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A Note on Texts and Translations

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are my own. Within the text I quote non-English sources in their English translation and include the original in an endnote. In quoting from French, English, and Spanish sources, I have regularized the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orthography unless such an alteration predicated a change in meaning. Many of my sources are contemporary nineteenth-century newspapers that appeared in bilingual editions but offered separate content in each section. When I quote from the English section, I give the English title of the periodical (e.g., New Orleans Bee). When I quote from the French section, I give the French title (e.g., L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans).

Because the printed editions of the dramatic works cited in this volume do not include line numbers, I cite excerpts from plays either by page number alone or by act, scene, and page number, separated by periods. For example, 2.9.524–25 indicates act 2, scene 9, pages 524–25.
Introduction

Nineteenth-century visitors habitually described New Orleans as a hotbed of crime, violence, gambling, drinking, and prostitution—a town altogether devoid of morals. Its climate and swamp location, the poorly developed infrastructure, and the latent danger of yellow fever led many to depict the Crescent City as a place where illness and death lurked on every corner. Others more favorably inclined remarked on the city's bustling commerce, its various amusements, and the beauty of the Creole women. Some also commented on the heterogeneity of the local population and the multiplicity of languages spoken in the streets. "Truly does New-Orleans represent every other city and nation upon earth. I know of none where is congregated so great a variety of human species, of every language and colour," the New-England Joseph Holt Ingraham observed, while one of New Orleans's own newspapers proudly stated: "New Orleans is a world in miniature, subdivided into smaller commonwealths, [in which] distinctive traits of national character are to be seen, and the peculiar language of its people is to be heard spoken." In this environment the theatre emerged as one of the city's most important political, social, and cultural institutions. It united in one place people from multiple origins and different social classes, provided distraction from the hardships of everyday life, and advanced, in the words of a local theatre director, "the best interests of society" by instructing its patrons in "the great and permanent cause of morals."

New Orleans's French and Spanish colonial heritage, its relatively large number of black residents, and its history as a former Native American trading post did indeed make for an unusual blend. After the Louisiana Purchase the Crescent City accepted a constant flow of newcomers from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, and Britain, and gradually emerged as the second-busiest immigration port in the United States. Migrants from Saint-Domingue, Cuba, Latin America, and the northern parts of the United States also made their home in New Orleans, turning the city into a place that displayed an astonishing ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversity. Recent scholars have therefore described the Crescent City as "America's
first genuinely multicultural metropolis” and a “distinctive cultural entrepôt, where peoples from Europe and Africa initially intertwined their lives and customs with those of the native inhabitants of New Orleans.”

But as they analyze the social and cultural makeup of the city and explore its connections to Europe, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the northern United States, a growing number of scholars no longer view New Orleans as an exotic town at the periphery of the United States, exceptional in its development and foreign in its outlook. Rather, they define the city as a key locale in alternative geographies—such as the French Atlantic, the circum–Caribbean, the American Mediterranean, and the American hemisphere—and acknowledge that, as a nexus of the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Mississippi River trade and communication systems, New Orleans was not only an important site of circum-Atlantic cultural and commercial exchange but also functioned as a gateway to and from the American West and Midwest.

New Orleans’s vibrant theatre scene registered these myriad influences. It reflected the city’s diverse population, multifaceted past, and rapidly changing present. Founded by two French immigrants at a time when New Orleans was under Spanish rule, the city’s theatre culture was shaped by Caribbean influences, transatlantic exchanges, North American connections, and Latin American outlooks. For more than a hundred years the theatres in New Orleans provided a steady focal point for people from all social and ethnic walks of life. Theatres served as social centers, helped manage the city’s heterogeneous population, showcased local dramatic literature, and contributed significantly to the city’s economy. At a time of growing Anglo-American dominance, however, the theatres also represented sites of struggle over cultural sovereignty, ethnic identity, and national belonging.

