

Mary Elizabeth Smith

Theatre in Saint John: The First Thirty Years

When the first dramatic performance in New Brunswick took place in Saint John in 1789, the city had been incorporated four years. It had grown rapidly during the decade with the arrival of the Loyalists. The Scottish traveller, Patrick Campbell, in *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, describes the situation then:

The city of Saint John lies on the east side of the grand river of that name, where it enters the Bay of Fundy, situated on a broad point, more than half surrounded by a Bay on the eastward. The town is well planned; the streets cut at right angles; but from the unevenness and ruggedness of the sloping ground on which it is built, does not appear regular to the eye. It consists of about five hundred houses, all of them timber, well painted. They have a neat appearance, and some of them even elegant; generally consisting of two stories high. The shops, store, and wharfs, numerous and commodious. They have two churches, also of wood; the largest not yet finished; but when it is, may contain a numerous congregation.¹

When Christopher Scott arrived from Scotland in 1799 to found what became a thriving shipbuilding industry, he found the town "uncommonly orderly and well conducted", the women "remarkably well-dressed, clean, neat and affecting a degree of fashionability surprising in such a place".² That the weather in those days could be as disagreeable as it can now, we may judge from a letter sent home to his mother from Lord Edward Fitzgerald just after his regiment had moved to Fredericton in August, 1788: "At Saint John the weather is very bad; the fogs constant, and for more than three weeks I was there, we had only five days on which we saw the sun rise. You may believe I was very glad to come up to this place."³

By 1819, the city had coped with several serious fires, the fear of French attack, an arrival of emancipated slaves from Maryland and Virginia, and crop failure. It had rejoiced at the defeat of Bonaparte at Waterloo, seen the ships built in its yard become known abroad for their

soundness, benefited from the introduction of steamship service up the Saint John River to Fredericton, and begun to enter on a period of considerable commercial prosperity. In these surroundings the theatre was born, struggled, was sometimes silent, and occasionally flourished.

More than twenty years ago, J. Russell Harper, then archivist at the New Brunswick Museum, wrote about the theatre during the first thirty years in an article entitled "The Theatre in Saint John 1789-1817" which he published in the *Dalhousie Review*.⁴ So much material has since become available which both adds to his findings and corrects his errors that it is now necessary to look at the period again. That is the purpose of this paper.

1789

The earliest available reference to theatre in Saint John is in a letter from Ward Chipman, Solicitor General, to Colonel Edward Winslow at Kingsclear. The letter, dated in Saint John on March 3, 1789, reads in part: "We were highly pleased with your theatrical jaunt—the description reached us just as we were setting off for the entertainment given us last Evening by Miss Doyley and C^o—everything went off exceedingly well—and will I hope from the success of it be a prelude to other exhibitions of the same kind."⁵ Chipman had just seen, on Monday, March 2, a performance of Hannah Cowley's *Who's the Dupe?* in which the character of Mrs. Doyley must have impressed him especially.⁶ Winslow had apparently been at the opening on Saturday, February 28.

A letter from a correspondent, which was not published in the *Saint John Gazette* until March 31, in time to advertise the second "exhibition" of the season, tells us that the main piece was the comedy of *The Busy Body*, the performers "a company of Gentlemen", and the location "Mallard's Long Room". "The scenes, decorations, and dresses were entirely new and in a very fine style. The Prologue was occasional. The parts of the Drama were in general well cast, and the characters supported with great life and humour . . . in this first dramatic exhibition in this province".⁷

The programme was given for charity. The prologue, also in the *Saint John Gazette* of March 31 makes that clear:

. . . and in every place and age
 The sisters, guardians of the laugh and sigh,
 Have still gone hand in hand with charity;
 For in all climes, in every life's short span,
 Grief will be found—for such the lot of man.

Here too in honor'd loyalty's retreat,
 When citizens from every clime have met;
 Distress is found—distress that knows belief—
 Distress that asks—and that requires relief,
 Has hoary winter, yet in icy chains,
 So chill'd our breasts—that pity scarce remains?
 Can we ungrateful, mourn inclement skies,
 And from the shiv'ring orphan turn our eyes.
 Forbid it Heaven!

The "gentlemen" offered two more presentations for public charity to complete what was the first season of dramatic activity in Saint John. These were *The Comedy of the Busy Body* (repeated from February 28 and March 2) and *All the World's a Stage*, on April 2, and *The Tragedy of the Gamester* and *The Upholsterer*, on April 20.⁸ All the performances took place in Mallard's Long Room on the lower end of King Street, designated in the advertisements only as "Theatre, King Street", precisely at 6:30, for an admission price of two shillings. After this, the extant newspapers are scanty until 1795, when there is a nearly complete run of the *Royal Gazette*.

1794-1795

The Upper Room of the Market-House, in Market Square at the foot of King Street, provided the setting for the appearance of Mr. Hackley on November 27, 1794, in various "Feats of Activity" including "the pleasing slight of hand", "the ingenious Art of BALANCING", "an Elegant Collection of Figures, or a POPPET SHOW", and a number of "Active Feats of the SLACK ROPE" of which not the least spectacular must have been Mr. Hackley "in full swing, turning heels over head at the rate of Sixty times a minute, within a circle of Fire Works" (RG 25/11/94). Although no performances of any kind have been advertised in the available papers between April 1789 and November 1794, we must presume that there were some, since the tickets were obtainable for Mr. Hackley "at the usual places", and he must himself have performed more often than the newspapers report, because a note in the December 9 *Royal Gazette* thanks those ladies and gentlemen who honoured him with their presence "at his late exhibitions". The thank-you note contains the earliest evidence of theatrical connections with Halifax: Mr. Hackley is "under the necessity of returning to Halifax for a short time", from whence he hopes to revisit Saint John "in the course of six weeks."⁹ He did return, though the six weeks stretched into five months, in late May, 1795 (RG 26/5/95), this time to perform in the House of Mr. Lawrence Hartwick, Lower-Cove, in a room "calculated to ac-

comodate Fifty grown Persons and Twenty Children". "The Tragic Scene of the BABES IN THE WOOD" was added to the repertoire on this occasion. It was a popular piece which the following July formed part of the programme (along with the INTERLUDE OF WHITTINGTON and his CAT, THE BROKEN BRIDGE, a number of surprising Deceptions and a curious Magic Piece) of the next itinerant entertainer, Mr. Maginnis (originally from Saddler's Wells, according to the Halifax papers), who met his audience in Mrs. Mallard's Tavern (RG 14/7/95).¹⁰

A company of players calling itself the Saint John Theatre is first heard of in January 1795 on the occasion of the opening of a little theatre, in the "Theatre, King-Street", presumably Mallard's again. No advertisement for the first night has survived; however, it is possible to reconstruct it partially from three letters, a prologue, and an epilogue which appeared in the *Royal Gazette* between January 6 and February 3. The play was *All the World's a Stage*, acted by a number of young "Gentlemen of the Theatre" on Monday, January 5. The opening prologue, "On opening a LITTLE THEATRE IN THIS CITY ON MONDAY THE 5th JANUARY INST." begins:

