 31, February 1, 22, 24E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB, engagement book

February 2-3E: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, engagement book (This program included the Zavistowski marching troupe.)

February 23B, 24E: *Me-ta-mo-ra* (Me-ta-mo-ra a la Forrest). ad, engagement book

Louisville
(unknown theatre)

February 5-8, 10M: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). engagement book

February 9B: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). engagement book (Brougham's benefit)

February 10E, 12-15, 17M: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book

February 10E, 14-15: *His Last Legs* (not listed). engagement book

February 12-13: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book

February 16-17E: *Love and Murder* (not listed). engagement book

February 16-17E: *David Copperfield* (not listed). engagement book

Milwaukee
(unnamed theatre)

February 26: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). engagement book

February 27: *David Copperfield* (not listed). engagement book

February 27: *Love and Murder* (not listed). engagement book

February 28: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book

February 28: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book

March 1: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). engagement book

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March 1: *His Last Legs* (not listed). engagement book

March 2B: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). engagement book (Brougham's benefit)

Indianapolis
(unnamed theatre)

March 5-6: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). engagement book

March 7-8: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). engagement book

March 9B, 12: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book (3/9-Brougham's benefit)

March 9B, 12-13, 15-16B: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book (3/16-Brougham's benefit)

March 10: *Serious Family* (not listed). engagement book

March 13: *David Copperfield* (not listed). engagement book

March 14, 16B: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). engagement book

March 15: *His Last Legs* (not listed). engagement book

St. Louis
(unnamed theatre)

March 19-21: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). engagement book

March 22, 26: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). engagement book

March 23B, 24: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book (3/23-Brougham's benefit)

March 23B, 24, 29: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book

March 26-28: *Metamora* (not listed). engagement book

March 27-28: *David Copperfield* (not listed). engagement book

March 29: *His Last Legs* (not listed). engagement book

March 30B: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). engagement book (3/30-Brougham's benefit)

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Pittsburgh Theatre
Pittsburgh

April 2-3, 10, October 15-16, 27: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB-2, engagement book, ad-10/15-16, 27

April 4-5, 12, October 19B-20, 29-30: *David Copperfield* (not listed). engagement book, ad (Wilkins Micawber-10/19-20, 29-30)(10/19-Brougham's benefit)

April 4-5, 14, October 26B, 31E: *His Last Legs* (not listed). engagement book, ad (O'Callaghan-10/26, 31) (10/26-Brougham's benefit)

April 6B-7, October 19B-20, 31MB, November 1: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book, ad (Gerald Fitzmaurice-10/19-20, 10/31-11/1) (4/6-Brougham's benefit, 10/31 - benefit of the late Henry Hedrick)

April 6B-7, October 29-31E, November 1-2: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book, ad (Powhatan-10/29-11/2)

April 9, October 17-18, November 9B: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). engagement book, ad (Corydon Foxglove-10/17-18, 11/9)(11/9-Brougham's farewell benefit)

April 11, October 26B: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). engagement book, ad (Captain Cuttle-10/26)

April 13B, 14: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). PB-13, engagement book (4/13-Brougham's benefit)

April 13B, November 2: *Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). PB, engagement book, ad-11/2

(Newspaper for 11/3 is missing.)

October 22-25: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. O'Donnell). ad, PB-25

November 5-9B, 10: *Columbus* (Columbus). ad (advertised as *Columbus Reconstructed* on 11/9-10)

Walnut Street Theatre,
Philadelphia

April 16, 21, September 26-27, October 2: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB-21, program clipping, engagement book, ad-9/26-27, 10/2

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April 17, September 28B-29, October 6: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB, engagement book, ad-9/28-29, 10/6 (9/28-Brougham's benefit)

April 17, September 28B, October 1: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB, engagement book, ad-9/28, program clipping-10/1

April 18, October 3-4: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB, engagement book, ad-10/3-4

April 18, 19, October 3-6: *Pocahontas* (H. R. H. Pow-Ha-Tan I). PB, engagement book, ad-10/3-6

April 19, October 5: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB, engagement book, ad-10/5

April 20B, October 1: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove). PB, engagement book, program clipping-10/1 (4/20-Brougham's benefit)

April 20B, 21: *Metamora* (Metamora). PB, engagement book

September 24-25: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). ad

September 29: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

Howard Athenaeum,
Boston

May 7-10: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB, ad

May 11B-12E: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB (5/11-Brougham's benefit)

May 12M, 16-17, 23-24: *Irish Mesmerism* (O'Callaghan). PB

May 14-15, 21-22, 28-29: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Corydon Foxglove). PB

May 16-17, 19: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB

May 18B: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift, a cosmopolitan philosopher). PB (5/18-Brougham's benefit)

May 21-25B, 26, June 2: *Po-Ca-Hon-Tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). PB (5/25-Brougham's benefit)

May 25B, 26, 30-31: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB

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May 28-31, June 1B-2: *Columbus Reconstructed* (Don Cristoval Colon, alias Columbus). PB (6/1-Brougham's farewell benefit)

June 1B: *Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane, a man of independence). PB

Winter Garden Theatre
New York

June 4-9: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

June 11-16: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Corydon Foxglove). ad, program-11, 14

June 11-16: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, program-11, 14

June 18-23, 25-30: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Odell, ad

June 18-23, 25-30, July 2-7, August 6-9, 10-11, September 14B, 15B, 18: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). Odell, ad, program-8/8 (9/14-Brougham's benefit, 9/15-benefit for J. G. Hanley, stage manager)

July 2-7: *The Nervous Man, Or, The Man of Nerve* (McShane, a man of independence). ad

July 9-14, 16-21, 23-28, 30-31, August 1-4: *Columbus Reconstructed* (Columbus). ad, program-7/30, 8/1

August 13-18, 20-25, 27-31, September 1B, 6-8, 10-11: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Roderick O'Donnell). Odell, ad, program-8/14

September 12-13: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

September 14B, 15B: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

Academy of Music
Providence

November 19-20: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

November 21: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Corydon Foxglove). ad

November 21, 23B: *His Last Legs* (Felix O'Callaghan). ad (11/23-Brougham's benefit)

November 22: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

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November 22: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber, Esq.). ad

November 23B: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

Boston Theatre
Boston

November 26, 29E: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB, ad-26
(This play was also scheduled for December 4, and a playbill was printed for this date, but *The Octoroon* was played because Brougham fell ill and did not appear for almost two weeks.)

November 17, December 3: *Flies in the Web* (Counsellor Foxglove). PB, ad

November 27, December 1M: *His Last Legs! or, Irish Mesmerism* (Felix O'Callaghan). PB, ad-12/1

November 28: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB, ad

November 28, December 1M, 19, 21B: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB, ad-12/1, 19 (12/21-Brougham's farewell benefit)

November 30B: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB, ad (Brougham's benefit)

December 3: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). PB, ad

December 17-21B, 22M, 22E: *Columbus Reconstructed* (Don Cristoval Colon). PB, ad

Music Hall
Lowell, Massachsetts

December 24-25: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad, scrapbook-24

December 24-25: *The Irish Lion* (Tom Moore). ad

1867

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

January 7-8, 31E: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). program clipping-7, PB-8, 31

January 9-10, 29: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove). PB

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January 9-10: *The Irish Lion* (Tim Moore). PB

January 11-12, 14-17: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). PB

January 18-19: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt Courtly). program clipping-19, PB-20

January 21-22: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB

January 21-25B, 26, 28-31E: *Columbus Reconstructed* (Don Christoval Colon, alias Columbus). PB

January 23-24, December 20B, 21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB (12/20-Brougham's benefit)

January 25B, 26: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned, the Fast Man). PB (1/25-Brougham's benefit)

January 25B, 26: *The Robber's Wife* (Larry O'Gig). PB

January 28: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulgruddery). PB

January 30: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB

January 31MB: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB (testimonial benefit to Mr. Charles Durang)

February 1B-2: *A Bachelor of Arts* (Harry Jasper). PB (2/1-Brougham's farewell benefit)

February 1B: *Love and Murder* (Mickey Magra). PB

February 1B-2, December 20B, 21: *Po-ca-hon-tas or, Ye Gentle Savage* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). PB

November 25-29B, 30, December 2-6B, 7, 9-13B, 14, 16-19: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). PB-11/25, 12/17, ad (The performances on 12/12 may have been cancelled because of bad weather.)(11/29, 12/6, 12/14-Brougham's benefits)

Academy of Music
Albany

February 18-19, March 1B: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad (3/1-role not listed) (3/1-Brougham's benefit)

February 20-21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins). ad

February 20-21, 27: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad (27-role not listed)

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February 22B-23: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). ad (2/22-Brougham's benefit)

February 22B-23: *The Irish Lion* (not listed). ad

February 25-26: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). ad

February 25-27, March 1B: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (not listed). ad

February 28: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

National Theatre
Washington

March 4-5, 12: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

March 6-7, 20: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad/news

March 6-7, 18-19: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad/news

March 8B-9: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned). ad/news (3/8-Brougham's benefit)

March 8B-9, 11, 23: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad/news

March 11: *Bachelor of Arts* (not listed). ad

March 13, 22B: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Corydon Foxglove). ad (3/22-Brougham's farewell benefit)

March 14-15: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). ad, PB-15

March 18-22B, 23: *Columbus Reconstructed* (not listed). ad

March 21: *His Last Legs* (not listed). ad

Olympic Theatre
New York

May 6-8, August 26-29: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). ad

May 9, 13, August 19-24: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad, PB-22, 24

May 10B, 11, 14-17B, 18, August 2-3, 5-10: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad, news, PB-8/2, 6, 10, Odell (5/10, 5/17-Brougham's benefits)

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May 10B, 11, 14-17B, 18, August 5-10, 30B-31: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). ad, news, Odell, PB-8/6, 10, 31 (8/30 - no role listed) (8/30-Brougham's benefit)

July 22-27, 29-31, August 1-3: *Columbus Reconstructed* (Columbus). Odell, ad, engagement book, PB-8/1-2

July 22-27: *The Fast Man* (Skyrocket Ned). Odell, ad (The *New York Herald* lists the *Gentleman from Ireland* in place of this piece on 7/27.)

July 29-30: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Odell, ad

July 31, August 1: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad, PB

August 12-14: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). Odell, ad

August 12-14: *Who Killed Cock Robin?* (not listed). Hawes, ad

August 15-17: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

August 30B-31: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). PB-8/31 (8/30 - role not listed in ad)

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

May 24B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). news (benefit for Dan Bryant)

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

September 16-17: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB, engagement book

September 16-19, 21: *Pocahontas* (H. R. H. Pow-Ha-Tan I). PB, engagement book

September 18-19: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB, engagement book (Playbills list play as *Irish Mesmerism*.)

September 20B: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). PB, engagement book (Brougham's farewell benefit)

September 21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB, engagement book

September 23-27B, 28E, 30, October 1-4B, 5M, 5E: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). PB, ad, engagement book (9/27, 10/1-Brougham's benefits)

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Park Theatre
Brooklyn

October 21-22: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Odell, ad, engagement book

October 21-25B, 26, 28-31: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). Odell, ad, engagement book (10/25-Brougham's benefit)

October 23-24, November 2: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). Odell, ad, engagement book

October 25B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, ad, engagement book

October 26: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell, ad, engagement book

October 28-31: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). Odell, ad, engagement book

November 1B: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). Odell, ad, engagement book (Brougham's benefit)

November 2: *Metamora* (Metamora). Odell, ad

Griswold Opera House
Troy, New York

November 11-12, 16M: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). engagement book, ad-16M

November 11-14, 16M: *Pocahontas* (not listed). engagement book, ad-16M

November 13-14: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). engagement book

November 15B, 16E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad-*Troy Daily Times*, engagement book (unclear if there was an evening program on 16th and exactly what it was) (11/15-Brougham's benefit)

November 15B: *Metamora* (Metamora). ad, engagement book

(*Troy Daily Press* has no ads for theatres or references to Brougham's appearances during this engagement.)