In Creole Drama I follow the people who created, shaped, and sustained French theatre culture in New Orleans from its inception in 1792 until the Civil War. Exploring the history of the city’s various francophone stages, I examine how Louisiana’s French-speaking community defined, defended, and disseminated its French identity while simultaneously negotiating its place in the American nation, the circum–Atlantic world, and the American hemisphere. In doing so, I investigate the ways in which well-known French Louisianians such as the exiled free black dramatist Victor Séjourné—as well as the lesser-known playwrights Louis Placide Canonge, Auguste Lussan, and P. E. Perennes—intervened in current debates about political representation, slavery, US expansion, and the place of ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities in the early United States. Although the works of these writers were favorably reviewed by the local press and in most cases also were published, these native pieces were marginalized in the repertoires of New Orleans’s French-language playhouses. Creole Drama therefore also examines portions of the imported repertoire and explains the relevance of these French plays for an audience far removed from its former mother country. By looking through the lens of theatre to analyze social, political, and cultural developments in antebellum New Orleans, I hope to provide not only a detailed history of francophone theatre in New Orleans but also an account of the surprising ways in which multilingualism and early transnational networks informed the creation of the American nation.

Even though New Orleans’s francophone residents outnumbered any other ethnic group in the city until the 1830s, their importance started to decline with the growing influx of Anglo-American migrants after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. From the 1830s onwards, an intense rivalry between the anglophone and francophone populations dominated New Orleans’s political, economic, and social life. In this context the theatre assumed for the francophone population the roles of “sanctuary of good traditions,” “barrier,” and “safest bulwark against the invasion of which our language is threatened.” Newspaper writers and local residents viewed the theatre as the most powerful weapon in the ongoing battle to preserve the French language in Louisiana and saw a clear connection between the success of the theatre and the viability of the francophone community. Whenever the Théâtre d’Orléans, the city’s most important francophone playhouse, was struggling financially, the press appealed to the French-speaking residents of New Orleans to attend the performances because that meant that they simultaneously professed their love for French Louisiana and the old mother country. “Let us never abandon the Théâtre d’Orléans, this old guardian of the language of our fathers. For this is an act of patriotism, and we are holding [everyone] to it,” one newspaper declared when it was uncertain if the Théâtre d’Orléans would survive for another season. Another newspaper described the Théâtre d’Orléans as a “patriotic institution” and demanded that the local French-speaking population attend the performances on a regular basis. Supporting the theatre, then, was an act of patriotic duty for the francophone population and helped them to ward off what they viewed as harmful Anglo-American influence.

While on the one hand preserving the linguistic heritage of Louisiana’s francophone population, the very “Frenchness” of the Théâtre d’Orléans paradoxically also helped them bridge the cultural gap to their English-speaking neighbors. Its high-quality performances and elegant venue
ladies, their most fashionable begloved, all longing for entertainment and novelty," a reporter for Le Courrier observed. "This moneyed crowd," the reporter continued, "lets the sidewalks of the city quiver during the day... animating the shops, and boutiques...[and] when the evening comes, the streets cede the crowds to the theatre." Every grand production at the Théâtre d'Orléans generated "immense sums" as theatre patrons raided local shops for appropriate attire and jewelry, dined in the restaurants of the city; and spent their money in the local hotels and gambling and drinking establishments. These pre- and post-theatrical activities contributed to the economy of the entire city, but they were especially important for the economy of the old French Quarter. In the 1820s and 1830s the Quarter's commerce had lost ground, and by the mid-1840s its businesses had been supplanted by new ventures in the American sections of the town. For the French-speaking community, then, the Théâtre d'Orléans constituted not only a cultural institution but also an economic stronghold. "The existence of the Théâtre d'Orléans brings prosperity to [the French part of town]," one newspaper stated in 1849, while another newspaper writer expressed his conviction that, should the Théâtre d'Orléans ever be shut down, its closure would deliver "the final blow to numerous businesses that only survived because of the wealth [the theatre] attracted." Without the theatre, this writer concluded, the French Quarter would be deserted and its businesses doomed.

In addition to bringing much-needed money to the city in general and to its francophone areas in particular, the French-language theatre in New Orleans also became an important site for showcasing francophone literature written by Louisianan writers. Almost immediately after Louisiana's transfer to the United States, the local francophone press began to lament the impending decline of the French-speaking population. By the 1830s a discourse emerged in the French-language press that connected the cultural survival of the French-speaking community to the creation of a local, francophone body of literature. Such a literature was initially imagined to "closely identify with that of France," but newspaper writers and community leaders soon began to argue for a Louisiana literature that distinguished itself sharply from that of the French mother country. "The literature of Louisiana must emit an indigenous scent: it must have entirely local characteristics, bear the imprint of our ideas, be shaped by the influence of our climate," one periodical stated. And for the writers of another local newspaper the creation of a francophone literary tradition native to Louisiana signified the region's last step in a long process of shedding its
private homes and salons, circus tents and ballrooms, city streets and parks. Without discounting the importance of such performances and venues, I focus on the material conditions of designated playhouses, such as a building's architecture, interior characteristics, admission policies, and seating arrangements in order to uncover how the theatre as a cultural institution and as a social and political space operated. In doing so, I trace the crucial ways in which playhouses and the performances that occurred within them worked to maintain the relevance of New Orleans's francophone community in the antebellum city, while I also demonstrate how they connected that community to a variety of local, national, and transnational networks.