In early ages, of HEROIC name,
Which of immortal verse the honours claim,
The tuneful lyre possess'd such magic power,
Twas us'd at Thebes to build a famous Tower

and goes on for more than forty lines to discuss the relationship between poetry and commerce before it entreats:

Make then the muses your particular care,
Midst loss, 'midst profit, still to verse repair;
Verse, which refines the pleasure of success,
Brings hope, and consolation to distress.
Tonight with us turn o'er the comic page,
And see the world upon this little stage.
Favour our art: So may your ships increase,
And each adventure prove a golden fleece! (RG 20/1/95)

One member of the audience was moved to respond in mock heroic tones: "Shine forth, O Theatre! with redoubled effulgence—for, behold, thy Heroes balk in the Meridian of intellectual strength!—But, hark! O ye favoured kindred of the Drama!—know ye not that 'All the World's a Stage'? Yes, and fore it is a curious farce. But to you belongs the right of transposition, O illustrious few!—'Tis yours to double or reverse the

scene! for, to you the very stage is a World!" He concludes sardonically: "Upon the whole can we but admire the strength of the Saint John Theatre? A group of Comedians let loose upon the smile of a Correspondent, and silence would have said more than they all" (RG 6/1/95).¹¹

The play must have enjoyed a run of a few days because it is to this, the "first essay" of the Saint John Theatre, that Mr. Putnam's prologue spoken "after the PLAY of Saturday Evening" clearly refers. Following an initial humorous protest:

No, no, I can't. By Jove I'd rather die
Than speak it now—it is so cursed dry!

Mr. Putnam goes on to deliver the apologia of the enthusiastic young amateur actors:

You've seen no vet'ran Hero tread this Stage,
As vers'd in tragic as in comic page;
Whose action, govern'd by dramatic laws,
Would justly claim, the tribute of applause.
But humble youths, whose timid steps proclaim
Them, Candidates for Suffrage, not for Fame.
Rude nature's Pupils, novice's in part,
And self instructed in the comic art;
Who ne'er explor'd the Drama's busy line,
Or sacrific'd at Thalia's happy shrine.
O! cherish then th'aspiring little band,
Who modestly implore your fost'ring hand;
Like tender plants some nursing they require,
And if neglected droop—and then expire!
Favor'd by you, in this their first essay,
Henceforth no cynic sneer shall them dismay;
But boldly they'll advance, to meet their foes
In buskins, or in any other hose.

A note appended informs: "The above was originally intended as a Prologue to the first Play, but the Managers being provided with one, it was by a few hasty alterations converted into an Epilogue" (RG 3/2/95).

Four more programmes were offered to the citizens that season by the same gentlemen. All were offered "For Public Charity". All began "precisely" at 6:30 p.m., and the ladies (as was customary in this age of *haute coiffure*) were asked to come with their heads "as low dressed as possible". No one could be admitted behind the scenes, nor was any money taken at the door. The calendar is as follows:

Monday, January 12: *The Imposters* and *All the World's a Stage* (RG 6/1)

Thursday, February 19: *The Citizen* and *The Upholsterer* (RG 17/2)

Thursday, March 5: *The Citizen* and *The Upholsterer*, with a "favorite Song, Irish Hospitality", added between the play and the farce, and also a humorous prologue of Garrick's, presumably "Barbarosa" (SJM 27/2). The performance had been postponed from March 2 (RG 24/2).

Friday, April 10: *Everyone Has his Faults* and *All the World's a Stage* (RG 7/4).

March 5 had been billed as the "Last Performance for this Season", but the company changed its mind to present *All the World's a Stage* refurbished with a "New Scene, representing Partridge Island, the Light House, &c, with a Song called *Heaving the Lead*" between the fourth and fifth acts. Garrick's "Celebrated Prologue to Barbarosa" was repeated "by particular desire", and every precaution was taken "to render the Theatre comfortable" to its patrons. The gentlemen actors must have been pleased with the success which enabled them, by February 24, to advertise their authorization to the Managers of the Theatre to distribute "to those, who shall appear to them real objects of Charity, the sum of SIXTY DOLLARS".

Lawrence, in 1883, identified Jonathan and Stephen Sewell, young lawyers, as two of the gentlemen involved in the 1789 productions at Mallard's (the source of his information is unknown), and Harper has pointed out that the Mr. Putnam of the 1795 season was the son of Ebenezer Putnam, who was Justice of the Peace, Registrar of Deeds, respected merchant, and friend to the poor (SJM, obituary, 6/4/98). But the greatest benefactors of the theatre during these years were the Mallards, in whose premises most of the dramatic performances took place. Thomas Mallard had come to Saint John as a Lieutenant of the Thirty Seventh Company of Militia. On September 2, 1784, he bought from John Golden one hundred acres of land the latter had drawn in Musquash Cove several miles west of the city.¹² His occupation is given as 'mariner' a year later when, on August 4, 1785, he purchased his first property on King Street.¹³ On that piece of land he erected the tavern whose Long Room became the site of the first meeting of the provincial legislature as well as of the first public dramatic performance. In 1787 he acquired more farm land at "the mouth of little Depford [Dipper] harbour on the west side in the County of Saint John".¹⁴ That same year he bought a "tenement and lot of land" adjoining his other property on King Street at the corner of Germain.¹⁵ He was then able to forsake the

sea, and when on August 22, 1791, he acquired a property "with a dwelling house thereon" adjoining the tavern on the other side, the deed designated him an "innholder".¹⁶ His King Street holdings then comprised one hundred and two feet running west down the hill along the north side of King from the corner of Germain Street. Shortly thereafter Mallard died, leaving the properties to his widow Ann and their five surviving daughters, one of whom had married. Though Mrs. Mallard continued to operate the inn for a time, it was not after 1795 used for theatre.

1799

Although the newspapers are complete for 1797 and 1798, if less adequate for 1796, no drama is indicated before 1799. The first half of that year marks the first time professionals in the theatre visited Saint John for an extended period. Mr. and Mrs. Marriott, from the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, had made their American debut at the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia in 1794, appearing with the Old American Company for the duration of its short season from September 22 to December 4.¹⁷ Later that month, both were in the cast of *Venice Preserved* at the John Street Theatre in New York. Their reception by the public there was not favourable. Odell, quoting from the *New York Magazine*, speaks of the disappointment of Mr. Marriott's performance, preferring to "say nothing of it". As for Mrs. Marriott, the journal chose to suspend judgment about her ability, commenting only that "her figure was pleasing" and that "she appeared much terrified".¹⁸ Apparently their popularity did not improve significantly, since the press for the most part ignored them, even though they remained with the company until the season ended in June 1795.