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1868

National Theatre
Washington

January 6, 8: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). news, ad

January 7, 11, 25: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). news, ad (no role listed in ad on 1/25)

January 7: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). news, ad

January 9: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). news, ad

January 9-11: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan). news, ad

January 10: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). news, ad

January 13-18, 20-22: *The Lottery of Life* (not listed). news, ad

January 23: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

January 24B: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). ad (Brougham's farewell benefit)

January 25: *Metamora* (not listed). ad

(Brougham was supposed to appear at the Academy of Music in Albany, but the theatre was destroyed by fire in late January.)

Griswold Opera House
Troy

February 24-28B, 29ME, March 2-6B, 7ME: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad (2/28, 3/6-Brougham's benefits)

March 6B, 7E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

Howard Atheaenum
Boston

March 9-13B, 14ME, 16-20B, 21, 23-25: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad (3/13, 3/20-Brougham's benefits)

March 17: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

March 20B, 21, 28: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (no role listed in ad for 3/28)

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March 23-25: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad

March 26B, 28: *Columbus Reconstructed* (not listed). ad (3/26-benefit for Mrs. Farren)

March 27B: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). ad (Brougham's benefit)

March 27B, 28: *Metamora* (not listed). ad

Park Theatre
Brooklyn

April 6: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Odell, ad

April 6-9, 11: *Pocahontas* (Pow-ha-tan I). Odell, ad

April 7-8: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

April 9-10B: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (4/10-Brougham's benefit)

April 10B, 11: *Columbus el Filibustero* (Don Cristoval Colon). ad

April 13-17B, 18: *O'Donnell's Mission* (Capt. Roderick O'Donnell). ad (4/17-Brougham's benefit)

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

May 4-8B, 9, 22B, 23: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell), PB-4, 9, ad (5/8, 5/22-Brougham's benefits)

May 11-12: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB-11, ad

May 13-14: *Flies in the Web* (Mr. Foxglove, an attorney-at-law). PB-13, ad

May 15B-16E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB (5/15-Brougham's benefit)

May 15B-16E, 23: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (King Pow-Ha-Tan). PB, ad

There is a playbill for a matinee benefit for the American Dramatic Fund on May 16 in the collection at the Free Library in Philadelphia. *Playing with Fire* was announced. However, a notice in the newspaper on May 16 announced that the matinee was postponed until May 23. The performance did take place on May 30.

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May 18-21: *O'Donnell's Mission! or, The Irish Brigade* (Captain Roderick O'Donnell). PB-18, ad

May 25-28: *Hearts! or, Serpents of Society* (Patrick Macdermot). PB-25-27, ad

May 29B, 30E: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). PB-29, ad (5/29-Brougham's benefit)

May 29B, 30E: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). PB-29, ad

Academy of Music
Philadelphia

May 30MB: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt Courtly). news. PB (benefit for the American Dramatic Fund)

Wallack's Theatre
New York

June 8-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29-30, July 1-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-31, August 1, 3-8: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). Odell, ad, PB-6/9, 11,

Academy of Music
Providence, Rhode Island

December 7-11B, 12ME: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry, the Swell). PB-7-8, ad (12/11-complimentary benefit for Brougham)

1869

Brougham's Fifth Avenue Theatre
New York

January 25-30, February 1-6: *Better Late Than Never* (Major Fergus O'Shaughnessy). Odell, ad

January 25-30, February 1-6, 8-13, 15-20: **Dramatic Review for 1868*. Odell, ad

February 8-13, 15-20, March 4-6: *An Irish Stew, or, the Mysterious Widow of Long Branch* (Bryan Magilder). Odell, ad, ads for this play in March list no roles

February 22-27, March 15-20, 22-27: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Odell, ad (ad from 3/15 lists role as Maurice Fitzgarald-sic)

February 22-27, March 1-6: *Pocahontas* (not listed). Odell, ad, PB-3/1 lists Brougham's role as H. J. Pow-ha-tan-I.

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March 1-6: **Jenny Lind*. Hawes, ad, PB-3/1

March 8-13, 15-20, 22-27, 29-31, April 1-3: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). Odell, ad, PB-3/11

March 8-13: **Perfection*. Odell, ad

March 29-31, April 1-3: *His Last Legs* (O'Callahan-sic). Odell, ad

Detroit Opera House
Detroit

April 12, 16B: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad (4/16-Brougham's benefit)

April 13: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad

April 14, 17E: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

April 14-15, 24M: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. R. H. Pow-Ha-Tan). ad

April 15, 17E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

April 17M: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

April 19-22: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad

April 23B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callahan-sic). ad (4/23-Brougham's benefit)

April 23B, 24E: *Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad

New Opera House
Pittsburgh

April 27-30B, May 1ME: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad, PB-30 (4/30-Brougham's benefit)

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

May 3-7B, 8: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). PB, ad (4/7-Brougham's benefit)

May 7B, 8: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (King Pow-ha-tan). PB, ad

May 10-14B, 15: *Much Ado about the Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). PB, ad (no PB for 5/15) (5/14-Brougham's farewell benefit)

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Park Theatre
Brooklyn

May 17-18: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). Odell, ad

May 19-20, 28B, 29: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber, Esq.). ad (5/28-Brougham's farewell benefit)

May 21B, 22: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad (5/21-Brougham's benefit)

May 21B, 22: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan). ad

May 24-28B, 29: *Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad

Theatre Francais
New York

May 19BE: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Maurice Fitzgerald-sic?). PB, Odell (benefit for Brougham)

Niblo's Garden
New York

May 19BM: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver). Odell, PB (benefit for Brougham)

Academy of Music
Brooklyn

June 12B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, ad (testimonial benefit to Mrs. Conway)

California Theatre
San Francisco

July 5-7, 10M: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

July 5-7, August 7ME: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

July 8-9: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). ad

July 10E, 12-14, 17M: *Flies in the Web* (Corydon Foxglove). ad

July 12-13: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Powhatan I). ad

July 15-17E: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). ad

July 19-23: *An Irish Stew* (Bryan Magilder). ad

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July 24, 28: *His Last Legs* (Felix O'Callaghan). ad

July 26-27, August 3: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt Courtley-sic). ad

July 29-30, 31M: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). ad

July 31E: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). ad

August 2B: *New Way to Pay Old Debts* (Justice Greedy). ad (complimentary benefit to Neil Warner)

August 4: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad

August 5: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). ad

August 6B: *Othello* (Roderigo). ad (Brougham's benefit)

August 9-12, 14: *A Red Light! Or a Signal of Danger!* (Ned Macdermot). ad

August 11-13B, 14: *Shylock! or Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad (8/13-benefit for Miss Elise Holt)

McVickers Theatre
Chicago

September 13-17B, 18ME, 20-24B, 25ME: *The Red Light or The Signal of Danger* (sometimes sub-title was *The Danger Signal*) (Ned McDermott). Sherman, ad, PB-9/16 (9/17, 9/24-Brougham's benefits)

Varieties Theatre
New Orleans

October 11-12: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

October 13-14, 16M: *Flies in a Web* (Corydon Foxglove, Attorney at Law). ad

October 15B-16E, 21: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (10/15-Brougham's benefit)

October 15B-16E: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

October 18-21, 23M: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad (The amusements column in the *New Orleans Picayune* lists *Dombey and Son* in place of this play on 10/21, but the 10/22 review is about *Much Ado*.)

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October 22B, 30M: *Irish Stew* (Bryan Magruder-sic). ad (10/22-Brougham's benefit)

October 22B, 23E, 29, 30M: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). ad

October 23E: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). news

October 25-28: *The Red Light, or the Signal of Danger* (Ned McDermot). ad

October 29: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

October 30B: *Arrah na Pogue* (Col. Baganel O'Grady). ad (grand complimentary benefit to Brougham)

National Theatre
Cincinnati

November 22-23: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

November 22-23, 27M: *The Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). ad

November 24-26B, 27E: *Lottery of Life* (not listed). ad (11/26-Brougham's benefit)

November 27M, December 3B: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (not listed). ad (12/3-Brougham's benefit)

November 29-30, December 1-2, 4M: *The Red Light* (not listed). ad

December 3B: *Irish Stew* (not listed). ad

December 4E: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). ad

Academy of Music
Cleveland

December 6-7: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). promptbook, ad

December 6-7: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (His Imperial Majesty, Pow-Ha-Tan). pb, ad

December 8-9: *Red Light; or, Signal of Danger* (not listed). ad

December 10B, 11: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (not listed). ad (12/10-Brougham's farewell benefit)

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Academy of Music
Buffalo

December 13-14: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). ad

December 13-14: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan I). ad

December 15-17B, 18E: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad (12/17-Brougham's benefit)

December 18M: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad

December 20-23, 25M: *The Red Light* (Ned Macdermott). ad, PB-25

December 24B, 25E: *Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad, PB-25 (12/24-Brougham's farewell benefit)

1870

Park Theatre
Brooklyn

January 3-7B, 22: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). Odell, ad (1/7-Brougham's benefit)

January 8: *Dombey and Son* (Captain Cuttle). Odell, ad

January 8, 21B, 22: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Pow-ha-tan I). Odell, ad (1/21-Brougham's benefit)

January 10-14B, 15, 17-20: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). Odell, ad (1/14-Brougham's farewell benefit)

January 21B: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). Odell, ad

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

January 24-25, May 31: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB, ad

January 26-27, June 2: *Flies in the Web* (Foxglvove). PB, ad

January 28B-29: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swfit). PB, ad (1/28-Brougham's benefit)

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January 31, February 1-4B, 5, 7-10, May 30: *The Red Light, Or, The Signal of Danger* (Ned Macdermot). PB-1/31, 2/1, 7, 5/30, ad (2/4-Brougham's benefit)

February 11B, 12, June 1: *Dombey and Son* (Capt. Cuttle). PB, ad (2/11-Brougham's benefit)

June 3B: *Gentleman from Ireland* (Gerald Fitzmaurice). PB, ad (Brougham's benefit)

June 4: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). PB, ad

Trimble Opera House
Albany

February 14-17: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad

February 18B, 19: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). ad (2/18-Brougham's benefit)

February 18B: *Stage Struck* (not listed). ad

February 21-22, 24: *Red Light; or The Signal of Danger* (Ned MacDermot). ad

February 23: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad

February 25B, 26: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). ad (2/25-Brougham's farewell benefit)

February 25B, 26: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). ad

Harrington's Opera House
Providence

March 17-19: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). ad

Wallack's Theatre
New York

April 20MB: *The Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Odell, ad (benefit for Mrs. Sedley Brown who had been injured by fire)

June 6-7E, 8ME, 9-11M, 11E, 13-14, 15ME, 16-17, 18ME, 20-21, 22ME, 23-25: *The Red Light, or the Signal of Danger* (Ned McDermot). Odell, ad

June 7MB: *Hamlet* (second act) (Polonius). Odell, ad (benefit for Edmund Falconer)