In analyzing the French-language theatre in New Orleans, this book joins a growing body of scholarship that reintegrates non-English-speaking societies and their cultural productions into the field of American literary and cultural studies. Even though the number of critical studies on theatre and drama has grown considerably since Susan Harris Smith's famous denunciation of American drama as "the bastard art," the non-English-language theatre, especially in its early incarnations, has received little critical attention. The few existing scholarly works on American theatre and drama in languages other than English largely treat the non-English-language theatre as a transient and isolated phenomenon emerging from minority groups, rather than a valuable contribution to the larger trajectory of American theatre and drama. Such an approach, however, marginalizes early ethnic theatre and drama and foregrounds resistance and the desire for cultural survival, rather than emphasizing the role of minority groups in the formation of other cultural entities and communities beyond the nation-state. In Minor Transnationalism Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih challenge this tendency to examine minority cultures solely within the binary of assimilation and resistance; instead they explore the complexity inherent to minority cultures, emerging networks between different minority communities, and productive minority-majority relationships. Building on these powerful insights, Creole Drama focuses on processes of cultural exchange that cross artificially drawn borders, circumnavigate oceans, and integrate alternative geographic spaces.

During the antebellum era, New Orleans's francophone theatres emerged as key venues for the creation of such cultural exchanges. Following Elizabeth Maddock Dillon's conception of the early American playhouse as a "cultural site at which the dynamics of political belonging, modern sovereignty, and aesthetics [were] coarticulated," I consider how drama performed at local theatres both reflected and helped negotiate...
that led to the formation of a francophone theatrical culture that blended Old and New World influences. These processes of creolization initially produced a theatre culture that was able to thrive despite Spanish antiquated legislation and American competition. The struggle of the city’s francophone theatres, I suggest, truly began when their directors renounced creolization and their theatres’ Caribbean roots in favor of bilateral transatlantic exchanges with France.

I turn to an analysis of Louisiana’s dramatic literature in chapter 2, which examines local battles for political and cultural sovereignty. The rivalry between the older Creole population and the Anglo-American newcomers not only manifested itself in the streets of New Orleans, in the pages of the local newspapers, and in heated debates in the city council; it also occurred in the city’s many playhouses. Focusing on Auguste Lussan’s Les Martyrs de la Louisiiane (1839) and Louis Placide Canon’s France et Espagne ou La Louisiane en 1768 et 1769 (1850), I analyze how these two dramatists recast the 1768 rebellion of French Louisiana against the Spanish colonial administration in order to comment on the marginalization of the francophone community in the first half of the nineteenth century. By juxtaposing their plays with Thomas Wharton Collens’s The Martyr Patriots (1836), an English-language piece on the same subject, I tease out how ethnic rivalries and the discussion over the creation of a literature native to Louisiana seeped into the writing of all three dramatists.

Chapter 3 investigates the theatrical traditions of New Orleans’s free people of color and their engagement with other communities in the American hemisphere. By analyzing theatre legislation, debates on urban development, and the discussions surrounding black theatre patrons, I recover the history of the Théâtre Mariann and the Théâtre de la Renaissance, two playhouses that were run by and for free people of color. I argue that, although the free black tradition emerged out of discontent with white theatre policies, the city’s two black theatres imagined themselves as sites of racial reconciliation. Through an analysis of seven of the most popular plays performed at these theatres, I show that the city’s black playhouses composed their repertoire in a way that responded to issues specifically relevant to the free black community: plâçage, Haiti, and Latin American emigration.

