

### Performing Menken

Performing Menken uses the life experiences of controversial actress and poet Adah Isaacs Menken to examine the culture of the Civil War period. Menken succeeded by playing with her identity off-stage and on, portraying herself as both respectable and daring and claiming various racial and ethnic identities. Playing male roles on stage, she became the reigning femme fatale. Yet she was also known as an intellectual, publishing poetry and essays. She shared friendships with the greatest writers of her time, including Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and Alexandre Dumas, père.

Performing Menken also looks at what Menken's choices reveal about her period. It explores the roots of the cult of celebrity that emerged from the crucible of war. While discussing Menken's racial and ethnic claims and her performance of gender and sexuality, Performing Menken focuses on contemporary use of social categories to explain patterns in America's past and considers why such categories remain important.

Renée M. Sentilles is Assistant Professor of History and Director of American Studies at Case Western Reserve University. She is a former Mellon Post-Dissertation Fellow at the American Antiquarian Society.



> This book is published in association with the American Antiquarian Society (AAS), in Worcester, Massachusetts, which supported the author's research and writing through a Mellon Post-Dissertation Fellowship, funded by a grant to AAS by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.



# PERFORMING MENKEN

Adah Isaacs Menken and the Birth of American Celebrity

RENÉE M. SENTILLES Case Western Reserve University





#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521527606

© Renée M. Sentilles 2003

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003 First paperback edition 2011

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Sentilles, Renée M.

Performing Menken : Adah Isaacs Menken and the birth of American celebrity / Renée M. Sentilles.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-82070-7

1. Menken, Adah Isaacs, 1835–1868. 2. Actors – United States –

Biography. 1. Title.

PN2287.M6 S46 2003

792′.028′092–dc21

[B] 2002031074

ISBN 978-0-521-82070-7 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-52760-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Dedicated to my parents

Dennis Sentilles and Claire Zeringue Tassin



### Infelix

Adah Isaacs Menken

Where is the promise of my years;
Once written on my brow?
Ere errors, agonies and fears
Brought with them all that speaks in tears,
Ere I had sunk beneath my peers;
Where sleeps that promise now?

Naught lingers to redeem those hours,
Still, still to memory sweet!
The flowers that bloomed in sunny bowers
Are withered all; and Evil towers
Supreme above her sister powers
Of Sorrow and Deceit.

I look along the columned years,
And see Life's riven fane,
Just where it fell, amid the jeers
Of scornful lips, whose mocking sneers,
For ever hiss within mine ears
To break the sleep of pain.

I can but own my life is vain
A desert void of peace;
I missed the goal I sought to gain,
I missed the measure of the strain
That lulls Fame's fever in the brain,
And bids Earth's tumult cease.

Myself! Alas for theme so poor A theme but rich in Fear; I stand a wreck on Error's shore, A spectre not within the door, A houseless shadow evermore, An exile lingering here.



### **Contents**

	Acknowledgments	page 1X
	Introduction	I
I	Playing Deborah	22
2	Playing the Pugilist's Wife: 1859–1860	50
3	Performing Mazeppa	91
4	Performing Menken	115
5	Among the Bohemians	138
6	Becoming Mazeppa	166
7	Becoming the Menken: 1864–1866	200
8	Finale	231
9	Remembering and Rewriting Menken	258
	Bibliography	287
	Index	202





## Acknowledgments

If one can run up a deficit in karma, I believe I have done so with this book. This project has spanned the ten years when I went to graduate school, took several visiting positions and a postdoctoral fellowship, and finally found a place to put down roots. Consequently, this book bears the mark of many individuals and institutions.

In terms of institutions, I thank the American Antiquarian Society, the Mellon Foundation, the American Jewish Archives, the College of William and Mary, Franklin and Marshall College, Case Western Reserve University, the Historical New Orleans Collection, and the Harvard Theatre Collection. Their funding and collections made this book possible. I also thank Frank Smith and Cambridge University Press for seeing the value of this book while it was still in the rough.

In terms of individuals, let me begin by thanking my advisors and mentors. When I was an undergraduate at Mount Holyoke College, Johnny Mack Faragher introduced me to the wonderful creativity of American Studies, for which I am ever grateful. As my master's advisor at Utah State, Anne M. Butler taught me how to pull together a long research project and to remember that work is only one aspect of a life well lived. Bob Gross at the College of William and Mary was the one who advised me through my dissertation project on Menken. I cannot thank him enough for his high expectations and generosity of time and spirit. I can say the same about Kathleen Brown, who put me through my paces on American women's history and gave generously of her time when she was toiling with the final stages of her own book. I feel blessed that these four people have touched upon my life and scholarship in so many ways.

I was blessed in other ways by the advice and support of other professors, such as Clyde Milner, Carol A. O'Connor, and David Rich Lewis at Utah State and Arthur Knight, Bruce McConachie, Leisa Meyers, and Joanne Braxton at William and Mary. Fredrika Teute of the Omahundro Insitute also gave unselfishly of her time and helped me through early drafts. Karla Goldman of Hebrew Union College helped me get a handle on American Jewish women's history.