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June 27-28, 29ME, 30, July 1-2, 4-9: *Minnie's Luck, or Ups and Downs of City Life* (Horatio Pryer). Odell, ad

September 26-30, October 1, 3-6E, 7-8, November 3, 10, 18, 22: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB, ad (no role listed in some ads)

October 31, November 1, 5, 8, 11, 16: *John Bull* (Dennis Brulguddery). Odell, ad (no role listed in some ads)

November 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 17, 19M, 24, 26M, 30, December 31: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell, PB, ad (no role listed in some ads)

November 21, 23, 25, 29, December 3, 6, 28: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver). Odell, ad (no role listed in some ads)

December 7-10E, 12-16, 17ME, 19-23, 24ME, 26: *Coquettes, or the Two Joneses* (Arthyr Minton). Odell, PB-7, ad (no role listed in most ads)

National Theatre
Washington

April 25-27, 30M: *The Red Light or, The Signal of Danger* (Ned Mac Dermot). PB-25, ad

April 28: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). ad

April 28, 29B, 30E: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (not listed). ad (4/29-Brougham's benefit)

April 29B, 30E: *David Copperfield* (not listed). ad

Academy of Music
Mew York

October 6MB: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Odell, ad (benefit for the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum)

1871

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 2, April 5, 7, September 30, October 2, 5, 11, December 2: *The Rivals* (not listed). ad

January 3-6, 7ME, 9-13, 14ME: *War* (Captain Sound). Odell, PB (no date), ad (most ads list actors but not roles)

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January 19MB, April 13, 14, 15ME, 17-21, 22ME, 29M: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Odell, ad. (1/19-The Holland Testimonial, a benefit for his widow and orphans) (listed for O'Callaghan on PB-4/13)

January 23: *The School for Scandal* (not listed). ad

March 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18M, 24, April 10: *Romance and Reality* (Jack Swift). Odell, PB-2/27, 28, 3/1, 15, 24, ad (most ads list no roles)

March 9, October 4, 7: *Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). PB-3/9, ad (most ads list no roles)

March 14: *John Bull* (not listed). ad

April 1, 3, 6, 8M, 24-28, 29E, October 23-28: *The Nervous Man* (McShane). Odell, PB-4/1, ad (most ads list no roles)

May 22-26, 27ME: *Playing with Fire* (Doctor Savage). ad, PB-5/23

October 30-31, November 1-4: *The Busybody* (Sir Jealous Traffick). Odell, PB, ad

Park Theatre
Brooklyn

January 30-31, February 1-3B, 4: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). Odell, ad (2/3-Brougham's benefit)

February 6-10B, 11E: *Red Light* (Ned Mac Dermot). Odell, ad (2/10-Brougham's farewell benefit)

February 11M, 17B, 18E: *Pocahontas* (Pow-Ha-Tan). ad (2/17-Brougham's benefit)

February 13-16, 18M: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). Odell, ad

February 17B, 18E: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). Odell

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

May 1-4: *Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). PB-5/1, ad

May 5B, 6: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB-5/6, ad (5/5-Brougham's benefit)

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May 8-9: *The Red Light* (Ned McDermott). PB-5/8, ad

May 10-11: *Flies in the Web* (Corydon Foxglove, Esq.). PB-5/10, ad

May 12B-13: *His Last Legs* (Felix O'Callaghan). PB (5/12-Brougham's benefit)

May 12B-13: *Po-ca-hon-tas! or, Ye Gentle Savage* (Powhatan, King of the Tuscaroroas). PB-5/12

May 13: *The Robber's Wife or The Coiners' Cave* (Larry O'Gig). PB

Roberts Opera House
Hartford, Connecticut

June 2: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). ad

June 3: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

June 3: *Po-ca-hon-tas* (Pow-Ha-Tan I). ad

The announcement in the *Hartford Daily Courant* of 6/2/71 quoted a review from the *New Haven Register*, where Brougham apparently acted just prior to his appearances in Hartford. No newspaper from New Haven from that time has been found.

Niblo's Garden
New York

July 13MB: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). (Farewell benefit to J. C. Williamson who was moving to California--postponed from 7/12 to 7/13 because of riot on 7/12 in which police fired on a crowd of Catholic workers who objected to an Orangeman parade.)

Brooklyn Theatre
Brooklyn

December 4-7, 9M: *Gold Dust* (Nicodemus Boffin). Odell, ad

December 8B: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). ad (Brougham's benefit)

December 9E, 12: *Much Ado about the Merchant of Venice* (Shylock). Odell, ad (Hawes assumes that Brougham played Toodles at the performance on 12/9, a role which I have found no evidence that he otherwise played. He is not listed for this role in the ad in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, so I believe Hawes may be in error.)

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December 11, 14, 16M: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). Odell, ad

December 12: *Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). news

December 13: *Dombey and Son* (not listed). ad

December 13: *His Last Legs* (not listed). ad

December 15B, 16E: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber). Odell, ad (12/15-Brougham's benefit)

December 15B, 16E: *Pocahontas* (H. J. Powhattan-sic). Odell, ad

1872

Academy of Music
Brooklyn

January 1: *Serious Family* (Odell lists this performance, with no role listed, but no confirming newspaper advertisement has been found.)

June 3, 4: *London Assurance* (not listed). ad

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 2-6, 8-13, perhaps other dates before 1/20: *John Garth* (Deerham). Odell, news

February 12-17, 19-24, 26-28, March 1-2, 4-9ME, 11-16, 18-23, 25-30, April 1-6, 8-13, 15-17: *The Veteran* (Ofl-an-agan. ad, PB-2/12, 2/16, 3/13, 4/3, 4/15 (Brougham was advertised to appear but may not have done so from March 8 to March 13. The playbill for March 13 notes his re-appearance after his severe indisposition. A review in the *New York Times* also indicates that Brougham was ill on 3/14.)

April 18-20, 22-27ME, 29-30, 5/1-4ME, 6-11, 13-18, 20-22MB, 22E, 23-25: *London Assurance* (Max Harkaway). ad, PB-4/18, 5/10 (5/22-matinee for the benefit of the sufferers from the recent burning of Niblo's Garden)

May 8MB: *The Rivals* (not listed). (in aid of the Homopathic Surgical Hospital Fund)

June 17-22, 24-29: *On the Jury* (Dexter Sanderson). ad, PB-6/21.

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Niblo's Garden
New York

January 17MB: *His Last Legs* (Felix O'Callaghan). PB, ad (complimentary testimonal to Miss Heron)

Globe Theatre
Boston

June 7B: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). ad, program clipping (grand complimentary testimonial to Arthur Cheney, proprietor)

June 8M: *The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve* (McShane). PB, ad

June 8E: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). PB, ad

Grand Opera House
New York

August 26-31ME, September 2-7ME, 9-14ME, 16-21ME, 23-28ME, 30-October 5ME, 7-12ME, 14-19ME, 21-26ME, 28-November 2ME, 4-9ME, 11-16ME, 18-23ME: *Le Roi Carotte* (King Carrot). ad, PB-8/26

November 25-30ME, December 2-7ME, 9-14ME, 16-21ME, 23-25ME, 26-28ME, 30-31: *Round the Clock; or New York by Dark,* (Roderick Killgobbin, Esq.) ad, PB-12/9, 14

Academy of Music
New York

October 24MB: *London Assurance* (third act) (Dazzle) ad, PB (benefit for the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum)

1873

Grand Opera House
New York

January 1-4ME, 6-11ME, 13-18ME: *Round the Clock* (not listed). ad

January 20-25ME, 27-31, February 1ME, 3-8ME, 10-15ME, 17: *The Cataract of the Ganges* (Tim Donovan). Odell, PBs, ad

February 18-22ME, 24-28, March 1ME, 3-8ME, 10-15ME: *Roughing It* (Denis McDuffie). Odell, ad

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March 17-22ME, 24-29ME, 31, April 1-5ME, 7-12ME: *Uncle Sam; or, The Flirtation* (Samuel Tapplebot). Odell, PB-3/17, ad

Academy of Music
New York

January 2B: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Odell writes that this benefit for St. Ann's Fair was arranged by Daly, presumably for a matinee performance. I found no ads for this performance at all.

Association Hall
New York

November 18: lecture "Fairy Lore of Ireland". program, ad

Odell lists other lectures sometime in October at the Church of the Disciples and Harlem Music Hall in New York. No advertisements for the first program have been found; Brougham's name is listed in a projected series of lectures at Harlem Music Hall in the *New York Herald* on October 19; however, no specific date is given for his lecture, and no further advertisements have been found.

1874

Association Hall
New York

January 12: reading from *Flies in the Web*. Odell, ad

Wallack's Theatre
New York

January 17, 19-24ME, 26-31ME, February 2-7ME, 18-21ME, 23-28ME, March 2-5, 7M, May 27, 30E: *Money* (Benjamin Stout). Odell, PBs, ad

March 9-14ME: *The Heir at Law* (Dr. Pangloss). Odell, PB-3/11, ad

March 16-21ME, April 3: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). PB-3/6, ad

April 4ME, 6-11ME, 13, 20-25, 27-29: *The Veteran* (Of-lan-agan). Odell, PB-4/4, ad (Odell indicated that Brougham became ill again on 4/11, and Harry Beckett took his role for more than a week. However, he was listed in ads through April 13 and missing only for April 14-18.)

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April 30, May 1-2ME, 4-9ME, 11-16ME, 18-21: *School* (Beau Farintosh). Odell, PBs, ad

May 22-23ME, 25: *Clandestine Marriage* (Canton). ad, PB-5/25

May 26, 28-30M: *The Nervous Man* (McShane, the Man of Nerve). PBs, ad

Academy of Music
New York

March 19MB: *The School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). Odell, PB, ad (grand charity performance for the benefit of the poor of the city)

Park Theatre
Brooklyn

September 21-23: *Red Light* (Edmund McDermott). Odell, ad, news

September 24-25, 26M, 26EB: *The Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). Odell, ad, PB-9/26E (9/26-Brougham's benefit)

September 26EB: *Pocahontas* (J. H. Pow-Ha-Tan I). PB

Howard Athenaeum
Boston

October 19-24ME: *The Lottery of Life* (not listed). ad

October 26-28ME, 29-31ME: *Po-Ka-Hon-Tas* (not listed). ad

McVicker's Theatre
Chicago

November 30, December 1-5ME: *David Copperfield* (Wilkins Micawber/Daniel Peggotty). PB-11/30, ad

December 7-12ME: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). PB-12/7, ad

Robinson's Opera House
Cincinnati

December 14-17, 19E: *Lottery of Life* (Terry the Swell). PB-12/14, ad

December 18B, 19M: *David Copperfield* (Micawber). ad (12/18-Brougham's benefit)

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1875

Park Theatre
Brooklyn

January 18B: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt). Odell, ad (benefit to Lamb, manager)

Arch Street Theatre
Philadelphia

January 25-26, 30M, March 18-20M: *Playing with Fire* (Dr. Savage). PB, ad

January 27-28, March 15-17: *Flies in the Web* (Counsellor Foxglove). PB, ad

January 29B: *London Assurance* (Sir Harcourt Courtly). PB (Brougham's benefit)

January 30E, March 22-27M: *Lottery of Life; A Story of New York* (Terry the Swell). PBs-1/30, 3/22, ad

March 8B, 9-13ME: *The Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). PB, ad (3/8-first in a series of fourteen performances for the benefit of the Police Centennial Fund)

March 20E: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

Academy of Music
New York

April 29MB: *A Gentleman from Ireland* (not listed). Odell, ad (benefit to support the education of Dan Bryant's five orphan children)

November 4BE: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). Odell, ad (benefit of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum)

Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre
New York

May 26B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, Daly, ad (benefit to Mrs. Gilbert)

September 13: original opening address marking the return of the Fifth Avenue Company after their California tour--delivered by Brougham. Odell, news

October 2, 4-9ME, 11-16ME, 18-23ME: *Our Boys* (Perkin Middlewick). news, PB-10/4, Odell

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December 14-18ME, 20-25ME, 27-31: *Pique* (Dr. Gossitt). Odell, PBs, ad

Brooklyn Theatre
Brooklyn

May 31B: *The Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell (benefit to John P. Smith, business manager)

Hawes indicates that Brougham appeared in a benefit on December 1, but no evidence to support this has been found.

