

### Strolling Players of Empire

Why did Britons get up a play wherever they went? Kathleen Wilson reveals how the performance of English theater and a theatricalized way of viewing the world shaped the geopolitics and culture of empire in the long eighteenth century. Ranging across the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans to encompass Kingston, Calcutta, Fort Marlborough, St. Helena and Port Jackson as well as London and provincial towns, she shows how Britons on the move transformed peripheries into historical stages where alternative collectivities were enacted, imagined and lived. Men and women of various ethnicities, classes and legal statuses produced and performed English theater in the world, helping to consolidate a national and imperial culture. The theater of empire also enabled non-British people to adapt or interpret English cultural traditions through their own performances, as Englishness also became a production of non-English peoples across the globe.

Kathleen Wilson is Distinguished Professor of History at Stony Brook University. Her prizewinning scholarship focuses on questions of identity, empire and culture in the long eighteenth century. Previous books include *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (1995), *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (2003) and *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (2004). A former Guggenheim and NEH Fellow and past president of the American Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies, Wilson lives with her human and nonhuman relations in Manhattan and Long Island.



Critical Perspectives on Empire

Editors

Professor Catherine Hall University College London

Professor Mrinalini Sinha University of Michigan

Professor Kathleen Wilson State University of New York, Stony Brook

Critical Perspectives on Empire is a major series of ambitious, cross-disciplinary works in the emerging field of critical imperial studies. Books in the series explore the connections, exchanges and mediations at the heart of national and global histories, the contributions of local as well as metropolitan knowledge, and the flows of people, ideas and identities facilitated by colonial contact. To that end, the series not only offers a space for outstanding scholars working at the intersection of several disciplines to bring to wider attention the impact of their work; it also takes a leading role in reconfiguring contemporary historical and critical knowledge, of the past and of ourselves.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/cpempire



# Strolling Players of Empire

Theater and Performances of Power in the British Imperial Provinces, 1656–1833

Kathleen Wilson

State University of New York, Stony Brook







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108790819

DOI: 10.1017/9781108786317

© Kathleen Wilson 2022

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 & Assessment.

First published 2022

First paperback edition 2025

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Wilson, Kathleen, author.

Title: Strolling players of empire: theater and performances of power in the

British imperial provinces, 1656 / Kathleen Wilson.

Description: Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Critical perspectives on empire | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022011794 (print) | LCCN 2022011795 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781108479783 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108786317 (ebook)

Subjects:LCSH: Traveling theater - Political aspects - GreatBritain - History - 18th

century. | Theater and society - Great Britain - History - 18th century. | English

drama – 18th century – History and criticism. | National characteristics, British, in

literature. | Hegemony - Great Britain. | Cultural relations. | Great Britain - Colonies - History - 18th century. | Great Britain - Civilization - 18th century.

Classification: LCC PN2599.5.T73 W55 2022 (print) | LCC PN2599.5.T73

(ebook) | DDC 306.4/8480941-dc23/eng/20220708

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022011794

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022011795

ISBN 978-1-108-47978-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-79081-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.



To Nick and Hannah, as always



To robbery, slaughter, and plunder they give the lying name of empire; they make a solitude and call it peace.

Chief Calgacus, in Tacitus, The Agricola (AD 98)

Of all the means for making the impression of ideal presence, theatrical presence is the most powerful. That words independent of action have the same power to a lesser degree, everyone of sensibility must have felt.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, *The Elements of Criticism* (1762)

[Slavery is] an injustice that will not cancel out ... [it] is a Collective Ghost of more than household Scale, – the Wrongs Committed Daily against the Slaves, petty and grave ones alike, going unrecorded, charm'd invisible to history, invisible yet possessing Mass, and Velocity, able not only to Rattle Chains but to break them as well.

Thomas Pynchon, Mason & Dixon (1997)



