

A Musical and Cultural Analysis of
Inkle and Yarico from England to America, 1787–1844

by

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Musicology

2011

This thesis entitled:
A Musical and Cultural Analysis of
Inkle and Yarico from England to America, 1787–1844
written by Joice Waterhouse Gibson has been approved for the
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The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories and we
find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards
of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

Abstract

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A Musical and Cultural Analysis of *Inkle and Yarico* from England to America,
1787–1844

Dissertation directed by Professor Thomas L. Riis

The English comic opera *Inkle and Yarico* (dramatist George Colman the Younger and composer Samuel Arnold) was based on a century-old tale widely known in Europe and America. Transported to America less than two years after its London premiere, it was performed in both countries well into the nineteenth century. In the past few decades, *Inkle and Yarico* has received significant scholarly attention, largely because of its uniquely multifaceted commentary on late eighteenth-century attitudes toward race, class, and gender, and their relations to imperialism and slavery. Missing from the conversation, however, has been consideration of its music.

The present study reveals the music's vital functions and contributions to the English comic opera genre in general and to this work in particular, demonstrating that consideration of the music is crucial to our understanding of the work. Chapter 2 describes London's theatrical climate, comic opera traditions, the creators who collaborated on the work, and the opera's relationship to contemporary anti-slavery concerns. An analysis of Colman's libretto in Chapter 3 reveals both superficial and deeper allusions to cultural attitudes about race, class, gender, and slavery. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the music in *Inkle and Yarico*, while Chapters 5 and 6 analyze and describe in some depth the specific functions of Arnold's music as published in the 1787 piano-vocal score (as well as later additions), particularly music features that provide

meaning beyond the libretto. Chapter 7 focuses upon the music of *Inkle and Yarico* in America, especially how the borrowed tunes would have resonated with audiences. Publications of Arnold's songs are examined, including specific music additions and song interpolations that have come to light through fragmentary evidence. Beginning with its first performance in New York, Chapter 8 traces the performances of *Inkle and Yarico* in America, including what can be gleaned from contemporaneous accounts about its reception history and performance characteristics. Chapter 9 summarizes the significance of music in *Inkle and Yarico* and describes recent literary versions and revival efforts. Implications for analysis of the music of other English comic operas are addressed, including challenges and benefits of such research.

To my children—George, Janna, and Geoffrey

Acknowledgements

Many people have encouraged, inspired, and assisted me in the completion of this work. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor and mentor, Tom Riis, for guiding me through this project, and for the opportunity to work as his research assistant in the American Music Research Center. It was in the AMRC that I first learned about English comic opera and unearthed connections between those works and blackface minstrelsy. His ongoing mentoring has shaped my professional interests and activities, including those in the Society for American Music. Throughout this process, his comments have been insightful, always encouraging me to focus on the music while exploring cultural connections. I would also like to thank Bill Kearns for his constant encouragement and interest in my work, as well as the late Susan Porter, whose research inspired me to tackle this project.

I would like to thank Elissa Guralnick, committee member, cheerleader, and writing guru extraordinaire, for her invaluable support and guidance in helping me develop a well-argued perspective in my writing. I also want to thank Trudi Wright, Rachel Chacko, and Elaine Hild, my fellow writers in Dr. Guralnick's writing seminars, for their comments, encouragement, and support from embryonic topic to hard-won completion.

Many other scholars have influenced my journey. I would like to thank Larry Worster for first introducing me to ethnomusicology, and Brenda Romero and Jay Keister for taking that interest in new and deeply meaningful directions. Because of them, I will always bring an "ethno" perspective to historical musicology and will continue to find ways to do fieldwork in American ethnomusicology. I am grateful to Steve Bruns for showing me how to analyze and understand music's many layers of meaning, as well as for his continuing support and

encouragement. I am also thankful for Oliver Gerland's insights and guidance toward a strong theatrical perspective in my work.

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Eloise Timmons for her generous donation to the Beverly Sears named grant that supported my research at the Library of Congress. I am grateful also for a College of Music grant that supported the recording of several songs from *Inkle and Yarico* for presentation purposes. I also want to thank Metropolitan State College of Denver's Department of Music, especially department chairs Walter Barr and Michael Kornelsen, for their encouragement and for allowing work-schedule flexibility during completion of this degree.

Without my family, I never would have been able to begin, much less complete, this journey. My mother has been my most constant and enthusiastic supporter; I am happy to have inherited her curiosity, love of research, and creative spirit. Words cannot begin to express my gratitude to my husband John, for he not only allowed me to pursue my goal, but also kept our household intact despite my all-too-frequent absences and distractions. He had no idea that "for better or for worse" would include graduate school while raising our family.

My wonderful children—George, Janna, and Geoffrey—and my granddaughter, Trinity, have all variously tolerated and supported me on this journey. I dedicate this dissertation to all of them.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prologue

The English comic opera *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), created by dramatist George Colman the Younger and composer Dr. Samuel Arnold, was based on a century-old tale widely known in Europe and America.¹ *Inkle and Yarico* was an immediate success on the stage of London's Little Theatre in the Haymarket, enjoying twenty performances in its first six weeks, as well as the unusual distinction of being taken up at Covent Garden the following season; it was the most popular staged work of its time, second only to Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *School for Scandal* (1777). Like many popular English comic operas, *Inkle and Yarico* was transported to America, where it was first performed in New York less than two years after its London premiere; it continued to be performed in both countries well into the nineteenth century.

In the past few decades, *Inkle and Yarico* has received considerable scholarly attention, partly because of its subject matter, but largely because of its uniquely multifaceted commentary on late eighteenth-century attitudes toward race, class, and gender, and their relations to imperialism, mercantilism, and slavery. Missing from the conversation, however, is consideration of its music.

¹ George Colman and Samuel Arnold, *Inkle and Yarico; an Opera, in Three Acts, as Performed at the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket, on Saturday August 11th, 1787* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787). The story in brief: an English merchant, Thomas Inkle, is betrothed to Narcissa, daughter of the wealthy Governor of Barbados. When travelling to Barbados for the wedding, Inkle and his servant, Trudge, become stranded in the American wilderness. Two native women, Yarico and Wowski, protect them from savage natives. While traveling on the same ship, Narcissa falls in love with Campley, a sea captain. In Barbados, the Governor meets Campley, thinks he is meeting Inkle, and blesses their upcoming marriage. Shortly, after being rescued and taken to Barbados, Inkle tries to sell Yarico to a stranger whom he thinks is a plantation owner; he is unaware that he is bargaining with his intended future father-in-law, the Governor.

The present study's detailed analysis of *Inkle and Yarico* reveals the music's vital functions and contributions to the English comic opera genre in general and to this work in particular. It also demonstrates that consideration of the music is crucial to our understanding of the full performance impact of the work. The music conveys the sea-voyage and American-wilderness settings and establishes a variety of moods, characters, and events (such as a reference to a savage war dance) through conventional associations. Presenting its own type of "text" in addition to the lyrics, it provides more information about the characters than the dialogue or lyrics alone can convey. The music enhances characterization and the many comedic moments in the opera, and serves to dissipate tension between characters in conflict. At the same time that it vividly paints characters—noble (and not-so-noble) savages, servants both lazy and cunning, and well-bred aristocrats—it also communicates attitudes linked to social class, race, and gender. The music underlines sentimental ideals of the time while working to drive home many mixed messages, often buried in comic or satirical commentary, especially in relation to the vexed issue of slavery.

Comic Opera and Music Scholarship

That such a study is overdue is partly owing to the low esteem in which English comic opera has heretofore been held by scholars, including musicologists. In a comprehensive study in which twelve of his fifteen chapters address English comic opera, British musicologist Roger Fiske makes the following summative judgment about the overall quality of eighteenth-century English theatre music:

The trouble is that our eighteenth-century composers were often deficient . . . I am well aware that much of the music described in this book is near-rubbish, and not worth ever

playing again. . . . One must suppose that then as now theatre music often got by because the audience was enjoying what it saw, and not listening at all.²

Accepting the widely held scholarly prejudice against popular entertainment, Fiske speaks for the many musicologists who simply take for granted that the music in English comic operas must be mediocre at best.

Since popular music has not been considered worthy of serious attention until quite recently, most studies in historical musicology have focused instead on art forms with some degree of complexity or extended instrumentation. Even though scholarly interest in popular music has grown exponentially in the few past decades, musicologists and ethnomusicologists have primarily focused on current genres or those of the twentieth century. Not an insignificant factor, the relative lack of available materials in eighteenth-century studies impedes scholarship, as few primary music documents are extant or available in modern editions.

Studies of theatre music must take into account that this music is richly multifaceted, drawing as it does from genres of concert, opera, dance, popular, exotic, patriotic, and folk musics, thereby creating intertextual layers of socio-cultural meaning. Indeed, one of the dominant categories of eighteenth-century theatrical music is the pastiche (or *pasticcio*), by definition a genre employing a hodge-podge of music from a variety of sources. Composers during this time, including those of the stature of George Frederick Handel, Thomas Augustine Arne, and Samuel Arnold, were not opposed to providing the occasional song for a work, or music only for a single act, as it was assumed that theatre music was a composite of many efforts rather than representing the unified or proprietary efforts of a single composer.

The study of any theatrical genre also necessitates consideration of the immediacy of live performance, including: elements that complicate and inform the script (when and if a script

² Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 580.

exists), such as historical and current events; the acting and singing of the performers in interpreting their characters (as reported by critics); and our general understanding of each performance situation, including the physical features of the venue and the audience's behavioral norms (interaction with the actors, movement within the theatre space, indications of approval and disapproval, etc.). Also, in discussions of a given "work," it must be taken into account that, due to the vagaries of both chance and intent, shows were not (and could not be) the same in repeated performances. Even performances with the same cast perpetually changed, as modifications were necessary to hold the interest and suit the tastes of the audience. New and fresh presentations of the work—in ways that would sell tickets and keep people coming back for more—were far more important goals than adhering to an entirely predetermined script or score. Audiences *expected* these kinds of variations—they were part of a work's ongoing entertainment value.³

Further, applying analytical tools of popular music study to any historical era requires a consideration of the interplay between music and multiple other cultural facets—society, art, literature, theatre, politics, and other disciplines—in order to place the music in a more complete context. The text of *Inkle and Yarico* has suffered no lack of attention from critics and scholars from its origins to the present. Now that ethnomusicological perspective is increasingly applied to historical musicology in exploration of the role of music in culture and society, the time has come to show how analysis of the music can complement and inform existing disciplinary studies of *Inkle and Yarico*.

³ Reinhard Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 95–98. Strohm describes production conditions in early eighteenth-century Italian opera, but his description is also relevant to late eighteenth-century English comic opera practices.

Survey of Recent *Inkle and Yarico* Scholarship

Of the more than sixty identified literary versions of the *Inkle and Yarico* tale, Colman's libretto has probably received the most attention, due in large part to the extent to which it deviates from other versions of the story.⁴ Scholars taking a variety of disciplinary perspectives—literary criticism, imperialism, postcolonial theory, social class, slavery, gender studies, and theatre history—have recently provided some valuable insights that underscore the significance of *Inkle and Yarico* in understanding eighteenth-century British and American culture.

Literature

The largest body of scholarship comes from literary historians, primarily because of the large number and wide variety of literary spin-offs that were based on the *Inkle and Yarico* tale. Literary historian Lawrence Marsden Price undertook an extensive study of these versions, which culminated in his 1937 publication *Inkle and Yarico Album*.⁵ Price places Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* within the chronological framework of other literary versions, although his discussion of the comic opera is quite brief (five pages). Price systematically describes the widespread use of the story by writers in England, Germany, and France in various versions and at least eight European languages.

Following up on Price's work, Frank Felsenstein unearthed additional versions of the tale, resulting in the identification of at least sixty versions total in at least ten languages.

Felsenstein compares Colman and Arnold's work to others in English, in the process providing

⁴ See Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) and the earlier Lawrence Marsden Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937) for extensive information about the numerous literary versions.

⁵ Lawrence Marsden Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

valuable socio-cultural perspectives on race, class and gender. In particular, he describes ways in which Colman's text functions simultaneously as cultural reflection and cultural satire.

Felsenstein also identifies the meanings of now-unfamiliar words and proverbial sayings that occur liberally throughout the dialogue and song texts.

Evaluating the Inkle and Yarico tale as a central cultural artifact during the Age of Reason, Felsenstein elucidates how it took on legendary status, rather like stories that exist only in oral tradition. Pointing to the many recent studies of the tale, Felsenstein states:

“Inkle and Yarico” has begun to be recognized once again as one of the great folk epics of its age, an inter-textural narrative that draws simultaneously from sources that are as much noncanonical as canonical. Its anecdotal simplicity helps to explain its extraordinary ductility, and its opaque but seamless fusion of fact and fiction may be invoked to account for its potency as a defining myth of the Enlightenment. Its radical blending of the exotic with the familiar is yet another ample reason for the tale's enduring attraction. . . . Current critical interest in the tale reflects a growing awareness of the value of studying the often intangible points of contact between oral traditions and written or printed cultures.⁶

Felsenstein situates the story as an ongoing narrative in the central tropes of slavery, class, and gender, which were closely related to tensions in Europe and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Susan B. Iwanisziw analyzes the libretto of *Inkle and Yarico*, along with two other literary works, as she traces a shift in toleration of and attitudes toward interracial relationships in the late eighteenth century.⁷ Iwanisziw's analysis informs us of audience perceptions of Yarico and Wowski (Yarico's servant); it also illuminates our understanding of Inkle's attraction to Yarico, as well as his subsequent decisions regarding that relationship. Iwanisziw reveals the degree to which British culture assimilated black, non-slave immigrants, including general

⁶ Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), xi, 2.

⁷ Susan B. Iwanisziw, “Intermarriage in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Literature: Currents in Assimilation and Exclusion,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 56–82.

acceptance of interracial marriage and specific class-related attitudes and assumptions.

Iwanisziw establishes the literary history of interracial lovers and spouses as proof of British fascination with the subject, tracing that history back to Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604) and *The Tempest* (1611), and Thomas Southerne's *Tragedy of Oroonoko* (1696).

Literary historian and critical theorist Jean Marsden examines the role of comedy in *Inkle and Yarico* and two other dramatic works, particularly as it relates to a British sense of national identity.⁸ Seeing comedy as “indicative of the society that produced it: its theatre, its government, and its national character,”⁹ she demonstrates how Inkle's character represents the growing tensions over England's image as an imperialist, mercantile nation. Marsden points to the affective power of the theatrical arts, particularly in the real-time experience for audiences, as well as comedy's reliance on a shared understanding of meanings and values.

Keith Sandiford¹⁰ compares George Colman the Younger's comic opera libretto to Richard Steele's 1711 telling of the tale in the widely read *The Spectator*¹¹ in order to examine their literary constructions of “otherness.” Pointing to the plot shift in Colman's libretto, which results in Inkle having a change of heart at the end of the story,¹² Sandiford describes two different portrayals of Inkle's character: Steele's Inkle is an unrepentant capitalist, whereas Colman's Inkle is forced to rethink his private ideology, thus creating a metaphor for the moral

⁸ Jean Marsden, “Performing the West Indies: Comedy, Feeling, and British Identity,” *Comparative Drama* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 73–88.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰ Keith A. Sandiford, “Inkle and Yarico: The Construction of Alterity from History to Literature.” *New West Indian Guide* 64, no. 3/4 (1990): 115–125.

¹¹ Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 11 (March 13, 1711), in Donald F. Bond, ed., *The Spectator*, 5 vol (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, I: 47–51), as cited in Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 81–88.

¹² In Steele's version of the story, Inkle sells a pregnant Yarico into slavery, whereas in Colman's version (in which there is no pregnancy), Inkle changes his mind and does not abandon her.

dilemma of changing public ideologies. Sandiford also posits that Colman creates a character (the Governor of Barbados, who is the father of Narcissa, Inkle's betrothed) to function as an "instrument of a dialogic intervention which effects the reversal of moral chaos," concluding that Colman may be implying that "the transformation of political history must necessarily begin with transformations in private histories."¹³

British History

English historian Nandini Bhattacharya explores British obsessions with connoisseurship and collectibles in the eighteenth century as a significant element in *Inkle and Yarico*.¹⁴

Bhattacharya argues that Inkle is a collector, and that Yarico is valued as a various and shifting kind of commodity (theatrical, commercial, and familial) throughout the story. Bhattacharya posits that Colman critiques slavery as being in poor taste, in addition to morally wrong, and that, ultimately, "the oscillating public and private worlds of *Inkle and Yarico* display the object [Yarico] as profit alchemized into use-value, goods into property, slave into [wife, and] commodity into treasure."¹⁵ To help support her conclusions, Bhattacharya describes the known attitudes and activities of the Colman family—including the opera's dramatist, George the Younger—toward artifacts and collectibles of both the inanimate and the living kinds.

English historian Linda Troost looks at aspects of social reform in Colman's libretto in a chapter of her dissertation on English comic opera.¹⁶ She points to *Inkle and Yarico* as a hybrid

¹³ Sandiford, *Construction of Alterity*, 122–123.

¹⁴ Nandini Bhattacharya, "Family Jewels: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and Connoisseurship," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34 (2001): 207–226.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹⁶ Linda Veronika Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera" in "The Rise of English Comic Opera: 1762-1800 (Sheridan, Richard; Shield, William; Brooke, Frances; Linley, Thomas, Jr.; Colman, George, Jr.)," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985); available via <http://www.uwec.edu/mwood/colman/troost.html> (accessed Oct. 6, 2008).

work that foreshadows several features: the use of full-blown Romantic subjects, melodrama, inclusion of serious social issues, and other deviations from the earlier standard comic-opera formula. Troost presents as evidence the performance history and popularity of *Inkle and Yarico*, including its printed libretti and scores, as well as features that deviate from the English comic-opera norms (hierarchy of characters, less music, serious subject, and Romantic characters). Troost's work is valuable in its comparison of *Inkle and Yarico* to comic operas that preceded and followed it, including depictions of social class and subject matter.

Theatre

Theatre historian Joan Hamilton describes and analyzes the role of sentiment and perceptions of blackness in Colman's treatment of the subject of slavery.¹⁷ Hamilton concludes that the discourse itself enslaves Yarico and results in a heroine who does not "win" at the end of the story (despite Inkle's change of heart). Hamilton's study provides specific examples of how the text and song lyrics provide commentary on gender, class, and race, including the shifting values of black/white and dark/fair dichotomies; her discussion of the lyrics is never linked to the music.

One of the most oft-noted aspects of Colman's unique dramatic version is Inkle's change of heart at the end of the opera (often referred to as his "reform"), which represents a major deviation from previous versions of the story. Rather than viewing Inkle's change of heart as an indication of "love conquers greed," theatre historian Daniel O'Quinn argues that Colman's opera, and specifically Inkle's reform, represents shifting British politics and perspectives on

¹⁷ Joan Hamilton, "Inkle and Yarico and the Discourse of Slavery," *Restoration 18th Century Theatre Research* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1994): 17–33.

mercantilism, race, and ultimately, slavery.¹⁸ Whereas the Inkle presented by Steele is monstrous in his personal decision to sell a pregnant Yarico, O'Quinn argues that Colman's Inkle represents monstrous colonial and mercantile practices in England. Thus, Inkle's change of heart alludes to the need for changes in imperial activities. In articulating his argument, O'Quinn elucidates extensive parallels between *Inkle and Yarico* and William Davenant and John Dryden's *The Tempest, Or the Enchanted Isle* (1667); he also illuminates comparisons to the classical tale of Dido and Aeneas, revived by Purcell in the seventeenth century.

Sociology of Ethnic Relations

Caroline Stefanie Heiss examines ways in which slavery is depicted in *Inkle and Yarico* as a means of understanding ethnic relations.¹⁹ She points to economic factors as significant in Colman's story, as they play into both Inkle's decision to sell Yarico and his subsequent reform. Heiss analyzes Colman's comic opera and two other dramatic versions of the story to explore what she describes as "the difficulties of ethnic encounters," the impact of Rousseau's concept of the "noble savage," and English colonialism and subsequent interaction with and enslavement of American Indians and Africans.²⁰ In her various sub-chapters, Heiss analyzes and compares the different versions of the story for their depictions of Inkle and Yarico's relationship and the role of racial difference in the various endings of the story.

¹⁸ Daniel O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the Racialization of Class Relations," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002): 389–409.

¹⁹ Caroline Stephanie Heiss, *Slavery as a Form of Ethnic Relations in "Inkle and Yarico"* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, 2008).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

Discussion of Music in Scholarship

As noted by renowned American music historian, Oscar George Theodore Sonneck:

A libretto is not an art work complete in itself and self-sufficient as literature. It requires to be complemented by music. . . . A libretto is practically useless without the music, and *vice versa*.²¹

Unfortunately, the role and contributions of music are significantly absent from the scholarly dialogue represented by the aforementioned studies. Some of these authors accurately refer to *Inkle and Yarico* as a “comic opera,” whereas others completely ignore that the work has any association with music whatsoever. For instance, in their respective articles, Iwanisziw and Sandiford refer to *Inkle and Yarico* as a “comic opera” in their first mention of the work, but thereafter refer to it as a “play” and say nothing about the presence of music. O’Quinn alternately refers to *Inkle and Yarico* as “opera” and “play,” and includes in his discussion the theatrical portrayal of Yarico by Fanny Kemble, but does not mention its music. Perhaps the most striking example of disregarding music in the work, Bhattacharya refers to *Inkle and Yarico* only as a “play,” never even using the term “opera” or mentioning music at all.

Other authors at least give a nod to the inclusion of music in *Inkle and Yarico*. Price refers to the work as a comic opera and includes partial text of a duet and a facsimile of one page of the score, but does not otherwise address the music. Ultimately, Price treats Colman and Arnold’s version dismissively, stating that Colman treated the story “in a gay and trivial fashion.”²² Felsenstein devotes two pages to general discussion of the inclusion of music, noting that part of the opera’s appeal was Arnold’s “expressive tune[s].”²³ In his description, he notes

²¹ Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Catalog of Opera Librettos Printed before 1800, Vol. I: Title Catalogue* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 1.

²² Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album*, 43.

²³ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 168.

the combination of original and borrowed tunes in the work and the changeable nature of songs in performance practice, as well as noting that new songs composed by Arnold were added for Covent Garden performances. Heiss provides only a bit of background about the comic opera tradition, including its use of popular tunes, comparing it to modern musical theatre in that the music had to be entertaining and accessible to the audiences.

In some cases, the music in *Inkle and Yarico* gets a bit more than mere mention. Troost consistently refers to *Inkle and Yarico* as a comic opera, as her dissertation focuses on the genre, and she briefly discusses the publication history of the score. But because of the small number of songs in the work (and thus more focus on the dialogue), she ultimately marginalizes the importance of music, stating:

[T]he songs of *Inkle and Yarico* lose their dramatic importance, and they do not respond [profitably] to close study . . . One could leave all the songs out of *Inkle and Yarico* and lose little of significance.²⁴

As noted earlier, Hamilton includes song texts in her analysis, but does not otherwise mention the work's music. Marsden acknowledges that Arnold's music softens the harsh outlines of the story, but does not tell us why or how. Further, despite the fact that her focus is on comedy, she does not acknowledge that music plays a major role in creating a comedic effect in performance.

None of the scholars discussed above include substantive information about the music or performance history of *Inkle and Yarico*, primarily because musicologists have provided them with little, if any, analysis or discussion. Virtually without exception, these authors would have benefited from consideration of the music—its features and functions—in their analyses, discussion, and conclusions. Focusing on Arnold's music and the American performance history of *Inkle and Yarico*, including added and interpolated music, the present study enters an ongoing conversation and provides some missing pieces of the puzzle.

²⁴ Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera."

Methodology and Sources

Because of the nature of the English comic opera genre, most of the details regarding music interpolations, changes, and additions to various performances of *Inkle and Yarico* are undocumented. Also, because full scores of the opera do not exist, our knowledge of instrumentation and performance practice is limited. Furthermore, depending on where the opera was performed and by whom, the actual instrumentation varied widely, giving score notations limited reliability.

Primary sources have been consulted when possible, including scores, libretti, newspaper ads and reviews, sheet music, and other materials in print. Newspaper ads and reviews, in particular, sometimes provide information about the specific performers and added music, as well as inform our understanding of the reception of the work through critical commentary. Facsimiles of *Inkle and Yarico* libretti (British and American) are available through a variety of sources, including print and microfilm formats housed in the Library of Congress. In addition, many libretti are also available in digital form via the Internet from such sources as Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. Libretti have been compared in order to determine the scope and nature of changes made over time and in different geographical locales.

Biographical information about composers, authors, and performers has also been used, when available, in order to obtain greater perspective about their relative talents, performing styles, reputations, personal and professional activities, and overall impact during the period under study. Theatre histories have been consulted for information about performance venues, performers, staging, costuming, reception, and other aspects of performance history.

Traditional music analysis has been employed to determine musical form, themes and motifs, harmonic progressions, text-setting approaches, and other features in the score. A close

reading based on this analysis provides valuable cultural perspective on the musical language of this time period and its correlated meanings. The full complexity of the language is revealed by the juxtaposition or layering of musical features, which provides additional insight into perceived references and meanings.

Overview of the Present Study

In order to understand the place and role of *Inkle and Yarico* in eighteenth-century Anglo-American culture, one must consider the context and creators involved in its genesis. Thus, Chapter 2 describes the theatrical climate, traditions of the comic opera genre in England, and the creators who collaborated to create *Inkle and Yarico* in a political climate that was just beginning its debate over the abolition of slavery. A description and discussion of Colman's libretto is provided in Chapter 3, including rationale for his decision to use the Inkle and Yarico tale, performer considerations, the significance of characters' names, references to Roman mythology, and comparisons to topics of earlier comic operas, as well as a preliminary analysis of Colman's libretto. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the music in *Inkle and Yarico*, placing its music in the context of standard conventions for the genre, using the 1787 keyboard-vocal score as a basis for analysis and discussion.²⁵ Chapters 5 and 6 provide in-depth analysis and discussion of the music's specific features and functions in *Inkle and Yarico*, including the use of borrowed tunes. The opera's primary themes are discussed in relation to the unique contributions that the music makes to the meaning and understanding of the opera. Included is consideration of how this new information informs previous scholars' analyses of *Inkle and Yarico*. Chapter 7

²⁵ Samuel Arnold, *Inkle and Yarico, a Comick Opera As Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in the Hay Market, The Words by George Colman Esq. Jun., The Musick Composed by Dr. Arnold, Organist & Composer to his Majesty. Adapted for the Voice, Harpsichord, Pianoforte, Entered at Stationers Hall* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1788; reprinted New York: Belwin Mills, 1978).

considers how the music of the opera resonated in America. The publications of Arnold's own songs are traced, as well as specific music additions and interpolations that are revealed primarily through newspaper advertisements and reviews. Beginning with its first performance in New York in 1789 and extending to the last known performance in 1844, Chapter 8 traces the performances of *Inkle and Yarico* in America, including what is known (or can be gleaned) about its reception history, the performers, and performance characteristics. Chapter 9, the Epilogue, describes recent literary versions and revival efforts, and summarizes the significance of music in *Inkle and Yarico*, including implications for analysis of the music in other English comic operas.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING THE STAGE FOR *INKLE AND YARICO*

Of the dozens of English comic operas written in the eighteenth century, Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* presents some features that are rather unusual. Most notably, its subject matter involves a serious and controversial cultural practice—slave-trade—which had not previously been targeted for comic theatrical treatment. Furthermore, *Inkle and Yarico* deviates from the comic-opera format in that it contains far fewer songs than comic operas of previous decades—only sixteen in the 1787 piano-vocal score, far fewer than the forty-two featured in Bickerstaff and Arne's 1762 *Love in a Village*. And yet, despite these differences, *Inkle and Yarico* still conformed to contemporary audience expectations for an entertaining comic opera: a plot with romance as a focal point, songs for the characters interspersed with dialogue, and ensemble numbers to conclude each act.

In order to understand its drama, music, and performance reception in England and America, it is first necessary to place *Inkle and Yarico* in a more complete context. This chapter, therefore, describes the London theatrical and cultural climate, the musical and theatrical features of the comic opera genre in the eighteenth century, and the creators who together crafted the staged work.

London Theatres and their Audiences

The Little Theatre in the Haymarket, like dramatist George Colman the Younger, was an upstart in the London theatrical scene. Covent Garden and Drury Lane, the two large patent theatres in London, had been ensured a monopoly well into the middle of the eighteenth century

by virtue of the Licensing Act of 1737 that granted them royal patents for presenting “legitimate theatre.”¹ Their monopoly was loosened in 1766, however, when Samuel Foote obtained a royal patent that allowed performances of plays and operas at the Little Theatre during the summer months.² Significantly, because its performances only took place in the summer, it did not actually compete with Covent Garden and Drury Lane, which were both winter playhouses, but it had the same challenge of attracting sufficient audiences to be successful.

Over time, a new culture developed in these commercial theatres, one with its own tone and standards. Middle-class citizens, who made up an increasingly larger proportion of the audience, preferred stories that appealed and related to ordinary people reflecting simple rather than lofty values and emotions and performances that provided amusing entertainment rather than high-flown rhetoric. The aristocratic tastes of the old order were only maintained at the Italian Opera House in the Haymarket (King’s Theatre) where *opera seria* was still the staple genre at the time.

The shift in tastes and performance offerings that focused on English comic opera for several decades had its beginnings in John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* of 1728. It reflected, in story, characters, and music, not only the social and political climate of the times, but perhaps more significantly the demands and tastes of the new theatre-goers. Beginning early in the century, the ordinary citizens of a growing middle-class audience held a considerable measure of power, and the theatres had to respond to their tastes and demands if they wanted to be commercially successful. With every new work offered, therefore, the approval or disapproval of

¹ Jeremy F. Bagster-Collins, *George Colman the Younger, 1762–1836* (Morningside Heights, New York: King’s Crown Press, 1946), 10: “Legitimate drama” featured spoken dialogue, with or without music; “illegitimate” drama consisted of entertainment, with or without dialogue, accompanied by music. The situation was quite confusing—the law was clear, but its interpretation was not. For discussion of legitimate vs. illegitimate theatre, see also Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

² *Ibid.*: Foote, taking a challenge from the Duke of York, tried to ride a spirited horse, was thrown, and had to have a leg amputated as a result of the fall; the patent was compensation from the Duke.

these audiences determined the success or failure of the work, as well as the shape of future endeavors to garner attendance. Theatre managers like Colman paid close attention to reception trends and strove to satisfy audience tastes and demands.

The English Comic Opera Tradition

Because English theatre-goers expected to see a variety of entertainment at the playhouses, their musicians and actors likewise needed to possess a variety of talents and repertoires. Historically, tragedy was generally considered more important and held in higher esteem than comedy (thus the resulting distinction between legitimate/serious theatre and illegitimate/comic theatre). English comedies, which were particularly popular with the growing middle class, prominently featured wit and satire to safely expose and comment upon social vices and political practices. Last in the hierarchy were musical entertainments, because they blended spoken comic theatre with all-sung serious opera, thus creating a musical stepchild.

English opera underwent several stylistic shifts after *The Beggars Opera*. This first and other similar early “ballad operas,” which lasted less than a decade, featured popular ballad tunes of the day, almost always strophic and sung without elaboration to simple accompaniment. New words were fitted to the tunes, which either emphasized the original meaning or created comic or satirical commentary.³ As noted by ballad-opera scholar Edmond Gagey:

The songs may have proved the main attraction for the audience, but were not the main concern of the dramatist, and their omission would not incurably ruin the play.⁴

³ For example, in Scene 13 of *The Beggar's Opera*, Macheath, evading the law, hides in Polly's room. He sings “My heart was so free,” which was set to the melody of “Come fair one be kind,” a courting song from Henry Playford's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*. The song parodies the simile aria of Baroque operas through the vivid imagery of its text by using a simple song as the musical vehicle for the text.

⁴ Edmond McAdoo Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 130 (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1937; reprinted 1968), 7.

By the time of Isaac Bickerstaff and Thomas Arne's *Love in a Village* (1762), English comic opera developed into a new type, the sentimental comic opera. In addition to using a wider variety of music, this variety employed the orchestra in more elaborate ways in support of some (though not all) vocal parts. Also, the selection of borrowed tunes was increasingly based on how well the tunes suited the dramatist's poetic lyrics—rhythm, rhyme scheme, and style—rather than the ways in which they alluded to the original texts (which had been an important consideration in ballad opera).⁵ Further, borrowed tunes were often more sophisticated than the music of popular ballads, including such items as arias from Italian operas or Handel oratorios.