The Marriotts were back in Philadelphia in 1796 when Mr. C.S. Powell went there to recruit a company for the New Haymarket Theatre of Boston of which he was the first manager. At the opening of the Haymarket on December 26, 1796, Mr. Marriott played Touchwood in Mrs. Cowley's *Belle's Stratagem*. "Mrs. Marriott, and others," Clapp says, "were also attached to the theatre."¹⁹ If the Marriotts continued to act in Boston, as is likely, they must have played minor roles, for Clapp never mentions them again as members of the company at either the Federal Street or the Haymarket Theatre. They are next heard of in Halifax in 1789, whence they must have accompanied the Powells early in that year. In May, as a member of Mr. Powell's company, Marriott performed two benefits at the Halifax Theatre Royal; he played the title role in R. Cumberland's *The Jew* and also performed Garrick's *Bucks Have at Ye ALL* (RGNS 1 & 8/5/98)—the second performance may

have been a postponement of the first). Presumably hoping to initiate a company of his own, he travelled to Saint John in December, where, on Christmas Day, he introduced himself to the public by means of the *Royal Gazette* as a purveyor of soups, broths, beef or mutton stews, shaving, and hairdressing. From then on until the end of the following July he endeavoured by every possible means both to earn a living and to spark enthusiasm for theatre. Good will and hard work not sufficing, however, by June 18, 1800, he was again starring in his own benefit in Halifax, "with Mr. Powell's assistance". He wrote a prologue especially for that presentation of *Cheap Living*, and, following it, he recited the same humorous description of a London Spouting Club that he had given at Mrs. Marriott's New York benefit in 1795.

When Mr. Marriott had been serving soups and broths, as well as "turtles dressed in the English mode", partridges, ducks, geese, spirits, brandy, and other delights (*SJG* 28/12/98) for nearly two months in Saint John, he was ready for his first dramatic entertainment, one suitably appropriate to his Scottish origins. It was John Home's exceedingly popular tragedy of *Douglas, or The Noble Scotch Shepherd* (so fondly regarded by the Scots that the spot of its original production is still marked by a plaque in the Canongate in Edinburgh), with a spectacular Bengal Light and a Scots song, "To the Green Wood Gang wi' me". This was a choice that must have appealed to a population with a high proportion of Scottish merchants and a flourishing St. Andrew's Society. The performance originally scheduled for February 25 at Munson Jarvis' hardware store (*SJG* 15/2/99) had to be put off, due to the "uncertainty of gaining a commodious place", until the 27th in the Exchange Coffee House, which was to provide Marriott with a stage until mid-April. "That large and commodious HOUSE", owned at that time by Charles McPherson, stood two and a half stories high at the corner of King and Prince William Streets facing the harbour. On its second floor was an "elegant Assembly Room 50 by 25 feet" (after 1803 known as Cody's Long Room) where subscription dancing was enjoyed and which could be adapted to theatrical purposes (*SJG* 5;1/98). A month later a performance of *Douglas*, repeated "by desire" and coupled with *Love for Love; or the Humours of Ben the Sailor*, planned for Wednesday, March 21 (*SJG* 15/3), had to be rescheduled "positively" for the next week on the 27th. Included in this evening, announced as Mr. Marriott's benefit, was the *Bucks Have at Ye All* that he had recited the previous spring in Halifax. By this time Mr. Marriott had changed his means of employment and had opened, on the 6th of March, a school in which he intended "to teach the English Grammar

with exact precision in an entire new mode", as well as reading, writing, cyphering, drawing, and fencing (*SJG* 15/2). Mrs. Marriott's benefit followed on Monday, April 8: Lillo's *George Barnwell: or The London Prentice*, with *The London Romp, or High Bred Cockney*, a pantomimic interlude called *Jack in Distress, or The Wapping Landlady*, and a "variety of Prologues" spoken by Mr. Marriott (*SJG* 5/4). For Mr. Tomlinson's benefit on Friday, April 12, *Douglas* was again resurrected and combined with *Love for Love, Jack in Distress*, and a dwarf dance by Mr. Marriott (*RG* 9/4).

Three more enterprises occupied Mr. Marriott in the spring and summer months before his departure to Halifax. The first was the opening of the Thespian Hotel on Tyng (now Princess) Street, the second the formation of a Spouting Club which was to meet on Monday evenings during the summer season in "a commodious Room in his House in Tyng-street" (when subscribers could entertain one another with prologues, epilogues, or songs), and the third was the opening of an amphitheatre "at a small distance from the City". Mr. Marriott, "having attempted every mode to gain a Winter subsistence with the worthy Inhabitants of Saint John", humbly hoped that these further endeavours would not prove fruitless (*SJG* 19/4).

Performances in the amphitheatre, despite the fact that Mr. Marriott had fitted it up "in so commodious a stile as to render it universally agreeable", were hampered by poor weather and by illness among the actors. The first night had to be delayed from the week following April 26 to the week of May 3, a definite date being impossible to set due to the uncertainty of the weather (*SJG* 26/4; 3/5). On that occasion two plays, for which tickets could be had from Mr. Toole for as little as 1s. 6d. or as much as 3s. 9d., were *The Citizen* and *The Miller of Mansfield*, the latter having been performed at the Theatre Royal benefit a year earlier. In May Mr. Tomlinson's illness necessitated not only a five-day postponement but also a complete change of programme. Instead of Mr. Tomlinson in *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Citizen* on the 22nd, the audience saw Mrs. Salenki and Mrs. Marriott in *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* on the 27th (*SJG* 17/5; *RG* 21/5). Undaunted, Mr. Marriott advertised in the *Saint John Gazette* of June 14 "that a variety of Fresh Amusements neat as imported, will be ready for their price on Wednesday Evening next, as will be expressed in Handbills the beginning of the week". The contents of this programme have not come to light. Whether conquered by weather, illness, an apathetic city, an insufficient population, or inadequate talent, Mr. Marriott had tried enough. The July 31 benefit for Mrs. Marriott, *The Lying Valet* and *The Citizen*, was the last occasion of their appearance in the city.²⁰

Despite the exit of the Marriotts, Saint John was not to be without theatre for long. The Saint John Theatre once more surfaced in the autumn of 1800 at which time the receipt of a petition signed by three young lawyers and a storekeeper, William Botsford, George Leonard Jr., Charles Peters, and William Simonds, on behalf of themselves and other gentlemen, is recorded in the City Council minutes of October 3.²¹ Their request for permission "to fit up the city hall for the purpose of a theatre" granted, there followed from January to March, 1801, a season of four different offerings before the company vanished from view until 1809:

Wednesday, January 14: *Cheap Living* and *Cross Purposes*, with a song "in Character", "Tom Tuff" (*SJG* 10/1; *RG* 13/1).²²

Friday, January 30: *The Natural Son* and *Lethe*, with the "Celebrated Song", "The Lakes of Killarney" (*SJG* 27/1); postponed from Monday, January 26 (*SJG* 24/1).