Odell indicates that Brougham appeared in *His Last Legs* in a benefit for Gaylor at the Grand Central Theatre sometime in October, but no evidence of this has been found.

1876

Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre
New York

January 1ME, 3-8ME, 10-15ME, 17-22ME, 24-29ME, 31, February 1-5ME, 7-9ME, 10-12ME, 14-16ME, 17-19ME, 21, 22ME, 23-26ME, 28-29, March 1-4ME, 6-8ME, 9-11ME, 13ME, 14-15ME, 16-17ME, 18ME, 20-22ME, 23-25ME, 27-29ME, 30-31, April 1ME, 3-5ME, 6-8ME, 10-15ME, 17ME, 18-19ME, 20-22ME, 24-26ME, 27-29ME, May 1-6M, 8-13M, 15-20M, 22-27M, 29-31, June 1-3M, 5-10, 12-17E, 19-24ME, 26-30, July 3-4M, 5-8ME, 10-15ME, 17-22ME, 24-29ME: *Pique* (not listed). ad, PBs (newspaper for 7/1 is missing)

May 6BE, September 12-16ME, 18-23ME, 25: *Money* (Stout). Odell, PB-9/12, Daly, ad (benefit for D. H. Harkins)

May 13BE, 27BE, June 17M: *Serious Family* (Captain Murphy Maguire). Odell, PB, Daly, ad (5/13-Brougham's benefit, 5/27-benefit for Davidge)

May 13BE, 27BE, June 17M: *Pocahontas* (Pow-ha-tan I). Odell, PB, Daly, ad

June 3BE: *The Siamese Twins* (Denis O'Glib). Odell, PB, Daly, ad (benefit for Stephen Fiske)

September 27-30ME, October 2-7ME, 9-14ME, 16-21ME, 23-28ME, 30-31, November 1-4ME, 6-7, 9-11ME, 13-18M: *Life* (Chumley Clevert). Odell, PB, Daly, ad (no ad for this theatre on November 8)

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December 5-9ME, 11-16ME, 18-19: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). Odell, Daly, ad

December 20-23ME, 25ME, 26-30ME: *The American* (Dr. Remonie). Odell, Daly, ad

Walnut Street Theatre
Philadelphia

August 7-12: *Columbus* (Columbus). ad

August 14-16, 18B-19: *Pocahontas* (Powhatan I). PB-14, ad (newspaper for 8/17 did not have an ad for that evening for Walnut Street Theatre) (8/18-Brougham's benefit)

1877

Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre
New York

January 1ME, 2-6ME, 8-12: *The American* (not listed). ad

January 15-17E, 18-20ME, 22-27ME, 29-31, February 1-3ME, 5-10ME, 12-17ME, 19-22ME, 23-24ME, 26-28, March 1-3ME, 5-9: *Lemons, or Wedlock for Seven* (Lord Loftus). Odell, Daly, ad, PBs

January 17MB: *His Last Legs* (not listed). Odell, news (benefit arranged by Brougham for the benefit of the poor of St. Stephen's Parish)

March 10M: *Pique* (not listed). Odell, Daly, ad

March 12-17ME: *Blue Glass* (Brevet Brigadier General Macthunder). Odell, ad

March 19-24E: *London Assurance* (Dazzle). Odell, Daly, ad

Grand Opera House
New York

May 7-9ME, 10MB, 10E, 11-12ME, 14-16ME, 17-19ME, 21-22, 24-26ME: *The Princess Royal* (Frederick the Great). Odell, PBs, ad (5/10-benefit for Mrs. Gilbert)

Globe Theatre
Boston

September 10-12ME: *Slander* (Major McMuddle). PB, ad

September 13-14ME: *Good Bye* (Frank Fitzgerald). PB, ad

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Griswold Opera House
Troy

September 20, 22M: *Good Bye* (not listed). ad

September 21, 22E: *Slander* (not listed). ad

Leland Opera House
Albany

October 1, 3M: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

October 2: *Good Bye* (not listed). ad

October 3E: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). ad

October 4: *Serious Family* (not listed). ad

October 5, 6M: *Slander* (not listed). ad

October 6E: *Lottery of Life* (not listed). ad

Opera House
Rochester

October 8: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

October 9: *Good-Bye* (not listed). ad

October 10: *Flies in the Web* (not listed). ad

October 11: *Slander* (not listed). ad

October 12B: *Serious Family* (Capt. Murphy Maguire). ad
(Brougham's benefit)

October 12B: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). ad

October 13: *Lottery of Life* (not listed). ad, Fenyvessy

Opera House
Utica

October 15: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

Academy of Music
Oswego

October 16: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

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Opera House
Auburn

October 17: *Playing with Fire* (not listed). ad

1878

Academy of Music
New York

January 17MEB: all-day benefit for Brougham. Playbills indicate that Brougham sang a ballad, "Happy as a Bird," at the afternoon performance, but reviews indicate that he was still to ill to attend.

Wallack's Theatre
New York

February 14MB: benefit for Brougham. He did not act. PB

February 18-22ME, 23E, 25-28, March 1, 4-9E, 11-16E, 23M, 27: *Money* (Stout). Odell, PB, news, ad (Lester Wallack was reportedly ill for a few days, so *Money* may have not been performed on February 28 and March 1.)

March 18-23E, 25, 28, 30ME: *London Assurance* (Max Harkaway). Odell, ad,

September 21, 23-28ME, 30, October 1-5ME, 14, 16, 18, 19E, 30, November 2M, 12, 14: *School for Scandal* (Sir Oliver Surface). Odell, PB-9/30, ad (most ads list actors but no roles)

October 7-12ME, 15, 17, 19M, 23MB, November 1, 5: *The Road to Ruin* (Sulky). Odell, PB, ad (most ads are very short)(10/23-benefit for the yellow fever sufferers; there was an epidemic in the South)

October 21-23E, 24-26ME, 31, November 7, 11: *The Jealous Wife* (Captain O'Cutter). Odell, ad (ads list no roles or actors)

October 28-29, November 2E, 4, 6, 8, 9ME, 13, 15: *The Rivals* (Sir Lucius O'Trigger). Odell, PB-11/2, news, ad

December 4-7ME, 9-14ME, 16-21ME, 23-28ME: *My Son* (Herr Willner, a poor Treasury clerk). Odell, PBs, ad

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Park Theatre
New York

April 25MEB: *His Last Legs* (O'Callaghan). Odell, PB, ad (grand complimentary benefit for W. W. Tillotson, treasurer of the theatre)

1879

Booth's Theatre
New York

February 11-13, 15ME: *Arrah na Pogue* (Col. O'Grady). Odell, PB- 2/15, ad (The playbill indicates that this play would be performed for six nights with two matinees on Wednesday and Saturday. However, ads in the New York *Times* indicate that the Wednesday matinee, the Friday evening and the Monday evening performances were of the *Colleen Bawn*, not *Arrah na Pogue*.)

September 4-6, 8-13ME, 15-20ME, 22-27ME, 29-30, October 1-4ME, 6-8, 17-18ME, 20-25ME: *Rescued, or a Girl's Romance* (Phoenix O'Reilly). Odell, ad

October 11, 13-16: *Louis XI* (Coitier). Odell, PB, ad

Boston Theatre
Boston

March 3-5ME, 6-8ME: *Arrah na Pogue* (Major Bagenal O'Grady). Tompkins/Kilby, PB, ad

Grand Opera House
New York

May 19-21ME, 22-24ME, 26-28ME, 29-31ME: *Arrah-na-Pogue* (Colonel O'Grady). Odell, PB, ad

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Appendix B

Plays Performed by Brougham

Since playwrights were often not acknowledged on programs in the nineteenth century, it was decided to create a list with those playwrights attributions of authorship rather than clutter the narrative of the dissertation with information about possible playwrights. Primary sources (playbills and newspaper advertisements) which listed the playwright were few, but were given precedence over secondary sources as authority. Playwrights were sometimes acknowledged by compilers of dramatic and theatrical works, but it was deemed more useful for the reader to know where primary information may have been found. In cases where a date followed PB in this list, the date is for the only playbill found with the author's name. Items for which the source is listed as review or news means that the playwright was identified in a news article or review but not in advertisements.

Especially useful in creating this list were Mullin's *Victorian Drama* (Mullin) and Nicoll's *A History of English Drama* (Nicoll), For American plays, Quinn's *A History of the American Drama* (Quinn) was used. Daly's *Memories of Daly's Theatres* (Daly) was also used as were Brougham's *Life, Stories, and Poems of John Brougham*, Ryan's handlist of plays wirh "John Brougham: The Gentle Satirist," (Ryan) and Planché's *Collection of Extravaganzas* (Planché). In addition Dubois' *English and American Stage Productions* (Dubois) and Clarence's *"The Stage" Clylopaedia* (Clarence) were consulted. The titles of those plays for which no possible playwright has been found are listed in roman rather than italic type and indicated as "not found." Important pieces by Brougham or produced by him in which he did not act are indicated by an asterisk before the title. At the conclusion of the creation of this list, I cannot do better than echo Nicoll's comment, "It has been found exceedingly difficult to attribute plays correctly to their authors." (Nicoll, IV, 248)

Play	Playwright	Source
Abduction of Rea, The	Brougham	PB-9/1/48
Alive and Merry	Dance	PB-10/16/39
(programmmed as *Alive and Merry, or, The Dead Philadelphian* with no playwright listed for Philadelphia performances, PB-1/10/45)		
All That Glitters is not Gold	J. M. and T. Morton Nicoll	

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Play	Playwright	Source
All's Fair in Love	Brougham	cast list in French's printed version -- In his diary, Brougham wrote that he altered this from *The Page*.
Alma Mater, or Life in Oxford	Boucicault	Odell (listed as *Alma Mater, or Cure for Coquettes* in advertisements in Philadelphia newspapers--also programmed several times as only *A Cure for Coquettes*)
Amateur Actors -- see *My Fellow Clerk*		
Ambassadress, or a Manager's Miseries, The (opera)	Loder, based on Auber	Odell
American, The	Daly	Odell, ad an adaptation of Dumas' *L'Etangere*
Americans in Paris	W. H. Hurlburt	Quinn
Anne of Austria or, A Queen's Frolic	not found	
Any Thing for a Change	Shirley Brooks	Clarence
Arcade, The	Brougham	Hawes, Quinn
Arrah-na-Pogue or the Wicklow Wedding	Boucicault	PBs
Art and Artifice	Brougham	Odell, cast list in French's printed version
Artist's Triumph -- see *Living Pictures*		
As You Like It	Shakespeare	ads for New York performances as Adam, ad and PB-1/31/45, Boston
Bachelor of Arts, A	Pelham Hardwick	Mullin Hawes attributes to Brougham, *Spirit of the Times* (1/21/54) says adapted by Thomas Taylor from the French - playwright not listed on playbill for 1/8/56, Ryan says that this may have been an adaptation of Hardwicke's (sic) play but believes it unlikely that Brougham was involved in the adaptation
Bachelor's Wife, A	Frederick Watson	Odell
Bamboozling	T. E. Wilks	Mullin Durang attributes to Brougham? (This play was performed as *A Husband for an Hour* for a benefit for the American Dramatic Fund. PB-12/21/50) It was also programmed twice in Philadelphia as *A Wife for an Hour*.
Begone Dull Care!	Morton	Odell Odell writes that this was a revival of Morton's old comedy, *A School for Grown Children*, but that it was programmed under the title of one of Reynolds' comedies.
Bel Demonio	Brougham	PBs
Belle's Stratagem, The	Mrs. Cowley	PBs
Benighted Travellers, The	not listed	PBs
Better Late than Never	Brougham	Odell, ads
Beulah Spa, The	Charles Dance	PB-12/21/33 programmed as *The Beulah Spa, or the Two B'hoys* on 8/7/