Another new genre category developed by the end of the eighteenth century, one that featured music primarily written by a single composer, the pastiche. These comic operas included at least a few borrowed tunes, such as well-liked Scotch and Irish tunes, but even these were treated to more galant musical settings and orchestration. Music was increasingly employed to advance the action of the story, including ensembles, but particularly ensemble finales, which also became standard in operatic writing.

A variety of terms were used to describe these works—including “comic opera,” “musical farce,” “musical drama,” and “musical entertainment”—but “ballad opera” was no longer in common use by the end of the eighteenth century. They all, however, generally shared the following characteristics:⁶

- Spoken dialogue, usually in prose, is employed;
- Topics are taken from everyday life, usually with stock characters and situations;
- Disguise, intentional or accidental, is common;
- An overture or prelude introduces either two or three several acts, and several scenes occur in each act;
- Solo song serves as the focal point of the vocal music;

⁵ Susan Porter, *With an Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America 1785–1815* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27–34.

- Songs vary widely in number, form, style, and source;
- Stories have a moral element and a happy ending.

One aspect of English comic opera that was quite consistent until late in the century was its use of a sentimental, as well as funny, plot. The element of disguise—intentional or not—was common in operas of many kinds, both English and continental, and added comic suspense because the audience, fully aware of the confused identities, eagerly anticipated the outcome. Country and village (pastoral) operas were among the most popular, although they became increasingly sentimental (and more insipid) into the 1760s and beyond. Perhaps most importantly, it was expected that the staged story would convey a moral lesson, usually exposing vice and rewarding virtue. Spoken dialogue maintained the word-dominated theatrical tradition, while music added to the comic and dramatic effect, as well as to the presumed moral value, through its ability to move emotions.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, romantic topics were increasingly favored, reflecting the shifting philosophies of the time. Rescue operas required that a hero or heroine be saved from a dire situation. Gothic elements, such as ghosts, dungeons, and supernatural powers were essential to melodramatic effect. Exotic characters and settings reflected European interest in faraway places and people.⁷ Increasingly, the plots approached—or even merged with—melodrama.

Customarily during the last quarter of the eighteenth century the librettist of each playhouse tended to retain one particular composer on contract to provide—i.e., compose, arrange, or adapt—the music required for performances. Little is known about how well (or poorly) the composers were compensated (except for Charles Dibdin, who wrote quite a lot

⁷ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 267; Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 34–35.

about financial matters).⁸ It was the librettist, however, who considered himself the senior partner and who was generally held in higher esteem. Because the use of spoken dialogue was presumed, comic operas started with the libretto; in pastiche and single-composer operas, the music was written to suit individual characters or situations; borrowed tunes were modified to fit specific song texts. Librettists expected the music to serve the text and, therefore, did not want composers to write “excessive” music.⁹ Thus was the nature of the collaborative process in creating comic operas for the London stage when young George Colman entered the field.

Dramatist George Colman the Younger

The successfully staged comic-opera version of the Inkle and Yarico tale came from the pen of rookie dramatist, George Colman the Younger, a young upstart who paid his dues in three early staged works that met with generally positive, if lukewarm, reception. Colman was not, however, a complete newcomer to the arena, as he had the advantage of growing up in and around the Little Theatre at the Haymarket, where his father was the manager and Samuel Arnold the house composer.

⁸ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 261.

⁹ Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 54.



Figure 2.1: Portrait of dramatist George Colman the Younger, ca. 1787.¹⁰

Colman came by his theatrical inclinations naturally, as his grandfather, Francis Colman, had been the librettist for *Ariadne in Crete*, an opera whose music was written by his friend, George Frederick Handel.¹¹ Francis's son, George the Elder, followed in those footsteps and was a joint manager of Covent Garden for many years but, finding his position there no longer tenable, he sold his shares to his fellow managers in 1774. Using an inheritance from the Earl of Bath (his uncle and guardian), George the Elder purchased the Little Theatre in the Haymarket

¹⁰ Francis Wheatley, Portrait of George Colman the Younger, ca. 1787, <http://www.milesbarton.com/work.htm?ID=162> (accessed May 25, 2011). The portrait is currently owned by Miles Barton who, based on the style of clothing and manner of painting, estimates that the portrait was painted around the time of Colman's success with *Inkle and Yarico*.

¹¹ Jeremy F. Bagster-Collins, *George Colman the Younger, 1762–1836* (Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), 1.

from Samuel Foote in 1776.¹² When Foote died suddenly in October that year, Colman found himself the owner of the theatre building, but it was a theatre without a patent since that had ended with Foote's death. As a substitute, the Lord Chamberlain arranged for an annual license.¹³

Despite the elder Colman's determination that his son would not pursue a career in this commercial theatrical world (he wanted him to become a lawyer), young George became smitten with the theatre, experiencing it advantageously from audience and backstage perspectives. Colman later wrote, "The Haymarket Muses had not a little unsettled my reason."¹⁴ By the time the younger Colman matriculated to Oxford in 1780, his interest in the stage completely overshadowed any pretense at an academic life. His father, finally realizing the situation, banished young George to Scotland for a year.

Young George's attraction to the theatre was further enhanced in 1783 by a growing relationship with Catharine Morris, a young Haymarket actress.¹⁵ The elder Colman, to thwart him yet again, sent his son to Paris in 1784, presumably for a short "grand tour" before settling into law studies.¹⁶ Upon his return, young George discovered that not only had his father enrolled him as a student at Lincoln's Inn, but had also arranged for housing suitable for serious devotion to legal studies. In October, he and Catharine Morris were secretly married, which they kept from the elder Colman for four years.

¹² Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 3. The inheritance was rather small; the Earl was displeased with Colman's mistress, George the Younger's mother, whom the Elder Colman later married.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 10. Lord Chamberlain was an appointed position of some esteem, responsible for the financial concerns of the realm.

¹⁴ George Colman the Younger, *Random Records* (London: Colburn and Bent, 1830), as noted in Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 11.

¹⁵ Ironic, since the elder Colman had experienced the same relationship with young George's mother.

¹⁶ Bagster-Collins, *George Colman the Younger*, 26.

Despite a serious illness in September 1785 (probably a stroke), the elder Colman was determined to manage the Haymarket Theatre, which he did with his son's assistance. By the following spring, he had recovered enough to manage the theatre on his own and young George returned to Lincoln's Inn where he resumed writing instead of studying. He took over control of the Haymarket Theatre in 1789—when his father's increasing dementia required placement in a private asylum—and managed the theatre until 1824, when he was appointed Examiner of Plays, a position that his father had earlier held, by the Duke of Montrose (who was then the Lord Chamberlain).

It was during his “banishment” to Scotland in 1782, while not yet twenty years old, that George the Younger made his first attempt at writing poetry, resulting in a political satire inspired by a newspaper account. He quickly turned to drama and completed his first work early in the spring, a farce entitled *The Female Dramatist*. His father agreed to stage the work as a benefit-night performance for Mr. Jewell, “Chancellor of ... [the] Hay-Market Exchequer” who had accompanied young George to Scotland. His father, sensing its inadequacies, staged it as an anonymous work; it saw only one performance and was unenthusiastically received.¹⁷

The following spring saw the completion of his second work for the stage, a musical comedy entitled *Two to One*, which was not performed until the summer season of 1784. Reviews ranged from indifferent to kind and complimentary, the latter probably more due to his father's reputation than his own. *Two to One* saw nineteen performances, a respectable run that reflects the audiences' generally favorable reception.¹⁸

¹⁷ Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 19: “critics did not generally attend benefits, since they did not expect anything worth reviewing to be introduced on such occasions.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

After completely abandoning legal studies at Lincoln's Inn (although not the lodgings at the Temple provided by his father), Colman completed his third stage production. A musical comedy in three acts with music by Samuel Arnold, *Turk and No Turk* was performed during the 1785 season. The work was rather well received, probably in large part due to the popularity of the performers, including Mr. and Mrs. Bannister, Mr. Edwin, and Miss George, although it only enjoyed ten performances. It would be two more years before the Haymarket stage would see George the Younger's fourth work, *Inkle and Yarico*.¹⁹

Composer Samuel Arnold

As house composer at the Little Theatre at the Haymarket, it fell to composer Samuel Arnold (1749–1804)²⁰ to provide the music for Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*. Arnold's professional training and musical activities, however, were not entirely focused on the theatre. His musical career began in the Chapel Royal where the musical staff included such distinguished musicians as John Travers and William Boyce. As a young organist, Arnold was later admitted as a professional member of the Royal Society of Musicians in 1764 (George Frederick Handel was a founding member) and elected a Governor in 1767. After composing several short oratorios, including the successful *The Prodigal Son*, Arnold was offered the honorary degree of Doctor of Music by the University of Oxford; he declined the honorary degree, however, preferring to earn it on his own merit, which he did in 1773.

¹⁹ Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 31. His father's illness and subsequent need for assistance in the management of the theatre prevented Colman from devoting much time to writing during 1785–86. Once he was able to return to his lodgings in the Temple, Colman resumed writing, reportedly with input from (later Sir) Joseph Jekyll, an avid playgoer who offered practical suggestions.

²⁰ For a thorough discussion of Samuel Arnold's life and accomplishments, see Robert H. B. Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740–1802): An Historical Assessment" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1982).



Figure 2.2: Portrait of composer Dr. Samuel Arnold.²¹

Samuel Arnold's first foray into theatrical music began in 1764 as Covent Garden's harpsichordist, a position that also included rehearsing the singers and writing music as needs arose. He wrote the music to three pastiche operas, including Isaac Bickerstaff's *The Maid of the Mill* (1765), a comic opera that followed the model created by Thomas Arne's *Love in a Village* (1762). In such works, the music was partly written and partly compiled by the composer. A contemporary, Thomas Busby, noted Arnold's prolific writing, including his work on *The Maid of the Mill*, but also his struggles as a composer:

The late Dr. Arnold, at his professional outset, found it so extremely difficult to bring the produce of his talents before the public, that he long despaired of reaping any benefit from

²¹ George Dance, Pencil drawing Samuel Arnold, 1795, National Portrait Gallery, London, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/8565/Samuel-Arnold-detail-of-a-pencil-drawing-by-G-Dance> (accessed May 25, 2011).

his compositions, the number of which his creative genius then was, to get his music *heard*, which purpose he was enabled to accomplish only by submitting to considerable pecuniary sacrifices. Vauxhall Gardens were supplied by his pen, *gratis*, with songs, the beauties of which were equaled only by those in the vocal productions of John [*sic*] Christian Bach; and he engaged with the managers of Covent Garden Theatre to supply, compile, and arrange, the whole of the music for *The Maid of the Mill*, for the inconsiderable sum of *twelve pounds*.²²

Understandably, Arnold's early popular-music compositional activities were undertaken partly out of financial necessity.

Arnold worked with George Colman the Elder at Covent Garden starting in 1777, five years before George the Younger first attempted writing for the theatre, and continued working with the son after the elder Colman's incapacity. Colman the Elder had been friends with Samuel Arnold and worked with him at Covent Garden on *The Portrait* and *Mother Skipton*, so it was only natural that he sought the composer's collaboration at the Little Theatre.

By the 1780s, Arnold was able to combine his summer position at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket with other activities. In 1783, he became Organist and Composer to the Chapel Royal, a post that he held until 1802 (jointly for some of his tenure) and one that afforded him various benefits. Arnold was soon appointed to the Concert Committee, which organized "monster" Handel commemorations in Westminster Abbey with the enthusiastic support of George III. Beginning in 1786, Arnold directed an annual Lenten series of oratorio concerts at Drury Lane (theatrical performances were forbidden by law during the Penitential season) that primarily featured Handel's oratorios. Competition developed a few years later, however, with lighter works at Covent Garden faring more successfully than Arnold's traditional offerings.²³

²² Thomas Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians*, v. 1 (London: 1825), 90–91, in Robert H. B. Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740–1802): An Historical Assessment" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1982), 7.

²³ Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 26.

Also during this time, Arnold began editorial and writing projects, which primarily involved directing and editing two important musical magazines: *The New Musical Magazine* (1783–1786) and *Harrison's New German-Flute Magazine* (1784–1785). Both publications included arrangements of complete cantatas, operas, and oratorios in addition to a variety of shorter works, such as dances, marches, and popular English songs. His other significant contributions during this time consisted of musical reviews in the *European Magazine*, with wide circulation on the continent and in America. In 1786, Arnold proposed to complete an edition of Handel's works; 180 parts of the edition were published over the next decade. Although his work contains some inaccuracies and other weaknesses, the undertaking is nonetheless significant in English music history.²⁴

Arnold's many professional activities continued into the 1790s as a founding member of the Glee Club, the conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music, and the founder of the Graduates' Meeting (a monthly gathering of London-area holders of B.Mus. or D.Mus. degrees). He gradually introduced more contemporary music (including Handel's music) into the Academy's performances. In 1790 he published a continuation of William Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, a fourth volume whose contents were intended to revive interest in the music of Purcell, Boyce, and their minor contemporaries. His next compilation was a large collection of psalms, *The Psalms of David, for the Use of Parish Churches*, which included music by Handel, Arne, Boyce, Bononcini, Graun, Hasse, Jommelli, Pergolesi, Pleyle, and Steffani; Arnold himself contributed thirty-four psalms.

It was during these years that Haydn made his first visit to London; becoming acquainted with Arnold, Haydn was elected a new member of the Graduates' Meeting in 1791. Also, in the 1790s Arnold was appointed President of the Anacreontic Society, a gentlemen's club of amateur

²⁴ Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 29.

musicians (doctors, barristers, and other professional men) dedicated to promoting an interest in music, including through regular concerts, as well as to celebrate wit, women, and wine. Haydn was a special guest at a January 1791 concert.²⁵

One name that recurs in the above discussion is that of George Frederick Handel. British musicologist Edward Dent states:

Handel, who lived for the greater part of his life in England, and certainly managed to impose his own style on the serious music of the English composers who directly followed him, never dominated the music of the lighter English composers. They were eclectic, and imitated the Italians and the French too, but they kept a certain tradition of their own, especially in their vocal music and in their comic operas.²⁶

While Handel may not have “dominated the music of the lighter English composers,” he certainly was an important presence in Arnold’s life and professional activities, as well as compositional style.

In addition to his professional activities, Arnold composed a significant output of works between 1777 and 1792:²⁷

- Nine main-piece comic operas, including:
 - *The Spanish Barber* (1777)
 - *The Castle of Andalusia* (1782)
 - *Two to One* (1784)
 - *Turk and No Turk* (1785)
 - *The Siege of Curzola* (1786)
 - *Inkle and Yarico* (1787)
 - *The Battle of Hexham* (1789)
- Twenty-one afterpiece comic operas, including:
 - *The Son in Law* (1779)
 - *The Agreeable Surprise* (1781)
 - *Peeping Tom* (1784)
 - *The Surrender of Calais* (1791)
 - *The Enchanted Wood* (1792)

²⁵ Hoskins, “Dr. Samuel Arnold,” 37–43. Hoskins notes that some tune catalogs incorrectly attribute the American national anthem’s music to Arnold.

²⁶ Edward J. Dent, ed. Winton Dean, *The Rise of Romantic Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 29.

²⁷ Hoskins, “Dr. Samuel Arnold,” 52–53.

- Four pantomimes, including:
 - *The Genius of Nonsense* (1780)
 - *Harlequin Teague* (1782)
- Two oratorios, a set of songs, an ode, a number of works for the harpsichord (including three concertos), and a large number of anthems intended for church services.

Over several decades of composing for the theatre, Arnold established a solid reputation for writing effective and entertaining theatre music. Contemporary critics, however, were sometimes less than complimentary about his lack of invention. Commenting on Arnold's music for Colman's *Turk or No Turk* (1785), the *Morning Post* wrote:

The music is in general indifferent, particularly those airs marked as original, in which Dr. Arnold has shewn very little invention.²⁸

And the *London Chronicle* stated:

The overture had some pleasing movements; and the music in general bore the mark of judgment; but taste, we think, would have been more amplified, had Dr. Arnold availed himself of more old tunes, which would have been no derogation to his acknowledged merit as a composer.²⁹

The *Morning Chronicle*, however, responded more favorably:

The musick of this piece has been furnished by that able master of the art, Dr. Arnold, and the part of it that is new, does him credit. The overture is proof of great taste and skill: Miss George's second song, Mrs. Bannister's first, and the two airs sung by Mr. Bannister, are also masterly compositions.³⁰

Another review in the *Public Advertiser* on a performance of *New Spain, or Love in Mexico* indicates both the typical merit of Arnold's music and provides an example of how he fell short of expectations:

The public having been so frequently indebted to the ability and attention of Dr. Arnold for some of the most rational entertainments with which they have been presented, and the deservedly high estimation in which his merits as a professional man are held, that to speak

²⁸ *Morning Post*, July 11, 1785, as quoted in Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 175.

²⁹ *London Chronicle*, July 12–14, 1785, as quoted in Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 175.

³⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, July 11, 1785, as quoted in Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 175.

of the music of the present Opera in any other terms than it did no discredit to the justly acquired fame of the Doctor, would be unnecessarily complimentary.³¹

Roger Fiske, who examines Arnold's major stage works, does not seem to hold Arnold's comic opera music in very high regard, stating:

As a composer he lacked self-criticism, apparently writing down whatever first came into his head, and most of his theatre music is worthless. Nevertheless, both in his overtures and in his songs, he was always liable to light on a happy vein of invention, and this was especially the case in his younger days.³² . . . [A]t all times [Arnold] was attempting two or more careers concurrently. It is not surprising that much of his theatre music is of poor quality.³³

Fiske thus speculates that Arnold's many and diverse musical activities hampered his ability to devote sufficient time to theatre music.³⁴ Hoskins, who credits Fiske as the only significant source of informed criticism of Arnold's theatre music, largely echoes Fiske's opinion, stating:

It is true, that, in his immense quantity of vocal, instrumental and operatic music, much is of poor quality, being written at great speed and with little thought.³⁵

To fairly judge Arnold's comic opera music, however, it is important to remember the purpose for which it was composed. As noted by Robert Hoskins:

To understand Arnold as an operatic composer, one must bear in mind that his operas were deliberately calculated for success with an eighteenth-century playhouse audience, for whom attractive melodies and blunt contrasts between personages were more appreciable than any emotional or dramatic subtlety would have been.³⁶

Despite Fiske's criticism and Hoskin's lukewarm praise, Samuel Arnold enjoyed a good deal of success in the comic opera genre of the eighteenth century. And *Inkle and Yarico* was one of his most successful endeavors.

³¹ *Public Advertiser*, July 17, 1790, as quoted in Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 229.

³² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 334.

³³ *Ibid.*, 433.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 453.

³⁵ Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," vii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 298.

CHAPTER 3

INKLE AND YARICO FROM THE PAGE TO THE STAGE

Nearly always in a financial bind and eager to find ways to make money at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, dramatist George Colman the Younger knew that pleasing audiences was the way to financial success.

No middleman of the arts is perhaps more at the mercy of the vagaries of popular taste than the theatrical producer. As producer and as dramatist, especially as the latter, Colman fortunately possessed a rare degree of sensitivity to popular likes and dislikes. . . . in his own work he gave his audiences what they wanted with as regular success as any dramatist who ever lived. In so doing he may often have made the judicious grieve, but the unskillful, who made up by far the greater portion of his public, laughed or wept at his will, and paid their money to do so. And George Colman liked money.¹

Because he knew how to attract London audiences, it is not surprising that Colman selected the well-known and beloved story of Inkle and Yarico as the topic for his fourth comic opera.

This chapter examines the tale's timely commentary on the practice of slave-trade, including possible motivations for Colman's selection of and subsequent revision of the story for the stage. The status and background of the tale as an important literary artifact of the eighteenth century are discussed. Pragmatic considerations of available personnel and their relative talents are addressed, particularly as they relate to characters' parts in the creation of the drama.

Colman's libretto is summarized, including the placement of music in the unfolding drama. Finally, the resulting dramatic work itself is analyzed, including the significance of characters' names, references to Roman mythology, and rationale for the allusions, subtle and overt, that shaped audience responses and reception, taking into consideration the varied analyses and insights of recent scholarship.

¹ Jeremy F. Bagster-Collins, *George Colman the Younger, 1762–1836* (Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), 76.

A Timely Topic

It would be logical to surmise that Colman, always keen on ticket sales, chose the Inkle and Yarico tale for his comic opera because it centered on an issue of increasing public concern and discussion: slavery.² After all, the English Parliament had formed an Abolition Committee in May 1787, just a few months before the first performance of Colman's work, and the press was filled with polemics on both sides of the issue.

Musicologist Robert Hoskins later said of the work:

This opera . . . may be regarded in its subject matter as a direct reflection of the anti-slavery spirit that surged through England in the last years of the eighteenth century."³

More recently, literary scholar Frank Felsenstein stated:

At the onset of abolition, here was a musical extravaganza that touchingly personalized the dilemmas of slavery by dramatizing the romantic tryst . . . between a beautiful noble savage and a wayward white merchant."⁴

Colman, knowing that the comic opera genre was a prime vehicle for conveying satire and political commentary, modified the original tale for the theatrical stage.

On the other hand, literary scholar Linda Troost speculates that Sebastian-Roch-Nicholas Chamfort's *La Jeune Indienne* (1764) bears enough resemblance to Colman's version as to be considered his possible source.⁵ In both dramatic versions, the protagonist is engaged to a wealthy woman and, with the assistance of the other woman's father, both marry the Indian maid

² Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, provides an extensive account of the life of the dramatist, including some of the circumstances that led to his writing *Inkle and Yarico*.

³ Robert H. B. Hoskins, *Theater Music of Samuel Arnold: A Thematic Index* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1998), 77.

⁴ Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), xi.

⁵ Linda Veronika Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera," in "The Rise of English Comic Opera: 1762–1800 (Sheridan, Richard; Shield, William; Brooke, Frances; Linley, Thomas Jr.; Colman, George, Jr.)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985), available via <http://www.uwec.edu/mwood/colman/troost.html> (accessed Oct. 6, 2008).

in the end. The possibility of Chamfort's drama directly influencing Colman is strengthened by noting that Colman spent time in Paris in 1784 and often attended the theatre.⁶

There is another layer of intrigue, only recently brought to light, surrounding Colman's decision to use the story of Inkle and Yarico. Another fledgling dramatist active in London in the 1780s, John Thelwall (1764–1834), wrote a two-act farce based on the tale. Thelwall apparently submitted the manuscript—one of his earliest extant literary works—to the elder Colman.

Thelwall, in a note added to his manuscript in 1814, states that the play was:

Written during the intervals of office in a single week while I was an articled clerk to an attorney, & retained for three months in the hands of the late Mr Coleman [*sic*] prior to the announcement of his sons Opera upon the same subject.⁷

The manuscript, entitled *Inkle and Yarico; or Ingratitude Rewarded*, has been housed at Yale Library since its arrival there in 1969; it only recently came to light and was published with another of Thelwall's plays, *The Incas*, in 2006.⁸

Thelwall's version differs considerably from Colman's, although it also takes liberties in adding characters and minor sub-plots and presents Yarico as “noble” in contrast to her savage fellow natives. Most significantly, because Thelwall was a political radical, his drama presents the issue of slavery in a more openly critical manner, decrying the inhumanity of trans-Atlantic slave trade. As noted by Frank Felsenstein in his introduction to the script, Thelwall and his family were “maverick Englishmen who define[d] true patriotism by putting humane before nationalistic values.”⁹

⁶ Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 25–26.

⁷ Frank Felsenstein and Michael Scrivener, eds., *Two Plays by John Thelwall* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 29.

⁸ See Felsenstein and Scrivener, *Two Plays by John Thelwall* for a thorough discussion of the work and its connection with the Colman dramatists.

⁹ Felsenstein and Scrivener, *Two Plays by John Thelwall*, 16.

Thelwall later claimed that the younger Colman plagiarized his work. According to Felsenstein, it is unlikely that George Colman the Younger ever saw Thelwall's manuscript. He states:

The similarities between the two plays are too superficial and the evidence too thin to allow the charge of plagiarism to stick, though there is no doubt that Thelwall felt both anger and distaste at the widespread acclaim that Colman the Younger's *Inkle and Yarico* achieved.

It is, however, entirely conceivable that George the Elder could have mentioned Thelwall's play to his son. One could easily imagine that this would have given young George the idea to try his hand at revising the tale for the Haymarket stage.

Regardless of how Colman initially hit upon the idea of using the story of *Inkle and Yarico*, his decision to do so was apropos for the time in other ways. Stories of sea travel, shipwrecks, attacks by natives, and rescues (such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*) were part of eighteenth-century popular culture, largely due, no doubt, to mercantile and slave-trade activities between continents going back to the sixteenth century. Europeans and Americans were fascinated with exotic people and places, as well as primal instincts, often suspecting the urges of Native Americans, Caribs, and Africans to be savage and cannibalistic. But such natives were also held up as pure and untainted by civilization—in other words, “noble savages.” As noted by Roger Fiske:

It was, of course, Rousseau who popularized the Noble Savage theme in the middle of the eighteenth century, but it began seeping into men's consciousness years earlier. Montaigne's essay “Of Cannibals” has been cited as its first expression in literature. It first appears in the English theatre in Southerne's *Oroonoko* (1696), a tragedy based on a story of the same name by Mrs. Aphra Behn. Steele devoted *Spectator* No. 11 to the Noble Savage, and Cawwawkee was his first appearance in English opera. [There are] further examples later in the century, by which time the subject was being much more closely associated with the evils of slavery.¹⁰

¹⁰ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 110.

Perhaps most significant, however, is the concurrent “Enlightenment standpoint that is highly critical of European colonial aspiration and its debilitating effect upon the people it conquered.”¹¹

Because *Inkle and Yarico* is generally touted as an “anti-slavery opera,” one could conclude that George Colman the Younger made a political statement of his own, albeit one heavily veiled in humor. That Colman used humor is understandable given the genre, since comic opera, beginning with ballad opera, had long capitalized on public interest in political controversy. Furthermore, an outright political statement risked censorship by his father, who was an Examiner of Plays for Lord Chamberlain at one time and saw it his duty to prevent inappropriate or controversial portrayals on the stage.

Contemporaries of Colman and Arnold praised the work for its anti-slavery sentiments. In her 1808 introduction to *Inkle and Yarico* in Cumberland’s *British Theatre*, a collection of popular comic opera libretti, actress and playwright Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald remarked:

It was popular before the subject of the abolition of the slave trade was popular. . . . It was the bright forerunner of alleviation to the hardships of slavery.”¹²

Despite such statements by Arnold’s contemporaries, more recent interpretations are less decisive in making such a pronouncement. Some have concluded that Colman’s libretto is “little more than farce and ephemeral entertainment,” because “it actually evades rather than truly

¹¹ Felsenstein and Scrivener, *Two Plays by John Theilwall*, 18.

¹² Elizabeth Inchbald, “Introduction” to *Inkle and Yarico*, in *The British Theatre; or A Collection of Plays which are Acted at the Theatres Royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden and Haymarket*, Vol. XX (London: Elizabeth Inchbald, 1808), 3.

explores moral dilemmas,”¹³ whereas others commend it as one of the first dramatic works in history to engage with the ethics of slavery.¹⁴

A Story of Legendary Status

In the original telling of the story, as related by Richard Ligon in his account of *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, Yarico was a servant in his plantation house who had a son by an unidentified servant. Ligon’s story of Yarico states:

This Indian [Yarico] dwelling near the Sea-coast, upon the Main, an English ship put in to a Bay, and sent some of her men a shoar, to try what victualls or water they could finde, for in some distresse they were: But the Indians perceiving them to go up so far into the Country, as they were sure they could not make a safe retreat, intercepted them in their return, and fell upon them, chasing them into a Wood, and being dispersed there, some were taken, and some were kill’d: but a young man amongst them straggling from the rest, was met by this Indian Maid, who upon the first sight fell in love with him, and hid him close from her Countrymen (the Indians) in a Cave, and there fed him, till they could safely go down to the shoar, where the ship lat at anchor, expecting the return of their friends. But at last, seeing them upon the shoar sent the long-Boat for them, took them aboard, and brought them away. But the youth, when he came ashoar in the Barbadoes, forgot the kindnesse of the poor maid, that had ventured her life for his safety, and sold her for a slave, who was as free born as he. And so poor Yarico for her love, lost her liberty.¹⁵

In March 1711, more than fifty years later, a modified version of the tale was employed by Richard Steele in *The Spectator*.¹⁶ In Steele’s essay, Arietta, the hostess of a social gathering, is angered by a loud-mouthed guest who talks at length about women’s failings, including their lack of fidelity. In response to his denigrating postulations, and to defend her own sex, Arietta

¹³ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 12–13.

¹⁴ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 477.

¹⁵ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 2d ed. (London, 1673; original, 1657), 55.

¹⁶ Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 11 (March 13, 1711), in Donald F. Bond, ed., *The Spectator*, 5 vol (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, I: 47–51), as cited in Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 81–88.

relates the story of Inkle and Yarico, which Steele based on Ligon's account, but with some important changes. In Arietta's telling, the Englishman is named Thomas Inkle and it is he who fathers Yarico's child and sells her into slavery, despite the love and care Yarico had shown him when he was stranded on American shores, hurt and still threatened by her countrymen. Thus, Steele's version, which came to be thought of as the "original" Inkle and Yarico tale, was offered as a gender-related, not race-related, example of human behavior, although both perspectives come into play throughout its performance history.

Steele's telling of the Inkle and Yarico tale led to a cascade of sentimental literary offerings (poems, epistles, song lyrics, and stories) that continued for a century. Felsenstein reports:

[T]heir story was among the most popular and widely retold within its country of origin, Great Britain, as well as elsewhere across Europe and into North America. . . . A conservative estimate indicates that, drawing upon the century from 1711 to 1810 and the resources of at least ten European languages, well over sixty discrete versions and a sizable number of translations of the tale have been preserved in print. Each of these surviving versions is distinct, though most share certain common or key elements. Almost all are to a greater or lesser extent indebted to Richard Steele's imaginative reclamation of the tale in number 11 of *The Spectator* (13 March 1711), incontestably its century's most influential and widely read series of prose moral essays in English.¹⁷

Felsenstein concludes that the Inkle and Yarico tale, as a central cultural artifact for nearly two centuries, acquired legendary status not unlike stories that exist only in oral tradition.

Not only did the Inkle and Yarico tale inspire literary works, it also inspired several artists to create visual images of various scenes of the story, some of which were used as frontispieces or illustrations in collections of the printed libretto (a sampling is presented on the following pages). The number of visual works speaks to the wide popularity of the tale, as well as the degree to which Colman's opera inspired visual representations. The images represent several scenes in either the *Spectator* story or Colman's version of the tale, including: Yarico

¹⁷ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 1–2.

rescuing Inkle, Inkle and Trudge discovering the sleeping women in their cave, the idyllic couple in the wilderness, Inkle selling Yarico, and the celebration at the end of Colman's opera.