Friday, February 20: *School for Scandal* and *The Mayor of Garret* (*RG* 17/2); repeated "by desire" February 24 with *Bucks Have at Ye All* (*SJG* 21/2).

Tuesday, March 10: *She Stoops to Conquer* and *Three Weeks After Marriage* (*SJG* 7/3); repeated on Friday, March 13, the "last Night for the Season" (*RG* 10/3).

In the next eight years, dramatic entertainments of any sort were few and, as far as can be ascertained, consisted entirely of performances by visiting artists. Secord's Tavern provided the setting where, for a week from September 8, 1802, adults and children could be amazed at the performance of "The Celebrated Learned Pig" who "spells, tells the time of the day . . . the date of the years, the day of the month, distinguishes colours, how many persons there are present, ladies and gentlemen; and . . . will add, subtract, multiply and divide", and perform a card trick (*RG* 8/9). The pig was on the New England circuit too; Clapp notes him in Boston in the summer of 1798.²³ For an unspecified number of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays from September 29, Don Pedro Cloriso appeared in "his surprising Feats on the WIRE and ROPE", "his Extraordinary BALANCING", and "Manly Feats of TUMBLING". The unidentified place of performance was at least fitted up as a theatre in that it was a "House" "now divided into Boxes and numbered". Tickets were available at the Coffee-House (*RG* 29/9; 6/10).

An entire company travelled from Halifax to Saint John for the first time in May, 1803, when a company from the Theatre Royal came to perform Garrick's *The Comedy of Catharine & Petruchio, or a Cure for*

a Scold and *The Irishman in London* in the "old theatre, City Brewery" on the 27th (RG 25/5). The plays may have been rehearsed especially for the tour, because *Catharine and Petruchio* had not been done in Halifax since 1795. Mr. Robertson, the "celebrated and Original Calidonian ANTIPODEAN WHIRLIGIG, from Mr. Astley's Amphitheatre, London" was next to visit Saint John from Halifax. Following September, 1807, performances in Halifax with Mr. Davies, he journeyed to Saint John for a series of performances in August and September, 1808, enroute to the West Indies. Each of the three successive ads is longer and more informative. Performances took place outdoors at "the House of Mr. John Stevens, adjoining Mr. McKee's Cooporage" and thus were hampered by the vicissitudes of the weather. Mr. Robertson was unable immediately to procure the necessary assistance and was forced to apologize for the lack of music and to promise "more general satisfaction". The programme for the 12th September was particularly spectacular, as the artist moved towards the climax of his visit. It opened with an imitation of birds to orchestral accompaniment, a hornpipe in the character of a British tar followed by manly feats of tumbling by Mr. Robertson, a dance by Mrs. Robertson (blindfolded) among twenty eggs, the comic song of "Solomon the Jew" by Mr. Robertson, "The whole to conclude with that astonishing Feat called the ANTIPODEAN WHIRLIGIG, in which Mr. R. will go round upon his head, on a common Table, at the rate of 250 times a minute" (TTB 11718/8; 8/9). The newspapers indicate nothing more before 1809, though, of course, were the handbills which were another customary means of advertisement still extant, the picture might be altered a little.

1809

1809 opened with "ventriloquist Exhibitions" by Mr. Rannie, newly arrived from exhibitions in Halifax the previous November. Exhibitions were scheduled initially for Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, though they in fact occurred on Wednesdays and Saturdays in an unknown location. The loose interpretation of ventriloquism allowed wire-dancing, balancing, and sundry magic tricks in the programmes which continued from late January to February 11, and Mr. Rannie was always willing to assist any young men "desirous of learning a few deceptions for their own amusement" (TTB 26/1; RG 30/1; 6/2).

The winter and spring of 1809 were a period of the most sustained dramatic activity Saint John had seen since the Marriotts. The season saw the re-emergence of the Saint John Theatre, the opening of a new theatre building in Drury Lane, and regular performances there. The impetus for energy came from officers of the garrison who joined forces

with interested young men from the city to remodel and extend an existing building to become a theatre, to which they attached the name with which the civilian gentlemen had been associated since 1795, and possibly from 1789, the Saint John Theatre (the ads are headed "Saint John Theatre, Drury-Lane"), and to form themselves into a company which by March was calling itself "His Majesty's Servants". The new theatre stood in the then fashionable section of the city known as York Point, on the corner of Drury Lane and Union Street. Next door on Union was Lawrence's, whose assembly rooms were the scene of gala balls. Nearby, on the corner of Dock and Union Streets, stood the beautifully landscaped Leonard house which Governor Carleton had used as his residence on visits to Saint John. Loyalist families, like the Chipmans and the Hazens, also had houses there.²⁴

Opening night, scheduled for January 30, had to be postponed until February 3, "in consequence of the House not being yet ready for performance" (RG 23/1; 30/1), but at length the *Royal Gazette* was able to report: "Last Thursday evening the Theatre in Drury-Lane was opened with the performance of the celebrated Comedy 'Abroad and at Home', and the much admired Farce, 'All the World's a Stage', ushered in by an appropriate Prologue, by the gentlemen of the Garrison and City" (6/2). The article was most enthusiastic about what had been accomplished:

We could not but view with admiration, the astonishing spectacle of a Theatre so complete, created almost from nothing, at least from the mere shell of a building, of not half the dimensions of the Theatre, in the course of a part only of the last inclement month, during which the weather has been colder than has been experienced here before. To the gentlemen of the Garrison we are particularly indebted for the spontaneous and liberal manner in which they first set on foot the undertaking, and their indefatigable and persevering exertions, till the object of their labors was completed by an exhibition, in which the several characters of the Drama were supported with singular correctness and spirit, and which filled with wonder and delight a crowded [*sic*] and respectable audience. Many of the gentlemen of the City, while they very cheerfully subscribed to so laudable a work, conceived it to be beyond the bounds of possibility that a Theatre, so perfect in its arrangements, with such variety of Scenery, could have been prepared for an exhibition in the course of the winter, but what will not perseverance accomplish, when animated by the disinterested zeal and public spirit, which have thus so unexpectedly laid the foundation of an institution, that will, we trust, long continue a source of rational amusement and pleasure to our society.

After such an auspicious beginning there followed, on February 22, *Zorinski*, "with appropriate Songs" and the farce of *Doctor Last in his*

Chariot (RG 13/2), on March 7, *The Poor Gentleman* and *The Brave Irishman* (RG 6/3), and on March 10, *Zorinski* and *Doctor in his Chariot* played again "by particular desire" (RG 6/3). All performances began at 7 p.m., tickets having been procured at the Green Room - Boxes 5s., Pitt 4s., Gallery 3s.