Chapter 4 returns to questions of creolization and Americanization by exploring the different ways in which the members of New Orleans’s French-speaking population attempted to formulate their own claim to an American national identity. I contend that in order to be able to participate...
in political processes, French Louisianians increasingly rejected their French heritage and championed American ideals and institutions. In *La Famille créole* (1837) Auguste Lussan foregrounded the specific qualities people born outside of the perimeters of the United States could contribute to the American nation, while Louis Placide Canonge’s version of *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1846) sought to educate other francophone Louisianians in American patriotism as the country was preparing for war with Mexico.

Chapter 5 moves across the Atlantic to the free black community in Paris, offering one example of how Louisiana Creole identity was negotiated from abroad. In the metropolitan capital Victor Séjour, a free man of color from New Orleans, became one of the most celebrated dramatists of his day. Through his short story *"Le Mulâtre"* (1837) and his dramatic piece *Le Martyre du cœur* (1858), Séjour commented on the political situation of his native and adopted countries and intervened in current debates about slave emancipation and the status of free people of color in the Atlantic world. Through its analysis of Séjour’s works, this chapter not only reveals the international and multilingual reach of the antislavery campaign but also provides a transatlantic perspective on the disintegration of the American nation on the eve of the Civil War.

By devoting a chapter each to circum-Atlantic, local, hemispheric, national, and transatlantic relations, I engage with different scales of transnationalism. As I focus on these multiple, overlapping geographies, I address the range and diversity of Louisiana’s transnational connections and emphasize the many ways in which local formations generate and powerfully inflect national as well as transnational outlooks. By recovering the archive of the francophone drama of Louisiana, I also intervene in conventional narratives of American literary history that focus predominantly on English-language texts while casting a new light on processes of cultural exchange, struggles over political agency, and changing power relations. Ultimately, this investigation of New Orleans’ French-language theatre not only reveals the vitality and versatility of the city’s francophone theatrical tradition but also emphasizes its relevance for the larger trajectory of nineteenth-century American identity.

Circum-Atlantic Theatrical Relations

The Emergence of the Francophone Stage in a Spanish City

On 18 March 1807 the New Orleans newspaper *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane* announced the production of a "Creole vaudeville" as part of a benefit performance at the local Théâtre de la Rue St. Pierre. Titled *Papa Simon ou les Amours de Thérèse et Janot* (Papa Simon or the Loves of Thérèse and Janot), the piece promised a welcome change in a repertoire that was largely dominated by dramatic and musical imports from France. Thought to be one of the earliest existing literary works in Creole, *Papa Simon* is based on Rousseau’s 1752 opera *Le Devin du village* (The village soothsayer), a piece that was hugely popular in the métropole and was a mainstay in France’s colonial theatres. *Papa Simon’s* author was a man named Clément, who had acquired some fame as an actor and theatre director in Saint-Domingue and who had penned other plays in Creole that were produced on the stages of Cap-Français, Port-au-Prince, and Léogâne. In his version of *Le Devin du village*, Clément retained most of the original music, but he completely rewrote the libretto, adapting the opera’s plot to his New World environment. He exchanged Rousseau’s French village setting with that of a Caribbean plantation, turned the shepherds Colin and Colette into Creole lovers named Janot and Thérèse, and transformed the opera’s magician into Papa Simon, a wizard and practitioner of vodou from Africa. Clément also included some airs he had composed himself and added dances that were described as “slave dance steps” and “black dance steps.” The wizard, who appeared “in the true costume and color of the nègre,” seems to have been the play’s main attraction and, coupled with the piece’s New World setting and the other actors’ performances in blackface, regularly drew large audiences. After its premiere in Cap-Français in 1758, *Jeannot et Thérèse*, as the play was known in Saint-Domingue, was staged in theatres across the island and remained in the colonial repertoire for more than thirty years. Its arrival in New Orleans in 1807 marked another stage in the piece’s circuitous path across the French Atlantic.
Notes