I finished my dissertation during my first year of full-time teaching at Franklin and Marshall College, where my colleagues encouraged me every step of the way. I owe particular thanks to Abby Schrader, David Schuyler, and John Andrew for reading my work and giving advice. I am especially



### Acknowledgments

indebted to Adrian Davis for his support and friendship during those exhausting final months when I was so bleary-eyed he worried that I might walk out into traffic.

I cannot imagine how this book would have ever come into fruition had I not been awarded the Mellon Post-Dissertation Fellowship at the American Antiquarian Society in 1998, where I experienced the most exciting intellectual year of my life. AAS is simply a treasure and I value any time I get to spend there. The institution could not possibly be so wonderful without the presence of John Hench, Caroline Sloat, Joanne Chaison, Marie Lamoureux, Ellen Dunlap, Georgia Barnhill, and Laura Wasowicz. They not only helped me with my research but gave generously of both criticism and support. While at AAS I also met exceptional scholars, many of whom have become good friends and contributed to this book by sharing their own interests: Brett Mizelle, Jean O'Brien, Scott Casper, Paula Bennett, Lucia Knoles, Barbara Cutter, Brian Roberts, Laura Schiavo, Kate Haulman, Sarah Messer, Tim Marr, Tom Doughton, and Nicole Cooley. I owe particular thanks to Paul Erickson, Ann Fabian, Drew McCoy, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Bob Lockhart, and Jay Fliegelman for reading through drafts and sharing ideas. Karen Halttunen went a step further, reading through the manuscript at two different stages and offering detailed advice on every chapter. Grey Osterud was the last of these to read the manuscript and helped me to solve problems that had plagued the project throughout.

Annette Fern, librarian at the Harvard Theatre Collection, was wonderfully helpful over the years as she saw this project move from idea to dissertation to manuscript to book. I had no official connection to the Houghton Library but I felt like an honorary fellow by the time Annette helped me sharpen citations in the final draft.

The support of family and friends was critical for me. They listened patiently to long accounts of this woman called Menken and encouraged my work, despite the fact that I was constantly saying, "I don't have time – I have to write" or "I'm sorry I can't visit longer – I have to finish this draft." I thank Benny Bach for his support and belief in me throughout graduate school and beyond. I am also grateful to Emily Mieras, who saw the magic of the project despite those dreadful early drafts. I am also grateful to Bert Ashe, Susan Foster Garton, Robin Craggs, Tim Barnard, and Susie Bonta.

Here, finally, at Case Western Reserve University, I have landed in a wonderful department. I thank my stars daily for having such supportive colleagues and friends. I especially thank Jonathan Sadowsky, who acts as my official mentor, and Alan Rocke, Rhonda Williams, Angela Woollacott, Ken Ledford, Carroll Pursell, and Ted Steinberg, who often play that role less officially. I thank Dean Samuel Savin for providing support, material and otherwise.

I also thank Ormus Davenport, descendant of magician William Davenport, and Frank Dailey, who introduced us and shared his own



### Acknowledgments

хi

research. Gregory Eiselien, Daphne Brooks, and Maria-Elena Buszek shared in the excitement over scholarship on Menken.

My family, of course, deserves the most gratitude of all. After all, my parents and brother are the ones with whom I spent the first two decades of my life. My father led me to believe I was capable of doing anything and introduced me to a wider world. My mother provided the wisdom that sustained me through the worst times and helped me appreciate the best. Because of my older brother all of my early memories seem to be of laughter and mischief, and I admire few people as much as I admire and emulate him. I am daily thankful that he married Katie Cowan, who has become one of my closest friends and brought her parents, George and Anne Cowan, into my life. Since the first day I met him, George Cowan has been one of my staunchest supporters. I also give special thanks to my cousin, Kristen Scarborough, for driving me to Texas to look through old newspapers. I am one of those fortunate people who comes from a large family filled with kind, interesting people, and I am always appreciative of my grandmother, Emily Sentilles, and my many uncles, aunts, and cousins who enrich my life and make the holidays true celebrations.

But my nieces, Claire and Frances, well, they simply make the whole adventure worthwhile; watching them learn and grow has been one of the highlights of my life. My paternal grandmother grew up in poverty on the bayou in South Louisiana, with a smart mind and few choices. My mother grew up much like her own mother, just up the Mississippi River from New Orleans, in a culture entrenched in the past with no obvious path into the future. So my mother raised me to have what she did not: belief in myself and the courage to follow my dreams, even if they took me far away. And now here is the next generation in beautiful, inquisitive form. As I write, I look at their faces smiling from the picture on my desk and think, "I want to give you a better world, a better place." And ultimately, that is what historical work is all about: understanding the past so that we may understand the present and, hopefully, make better choices for the future.

Renée M. Sentilles Cleveland Heights, Ohio April 2002