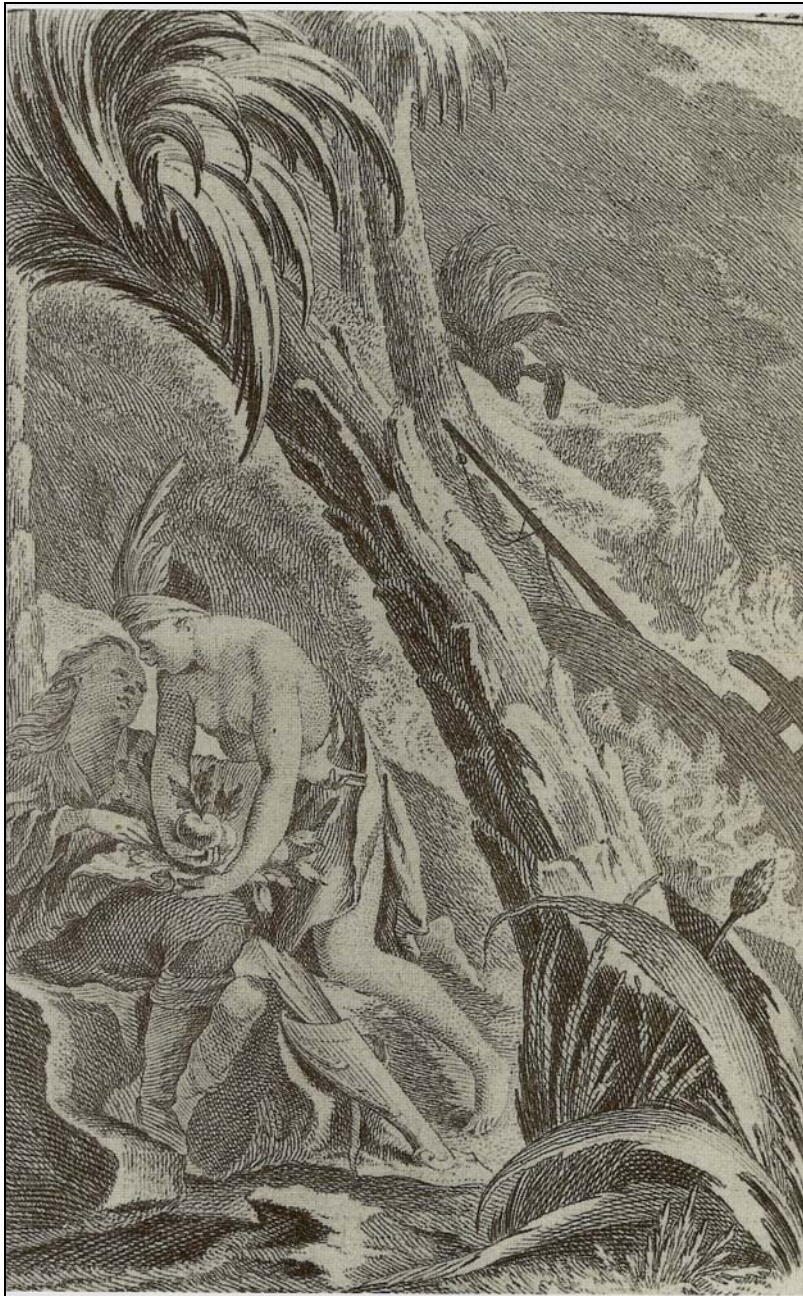


Figure 3.1: Engraving depicting Yarico caring for the shipwrecked Inkle.¹⁸

¹⁸ Johann Wilhelm Meil, *Inkle and Yarico*, from C. F. Gellert, *Sämmtliche Fablen und Erzählungen* (Leipzig, 1810), Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds, in Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 8.

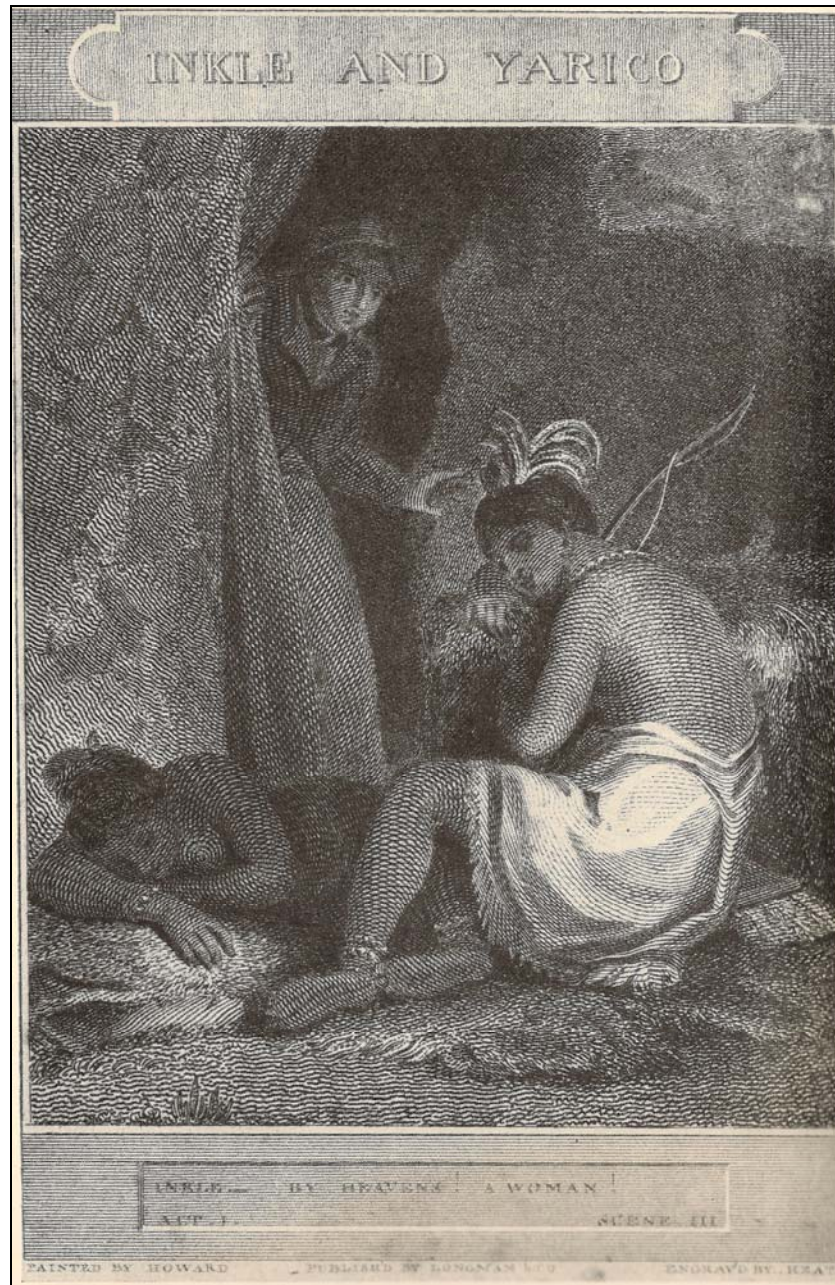


Figure 3.2: Engraving depicting Inkle discovering the sleeping women.¹⁹

¹⁹ Elizabeth Inchbald, Illustration, *Inkle and Yarico*, in *The British Theatre; or A Collection of Plays which are Acted at the Theatres Royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden and Haymarket*, Vol. XX (London: Elizabeth Inchbald, 1808), in Lawrence Marsden Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 42.



Figure 3.3: Painting depicting Inkle and Trudge as they discover the cave is inhabited.²⁰

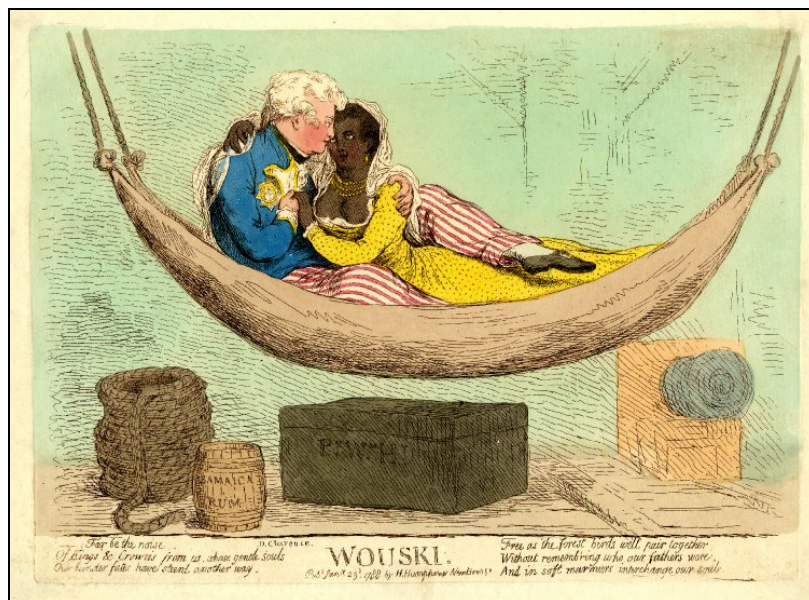


Figure 3.4: Caricature of Prince William Henry (later King William IV).²¹

²⁰ Henry Singleton, artist, Robert Pollard, etcher, A scene from *Inkle and Yarico*, 1788, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, New York Public Library's Digital Gallery, <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?1251625> (accessed July 6, 2011).

²¹ James Gillray, *Wouski*, 1788, British Museum Catalog no. 7260, Frederic George Stephens and Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 11 vols, London, BMP, 1870.

Colman's Wowski inspired James Gillray to make an engraving (see Figure 3.4 above) based on the reported activities of Prince William Henry (later King William IV). It had been reported that Prince William had "dallied with a pretty African woman on a voyage from Jamaica in December 1787"; Felsenstein also notes that the print "humorously matches miscegenation with royal duty."²² Gillray named the female in his engraving "Wouski" after Colman's Wowski and included the following at the bottom of the engraving:

Far be the noise of Kings & Crowns from us
 Whose souls our hinder fates have steer'd another way.
 Free as the forest birds we'll pair together
 Without rememb'ring who our fathers were
 And in soft murmurs interchange our souls.

As will be discussed later in this chapter, the "mistress" status of Yarico and Wowski is established early in the opera, but it is Wowski who is the more highly eroticized and darker in color. It makes sense, then, that Gillray would choose Wowski rather than Yarico to represent the "pretty African woman" with whom Prince William "dallied."

²² Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 200.

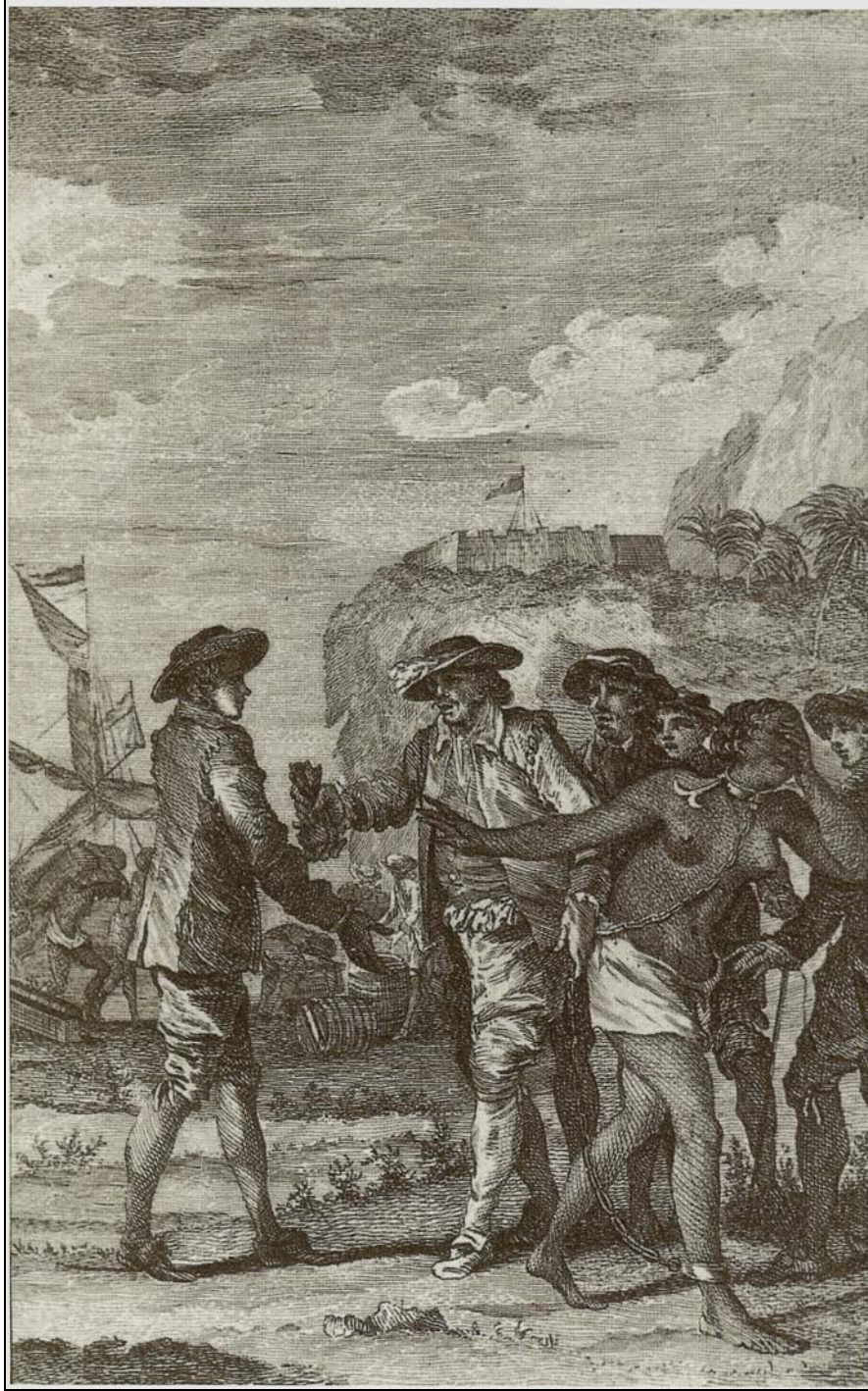


Figure 3.5: French engraving depicting Inkle selling a pregnant Yarico.²³

²³ Philibert-Benoît de la Rue, *Un Anglais de la Barbade vend sa maitresse*, engraved frontispiece in Abbé Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique*, vol. 7 (Geneva, 1783), Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds, in Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 237.



Figure 3.6: Print depicting Inkle selling Yarico.²⁴

Performer and Genre Considerations

Colman's self-reported approach for writing for the stage was loose and non-methodical to say the least: start with the first act, but without a definite plan for the characters, situations, or events, and let the plot unfold during the writing. This improvisatory process, particularly in his early works, often resulted in a plot and action that was halting and jerky.²⁵ Using the pre-existing story of Inkle and Yarico provided Colman with a more specific framework upon which to build, although "Colman declares he followed no definite plan in writing the play, but held fast to the elastic principles" described above.²⁶

²⁴ Henry Singleton, artist, Robert Pollard, etcher, scene from *Inkle and Yarico* (London 1788); in the H. Beard Print Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O186561/print-etching-h-beard-print-collection/> (accessed July 6, 2011).

²⁵ Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

Despite these “elastic principles,” Colman was nonetheless faced by a variety of factors implicit in designing any comic opera. The presence of stock characters (servants or comic rustic characters, aristocrats), romantic entanglements, and potential for mistaken identities would be taken for granted. He also wrote with particular actors in mind and, therefore, drew his characters to match his actors’ perceived strengths, both dramatic and musical. Colman had a particular gift for this task, as noted by theatre scholar Barry Sutcliffe:

Colman’s careful consideration of the human resources available in this theatre to carry his plays into performance was to become a recognized hallmark of his approach to authorship and an essential aspect of his success.²⁷

A list of performers, their relative strengths, and assigned roles in *Inkle and Yarico* is shown in Table 3.1 below:

Leading Performer	Acting Strengths	Singing Strengths	Assigned Role
Jack Bannister	Leading man	Tenor, accomplished	Inkle
Mr. Parsons	Older male characters, gentlemen		Sir Christopher Curry
Mr. Baddeley	Congenial, kindly		Medium
Mr. Davies	Romantic hero		Campley
Mr. Edwin	Comic parts, often servant or rustic	Respectable, but not accomplished	Trudge
Mrs. Kemble	Leading lady, sweetness and simplicity	Soprano, accomplished singer	Yarico
Mrs. Bannister	Romantic heroine	Soprano, accomplished singer	Narcissa
Miss George	Cheerful, lively; serious or comic parts	Soubrette, high register	Wowski
Mrs. Forster	Comic or leading parts		Patty

Table 3.1: Original performers and their relative acting and singing talents.

Convincing comic opera also depended on good singing, of course, so each cast member’s singing ability had to be taken into account by the dramatist when assigning parts.

²⁷ Barry Sutcliffe, ed., *Plays by George Colman the Younger and Thomas Morton: British and American Playwrights, 1750–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 26.

Colman relied upon Samuel Arnold to render into musical language songs that not only suited the characters of the various roles, but also the singing abilities of the actors. According to musicologist Robert Hoskins:

In truth the simplicity of much of the vocal music in English comic opera was due to the limited vocal techniques of actor-singers engaged at the patent theatres. Characteristically a particular theatre company included very few professional singers, and only for them could the “house” composer create virtuoso roles.²⁸

Miss George was a soubrette with an unusually high register who had proven herself to London audiences:

She was certainly a well-endowed and competent singer; at the very least a satisfactory actress; and a performer whose services were in much demand by the London theatre managers.”²⁹

With her large facial features, petite stature, and high voice, Miss George was a good choice for the servant native, Wowski. Mrs. Bannister, along with Miss George, was one of the best singers in London. In the role of Narcissa, Mrs. Bannister needed to portray pastoral sweetness and amiability, but with a lofty tone appropriate for a woman of high status. Such a role also called for more purely vocal skill. Mrs. Kemble (the former Elizabeth Satchell) was a much beloved soprano who performed at Covent Garden in the winter seasons. Known for her sweetness and simplicity in portraying romantic heroines, she was a natural choice for the role of Yarico.

The likeable part of Trudge required a comic actor, and Mr. Edwin, as an experienced comedian, was perfectly suited to play the part and vocally accomplished enough to negotiate the modestly challenging strophic ballads of a servant. Having known Jack Bannister from his days

²⁸ Robert H. B. Hoskins, “Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740–1802): An Historical Assessment” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Auckland, 1982), 17.

²⁹ John Protheroe, “Miss George,” *The Musical Times* 106, No. 1473 (Nov. 1965), 864; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/952181> (accessed July 15, 2009).

of watching from behind the stage at the Haymarket, Colman was well aware of Bannister's talents as an actor and singer, but also valued his input as a dramatic writer:

Colman never brought out a drama at any theatre where [Jack Bannister] was engaged, without studying his rare merit, and accommodating a character to his range of talent.³⁰

Bannister was accustomed to playing heroic leading parts, not someone as cold-hearted as Inkle's original character. Thus, according to Bannister's biographer, John Adolphus, when Bannister objected to Inkle selling Yarico at the end of the story, Colman agreed to re-write the end of the opera:

[T]he thought of Inkle's repentance, which brings the piece to a satisfactory, if an awkward conclusion, was suggested by [Bannister]. "But after all," said Colman, "what are we to do with Inkle?" "Oh!" said Bannister, "let him repent"; and so it was settled.³¹

Colman was pleased with his decision to use mistaken identity as the device that led to Inkle's reform:

Criticks [*sic*] have been pleased to observe [he writes in reference to a comment in the *Biographia Dramatica*] that it was a good hit when I made Inkle offer Yarico for sale to the person whom he afterwards discovers to be his intended father-in-law;—The hit, good or bad, only occur'd to me when I came to that part of the Piece in which it is introduced, and arose from the accidental turn which I had given to previous scenes; —as it is not in the original story, it would, in all probability, *not* have occur'd to me while coldly preparing an elaborate prospectus; —and such a prospectus once made, it is ten to one that I should have follow'd it mechanically.³²

Colman's statement reinforces (or perhaps demonstrates how he rationalized) his organic approach to writing dramas. The resulting change in the last scene, which occurred within a month of the opera's premiere, resulted in a very long stretch of dialogue without music as there was insufficient time to compose more before opening night. Therefore, somewhat ironically,

³⁰ Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 23.

³¹ John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian* (London: Bentley, 1839), I: 167–168, as cited in Bagster-Collins, 31–32 and Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 24.

³² Bagster-Collins, *Colman the Younger*, 34.

despite Bannister's singing ability, Colman only gave him one song in the opera, a duet with Yarico in the first act.

Colman's Dramatic Version of the Story

In order to transform the tragic story of *Inkle and Yarico* into a comic one, it was necessary for Colman to modify Steele's anecdote, primarily by changing the ending and introducing several new characters who provide comic elements, act as barriers and dramatic foils to Inkle's actions, and provide some rationale for Inkle's sudden reform at the end. Doing so allowed Colman to inject fresh social commentary as well as comic relief into the drama.

Table 3.2 below summarizes the main characters and their respective roles:

Character	Role
Inkle	an English merchant traveling to Barbados to wed Narcissa
Medium	Inkle's uncle and traveling companion
Trudge	Inkle's servant
Yarico	a native woman living in the area where Inkle is stranded
Wowski	another native woman, Yarico's servant
Sir Christopher Curry	the governor of Barbados
Narcissa	Inkle's betrothed, the governor's daughter
Patty	Narcissa's maid
Campley	a sea captain whom Narcissa meets on the ship

Table 3.2: Main characters in *Inkle and Yarico*.

Colman's opera begins with Inkle's uncle, Medium, and the hero's servant, Trudge, wandering lost in the middle of an American forest. Trudge calls out, hoping to locate Inkle, but Medium cautions him about drawing unwanted attention from the natives. Their conversation reveals that Inkle is a merchant whose primary concern is making money. In another part of the forest, near where the ship is docked, sailors and a mate return from foraging and discuss the fate

of the three missing men. To encourage the spirits of the sailors, the ship's mate sings "The Achilled tho' christen'd good ship."

The sailors and ship's mate see the three men coming, but then are chased by "a fleet of black devils." They decide that they must sail off to avoid being captured themselves; Medium, who had been closer to the ship, gets back in time to sail off with the crew. Left behind, Inkle and Trudge hide from their pursuers; peeking out, Trudge reports that the ship has sailed. The two consider their fate as they search for shelter and Trudge sings "A voyage o'er seas," a solo that provides comic relief and also reveals Trudge's cowardly nature.

Trudge, knowing his employer's mercantile interests, speculates that the natives might be caught and sold at the West Indies markets. Inkle sees a cave and decides to investigate. As they enter, they see that the cave is decorated with animal skins and feathers and has a curtain doorway. When Inkle draws the curtain aside, they see two women sleeping, natives of the land who live there alone. As one of them stirs, the men step back into the shadows. Yarico awakens and sings "When the chace of day is done."

The presence of the men is discovered; Yarico, who is of a lighter complexion, is immediately attracted to Inkle, and Trudge to Wowski, Yarico's servant. Both women speak English, having learned it from previous visitors to the island, although Yarico has greater mastery of the language. Trudge and Wowski move off to another part of the cave to get better acquainted. Yarico cautions Inkle about the dangers, both animal and human, that threaten the two men. She offers to conceal and protect him from her countrymen. In return, Inkle promises to take her with him to his country if they are rescued. Inkle and Yarico sing a duet, "Oh say, simple maid."

Trudge takes up conversation with Wowski, asking how she learned to speak English. Trudge worries aloud that he will be killed, but Wowski vows to protect him. She sings, imploring him to stay, "White man never go away." Trudge promises to take Wowski with him back to England, but is concerned about whether there is a man who will protest. He inquires as to whether she is married or has had a lover or two in her time. She responds with a song, which becomes a duet, "Wampum Swampum."

The second act begins about six weeks later in a quay at Barbados with an inn nearby and vessels being unloaded at the dock. A planter reports seeing a ship through his telescope, and another inquires as to the flag being flown, but the planter cannot recall. Just then someone sees the ship approaching. Narcissa, the Governor's daughter, and Patty, her maid, enter the scene and Narcissa sings "Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing."

Patty, who is very talkative, opinionated, and outspoken, brings up the subject of Captain Campley, which distresses Narcissa as she does not want anyone to know of their affection for each other, since she is betrothed to Inkle. Campley was on their ship during their recent voyage with Inkle from England and, unlike Inkle, showed tenderness and affection toward Narcissa on the trip. Patty promises to keep quiet and sings "This maxim let everyone hear."

Narcissa continues to fret over her dilemma as Campley enters. He says the solution is easy: get married and spend their lives together. He cautions Narcissa that Inkle just wants her for her money, whereas he is all for love. Obtaining her father's consent poses is a complication; the Governor does not know Campley and may object to the Captain's lowly social class. Narcissa sings "Mars wou'd oft," essentially challenging Campley to "brave the field" to ask her father for her hand in marriage.

Patty returns and reports that Inkle has returned on a ship that just arrived. Narcissa advises Campley that he needs to act quickly if he intends to ask her father for her hand. He sings “Why should I vain fears discover.” Having just arrived, Trudge and Wowski are being led to one of the inns by a runner. Trudge cautions Wowski to take care of her furs and feathers to prevent them from being stolen, a concept that is foreign to Wowski. As the runner goes ahead to get them a room, Wowski wonders if he is a prince, as all white men look alike to her. Trudge quizzes her on the basic points of etiquette that he has taught her, such as how to make a curtsy. He readies to leave to talk to Inkle and Wowski sings “Remember when we walked alone,” reminiscing about their happy times in her country.

Trudge approaches Inkle, who is talking to a planter, but is interrupted by yet another planter. He inquires about Wowski, asking if she is a slave and whether Trudge plans to sell her. Trudge vows his loyalty to Wowski, which astounds the planter. The planter calls him a fool and says he should go back to the savages because he’s no longer fit to live among “us Christians.” The libretto includes a sung response, “Christians are so good, they say,” which was cut before the first performance.

Inkle and the planter to whom he was speaking arrive on the scene. The planter had been inquiring about Yarico and wants to know if Inkle will sell her. Inkle puts him off, telling him to return at noon to discuss the matter further. The planter tells Inkle that his reason should not be clouded by feelings of gratitude toward her, and that it would be difficult to take her from a wild country to civilization. Inkle sends Trudge to fetch Yarico. While Trudge is gone, Inkle reflects on his dilemma and reasons that his engagement to Narcissa demands that he part with Yarico, that his upbringing and business training demand that he make a profitable decision. Yarico and Trudge enter, and Trudge leaves them to go eat at the inn. Yarico speaks of the wonders she has

seen on their trip to Barbados and expresses concern that Inkle may be distracted from caring about her. She reminds him of their time together in the cave, singing “Our grotto was the sweetest place.”

The scene shifts to Sir Christopher Curry’s residence where Sir Christopher and Medium, Inkle’s uncle, are chatting (not yet knowing about Inkle’s arrival). Medium is concerned that Inkle and Narcissa will never be together, but Sir Christopher is optimistic and reminds Medium that this marriage has been planned since the two were children. Sir Christopher compliments Medium’s honest character and they discuss desirable character qualities. Sir Christopher says every man should speak honestly; a solo is indicated in the libretto, “O give me your plain dealing fellows,” which was also cut before the first performance.

A servant enters to report the arrival of the ship and brings a letter in which Inkle requests to see Narcissa after he has freshened from the trip. Sir Christopher is excited and wants them to wed right away. After Medium leaves, a servant enters and announces the arrival of a gentleman. Sir Christopher assumes it is Inkle and is pleased that he decided not to wait. He enthusiastically welcomes the gentleman who is, in fact, Campley, not Inkle.

Sir Christopher tells Campley that he and Medium have talked about him and Narcissa; Campley is surprised that he knows about “the whole affair,” and asks if Sir Christopher can pardon what has passed. Sir Christopher assumes that he is referring to his delayed arrival. Campley barely brings up Narcissa’s name, to which Sir Christopher responds, much to Campley’s astonishment, that she is his before the next morning. Narcissa and Patty enter, Sir Christopher indicates his approval, and Narcissa gladly accepts the “proposal.” She quickly sends Patty to delay Inkle’s arrival; they sing “Your Colinettes and Arietts,” which ends the act.

Pleased at the events that have just transpired at the Governor's plantation house, Patty enters the quay to initiate delaying tactics. She tells Trudge that the Governor cannot see Inkle until the next day—that things are not in order for such a momentous occasion. Trudge, worried about Yarico, asks if Patty can keep a secret. He tells her that his master keeps a mistress. He tells the story of their escape from natives, embellishing the tale to his benefit. Patty is appalled that Yarico is a “black-a-moor.” Trudge tells her to keep it a secret, whereupon Patty sings “Tho' lovers like marksmen,” a song that comments on Inkle's poor judgment. After Patty leaves, Trudge reaffirms his loyalty to Wowski, despite her difficulties in learning the refined manners he has tried to teach her. He sings “A clerk I was in London gay.”

Back in his room, Inkle continues to struggle with his dilemma. Trudge enters and reports that he and Narcissa are to be wed the following day, that the event is the talk of the island. Inkle is concerned that he cannot retract; Trudge points out the fortune that awaits him and Inkle is even more determined that he cannot retract. Trudge expresses concern for Yarico, which angers Inkle who sends Trudge away. Trudge comes back to report that Medium has arrived. Inkle resolves to break it off with Yarico and not let Medium know anything about it. Medium welcomes his nephew and wonders why he is not hurrying to see the Governor, telling him that the Governor is anxious to see him, to have the couple wed that night. Inkle mutters to himself and takes off to find the planter who wanted to purchase Yarico.

Overly excited by the wedding activities at the church, Sir Christopher decides to take a walk on the beach to calm down. Inkle calls to him, thinking that he is the planter to whom he spoke earlier. Sir Christopher does not suspect that this is the real Inkle. Inkle offers to sell him a woman, and Sir Christopher considers that his daughter might need an attendant. When Inkle asks for good treatment for Yarico, Sir Christopher makes it clear that he sees buying “fellow

creatures” as a way to rescue them from the hands of those unfeeling enough to bring them to market. Inkle responds that he is not common trafficker, he is an Englishman. He states that his is a private reason, a pressing necessity. Sir Christopher says he cannot discuss the matter at the moment, but could the next day at the castle. Inkle indicates that he has connections at the castle and, in fact, will be sleeping there that night. Sir Christopher is inwardly outraged, but plays along to discover what is going on. He insists on seeing Yarico before making a deal, suspecting that she is in love with the young man.

Inkle sees Trudge and calls him over; he writes a note and asks Trudge to deliver it to Yarico, then to bring her to Inkle. He asks Trudge to make light of the message, stating that it is for her own good. Trudge expresses shock, but Inkle advises him that he would be wise to be rid of Wowski, too. Trudge responds that nothing but death will part him from her. Filled with dread, Trudge leaves to deliver the message. Inkle cautions “the planter” to keep Yarico away from the castle, that it would be trouble if Sir Christopher should see her, that it would lead to discovery of what he is trying to conceal. Trudge returns without Yarico, confessing that he could not tell Yarico it was for her own good.

Yarico enters crying, gazes into Inkle’s face, and throws her arms around his neck, whereupon he implores her not to cry, that he has her best interest at heart. She replies that he can protect her, just as she did him. Sir Christopher is outraged at the young man’s ingratitude. Yarico suggests that they leave, go back to the woods where they were so happy. Inkle replies with very logical reasons why this is impractical, pointing out that she is a bar to his attaining money, necessary for his good, which, he points out, she of course wants for him. Inkle, feeling the pressure of time, tells her to go with and obey the gentleman and asks Sir Christopher to take good care of her. Sir Christopher responds that he will cherish her, an innocent girl wounded by

a scoundrel. Insulted, Inkle tells him that the Governor shall hear of it. He is then informed that before him stands the Governor.

Medium comes along, clapping Inkle on the shoulder. Sir Christopher asks how Medium knows the young man and is told that this is Inkle. Sir Christopher replies that this is a lie because the true Inkle is approaching, having just left the church. Campley, Narcissa, and Patty enter. Medium greets Campley by name, which confuses Sir Christopher. Campley expresses his love for Narcissa and makes it clear that he is not interested in her fortune. Sir Christopher shakes his hand and blesses their union, thanking him for keeping him from throwing his daughter away on a scoundrel.

Trudge and Wowski enter and Trudge advises her to say farewell to Yarico. Trudge makes it clear that he would never sell Wowski. Inkle speaks to defend his conduct, citing his father's teachings and principles as powerful influences.³³ Then, renouncing those principles, Inkle repents and embraces Yarico. Touched, Sir Christopher shakes Inkle's hand and offers to employ Trudge. Sir Christopher invites everyone back to his home to celebrate the wedding. All join in a dance for the ensemble finale, "Come let us dance and sing."

An Analysis of Colman's Libretto

A comparison of Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* with Steele's tale reveals a number of changes, including additional characters, liberal use of humor, multiple cultural allusions, and a different outcome. In many cases, these modifications are interrelated, creating a complex web of meanings. By creating additional characters that represent the servant class and aristocracy, Colman increases his ability to reflect the typical assumptions and attitudes of individuals from

³³ Much like Polonius's last bit of advice to his son, Laertes in *Hamlet* (Act 1, scene 3), when he stated "to thine own self be true"—a rather self-interested motto in its original context.

multiple social classes and puts the role of businessmen like Inkle into especially clear relief. Further, and more importantly, the added characters serve as parallel love stories, foils to Inkle's lack of fidelity, voices of authority, blocking agents, and other normative functions. Colman's libretto, therefore, presents multiple features that are ripe for analysis from a variety of perspectives, many of which were described briefly in Chapter One. Before exploring the specific functions of Arnold's music in the opera, it is useful to analyze Colman's libretto in more depth.