The "absence of one of the principal Performers" postponed the performance of *Speed the Plough* and *Trick Upon Trick* from Monday, April 3, to Thursday the 6th (RG 27/3; TTB 30/3). A letter dated May 6 from Edward Jarvis at King's College, Windsor, to his father, Munson Jarvis, in Saint John tells of a change in the cast of this play: "You say very little about the Plays—how did 'Speed the plough' pass off? Was Capt. McCormick perfect in the part he took from Me? I suppose you all went. I should like to know how they went on, and if people have got tired of them yet."²⁵ The hazards of officers as actors were obvious in the difficulties encountered over the next, and last, play of the season. It was *John Bull* or *The Englishman's Fire-side* and *The Anatomist*, delayed "in consequence of the absence of some of the Performers who are necessarily away on duty" from April 24 to May 2 (RG 17/4; 24/4; 1/5). After *John Bull* the company tidied up the business of what appears to have been a successful season by a May 15 notice in the *Royal Gazette* requesting "that all Persons who have any demands against them, will immediately present their accounts for payment".

For whatever reason, the company was unable or unwilling to continue production into another season, and the Subscribers were requested "to meet at the Theatre on Saturday the 4th day of November next at 11 o'clock A.M. to determine in what way the House & c. shall be disposed of" (RG 23 & 30/10). A month later, when the difficulties of arranging a meeting had been overcome (RG 6 & 13/11), the following notice of action to be taken was printed in the *Royal Gazette*:

On WEDNESDAY the 22nd day of November inst, at eleven o'Clock in the forenoon, will be Sold at Public Auction, on the Premises, the SAINT JOHN THEATRE, together with the wardrobe and Appurtenances, under the express stipulation that the purchaser or purchasers, shall during the continuance of the term keep the same for the purpose of a Theatre only. Any one of the present Subscribers wishing to continue interested, on sending his name to the Auctioneer previous to the day of Sale, will be allowed to be one of a certain number who propose making the purchase. PETERS & WIGGINS, Auctioneers (20/11)

The auctioneers were Harry Peters and Stephen Wiggins, merchants, who, on more than one occasion, both sold and leased land in common, but there is no evidence that either of them ever owned the Drury Lane

property.²⁶ Who purchased the Theatre I have not been able to discover, but the newspaper record shows that it did indeed continue to be used for theatrical purposes, though infrequently before 1815, until its sale by Sheriff's auction in 1816.

1810 provides a hiatus in the story of the theatre in Drury Lane. In that year Mr. Marriott's colleague, Mr. C.S. Powell, spent several months in Saint John during which he occupied himself with a dancing school. Powell came to Saint John near the end of a chequered career in which he had initiated several theatrical ventures and succeeded personally in none. He had arrived in Boston in 1792 from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, with his brother Snelling. Between 1794 and 1797 he had been influential in the building of two theatres there, the Boston Theatre in Federal Street and the Haymarket, had been the first manager of both, and had come to grief by the end of the opening season in each—first through bankruptcy and second through a public quarrel with his partner. Reduced to a mere member of the acting company at the Haymarket by the summer of 1797, he may have been in search of new opportunity when he travelled to Halifax to give a single performance in September, but he was back in Boston as a member of the Federal Street company in December. In January 1798 he again performed in Halifax, where he was no doubt encouraged to remain by the burning of the Federal Street Theatre on February 2. Under his leadership, with the help of his wife and their daughter Cordelia who had acted with him in Boston, the Halifax Theatre produced many plays. Trouble is indicated, however, when in the spring of 1806 he opened a dancing school, leaving the presentation of plays to the gentlemen of the garrison. The 1806-07 season he spent with the Haymarket in Boston must have only temporarily relieved his financial distress, for, on his return to Halifax, the gentlemen of the garrison performed a benefit for him "at the particular insistence of the Rt. Hon. Lady Emily Charlotte Berkely".

The ladies of the family do not appear to have accompanied Powell to New Brunswick. He may have come chiefly to supplement the household income in an environment which at that time provided no competition, though he probably also hoped a new door of opportunity would open to him. Through the medium of an advertisement in *The Times or True Briton* on December 28, 1809, he announced his coming to the citizens of Saint John: "Mr. Powell . . . intends opening a DANCING SCHOOL sometime in January or February, for One Quarter; and that after the day of commencement he means to admit no other applicant, in order to ascertain the time of his being able to return to Halifax". The school

opened in early February (RG 4/2/10). When it had been in operation for only two months, Mr. Powell informed the public of a "Dancing School Ball" at which "on Easter Wednesday, April 25th, Mr. POWELL'S Scholars will make their debut in Public, for the general inspection of their Friends, and those who may honor Mr. P. with their children on a future day" (RG 16 & 23/4), but even before that time he had given notice that he intended "to close his school at Saint John early in MAY, and having had some invitation to come to FREDERICTON, he would pay it a visit before his return to Halifax, on condition he could be assured of a sufficient number of scholars to render it worth his while" (RG 2/4).

Mr. Powell seems to have made no effort to encourage theatre during his stay in Saint John, but, for his own farewell, he treated the city to the one-man show that was his staple wherever he went. It had been his introduction to Boston and to Halifax and had been performed in both cities numerous times. It was his "Attick Entertainment", *The Evening Brush, for Rubbing Off the Rust of Care*, with "several appropriate Comic Songs", "a Whimsical and Critical Dissertation on Noses", and "a whimsical description of the Battle of the Nile, to be Sung in the character of a French officer". It was given for one night only, on May 16, at the "Theatre, Drury-Lane" (now known simply as the Theatre, no longer as the Saint John Theatre—RG 7 & 14/5; TTB 10/5). Mr. Powell then returned to Halifax, where he died before the year was out.²⁷

1815-1819

For nearly five years the newspapers contain no theatre announcements until in 1815 they again give evidence of performances in Drury Lane. Plays given there on three occasions in February and March succeeded in raising five pounds each for poor relief. The first was *Barnaby Brittle*, "performed at our Theatre, with much applause, by a number of Gentlemen of this City" (Co. 14/3). The name of the second play early in March is a mystery (CG 14/3), but the *City Gazette* was particularly pleased with the result of the third, *The Point of Honor*, because "although the expenses attending the getting up this Play, was much greater than at any former one; yet the usual sum of Five Pounds was given for the relief of the Poor" (CG 14 & 21/3).

The management of the Theatre in Drury Lane was attempting to provide the public with dramatic nourishment, and not all plays were performed for charity. In the *New Brunswick Courier*, April 1, 1815, the managers expressed their desire to borrow copies of plays:

ANY Lady or Gentleman having either of the undermentioned Dramatic Pieces, will oblige the managers of the Theatre with the loan of them:—*No Song, No Supper, Love Alamode; Fortune's Frolics; Ducks and Green Peas, or the New-Castle Rider; Miller of Mansfield; The Citizen; Raising the Wind*, or any other Piece of which he may be possessed. Any of the above books left at this office, will be taken the greatest care of, and faithfully returned.