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Play	Playwright	Source
Bird of Passage, A	B. Webster	PB-11/24/49
Birth of Freedom, The -- see *Declaration of Independence*		
Black Eyed Susan	Jerrold	Nicoll
Bleak House	Brougham	PBs
Blighted Flower, The	not found	
Bloomers, or Pets in Pants, The	Brougham	PBs
Blue and Cherry	not found	
Blue Beard	Planché/Dance	Planché
Blue Glass	from the German of Moser	Daly, Odell
Boarding School, The	Bernard	Nicoll
Bohemian Girl, The -- see *Zanonah*		
Bold Dragoons, The	M. Barnett	Nicoll
Bold Stroke for a Husband, A	Mrs. H. Cowley	Nicoll
Born to Good Luck, or--The Irishman's Fortune	Tyrone Power	Nicoll
This was also programmed at least fourteen times with the title as a variation of *The Irishman's Fortune*.		
Box and Cox	J. M. Morton	Mullin
Broadway and the Bowery, or, the Young Mechanic and the Merchant's Daughter	Cornelius Matthews	Odell
Brougham and Company	Brougham	Hawes
Bubbles of the Day	Douglas Jerrold	PB-2/11/43
Burlesque Camille -- see *New Camille, A*		
Burlington Arcade, The	Charles Dance	PBs
Burton Worried by Brougham -- see *Unwarrantable Intrusion, An*		
Burton's New York Directory, or The Cockney in America	Burton	PBs
Sometimes listed as just *New York Directory*		
Busy Body, The	Centilivre	PBs
California Gold Mines, The	Brougham	PBs
Camille (Burlesque) -- see *New Camille, A*		
Capture of Captain Cuttle or (sometimes and) *Bunsby's Wedding, The*	Brougham	PBs
(occasionally programmed as *Cuttle's Capture* or as *Cuttle's Capture and Bunsby's Wedding*)		
Card Case, The (or *A*)	H. T. Craven	Mullin
Card Drawer, or, Fatal Prediction, The	not found	
(It is not absolutely clear that Brougham acted in this.)		
Castle Spectre, The	M. G. Lewis	Mullin
Cataract of the Ganges, The	Brougham adaptation of original by Moncrieff	PB, ads
Catspaw, The	Douglas Jerrold	Mullin
Caught Napping	Peake	N
Chaos is Come Again	J. M. Morton	Mullin

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Play	Playwright	Source
Charles II-Or, The Merry Monarch	J. H. Payne	N
Charles XII	Planché	N
Charles O'Malley	H. J. Conway	PB
Cher Ryan Dfairs Tar	Brougham	PB
Christmas Carol, A	Dickens (arr.Brougham)	PBs
Clandestine Marriage, The	Colman/Garrick	N, PB-5/25/74
Coachman and the Heiress, The -- see *Romance in High Life*		
Colleen Bawn, The	Boucicault	ads
Columbus el Filibustero	Brougham	PBs
revised after the Civil War and often presented as *Columbus Reconstructed!*		
Comedy of Errors	Shakespeare	PBs
Confidence Man, The	Brougham	Quinn
Convenience of a Convenient Distance, The -- see *Omnibus, The*		
Cool as a Cucumber	Jerrold	Nicoll
Coquettes, or the Two Joneses	Albery	Odell, ads
Cork Leg, The -- see *Perfection*		
Corsair! Or, an Escape from Slavery, The	founded on poem by Lord Byron	PBs
Counterfeit Presentments -- see *Living Pictures*		
Counterfeiters, The -- see *Robber's Wife, The*		
Country Girl, The	Garrick rev.	Mullin
Court Beauties	Planché	Mullin
Court Favour or, "Private and Confidential"	Planché	Mullin
Court of Queen's Bench	unknown	Nicoll
Critic; or, a Tragedy Rehearsed, The	Sheridan	PBs
Curious Case, or Mind How You Visit Your Uncle, A	Ch. Matthews	PBs
Cuttle's Capture -- see *Capture of Captain Cuttle*		
Daughter, The	T. H. Bayly	Nicoll
Davenport Worried by Brougham -- see *Unwarrantable Intrusion, An*		
David Copperfield	Brougham	PBs
Day After the Wedding	M. T. Kemble	Mullin
Dead Alive! Or...Which is Which? possibly by John Keefe, 1781 or James Bruton, 1845		Clarence
Death of Rolla, The	founded on Pizarro	PBs
Decided Case, A	Brougham	PBs
Decided Novelty, A	Brougham	Ryan
Declaration of Independence various sub-titles also programmed as *The Birth of Freedom* and *The Irish Yankee* though I found no performances by Brougham with the latter title	Brougham	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
Demon Jester, or the Dutchman's Dream, The	Brougham	PBs
also programmed as *The Demon Jester, or a Romantic Idea* and as *A Romantic Idea*		
Demon Lover, or My Cousin German	Brougham	ads
also programmed as *My Cousin German*		
Dombey and Son	Brougham	PBs
Don Giovanni		
described as a musical entertainment and given at Tottenham Street Theatre, this may have been the play by T. J. Dibdin. Mozart's opera was done at Drury Lane in 1833 according to Dubois.		
Don Giovanni in London	not found	
Dr. Dilworth	Oxenford	PBs
Dream of the Future, A	Charles Dance	PB-7/6/38
Dred, A Tale of The Dismal Swamp	Brougham	PBs
Duality -- see *Unwarrantable Intrusion, An*		
Duel; or, My Two Nephews, The	R. B. Peake	Mullin
Duke's Motto, The	Brougham	PBs
translated and adapted from Paul Feval's *Le Bossu*		
Dumb Belle, The	Bernard	Mullin
Elopements in High Life	Robert Sullivan	PB-5/10/55
Enchanted Isle, The	R.B. and W. Brough	PBs
Englishmen in India, The -- see *Sketches in India*		
Enthusiasm	Brougham	PB-6/22/42
Esmeralda and Her Gifted Goat	not found	
Etiquette Run Mad or, Happy Blundering	Power	Mullin
Eva, the Page		
It seems likely that this may have been by Brougham; Miss Nelson played Eva; records of only two performances have been found. The play may have been a version of *The Page*.		
Every One Has His Fault	Mrs. Inchbald	Mullin
(compressed into 3 acts)		
Everybody's Friend	Sterling Coyne	Odell
Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady	Planché	Mullin
Faithful Irishman, The -- see *Honest Thieves*		
False and True	Brougham	Hawes
After a few days this was renamed *Orion, the Gold Beater*. It was based on Sylvanus Cobb's *New York Ledger* story.		
Fashion	Anna Cora Mowatt	PB-2/7/55
Fashionable Arrivals	Mark Lemon	PBs
Fast Man, or, A Financial Crisis, The	Leman Reed	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
Fast Men of the Olden Times A revival (and perhaps adaptation) of Moncrieff's play, *Rochester*.		
Fistimania, or The Man Who Saw the Fight A review in the *New York Herald* includes a notice that "No incident is omitted of public notoriety, that through the prolific genius of Brougham is not converted into attractive and amusing recreation." Programmed once as *The Man Who Saw the Fight*.	Brougham	review
Flanigan and Fairies -- see *O'Flanigan and the Fairies*		
Fleur de Marie or, The Prince and the Notary	Brougham adaptation	PB-1/9/46
Flies in the Web a revision of Brougham's earlier play, *The Game of Love*	Brougham	PBs
Follies of a Night	Planché	PB-6/22/47
Folly as It Flies	Reynolds	PB-2/11/54
Fortune of War, or, a Soldier's Honor, The	J. Wallack Lester	review/Odell
Fortune Teller, The -- see *Presumptive Evidence*		
Fortune Telling misprint for Fortune Teller)	not found (likely just a	
Fortunio	Planché	Nicoll
Forty Loafers or, -- The Spirit of the Aqueduct	J. W. Torrey	PB-10/14/47
Four Phantoms, or the Legend of St. Mark	not found	
Fra Diavolo, or The Inn at Terracina later the sub-title is *or, the Brigand Chief*; Nicoll writes that this was adapted from Scribe with music by Auber	Michael Lacy	Nicoll
Franklin, The Boy, The Sage, and the Statesman	Brougham	Hawes/Nicoll
Game of Life, The	Brougham	PBs
Game of Love, The	Brougham	PBs
Garrick Fever, The	Planché	Mullin
**Gazza Ladra, La* (opera) Playbills exist but was not performed. Nicoll lists a play from 1831 by unknown author.	Rossini	Clarence
Gentleman from Ireland, A	Fitz-James O'Brien	PBs
Gentleman in Difficulties, A	T. H. Bayly	Mullin
Gervase Skinner	unknown, possibly Jerrold	Nicoll
Going It Blind	Maria Grace Walcot, tr.	Odell
Going to the Bad, or My Scotch Aunt also programmed as *Going to the Bad, or My Dutch Aunt*	Tom Taylor	Odell
Gold Dust	Brougham	Odell, ads

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Play	Playwright	Source
Golden Dream, The	Brougham	PBs
Good Bye	Brougham	ads
Good Fellow, A	Walcot	PBs
Great Attraction or, The Stage-Struck Yankee	O. E. Durwage	Quinn
Nicoll lists W. R. Maxwell for *The Stage-Struck Yankee* but nothing under *The Great Attraction*		
**Great Eastern, The*	Brougham	Hawes/review
Great Mistake, A -- see *Teacher Taught, The*		
Great Tragic Revival, The	Brougham	PBs
Green Bushes! or...A Hundred Years Ago!	Buckstone	Mullin
Gunmaker of Moscow, The	Brougham	Odell
Guy Mannering	Planché	Mullin
Hamlet	Shakespeare	PBs
Hamlet	John Poole	PBs
often advertised as *Hamlet Travestie* and sometimes spelled as *Ham-let*. Ads and playbills in Boston indicate that this was written by a gentleman of this city, so Brougham may have played in more than one version.		
Happy Man, The	Lover	PBs
usually listed with Brougham as Paddy Murphy, but twice listed as Paddy Ryan, perhaps confused with other Paddy Ryan plays (see *Irish Tiger, Irish Help,* and *Paddy Ryan's Dream*)		
Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain, The	Brougham	PBs
Heads or Tails	J. P. Simpson	Mullin
Hearts or, Serpents of Society	Brougham	PBs
founded on Miss Braddon's story, "Only a Clod"		
Hearts are Trumps	Mark Lemon	Odell
Heir at Law, The	G. Colman, the younger	PBs
Hide and Seek	J. Lunn	Nicoll
High Life Below Stairs	James Townley	Mullin
The ad in the *New York Herald* on Feb. 25, 1858 indicates that the play is by Garrick.		
His First Champagne	Leman Rede	PB-8/27/40
His Last Legs	Bernard	PBs
also programmed as *Irish Mesmerism, Mesmerism* and *Mesmerism; or, His Last Legs*		
Home	Brougham	ads
Home Book of Beauty, The	Mme. Marguerittes	Odell
Honest Thieves, Or The Faithful Irishman	T. Knight	Mullin
presented once as *The Faithful Irishman*.		
Horn's Last	not found	
playbill says by a New Yorker		
Horse Railways -- see *Omnibus, The*		