Manners of Speech

Colman concedes to public tastes in constructing conversation between characters as well as individual characters' manners of speech, which also conveys important implications about social status. Characters from the servant class, for instance, speak in a less elevated style, often employing slang terms and proverbial sayings whose meanings would have been immediately recognized. Their puns and humorous behaviors contributed to the comic effect of the opera, but also served to lighten growing tension during the drama.

The dialogue of the leading characters, in contrast to the comic ones, tends to be more formal and proper, which would be expected for expressions of important pronouncements from those endowed with the status to make them. Sentimental rhetoric appealed to audiences, arousing feelings of pity (if not empathy). Such an affecting dialogue passage occurs toward the end of the opera, when Inkle has his change of heart; he states:

Ill-founded precept too long has steeled my breast—but still 'tis vulnerable—this trial was too much—Nature, 'gainst habit combating within me, has penetrated to my heart; a heart, I own, long callous to the feelings of sensibility; but now it bleeds—and bleeds for my poor Yarico. Oh, let me clasp her to it, while 'tis glowing, and mingle tears of love and penitence.

These sentimental declarations were instrumental in creating the moral message of the opera, which, rather than entertainment, was understood to be the primary goal of a theatrical performance. Of Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, author Thomas Gilliland writes:

[A]n auditor retires impressed with those lessons of morality that animate his feelings to the best duties of his nature, and even soften the obdurate into a sense of Charity, and a love of their species.³⁴

This age was fascinated by the moral implications of such shared feelings and sentiments, expecting them to ultimately contribute to positive social, political, and economic transformations.

Putting the "Comic" in *Inkle and Yarico*

One of the most appealing aspects of Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* is the use of comedy, a feature that was, of course, requisite for the genre. Theatrical comedy and a distinctly English type of humor had long been a source of national pride. As noted by theatre scholar Jean Marsden:

[C]omedy's depiction of contemporary society provides a reflection of how the English staged themselves. Unlike the physical, often fantastical performance of farce or pantomime, eighteenth-century comedy featured figures and foibles that the audience could recognize. . . . Thus comedy can be seen as indicative of the society that produced it: its theatre, its government, and its national character.³⁵

Colman creates humor through the usual devices—mockery of pretentious behavior, plays on words, satire, silliness, exaggeration, confusion (especially that caused by mistaken identity), the perplexity caused by love, misreading of cultural codes in foreign settings, and financial necessity. Into the fabric of the dialogue he weaves puns, familiar phrases, and proverbial sayings, although some critics complained about an excess of puns after the first performance.

³⁴ Thomas Gilliland, *A Dramatic Synopsis* (London: Lackington, Allen, et al., 1804), 81.

³⁵ Jean Marsden, "Performing the West Indies: Comedy, Feeling, and British Identity," *Comparative Drama* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 75.

(Colman apparently took notice, as the printed libretto indicates where such excesses, primarily in Trudge's dialogue, were removed.) In Colman's version of the story, idealized British freedom collides with the practice of slave trade; his use of comedy, then, was important in tempering a growing discomfort with England's identity as an imperialist, mercantile nation.

Significance of Characters' Names

The use of humorous word play for characters' names was also standard in English comic opera,³⁶ but earlier studies of *Inkle and Yarico* fail to discuss this aspect of the opera, with only a few exceptions. There were two names, of course, that Colman retained from Steele's telling of the tale—Thomas Inkle and Yarico. There has been some speculation as to the implied meaning of Inkle's name, with the most logical being the reference to “ink,” one of the key tools of the numbers-occupied merchant class. Ink is also black, which permits its being linked with racial references, particularly in contrast to white paper; Inkle is white and he is “using” Yarico just like he uses ink in his work to make money. Another meaning of “inkle” regards a type of woven tape, which could also be associated with bookkeeping matters of a business office; Trudge refers to “tying [Inkle's] hair, with a bit of red tape,” which may also allude to Inkle's name through a reference to the woven tape. Taking Inkle's obsession for making money into account, it could also imply that he did not have an “inkling” (i.e., was clueless) about matters of love and fidelity.

Many of the characters names obviously refer to stock traits: “Trudge” implies plodding or walking along in a weary, heavy-footed fashion as if facing a dreaded long and arduous task. Inkle's uncle, “Medium,” is an average sort of Englishman, undistinguished by any extremes of

³⁶ Richard Steele, *The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode* (1701), in John Bell, *Bell's English Theatre, Consisting of the Most Esteemed English Plays*, Vol. 8 (London: John Bell, 1780). It was also common in theatrical comedy—Richard Steele's *The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode* provides an excellent example of obvious puns in characters' names.

temperament or social standing. The name “Wowski,” rather than lending itself to a nuanced analysis, is probably best understood in its meaning as an expression of pleasure or surprise, such as Trudge’s reaction when seeing her. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*,³⁷ however, provides other possibilities for additional layers of meaning, as the word “wow” can refer to “a bark or similar sound” or “to howl, to waul,” perhaps a pejorative reference to her manner of speech. A “wowsler” refers to a Puritanical enthusiast or fanatic; this reference, if indeed it resonated with audiences in this particular way, would emphasize the ironic portrayal of her decidedly non-Puritanical character. “Patty” is a common name with Irish connotations, but could also emphasize that she has a “pat” response to any situation, or perhaps refer to her talkative “patter.”

Sir Christopher’s last name, “Curry,” refers to a hot, spicy seasoning, which resonates with the hot island climate and Sir Christopher’s passionate and heated temperament. Colman exploits this characteristic to explain Sir Christopher’s haste in seeing Narcissa and (who he thinks is) Inkle married, as well as his completely irrational need to leave the wedding to take a walk due to over-excitement. The name of Narcissa’s successful suitor, “Campley,” has several lexical references. The root word “camp” can refer to a “martial contest, combat, fight, battle, or war,” a meaning that directly relates to his wooing and winning Narcissa’s hand in marriage.

London audiences, although probably not Americans, could well have known that Campley is the name of one of the main characters in Richard Steele’s *The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode*,³⁸ which had been revived in London just a few years before *Inkle and Yarico*. In Steele’s play, Campley was a lover willing to go to extremes to win the favor of his love interest; Colman’s Campley, on the other hand, seems to possess far less determination than Steele’s,

³⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “wow,” “wowsler,” “camp,” www.oed.com/ (accessed January 3, 2011).

³⁸ Steele, *The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode*.

needing Narcissa's encouragement and having to screw up his courage in order to face her father. The intertextual reference would not have been lost on English audiences.

The name "Narcissa" is perhaps the most straightforward in meaning, referring as it does to the mythological Narcissus, who was unknowingly obsessed with self-love. Staring into a pool of water, Narcissus is unaware that it is his own reflection that he sees in the pool (and loves). In Colman's drama, Narcissa's self-centeredness, hinted at in her dialogue, is made clear in her music. She knows with whom she is in love (or perhaps is self-interested in a better match) and is determined to marry him—i.e., she does not want to merely yield to parental design, which speaks to changes in this social practice. Arranged marriages, as obstacles to be overcome, were common in English comic operas, such as in Bickerstaff and Arne's *Love in a Village* of 1762. Increasingly, however, as the century progressed, arranged marriages were portrayed as old-fashioned and such arrangements were more often spoiled than successful in comic opera plots.

References to Roman Mythology

In addition to Narcissa's name, other mythological references abound in *Inkle and Yarico*, beginning with a string of names—including Achilles (hero in the Trojan War), Ceres (goddess of agriculture), Aeolus (god of the winds), and Orpheus (half-god blessed with the power of music)—that are presented in the song of the ship's mate and the sailor chorus in Act One. The names are used as puns, which required that the audience members recognize the references. Although it might seem incongruous for the sailors in the first act to sing a song with Classical names, those references were probably well understood by most people in the audience, as English citizens were generally quite familiar with the literary culture (such as Shakespeare) through oral tradition.

Other Classical references begin to appear in Act Two when Narcissa and Campley are first introduced to the audience. When Campley presents his proposed solution to her marriage dilemma, he states:

Follow my advice, Narcissa, by all means. Enlist with me under the best banners in the world. General Hymen for my money! little Cupid's his drummer . . .

His reference to Hymen is appropriate for their conversation about marriage, as Hymen was the Roman god of marriage whose presence on the wedding day insured a long and happy marriage for the couple; Cupid is the son of Venus and associated with romantic love, here pressed into service as Hymen's drummer.

Following their brief conversation, during which Narcissa challenges Campley to "face the enemy," Narcissa's solo "Mars would oft" is filled with references to Roman mythology, including the love between Mars and Venus, Mars's courage and determination, and the sacred island of Cyprus where Mars and Venus conducted their love affair. Such mythological references would suggest Campley's bravery and determination in "fighting" for Narcissa's hand in marriage.

Furthermore, the Mars-Venus pairing symbolically places Inkle in the role of Hephaestus, Venus's husband on whom she cheats with Mars. Because Hephaestus was the blacksmith of the gods, he was worshipped in the industrial centers of Greece, thus creating a link to Inkle's mercantile endeavors. But Hephaestus was lame, which was seen as grotesque by the Greeks; Inkle's callous attitude toward Yarico was seen as monstrous, also making him socially "deformed."³⁹ Hephaestus's marriage to Venus was one of parental arrangement, as is Inkle and

³⁹ For a fascinating discussion of contemporary English attitudes and beliefs about correcting deformities, including the relationship to allusions in *Inkle and Yarico*, see Daniel O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the Racialization of Class Relations," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002), 396–398.

Narcissa's. In addition, Hephaestus is cuckolded by Venus's affair with Mars, just as Inkle's status is diminished by Narcissa's alliance with Campley.

Another, more subtle, "Roman" reference in Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* is to the tale of Dido and Aeneas.⁴⁰ Not only would this have been a familiar story on its own merit (i.e., as written in Virgil's *Aeneid*), but also as part of the classical school curriculum through English composer Henry Purcell's staged drama, *Dido and Aeneas* (1688). Dido (Queen of Carthage) despairs when abandoned by Aeneas (Trojan hero and future founder of Rome), who chooses duty over love. In Purcell's version, Aeneas is tricked by a sorceress and her witches to abandon Dido; the sorceress and witches allude to Roman Catholicism and Dido symbolizes the British people in a metaphor about James II.

The Dido and Aeneas story is probably best understood as an allegorical tale more than an historical account, and presents a narrative parallel to Colman's version of the Inkle and Yarico tale in many ways. Both involve sea travel resulting in the protagonist being separated from fellow travelers and left in a hostile land. In both tales, the hero falls in love with a princess of the country and their love is consummated in a cave. A time of bliss is ultimately followed by desertion. In both stories, there are also political undertones that influence characters' assumptions and decisions. Colman's subtle reference to the story of Dido and Aeneas supports an allegorical understanding of *Inkle and Yarico*.

The Noble Savage and Racial Difference

Many of the opera's features speak to attitudes of racial difference in late-eighteenth-century England. The exotic "other" was simultaneously a source of fear and fascination, thus eliciting responses of both attraction and repulsion. Cultural historian Hayden White states:

⁴⁰ See Daniel O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the Racialization of Class Relations," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002), 395–398 for a more extensive discussion of the parallels.

Europeans tended to fetishize the native people with whom they came into contact by viewing them simultaneously as monstrous forms of humanity and as quintessential objects of desire.⁴¹

The fear of savage natives is quickly established in the opera through references to headhunters, cannibals, and their human prey. These savage “others” are primitives without morals, thus animalistic in their behaviors.

Inkle, however, is attracted to Yarico’s wild beauty as soon as he sees her, which would have been perceived by audiences as appropriate. Yarico herself shows by her behavior that she is untainted and closer to nature than civilized people, yet she is also endowed with certain behaviors, the benefits of her earlier exposure to Europeans—she represents the “fascination” side of the exotic “other.” When Inkle first sees Yarico, he declares: “How wild and beautiful! sure there is magic in her shape, and she has riveted me to the place.” Inkle’s use of “wild” resonates with the concept of the “noble savage,” a phrase that came into wide currency in the eighteenth century.⁴²

Yarico’s attraction to Inkle is also intense and immediate. In her case, however, it is his fair skin and hair that draw her to him and cause such wonder. The implication is that his “fairness” conveys his great desirability—it is only natural that she be drawn to those qualities in him. Not only the dialogue, but also Colman’s stage instructions are designed to emphasize the mutual attraction between Inkle and Yarico. When Yarico sees Inkle, she exclaims, “What harmony in his voice! What a shape! How fair his skin too—[*Gazing.*]” The specification of “gazing” follows her comment on the color of his skin, further emphasizing her attraction to his lighter color. In Act Three, when Sir Christopher first sees Yarico, his reaction is similar, as he

⁴¹ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 188–94.

⁴² The phrase was first used by poet John Dryden in his play *The Conquest of Granada* (1672), although its first use is often attributed to Rousseau.

exclaims, “Ods my life, as comely a wench as ever I saw!” Because the stage instructions specify that Yarico gazes into Inkle’s face for a moment, Sir Christopher has time to gaze at Yarico, thus allowing him to respond to her desirability.

Ironically, just prior to meeting Yarico, Sir Christopher (“SCC” in the dialogue below) made clear his attitude toward slaves, in terms of their treatment, but also attributes of their relative value, in his conversation with Inkle:

Inkle. If I mistake not, I know your business here.

SCC. ’Egad, I believe half the island knows it, by this time.

Inkle. Then to the point—I have a female, whom I wish to part with.

SCC. Very likely; it’s a common case, now a-days, with many a man.

Inkle. If you could satisfy me you would use her mildly, and treat her with more kindness that is usual—for I can tell you she’s of no common stamp—perhaps we might agree.

SCC. Oho! a slave! Faith, now I think on’t, my daughter may want an attendant or two extraordinary; and as you say she’s a delicate girl, above the common run, and none of your thick-lipped, flat-nosed, squabby, dumpling dowdies, I don’t much care if—

Inkle. And for her treatment—

SCC. Look ye, young man; I love to be plain: I shall treat her a good deal better than you would, I fancy; for though I witness this custom every day, I can’t help thinking the only excuse for buying our fellow creatures is to rescue them from the hands of those who are unfeeling enough to bring them to market.

Inkle. Fair words, old gentleman; an Englishman won’t put up an affront.

SCC. An Englishman! more shame for you! Let Englishmen blush at such practices. Men, who so fully feel the blessings of liberty, are doubly cruel in depriving the helpless of their freedom.

Sir Christopher, as the normative character, presents a voice of authority, thus underscoring the message that patriotic Englishmen should not participate in the practice of slavery. And yet, just moments earlier, he agreed to consider buying Yarico for his daughter, especially since she was

reportedly “a delicate girl, above the common run, and none of your thick-lipped, flat-nosed, squabbly, dumpling dowdies . . .” Notably, it is Inkle’s request that she be treated kindly—not merely his offer to sell a human being—that elicits Sir Christopher’s vehement response. Sir Christopher’s comments, then, reveal the paradoxical tensions between racial prejudice and a sense of egalitarianism in English society.

Other stereotypical features are targeted for racial commentary in Colman’s drama, such as references to physical features (as noted in the above paragraph), lack of sexual restraint (Wowski’s many lovers), and skin color. For instance, Yarico is described as “a good comely copper . . . Like a Wedgwood teapot” (which implies desirability and value), whereas Wowski is “an angel of a darker sort.” In addition, Yarico and Wowski are without family and thus particularly vulnerable, as orphans always are, in Barbados or anywhere else. This lack of a protective “family” presence can be considered symbolic of a lack of military or governmental protection for natives subjected to slavery in the historical practice of colonialism.

Colman capitalizes on the dichotomy of black/white, dark/fair in the libretto and song lyrics, both in terms of racial difference and desirability. As Hamilton points out, over the course of the unfolding drama, the use of the word “fair” shifts from a reference to lightness in color to one of increased desirability (pleasing, beautiful, clean, pure, good), ultimately causing both meanings to merge: lighter in color is also more desirable.⁴³ Mixed use of the terms occurs in Trudge’s verse of the ensemble finale when he declares, “‘Sbobs! now, I’m fix’d for life, My fortune’s fair; tho’ blacks my wife.” Here, the use of “fair” refers to desirability or financial gain (rather than color), but is paired with “black,” a racial reference.

⁴³ Joan Hamilton, “*Inkle and Yarico* and the Discourse of Slavery,” *Restoration & 18th Century Theatre Research* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1994): 22–23.

Gender, Race, and Sexuality

Throughout the opera, Colman portrays Yarico as the epitome of contemporary *white* femininity: she speaks well, decorates her habitat with good taste, sacrifices all to care for her man, and so forth. Through their gazes of desire, however, Inkle and Sir Christopher establish her sexual desirability. In exchange for her love and care, Inkle promises to take her to England and tells her that “You shall be decked in silks . . . and have a house drawn with horses to carry you.” In effect, through this transaction, Yarico becomes Inkle’s mistress. Narcissa, on the other hand, is presented as the epitome of elegance and good upbringing: her sexuality is conveyed only through her conversation with Campley about marriage. As O’Quinn summarizes the situation: “Yarico is eroticized as a mistress whereas Narcissa is always already a wife.”⁴⁴

Like Yarico’s pledge to Inkle, Wowski promises to feed and care for Trudge. In response, Trudge replies:

Trudge. Zounds! Leopard’s skin for winter and feathers for a summer’s suit! Ha! ha! I shall look like a walking hammer-cloth at Christmas and an upright shuttlecock in the dog days. And for all this, if my master and I find our way to England, you shall be part of our travelling equipage, and, when I get there, I’ll give you a couple of snug rooms on a first floor and visit you every evening, as soon as I come from the counting house . . . Damme, what a flashy fellow I shall seem in the city! I’ll get you a *white* boy to bring up the tea-kettle. Then I’ll teach you to write and dress hair.

In several instances throughout the opera Colman creates for Trudge and Wowski a parodied parallel to interactions between Inkle and Yarico. Here, Trudge’s statement to Wowski is a parody of Inkle’s response to Yarico’s promises of care—Trudge explicitly describes how he will set up Wowski as his mistress should they make it to England together.

Despite sharing “mistress” status, Yarico and Wowski do not share the same degree of eroticization. Because Wowski is more highly sexualized (via the establishment of her previous many lovers) and more highly racialized (via her darker skin and poorer grasp of English and

⁴⁴ O’Quinn, “Mercantile Deformities,” 399.

manners), Yarico appears more chaste by contrast. These stark contrasts enhance our perception of class difference between Yarico and Wowski, and square with their respective alliances with Inkle and Trudge. Because Wowski is highly sexualized, but presumably less attractive in other respects, she is all the more desirable for Trudge—she is experienced sexually, but unlikely to appeal to other men (more specifically, other white men).

O’Quinn points to yet another analogy—one between *Inkle and Yarico* and William Davenant and John Dryden’s 1667 work, *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Isle* (based on Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*)—that reveals multiple correlations between the characters, couples, political identities, and marital alliances.⁴⁵ Dryden’s invention of Sycorax, a sister for Caliban, provides a counterpart for Wowski’s character in *Inkle and Yarico*. O’Quinn summarizes their similarities:

Sycorax is figured as both a racial and a sexual monstrosity and the specific signs used to signal both her racial difference and her sexual voraciousness make their way into Colman’s opera. Trinculo addresses Sycorax as “My dear Blobber-lips” and “my fair Fuss,” and in so doing emphasizes her pronounced lips in the first instance, and her fatness in the latter. . . . Similarly, Trudge repeatedly emphasizes Wowski’s lips and her plumpness as the signs of her racial alterity.⁴⁶

This analogy to Sycorax reinforces Trudge’s attraction to Wowski, but also, by contrast, strengthens the differences between the two native women.⁴⁷

As one of the most obvious theatrical markers, the artifice of stage make-up provided another means for conveying racial difference and was used to great advantage by Colman. In her conversation with Trudge, Patty learns that Inkle’s mistress is a “black-a-moor” and exclaims:

⁴⁵ O’Quinn, “Mercantile Deformities,” 402.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁴⁷ Susan B. Iwanisziw echoes this parallel in “The Shameful Allure of Sycorax and Wowski: Dramatic Precursors of Sarte, the Hottentot Venus,” *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 16, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 3–23.

Patty. Faugh, I wouldn't let [a black-a-moor] kiss me for all the world! He'd make my face all smutty.

Trudge. Zounds, you are mighty nice all of a sudden! But I'd have you know, Madame Patty, that black-a-moor ladies, as you call 'em, are some of the very few whose complexions never rub off! 'Sbud, if they did, Wows and I should have changed faces by this time.

By juxtaposing references to skin color and women's make-up, Colman makes fun of early European attitudes about non-white skin, particularly the assumption that the skin color will rub off.

Felsenstein notes that it was common in later performances of *Inkle and Yarico* for Trudge "to wipe the coloring off Wowski's face and rub it into his own," suggesting that the gesture implies that race is only skin deep:

When Fanny Kelly, a much loved early nineteenth-century *Yarico*, toured the provinces in the opera, the property master produced a length of hessian liberally spotty with black paint for her to wear as a "leopard skin." In the meantime, *Inkle* as her opposite had appeared in the opening scene "in elegant white drill" but—to the considerable amusement of the audience—was to emerge piebald out of the lovers' first passionate embrace. Similarly, a well-known habit of the comedian John Liston, who took the part of Trudge in the early 1820s, was to wipe the coloring off Wowski's face and rub it on to his own, a comic practice that was subsequently to become near routine in the vaudeville acts of black and white minstrel players.⁴⁸

In response to *Patty's* criticism of the "black-a-moor" mistresses, Trudge responds (but only after *Patty* exits):

Pshaw! these girls are to plaguy proud of their white and red! but I won't be shamed out of Wows, that's flat.— . . . After all the fine, flashy London girls, Wowski's the wench for my money.

Trudge's "white and red" comment no doubt refers to the make-up of London prostitutes.

Apparently, Trudge has spent money on prostitutes and puts Wowski in the same "wench" category.

⁴⁸ Jim Davis, *John Liston, Comedian* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1985), 55 in Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 20–21; see also Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) for discussion of other typical performance practices.

The Trope of the Hunt

Several scholars point to Colman's criticism of mercantilism at the expense of human freedom,⁴⁹ but Daniel O'Quinn perhaps makes the best case for the symbolic references in Colman's drama, presenting a complex allegory to explain the full significance of *Inkle and Yarico*.⁵⁰ He states:

Colman's adaptation of the tale involves one key elision and a series of important additions which not only alter the sexual economy of the play but also engage emergent problems in colonial governance. These alterations of the tale's sexual and political economy are folded into a complex allegory that reflects significant changes not only in the construction of race, class, and gender but also in the history of British colonial activity. . . . when Inkle repents and is granted forgiveness by Yarico, it is clear that Colman's "genius" spins the proto-abolitionist and anti-mercantile gestures in the opera toward an audience-pleasing exculpation of British colonial rule.⁵¹

It is, after all, the colonial governor, Sir Christopher, who affects the happy ending and Inkle's reform. In O'Quinn's understanding of the allegory, the trope of the hunt is important in framing Inkle's character, because his is a hunt for money. Colman (in the libretto) and Arnold (in the music) take the hunt trope further, however, as will be seen in the following chapters, employing it to convey multiple meanings.

Inkle, representing the merchant class, comes under the sharpest scrutiny through his callous treatment of Yarico, i.e., the inhumane barbarism of mercantile practices. In response to hearing that Inkle intends to sell her into slavery, Yarico invokes the pastoral past, to which Inkle responds:

Inkle. This is mere trifling! The trifling of an unenlightened Indian! Hear me, Yarico. My countrymen and yours differ as much in minds as in complexions. We were not born to live in woods and caves. 'Tis misery to us to be reduced to seek subsistence by pursuing

⁴⁹ See especially Marsden, "Performing the West Indies," and Keith A. Sandiford, "Inkle and Yarico: The Construction of Alterity from History to Literature," *New West Indian Guide* 64, no. 3/4 (1990): 115–125.

⁵⁰ Due to the lengthy and complex nature of O'Quinn's elegant and in-depth analysis, only the basic aspects can be presented here.

⁵¹ O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities," 391–392.

beasts. We Christians, girl, hunt money, a thing unknown to you. Here 'tis money which brings us ease, plenty, command, power, and everything; and, of course, happiness. You are a bar to my attaining this.

Pointing to narrative parallels between Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the story of Dido and Aeneas, O'Quinn posits that Colman presents "a critique of duty that has important economic implications."⁵² Inkle, in presenting his business education as the basis for his callousness essentially transfers the blame to his father, thus putting mercantile practices into historical perspective.

Sir Christopher represents the intervention of the State; as a colonial administrator, he has some distance from the merchant class. According to O'Quinn's understanding of the allegory, Sir Christopher's "government" is the realm of the marriage market, in which it is Narcissa's body that must be governed. Despite his desire to make an association with the merchant, Inkle, he instead chooses Campley, thus confusing soldier for merchant. O'Quinn notes:

[This confusion] reflects a complex transition in colonial policy as Britain replaces earlier forms of mercantile imperialism with a more militarily active acquisition of territory. All across the empire the government of colonial space is shifting from the hands of commercial bodies to the more direct rule of the State and its military apparatus.⁵³

In Colman's drama, therefore, Narcissa's body represents colonial policy and Campley the militarization of that policy.

The outcome of Sir Christopher's error is revealed in the final act when he discovers Inkle's, and then Campley's, true identity, resulting in the following exchange:

Campley. I am a soldier, Sir Christopher; "love and war" is a soldier's motto. Though my income is trifling to your intended son-in-law's, still, the chance of war has enabled me to support the object of my love above indigence . . .

SCC. . . . Give me your hand, my young Mars, and bless you both together! Thank you, thank you for cheating an old fellow into giving his daughter to a lad of spirit when he was

⁵² O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities," 395.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 392.

going to throw her away upon one in whose breast the mean passion of avarice smothers the smallest spark of affection or humanity.

Thus, allegorically the State condemns the callous practices of mercantilism and approves of the development of a new British empire that brings in a stronger military presence. This military trope also has resonance throughout the opera.

Narcissa, in my opinion, represents not just colonialism, but also England herself. The country's self-centered "obsession" has been an imperial one—to colonize and appropriate for material gain. And yet, England values the pastoral nature of her country and freedom of her status; Narcissa presents one aspect of the nation's pastoral trope. As a British citizen in Barbados, Narcissa symbolizes colonialism, but enjoys protection by virtue of her status and her father.

Yarico, however, represents the transplanted slave: natural, wild, perhaps even noble in her own pastoral environment, but vulnerable and unprotected in Barbados. Because she possesses features of a "desirable other," such as beauty and lighter skin, she is deemed worthy of humane consideration; even as a "desirable other," however, she requires the intervention of the State in order to receive such consideration and treatment. In her ability to forgive Inkle, she symbolically pardons England for its mercantile practices because England, by virtue of Inkle's reform, has shown the ability to change—a change brought about by the government.

Imperial and Mercantile Metaphors

Ultimately, considering the many allusions in Colman's drama, *Inkle and Yarico* is probably best understood as an allegorical tale that reflects a specific historical moment in imperial and mercantile practices. Rather than making a bold statement against slave trade, Colman juxtaposes a well-established mercantile economy against contemporary constructions

of race that were inherent in Enlightenment thinking. In doing so, he points to the obsolescence of slave trade and its attendant moral stain.

Inkle's mercantile ideology presents a metaphor for the capitalist economies of imperialism. When scolded by his uncle Medium for his recklessness in endangering the lives of his companions, Inkle replies:

Do you think I travel merely for motion? Travelling, uncle, was always intended for improvement, and improvement is an advantage, and advantage is profit, and profit is gain. Which in the travelling translation of a trader, means, that you should gain every advantage of improving your profit.

Thus, it is implied, the whole purpose of colonialism has everything to do with capitalist gain (profit). Inkle's own mercantile priorities and his callous attitude toward Yarico can be seen to symbolically represent the threat inherent in a society that values financial interests above human ones, thus reflecting a major Enlightenment concern.

Likewise, Inkle's "reform" at the end of the opera conveys a moral message—that decisions ought to be based on humane rather than economic considerations alone. Inkle's actions towards Yarico in America and in Barbados reveal his private ideology (blamed on his mercantile upbringing): he considers Yarico (and Narcissa for that matter) as a commodity. In other words, he has been enculturated to value money over human relations. Sandiford concludes:

In reinventing Inkle for his dramatized history, Colman posits that Inkle's pursuit of personal history in the New World was but an extension of notions, formed during his London youth, about the invention of Self at the expense of Other. Then, he viewed women largely as predatory animals who devoured men's fortunes, or, in those rare cases where they possessed wealth, as prey a man might snare to enhance his personal history.⁵⁴

By the end of the opera, by means of a series of events, Inkle is forced to rethink his attitude and subsequently undergoes a transformation, providing another metaphor—this time for desirable

⁵⁴ Sandiford, "Construction of Alterity," 116.

changes in *public* ideology. While the first act made clear Inkle's collusion with the project of gathering natives to sell as "property," at the end of the opera he is forced to grapple with that issue on a more personal level. Inkle's dilemma presents in microcosm the socio-political reality of both England and the United States in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries: if natives are property, they are not "people"; if they are people, capable of exercising free will, it is much more difficult to view them as "property."

A major player in Inkle's transformation, Sir Christopher Curry presents the normative voice of authority in his pronouncements about slavery, but also functions as a catalytic agent, forcing Inkle to renounce his father's business-oriented precepts and to abandon his pursuit of profit. Ironically, as shown in his dialogue with Inkle above, Sir Christopher himself is not above actively participating in slave trade if it involves a "desirable" acquisition that he can justify for his own purposes. This would indicate that, although England was moving toward abolishing slavery, the country was not yet ready to relinquish racist attitudes.

CHAPTER 4

INTRODUCTION TO THE MUSIC IN *INKLE AND YARICO*

Samuel Arnold knew the craft of theatre music well, having composed the music for several very successful comic operas. Rather than merely providing amusing interludes in *Inkle and Yarico*, Arnold's music participates in the dramatic exposition of the story and advances the plot by providing key information about the characters and their situations—in many instances, this information extends beyond that conveyed by the words alone, in effect creating its own additional text. The music also provides commentary on prevailing social attitudes and relieves the growing tension among the characters (and thus for the audience) through its comic effects. In addition, Arnold's music contributes to our understanding of the complex allegorical allusions in Colman's libretto and audience understanding of the moral message of the opera.

While *Inkle and Yarico* has attracted interest from scholars in many disciplines, the music has not heretofore been examined. These scholars, therefore, have made observations and drawn conclusions without the benefit of vital information about the contributions of the opera's music, resulting in incomplete or less-than-fully informed analyses. The next several chapters aim to fill that information gap by analyzing the extant 1787 piano-vocal score (as there are no extant orchestral scores), later music written for Covent Garden performances, and music added in American performances in order to determine the nature of music in serving various functions and conveying cultural associations. Before delving into in-depth analysis, the discussion that follows contextualizes the music of *Inkle and Yarico* within the English comic opera traditions of the late eighteenth century.