## Contents

List of Figures	page ix
List of Maps	xi
Acknowledgments	xii
List of Abbreviations	XV
Prologue: Strollers without Borders	1
Introduction: Britain's Theatrical Empire	4
Part I Playing	45
<ol> <li>Peripheralizing the Spheres: Theatrical Assemblages of the Imperial Provinces</li> </ol>	47
2 Rowe's Fair Penitent As Global History: Colonial Fami Strategies and the Imperatives of Nation	ily 97
3 The Lure of the Other: Jews, Nabobs and Enslaved Africans in a Transcolonial Imaginary	156
Part II Theaters of Empire	199
4 Performances of Freedom: Jamaican Maroons in Impe Transit	rial 201
5 Blackface Empire: or, the Slavery Meridian	251
6 Zanga's Colony: Revenge in Sydney, 1796–1810	313
Part III East India Company Peripheries and the Historof Modernity	<b>ry</b> 367
7 Performing <i>The Wonder</i> in Sumatra: Theatrical Ethnography in a New World History	369

vii



viii		Contents	
	8	Napoleonic Gothic: St. Helena As Center of the British World	421
		Appendix 1 Calendar of Plays in Calcutta, 1770–1792 Appendix 2 Calendar of Plays, St. Helena Amateur Theatre,	472
		1816–1823	474
		Index	476
		The plate section can be found between pp 368 and 369	



## Figures

I.1	Strolling player drumming up custom and playing Othello,	10
	•	page 10
I.2	Thomas Rowlandson, An Audience Watching a Play at	
	Drury Lane, c. 1785	14
1.1	Thomas Rowlandson, Comedy Spectators, Tragedy Spectators	
	(London, 1789)	64
1.2	James Hakewill, Harbour Street, Kingston, 1825	72
1.3	P. W. Du Simitière, Kingston after Tacky [1760–1]	74
1.4	Thomas Daniells, Old Fort, Theatre and Black Hole Monumen	t,
	1784	80
1.5	A Grand Jamaica Ball! Or the Creolean Hop a la Muftee, As	
	Exhibited in Spanish Town, 1802	91
2.1	Mrs. Siddons as Calista, c. 1780	101
2.2	Koo, Koo, or Actor Boy, 1837	123
2.3	Old Tank (Laldighi) Calcutta, 1786	129
2.4	Edward Dayes and Francis Jukes after Thomas Watling,	
	A View of Sydney Cove, 1804	139
2.5	Eora women, children and men fishing, c. 1792	150
3.1	Sarah Harlowe as the duenna (2.2.19), 1823	165
3.2	Milkwoman, Kingston, Jamaica, 1837	171
3.3	Johann Zoffany, Sir Elijah and Lady Impey and Family, 1783	181
3.4	James Gillray, A Sale of English Beauties in the East Indies, 178	6 183
3.5	Johann Zoffany, Robert Baddeley as Moses in The School for	
	Scandal, c. 1781	187
4.1	William Berryman, Maroon: Buckra Reading Their Pass, 1808	3 218
4.2	Jaw-Bone or House John-Canoe, 1837	232
4.3	Augustus Earle, Bungaree and Gooseberry, 1826	240
4.4	Wood as Three Fingered Jack, c. 1850, etching by E. Skelt	243
5.1	John Rich in The Necromancer, 1753	258
5.2	Mr. Dibdin in the Character of MUNGO in the Celebrated Open	$\cdot a$
	of the PADLOCK [1762]	265
5.3	"Cookey, you go," High Life below Stairs, 1774	267

ix



X	List of Figures	
5.4	James Gillray, WOUSKI, 1787	283
5.5	Mr. Dibdin in the Character of MUNGO, 1769	287
5.6	John Raphael Smith, Young Lady with Negro Mask, c. 1795.	290
6.1	Juan Ravenet, Convicts New Holland, 1793	318
6.2	Zanga and Alonzo in The Revenge, act 4, scene 1: "Groan on,	
	and with the sound refresh my soul."	326
6.3	Port Jackson painter, Native name Ben-ne-long, as painted when	
	angry after Botany Bay Colebee was wounded, c. 1790	337
6.4	Pimbloy [Pemulwuy] Native of New Holland in a Canoe of that	
	Country, c. 1796.	362
7.1	Joseph Stadler, Fort Marlborough Facing South, 1799,	
	displaying the prahus of Bencoolen Bay	374
7.2	Joseph Stadler, Government House, Council House, Fort	
	Marlborough, Benkulen 1799	387
7.3	Mr. [David] Garrick as Don Felix, 1771. Act 5, scene 1:	
	"My passion choaks me. I cannot Speak; Oh! I shall burst!"	394
7.4	Sumatran Beau: A Malay, Native of Bencoolen, c. 1799.	405
8.1	St. Helena theater and barracks, 1809	425
8.2	Northeast Roads of St. Helena, 1815	431
8.3	St. James Town [Castle Terrace], 1815	433
8.4	J. S. Cates, Napoleon's Grave, 1825	453
8.5	Playbill, The Revenge	454
8.6	Playbill, Inkle and Yarico	460
8.7	Fairy Land, Sandy Bay, 1815	467



## Maps

I.1 Performance sites of English drama, 1656–1833	page 6
I.2 Routes of English drama, 1656–1833	7
4.1 Maroon map	211
7.1 Fort Marlborough	372
8.1 R. P. Read, The Geographical Plan of the Island and Forts	
of Saint Helena, 1815	422



## Acknowledgments

I began collecting archival materials for this project in 2005 and wrote it in earnest over the years 2014–21, thereby incurring many debts that it is now my pleasure to acknowledge.