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Play	Playwright	Source
How to Pay the Rent	Power	Mullin
Hunchback, The	Knowles	PBs
Hundred Pound Note	not found	
Husband at Sight, A	Buckstone	Mullin
Husband for an Hour, A -- see *Bamboozling*		
I'll Be Your Second	G. H. Rodwell	Nicoll
Idol's Birthday, The	John Oxenford	Mullin
Immediate Satisfaction, or, An Affair of Honour	not found	
Nicoll lists three plays named *An Affair of Honour*, by A. McLaren, by W. L. Rede, and by an unknown author, but nothing under *Immediate Satisfaction*.		
Inconstant, The	Farquhar, altered by Murdoch	PBs
Indian Girl, The	anon.	Quinn
possibly by Brougham?		
Ins and Outs	M. Lemon	
noted on playbills - by author of *The Ladies' Club*		
Invincibles or.....The Female Volunteers, The	T. Morton	Mullin
usually programmed without the subtitle		
Ion	S. Talfourd	Mullin
Irish Ambassador, The	Kenney	ad-7/31/55
Irish Cupid, The	not found	
(This farce may be the same as *The Arcade* since Brougham played O'Slack in both pieces.)		
Irish Dragoon, The	Charles Selby	PBs
Irish Emigrant -- see *Temptation*		
Irish Engagement	W. Watts	Nicoll
Irish Heiress, The	Boucicault	PB-1/19/53
also programmed as *The West End* and *West End, Or, The Irish Heiress*		
Irish Help		
Programmed with this title only twice, this farce may be the same as *The Irish Tiger*, and *Paddy Ryan's Dream*. Both *Irish Tiger* and *Irish Help* list Mrs. Brougham playing Nancy.		
Irish Lion, The	Buckstone	PBs
Irish Mesmerism -- see *His Last Legs*		
Irish Patriot -- see *White Horse of the Peppers*		
Irish Post, The	Planché	PBs
Irish Stew, or, The Mysterious Widow of Long Branch, The	Brougham	Odell, ads
Irish Tiger, The	Madison Morton	PB-5/7/47
Sometimes programmed as *The Irish Tiger, or Paddy's Dream*. Also programmed four times as *Paddy Ryan's Dream*. Mullin and Nicoll list Morton as playwright.		

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Play	Playwright	Source
Irish Tutor, The	Richard Butler, adp.	Mullin
Sometimes programmed as *The Irish Tutor! or...New Lights!* Programmed once as *New Lights*		
Irish Yankee, The -- see *Declaration of Independence*		
Irishman in London, The	W. Macready?	Nicoll
Mullin lists no author; the play Nicoll lists may not be the same as the one that Brougham performed since Macready's title is *The Irishman in London; or, The Happy African.*		
Irishman's Fortune, The -- see *Born to Good Luck*		
Iron Chest, The	George Colman	ads
Mullin lists thi play as by the younger George Colman.		
Island of Jewels, The	Planché	Clarence
J. B. and B. J., or Who'll Rule the Seas?	Brougham	PB-9/8/51
Presented initially as *John Bull and Brother Jonathan* and title changed to *The Yacht Race, or Who'll Rule the Seas?*		
Jack of Clubs -- see *Presumptive Evidence*		
Jack Sheppard	Buckstone	Mullin
Jealous Wife, The	Colman, the elder	PBs
Jenny Lind	Angus Beach	PB-3/1/69
It is not clear if Beach's post-Civil War play was the same as the one in which Brougham performed earlier.		
Jersey Monopoly	not found	
John Bull	Colman, the younger	PBs
John Bull and Brother Jonathan -- see *J. B. and B. J.*		
John Dobbs	J. M. Morton	Mullin
John Garth	Brougham	Odell, news
Jonathan Bradford	Edward Fitzball	Mullin
**Julius Caesar*	Shakespeare	Hawes
**Karmel the Scout; or, The Rebel of the Jerseys*	Brougham/J.B. Howe	Hawes
Keeping the Line	not found	
King and the Mimic, The	Brougham?	
A review indicates that Brougham performed his "counterfeit presentment" of Lynne, an actor with the company.		
**King Henry Fourth*	Shakespeare	PB-12/16/51
**King John*	Shakespeare	PB-12/29/51
King Lear	Shakespeare	PB-11/16/46
King O'Neal		
Nicoll lists a *King O'Neil* by Mrs. C. G. F. Gore.		
King of the Peacocks, The	Planché	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
King Richard Ye Third	C. Selby	Nicoll
played with variations in title such as *Kinge Richard Ye Third, or Ye Battel of Bosworth Field*, but nearly always advertised as burlesque. At least some performances included a Grand Ethiopian Serenade. (1847)		
Knights of the Round Table	Planché	PBs
Kossuth's Kum	Brougham	PBs
Programmed later as *Kossuth Has Come*.		
Kynge John	not found	
burlesque		
Ladies' Battle, The	Scribe, adapted by Tom Taylor and Ch. Reade	Mullin
The apostrophe was often omitted.		
Ladies' Club, The	Mark Lemon	Mullin
Lady and Gentleman in a Peculiarly Perplexing Predicament, A	Selby	Mullin
Lady in a Fix, A	Brougham	PB-1/8/50
Lady of Lyons, The	Bulwer Lytton	PBs
Last Man, The	not found	
Mullin lists no author; Quinn lists R. P. Smith and another play by Wm. Blake; Wilt lists Pitt.		
Leap Year Or, The Ladies' Privilege	Buckstone	PBs
Lemons, or Wedlock for Seven	Daly	PBs
adapted from J. Rosen's German play Citronen		
Lesson for Lovers, A	Buckstone	Mullin
Lesson of the Heart, A	not found	
Lethe	Garrick	PB-9/6/52
Life	Daly	PB-10/2/76, ads
Life Among the Players in England and America	not found	
Life in Boston; Or A Row at the National	Brougham	PB-2/26/45
Life in Cincinnati -- see *Tom and Jerry in America*		
Life in New York, or Tom and Jerry on a Visit	Brougham	PBs
see also *Tom and Jerry*		

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Play	Playwright	Source
Life in the Clouds, or Olympus in an Uproar	Brougham	ads
Performed in the United States without the sub-title. Brougham first presented this at the English Opera House in the summer of 1840 where he played O'Rion; he apparently revised it for productions in America and played the role of Bacchus. *Jupiter Jealous, or Life in the Clouds* was given at the Olympic in New York on 10/3/42 according to an advertisement in the *New York Herald*. Hawes writes that this was by Brougham and was a title change from his *Life in the Clouds or Olympus in an Uproar*, but he gives the date as 10/31/42. There is no review of the performance on 10/3/42.		
Light Guard, or Women's Rights, The	Brougham?	
This was presented on the opening night of Brougham's Lyceum		
Little Piccolomini	Brougham	ad-8/12/59
Little Sins and Pretty Sinners	C. Selby	Nicoll
Living Pictures	Brougham	PBs
also programmed several times as *Counterfeit Presentments* and once as *Artist's Triumph! or...Counterfeit Presentments* - PB, 7/4/49 -- no playwright listed -- probably highly improvised although three other performers		
Loan of a Lover	Planché	Mullin
London Assurance	Boucicault	PBs
Look Before You Leap	Lovell	Odell
Lord of the Manor, The	Charles Dibdin?	Mullin
Nicoll lists the Dibdin play from 1812 but acknowledges that another play with this title by an unknown author was performed in 1837.		
Lost and Won! or...A Wife's Trials	Mark Lemon	Nicoll
Lost Son, The		
Nicoll writes that this play is the same as *Luke the Labourer* which was written by J. B. Buckstone.		
Lottery of Life, The: A Story of New York	Brougham	PBs
Louis XI	Boucicault	PB-10/11/79
Love and Duty, or a Wife's Honour	Tom Taylor	review
Love and Money or, The School for Scheming	Boucicault	PBs
Love and Murder, or the Irishman in Spain	Brougham	PBs
An earlier version of Brougham's story by this name had been staged by a Mr. Baker. Brougham created a new stage version with different characters. Often presented without the subtitle.		

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Play	Playwright	Source
Love Chase, The	Knowles	PBs
Love for Love	Congreve (revised)	PBs
Love in a Cottage	T. H. Bayly	Nicoll
Nicoll also acknowledges another play with this title by an unknown author.		
Love in a Maze	Boucicault	PBs
Love, Law and Physic	James Kenney	Clarence
Love's Livery	Brougham	Hawes
Love's Sacrifice	Lovell	Odell
Two ads list Lover as the playwright, but Mullin agrees with Odell.		
Lucretia Borgia	F. Haynes/J. Rees	Quinn
Nicoll lists three plays spelled *Lucrezia Borgia*, one by J. M. Weston, another by W. Young, and a third by an unknown author.		
Macbeth	Shakespeare	PBs
Macbeth	Northall	PBs
Also billed as *Mac-Beth*, *Macbeth Travestie*, *Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth*, and once as *Mac-Beth! or, The Humours of Hecate*.		
Maid of Crossey, The	Mrs. C. G. F. Gore	Nicoll
Man and Wife	Arnold	Odell
confirmed by Mullin		
Man of Many Friends, The	J. S. Coyne	Mullin
Odell calls this Tom Taylor's comedy, but Nicoll and Mullin agree on Coyne.		
Man Who Saw the Fight -- see *Fistimania*		
Marble Hearts	Brougham	PBs
Marriage Bliss of Box and Cox	not found	
Marriage of Figaro, The (opera)	Mozart	PB-9/17/49
Married Life or, Connubiality in Couples	Buckstone	PBs
Married Rake, The	Charles Selby	Mullin
Mary, Queen of Scots		
Mullin says this may have been dramatized from a novel by Sir Walter Scott.		
**Masks and Faces*	C. Reade/T. Taylor	Mullin
Match in the Dark, A	Ch. Dance	Mullin
Matrimony	J. Kenney	Mullin
Men of the Day, or Extremes	Edmund Falconer	Odell
Merchant of Venice, The	Shakespeare	PBs
Merry Wives of Windsor, The	Shakespeare	PBs
Mesmerism -- see *His Last Legs*		
Met-a-mo-ra; or The Last of the Pollywogs	Brougham	PBs
Often programmed without hyphens and/or with no sub-title		
Methinks I See My Father	Morris Barnet	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
Miller of New Jersey; or, The Prison Hulk, The	Brougham	Hawes
Minnie's Luck; or, The Ups and Downs of City Life	Brougham	Odell, ads
Money	Bulwer-Lytton	PBs
Money Market, The	Brougham	PBs
adapted from Balzac's *Mercadet*		
More Blunders than One	Rodwell	Mullin
Most Unwarrantable Intrusion, A -- see *Unwarrantable Intrusion, An*		
Mr. Lobjoit and His Papa, Or, A New Way to Borrow a Wife	not found	
Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth -- see *Macbeth* (Northall)		
Much Ado About Nothing	Shakespeare	PBs
Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice	Brougham	PBs
Musard Ball, or Love at the Academy, The	Brougham	PB-6/12/58
My Cousin German -- see *Demon Lover*		
My Fellow Clerk	Oxenford	PB-11/20/46
programmed several times as *Amateur Actors, or Clerks on a Spree* and as *The Stage-Struck Irishman* and once as *The Stage Struck; Or, Clerks on a Spree*		
My Friend in the Straps	no author	Mullin
My Friend Jack	Brougham	Odell
My Great Aunt! Or, Where There's a Will	Planché	Nicoll
My Son	Harris/Williams	PBs
version of German play, *Mein Leopold*		
My Wife's Dentist	T. E. Wilks	Mullin
Mysteries of Paris or, The Prince and the Notary, The	Brougham from Sue	ads
Mysterious Lady, The	Planché	Mullin
Napoleon's Old Guard	not found	
Naval Engagements	Charles Dance	PB-7/9/38
Neptune's Defeat or, The Seizure of the Seas	Brougham	PB-10/16/58
Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve, The	Bernard	PBs
New Camille, A	Brougham	ads
programmed once as *Burlesque Camille*, three times as *The New Camille*, once as just *Camille*, and once as *Camille Burlesque*.		
New Lights -- see *Irish Tutor, The*		
New Way to Pay Old Debts	Massenger	ad-8/2/69
New York by Gaslight, or the Forger and His Victim	G. C. Foster	Odell
New York Directory -- see *Burton's New York Directory*		
Nice Firm, A	Tom Taylor	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
Nicholas Nickleby	E. Sterling	Nicoll
Night and Morning	Brougham from Bulwer-Lytton	PB-1/5/55
No Song No Supper	Prince Hoare	Mullin
Nor-ma	Bellini/Brougham	PBs
Norah Creina	E. Stirling	Nicoll
North End Will	not found	
Number One, Round the Corner	Wm. Brough	Mullin
O'Donnell's Mission, or the Irish Brigade	Brougham	PBs
O'Flanigan and the Fairies	Brougham	published