Presumably reflective of public response are the plays chosen for April through August. Tickets for all performances were available at Cody's Coffee-House; the time of performance was later than before, having been put back to eight o'clock; but inflation had not yet taken its toll, and the price of a box remained at the 5s. it cost when the Theatre had first opened in 1809. On April 7, Gentlemen of the City presented *The Heir at Law* and *Miss in her Teens* (RG 6/4), and on the 28th *Cure for the Heartache* (RG 27/4). Tuesday, May 9 brought *Love Alamode* with the farce of the *Toothache* (Co 6/5), and the next Friday saw *Love Alamode* repeated with *The Heir at Law* (Co 13/5). The *Courier's* review of the latter evening indicates that there must have been a third production of *Love Alamode*: "Last evening was performed at the Theatre Drury Lane, for a second and third time this season THE HEIR AT LAW and LOVE ALAMODE. In justice to the Amateurs, we must say, the parts were all well supported; and the Audience highly delighted. *Charlotte* in *Love Alamode*, was performed in a style of ease, humour and accuracy, that would have done credit to the best Comic Actors." *John Bull* and yet another *Love Alamode* ended the season on August 29 (Co 26/8).

The advertisement for the August 1 presentation of the tragedy of *Douglas* and the farce of *Raising the Wind* contains the first cast list of 'Gentlemen'. From it we discover that Messrs. Allen, I. Lyster, McDuff, N. Parker, and Watkins played the men's roles in *Douglas*, with Messrs. Randall and Ketchum tending to the women's parts; McDuff and Watkins returned for *Raising the Wind*, with W. Lyster, Mr. Kerr and Mr. Sutherland, and with I. Johnston dividing the female roles with Mr. Randall (RG 27/7). Mr. Parker was clearly the seventeen-year-old Neville Parker who was admitted to the Bar in 1819 and who eventually was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. Mr. Allen may have been, as Harper suggests, the son of Judge Isaac Allen. The Lysters (Lister, Lester) were seventeen-year-old James, a tailor from 1820, and his brother William. Mr. Isaac Ketchum opened a dry goods business after he became a freeman in 1818. In 1827 he closed it in order to enter the Saint John City Militia which he served as a Lieutenant and

then Captain until his premature death in 1835. It is unclear which of the several youthful Randalls, Kerrs, and Sutherlands were actors. All these young men belonged to Loyalist families. The best known Johnston family was that of Hugh who came from Scotland in 1784 to become one of the city's most prosperous merchants, but his son James had died in February and John was only six.²⁸

Clarence Ward, in a paper read before the Natural History Society in 1893, tells of further theatrical evenings in Drury Lane.²⁹ On January 9, 1816, he says, the gentlemen of the city came to the aid of "the unfortunate sufferers at the battle of Waterloo" with *The Soldiers Daughter* and *The Jew and the Doctor*. "On account of the intense cold weather," runs an editorial account of the evening, "the house was not so full as was to be expected." Nevertheless, "the amateurs performed their parts highly to the satisfaction of the audience," and twenty pounds was contributed to the cause. Contrary to its custom, the newspaper reviewed the merits of the next production in some detail. Ward quotes the amusing review in full:

Last evening the people were much amused by the representation of the much admired comedy, 'She Stoops to Conquer'. I must in justice say, that the characters were all well supported, and gave general satisfaction to the audience. The character of Mr. Hardcastle was well conceived and supported in true comedian style. Mrs. Hardcastle's ideas of fashionable life were well shown, Tony Lumpkin was much better performed than expected, Young Marlowe, and Hastings were likewise well supported. Miss Hardcastle, considering the transformation he had to undergo from the masculine to personate the feminine gender certainly did credit to that gentleman's proved comic genius. Miss Neville was well understood, and performed as well as expected. The dresses were as good and as apropos to the characters as any that have heretofore made their appearance. The house was well lighted and comfortable, the scenery was good and well managed. Upon the whole the company took their leave of this reservoir of amusement highly gratified with the evening's entertainment.

Ward mentions only one more performance in 1816, of what is the earliest known performed local script; it was "A Farce, in 2 acts, entitled *The Sailor's Return, or Jack's Cure for the Hystericks*", by "a youth in Saint John", and performed before a subscription audience on March 9.

A fire on April 6 destroyed five houses, two barns, and a blacksmith shop on York Point, narrowly missing the Theatre and adjacent houses only due to the exertions of the military which succeeded in allaying "the devouring element" (16/4/16). However, the days of the Theatre were

numbered in any case, for from June 21 this ad ran weekly in the *Courier*: "To be sold on the 8th of July next, at York Point—DRURY LANE THEATRE, together with the very valuable Wardrobe and Scenery belonging to the said Building. . . ." The auction, postponed from the 8th was duly carried out on the 16th, "precisely at 12 o'clock" (Co 10/7). When the building next appears in the news more than a year later, it is advertised as "to let" in an ad which provides the only evidence we have about the dimensions of the performance space in the theatre: "TO LET, And possession given immediately, The West front of that building formerly the Theatre, on York Point, containing one large Room, 56 x 26 feet, very convenient for a School Room: (Co 13/9/17).³⁰

The closure of the Theatre in Drury Lane did not, however, bring dramatic activity in Saint John to a halt. Instead, the summer and autumn of 1817 were busy months, beginning with the production of *The Honeymoon* and *The Poor Soldier* on July 23 (CG 23/7). Surrounding the opening of the new season was a heated controversy about the morality of the theatre in the *City Gazette* and the *Courier*. The contents of the letter in the July 20 *Gazette* which sparked the debate can only be gathered from answers to it in the *Courier* of August 2. All the writers used pseudonyms; the protagonist signed simply "Citizen"; the antagonists were "Honestus", "Philo", and "S". 'Citizen' had, according to the three, "highly depreciated the Stage and Actors", made distasteful allusions to the chief Magistrate, and condemned vehemently as licentious "what he does not understand". Countered Honestus, "I aver, sir, that the Theatre has generally proved the font of Public spirit and morality—that it has given birth to the inimitable talents of *Shakespeare*—to the refined morality of a *Garrick* or a *Kemble*—and the amor patriae of an *Addison!*" "The professed intent of theatrical representations," argued Philo, "is to insinuate instruction, under the pleasing appearance of entertainment—to encourage virtue, by example—and to inculcate the practice of it, by shewing the evils inseparably attendant on vice—to regulate the passions, by displaying the dangers of indulging them too far—and to put folly out of countenance, by holding it up to ridicule." What then could be "more unjust than to consign to infamy those who exert the finest powers of the human mind and body to accomplish this end in the most pleasing manner?" In fact, said "S", pursuing the same line of thought, "the City has an opportunity of doing itself justice, in supporting the representations of passion, sorrow, indignation, even despair itself, within the rules of decency, honor, and good-breeding; and since there is no one can flatter

himself, his life will always be fortunate [*sic*], they may there see sorrow as they would wish to bear it whenever it arrives." If it is no disgrace to write a play, Philo asks, observing that "persons of the most eminent character and exalted rank not only frequent the theatre, but compose works to be represented in it", why should it be wrong to act in one? The defence of the theatre appeared on the same page as the announcement of the next production, *Raising the Wind* and *The Magpie and the Maid; or, Who's the Thief?* for August 4. Mr. Chubb, the editor of the *Courier*, was a friend of the theatre.