Introduction

1. Ingraham, South-West, 99; Daily Picayune, 23 Sept. 1843.
2. Caldwell qtd. in Kendall, Golden Age, 131.
4. For scholarship that specifically argues against New Orleans as exotic, foreign, and un-American, see Bond's volume French Colonial Louisiana; Davis, Southscapes; and Efte and Müller's volume New Orleans and the Global South. For scholarship that relates New Orleans and/or Louisiana to the Atlantic world, see Marshall, French Atlantic, 178; Boelhower, "Editorial I," 131–59, and "Editorial II," 299–304; Vidal, "Louisiana in Atlantic Perspective," 2–5; and Vidal's volume Louisiana: Crossroads of the Atlantic World. For a circum-Caribbean context, see Roach, Cities of the Dead, 179; Lowe, Calypso Magnolias, 1–3, 11–13; Munro and Britton, introduction to American Creoles, 3; and Müller, Transkoloniale Karibik, 223–38. For New Orleans in the American Mediterranean, see Gutier, American Mediterranean, 21–23. For New Orleans in the American hemisphere and as gateway to the American West, see Gruesz, Ambassadors of Culture, 109–10.
6. These dramatists were either born in Louisiana or spent significant portions of their lives there and were eventually claimed by the local population as among their own. Although female writers such as Emilie Evershed, Sidonie de la Housaye, Marie Augustin, Louisa R. Lamotte, and Léona Queyrrouze made significant contributions to the literary history of francophone Louisiana, they do not seem to have engaged much in playwriting. In the course of my research, I have not been able to find any records of the production of a play.
written by a female Louisiana dramatist, nor am I aware of the publication of such a piece during the anti-sérum period.

7. After a careful study of the playbills printed in New Orleans's newspapers and periodicals, I could not detect more than five performances total of any native Louisiana play at any of New Orleans's biggest venues for the entire period between 1830 and 1859. Most were produced once or twice at the end of a theatrical season as benefit performances. Of course, some of the smaller, more transient playhouses probably did not advertise in these papers. Local dramas were also almost certainly performed at salons and other private gatherings.

8. Charles Silin gave an interesting breakdown of the fare produced on the francophone stages of New Orleans between 1806 and 1859. He counted 1820 different pieces, among them 618 vaudevilles, 464 comedies, 87 melodramas, 114 dramas [sic], 49 tragedies, and 113 unclassified pieces. Moreover, he found references to 441 operatic or musical works. All told, the works of 887 different authors or combinations of authors were produced on the francophone stages of New Orleans between 1806 and 1859. See Silin, "French Theatre," 135–28.

9. For more on the rivalry between New Orleans's anglophone and the francophone populations, see chapter 2.

10. "Notre langue," L'Étendard, 30 Nov. 1839: "Ne devrions-nous pas aussi soutenir de têtes nos forces le théâtre français qui doit être en quelque sorte le sanctuaire des bonnes traditions? And "Théâtre d'Orléans," Le Courrier, 5 July 1843: "Nous avons dit encore que le théâtre français nous semblait la plus puissante barrière à opposer aux envahisseurs dont nous venons de parler." See also "Troupe du Théâtre d'Orléans," Le Courrier, 16 Oct. 1843: "Espérons... qu'ils réussiront à persuader à notre ancienne population que le théâtre d'Orléans est le plus sûr boulevard contre l'envahissement dont notre langue est menacée, à ce titre seul ce nous est un devoir de le soutenir." (All English-language translations in the text are my own unless otherwise noted. In each note I give the citation followed by the original French.)

11. "Théâtre d'Orléans," Le Courrier, 8 Apr. 1844: "Profitons donc des quelques jours heureux que nous restent; faisons donc de glorieux adieux à ces artistes auxquels nous devons tant de riches et suaves soirées; que le Théâtre d'Orléans, ce vieux garçon de la langue de nos pères ne soit pas délaissé; car c'est une œuvre de patriotisme que nous réclamons, et nos concitoyens ne sont jamais sourds à ce mot là."


13. For newspaper articles that emphasize the importance of the theatre for the continued existence of the francophone community, see, for example, "Communiqué," Le Courrier, 14 Nov. 1842; "Théâtre d'Orléans," Le Courrier.
de ses mains toujours ouvertes, il laisserait tomber la vie dans les magasins, dans les boutiques, où le luxe et la fantaisie provoquent et prévoient tous les caprices de l'opulence. Le soir venu, la rue cède le monde au théâtre."

22. Ibid.: "Le théâtre français contribue donc pour sa bonne part à la prospérité de la ville. Qui sait les sommes immenses que chaque grande représentation jetée dans le commerce, dans la circulation?"


24. "Avenir littéraire," La Crête, 16 Nov. 1837, p. 4: "La littérature de la Louisiane est identifiée à celle de la France. . . . Le poète louisianais marchera toujours à côté du poète français; et leurs noms seront mêlés ensemble dans les pages de l'histoire."