printed title is *A Recollection of O'Flanigan and the Fairies*; not advertised with this title; based on Tyrone Power's play of the same title; programmed once as *Flanigan and Fairies*, name spelled O'Flannigan sometimes

Old Heads and Young Hearts	Boucicault	PBs
Old Love and the New, The	Sullivan	Odell

confirmed by Mullin.

Olympic Revels, or Prometheus and Pandora	Planché	Planché
Omnibus, or a Convenient Distance, The	I. Pocock	Mullin

programmed once in Philadelphia as *The Convenience of a Convenient Distance*, once in Chicago as *The Horse Railways, Or Living at a Convenient Distance*, once in New York as *The Omnibus or, The Pleasures of a Convenient Distance*, and apparently once in New Orleans as *Pat Roony*, an odd spelling of the lead character's name

On the Jury	Watts Phillips	ads
One Hour or, A Carnival Ball	T. Haynes Bayly	PBs
Orion, the Gold Beater -- see *False and True*		
Oscar and Malvina	Shield (opera)	Clarence
Othello	Shakespeare	PB-11/17/46
Othello! or---The Jealous Nigger	Brougham	Odell

sometimes programmed as *Othello Travestie* or simply *Othello* with the word burlesque in parentheses; Brougham was advertised to play Iago as an Irishman in one version of *Othello* and as a Haitian in the version listed above; it is not clear if the two travesties used the same script.

Our Boys	H. J. Byron	Odell, Daly
Our Irish Friend	not found	
Our Tom Thumb	Brougham	review
Overland Route, The	Tom Taylor	PB-5/21/60
Owens Worried by Brougham -- see *Unwarrantable Intrusion, An*		

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Play	Playwright	Source
P! P! Or...The Man and The Tiger	Tom Parry	PBs
Paddy Ryan's Dream		
probably the same as *The Irish Tiger*		
Pat Roony -- see *Omnibus, The*		
**Patrician's Daughter, The*	Marston	ad-3/10/52
confirmed by Mullin		
Paul Pry	J. Poole	Mullin
Peasant Boy; Or, The Amethyst Ring, The	J. Dimond	Nicoll
Peep from a Parlour Window, A	Brougham	PBs
Penelope's Web	not found	
Perfection: Or...The Maid of Munster	T. H. Bayly	Mullin
programmed once as *The Cork Leg*		
Pet of the Village	not found	
Peter Wilkins	C. J. Dibdin	Mullin
Philadelphia Rifles, The	Brougham	Durang
Pique	Daly	PBs
Pirates of the Mississippi, The	Brougham	ads
Platform (comedic sketch)	not found	
Playing with Fire	Brougham	PBs
Pleasant Neighbor, The	Planché	Mullin
Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The (Ye) Gentle Savage	Brougham	PBs
more often programmed without hyphens or sub-title		
Poor Gentleman, The	Colman the younger	PBs
Poor Pillicoddy	J. M. Morton	Mullin
Poor Soldier, The	O'Keefe	PBs
Presumptive Evidence or...The Innocent Condemned	Buckstone	PBs
programmed once as *The Fortune Teller; or Presumptive Evidence* once as *Jack of Clubs or---Presumptive Evidence* and once as *Sailor's Return*		
Pretty Piece of Business, A	Morton	PBs
Pride of the Market, The	Planché	Mullin
Princess Royal, The	Daly	PB-5/9/77
Prison and Palace	J. P. Simpson	Nicoll
Private Theatricals!	probably Brougham	PBs
also programmed as *Tag, Ragg, and Bobtail or, Private Theatricals*; only performed by Brougham in Boston; Nicoll lists a piece by this name by J. Powell from 1787.		
Promotion	Planché	Nicoll
Pump and Sucker, The	not found	
Puss in Boots	Planché/Charles Dance	PBs
Putnam; or the Iron Box of '76	N. H. Bannister	Quinn
also programmed as *Putnam; or the Iron Son of '76*; Bannister is listed for the latter title		

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Play	Playwright	Source
Queen's Horse; Or The Brewer of Preston, The	Planché	PB-11/4/39
Queen's Lover, The	unknown	Nicoll
Quiet Day, A	Oxenford	PBs
Railway Mania, The	unknown	Nicoll
Rake's Progress, The	W. L. Rede	Mullin
Nicoll lists this play and an earlier one by Dibdin.		
Rascal Jack	not found	
Recollection of O'Flanigan and the Fairies -- see *O'Flanigan and the Fairies*		
Red Gauntlet, The	not found	
Red Light, or the Signal of Danger	Brougham	PBs
sometimes programmed as *The Red Light or the Danger Signal*		
Red Mask, or The Wolf of Bohemia, The	Brougham	reviews
Red Murdock, the Robber -- see *Robber's Wife, The*		
Redoubtables, The	not found	
Rent Day	Jerrold	Mullin
Rescued, or a Girl's Romance	Boucicault	Odell, ads
Retribution	Tom Taylor	ad/review
Mullin writes that Taylor dramatised this from the French novel of C. de Bernard.		
Return of the Volunteers, The	anon.	Quinn
Review, or, The Wags of Windsor, The	Colman	PBs
programmed a number of times as *The Wags of Windsor*		
Revolt of the Sextons, The	Brougham	Hawes
Even though this was presented at Burton's Chambers Street Theatre in 1848, the playbill does not credit Brougham with writing it or indicate that he acted in it, but Mrs. Brougham did.		
Richard III	Shakespeare	PB-11/24/46
Richard III (comic version)	not found	
also programmed as Richard Ye Third		
Richard Parker	unknown	Nicoll
Richeleiu! Or...The Conspiracy!	Bulwer	PBs
Ringdoves, The	Cha. Mathews	PB-12/18/37
Rival Fakirs! Or Conjuring Made Easy	Brougham	PB-1/12/46
also programmed as *Rival Magicians! or What Shall We Do For a Star!*		
Rivals or--A Trip to Bath, The	Sheridan	PBs
Road to Ruin, The	Holcroft	PBs
Rob Roy		
Mullin lists no playwright but writes that it was dramatized from the novel by Sir Walter Scott.		

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Play	Playwright	Source
Robber's Wife, The	Pocock	PB-2/17/47
programmed three times as *The Counterfeiters* also programmed once as *Red Murdock, The Robber; or, The Irishman's Blunderbuss*		
Roi Carotte	Sardou/Offenbach adapted by Daly	ads, PB
Romance and Reality	Brougham	PBs
Romance in High Life, or, the Coachman and the Heiress	Barry	PBs
also programmed as *The Coachman and the Heiress*		
Romance of a Poor Young Man, The	Edwards/L. Wallack	Odell
adapted from the French of Octave Feuillet		
Romantic Idea, A -- see *Demon Jester*		
Romeo and Giulietta	not found	
Rory O'More	S. Lover	PB-11/25/42
Rosina Meadows	C. H. Sanders	PB-4/14/45
Round the Clock; or, New York by Dark	A. Daly	PBs
Roughing It	Daly	PBs
Row at the Chesnut, A	Brougham	ad-12/18/52
also programmed as *A Row in Chesnut Street; or Old Drury in an Uproar*		
Row at the Lyceum, or Green Room Secrets, A	Brougham	PBs
Rule a Wife and Have a Wife	Beaumont/Fletcher	ad-11/24/55
Ruling Passion, The	Brougham	PBs
Sailor's Return -- see *Presumptive Evidence*		
Savage and the Maiden		
Mullin notes a dramatization by J. H. Horncastle from Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* first performed in June, 1844		
Scholar, The	Buckstone	PBs
School	T. W. Robertson	PBs
School for Scandal, The	Sheridan	PBs
School of Reform	Morton	PB-9/9/44
Second Parte of the Tragycalle Hystorie of Thomasse Thumbe -- see *Thomasse Thumbe*		
See Saw, or Paddy's Sliding Scale		
Playbill for 9/13/51 includes the information that this was written by "a distinguished member of the New York Press."		
Seeing the Elephant		
Quinn lists no author but indicates that it was done at Burton's in New York, Sept. 15, 1848.		
Serious Family, The	M. Barnett	PBs

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Play	Playwright	Source
Serve Him Right or, The Rake Reformed	M. Barnett	PB-2/8/51
The playbill lists the play as being written by "the author of *The Serious Family*."		
Shakespeare's Dream	Brougham?	Odell
She Stoops to Conquer	Goldsmith	Odell
She Would and She Would Not	Colly Cibber	PB-5/31/55
Siamese Twins, The	G. A. a Becket	Mullin
Simpson and Company	John Poole	Mullin
Sketches in India	Morton	PB-6/28/54
programmed twice as *Englishmen in India* and a couple of times as *The Stage-Struck Tailor*; a playbill for the latter title lists Morton as playwright, but advertisements from the Manchester Guardian in 1861 list Brougham as the playwright. Dubois writes that Morton adapted a one-act farce to the stage from an opera *The Englishmen in India* by Dimond. It is not clear whether Brougham played in the opera or only used that title on the program, but his diary says he played *Sketches*.		
Slander	Brougham	PB, ads
Slasher and Crasher	Morton	Mullin
Sleeping Beauty in the Woods	Planché	Planché
Smuggler's Isle, The	not found	
Snakes in the Grass	Buckstone	Nicoll
Socialism or, Modern Philosophy Put Into Practice	Brougham	PBs
Soldier's Daughter, The	Cherry	PB-2/10/47
Sons and Systems	Ch. Dance	PB-11/5/39
Speed the Plough	Morton	PB-12/23/52
Sphinx, The	not found	
Spirit of Air; or The Enchanted Isle, The	Brougham	Quinn
Reviews refer to this piece as a new "operatic romance," although they do not credit Brougham with authorship. It was apparently not the same piece as *The Enchanted Isle* presented by Burton in 1849.		
Stage Struck	unknown	Mullin
(see also *My Fellow Clerk*)		
Stage Struck Clerk	Durivage	Wilt diss.
Stage Struck Irishman -- see *My Fellow Clerk*		
Still Waters Run Deep	Tom Taylor	PB-1/9/56
Stranger, The	Kotzebue	ad-4/22/59
Stratagem; Or, An Exquisite at Fault, The	not found	
Suspicious Husband, The	Dr. Hoadley	PB-8/29/33
Tag, Ragg, and Bobtail -- see *Private Theatricals*		
Take Care of Little Charley	Brougham	ads/Odell
Talk of the Devil	not found	