All the theatre advertisements of 1817, and the one playbill which is still extant, are headed "Saint John Theatre" which, the August 2 *Courier* says, was now "Situated in Mr. D. Green's New Building, next to Masonic Hall." The Masonic Hall was then in process of construction on the south side at the head of King Street where it intersected with Studholme Street (now Charlotte). Just below it on King stood the building belonging to Daniel Green, chairmaker. Both were on land owned by Trinity Church. Green had leased the property from John Currie (who also provided the lot for the Masonic Hall) in May, 1816, and built on it. Then in November he leased it with the "tenement therein" for a year to Ralph Munson Jarvis. Thus Jarvis was in possession during the building's occupancy by the Saint John Theatre in 1817. This continues the long standing association of the Jarvis family with theatre in the city.³¹

The Saint John Theatre now had a new look. Women were included in the company for the first time since Mrs. Marriott, and the members of the casts were listed in ads and playbills opposite the parts they played. Tickets were available from a Mr. Aldis at the Theatre for all performances from that of September 8. Aldis, his wife, and the other members of the company were all professionals from the American stage: Mr. and Mrs. H. Charnock and Master Charnock, Mr. Price, Mr. Placide, Mr. Robinson, Mrs. Young, Mrs. Foster, Mr. Carey, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Conroy, Mr. Kelly, Master Stanley, and Master Every. Although Mr. Young's name does not appear in the available Saint John lists, it is likely that he was present with his wife, since he was with the company in the spring performances they gave in Halifax before coming to Saint John.

Mr. and Mrs. C. Young, "from Norwich, England, and the Boston Theatre", made their debut at the Park Theatre in New York in 1805-06: "The lady was fair-haired and beautiful, but mediocre; the gentleman made no lasting impression."³² Both played minor parts that season, including Richmond and the Prince of Wales in *Richard III*.

They returned for the 1809-10 season to apparently greater success when Mrs. Young played Desdemona to the Othello of the famous tragedian Thomas Cooper. Nevertheless, neither of the Youngs ever won the favour of the New York audiences, as a note at the beginning of the 1817 season reveals: "Mr. and Mrs. Charles Young played a few times at the beginning of the season and failed (as they had always done in New York, whatever their vogue in Boston and Charleston)." ³³ Their success was greater in Providence, though, as the newspaper account of their farewell in 1815 indicates, their popularity was not derived from talent. Mr. Young was said to be "finely formed, six feet in height", but "not distinguished for talents", and his wife "was considered by many the most beautiful woman of the day. . . . Her talents would never have made her conspicuous, but with almost everyone her beauty atoned for all her deficiencies". ³⁴ When she played in Boston in 1819 after her return from Canada, her face and figure again attracted as much attention as her performance. ³⁵

Mr. Charnock, previously a ship master in both England and America, was one of the additions "of minor importance" to the Park Street company at the same time as the Youngs. He remained there playing supporting roles through the 1805-06 season and the summer season at Vauxhall. When he returned in 1812 he played alongside Mrs. Stanley (formerly of Covent Garden) who became Mrs. Aldis in the spring of 1813. Mrs. Aldis was again in New York until January of the 1817 season after which she left with her husband for Halifax. Mr. Charnock turned administrator when in 1827 he and his partner purchased the unexpired lease of the late Snelling Powell and opened the Providence theatre at reduced prices; his management is credited with introducing to Providence the popular tragedian, Edwin Forrest.

Some of the other members of the 1817 Saint John Theatre company are harder to trace with confidence. Master Stanley was presumably the son of Mrs. Aldis, Mrs. Foster the sister-in-law of Mrs. Young, and Mr. Robinson of the Vauxhall, Philadelphia. It is difficult to be sure which of the famous Placides was with them—certainly not Alexandre or Henry, likely M. Placide who had been with Mr. Robinson in Philadelphia in 1792. ³⁶

In the month from September 8 to October 8 the company, used to the American repertory system, played eight different theatre programmes, the highest concentration of drama yet offered in Saint John:

September 8: *Everyone Has His Fault* and *High Life Below Stairs*, presented "by particular desire" and billed as "Mrs. Aldis Benefit". Music, as usual, figured conspicuously in the programme which included

at least five songs, a hornpipe, and a mock minuet (Co 6/9).

September 17: the second night of *Tekeli; or the Seige of Montgatz*, "With New Scenery, Machinery, Decorations", and "all the Original Music", and *The Irishman in London* (CG 17/9; playbill).

September 22: *Macbeth, King of Scotland* and a pantomime, *La Perouse; or the Desolate Island*—Mr. Aldis' benefit. *La Perouse* has "entire New Scenery, Decorations, & c. the whole designed and painted by Mr. Price". In typical nineteenth century fashion, the production of *Macbeth* emphasized its supernatural elements; the announced titles of acts IV and V indicate this: "The Incantation of the Witches around the Burning Caldron—Procession of eight future Kings of Scotland" and "The completion of the Prophecy of the Witches, with the Defeat and fall of the Tyrant" (Co 20/9).

September 29: *The Soldier's Daughter* and *Love-a-la-mode* in which Mr. Price had a song, "Irish Hearts are the Hearts for the Ladies". Between the comedy and farce were three more songs and an olio. This performance is billed as the "last night but two". It is Mr. Charnock's benefit and presented under the patronage of His Worship the Mayor (Co 27/9).

October 1: *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Village Lawyer*, with a duet, "All's Well", a hornpipe, and a comic song. This is Mr. Kelly's benefit (CG 1/10).

October 3: Mr. Placide's benefit. No information is presently available about this, beyond that in an advance ad in the *City Gazette* (1/10).

October 6: an historical play, *The Battle of Hexam; or Days of Old*; an interlude ("by desire"), *Sylvester Daggerwood; or The Mad Dunstable Actor*; three songs; and *The Hunter of the Alps*. This performance, "positively the last night but two", is Masters Stanley and Charnock's benefit, presented under the patronage of the Collector of His Majesty's Customs (Co 4/10).

October 8: Mr. Price and Mrs. Young's benefit. This untitled performance is known only from an advance ad in the *Courier* (1/10). It is the last performance of which we have record in 1817.