My year as R. Stanton Avery Distinguished Fellow at the Huntington Library in 2014–15 was pivotal, not only in providing me with the luxury of writing time amidst extensive historical collections but also for its opportunities for intellectual camaraderie and collusion. Led by the fearless Steve Hindle, the year's group of fellows - among them Susan Barbour, Dympna Callaghan, Urvashi Chakravarty, Catherine Franklin, David Hall, Tim Harris, Sue Justen, Matthew Kaldane, Chris Kyle, Ann Little, Carla Mazzio, Julie Park and Brent Sirota, along with John Brewer, Felicity Nussbaum and Roy Ritchie as frequent visitors - constituted a lively and vigorous salon from which to write about the theatrical cultures of Britain and its empire. My Huntington year happily coincided with my tenure as president of the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, an honor that capped a blissful intellectual and personal sojourn in southern California. I am grateful to Jenna Gibbs and the late, much-lamented Peter Reill, who encouraged me to become an officer of the society; to Joe Roach, whom I succeeded as president and who became a brilliant advocate for this book; to the late, astounding Srinivas Aravamudan, who came next, and who we all still mourn; and to the wildly talented membership, whose ideas and devoted attention to all things of the period made this journey exhilarating and influenced my thinking in ways great and small: among them Misty Anderson, Ashley Cohen, Lisa Freeman, Ula Lukszo Klein, Jean Marsden, James Mulholland and Daniel O'Quinn. The Yale Center for British Art, the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis and the Humanities Institute of Stony Brook (HISB) offered intellectual and financial support and stimulating refuge. HISB was my home as director for three years, and I want to thank the indomitable Adrienne Unger, program coordinator, for her hard work and good humor in administering our hectic calendar, and her continued support as a colleague. She even printed out the final draft.

xii



#### Acknowledgments

xiii

A descendant of settler colonials in Connecticut, New York and the Northern Territory (now Indiana), I have written this book in the current historical emergency that is our present, one that demands attention to the ethics and urgency of providing pluriversal accounts of our collective pasts and that acknowledge the multitudes of peoples and violences that helped produce them. Stony Brook University sits on the traditional lands of the Setalcott, Unkechaug and Shinnecock nations, from whose continuing presence we benefit enormously. I feel very fortunate to have spent my career at Stony Brook, with its long eccentric history of and continuing commitments to intellectual radicalism and the arts of dissent, appropriate to a SUNY university founded in the 1960s. I take pleasure in thanking the deans of the College of Arts and Sciences for the funding that helped me carry out archival research on five continents and supported this study's publication. My fearless colleagues and students deserve especial thanks: Jenny Anderson, Young Sun-Hong, Shirley Lim, Ned Landsman, Herman Lebovics, Gary Marker, April Masten, Josh Teplitsky and Nancy Tomes; the long list of distinguished speakers at HISB, and the members of its board: of the latter, particularly Lena Burgos-Lafuente, Lisa Diedrich, Victoria Hesford, Peter Manning, Adrián Perez-Melgosa and Joseph Pierce. Former and current students assisted this study with ideas, debates, research assistance and copyediting: Christina Bosco, Parissa Djangi, Sarah Hoglund, Tristan Tomlinson, Laura Siliano Tyhacz; and Charlotte Rossler, Jocelyn Zimmerman and all of the students in my Decolonize This! course, for whom no text was a mountain. My coeditors at Critical Perspectives on Empire, Catherine Hall and Mrinalini Sinha, also earn plaudits for their endurance in getting this book into press and, of course, for general historical brilliance. Cambridge University Press History Editor Michael Watson remains a prince among men in his support for this manuscript throughout. Thank you all.