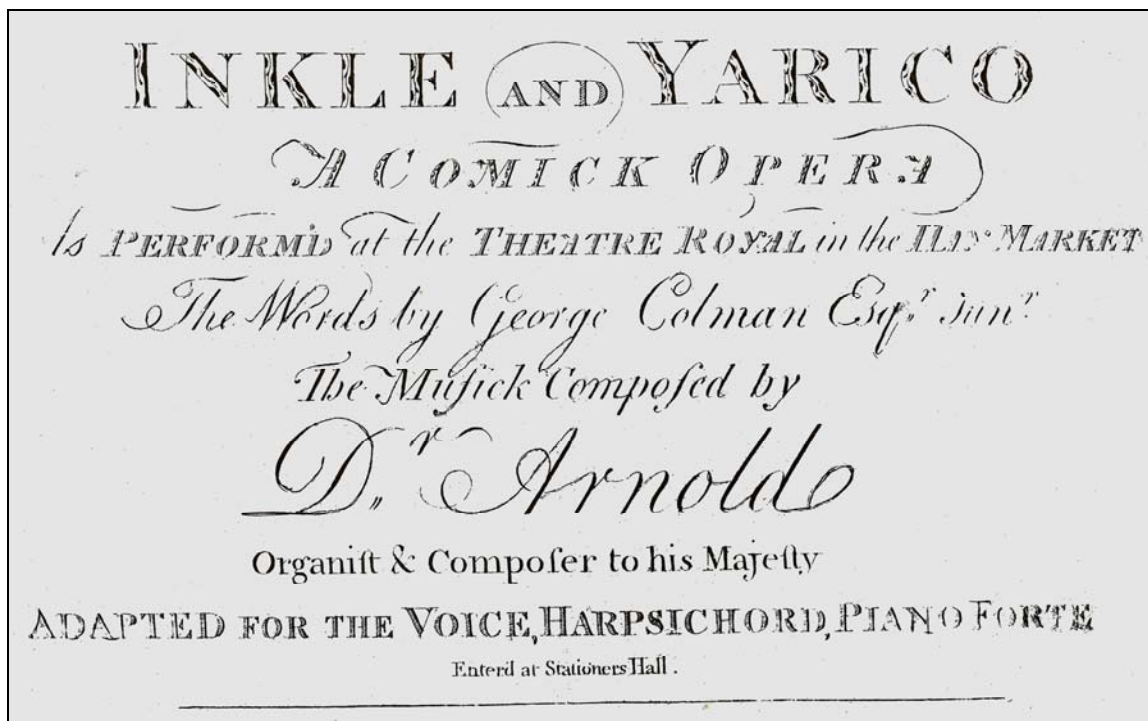


Figure 4.1: Cover page of 1787 *Inkle and Yarico* piano-vocal score.¹

Music Conventions in Comic Opera

Samuel Arnold and George Colman the Younger were both well versed in the standard conventions for musical numbers in English comic opera, including early ballad opera. Arnold, after all, had composed music for *Polly*, John Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*. Early ballad opera focused almost exclusively on simple popular airs, with some light original music occasionally added, as well as borrowed operatic music for satirical effect. By mid-century, however, the simple ballad airs were largely abandoned for more elaborate music, much of which was newly composed for the drama, resulting in the sentimental variety of English comic opera. Ballad tunes sounded old-fashioned to audiences, who preferred the newer galant style,

¹ Samuel Arnold, *Inkle and Yarico, a Comick Opera As Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in the Hay Market, The Words by George Colman Esq. Jun., The Musick Composed by Dr. Arnold, Organist & Composer to his Majesty. Adapted for the Voice, Harpsichord, Pianoforte, Entered at Stationers Hall* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1788; reprinted New York: Belwin Mills, 1978). All subsequent *Inkle and Yarico* score examples, unless otherwise designated, are derived from this score and the page numbers indicated parenthetically.

and so were employed to portray servants and old-fashioned or rustic characters, such as in Thomas Arne's *Love in a Village* (1762). In addition to newly composed music, complex borrowed music was still included in comic opera, such as pieces by Handel, Galuppi, and other "serious" composers of the day.

Borrowed Songs in New Clothing

Ballads were used sparingly, when at all, in sentimental comic operas until Thomas Linley's *The Duenna* (1775). Linley demonstrated that these familiar and well-liked tunes could be arranged in the galant style, which led to their being used again in the last version of the comic opera, the pastiche, which continued to be written and performed for the rest of the century.² The greater diversity and flexibility afforded in crafting music for the pastiche—i.e., using ballads, borrowed concert and opera music, and newly composed pieces—provided an advantage for both the dramatist and the composer who could capitalize on the familiarity of the ballad tunes while also updating them for current tastes. Further, as in the earlier ballad operas, using borrowed tunes with new lyrics had the added advantage of creating additional layers of meaning for the audience. As noted by theatre scholar Allardyce Nicoll:

Part of the worth [of a borrowed tune] . . . comes from the subtle juxtaposition in the mind of the auditor of the *original* tune and words and of the new words written to the same music.³

Such mental juxtaposition might result in reinforcement of the original song's meaning, pleasure, surprise, humor, satire, or any number of responses, depending on how the tune and lyrics were crafted in the new work.

By the time of *Inkle and Yarico*, the selection of borrowed tunes was increasingly based on how well the tunes suited the poetry rather than the ways in which they alluded to the original

² Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 274.

³ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900, Vol. III: Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927; reprinted 1961), 192.

texts (as noted in Chapter 2). Colman and Arnold, however, used the referential meaning of the borrowed songs to their advantage, which is discussed in more detail later in Chapter 5. Like most writers of pastiche comic operas of the late eighteenth century, Colman designated borrowed tunes for about one-third of the music in *Inkle and Yarico*.⁴ The music included in the 1787 version of *Inkle and Yarico* is shown on the following page in Table 4.1, including the source tunes, key signatures, and performers of each piece.

⁴ Robert H. B. Hoskins, “Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740–1802): An Historical Assessment” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1982), 21. Hoskins notes that comic operas of the late eighteenth century, such as those by William Shield, employed a balance of about two-thirds new music to one-third borrowed.

MUSIC	SOURCE TUNE	KEY	PERFORMED BY
(Overture) [standard three mvts: fast- slow-fast]	“La Belle Catherine” (III)	D major/minor G major DM-Dm-FM- Dm-DM	Scored for keyboard, octave flutes, unison bassoons, oboe; flutes and violins in some songs
ACT ONE			
“Straight thro’ the woodlands lies our way”		N/A	Inkle, Medium, Trudge
“The Achilles tho’ christen’d good ship”		G major	Ship’s mate
“A voyage over seas”	“Last Valentine’s Day”	B-flat major	Trudge
“When the chace of day is done”		A major	Yarico
“Oh say, simple maid”	“O say, bonny Lass”	G major	Duet: Inkle and Yarico
“White man never go away”	“One day, I heard Mary say”	F major	Wowski
“Wampum swampum”	“Indian Dance” (AKA “Savage Dance”)	CM-Am-CM	Duet: Wowski and Trudge
ACT TWO			
“Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing”		B-flat major	Narcissa
“This maxim let everyone hear”		C major	Patty
“Mars would oft”	“Since ‘tis vain to think of flying”	BbM-Gm-BbM	Narcissa
“Why should I vain fears discover”		CM-Am-Cm- CM	Campley
“Remember when we walked alone”		G major	Wowski
“Christians are so good, they say”	“American tune”	N/A	Trudge
“Our grotto was the sweetest place”		F major	Yarico
“O give me your plain dealing fellows”		N/A	Sir Christopher Curry
“Your Colinettes and Ariettes”		G major	Narcissa, Patty, Campley, Sir Christopher?
ACT THREE			
“Tho’ lovers like marksmen”		B-flat major	Patty
“A clerk I was in London gay”		A major	Trudge
“Come let us dance and sing”	“La Belle Catherine”	C major	FINALE: Campley, Narcissa, Trudge, Yarico, Patty

Table 4.1: List of music in the 1787 *Inkle and Yarico* libretto (songs in bold red were not published in the 1787 vocal score).

Number and Types of Songs

Another aspect of comic opera that changed over time was the number of songs employed. Thomas Arne's *Love in a Village* (1762) contained 42 songs, William Shield's *The Duenna* (1775) included 33 songs, and 17 songs appear in Shield's two-act afterpiece *Rosina* (1781). In contrast, Colman provided only 16 songs for Arnold to set to music in his three-act *Inkle and Yarico*. (There were two others songs that appeared in the printed libretto, but not the published score, and a third that appeared only in the Larpent manuscript; these songs are shown in bold red in Table 4.1 above).⁵

Further, the third and final act of *Inkle and Yarico* contains far fewer musical numbers than the first two acts—only three songs in the 1787 version of the libretto and score. English historian Linda Troost posits that Colman's decreased use of music is related to its dramatic function, concluding that *Inkle and Yarico* foreshadows melodrama:

Colman, therefore, relies more heavily upon dialogue than on song to accent important scenes or aspects of character. Like the writers of nineteenth-century melodrama, he employs music to set a scene or mood rather than to convey information about the plot and the characters. Consequently, in the most important parts of the work, the songs disappear or become sparse. The first scene of the comic opera contains no songs at all; the entire third act contains only three. In short, with *Inkle and Yarico* begins the schism between the comic opera and the melodrama.⁶

Unfortunately, Troost fails to take into consideration the circumstances under which the third act was revised. The lack of music in this act is notable for several reasons. According to Roger Fiske, Jack Bannister, the actor who first created Inkle at Haymarket Theatre, “disliked

⁵ George Colman the Younger, manuscript of *Inkle and Yarico*, in John Larpent, Dougald MacMillan, comp., *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library*, no. LA 782 (San Marino, CA, 1939); as noted by Frank Felsenstein, *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 169.

⁶ Linda Veronika Troost, “Social Reform and Comic Opera” in “The Rise of English Comic Opera: 1762-1800 (Sheridan, Richard; Shield, William; Brooke, Frances; Linley, Thomas, Jr.; Colman, George, Jr.),” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985); available via <http://www.uwec.edu/mwood/colman/troost.html> (accessed Oct. 6, 2008).

the part so much that he asked Colman to make Inkle reform at the end.”⁷ The subsequent revision likely contributed to the act’s long stretch of dialogue without music, since the decision to change the ending was made less than a month before the opera premiered, which perhaps did not allow sufficient time for Colman to configure another song (or for Arnold to compose the music) before opening night.⁸

It is also possible that the Colman and Arnold felt that musical numbers would interrupt the growing tension and overall impact of the multiple cases of mistaken identity that occur prior to Inkle’s reform. This is supported by Colman’s contemporary, General John Burgoyne, who declared in 1780 in the preface of his libretto for *Lord of the Manor*:

In a representation which is to hold “a mirror up to nature,” and which ought to draw its chief applause from reason, vocal music should be confined to express the feelings and the passions, but never to express the exercising of them. Song, in any action in which reason tells us it would be unnatural to sing, must be preposterous . . . it must not only be restrained from having part in the exercise or action of the passions; care must be taken, that it does not interrupt or delay events for which the mind is become eager. It should always be the accessory, and not the principal subject of the drama.⁹

Further, Inkle’s lack of singing at the end of the opera may have served to indicate his lack of moral character. Whatever the reason for the sparse music in Act Three, the result is a long stretch of dialogue that carries the audience on a wave of anticipation that continues to the end of the opera.

One typical musical practice that generally did not change in the shift from sentimental comic opera to the pastiche variety was the differentiation of characters through the assigned type of song. As noted earlier, ballad tunes, which had been the basis for the genre, eventually

⁷ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 477.

⁸ Jeremy F. Bagster-Collins, *George Colman the Younger, 1762–1836* (Morningside Heights, New York: King’s Crown Press, 1946), 23.

⁹ John Burgoyne, Preface to *The Lord of the Manor* (London: Henry Taylor, 1791), as quoted in Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 263.

sounded old-fashioned to audiences, and so were typically employed to portray servants and old-fashioned or rustic characters in sentimental comic operas. Aristocratic or upper-class characters, in contrast, were generally given songs of a more complex nature, such as songs with a more complicated formal design (as opposed to simple strophic or verse-chorus form), complex rhythms, wider ranges, vocal ornamentation, coloratura passages, and harmonic modulations. Arnold often manipulates these musical features and song types to his interpretive advantage, as is discussed in the chapters that follow, in order to play upon audience expectations.

Cultural References and Dominant Tropes in the Songs

The trope of the hunt pervades the opera as a metaphor for the hunt for love and for the hunt for money, as well as speaking to the overarching themes of mercantilism and colonialism, as was discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, however, other tropes are featured—the noble savage, the pastoral, and the military; the former two play a significant role in the music and the latter a lesser role, but all are significant to the audience’s understanding of the multiple allusions woven into the opera and, therefore, to understanding the moral message(s) that the opera conveys. To underscore such references in the libretto’s text and song lyrics (and to create comic effect, which is discussed below), Arnold employs culturally familiar musical language throughout the opera.¹⁰

The use of familiar musical references, according to Robert Hoskins, was an essential component of music designed to appeal to eighteenth-century playhouse audiences “for whom

¹⁰ The semiotic concept of “topic theory” extensively describes the cultural associations in music of the eighteenth century. Rather than being understood as a specific musical meaning, such as the lexical meaning of a word, a musical topic (or combination of topics) is a *signifier* that has an associative correlation, the *signified*, which is commonplace—that is, immediately recognized and commonly understood by culture members. Semiotician Raymond Monelle expresses its value in music analysis, particularly focusing on three key topics of the eighteenth century: hunt, military, and pastoral, all of which figure highly in Colman and Arnold’s *Inkle and Yarico*. See Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006) for an extensive discussion of these music topics and their various tropes.

attractive melodies and blunt contrasts between personages were more appreciable than any emotional or dramatic subtlety would have been.”¹¹ On the other hand, these audiences were long accustomed to and expected layers of humor and satire, including those aimed at social class and political issues. To discount their ability to discern anything beyond “blunt contrasts” is to underestimate their social awareness and ability to immediately recognize musical cues without conscious effort.

Rather than employing commonly understood cultural cues in music merely to create straightforward or simple characterization, Samuel Arnold juxtaposes such cues with other meanings, including those in the lyrics of the songs. By employing readily understood musical cues with textual information, such as song lyrics and details conveyed in the dialogue, Arnold often achieves complex, sometimes ambiguous, impressions that leave room for interpretation of meaning. For instance, we would expect the native women living in the wilderness to be linked to pastoral references and the aristocratic Narcissa to be provided with more sophisticated, florid music, but Arnold juxtaposes unexpected musical elements with expected musical ones, thereby making characterizations more complex, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapters.

Before the Curtain Rises

Arnold composed a traditional, fast-slow-fast, three-movement overture to precede the drama. Whereas contemporaneous continental *opera buffa* composers, such as Mozart, created medley overtures with the musical themes of their operas, English comic opera composers did not always follow this practice. Arnold’s overture to *Inkle and Yarico* is not of the medley type, with one notable exception—the tune for the ensemble finale, which occurs at the end of the

¹¹ Hoskins, “Dr. Samuel Arnold,” 297.

third movement.¹² As was customary in English comic opera, he cleverly designed the overture to foreshadow the various moods that would unfold in the telling of the story.

Appropriate for a nautical mood, the first movement, an Allegro in duple meter and D major (the most typical key for comic opera overtures, including those by Arnold), presents a theme that is reminiscent of a sea shanty in its jaunty rhythmic pattern (see Figure 4.2 below), particularly at cadential points.¹³ The movement rather resembles a monothematic sonata allegro form in its exposition of the primary theme, use of transitional material into a development section in the parallel minor, and recapitulation of the exposition in the tonic key.



Figure 4.2: Beginning of Allegro movement of Overture (1).

The second movement, in ternary form, shifts to triple meter and the sub-dominant key of G major. The Andante tempo and use of dotted rhythms give the feel of a minuet, but long, meandering passages of sixteenth notes create a sense of constant momentum (see Figure 4.3

¹² Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 475: Samuel Arnold also used a Finale theme in the overture to *Turk and No Turk* (1785).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 478: “A number of phrases end with a cadential formula which, because it occurs in our most famous hornpipe, suggests sailors, though it may not have done so for Arnold.”

below). The main tune is played by “Octave Flute and Bassoon Unis.,” a voicing that places their pitches two octaves apart.¹⁴

Figure 4.3: Excerpt of second movement of Overture (5).

The third movement, marked “Sprightly,” presents several contrasting sections that alternate major and minor tonality.¹⁵ These contrasting sections effectively mirror the storyline—from upbeat and jaunty, to tense and potentially sorrowful, to the “happy” resolution. Set in duple meter and returning to D major, the music carries forward the overall mood of the first two movements through its dancelike quality; also notable is the inclusion of the hornpipe tag that pervaded the first movement.¹⁶ The tune for this movement is that of a popular dance, “La Belle Catherine” (see Figure 4.4 below); the melody is also used for the ensemble finale. A French fife tune, “La Belle Catherine” is reported to have been played during the French and Indian War’s

¹⁴ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478: Reminiscent of Mozart’s voicing and orchestration in *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786). Roger Fiske ponders whether “Arnold thought of this Mozartean device for himself or found it in music by some other composer.”

¹⁵ The movement also alternates featured solo woodwind instruments following the keyboard introduction, including a fairly difficult bassoon solo in one of the episodes.

¹⁶ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478.

Battle on the Plains of Abraham and became a very popular fife and fiddle tune in England by about 1780.¹⁷

H. Skipswith's March 1805.
The Favorite Dance.
 of
LA BELLE CATHERINE,
 ADAPTED WITH VARIATIONS.
 (In which is Introduced the Favorite Air of the Yellow Hair'd Laddie)
 for the
HARPSICHORD or PIANO FORTE,
 by
Domenico Corri [1805?]
 Price 1^s
 London Printed by Muzio Clementi & Co. 26 Cheapside.

Lively

M 27
 C
 case

Figure 4.4: Keyboard score for “La Belle Catherine.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Susan Lawlor, liner notes to *Jefferson and Liberty*, compact disc recorded by The Itinerant Band, available at <http://www.itinerantband.com/jlnotes.html> (accessed Jan. 3, 2011).

¹⁸ Domenico Corri, *The Favorite Dance of La Belle Catherine* (London: Muzio Clementi, 1805?).

Role of Music in Achieving Comic Effects

Comedy in music is generally harder to analyze than tragedy in music, largely because one must be “in the know” to discern the subtleties and references that have potential to elicit a humorous response. There are exceptions, of course, such as excessive repetition, extremes in word painting, and incongruity of music with textual meaning, such as a serious song combined with satirical lyrics. In performance, however, comedy can come through very clearly in the ways in which verses are delivered, such as through the “punch-line” set-up in the song discussed below. Further, music features, particularly when aligned with textual meaning, can provide opportunities for physical humor through sight gags.

The first song of the opera provides an apt example for some of the contributions of music to the comic impact of the opera. Performed by the most minor characters in the opera, the ship’s crew, the song tells us that Inkle’s ship is on a mercantile mission. Concerned about the three men who set ashore on foot, the ship’s mate calls for the crew to sing in hopes that the sound “will bring ’em to.” Their song, “The Achilles, tho’ christen’d good ship,” features a catchy tune sung by the ship’s mate, to which the crew responds in the choruses.

Set in G major and common time, the song’s introduction establishes an upbeat mood and leads into the first verse. From the outset, the steady quarter-note beat is emphasized with jaunty energy provided by a recurring dotted-eighth–sixteenth-note pattern and staccato articulation (see Figure 4.5 below). Befitting a working-class “quibbling” (complaining about work) song,¹⁹ a limited range is employed (one step beyond a single octave), presented in a notably disjunct melodic line. The text, in its inclusion of a series of Classical references, seems incongruous for a group of working-class sailors (see discussion of such references in Chapter 3). In addition to

¹⁹ John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*, Vol. I (London: 1839), 165, as noted in Frank Felsenstein, *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, 179 [n15]).

the entertainment provided by the singing, the song provides opportunities for dancing, humorous gestures, and various sight gags, which were no doubt exploited to the fullest.

Moderato
Staccato.

The A-CHIL-LES tho' christen'd good Ship'tis furnisd from that old Man of War great ACHILLES fo'priz'd was

he like our Vef-fel pray fair-ly baptiz'd tol de rol de rol de rol de rol dol dol.

Cho.^s

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 4.5: Score of “The Achilles, tho’ christen’d good ship” (10).

The lighthearted nature of the ship’s crew is revealed in the musical setting of the song’s lyrics. Each verse of the song consists of three rhyming lines that together constitute a clever word-play: the first two lines make a statement in response to which the third provides a “punch line.” To enhance the impact of the humor, the second melodic phrase of each verse creates a playful sense of suspense, as a gradually ascending pattern of leaps culminates in a fermata (see end of second system in Figure 4.5 above). When the third phrase answers, resolving the suspense by tumbling into the “punch line” of each verse, it ends on the dominant (see lyrics below; fermata occurs at the end of the second line of each verse). The text of the chorus, “Tol de rol de rol de rol de rol dol dol,” unfolds in the dotted-eighth–sixteenth-note pattern moving

stepwise in an arch until arriving in a complete cadence of solid quarter notes on the final “rol dol rol,” a rhythmically transposed version of the hornpipe gesture used in the overture. A two-bar instrumental tag echoes the rhythmic pattern and cadence of the chorus.²⁰

The Achilles tho’ christen’d good Ship ‘tis surmis’d,
From that old Man of War great Achilles so priz’d,
Was he like our vessel, pray fairly baptiz’d?

Chorus:

Tol de rol de rol de rol de rol dol rol

Poets sung that Achilles—if, now, they’ve an itch
To sing this, future ages may know which is which;
And that one rode in Greece, and the other in Pitch. – *Chorus*

What tho’ but a merchant ship, sure are our supplies,
Now your men of war’s gain in a lottery lyes,
And how blank they all look, when they can’t get a prize! – *Chorus*

What are all their fine names, when no rhino’s behind,
The Intrepid and Lion look sheepish you’ll find;
Whilst, alas! the poor Aelous can’t raise the wind! – *Chorus*

Then the Thunderer’s dumb, out of tune the Orpheus,
The Ceres has nothing at all to produce,
And the Eagle, I warrant you, looks like a goose. – *Chorus*

But we merchant lads, tho’ the foe we can’t maul,
Nor are paid like fine King ships to fight at a call,
Why we pay ourselves well, without fighting at all. – *Chorus*

As the sailors extol the virtues of working on a mercantile (rather than battle) ship, several aspects of the song’s text would have resonated with audiences. First, those familiar with the various versions of the Inkle and Yarico tale would have recognized that Colman retained an original detail, the name of the ship—the Achilles—which was reported first by Ligon and later

²⁰ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 273. Fiske notes that the word “Chorus,” whether in a vocal score or libretto, often meant all of the soloists singing together; extra singers were sometimes engaged for elaborate choruses, but this added to the cost of the production.

carried forward by Steele in his retelling of the story in *The Spectator*.²¹ The Achilles first sailed in Greece, thus making a connection that much of English society would have known through oral tradition and commonplace sayings. But here, Greece is also a word play on “grease,” which is paired with “pitch,” a reference to black rosin or tar, both of which could be making color or racial references. The “lottery” in the third verse refers to the state lotteries that started in the 1750s to fund national projects. A game of chance, the lottery created a mania in all social classes and notoriously resulted in bankruptcy and ruin for many participants.²² The fourth and fifth verses demonstrate Colman’s sense of humor, as he employs fictitious names for ships in order to create multiple plays on words, including musical references to Aeolus and Orpheus. His word play goes so far as to use “rhino,” a slang term for money, to perpetuate the multiple puns on animal names.

Summary

Samuel Arnold’s music for *Inkle and Yarico* generally conforms to the norms of the day in the use of song types, musical ornamentations, and overall levels of complexity, even though George Colman the Younger had provided him with a relatively small number of songs to set. Arnold, having mastered setting the borrowed tunes of folk-like ballads in the more popular galant style, often uses such musical treatment to his interpretive or comic advantage in the opera. Rather than creating a medley overture, Arnold limits his use of opera themes to the inclusion of one theme from the ensemble finale in the final movement of the opera’s overture.

²¹ Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister*, 165, as noted in Frank Felsenstein, *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 179 [n15].

²² M. (Mary) Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1930; reprinted New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 316, as noted in Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 179 [n16].

Colman, largely due to his own boisterous (if sometimes overactive) sense of humor, provided Arnold with plenty of opportunities to create comic effects in the songs of *Inkle and Yarico*. Rather than serving merely as entertaining interludes, however, the songs make many vital contributions to the understanding and meaning of the opera, as is discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5

BEYOND THE LIBRETTO: THE FUNCTION OF MUSIC, PART I

As with most European and American music of the late eighteenth century, traditional analysis of harmonic language, melodic gestures, formal structure, ornamentation, and text setting reveals useful information that aids our understanding of the opera's reception. Further, these musical details were part of a larger cultural understanding of musical meaning and, as such, were readily understood by audience members. While it is difficult, if not quite impossible, to separate analysis and discussion into distinct categories of musical functions, the next two chapters seek to address the primary themes in the music of the opera. By closely examining Arnold's musical treatment of Colman's lyrics, this analysis reveals the many, often complex, contributions of the songs and their music to the performance experience, such as through humorous moments, cultural references, dramatic effect, and characterization. More importantly, the analysis enhances our ability to understand how audiences would have perceived the complex layers of meaning woven into *Inkle and Yarico*.

Gender, Race, Class, and Sexuality

Briefly summarized from the discussion in Chapter 3, the highly racialized and lower-class Wowski is the most eroticized female character, the "higher-class" and somewhat racialized Yarico is somewhat eroticized, while the white, aristocratic Narcissa is the least eroticized. For the most part, these impressions are conveyed in the libretto and reinforced in the songs, but an analysis of the music provides a much more complete understanding of portrayals of gender, race, class, and sexuality than an analysis of the libretto alone. Arnold creates

ambiguity and incongruity through his choices of musical treatment. As a result, the opera's songs portray the men as weak and ineffectual and the women as strong and competent, thus reversing stereotypical expectations. The music, therefore, influences how we perceive various aspects of race, class, and gender in the opera. In addition to enhancing the comedy, these characterizations ultimately contribute to the complex allusions and moral messages of the opera. Music contributes to incongruous and ambiguous portrayals in large part through two primary tropes: the hunt and the pastoral.

The Hunt Trope

In addition to framing Inkle's character and his hunt for money, the trope of the hunt is employed throughout *Inkle and Yarico* to enhance characterization, provide commentary on social attitudes, and as an analogy for the hunt for love. Because several specific music features are commonly associated with the hunt, music provides an ideal vehicle to convey hunt themes, for comic as well as satiric effect. The first instance of the hunt trope appearing in music occurs in Trudge's solo in Act One.

Prior to the song, a conversation between Trudge and Medium conveys preliminary information about Inkle's age, occupation, and character. In their dialogue, Medium refers to Inkle as a "schemer! a fellow who risks his life, for a chance of advancing his interest . . . [in order to] promote his profit in England." Trudge expresses regret at leaving his comfortable, if not demanding, job on "Threadneedle-street,"¹ which reveals his lazy temperament. These details provide vital information to the audience: Inkle is a merchant whose money-making interests dominate his priorities. It is clear that, in addition to marrying Narcissa, Inkle is looking for other ways to make a profit: "I was thinking, too, if so many natives could be caught, how much they

¹ Frank Felsenstein, *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 175: "Threadneedle" refers to the heart of London's financial district.

might fetch at the west-indian markets.”² Thus, Inkle is hunting for money, both by marrying Narcissa and also by taking advantage of the opportunity to hunt for slaves while on this stopover in the American forest.

When their ship comes under attack and hastily departs, leaving Inkle and Trudge stranded, the banter between the men helps to lighten the mood, but inserting a song at this point in the opera also helps to dissipate the tension. Trudge is just the character to create a moment of levity through song, as well as provide additional commentary on his employment. Finding themselves to be “two fine, full-grown babes in the wood!” Inkle and Trudge search for shelter from both the natives and the element; complaining of hunger, Trudge breaks into song. From the very outset of the opera, the cowardice of Inkle’s faithful factotum has been clearly demonstrated and is humorously emphasized in Trudge’s first solo, “A voyage o’er seas.”³

Trudge’s preoccupation with hunger permeates the text of the song, the three verses of which consist of word plays on proverbial phrases that would have been very familiar to contemporaneous audiences. As he bemoans his hunger, Trudge’s words are salted with food terms, which increase the sense of his missing the same. Further, he describes himself as a “booby” (blockhead), a “poor starving elf,” and “a lost mutton,” all self-deprecating labels that emphasize his comic status; the latter phrase, another play on food terms, was also used in

² Nandini Bhattacharya, “Family Jewels: George Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico* and Connoisseurship,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 208. In her article, literary scholar Bhattacharya describes Inkle’s proclivity for collecting riches, including humans, as a type of connoisseurship. She analyzes the libretto from the perspective of the English fascination for collecting antiques and valuable items. These traits are traceable to George the Younger’s father and grandfather, as well as the Younger’s own earlier life experiences.

³ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478. Considering that Trudge has the longest and most likeable part in the opera, it is not surprising that he was the most popular character in *Inkle and Yarico*. As noted by Roger Fiske, Jack Bannister introduced the role of Inkle and Edwin the part of Trudge; shortly after the premiere, when Edwin suddenly died, Bannister “jumped at the chance of taking over Trudge.”

Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*,⁴ which many in the London audiences would have read or seen performed. The song underscores Trudge's status as an ineffectual, transplanted city-dweller who, despite starving, is unable to find his own food in the wilderness.

Colman's Trudge also builds on an earlier character, Truffaldino in Carlo Goldoni's *commedia dell'arte*-inspired *A Servant of Two Masters* (1743).⁵ Truffaldino is a crafty servant with an insatiable appetite that is ultimately sated only by finding love; perhaps Colman's allusion foreshadows Trudge finding his love, Wowski. Not only are the beginnings of their names similar in spelling, but both are also comic servant characters that are central to stories involving cases of mistaken identity. Further, both characters end up marrying the servants of the female protagonists. Both works also reflect the economic status of the servant class in eighteenth-century England, one that was uncomfortably close to the poverty level and in which hunger was an ever-present reality.

While Trudge's song text provides quite a bit of information about his character, if we do not pay attention to Arnold's specific musical features, we miss his additional clever commentary on Trudge and, by inference on both Englishmen. An analysis of the source tune and its lyrics provides additional rationale for the inclusion of Trudge's solo at this point in the drama, as well as insight into the audience's likely understanding of the song, both in England and America. Both the libretto and score indicate that "A voyage o'er seas" derives its tune from

⁴ *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1.1.93 as noted in Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 182 (n25).

⁵ Martin Banham, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 433.

“Last Valentine’s day”⁶ (also known as “Black Sloven”),⁷ a popular and well-known hunting song (also popular as a fiddle tune) whose lyrics are compared in Table 5.1 below with those of “A voyage o’er seas.”

“A voyage o’er seas”	“Last Valentine’s day”
<p>A voyage o’er seas had not enter’d my head Had I known but on which side to butter my bread</p> <p>Heigho! sure I for hunger shall die.</p> <p>I’ve fail’d like a booby⁸ come here in a squall Where alas there’s no bread to be butter’d at all</p> <p>O ho! I’m a terrible booby, O what a sad booby am I.</p>	<p>Last Valentine’s day, bright Phoebus⁹ shone clear, (I had not been hunting for more than a year).</p> <p>Taleo,¹⁰ Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>I mounted Black Sloven, o’er the road made him bound, For I heard the hounds challenge and horns sweetly sound,</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>
<p>In London, what gay chop house signs in the street, But the only sign here is of nothing to eat.</p> <p>Heigho! that I, for hunger shou’d die!</p> <p>My mutton’s all lost, I’m a poor starving elf; And for all the world like a lost mutton myself.</p> <p>O ho! I shall die a lost mutton! Oh what a lost mutton am I.</p>	<p>Hallow into covert, old Anthony cries, No sooner he spoke but the fox sir he spies;</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>This being the signal, he then crack’d his whip, Taleo was the word, and away we did leap.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>
<p>For a neat slice of beef I cou’d roar like a bull And my stomach’s so empty, my heart is quite full.</p> <p>Heigho! that I, for hunger shou’d die!</p> <p>But, here without meat, I must here meet my grave; For my bacon I fancy I never shall save.</p> <p>O ho! I shall ne’er save my bacon! I can’t save my bacon, not I!</p>	<p>Then up rides Dick Dawson, who care’d not a pin, He sprang at the drain, but his horse tumbled in.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>And as he crept out why he spied the old Ren, With his tongue hanging out, stealing home to his den.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>
	<p>Our hounds and our horses were always as good As ever broke covert, or dashed thro’ the wood.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>Old Reynard runs hard but must certainly die, Have at you old Tony, Dick Dawson did cry.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>

⁶ The reference to “Valentine’s day” also underscores the idea of hunting for love.

⁷ Jim Dixon, “Mudcat Café, Songbook Indexing: 19th Century Songbooks,” <http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=116727#2556759> (accessed July 2, 2010). “Black Sloven” appears to be an affectionate name for “Black Clover” and often appears in printed text in place of the latter.