As far as can be judged, the season was successful. On September 27, a request appeared in the *Courier* to the effect that "All Persons having demand against the SAINT JOHN THEATRE, will please render their Accounts for payment, in the course of next week to H. Charnock, at Mr. Price's Prince William-Street", but this seems to have been only routine, since the presentation of five programmes in the next week and a half would indicate no serious financial problems. In October the members of the company returned to the American theatre (the Youngs to New York). The following spring they returned to Halifax where they played regular benefit performances until the end of April, 1819. The composition of the company seems to have remained much the same, although from the summer of 1819 some new names were added while others disappeared; the Charnocks, Aldis, Youngs, and Mr. Placide at least remained for the duration.

The cessation of the Saint John Theatre in 1817 marked the beginning of a hiatus in dramatic activity, punctuated only by the occasional visiting or amateur entertainment. During 1818 and most of 1819, theatre-goers had to content themselves with reading excerpts from dramatic works, like the selections from Byron's *Manfred* printed with commentary for three successive weeks in the *Courier* (10, 17 & 31/1/18); reading theatrical anecdotes from elsewhere, like Lee's attempt to improve the quality of stage thunder for a performance of *Lear* in Edinburgh (*Star* 29/9/18); or a poem about the morality of allowing a church in Richmond to remain in ruins while a theatre was rebuilt (*Co* 10/7/19). In mid-July 1819, the East India Jugglers exhibited "their Wonderful Dexterity in LEGERDEMAIN, And Astonishing Feats of ACTIVITY and STRENGTH" in Mr. Cody's Long Room by permission of His Worship the Mayor, and then went on to Halifax (*Co* 19/6). Such would continue to be the condition of the stage in Saint John until the opening of Hopley's Theatre in 1828, when once again regular performances would be offered.

NOTES

1. Edited by H.H. Langton (Toronto, 1937) p. 24f. Langton points out that Campbell's estimate of the size of the town may not be accurate; other estimates from the period place the number of homes from 700 to 1000.
2. David Macmillan, "Shipbuilding in New Brunswick", *The Canadian Banker* LXXVII (1970), 36.
3. Thomas Moore, *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* (London, 1831) p. 85f.
4. *Dalhousie Review* XXXIV (1954), 260ff.
5. Winslow Papers (microfilm, reel 3, New Brunswick Museum). The dating of Chipman's letters is extremely reliable. Winslow answered Chipman on March 12. That letter is quoted in Harper, p. 260.
6. An original MS. containing the handwritten roles of four characters from plays performed in Saint John in 1789 is U.L.M. 74-573 in the Department of Rare Books, McGill University Library. The characters are Miss Doiley in *Who's the Dupe?*, Isabinda in *The Busy Body*, Mrs. Beverly in *The Gamester* and Miss Bridget Pumpkin in *All the World's a Stage*.
7. The late date of publication of the response to the production might seem to indicate a performance date of March 28 rather than February 28. However, the evidence of Chipman's letter is strong, and I prefer to rely on it rather than on the newspaper. It was not unusual for a letter or a prologue to come out in print weeks after the production it described. See, for instance, the *Royal Gazette's* publications in January and February 1795, cited below in this paper. J.W. Lawrence reproduces what purports to be the newspaper advertisement in *Foot-Prints, or Incidents in Early History of New Brunswick* (Saint John, 1883), p.68. Harper prints what appears to be the same ad (p. 260), except that the date given is February 28. My query to Harper revealed that he had not in fact seen the paper but assumed Lawrence to be in error on the basis of the Chipman-Winslow correspondence cited below.
8. *Saint John Gazette*, March 27 & April 17, 1789. Hereafter the *Gazette* will be abbreviated *SJG*. Other newspapers cited in this paper and their abbreviations are: *Royal Gazette* (*RG*), *The Times or True Briton* (*TTB*), *The New Brunswick Courier* (*Co*), *City Gazette* (*CG*), *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (*RGNS*).

9. Mr. Hackley entertained Haligonians in September 1794 (S. M. Oland, "Materials for a History of the Theatre in Early Halifax", Dalhousie M.A. thesis, 1966).
10. Mr. Maginnis visited Halifax with "A Grand Medley of Entertainments" in August and September 1794. There is no evidence that he also visited Saint John then.
11. Another, more flattering, opinion is contained in a short poem "From a YOUNG LADY", signed Maria, in the January 13, 1795, *Royal Gazette*.
12. Registry Office, Saint John, A3. 287.
13. *Ibid.* B1. 173-175.
14. *Ibid.* A2. 230f.; N1. 347-350.
15. *Ibid.* A2. 228f.
16. *Ibid.* C1. 97.
17. T.C. Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1968), pp. 225ff.
18. George C.D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), I, 373ff.
19. W.W. Clapp, *A Record of the Boston Stage* (Boston, 1853) p. 43.
20. Lawrence's *Footprints* and Jonas Howe's article, "A Theatrical Interlude a Hundred Years Ago", *Acadiensis* V (1905, 102-114), are my only sources for the July benefit.
21. Harper quotes the item from the minutes in full, on p. 266.
22. David Galloway, "Drama, Historical and Contemporary", in *Arts in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1967), pp. 45-72, says that *The Court of Apollo* was performed. However, that was the title of a newspaper column rather than a play. The column prints the lyrics of "Tom Tuff" and other poems in subsequent issues.
23. Clapp, p. 67.
24. Clarence Ward, "Theatre, and Amateur Theatricals in St. John, from the Earliest Period", Raymond Scrapbook 2,207 (Saint John Regional Library); "In Old York Point", Raymond envelope 2, Scrapbook 5 (New Brunswick Museum).
25. *Jarvis Papers*, New Brunswick Museum. Munson Jarvis came to Saint John in 1783 as a Loyalist. He engaged in a hardware business and was also an overseas trader.
26. Registry Office, D1. 202ff.; Q1. 135f. In 1818, Stephen Wiggins sold to Harry Peters and William Scovil the land on which a National School House was built, thus enabling the school to move from the premises it had rented in the former Drury-Lane theatre. S1.394ff.; W.1.285ff.
27. Mr. Powell's background can be pieced together from Clapp and Oland. Miss Fidelia Powell conducted a Dancing School in Cody's Long Room from 1820. She played Lady Randolph in *Douglas* at Cody's with the amateur theatre in March and April 1822.
28. E.C. Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton 1955); W.F. Bunting, *History of St. John's Lodge, F. & A.M. of Saint John, New Brunswick* (Saint John, 1895); Graves and Graves, compilers, *New Brunswick Political Biography* V & VII; Harper, p. 269; sundry New Brunswick Museum records.
29. "Theatre and Amateur Theatricals", p. 207.
30. The Building did house a school room for two years from July 1818 when a National School using the Madras system of education opened there.
31. W.F. Bunting, *History of St. John's Lodge*, p. 60; Registry Office, Q1. 117-120; Q1. 240-244.
32. Odell, II, 251.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 492.
34. G.O. Willard, *History of the Providence Stage 1762-1891* (Providence, 1891), p. 81.
35. Clapp, p. 162.
36. Odell, II; Willard; Pollock; and R.D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia: A History of the Philadelphia Stage 1800-1835* (New York, 1968).