I have given papers based on this research at meetings and seminars of the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies; the Association of Caribbean Historians; the North American Conference on British Studies; Yale Center for British Art; the Humanities Center, North Carolina; Yale-National University of Singapore; University of California, Merced; University of Maryland; Queen Mary College, University of London; the Long Eighteenth Century Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, University of London; the University of Chicago Humanities Center; the Newberry Library; University College, Dublin; the MacNeil Center, University of Pennsylvania; University of Maryland; and the Huntington Library. Thanks to all for these occasions of intellectual community. I have relied on the work of diverse scholars of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian



#### xiv Acknowledgments

Ocean worlds to guide me through complex written and nonwritten historical literatures, and I remain grateful for their astounding scholarship. None are responsible for my errors of omission or fact. Materials in several chapters, and particularly 2, 3 and 4, appeared in earlier versions in articles: Eighteenth-Century Studies 41, 2 (2008), 231–51, and 48, 4 (2015), 375–90; William and Mary Quarterly 66 (2009), 45–86; and Eighteenth-Century Fiction 27 (2015), 3–4, 510–34. I thank the editors for their aid in clarifying my argument, even as its shortcomings remain my own.

Archivists, librarians and oral informants have been rock stars in my research. I thank the staffs of the following facilities: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the State Library of New South Wales; the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the National Library of Calcutta and the Asiatic Society Library of Calcutta, India; the Bengkulu Museum; St. Helena Archives, Jamestown; the National Library of Jamaica, Jamaica Archives and Island Record Office, Kingston and Spanish Town, and the Charles Town Maroon Conference of Charles Town, Jamaica; Trinity College Library, Dublin and Cork City Library, Ireland; the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh; the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Lambeth Palace Archives, National Archives (Kew), the Theatre Museum (now part of the Victorian and Albert Museum), Britain; the Beinecke Library and Yale Center for British Art, Yale University; the Huntington Library; and Interlibrary Loan, Melville Library, Stony Brook University. I also thank, gratefully, Adriansyah Putera, for the cultural tour of Fort Marlborough, Bengkulu and Kebun Keling (Dark Gardens) that was so important to my perspective and knowledge; and to my landlady, Rennie S. and Wild Sumatra's two young guides, who stayed with me in hospital when I became ill. Their extraordinary care and kindness for a stranger were testament to the community-making nature of Sumatran everyday life.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge those humans and nonhumans who sustained me through a long process. Above all, I thank Nicholas Mirzoeff, always a believer, as well as an astute interlocutor and my first and last reader; and Hannah Mirzoeff, Esq., whose intelligence, courage and humor give me hope. Jan Albers, Kelynn Alder, Darlene Berkovitz, Susan Bortell, Susan Brennan, Barbara Frank, Nancy Franklin, Paul Monod, John Montaño, Jane Easton O'Keeffe, Stella Tillyard, Amanda Vickery, Peter John and Jo Wilkinson proffered solidarity and sanity at crucial moments that buoyed me in ways they probably don't suspect. Lastly, I thank Midnight Mirzoeff, spoiled poodle of heartfelt memory, who was my most uncritical listener, fervent admirer and boon companion to the end.



Add MSS

NA

NLJ

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-79081-9 — Strolling Players of Empire Kathleen Wilson Frontmatter More Information

### **Abbreviations**

Additional Manuscripts, British Library AEC David Collins, Account of the English Colony (London, 1798) AHRAmerican Historical Review BLBritish Library CCBTCambridge Companion to British Theatre 1730-1830, edited by Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge, 2009) **CSPC** Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies (London, 1860–1926) **ECS** Eighteenth-Century Studies **EIC** East India Company **EUR MS** European Manuscripts Private Papers, India Office, **British Library EVSP** Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific (New Haven, CT, 1985) *H*7 Historical Fournal HL Henry H. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California HRAHistorical Records of Australia, edited by Frederick Watson, 16 vols. (Sydney, 1997 [1914–25]) Historical Records of New South Wales, edited by **HRNSW** F. M. Bladen, Alexander Britton and James Cook, 9 vols. (Sydney, 1892–1901) **IOR** India Office, British Library Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town JA Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica *7A7* 7BS Journal of British Studies LPL Lambeth Palace Library ML Mitchell Library, Sydney

National Archives, Kew (London)

National Library of Jamaica

ΧV



xvi List of Abbreviations

OHGT The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre 1737–1832,

edited by Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor

(Oxford, 2014)

SFFY Watkin Tench, Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of

"A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay," and "A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson," edited

by L. F. Fitzhardinge (Sydney, 1961)

SHA St. Helena Archives, Jamestown, the Castle, St. Helena

SLNSW State Library of New South Wales

WMQ William and Mary Quarterly YCBA Yale Center for British Art