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “booby” (accessed December 28, 2010): a dull, heavy, stupid fellow; a clown, a nincompoop.

⁹ Phoebus is also known in mythology as Apollo, god of light and sun.

¹⁰ More familiar to modern readers, this term is often stated as “Tally ho” in versions of the lyrics.

	<p>The hounds they had run twenty miles now or more, Old Anthony fretted, he curse'd too and swore.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>But Reynard, being spent, soon must give up the ghost, Which will heighten our joys when we come to each toast.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>
	<p>The day's sport being over, the horns we will sound, To the jolly fox-hunters let ecchoes resound.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p> <p>So fill up your glasses and chearfully drink, To the honest true sportsman who never will shrink.</p> <p>Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo, Taleo!</p>

Table 5.1. Comparison of texts: “A voyage o’er seas” and “Last Valentine’s Day.”

The text of the borrowed song, “Last Valentine’s day,”¹¹ describes a foxhunt undertaken with eager anticipation and completed with excitement, bravery, and ultimately, success. Despite adverse conditions and events, the hunters encourage each other, persevere until their task is accomplished, and celebrate their collaborative success as “honest true [sportsmen] who never will shrink.” This bold image stands in striking contrast to Trudge’s pathetic complaints and fatalistic outlook, which further emphasizes his cowardice.

The music of Trudge’s solo is simple and rhythmically straightforward in character, once again a suitable style for a servant character (see Figure 5.1 below).

¹¹ *The vocal enchantress presenting an elegant selection of the most favourite hunting, sea, love, & miscellaneous songs, sung by Edwin, Bannister, Webster, Mrs. Cargill, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Wrihten, &c., &c., &c., with the music prefixed to each* (London [1783], song XI, 22–23). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Group (accessed June 30, 2010). This is but one version of the song, which was widely published with a variable number of verses and slight changes in wordings and names. This particular version was selected for comparison purposes for three reasons: (1) the music most closely resembles that of Trudge’s solo, (2) it was published just a few years prior to *Inkle and Yarico*, and (3) it was sung by two of the actors in Colman’s opera, Mr. Edwin and Mr. Bannister.

Other popular versions paid tribute to military heroes, such as “Black Sloven” in *A Choice Collection of Favorite Hunting Songs*, 1770, which was also printed in *The Universal Magazine* xlviii (1771): 95. In this version, the text names Colonel Wyndham and Jim Norris as key characters. Colonel Wyndham was a British officer who fought in the American Revolutionary War. Interestingly, this version of the song (and some others in print) is set in 3/4 rather than 6/8 and features different melodic and harmonic gestures than the one used by Arnold.

The image shows a musical score for the piece "A voyage o'er seas" (measures 12-13). It is written in 6/8 time and features a Corni part and a vocal part for Trudge. The tempo is marked "Vivace." and the performance style is "tutti". The lyrics are: "A voyage o'er Seas had not enter'd my head had I known but on which side to butter my bread heigho sure I for hunger shall die Ive sail'd like - booby come here in a squall where a-las there's no bread to be butter'd at all O ho! in a terrible booby O ho O what a fad booby am I." The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *f*, and articulation like accents. There are also performance instructions like "Lukle & Varico" and "6" indicating repeat signs.

Figure 5.1: Score of “A voyage o’er seas” (12–13).

Arnold’s adaptation of “Last Valentine’s day” reveals that the composer stayed very close to the 1783 printed version (see Figure 5.2 below) in Trudge’s solo.

Laſt Valentine's day when bright Phœbus ſhone clear

(I had not been hunting for more than a year) Taleo

Taleo Taleo Taleo, I mounted Black Sloven, o'er

the road made him bound For I heard the hounds chal-

lenge and horns ſweetly found, Tale-o Tale-o Ta-

le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o.

The image shows a musical score for the song "Last Valentine's day". It consists of six staves of music in G-flat major (one flat) and 6/8 time. The lyrics are: "Laſt Valentine's day when bright Phœbus ſhone clear (I had not been hunting for more than a year) Taleo Taleo Taleo, I mounted Black Sloven, o'er the road made him bound For I heard the hounds chal- lenge and horns ſweetly found, Tale-o Tale-o Ta- le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o Ta-le-o." The music is written in a single treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 6/8 time signature. The lyrics are placed below the corresponding musical staves.

Figure 5.2: Published tune of “Last Valentine’s day.”¹²

Arnold is no doubt counting on audience members’ recognition of the hunt metaphor and the humor that it conveys. Here, rather than brave, competent hunters on a sporting mission, we have two urban men lost in the woods who have no idea how to hunt. “A voyage o’er seas,” set in B-flat major, features a rollicking 6/8 meter that befits the galloping horses of a foxhunt if not the laborious foot-search of Inkle and Trudge. The repetitive B flat, on the other hand, underscores that the two men are plodding along, getting nowhere. In addition to characterizing

¹² *The vocal enchantress presenting an elegant selection of the most favourite hunting, sea, love, & miscellaneous songs, sung by Edwin, Bannister, Webster, Mrs. Cargill, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Wrihten, &c., &c., &c., with the music prefixed to each* (London, [1783]), 22. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>, s.v. “Black Sloven” (accessed June 30, 2010).

Trudge and the hunt for food and shelter, the musical treatment of this hunting song also parodies the aristocrats who normally participate in such events.

Just in case the audience misses the “hunt” reference, Arnold designates corni in the score, and the four-measure introduction features typical gestures (“horn fifths”), elements that add to the hunt-scene character of the song and drive home the irony of the song’s use. Melodically, the song moves either triadically or step-wise, both idiomatic gestures for horns of the time. Following the four-bar corni introduction, which concludes with a half-cadence, Arnold adds a four-measure response for tutti, which concludes with repeated tonic chords.

Trudge sings the first four-measure phrase at *piano* dynamic level, which emphasizes his general cowardice and ineptitude. The “hunt” trope of the song is further enhanced by the addition of horns in thirds and fifths to Trudge’s melody. Trudge’s two-measure tag phrase, “Heigho! sure I for hunger shall die,” is sparsely accompanied and musically mirrors the first “Taleo!” response of “Black Sloven.” At this point, Arnold inserts a two-measure echo of Trudge’s last phrase for tutti instruments at *forte*, but when Trudge enters again, the level drops back to *piano*. Following his final phrase, “O ho! I’m a terrible booby, O what a sad booby am I,” Arnold adds a four-measure tutti ending, again at *forte* dynamic level. These dynamic contrasts underscore the bravery of the hunt (the *forte* horns) and Trudge’s cowardice and ineptitude (the *piano* voice). The overall message—through the choice of the borrowed song and Arnold’s specific musical features—comes through clearly: Trudge is *not* a hunter “who never will shrink.”

A song by Trudge’s comic counterpart, Patty (Narcissa’s maid), also employs the hunt trope. Like Trudge’s solo discussed above, Patty’s solo also portrays male characters (Inkle and Trudge) as ineffectual and incompetent, in this case at making good decisions in women. It is

also worth noting that, in contrast to Trudge's weak character, Patty is portrayed as a strong member of her class. Patty's solo will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, including its musical references to the hunt.

The Pastoral Trope

Like the hunt trope, Arnold employs musical devices suggesting pastoral features in order to convey or parody stereotypical expectations, such as for the "noble savage" women. The pastoral image, after all, is a propos for natives living in a pastoral setting, as well as for Inkle's idyllic existence there before they are all rescued and taken to Barbados. In Act Two, after their arrival in Barbados, each of the native women express, in turn, her happy memories of times shared with the men before their rescue, revealing in the process their subsequent anxiety and sense of vulnerability upon arriving in a new and unknown place. In America, the men needed the women's protection from the natives; now in Barbados, Inkle and Trudge are in more familiar territory and the women—strangers to the land, people, and customs—are the ones who need protection. Each woman's solo employs, among other things, musical references to the pastoral locale where they were so happy together in America.

In her solo, "Remember when we walked alone," Wowski's speech and music are uncharacteristically proper and genteel, providing an opportunity for humorous or highly sentimental effect through acting and delivery. As shown in the lyrics below, Wowski reminisces about the happy times shared with Trudge in her native land. She reminds Trudge of past promises and voices concern that Trudge may now forget her. When she was protecting him, he said he could not live without her, but Wowski now questions whether his feelings will be the same when he no longer needs her protection.

Remember when we walk'd alone
 And heard so gruff the lion growl,
 And when the moon so bright it shone,
 We saw the wolf look up and howl.
 I led you well safe to our cell
 While tremblingly you said to me
 And kiss'd so sweet, dear Wowski,
 Tell how cou'd you live without me,
 How cou'd you live without me.

But now you come across the sea
 And tell me here no monsters roar;
 You'll walk alone, forget poor me,
 When wolves to fright you howl no more;
 But ah! think well, on our poor cell
 Where tremblingly you kiss'd poor me;
 Perhaps you say, poor Wowski tell,
 How can I live without you.

In keeping with the more genteel and eloquent text, the music once again deviates from the simple strophic type that might be expected for a primitive native of low social status. Although this could provide opportunities for comic acting and delivery, it also seems to convey a level of sincerity that is lacking in Narcissa's songs. Set in G major and duple meter at an allegro moderato tempo, the keyboard introduction features a stream of parallel thirds and octaves, often with repeated eighth notes in the bass line, which provide a sense of steady momentum, perhaps emphasizing the pace of walking referred to in the text (see Figure 5.3 below). The end of the fourth measure presents the hornpipe gesture used in the overture, which also occurs at the end of the first vocal phrase.

All^o mod^o

WOWSKI.

Remember when we walk'd alone and heard so

Sy

gruff the lion growl. *f* and when the moon so bright it shone we saw the

wolf look up & howl. *f* we saw the wolf look up & howl. *f*

ff *f* *p*

hr *hr*

I led you well safe to our cell while tremblingly you said to me and kiss'd so sweet dear Wowski

Incl. l. c. V. a. l. c. o

6 5 7 8 6 5 7 8 6

Slower

faster

tell how could you live without me how could you live with-out me

Figure 5.3: Score of “Remember when we walked alone” (34–35).

The accompaniment ceases as the voice enters, mirroring the text’s reference to “we walk’d alone.” Following the phrase “and heard so gruff the lion growl,” tutti instruments enter in octaves in a gradually ascending series of descriptive gestures that end in the dominant. Accompanied briefly, the voice again sings a cappella on “we saw the wolf look up & howl,” rising gradually higher on each beat to the climactic sustained high A on “howl” against a fortissimo bass line. It is entirely conceivable that an actress playing Wowski might have

capitalized on this opportunity for comic effect by exaggerating the “howling” pitch. Repeated G pedal tones in the bass line emphasize “tremblingly” in the text, as the vocal line rises to the dominant D, which is sustained by a fermata on “sweet.” Marked “slower,” Wowski expresses Trudge’s sentiment from earlier days, “dear Wowsky [*sic*] tell how cou’d you live without me.” A keyboard interlude leads into the second verse, whose text aligns with the previous descriptive technique, now with the high A on “roar” instead of “howl.”

Before Yarico knows of Inkle’s decision to part with her, she sings to him “Our Grotto was the sweetest place” in which she reminisces about how happy they had been in her country, living in nature, where she knew no fear other than the dangers that threatened her lover’s life. Now, in Barbados, she faces the fear of the unknown and seems to sense that their return to Inkle’s world threatens to take him from her. At the end of each verse, she beseeches Inkle to remember those happy times, to “think on this and love me still.” Yarico expresses sentiments that are similar to Wowski’s previous solo, potentially emphasizing the vulnerability of the two native women, but more importantly suggesting Yarico’s intuitive concerns about Inkle’s fidelity.

Our Grotto was the sweetest place
 The bending bough with fragrance blowing
 Wou’d check the brooks impetuous pace
 Which murmur’d to be stop’d from flowing,
 Wou’d check the brooks impetuous pace
 Which murmur’d, which murmur’d
 To be stop’d from flowing, stop’d from flowing.

‘Twas there we met and gaz’d our fill
 Ah think on this and love me still,
 ‘Twas there we met and gaz’d our fill,
 Ah! Think on this and love me still, and love me still.

'Twas then my bosom first knew fear,
 Fear to an Indian maid a stranger;
 The war song, arrows, hatchet, spear,
 All warn'd me of my lover's danger;
 For him wou'd cares my bosom fill,
 Ah! Think on this, and love me still.

For him by day with care conceal'd,
 To gather fruit I climb'd the mountain;
 And when the night no form reveal'd,
 Jocund we sought the bub'ling fountain.
 Then, then wou'd Joy my bosom fill,
 Oh! Think on this, and love me still.

Marked “innocentemente,” the song begins with a keyboard introduction in duple meter that features passages of running sixteenth notes in parallel thirds, gestures that mimic the lyrics’ pastoral references to murmuring brooks and fragrances wafting on the breezes (see Figure 5.4 below). The tempo is not specified, but the mood suggests a steady, but unhurried pace. The first two vocal phrases are answered by two-bar tutti passages in parallel sixths. The third vocal phrase is elongated by text repetition and features extensive word painting; despite the text stating “stop’d from flowing,” the flow of the music is not stopped.

Innocentemente

YARICO.

Our Grotto was the sweetest place the bending

Sy

bough with fragrance blowing would check the brooks impetuous pace which murmured to be stopd from flowing

Sy

would check the brooks im-petuous pace which murmurd murmurd which mur- murd to be stopd from

Sy

flowing stopd from flowing 'Twas there we met and gazd our fill

T.S. Inkle & Yarico Slow.

Ah think on this and love me fill twas there we met and gazd our fill ah think on this and love me

fill and love me fill.

Figure 5.4: Score of “Our Grotto was the sweetest place” (36–37).

Following a longer tutti passage in undulating waves of parallel sixths, the meter changes to triple and the tempo slows, reflecting the pensive, pastoral reminiscence of the text. Repetition further underscores the daydreaming, lingering memories expressed in Yarico’s entreatments to Inkle to also remember those happy times. Further, Arnold employs two plagal cadences—one to the tonic and one to the subdominant—which create the sense of a prayer-like supplication.

Following the second of these cadences, the accompaniment momentarily ceases, which leads to an imperfect cadence at the beginning of the final vocal phrase and ultimately a perfect final cadence.

Robert Hoskins, in his thematic index of Samuel Arnold's works, somewhat dismissively says of the song:

Arnold's music explores little of the moral character of the opera, except perhaps in Yarico's "Our grotto was the sweetest place" when she remembers her past joy; the extreme simplicity of the harmony, the murmuring orchestral responses to the vocal line, and doubling of the vocal part by the violins at the unison contribute to the artless sincerity of her expression.¹³

Hoskins's description may accurately describe the textual features, but he over-simplifies the quality and contributions of the music. The harmony and vocal expression are far from extremely simple and, in fact, are quite Handelian in nature, especially in the use of dotted rhythms and melodic ornamentation.

Arnold also employs pastoral musical references in Narcissa's first solo at the beginning of Act Two ("Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing"), which is, at first glance, a bit surprising and seemingly out of character for her aristocratic status. The setting in which her romance with Campley had its beginnings, however, explains the pastoral reference: Narcissa's "pastoral" and idyllic setting was on shipboard. (Arnold's pastoral musical references in this song are discussed in detail in the next chapter.) When the native women remember happier times in the grotto, pastoral references imply that wilderness setting, even though they are far from the American forest. So too, when Narcissa gazes at the ship in the quay with the water lapping at its sides, it reminds her of the "pastoral" and idyllic time on the ship with Campley. Arnold's use of pastoral musical references in Narcissa's and the native women's songs, in addition to referring to a pastoral and idyllic setting, accompanies their idealized reminiscences, thus effectively linking

¹³ Hoskins, *Thematic Index*, 77.

these women—despite their differences in race, ethnicity, and social class—in the spirit of egalitarian Enlightenment philosophy.

The Noble Savage and Racial Difference

At the outset of the opera, Trudge expresses the common European perception that natives are savages:

[W]e shall all be put to sword by the knives of the natives; I'm told they take off heads like hats, and hang 'em on pegs in their parlors.

Trudge's statement effectively foreshadows their first encounter with the natives, for when Inkle and Trudge discover a cave in which to take refuge from the elements and the local natives, they see an assortment of items in the antechamber, including furs and skins. Inkle, rather than being taken aback by the items in the cave, sees their potential monetary value:

Ha! no bad specimen of savage elegance. These ornaments would be worth something in England.—We have little to fear here, I hope: this cave rather bears the pleasing face of a profitable adventure.

Trudge, however, voices concern that he and Inkle may themselves become victims of the cave's inhabitants:

All that enter here appear to have their skins stript over their ears; and ours will be kept for curiosities—we shall stand here stuffed, for a couple of white wonders.

The first female character introduced in this scene is Yarico, the “American” native who, along with her companion Wowski, inhabits the cave. Although Yarico is a native, her aristocratic status is marked in this scene in a way that British and American audiences would easily recognize: her “genteel” and proper use of the English language and her good taste in decorating the cave in “savage elegance.” Already a collector herself, as suggested by the

contents of her cave, Yarico quickly is seen as a desirable curiosity through her noble bearing and exotic sensuality.

Yarico's lighter skin color reinforces her desirability and enhances the potential for her to be perceived as an aristocrat by audiences. In the libretto, her color is described as "a comely copper," like a Wedgwood teapot (a popular collectible item of the time).¹⁴ Audiences on both sides of the Atlantic would have perceived this lighter color as closer to white than dark-skinned natives and, therefore, implicitly more apt to be genteel and acceptable.

After Inkle and Trudge discover that the cave is inhabited, Yarico, not seeing them in the shadows, awakens and breaks into song. The text of her solo, "When the chace of day is done," clearly demonstrates Yarico's mastery of the English language as she eloquently describes the wild nature of her environs. Beyond her use of proper grammar, Yarico's vocabulary alludes to knowledge of the Classics (just as the sailors in the opening song) and poetical elements well beyond an uneducated person, particularly a native in this remote setting. Price notes:

How Yariko [*sic*] learned the English language is never explained, but it certainly was not from a shipwrecked sailor, as its quality would shame no eighteenth-century drawing room, however genteel.¹⁵

The text also reveals that Yarico and Wowski are cared for by their countrymen who provide them, for instance, with the lion skins hanging in the cave. It is clear, however, that they are also separated from those countrymen by the same cave (notably also referred to as a "cell") that offers protection (see lyrics below). The cell reference could suggest their being kept apart, as in a jail cell, or perhaps a monastic cell akin to anchorites; the latter meaning would suggest a place of simplicity, solitude, and reflection—popular ideals of late eighteenth-century England.

¹⁴ Bhattacharya, "Family Jewels," 2001 provides extensive perspective on the complex provenance of the teapot metaphor.

¹⁵ Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album*, 43.

This depiction of isolation establishes that the women are, ultimately, helpless and without family, a common English portrayal of blacks and slaves and a depiction that complicates our perception of Yarico's aristocratic status.

When the chace of day is done
 And the shaggy Lions skin
 Which for us our Warriors win
 Decks our Cell at set of Sun,
 Worn out with toil with sleep oppress'd
 I press my mossy bed and sink to rest.

Then once more I see our train
 With all our Chace renew'd again
 Once more 'tis day, once more our prey
 Gnashes his angry teeth and foams in vain.
 Again in sullen haste he flies
 Ta'en in the toil again he lies
 Again he roars, again he roars
 And in my gentle slumber dies.

Arnold's musical setting of the text enhances Yarico's aristocratic status and directly contrasts with Trudge's earlier solo. Both songs are based on the hunt topic—through textual and musical language—but while Trudge is emasculated by his depiction, Yarico is portrayed as a strong and competent huntress.

Affettuoso.

Sempre Piano.

f p

f p

YARICO.

f p When the chace of day is done And the shaggy Li - ons

f p skin Which for us our Warriors win decks our Cell at fet of Sun decks our Cell at fet of

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 5.5-1: First page of “When the chace of day” (14).

Arnold’s quasi-*galant* musical setting of the melody—including a relatively wide range, leaps, and broken melodic gestures (see Figure 5.5-1 above)—helps to convey Yarico’s aristocratic status. Thus, Arnold’s music tells us that Yarico is more complicated and interesting than would be expected for a “savage” native.

Sun worn out with toil with fleep op - preff'd I prefs my mossy bed and sink to rest and

Allegro.

sink to rest. Then once more I fee our train with all our

Chace renew'd a - gain once more 'tis day once more our prey gnallies his angry teeth and

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 5.5-2: Second page of “When the chace of day” (15).

Arnold employs word painting throughout the song, including a descending octave drop culminating in a fermata on the final two notes of “sink to rest” (the first two measures in the second system of Figure 5.5-2 above). The tempo shifts to allegro as heart-pounding repeated bass notes convey the excitement of the chase and the savagery of the wilderness.

The image shows a page of a musical score for the song "When the chace of day" (16). The score is written for voice and piano. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: "foams and foams in vain gnashes his angry teeth and foams in vain foams in vain foams in vain gain in ful-len hafte he flies ta'en in the toil a-gain he lies a-gain he roars a-gain he roars". The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *p* (piano), and articulation like accents. At the bottom, there are performance instructions: "Trinkle & Varico" and "T.S." (Tutti). The piano part features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests.

Figure 5.5-3: Third page of “When the chace of day” (16).

Arnold again uses word painting, now to portray the roar of lions. These musical features emphasize Yarico’s status as a “noble savage,” a common literary trope of the era.¹⁶

¹⁶ For example, Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, as well as earlier tales, such as *Ariadne auf Naxos* and Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*.

17

and in my gen-tle flumbers dies a - gain he roars a -

- gain he roars and in my gen-tle flumbers dies in my flum- bers

dies in my flum- bers dies .

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 5.5-4: Last page of “When the chace of day” (17).

Hearing Yarico sing, Inkle is completely taken by the exotic appearance and aristocratic bearing of the “charming heathen,” and once she sees him, she is equally enthralled by his fair skin and cascade of light hair. The absurdity that she could display such aristocratic and genteel “English” features parodies the “noble savage” impression. The musical presentation of Yarico as a “noble savage,” however, has the potential to arouse in the audience a level of admiration despite the “aristocratic” parody.

Inkle both commodifies Yarico as his mistress and asserts his cultural superiority as he patronizingly expresses in dialogue:

. . . how happy he should be to have her in his country, where she should be clothed in such silks as his waistcoat was made of, and be carried in houses drawn by horses, without being exposed to wind or weather.

As noted by Felsenstein:

That Inkle should choose these rather superficial and specious signifiers as representative of things English divulges something of the shallowness of his false promises. Equally, the humorous yet memorable delineation of carriages as “houses drawn by horses” suggests that Inkle deliberately talks down or pidginizes language to make himself understood by Yarico.¹⁷

Following this conversation, Inkle and Yarico sing a duet, “Oh say, simple maid,” through which the impression of Yarico’s status becomes a bit more complicated. One of six borrowed tunes in the opera, the song is set in simple strophic form typical of comic-opera musical characterization of a lower-class individual, which is also more in keeping with Inkle’s middle-class social status. The musical setting stands in contrast to the more *galant* presentation of her previous solo and, taken literally, the term “simple” implies that her social status may be less-than-aristocratic. Given this perspective, while she is “noble” in her wild native environment, in the presence of an English merchant and seen through his eyes, Yarico is a “simple” maid, albeit an exotic one.

On the other hand, the idea of “simplicity” was held in high esteem by aristocrats who assumed “simple” guises and habits as a form of pastoral, Arcadian play. In contemporaneous use, then, the terms “noble” and “simple” were not mutually exclusive—in fact, “noble simplicity” (or “simple nobility”) would hardly be an unimaginable coinage in eighteenth-century English culture, especially since “simple” is readily paired with terms like “innocence” and “virtue.” Her previous solo establishes Yarico’s status in her natural environment where her implied status is clear: noble savage. Audience members, when hearing the term “simple” in the context of the musical features of the duet, could feel comfortable with either moniker, “noble savage” or “simple maid,” for Yarico, which may have contributed to the opera’s appeal to those on both sides of the abolition issue.

¹⁷ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 3.

The tune for “Oh say, simple maid” had recently been published as “O say, bonny Lass” and sung at Covent Garden by Elizabeth Satchell. She later became Mrs. Stephen Kemble and first performed the role of Yarico at the Little Theatre in Haymarket. Her popularity as a performer and the popularity of *Inkle and Yarico* made the song famous.¹⁸ The songs’ lyrics are compared in Table 5.2 below; in both texts, the woman is being asked to leave what is familiar and face unknown hardships. The underlying sentiment suggests that, as long as she and her lover are together, they can face any challenge. Notably, the opening “bonny” becomes “simple” in the duet version of the song, implying a positive connotation of the term “simple.” Thus the “simple maid” song’s meaning would resonate with audiences familiar with the original song’s lyrics, expressing her loyalty to Inkle despite what hardships may lay ahead.

¹⁸ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 479: “and in the following decade Haydn arranged it with appreciative care for George Thomson.”

“Oh say, simple maid”	“O say, bonny Lass”
<p>Inkle: Oh say simple maid have you form'd any notion Of all the rude dangers in crossing the ocean When winds whistle shrilly ah wou'd they remind you To sigh with regret for the grot¹⁹ left behind you.</p>	<p>Laddie: Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack And marry a soldier and carry his wallet.</p>
<p>Yarico: Ah no I cou'd follow and sail the world over, Nor think of my grot when I look at my lover; The winds which blow round us your arms for my pillow, Will lull us to sleep while we're rock'd by the billow.</p>	<p>Lass: O yes I will go and think nae mare on it, I'll marry my Jockey and carry his Wallet, I'll neither ask leave of my Mammy or Daddy But off and away with my dear Soldier Laddie.</p>
<p>Inkle: Then say lovely lass what if haply espying, A rich gallant vessel with gay colours flying;</p> <p>Yarico: I'll journey with thee love to where the land narrows And sling all my cares at my back with my arrows.</p>	<p>Laddie: And O bonny Lass will you go a Campaigning And brave ev'ry danger of Battle and Famine,</p> <p>When weary and wet I have none to befriend me In sickness caress me, in danger attend me.</p>
<p>Duet: Oh say then my true love we never will sunder Nor shrink from the tempest nor dread the big thunder, Still constant we'll laugh at all changes of weather And journey all over the world both together.</p>	<p>Lass: O yes I will brave all the dangers you mention And fifty times more 'gin you had the Invention Nor Famine nor Battle nor Danger shall fear me Whilst I have my Jockey my Soldier Lad near me.</p>

Table 5.2: Comparison of song texts: “Oh say, simple maid” and “O say, bonny Lass.”²⁰

¹⁹ Shortened version of “grotto,” a pleasant retreat.

²⁰ “*Oh say simple maid*,” *A favorite dialogue in Inkle and Yarico to which is annex'd the Original Song of “Oh say bonny Lass.”* New York: B. Carr Musical Repository, n.d.
<https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/2085/search> (accessed November 12, 2010).

Vio: 2^o

Vio: 1^o

Bassi.

Oh say simple maid have you

formd any notion of all the rude dangers in crossing the ocean When winds whistle shril-ly ah woud they re-

-mind you to sigh with regret for the grot left behind you.

DUETTO.

INKLE.

Oh say then my true love we never will funder nor shrink from the tempest nor

YARICO.

Oh say then my true love we never will funder nor shrink from the tempest nor

dread the big thunder still constant well laugh at all changes of weather and journey all

dread the big thunder still constant well laugh at all changes of weather and journey all

o-ver the world both to-gether.

o-ver the world both to-gether.

INKLE. YARICO.

Figure 5.6: Score of “Oh say, simple maid” (18–19).

The song's folk-like verses end ambiguously—"pleasingly in the wrong key,"²¹ as Roger Fiske describes them—in what appears to be a V7–I–IV6/4 cadence (see Figure 5.7 below). This progression resolves, however, to the tonic, revealing the IV6/4 to be a passing sonority.



Figure 5.7: Excerpt of “O say, simple maid” showing an “ambiguous” cadence (18).

Literary scholar Linda Troost, who may have been influenced by Fiske's statement, states that the duet “reflects Inkle's true nature (as comic-opera songs often do). Inkle imagines a happy and conventional ending for himself and Yarico, but his music implies otherwise.”²² The harmonic gesture, however, is consistent with its Irish folk-song roots, although, given its use in this context, it does seem to underscore the couple's misalliance and foreshadow Inkle's lack of commitment.

“O say, simple maid” is notably the only song in which Inkle sings in the entire opera. It might be surmised that the omission of music for Inkle could have been due to limitations in the performer's abilities, but such was not the case, as John Bannister was known for his singing ability. In fact, he later took over the role of Trudge, who had the most songs in the opera. It was typical in English comic opera for the comic, lower-class characters to have the most music,

²¹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 479.

²² Linda Veronika Troost, “Social Reform and Comic Opera” in “The Rise of English Comic Opera: 1762-1800 (Sheridan, Richard; Shield, William; Brooke, Frances; Linley, Thomas, Jr.; Colman, George, Jr.),” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985); available via <http://www.uwec.edu/mwood/colman/troost.html> (accessed Oct. 6, 2008).

while upper-class roles had little or none. The rationale for Inkle's lack of music is a bit more complicated, however, and will be addressed further in Chapter 6.

Ultimately, the musical features of "When the chace of day" and "Oh say, simple maid" call into question the assumptions and ideals of the Enlightenment. Whereas natives may be "noble" by virtue of being closer to nature and untainted by civilization, contact with civilization may be corrupting rather than enlightening for those natives.

Parody of the Savage

As a counterbalance to Yarico's "noble" characteristics, her servant Wowski represents a parody of the stereotyped savage, which is conveyed in part by her distinctly darker complexion and her apparent lack of sexual restraint. In addition, her use of dialect indicates that she, unlike Yarico, is unable to master the English language, thus implying her inferior intellect, another common English assumption about natives and slaves.

Like Yarico, Wowski is immediately attracted to a white man, appropriately the lower-class servant, Trudge. In her solo "White man never go away," Wowski, who has just met Trudge, wastes no time in asking him to stay, promising to care for him and keep him safe and warm. Notably, she refers to him as "white man" rather than calling him by name; it is apparently his whiteness rather than his particular identity that appeals to her.

The source tune, noted in the score and libretto as "One day I heard Mary say," is also known as "I'll never leave thee."²³ Appearing as early as 1660, according to George Farquhar

²³ *The Songs of Scotland, Adapted to their Appropriate Melodies* Edinburgh: Graham Wood and Co., 1856) by Lesley Nelson-Burns, "Folk Music of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and America: Tunes, Lyrics, Information, Historical Background, and Tune Related Links," <http://www.contemplator.com/scotland/neverleave.html> (accessed July 2, 1020).

Jim Dixon also notes the appearance of "I'll never leave thee" in William Dauney, *Ancient Scottish Melodies from a Manuscript of the Reign of King James VI, With an introductory enquiry illustrative of the history of the music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1838) and George Farquhar Graham, *The Popular Songs of Scotland With Their Appropriate Melodies* (Glasgow: J. Muir Wood & Co., 1887), <http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=116727#2556759> (accessed July 2, 2010).

Graham, the song was published as the final offering in *Six excellent new songs*, demonstrating its contemporaneous existence in print around the time of *Inkle and Yarico*.²⁴ Both songs' lyrics are compared below:

“White man never go away”	“One day I heard Mary say”
White man never go away Tell me why need you stray Stay with your Wowski, stay Wowski won't leave you. Cold moons are now coming in Ah don't go grieve me I'll wrap you in Leopards skin White man don't leave me.	One day I heard Mary say, How shall I leave thee? Stay, dearest Adonis, stay, why wilt thou grieve me? Alas! my fond heart will break, if thou should leave me: Say, lovely Adonis, say, has Mary deceiv'd thee? Did e'er her young heart betray new love, that's griev'd thee? My constant love ne'er shall stray, thou may believe me. I'll love thee, lad, night and day, and never leave thee. Adonis, my charming youth, what can relieve thee?
And when all the sky is blue, Sun makes warm weather; I'll catch you a Cock-a-too, Dress you in feather. When cold comes or when 'tis hot Ah don't go grieve me! Poor Wowski will be forgot, White man don't leave me.	Can Mary thy anguish soothe? this breast shall receive thee. My passion can ne'er decay, never deceive thee; Delight shall drive pain away, pleasure revive thee. But leave thee, leave thee, lad, how shall I leave thee? O! that thought makes me sad, I'll never leave thee. Where would my Adonis fly? why does she grieve me? Alas! my poor heart will break, if I should leave thee.