25. "Littérature louisianaise," La Louisiane, 7 Oct. 1841: "Mais notre pensée n'est pas qu'il faille suivre servilement la trace des écrivains français. La littérature de la Louisiane doit exhuler un parfum indigène; elle doit avoir une couleur toute locale, porter l'empreinte de nos idées, subir l'influence de notre climat."


27. For the literary history of French Louisiana, including information on the state's dramatic literature, see, for example, Caulfield, French Literature of Louisiana; Brosman, Louisiana Creole Literature; Hamel, La Louisiane créole; Fortier, Les Lettres françaises; Watson, History of Southern Drama; and the chapter on Louisiana in Vitatte, Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française.

28. "Chronique de la semaine," Le Courrier, 12 May 1849: "Il... faut [à la littérature et à l'art louisianais] enfin une issue pour se produire, et le Théâtre d'Orléans, en leur ouvrant généreusement ses portes, leur a donné une impulsion qui ne se ralentira plus. L'âme est ouverte: que tous nos poètes, que tous nos musiciens, et ils sont nombreux, viennent y disputer le prix de poésie et de musique."

29. Alfred Mercier, "Cléopatre, Tragédie, Par Madame E. de Girardin," La Chronique, 6 Feb. 1848, p. 40: "Il est certain que si on l'essayait sur une base qui promit un avenir aux acteurs, ceux-ci s'établiraient à la Louisiane; de leurs familles naîtrait une pépinière d'artistes, qui interpréteraient les inspirations de la poésie indigène."

30. For a good overview of plays by Louisiana authors that were produced on the local stage, see Allain and Cormy St. Martin, "French Theatre," 170-74.

31. By adopting a narrow definition of theatre, I was also unable to consider the performative character of ritual (e.g., Turner, From Ritual to Theatre; Schechner, Performance Theory), civic entertainment (e.g., Ryan, Civic Wars), festivities and parades (e.g., Waldstreicher, Mids of Perpetual Fêtes), the recreation of memory through performance (e.g., Roach, Cities of the Dead; Taylor, Archive), or the theatricality of everyday life (e.g., Goffman, Presentation of Self; de Certeau, Practice of Everyday Life).

32. Werner Sollors, Marc Shell, and Lawrence Rosenwald have begun to explore the wide range of these multilingual writings and in the process have recovered volumes of texts that challenge traditional notions of what counts as American literature. Anna Brickhouse and Kirsten Silva Gruesz have examined the multilingual and transnational nature of the early Americas, and Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine have provided critical insights into what can be gained from such comparative and dialogical approaches to American literature. None of these scholars, however, offer a sustained treatment of multilingual theatre and drama.

33. Important monographs on early American theatre and drama include Smith, American Drama; Dillon, New World Drama; Richards, Drama, Theatre, and Identity; Nathans, Early American Theatre and Slavery and Sentiment; Wilmer, Theatre, Society, and the Nation; Bank; Theatre Culture in America; T. Miller, Entertaining the Nation; Rehborn, Pioneer Performances; Reed, Rogue Performances; Shaffer, Performing Patriotism; O. Johnson, Absence and Memory; Frick, Theatre, Culture, and Temperance Reform and Uncle Tom's Cabin on the American Stage; Hughes, Spectacles of Reform; Chinn, Spectacular Men; and Richardson, American Drama. A notable exception to the neglect of non-English theatre is Watermeier and Londrés' History of North American Theater, which includes chapters on Mexico, Quebec, New Spain, the Caribbean, and New France, but does not consider the francophone theatre of Louisiana or the French Caribbean.

34. The most important publication on this subject is a critical volume edited by Maxine Schwartz Seller entitled Ethnic Theatre in the United States. It offers twenty chapters on the theatrical traditions of non-English-speaking ethnic groups (with the exception of a chapter on black theatre), including a chapter on the French theatre in Louisiana. However, this volume is an example—at least where it talks about the theatre of the nineteenth century—of marginalization.
through ethnicization. Specialized monographs on non-English-language theatrical activities in the United States include Koegel, Music in German Immigrant Theater; Haenni, immigrant Scene; and Aleandri, Italian-American Immigrant Theatre.