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Play	Playwright	Source
Teacher Taught, The	E. Stirling	Mullin
May have been performed once in Philadelphia as *A Great Mistake*.		
Teddy the Tiler	G. H. Rodwell	Mullin
Tekeli	Mullin lists play from 1842	
but Brougham appeared in this in 1830		
Temperance and Repeal	not found	
Temptation, or the Price of Happiness	Brougham	PBs
sometimes programmed as just *Temptation* or *Temptation, or the Brooklyn Carman*, also programmed as *Temptation, or The Irish Emigrant, The Irish Emigrant and the Philadelphia Carman* and *The Irish Emigrant*		
That Odious Captain Cutter	J. Palgrave Simpson	Mullin
This House to be Sold the Property of the Late William Shakespeare	Brougham	Hawes/ad
Thomasse Thumbe	not found	
A playbill lists this piece as *The Second Parte of the Tragycalle Hystorie of Thomasse Thumbe*		
Three Secrets, the	not found	
Time Works Wonders	Jerrold	Odell/Mullin
Tipperary Legacy or, A Voice from Ould Ireland, The	J. Sterling Coyne	Mullin
Tit for Tat	F. Talfourd/A. S. Wigan	Dubois
Titus A. Peep or, The Mysterious Count	not found	
Tom and Jerry in America	Brougham	PBs, Quinn
often credited to Brougham on playbills and in advertisements although apparently based on Egan's *Tom and Jerry in London*; various sub-titles include *Or Life in Boston, Or Life in Cincinnati, Or A Row at the Theatre*, and *Or Life in London*; also programmed as *Tom and Jerry in New York*, as *Life in New York, or Tom and Jerry on a Visit*, and twice as *Life in Boston or a Row at the National*; also programmed once as *Thomas and Jeremiah in America, or, Life in the New World* (JB - PB)		
Toodles	R. J. Raymond	Mullin
Quinn credits W. E. Burton; Dubois doubts Quinn's attribution but writes that Burton may have revised Raymond's piece.		
Too Late for Dinner	Richard Jones	Mullin
Town and Country	Morton	PB-5/15/55
Turning the Tables	J. Poole	Mullin
Twelfth Night	Shakespeare	PB-11/3/46
Two Can Play At That Game	unknown	Dubois

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Play	Playwright	Source
Two Gregories	Ch. Dibdin?	Mullin

lists this being done later; need to check in Nicoll Quinn lists as anon. Dubois says probably T. J. Dibdin.

Uncle Sam; or The Flirtation	Sardou	PB, ads
Unwarrantable Intrusion, An		

Playbill from 8/20/49 credits Brougham as playwright; Mullin credits J. M. Morton. Programmed seven times as *A Most Unwarrantable Intrusion*, twice as *Burton Worried by Brougham*, four times in Boston as *Davenport Worried by Brougham*, twelve times as *Duality*, once in Boston as *Owens Worried by Brougham*, once in Washington as *An Unwarrantable Intrusion upon Mr. Whiting*

Used Up	C. J. Mathews	Mullin

Although the playbill for 4/18/56 clearly indicates that Mr. Brougham is playing Lady Clutterbuck, this may be a printer's error as Mrs. Brougham played the role in subsequent performances.

Valentine and Orson	Brougham	PBs
Vanity Fair	Brougham	PBs
Venus and Adonis	not found	
Veteran, The	L. Wallack	PBs
Victorine, or the Dream	Buckstone	ad-4/13/58
Violet, The	J. M. Maddox	Clarence

Odell lists this play as *The Violet, or Napoleon's Favourite Flower*. A playbill for the first evening indicates that Mr. Wallack had originally acted the role of Andre for more than 200 nights in the course of two seasons in London.

Wags of Windsor, The -- see *Review, The*

Wanted a Wizard, or The Rival Magicians		

This seems to be different from *The Savage and the Maiden* even though Crummles is JB's character in both; it may be a revision of *The Rival Magicians*. not in Mullin or Quinn

War	T. W. Robertson	ads/Odell
Warlock of the Glen, the	no author	Mullin
Weeds Among the Flowers	"an American gentleman"	Quinn

West End -- see *Irish Heiress, The*

What Shall We Do For Something New?	Brougham/Bellini	PB-8/25/51
Wheat and Chaff	Dr. D. W. Wainwright	Odell
Where's Barnum?	Burton	PBs
White Horse of the Peppers, The	Lover	PB-11/24/52

played once as *The Irish Patriot*

Who Do They Take Me For?	not	
Who Killed Cock Robin?	Brougham	ads

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Play	Playwright	Source
Who Wants a Guinea	Colman	PBs
Playbill for 8/10/38 indicates that the comedy had been altered and compressed into three acts. Mullin indicates that this is by Colman the younger.		
Why Did You Die?	Ch. Mathews	PBs
Widow's Victim	Ch. Selby	Mullin
Wife for an Hour, A -- see *Bamboozling*		
Wife! or A Tale of Mantua, The	Knowles	PB
Wigwam or, Pat Amongst the Pottawotomies, The	not found	
Wild Indian, The	Wm. T. Thompson	Quinn
Wild Oats! Or,---The Strolling Gentleman!	O'Keefe	PBs
Wives as They Were and Maids As They Are	Mrs. Inchbald	Mullin
Wonder; A Woman Keeps a Secret, The	Mrs. Centlivre	PBs
World's Fair, or Columbia in the Clouds	Brougham	Odell
Wreck Ashore, The	Buckstone	ad-11/10/59
Yacht Race, The -- see *J. B. and B. J.*		
Yankee Pedlar	W. Bayle Bernard	Mullin
Ye Deville and Dr. Faustus	Brougham	Odell
Yorkshire Tragedy, A	Shakespeare	PB-3/1/47
You're Another		
Mullin lists as by L. S. Buckingham but in 1860 (after Burton had presented it in 57)		
Youthful Queen, The	Ch. Shannon	Mullin
Zanonah; The Bohemian Girl	not found	
also programmed once as *The Bohemian Girl, Or The Gipsey's Revenge;* likely by Brougham		

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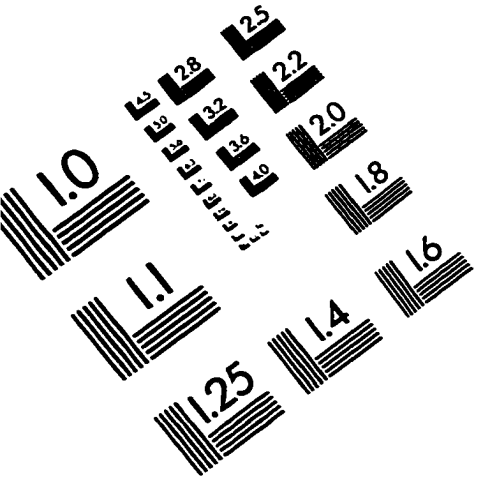
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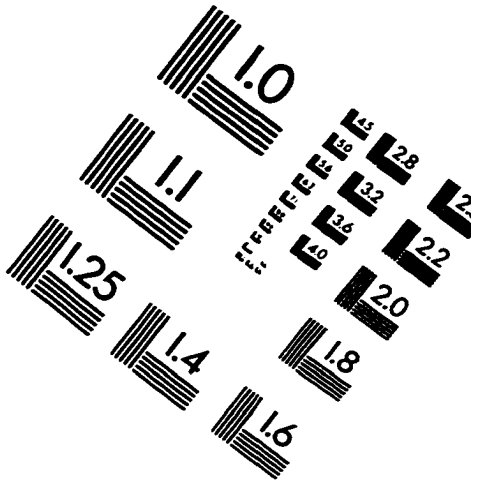
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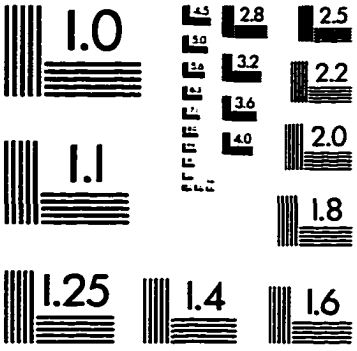
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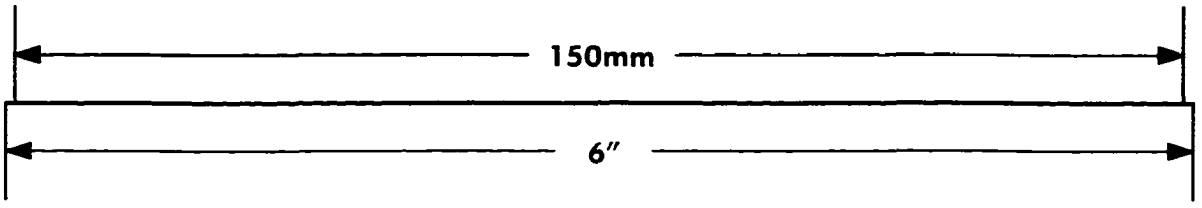
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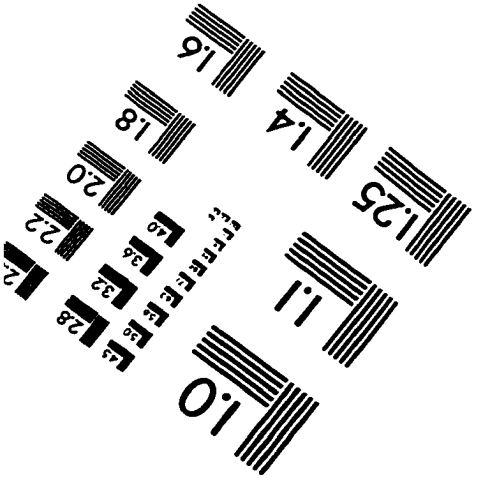
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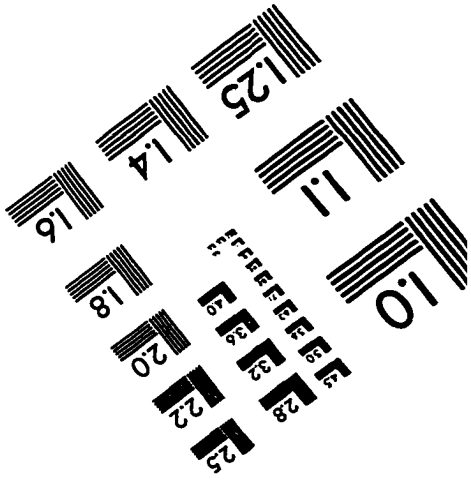












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