Table 5.3. Comparison of song texts: “White man never go away” and “One day I heard Mary say.”²⁵

The text of “One day I heard Mary say” expresses the anguish of a woman as she pledges her love to a man whose departure seems imminent. As a counterbalance to the threat of his departure, she promises that she will never leave. The language in “One day I heard Mary say” is eloquent, genteel, and cultured. In contrast, Wowski’s phrases in “White man never go away” are

The National Library of Scotland’s *Scottish Song Index* also refers to the tune as that of “Highland Mary,” which was published by W. Christie in *Traditional Ballad Airs II*, 1881, <http://www.nls.uk/collections/music/songindex/fullrecord.drm?searcher=I'll never leave thee> (accessed July 2, 2010), although with slight melodic modifications.

Roger Fiske included an edition of J. C. Bach’s arrangement of “I’ll never leave thee,” No. 2 of “Four Scotch Songs,” in *The Oxford School Music Books: Teachers Manual*, Junior book 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1986).

²⁴ George Farquhar Graham, *The Songs of Scotland, Adapted to their Appropriate Melodies* (Edinburgh: Graham Wood and Co., 1856).

²⁵ *The American songster: being a select collection of the most celebrated American, English, Scotch, and Irish songs* (New York: printed for Samuel Campbell, 1788), 34.

noticeably shorter and expressed in broken English. Rather than pledging her love, Wowski promises to catch a “Cock-a-too” for Trudge and dress him in its feathers. “One day I heard Mary say” is a real tear-jerker, but the sharp contrast of the lyrics in “White man never go away” potentially parodies the source tune while simultaneously reinforcing Wowski’s pleading tone.

Musically, however, Wowski’s portrayal is a bit more complex than might be expected for a native servant character. The song illustrates several features in keeping with its Scottish roots, including dotted-note gestures, lilting grace notes, and a Scottish snap on the first beat of the penultimate measure of the instrumental introduction and ending (see Figure 5.8 below).

The image shows a musical score for the song "White man never go away" (20). It is written in 2/4 time and consists of four systems of music. The first system is an instrumental introduction labeled "Affettuoso." with lyrics "(One day I heard Mary say)". The second system is the vocal part for "WOWSKI." with lyrics "White man ne-ver go away tell me why need you stray stay with your Wowski stay Wowski won't leave you". The third system is the vocal part for "Sy" with lyrics "Cold moons are now coming in ah don't go grieve me I'll wrap you in Leopards skin". The fourth system is the vocal part for "white man dont leave me." The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p, mf), articulation (accents, slurs), and fingerings (6, 7).

Figure 5.8: Score of “White man never go away” (20).

Just as Yarico’s character is portrayed in contrasting and complex ways, here too Arnold’s musical setting provides an alternate reading of Wowski’s character. Despite her clumsy English, Wowski’s text is delivered with operatic sophistication, with difficult leaps, such as in the third measure of the vocal part (on “tell me why”) and leaps and embellishment in

mm. 13–14 (on “don’t go grieve me”). This could be seen as miscasting Wowski’s character, or capitalizing on the opportunity to create complex nuance.²⁶ The tempo marking of *Affettuoso*, *galant* focus on melodic line supported with simple accompaniment, and challenging embellishments in the vocal solo seem more appropriate for an air or aria sung by a character of elevated social status. Out of place for Wowski’s native, uncultured character, the incongruity of the song’s features thereby enhance the parodic effect of the song.

On the other hand, the sophistication of the music points to Wowski’s strength: she is in control of her world in her natural environment and may be more complicated than her stereotyped image may suggest. Wowski’s words and physical attributes are consistent with ethnic stereotypes, but Arnold’s musical setting demonstrates that she possesses innate “noble” qualities. Thus, the song’s musical features provide another reading of Wowski’s character, thus challenging our assumptions about native “others” or savages.

Misogyny and the Desirable Other

A comic duet brings Act One to a conclusion, the type of musical closure that audiences would have anticipated. “Wampum Swampum,” a duet with Trudge, clearly suggests Wowski’s promiscuity, a trait in keeping with British and American audience expectations. Following Trudge’s question, “have you had a lover or two in your time; eh, Wowski?” she responds, “Oh iss, great many, I tell you.” The opening rhythmic pattern suggests, through stylistic evocation, the beat of native drums,²⁷ but also reinforces the repetitive nature of Wowski’s past affairs (see

²⁶ Recall that the part of Wowski was created by Miss Georgina George, who was known for her coloratura and high register.

²⁷ Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 2. Pisani notes that “composers and musicians who, in their efforts to evoke symbolically rich places such as the American West or the precolonial American past (or even a present location that is supposed to be somehow ‘genuine’), tend to rely upon distinctive musical combinations and effects.”

Figure 5.9-1 below). Wowski refers to Trudge as “white man” and, when he asks “don’t you like me?” she replies “iss you’re like the snow,” echoing the desirability of whiteness in Yarico’s response to Inkle.

DUETT.
Allegro. *ff*

Wowski. *Sy*
Wampun fampun lanko yanko nanko powantowki black men plenty twenty fight for me
f/p *f/p* *f*

Trudge. Wowski. Trudge. Wowski.
Wiiite man woo you true? who? you yes pretty little Wowski then I'll leave all and I'll follow thee then I'll leave all and I'll
p *7* *7* *6* *5* *6* *5* *f/p* *6* *5* *f* *f/p*

Trudge. Wowski.
follow thee Oh then tu'rn about my little Tawny tight one Don't you like me! ifs you're like the snow
6 *5* *f* *f/p* *f/p* *f*

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 5.9-1: First page of “Wampum Swampum” (21).

The song also demonstrates Colman’s comic use of language through plays on words. “Wampum” is a reference to Indian monetary exchange as well as, here, the name of one of Wowski’s many (“twenty”) lovers (see lyrics below). The use of the term in this song resonates with its original meaning, as wampum was used for engagement, marriage, and betrothal agreements.²⁸ Numerous short phrases with rhyming words, such as “Pownatowski” and

²⁸ Lois Sherr Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment: From Prehistory to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 170-171.

“Wowski,” create an overall sense of silliness in the duet and trivialize the characters, again typical treatment of the lower class in English comic opera.²⁹

Wowski:
Wampum swampum lanko yanko powantowski
Black men plenty twenty fight for me

Wowski: White man woo you true?

Trudge: Who?

Wowski: You

Trudge: Yes pretty little Wowski

Wowski:

Then I'll leave all and I'll follow thee,

Then I'll leave all and I'll follow thee.

Trudge:

Oh then turn about my little Tawny tight one

Don't you like?

Wowski: Iss, you're like the snow if you slight me

Trudge: Never, not for any white one, you are beautiful as any sloe.³⁰

Wowski:

Wars jars fears can't expose ye

In our grot so

Trudge: snug and cosey

Wowski: Flowers neatly pick'd shall sweetly make your bed,

Trudge:

Coying toying with a rosey posey

When I'm dosey Bearskin night cap too shall warm my head.

As the song progresses, the alternating phrases of each character become increasingly shorter (such as “rosey posey” sung by Wowski followed by “snug and cosey” sung by Trudge, see Figures 5.9-2 and 5.9-3 below), tossing the dialogue back and forth between the singers, which leads into the final verse in which their voices finally come together in harmony.

²⁹ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 190–91 [fn 37]. “Pownatowski” was later used as a pseudonym by an anonymous reviewer of *Inkle and Yarico* in the *Critical Review* 64 (1787): 227; the author commented on the oddity of giving Wowski a Polish name and a Polish lover. The sentiment was echoed in the *Monthly Review* 77 (1787): 389, which further labeled the denominations as “very flagrant mistakes.”

³⁰ The fruit of the blackthorn bush, black or dark purple in color.

Trudge. Sy
if you slight me never not for any white one you are beautiful as any floe

Wowki. Trudge. Wowki.
Wars jars fears cant expose ye, in our grot fo snug and cofey flowers neatly pickd shall fweetly make your bed flowers neatly

Sy Trudge.
pickd shall fweetly make your bed Coying toying with a rosey posey when lin dosey Bearskin

Wowki. Trudge. Wowki. Trudge.
night cap too shall warm my head rosey posey snug and cofey neatly fweetly coying toying

Inkfe & Yarico

Figure 5.9-2: Second page of “Wampum Swampum” (22).

Wowski: rosey posey neatly sweetly
Trudge: snug and cosey coying toying

Wowski: Trudge:
Flowers neatly pick'd shall sweetly Bearskin night cap too shall
make your bed warm my head

Together:
Coying toying with a rosey posey when you're/I'm dosey
Bearskin night cap too shall warm your/my head.

Wowski.
Flowers neatly pick'd shall sweetly make your bed coying toying with a rofey pofey when your dofey Bearkin night cap too shall

Trudge.
Bear - sk in night cap too shall warm my head coying toying with a rofey pofey when I'm dofey Bearkin night cap too shall

warm your head warm your head shall warm your head Bearkin night cap too shall warm your head Bearkin

warm my head warm my head shall warm my head Bearkin night cap too shall warm my head Bearkin

night cap too shall warm your head.

night cap too shall warm my head.

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 5.9-3: Last page of “Wampum Swampum” (23).

The textual interplay of Wowski and Trudge creates multiple possibilities for staged comedy through gestures, dancing, and other physical gags. For instance, Wowski sings, “then I’ll leave all and I’ll follow thee,” after which Trudge responds, “Oh then turn about my little Tawny tight one, Don’t you like me?” This seems to imply that Wowski is headed in the wrong direction, opposite that implied by “follow thee”; this kind of stage humor or “gag” foreshadows the slapstick comedy of later Vaudeville.

Also, while Wowski and Trudge are getting “snug and cosey” in the dance, it is highly likely that they would have come into close physical contact. London stage anecdote describes the liberal use of stage make-up that both portrays and parodies how racial difference is only skin deep. Felsenstein describes how an actor playing Trudge would wipe the coloring off Wowski’s

face and rub it on his own, signifying in a tangible way that her racial difference has “rubbed off” on him.³¹ Comically, later in the opera he defends Wowski to Patty, Narcissa’s maid, by stating that “Black-a-moor ladies, as you call ’em, are some of the very few whose complexions never rub off!”

The conversation in the Trudge-Wowski duet mirrors the earlier one between Inkle and Yarico; in this case, Wowski is willing to “leave all and follow thee,” in essence a restatement of Yarico’s sentiment in “Oh say simple maid” that, as long as she and her lover are together, they can face any challenge. The playfully comic presentation of the duet, however, parodies the class differences between the two couples.

This Wowski/Trudge duet is derived from another borrowed tune, originally the “Indian Dance” (also referred to as the “Savage Dance”) from the third scene in Act One of *Robinson Crusoe*, a pantomime afterpiece by dramatist Richard Sheridan and composer Thomas Linley that was first performed in 1781.³² In this scene, the cannibals paddle to shore, having taken prisoners. After disembarking, and before pulling their prisoners from the canoe for slaughter, the cannibals dance around a sacrificial fire. In Hoskins’s table of plot, music, and staging, he describes the music as a “Ritual dance with exotic melody and drum bass.”³³ Hoskins explains the role of the music in *Robinson Crusoe*:

Linley, focusing on action and sensation as the defining elements of Defoe’s text, creates an aural strip narrative—somewhat akin to the sequential visual imagery of a cartoon or comic. He paints up the action with music which, apart from the overture and closing song, is to be heard but not listened to. . . . The ever-changing series of pictorial events in

³¹ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 21.

³² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 568. Fiske also notes that Arnold’s overture to his pantomime *Obi, or Three-finger’d Jack* (1800) was also largely based on “The Savage Dance” from Linley’s pantomime of *Robinson Crusoe*.

³³ Thomas Linley, *The Pantomime of Robinson Crusoe (1781)*, Robert Hoskins, ed., Centre for Eighteenth-Century Music, Series 1, No. 2 (Wellington, New Zealand: Massey University, 2005), AE447-10.

action scenes of this kind [short and fast-moving] allowed Linley little time for extended development of musical ideas—the music tends to be as episodic as the scenic episodes.³⁴

Shown in Figure 5.10 below, Linley’s notated music for the “Savage Dance” is very short (a mere 12 measures), with repeat marks set around the last eight to allow for extension as needed to accompany the action on the stage.

Figure 5.10: “Dance of Savages,” no. 10 in *The Pantomime of Robinson Crusoe*.³⁵

Musicologist Michael Pisani discusses Linley’s use of march features:

[I]n an American Indian context, the march, and especially the patriotic English-style march, developed specific associations and rhetorical meanings that continued to accrue from the 1760s until at least the 1830s. . . . [T]he music, by Thomas Linley, depicts the arriving Indians nobly in a pert and proper march (including thirty-second-note upbeats, dotted rhythms, and the standard rhythmic cadential figure [quarter–dotted-eighth–sixteenth–quarter]).³⁶

Arnold cleverly transformed Linley’s “noble” savage dance into a celebratory one.

Describing the difference between ceremonial “war dances” and celebratory “scalp dances,”

Pisani and LaFarge explain that:

³⁴ Linley, *Robinson Crusoe*, AE447-5-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, AE447-33.

³⁶ Pisani, *Imagining Native America*, 53.

[Music for celebratory scalp dances] always involved drumming and singing. Before a war, the rhythm was usually slow and the melodies hypnotic. For a scalp dance, “the footwork was light and fast, [and danced] in time to fast, cheerful songs almost always pretty and often beautiful, and to the rapid beat of a high-toned drum.”³⁷

Notably, one important difference between the Linley and Arnold scores is the underlying repetitive beat: Arnold’s moves at a faster rhythmic pace than Linley’s original, which exaggerates the “savage” signifier (see Figure 5.14 above) and modifies the slower march-like nature of the original music. Arnold also eliminated the cadential figure, which, combined with the faster rhythmic activity, results in a less sophisticated, less “noble” impression in the music, suitable for the comic servants.

In order to transform Linley’s 12-measure dance music into a multiple-stanza vocal duet, Arnold also had to greatly expand the musical material. The first four measures of his eight-measure introduction essentially mirror the melodic and rhythmic contour of Linley’s first measure. Arnold lengthens the melodic idea by repeating the ascending thirds, and then proceeds to a descending line; this is followed by another statement of the first measure, which then cadences on the tonic, thus creating an antecedent-consequent phrase pair. Arnold then expands Linley’s four-sixteenth-note gesture sequentially for a full two measures before repeating the consequent phrase.

In the duet that ensues, Wowski’s opening four-measure phrase employs the initial theme from the introduction, followed by a two-measure interlude of the sixteenth-note passage presented by tutti instruments. At this point, however, Arnold inserts new material in the dominant as Wowski, now singing at *piano*, timidly asks whether Trudge is serious. After his response, her melodic line presents repeated descending fourths that reiterate her decision to “leave all and follow thee.”

³⁷ Oliver LaFarge, *A Pictorial History of the American Indian* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1956), 100, as quoted in Pisani, *Imagining Native America*, 91.

The main theme is then iterated twice as Trudge reaffirms his loyal intentions, followed again by the sixteenth-note instrumental interlude, but now in the relative key of A minor, which leads into yet another passage of new melodic material. A variation of the sixteenth-note interlude leads back into C major and the main thematic idea. A two-measure exchange occurs in which Wowski and Trudge trade four-note descending motives, which leads into the final stanza, their voices now in harmony. The final words, “warm your/my head” are repeated, during which the first and third beats are embellished with a sixteenth-note ornamentation. Two final declarations of “bearskin night cap too shall warm your/my head” are followed by a decisive cadence.

The “Indian” reference of the Wowski-Trudge duet is apropos for the natives of the “American wilderness,” as is the use of this music in another tale of a shipwrecked Englishman who is rescued and protected by a native, references that would not be lost on English and American audiences. Like Linley’s musical features, those of Arnold signify a conceptualized exoticism to create the image of “natives.” That these natives are apparently on different continents is of little concern, as the resulting pan-exoticism evokes a generic native “other”—potentially dangerous, yet highly intriguing.

Poor Judgment Disparaged

At the beginning of Act Three, Trudge learns that Inkle is thinking about selling Yarico. Concerned for Yarico’s fate and unable to keep a secret, Trudge discloses to Patty that his master keeps a mistress. Shocked to learn that this mistress is a “tawny,” a “black-a-moor,” Patty outwardly promises to keep the secret, but discloses to the audience that she plans to tell the Governor and his family. This aside, of course, betrays her proclamation earlier in the opera that servants should be “mum” (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of her earlier song).

In the solo that follows this conversation, “Tho’ lovers, like marksmen,” Patty speaks from the female perspective (“as we wenches all know”) as she declares Inkle’s misogynous alliance to be socially unacceptable. The musical features of the song underscore Patty’s self-assumed authoritative perspective: as a servant, Patty has observed the behavior of people from all social classes and articulates acceptable social norms as cut-and-dried absolutes. From this perspective, Patty disparages Inkle’s judgment, describing him as the “worst of the lot” as a lover and “unskilled how to level at wives.”

Each stanza is set in an extended quatrain in which the first two lines present a hunting/shooting metaphor, after which Patty metaphorically explains the unfortunate outcome of Inkle’s bad judgment. In the first stanza, Patty declares Inkle a “bad shot” for shooting at a pigeon (Narcissa) but instead killing a crow (Yarico), terms that clearly comment on race and desirability.³⁸ The line “Some hit wide of the mark” could easily be taken as a sexual innuendo.

Tho’ lovers like marksmen all aim at the heart,
Some hit wide of the mark as we wenches all know.
But of all the bad shots, he’s the worst in the art
Who shoots at a pidgeon and kills a crow, o ho!
Your master has kill’d a crow.

Her second verse allows that young men (“youngers”) may be excused for such behavior, but the final verse makes clear that Inkle’s mistake is a major error in judgment, one that Narcissa (or by implication any well-bred person) would never make. The statement that young men “At random they shoot, and let fly as they go” seems a likely reference to sexual activity based on urges rather than good judgment, similar to “sowing wild oats.”

³⁸ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 214 [n. 79]. Felsenstein suggests this is “possibly a loose reworking of the Juvenalian motto to Steele’s *Spectator*, no. 11, *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas* (‘judgment acquits the ravens and condemns the doves’).”

When younkers go out, the first time in their lives,
 At random they shoot, and let fly as they go;
 So your master unskill'd how to level at wives,
 Has shot at a pigeon, and killed a crow—O ho!
 Your master has kill'd a crow.

Patty's final stanza metaphorically describes Inkle as used up, impotent, and essentially cuckolded: "His powder is spent, and his shot running low." Patty places Inkle beneath Narcissa in social status; as stated in the final stanza, unworthy of "hitting a pigeon," Inkle may keep his crow.

Love and money thus wasted, in terrible trim!
 His powder is spent, and his shot running low:
 Yet the pigeon he miss'd, I've a notion with him
 Will never, for such a mistake, pluck a crow.—No, no!
 Your master may keep his crow.

The rhythmic interest and embellishment in Patty's melodic line create a lively energy that enhances her matter-of-fact pronouncement of Inkle's failure. The singsong sway of the strophic song's 6/8 meter provides an appropriate vehicle for the predominantly dactyl poetic pattern of the text. The melody predominantly moves in a scalar fashion or outlines the triad, with syllabic emphasis falling on the beat (see Figure 5.11 below).

Moderato.

PATTY.

Tho' lovers like marksmen all aim at the

heart some hit wide of the mark as we wenches all know some hit wide of the mark as we wenches all

know. but of all the bad shots he's the worst in the art who shoots at a

pidgeon & kills a crow o ho o ho o ho your mafter has killed a crow.

Figure 5.11: Score of “Tho’ lovers like marksmen” (40–41).

Use of text repetition for the first two lines of the quatrain, such as “some hit wide of the mark as we wenches all know” in the score example above, underscores the judgmental tone of Patty’s pronouncement. Colman’s use of such double entendres comments negatively about Inkle’s lack of sexual prowess. Arnold inserts a tutti instrumental interlude after the first two lines of the stanza, employing a chromatically ascending bass line to shift into the dominant as Patty pronounces judgment on Inkle’s poor judgment and ineptitude: “of all the bad shots he’s

the worst in the art who shoots at a pidgeon [*sic*] and kills a crow.” Patty’s melody features an octave leap on G (at the end of the fourth system), echoing a similar gesture in the instrumental accompaniment, both of which are set against a chromatically ascending bass line. The third iteration of “o ho” that follows this statement is sustained with a fermata, followed by the final judgment, “your master has kill’d a crow” (as seen in Figure 5.15 above). The instrumental passage that follows mirrors the previous interlude, but this time is stated in the tonic with repeated B-flat major sonorities emphatically driving home the point.

Fidelity Defended

Reacting to Patty’s disparagement of Inkle, Trudge reaffirms his fidelity to Wowski: “I won’t be shamed out of Wows, that’s flat.” Noting Yarico’s rapid ability to learn to read, Trudge describes Wowski’s awkward attempts to eat with utensils:

She’s so used to feed with her hands, that I can’t get her to eat her victuals, in a genteel, Christian way, for the soul of me; when she has stuck a morsel on her fork, she don’t know how to guide it, but pops up her knuckles to her mouth, and the meat goes up to her ear.

Whether or not Wowski is truly as incompetent as Trudge describes her is, however, a bit questionable. She has, through her songs, demonstrated a good deal of strength and resilience and, it could reasonably be imagined, may be playing Trudge for a fool for trying to teach her how to eat, a task at which she is fully capable. Ultimately, Trudge declares, “After all the fine, flashy London girls, Wowski’s the wench for my money.” The text of his song reveals that his decision is determined as much by the lack of competition for her affections as it is her attributes.

Before commenting on Wowski’s desirability in his solo “A clerk I was in London gay,” Trudge describes his own. He elevates his status as a clerk as he refers to the fine impression he made on the girls of London when attending a public performance dressed in fine attire, bathetically twirling a cane as he strutted through the lobby, putting on airs.

A Clerk I was in London gay
 Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle
 And went in Boots to see the play
 Merry merry fiddlum tweedle.
 I march'd the Lobby, twirl'd my stick
 Diddle daddle diddle daddle deedle
 The girls all cried, he's quite the kick
 Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle
 Oh Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle

According to Colman scholar Barry Sutcliffe, such behavior was inappropriate for the servant class:

A particular source of chagrin to the employers of servants at this time was to see them in public places, such as the theatre, dressed in extravagant outfits and aping the affectations of high society.³⁹

Thus audiences would have laughed at Trudge's self-aggrandized description of his behavior.

The second stanza refers to Trudge's voyage to America on a ship, suitably answered by a nonsensical reference to "Yankee doodle":

Hey! For America I sail,
 Yankee doodle deedle
 The sailor boys cried "smoke his tail!"
 Jemmy Linkum feedle;
 On English Belles I turn'd my back,
 Diddle daddle deedle;
 And got a foreign fair, quite black,
 Oh twaddle twaddle tweedle.

Having been abandoned by the ship, Trudge turned his back on English girls, getting instead "a foreign fair, quite black." Notable in this line is the dichotomy of fairness and blackness—although Wowski is "black," she is nevertheless "fair," or desirable, to Trudge.

While London girls may pout their under lips flirtatiously, Wowski's "upper lip pouts twice as much," making her doubly attractive to Trudge, as stated in the third stanza:

³⁹ Barry Sutcliffe, ed., *Plays by George Colman the Younger and Thomas Morton, British and American Playwrights, 1750–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 99.

Your London Girls with roguish trip
 Wheedle wheedle wheedle;
 Boast their pouting under lip,
 Fiddle faddle feedle;
 My Wows wou'd beat a hundred such
 Diddle daddle deedle;
 Whose upper lip pouts twice as much,
 Oh pretty double wheedle.

In addition to implying her desirability, Trudge's description simultaneously makes an exaggerated reference to stereotypical race-related physical features.

The final stanza ultimately reveals a major reason for Wowski's desirability: her racial difference. In his final line, Trudge refers to himself as a "white Othello" and Wowski as a "dingy Desdemona," reversals of the racial roles in Shakespeare's *Othello*. As noted by literary scholar Joan Hamilton, because of her color, "Wowski becomes desirable because Trudge need never worry about becoming jealous like a white Othello."⁴⁰ Wherever they go together, Wowski will always be different; Trudge may buy rings for her toes, such as English girls might wear, but the feather in her nose will always distinguish her as a racial "other."

Rings I'll buy to deck her toes,⁴¹
 Jimmy Linkum Feedle;
 A feather fine shall grace her nose,
 Waving fiddle feedle;
 With jealousy I ne'er shall burst
 Who'd steal my bone a bona;
 A white Othello, I can trust
 A dingy Desdemona.

⁴⁰ Joan Hamilton, "Inkle and Yarico and the Discourse of Slavery," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1994): 26.

⁴¹ William S. and Ceil Baring-Gould, *The Annotated Mother Goose: Nursery Rhymes Old and New, Arranged and Explained* (New York: Bramhall House, 1962), 246–247: another Mother Goose reference, here to:

*Ride a cock horse to Banbury Cross
 To see a fine lady upon a white horse
 With rings on her fingers and bells on her toes,
 She shall have music wherever she goes.*

Felsenstein sees this reversed Shakespeare reference as indicative of the “antiheroic nature of Colman’s comic opera.”⁴² This observation is further supported by the reversal of gender expectations in the opera: the women are portrayed as stronger than the men. Consistent with Trudge’s first solo and in contrast to portrayals of Yarico and Wowski in their songs, Trudge’s “A clerk I was in London gay” reveals a childish side of Trudge through a song that strongly resonates with the Mother Goose rhymes that were popular in British culture, particularly in its use of nonsense words. Pervasive in Trudge’s solo, these words are deserving of their own consideration.

The poetic text is presented in four-line phrases, each of which is answered by a nonsense phrase, resulting in the following rhyme scheme:

a A Clerk I was in London **gay**
 b Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle
 a And went in Boots to see the **play**
 b Merry merry fiddlum tweedle.
 c I march’d the Lobby, twirl’d my **stick**
 b Diddle daddle diddle daddle deedle
 c The girls all cried, he’s quite the **kick**
 b Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle
 Oh Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle.

The nonsense words are not entirely meaningless, however, as they frequently have specific meanings, such as referring to foolish, silly, or undesirable attributes.⁴³ For instance, in the first “b” line of the first stanza (“Jimmy Jemmy linkum feedle”), “jemmy” can refer to a “dandy or fop,” or an implement “to force open (a lock, a window),” such as would be used by a burglar, whereas “feedle” is likely a variation on “fiddle.”⁴⁴

⁴² Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 216 [n83].

⁴³ William S. and Ceil Baring-Gould, *The Annotated Mother Goose: Nursery Rhymes Old and New, Arranged and Explained* (New York: Bramhall House, 1962), 124–25: No. 165 is an excellent example in which the rhyme scheme and specific nonsense terms are nearly identical to the text of Trudge’s solo.

The nonsense lines also provide comic social commentary, such as in the second stanza. While maintaining the “-eedle” rhyme through a variation on “doodle,” the term “deedle” is also described as an alteration of “devil.” Both “diddle”⁴⁵ and “daddle” can refer to loitering, wasting time on trivial matters, or “stuff and nonsense.”⁴⁶ Thus, it could be construed that Trudge wasted time on a trivial matter when he won the affection of Wowski. The use of “wheedle” in the third stanza refers both to the “insinuating flattery” of the London girls as well as the enticing quality of Wowski’s lips. Significantly, the nonsense phrases are abandoned for actual text at the end of the stanza, which underscores the serious, if humorously stated, meaning of Trudge’s final statement.

The final nonsense phrase of the second stanza presents a curious reference, one that was most certainly familiar to London audiences of the times, in its use of “tweedle.” The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes two primary meanings of the term: as a noun, it can refer to a swindle involving counterfeit goods; as a verb, “tweedle” can refer to playing carelessly on a musical instrument, resulting in a succession of shrill sounds, or playing in such a way as to cajole someone into a place or condition.⁴⁷ What is probably the most famous usage of “tweedle” occurs in this Mother Goose nursery rhyme:

⁴⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, s.v. “jemmy” <http://dictionary.oed.com> (accessed June 5, 2009).

⁴⁵ According to *The Annotated Mother Goose*, the term “high diddle diddle” was used “in a play by Thomas Preston, *Cambises King of Percia*, printed in 1569 [that implies] it was a tune played for dancing.”

⁴⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, s.v. “deedle,” “diddle,” “daddle,” and “twaddle” (accessed June 5, 2009).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. “tweedle” (accessed December 26, 2010).

Tweedledum and Tweedledee
 Agreed to fight a battle,
 For Tweedledum said Tweedledee
 Had spoiled his nice new rattle.
 Just then flew by a monstrous crow,
 As black as a tar-barrel,
 Which frightened both the heroes so,
 They quite forgot their quarrel.⁴⁸

While many might recognize the characters Tweedledum and Tweedledee from Lewis Carroll's later *Through the Looking-Glass*, according to Martin Gardner in *The Annotated Alice*, there is an earlier musical reference:

In the 1720s, there was a bitter rivalry between George Frederick Handel, the German-English composer, and Giovanni Battista Bononcini, an Italian composer. John Byrom [1692–1763], an eighteenth-century hymn writer and teacher of shorthand, described the controversy as follows:

Some say, compared to Bononcini
 That Mynheer Handel's but a ninny;
 Others aver that he to Handel
 Is scarcely fit to hold a candle;
 Strange all this difference should be
 Twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee.

No one knows whether the nursery rhyme about the Tweedle brothers originally had reference to this famous musical battle, or whether it was an older rhyme from which Byrom borrowed in the last line of his doggerel . . .⁴⁹

Regardless of which usage came first, because Byrom was well known as a literary figure who moved in influential social and intellectual circles, it is likely that London audiences would have readily recognized the musical reference.

Set in A major and a lively duple meter that easily suits the rhythmic pattern of the playful poetic text, Trudge's song begins with an instrumental introduction that presents the main melodic theme (see Figure 5.12 below). Two-measure descending lines present the poetic text

⁴⁸ Baring-Gould, *Annotated Mother Goose* (no. 167), 125.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 125 [n6].

and are each answered by sixteenth-note neighbor-note gestures that present the nonsense phrases.

Allegro.

T.S.

TRUDGE.

A Clerk I was in London gay Jemmy Jemmy linkum feedle and went in Boots to

fee the play merry merry fiddlum tweedle I march'd the Lobby twird my fick

diddle daddle diddle daddle deedle the Girls all cried he's quite the kick Jemmy Jemmy

T.S.

linkum feedle oh Jemmy Jemmy link-um feedle.

Figure 5.12: Score of “A clerk I was in London gay” (42–43).

The music reinforces the dancelike and playful quality of the song. Trudge’s first “a” line (see the rhyme scheme above) recalls the instrumental introduction, including the descending octave beginning on high A. The second “a” line of his text is presented down a third, beginning on F-sharp, in another descending scalar line, and first “c” line begins down another third, on D, but deviates in its conclusion. Unlike the first three phrases, the final “c” phrase is stated in an ascending (rather than descending), disjunct line that rises to high A; a familiar nonsense phrase

ensues, but now ends on a fermata on high A. This fermata effectively creates a moment of comic suspense, which actors could have sustained for increased impact, followed by a tumbling, disjunct nonsense phrase, much like the “punch line” effect that is used in several other songs in the opera.

The nature of the music suggests possibilities for dancing and comical physical gags, and the text provides ample situations for accompanying gestures, such as kicking on “quite the kick” and turning around on “turn’d my back.” The vocal line encompasses just over one-and-a-half octaves, which, although a normal tenor range, likely presented a challenge to some singers who performed Trudge. This may well have been intentional on Arnold’s part, as the effect of hearing a singer trying to reach such high notes would have emphasized how Trudge was incapable of “high-class” behavior.