35. Dillon, New World Drama, 21.
37. Richards, Drama, Theatre, 17.
38. Nathans, Early American Theatre, 1.
39. Shafter, Performing Patriotism, 13; and Wilmer, Theatre, Society, and the Nation, 1.
40. Richards, Drama, Theatre, 1.
41. Ibid., 6.

1. Circum-Atlantic Theatrical Relations

1. Performances of Papa Simon ou Les Amours de Thérèse et Janot in New Orleans were announced in Le Mouiteur de la Louisiane on 18 and 21 March 1807 and 30 April 1811.

2. Qtd. in Dubois, Banjo, 175.
3. Qtd. in ibid., 179–80, original emphasis.


5. See Bauer and Mazzotti, introduction to Creole Subjects, 5, 6.

6. For more on the term "Creole" and its shifts in meaning, see Bauer and Mazzotti, introduction to Creole Subjects, 3–7; Garraway, Libertine Colony, 19–20; Bennett, "Creoles," 528–29; and Bernard, "Creoles," 135–37. For "Creole" in the context of Louisiana, see G. Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana, 157; Domínguez, White by Definition, 110–32; Fertel, Imagining the Creole City, 9–16; Tregle, Louisianans in the Age of Jackson, 337; "Early New Orleans Society," 21; and "Creoles and Americans," 141. Throughout this book, I will specify which definition of "Creole" I am adhering to. In this first chapter I subscribe to the inclusive designation of "Creole" as a native of the New World or a long-term transplant.

7. For more on creolization, see Bauer and Mazzotti, introduction to Creole Subjects, 3–7; Garraway, Libertine Colony, 17–24. For theories of creolization and créolité formulated by Caribbean intellectuals, see, for example, Brathwaite, Development of Creole Society; Glissant, Poetics of Relation; and Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant, Élégie de la Créolité.

8. On what Goudie termed the "creole complex," see Creole America, 13–15. On US relations with the West Indies, see ibid., 6–11.
9. Ibid., 8–9.
10. For more on the relationship between creolization and Americanization in Louisiana, see Guenin-Lelle, Story of French New Orleans, 73–96; Thompson, Exiles at Home, 7–9; and chapter 2 of this study.
12. For more on the French Atlantic, see Banks, Chasing Empire, 8–9; C. Miller, French Atlantic Triangle, 3–4; Marshall, French Atlantic, 19; Dubois, "French Atlantic," 139–44.
13. For more on the Atlantic world as a circum-Atlantic system, see, e.g., Roach, Cities of the Dead, ix-xiii; and Armitage, "Three Concepts," 16–18.
14. Saint-Domingue's most important theatres stood in Cap-Français and Port-au-Prince. The towns of Les Cayes, Saint-Marc, Petit-Goâve, Jacmel, Léogâne, and Jérémie maintained smaller venues. Guadeloupe boasted one playhouse on its northern island in Point-à-Pitre and one on its southern island in Basse-Terre. Martinique's colonial capital of Fort-Royal possessed a small playhouse, while the northern town of Saint-Pierre hosted the island's most elegant venue. For more on these colonial theatres, see Fouchard, Le Théâtre à Saint-Domingue et Artistes et répertoires; Powers, From Plantation to Paradise; Clay, Stagestruck, 195–214; Camier and Dubois, "Voltaire et Zaire," 19–69; Rosemain, La Musique dans la société antillaise, 33–45; and Béard, Théâtres des Antilles, 19–22.

15. For more on Les Veuves créoles, see Julia Prest's critical edition, Les Veuves créoles, comédie. The play was produced at the theatre of Le Cap in Saint-Domingue in 1769 and 1779.
17. For more on Labbé and his theatre, see Fouchard, Le Théâtre à Saint-Domingue, 91–95; Clay, Stagestruck, 220–21; and Powers, From Plantation to Paradise, 78–79.
18. See De Lauzon, Souvenirs de vingt années de voyages, 1166–67: "Les acteurs me faisaient beaucoup rire. Une maîtresse était jaune, un amant était blanc, et quelques notres jouaient le rôle de courtisans. Il fallait se reporter sur la scène pour ne pas entendre parler de préjugés. Ce fut surtout à l'apparition des chœurs que j'eus de la peine à me contenir. Je voyais dans l'ensemble des figures un mélange de couleur dont les nuances étaient différentes entr'elles, et