Considering that Trudge has the longest and most likeable part in the opera, and adding in the element of the humorous songs given him, it is not surprising that he was the most popular character in *Inkle and Yarico*. Jack Bannister had introduced the role of Inkle and Edwin the part of Trudge; a few months after the premiere, when Edwin suddenly died, Bannister “jumped at the chance of taking over Trudge.”⁵⁰

Summary

Arnold’s musical settings convey, beyond what the libretto alone tells us, that the female characters in *Inkle and Yarico* are strong and the male characters are weak (which will continue to be demonstrated in the next chapter). It is because of the music that we see the women as complexly drawn characters who are not the stereotypes they superficially appear to be. Yarico and Wowski are presented as strong, competent hunters in contrast to the weaker “lost” men, as

⁵⁰ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478.

the hunt musical references make clear. Notably absent in the opera, however, is any presence of black males (they are only “present” as caring for Yarico and Wowski and threatening the ship). Through omission, Colman effectively sidesteps racializing male sexuality and class.

Wowski’s portrayal is particularly striking in the dichotomy of her characterization. On the one hand, she epitomizes the stereotype of her race and class: dark-skinned, sexually promiscuous, and apparently not very intelligent. On the other, however, the music conveys that she is strong, direct, and authentic. Troost concludes that “[t]he presence of Wowski, then, keeps the tone of the opera light, bringing out several sides of savage life that those who view the Noble Savage philosophically forget about.”⁵¹ It could also be concluded that Colman and Arnold are poking fun at the cultural construct of the “noble savage.”

Inkle’s response to seeing Yarico and hearing her sing is one of immediate attraction, thus underscoring her sexuality. The duet that follows this moment in the opera effectively turns down the erotic heat by shifting the focus to constancy in the face of adversity. Yarico’s de-eroticization is furthered by the complementary pair of songs by Wowski and Trudge, songs that make more explicit Wowski’s mistress status and sexual desirability.

Having demonstrated his weakness in “A voyage o’er seas,” Trudge later reveals his overblown sense of importance and the real reason Wowski is so attractive to him: her racial difference means he will not have to worry about competing with other white men for her affections. The comic features of his song “A clerk I was in London gay” make light of his attitude. In particular, the pervasive use of Mother-Goose-like nonsense words and rhyme scheme suggests that he learned this attitude as a child. Once again, Trudge mirrors his master, as Inkle will later blame his upbringing for his callous behavior.

⁵¹ Troost, “Social Reform and Comic Opera.”

The voice of the servant class, particularly the female servant, seems to be an essential component in comic opera, as well as in opera buffa. These characters, by being out-spoken, witty, sly, and insolent, often say out loud what others are thinking, much like the chorus of a Greek tragedy. Patty provides the perspective of prevailing social attitudes, but her music would suggest that her thinking is narrow-minded and old-fashioned, which is discussed further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

BEYOND THE LIBRETTO: THE FUNCTION OF MUSIC, PART II

When George Colman the Younger selected Steele's tale for the subject of his fourth comic opera, he was missing a vitally important ingredient: comedy. Fortunately, he had a creative imagination, an abundant sense of humor, and the conventions of the genre to provide the means for making his *Inkle and Yarico* comic, including stock situations and characters. Romance, often featuring multiple couples, was common, as were cases of mistaken identity, intentional or otherwise. Arranged marriages were frequently employed, generally providing opportunities for dramatic and comic situations. As the century progressed, the planned arrangements were increasingly frequently foiled on stage when daughters fought with their fathers to marry for love. The stock characters, both comic and serious, covered the gamut of social classes. Witty, sly, or insolent servants contributed to the comedy and satire, often at the expense of the upper class, in addition to providing commentary on prevailing social attitudes. While earlier comic operas pointed a finger of reprobation at the upper class, the middle class also was a target for criticism in Colman's opera.

"Stock" features were tools of the trade for Samuel Arnold as well, but he cleverly put a variety of musical devices into service to convey meaning and enhance characterization. For instance, as is discussed in detail in this chapter, some of the musical language in the songs for Narcissa, a high-bred aristocrat, and Campley, a military man, seem incongruous with our expectations for these characters. It is only through analysis of these and the other songs in *Inkle and Yarico* that we gain a more complete and accurate understanding of characterization, audience perception, and, ultimately, the allusory meanings in the opera.

Courtship and Marriage

As pointed out by Daniel O'Quinn, "Steele's key innovation is to stage the erotic play between Inkle and Yarico according to the conventions of metropolitan courtship."¹ Colman's addition of characters, particularly characters of varying racial and social backgrounds, creates a still more complex portrayal of courtship and marriage, and thus more opportunities for comedy, satire, and social commentary. Sir Christopher Curry plays a significant role in the twists and turns of courtship and marriage in the opera. As the Governor of the island, he represents the normative voice of the state; in addition to governing the island, he also governs his daughter (or attempts to). In doing so, he has arranged for her to marry a successful merchant whom he believes to be of good moral character. Narcissa, however, like members of English society in the late eighteenth century, viewed arranged marriages as old-fashioned, believing instead that one should marry for love.

By mistaking Campley for Inkle, Sir Christopher puts the safety of his daughter's future under military protection rather than financial protection. Curry is also the character who ultimately brings about Inkle's reform and, metaphorically, calls for reform in colonial practices. Thus it is through the allegories of courtship and marriage that the opera's metaphors are made clear, but it is through the music that their characters are made clear.

Love's Dilemma

Like Yarico, Narcissa is introduced to the audience through song, but unlike Yarico, there are fewer superficial markers to convey her identity and status. Thus, it is primarily through the features of the music that we get a sense of Narcissa's character. As the high-bred daughter of the Governor of Bardados, it would be reasonable to expect that her introductory solo would

¹ Daniel O'Quinn, "Mercantile Deformities: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the Racialization of Class Relations," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002), 391.

include the kind of musical features associated with such status, such as wide range, rhythmic and harmonic complexity, and vocal ornamentation. Instead, her first song is presented in a simple, folk-song kind of way.

Narcissa's first solo, "Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing," was one of the most successful songs from the opera, in America as well as London (see discussion in Chapter 7). Watching a ship docked in the quay, Narcissa compares the incessant beating of waves on the side of the ship to the waves of doubt in her heart.

Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing
 As yon ship at anchor rides
 Sullen waves incessant flowing
 Rudely dash against its side.

So my heart its course impeded
 Beats in my perturbed breast
 Doubts like waves by waves succeeded
 Rise and still deny it rest.

The instrumental introduction states the persistent quarter-note beat against which wavelets of parallel thirds ebb and flow throughout the song (see Figure 6.1-1 below), effectively suggesting the waves lapping at the sides of the ship to which Narcissa refers in the text. The instrumentation of the middle staff is not clearly designated, but is likely meant to be played by a woodwind instrument or violin, as it states the opening melodic line of the voice, albeit more ornamented in places. Reflecting the contemplative mood, the opening is marked "Mezza voce."

Andante. mezza voce.

NARCISSA.

Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing As you ship at anchor rides Sul-len waves in - ceffant

flowing rudely dash against its side So my heart its course im - peded

Inkle & Yarico

Figure 6.1-1: First page of “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing” (24).

Setting the lyrics in modified strophic form, Arnold crafts the music to further emphasize Narcissa’s troubled state of mind. First, in repeating the second quatrain of lyrics, he underscores her persistent doubt. Then, in both iterations of the second quatrain, on the end of the phrase “Beats in my perturbed breast,” Arnold’s half cadences on the dominant delay the tonic (see Figure 6.1-2 below). The delay is further emphasized through the use of a suspension and fermata, followed by lyrics that express the waves of doubt that deny her rest until the final cadence of each quatrain on the tonic.

Beats in my pertur - bed breaft Doubts like waves by waves fuc - ceeded Rife and ftill de - ny it

reft So my heart its courfe im - peded Beats in my pertur - bed breaft Doubts like waves by

waves fuc - ceeded Rife and ftill de - ny it reft.

Figure 6.1-2: Last page of “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing” (25).

But the music conveys more than Narcissa’s troubled thoughts—it also reflects the meaning of her name and, thus, tells us more about her than her words alone express. The pitches in the vocal line coincide with pitches in the parallel thirds, linking her directly with the “sullen waves.” This “water” connection relates directly to Narcissus, who was so enamored of the image in the water that he could not break his gaze away; here, Narcissa is obsessed with her feelings. Arnold sacrifices correct textbook counterpoint in order to double Narcissa’s melody with the accompaniment. Further, her melody is mostly confined to the tonic triad, particularly the pitch B flat, only departing harmonically at the fermata on the half cadence (see second page of the score above in Figure 6.1-2), again underscoring her obsession.

One of the most telling features is the simplicity of the song itself. Unlike either Yarico's or Wowski's solo, which both contained vocally challenging gestures, Narcissa's solo is simple, straightforward, and repetitive—certainly not what would be expected for an aristocratic character. As noted in the discussion of the pastoral trope in the previous chapter, the music recalls the “pastoral” shipboard setting in which Narcissa and Campley met and fell in love. Thus, when Narcissa gazes at the ship in the quay and ponders her dilemma, the pastoral features in the music convey her reminiscence of the idyllic time on the ship with Campley.

In the subsequent conversation with Patty, her chambermaid, Narcissa reveals the source of her tormented emotions—although betrothed to Inkle, on the journey home from her recent visit to England, she and Captain Campley developed an affection for each other; Inkle's impending arrival threatens any possible future with Campley.

Narcissa's Challenge

Campley states that the solution to Narcissa's dilemma is easy—they should get married and spend their lives together. He cautions Narcissa that Inkle just wants her for her money, whereas he is all for love. Her father presents a complication, however, as he does not know Campley and they are of different social classes. In response to Campley's statement, Narcissa sings “Mars wou'd oft.” Her text challenges him to be brave and take action.

Rondo theme:

Mars wou'd oft his conquest over,
To the Cyprian Goddess yield;
Venus gloried in a lover,
Who like him cou'd brave the field, cou'd brave the skies.

In the cause of battles hearty,
Still the God wou'd try to prove,
He who fac'd an adverse party,
Fittest was to meet his love. – *Rondo theme*

Hear then, Captains ye who bluster,
 Hear the God of War declare,
 Cowards never can pass muster,
 Courage only wins the fair. – *Rondo theme*

Colman employs Roman mythology in Narcissa's solo to drive home her point, as well as underscore her aristocratic status by virtue of comparing herself to Venus.² In "Mars wou'd oft," Narcissa reminds Campley of the courage displayed by Mars in his quest to prove his fitness and worthiness when facing an adverse party. She thus likens his situation—that her father does not know Campley and Campley is beneath the Governor in social status—to a war, in this case a battle for her hand in marriage. As an aristocratic female, Narcissa is wielding her own kind of power over Campley by manipulating him into doing what she wants, albeit in a somewhat different (i.e., more vocal) way than stated by Patty in her previous solo.

The music underscores Narcissa's aristocratic status and sense of determination, as well as her obsessive fixation on her objective to marry Campley. First, Arnold's choice of rondo form emphasizes the obsessive quality of Narcissa's character as the A section is repeated at the beginning and then keeps recurring. The overall rondo form of the song is not easily discerned, but segno markings provide part of the clue to the song's formal realization, and the lyrics in the libretto (see Figure 6.2 below) and the harmonic language provide further clarification. The rondo form unfolds in an AABACA pattern, in which the A theme ends at the bottom of the second page of the song.

² Associated with military bravery and battle, Mars was the Roman god of war, the most prominent military god worshipped by the Roman legions. Venus, as the Roman goddess principally associated with love, beauty, and fertility, is traditionally paired with him as the two had an illicit love affair on the island of Cyprus.

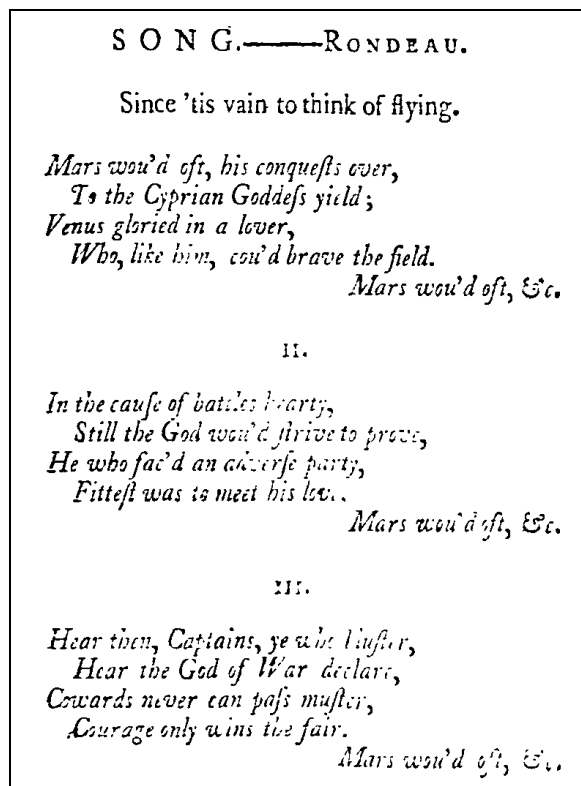


Figure 6.2: Lyrics of “Mars wou’d oft” in 1787 London libretto clarify song’s form.³

It is significant that Arnold chose the key of B-flat major for “Mars wou’d oft,” as that was the key of Narcissa’s previous song; she is musically “stuck” in her own thinking. The key choice is yet another example of the clever ways in which Arnold conveys characters through the music. That this was a conscious choice on Arnold’s part is supported by recalling that in most English comic operas, there is typically no discernable pattern or other consistency in the use of keys in the structure of the opera.

Arnold borrows other features of Narcissa’s previous solo that emphasize her obsessive character. Although “Mars wou’d oft” is set in *alla breve*, the repeated iterations of bass notes are nearly identical to those in “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing.” The meandering

³ George Colman and Samuel Arnold, *Inkle and Yarico; an Opera, in Three Acts, as Performed at the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket, on Saturday August 11th, 1787* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787). All dialogue quotes are taken from this publication unless otherwise stated.

instrumental eighth-note line in the highest staff is reminiscent of the wavelets in her previous solo, further connecting this song to the previous one and reinforcing that Narcissa is “stuck” in her persistent objective.

The image shows the first page of a musical score for the song "Mars wou'd oft" (28). The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time, marked "Andante". It consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the piano introduction with a steady eighth-note bass line and a treble staff with a melodic line. The second system introduces the vocal line for Narcissa, with lyrics: "Mars wou'd oft his conquests over to the Cyprian Goddess". The third system continues the vocal line with lyrics: "yield Venus gloried in a lover who like him could brave the field Venus gloried in a lover". The score includes parts for Flutes and a vocal line with lyrics. The piece is identified as "RONDO." and "Andante.".

Figure 6.3-1: First page of “Mars wou’d oft” (28).

The sophisticated music of “Mars wou’d oft”⁴ seems more apt for a woman of Narcissa’s social standing than her first solo. At an Andante pace, keyboard and winds introduce the song (see Figure 6.3-1 above), providing a steady pulse in the bass line against which runs a current of

⁴ Michael R. Robinson, *Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of his Works, Vol. I Dramatic Works* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), 416–17, 433–34. The source tune for “Mars wou’d oft” is identified in the prompt-book and score as the “rondeau” tune, “Since ‘Tis Vain to Think of Flying,” but scholars have failed to definitively reveal the source of the tune or the original lyrics. Robert Hoskins offers a tentative attribution, noting “possibly by Giovanni Paisiello” (Hoskins, *Thematic Index*, 76). A close review of the Paisiello *Thematic Catalogue* reveals that a similar melodic outline and the same instrumentation as “Mars wou’d oft” appears in the “Rachelina” aria in *La Molinara*. That this song was the source seems all the more likely given that Arnold added a tune for Mrs. Billington’s performance at Covent Garden, “Ah will no change of clime,” which used as its source tune “Nel cor piu non mi sento,” also from *La Molinara*.

eighth notes. Narcissa's first phrase flows in an arch to the high B-flat above the treble staff. Accompanied by alternating octaves on the dominant in the bass, flutes paired in thirds and sixths join her phrase "Venus gloried in a lover," followed by an elongated response an octave higher in the flutes.

The image shows a page of a musical score. At the top, it is labeled "Viol: 1º con il Voce." The vocal line has lyrics: "who like him could brave the field - - - could brave the field could brave the field could brave the skies." The piano accompaniment features complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. There are various musical markings such as *mf*, *f*, and *h*. The score concludes with the publisher's name "Inkle & Yarico" at the bottom center.

Figure 6.3-2: Second page of "Mars wou'd oft" (29).

The most challenging coloratura passage in the entire opera follows, in which the melisma parodies Narcissa's status through exaggeration, thus underscoring her self-absorption and the mythological reference to her namesake, Narcissus. The bass line momentarily drops out (see third measure in Figure 6.3-2 above) as the vocal line shifts into a dotted-eighth–sixteenth-note pattern that leads decisively into an extended running-sixteenth-note melisma worthy of a goddess (or someone who thinks that highly of herself, such as a diva). The violins punctuate the

vocal line with increasing rhythmic activity until they join Narcissa's voice; she has effectively pulled them into her obsession. While it is not unusual to see mirror-like doubling in voices, Arnold here takes it to an extreme by doubling Narcissa's melody with two instruments in a passage so rapid that it is extremely unlikely that the voice and instruments would be able to stay on pitch together. Arnold's garish gesture shows Narcissa as ridiculously absurd; he is effectively laughing at her extravagant behavior and inviting the audience to do the same.

Vio: 1º con il Voce.

In the caufe of battles hearty fill the God wou'd try to prove he who fact an adverfe party fitteft was to meet his

love. Hear then Captains ye who bluffer hear the God of War de- clare cowards

T.S. al Segno *p* # 7 6 7 6 4 # 6 6 6 8 #

never can pafs mufter courage only wins the fair.

f p al Segno Inkle & Yario

Figure 6.3-3: Last page of “Mars wou’d oft” (30).

The B section, beginning at the top of the third page (Figure 6.3-3 above) continues the challenge for Mars to take action in the quest to earn his love. Arnold holds Narcissa's voice on a high F on the word “love” while the bass pounds on the dominant and the violins move above in a dotted sequence in parallel thirds. A fermata on a rest following this sustained note provides an

opportunity for the actress to exaggerate catching her breath and collecting her composure in order to begin the *piano* dynamic of the next section.

The harmony modulates to the relative key of G minor for the C section of the rondo, with the violins again accompanying the voice in unison and thirds, before leading into a final statement of the rondo theme. This harmonic shift and change in dynamic level to *piano* heightens the sense of drama by building suspense before Narcissa's final rendition of the coloratura line. Further, the shift to minor occurs when Narcissa speaks the voice of Mars, not only challenging Campley to action, but also labeling him a coward if he is unable to act. The comparatively darker quality of the minor key makes her words seem rather more menacing.

The final five words of the lyrics of the C section, "courage only wins the fair," resonate with other uses of the word "fair" in the opera, as previously discussed in Chapter 3. Here, however, fairness is associated with desirability and virtue rather than lightness of skin. By using the word in ways that suggest both connotations, Colman beings to merge the two meanings: lightness of skin is to be preferred for both social and moral reasons. In "Mars wou'd oft," a courageous Campley might win the fair—desirable and virtuous—Narcissa; in a similar manner, the courageous Yarico and Wowski have won the fair—desirable and light-skinned—Inkle and Trudge. The music, however, makes us question whether it truly is a good thing for the characters to have won "fair" prizes.

Campley's Response

Like the other male characters discussed thus far, Campley defies conventional expectations and is more cowardly than courageous, which is revealed in his only solo of the opera. English audiences would have likely recognized his name, because Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729) had included a character named Campley in his widely popular pro-Whig comedy,

The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode (1701), which had been performed in London within a few years of *Inkle and Yarico*.⁵ Steele's Campley lived up to his name—the word “camp” refers to a fight or a battle⁶—and in *The Funeral*, Campley went to great (albeit comic) lengths to be with the woman he loved.

In contrast, Colman's Campley has to screw up his courage to meet Narcissa's challenge to ask her father for her hand in marriage. He responds to Narcissa's call to action (see lyrics below), but reveals his misgivings in the process. In the refrain of “Why shou'd I vain fears discover,” Campley reasons that delaying will only prolong his pain.

Refrain:
 Why shou'd I vain fears discover
 Prove a dying sighing swain
 Why turn shilly-shally lover
 Only to prolong my pain.

Campley then speaks in the all-inclusive plural voice “we” in the following quatrain, effectively bolstering his perspective. He refers to the target of men's affection as “the dear enslaver,” thus acknowledging women's power over men and, by contrast, his own weakness. As opposed to Patty's solo, in which the woman manipulates her swain to get what she wants by remaining “mum,” Campley realizes that if he wants the governor's favor, he must ask for it.

When we woo the dear enslaver
 Boldly ask and she will grant
 How shou'd we obtain a favor
 But by telling what we want.—*Refrain*

In the next quatrain, Campley indicates that parents cannot fight against a heart that has made a decision. He presumes that her father will be persuaded by Narcissa's resolve—or perhaps he

⁵ Richard Steele, *The Funeral; or, Grief A-la-Mode*, in John Bell, *Bell's British Theatre, Consisting of the most esteemed English Plays*, Vol. 8 (London: John Bell, 1780).

⁶ Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “camp” (accessed December 28, 2010). See also the German equivalent, “kampf,” which has similar meanings, including “competition” or “contest.”

just hopes that will be the case so that his quest will be less confrontational. These revelations of Campley's hesitancy would have been a source of amusement to audiences.

Shou'd the Nymph be kind complying
Neatly then the battles won
Parents think 'tis vain denying
When half our work is fairly done.—*Refrain*

Maestoso .

Why shou'd I vain fears dif. co. ver Prove a dying

fighting fwain Why turn shilly shally lo. ver On. ly to prolong my pain Why shoud I vain fears difcover

In^b:c & Y^b:rico

T.S.

Figure 6.4-1: First page of “Why shou’d I vain fears discover” (31).

Several features link Campley’s song to Narcissa’s “Mars wou’d oft.” Like her solo, Campley’s song is presented in *alla breve* and a major key (see Figure 6.4-1 above); the “Maestoso” tempo suggests triumphant or heroic pomp suitable for a conquering hero, but in fact signals Campley’s exaggerated bluster. As was the case with Narcissa’s songs, the bass is presented in a mostly steady fashion, whereas the treble presents a more active, eighth-note

instrumental line. The alternating pattern of the treble line is, as in Narcissa's songs, a kind of musical "waffling"; combined with the repetitive harmonic language and relatively static vocal line, the music portrays Campley as lacking any real sense of forward momentum, a theme that is musically reinforced throughout the song. Just as Narcissa's solo featured descending scalar passages, so are these features found in Campley's song, albeit at a slower level of rhythmic activity.

The vocal melody is nearly identical to the instrumental introduction with one notable exception: the score specifies "*fp*" dynamic waves, effectively reflecting the degree of effort that Campley must expend to present a falsely brave face, as well as demonstrating how quickly his manufactured bravery evaporates. Following his second statement of the refrain text, the final phrase, "Only to prolong my pain," is repeated in long notes that emphasize "prolong." Further emphasis is created by twice repeating "prolong my pain," in which the melodic line is instrumentally embellished, leading into a prolonged interlude that cadences on the tonic, while the meandering instrumental line continues to underscore Campley's hesitancy to act. These textual repetitions also suggest that, lacking bravery, Campley may be either searching for the right words or for willpower, as well as simply avoiding the confrontation with Narcissa's father.

Figure 6.4-2: Second page of “Why shou’d I vain fears discover” (32).

Following a dramatic fermata (second system in Figure 6.4-2 above), the harmony modulates to the relative key of A minor to present new melodic material at a soft dynamic level, which effectively portrays a sweeter mood as Campley sings of wooing “the dear enslaver.” This language again emphasizes Narcissa as the stronger character, thus portraying Campley as weaker. The high A in the vocal line at “shou’d” potentially presents a vocal challenge to the singer (especially considering the *piano* dynamic level), as well as a good opportunity for comic delivery by effortfully reaching for the pitch. Shifting back to C major, he sings “but by telling what we want; how shou’d we obtain a favor but by telling what we want,” which emphasizes that he knows he must act, but he is avoiding doing so.

Campley's words echo Narcissa's challenge to him—she has, in essence, put her words in his mouth; obtaining favor by telling what is wanted is exactly what she did. The vocal line continues to be accompanied by instruments that present a meandering line, emphasizing Campley's weakness in “waffling.” Further, the accompaniment moves into a higher register in this part of the song, which emasculates his words, as do the shifting underlying harmonies. Repetition of the last phrase of text leads to a sustained dominant on “want,” which ends the verse and leads to the refrain.

The image shows a page of a musical score for the song "Why shou'd I vain fears discover" (33). The score is in C minor and features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "we obtain a favor but by telling what we want - - - - - Should the Nymph be kind com - - - - - plying neatly then the battles won Parents think 'tis vain de - nyng when half our work is fairly done Parents think 'tis vain de - nyng when half our work is fairly done - - - - -". The score includes markings for "al Segno", "f/p T.S.", and "In'le & Yerrico".

Figure 6.4-3: Last page of “Why shou’d I vain fears discover” (33).

The final verse shifts to the parallel key of C minor in which the bass accompaniment drops out, leaving the other voices to create a *falsobordone*-like texture above the melody, but one in which the voice-leading is rather clumsy. Here the voice sings the root of the triad over

which the instruments sound above it in hymn-like harmony in a mostly homophonic, homorhythmic texture, almost as if Campley is praying for courage. The upper instruments present steady quarter-note iterations in a decisive, march-like fashion (see end of first system, Figure 6.4-3 above). The keyboard comes back in to join the other instruments and voice in unison octaves, restating “Parents think ‘tis vain denying when half our work is fairly done.” The final word, “done,” is sustained by the voice as the instruments pound away on the cadential I6/4 with the dominant G in the bass, preparing for the final statement of the refrain. Thus, even though Campley sings “done,” the music is not “done.” He has, in fact, managed quite nicely to “prolong [his] pain” yet again.

In addition to stalling, the musical lingering throughout the song portrays Campley as wallowing in self-pity, not unlike Trudge’s pathetic whining in his first song, “A voyage o’er seas.” Further, the musical portrayal shows that Campley and Narcissa are a good match: while Narcissa obsesses on what she wants, Campley dwells on his cowardice. An alternate reading of Campley’s hesitancy is suggested by the comic inversion of gender roles in this situation: Narcissa is a strong, decisive, ego-centric woman who challenges a weak-willed, complacent, or compliant Campley. Seeing Narcissa’s strength and ability to manipulate or control the situation, Campley may be considering his best course of action. Ultimately, her will prevails and he yields to it.

There is another model to which both of Narcissa’s songs can be reasonably compared—the mad song. While not a typical feature in English comic opera, the mad song was the stock-in-trade of the most important actor-singers in London and could be found in the concert hall and printed in the Playford song books. An appropriate musical vehicle to emphasize Narcissa’s obsession and tormented state of mind, the mad song had two basic types according to

musicologist Curtis Price. In the “mad-song soliloquy,” the “character shares their innermost thoughts, revealing the cause of their affliction or explaining why they are feigning madness”; the other mad-song type is “an exuberant vehicle for a truly insane character in which the singer is meant to be unbalanced and the music does nothing to lessen the condition.”⁷ In my estimation, Narcissa’s “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing” is an example of the first type, and her “Mars wou’d oft” (particularly toward the end of the song) is an example of the second. Certainly London audiences would have recognized the references and understood (as well as enjoyed) the characterization. Further, that information also colors our interpretation of Campley’s response—if he perceives Narcissa as behaving like a mad woman, no wonder he is dragging his feet to ask her father for her hand in marriage.

Societal Expectations

No voice conveys class- and race-related social attitudes quite like that of sharp-tongued Patty, Narcissa’s maid, who provides a comic counterpart to the well-born Governor’s daughter. As previously noted, composers of English comic opera tended to use folksy traditional tunes for servants and for figures portrayed as old-fashioned or narrow-minded. On the one hand, such tunes reinforce class membership; on the other, they function to parody class-related thinking. Considering Arnold’s music for Patty, her songs can be seen as functioning in both ways, as well as providing comic relief for tense situations.

Patty’s first song, “Tho’ lovers like marksmen,” in which Patty declares Inkle’s and Trudge’s sexual alliances to be socially unacceptable, occurred in Act One and has already been described in Chapter 5. Patty’s next solo occurs early in Act Two when, despite her repeated

⁷ Curtis Alexander Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 144–145.

efforts, Narcissa seems unable to get Patty to stop talking about Campley. Their dialogue not only reveals Narcissa's affection for Campley, but also makes clear Narcissa's concern that Patty will disclose her secret. Patty's last statement before singing her song is "Mum's the word, ma'am, I promise you," which turns out to be a promise that she later cannot (or perhaps never intended to) keep.

Promises of Discretion

Like Trudge's "A voyage o'er seas" from the first act, Patty's "This maxim let ev'ry one hear" contains a series of proverbial sayings, typical of the dialogue assigned to the servant class.⁸ While Patty emphatically states the extent to which servants are expected to show discretion, her words treat the subject lightly (see lyrics below). Each of the two verses consists of eight lines set as a double quatrain. In the first quatrain, the first three lines consist of commonplaces about the merits of silence, which are answered by the fourth, a punch line that pokes fun at the earlier clichés.

This maxim let ev'ry one hear
 Proclaim'd from the north to the south
 Whatever's took in at your ear
 Shou'd never run out at your mouth.
 We servants like servants of state
 Shou'd listen to all & be dumb
 Let others harangue & debate
 If they press to the point we are mum! Mum! Mum!

The second quatrain of the first verse features iterations of "mum" and rhyming words such as "dumb" and "thumb,"⁹ adding to the comic effect of the song by doing exactly the opposite of what her words mean. Significantly, the second quatrain of the first verse speaks from the perspective of the servant, from whom complete discretion is expected.

⁸ See Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 194 for the specific sources of the sayings.

⁹ Not unlike "He's Going to Marry Yum Yum" in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*, which also employs "mum" and "dumb" rhymes on repeated syllables.

The second verse employs clever word-plays as Colman juxtaposes two characters of different genders, social classes, and levels of power:

The Judge in dull dignity drest,
 In silence hears Barristers preach;
 And then to prove silence is best,
 He'll get up and give them a speech.
 By saying but little, the maid
 Will keep her swain under her thumb;
 And the lover that's true to her trade,
 Is certain to kiss, and cry mum! Mum! Mum!

The first quatrain presents a joke as the judge, after hearing other males “preach,” gives a speech to prove silence is best. The judge, a powerful male, wields his control of the situation through what he says. In contrast, the second quatrain presents the voice of a maid, a female of the lower social class who does not possess the same kind of power. Instead, she wields control of her swain by saying little in order to get what she wants. This stands in contrast to Campley’s pronouncement that one obtains favor by telling what they want.

The features of the music are consistent with the hunt trope that runs throughout the opera, here reflecting the hunt for power and control by referencing and satirizing a sporting activity of aristocrats through the voice of a servant. Set in C major in the rollicking meter of 6/8, “This maxim let ev’ry one hear” opens with a lengthy keyboard introduction that presents the melodic material of the song (see Figure 6.5 below). From the outset, the bottom and top pitches create a fanfare-like statement that is punctuated by repeated tonic chords. *Forte* gestures on the upbeat followed by *piano* indications on the downbeat foreshadow the dynamic contrasts to come. The beginning of each verse foreshadows the dictum, incongruously marked *piano*, perhaps to convey a comically conspiratorial tone. The fanfare “horn fifths” are now produced by the voice and bass line, with a single-pitch punctuation played by one or more orchestral instruments.

Moderato.

f p f p

PATTY.
This maxim let ev'ry one hear pro-

p 6

Sy
claimed from the north to the south what - evers took in at your ear shoud never run out at your mouth *mc*

p 6 *7* *6* *6 4 #* *f* *p 6*

servants like servants of state shoud listen to all & be dumb let others harangue & de - bate if they

6 6 6 6 6 2 6 6

pretis to the point we are mum! mum! mum! let others harangue & de - bate if they pretis to the point we are

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 7

mum. mum. mum. mum. mum.

f

Figure 6.5: Score of “This maxim let ev’ry one hear” (26–27).

To increase the impact of Colman’s word play, Arnold sets “ear” (and “best” in the second verse) on the surprisingly dissonant harmony of a half-diminished-seventh chord (third system in Figure 6.5 above). Following Patty’s first declaration, repeated-note gestures separate the two quatrains. Patty’s statements are now sung in a more disjunct line, with more decorative embellishment after the first statement and its sequential repetition. The final line of text is repeated for emphasis, with even more repetitions of “mum” delivered in the second iteration

and horn fifths created by counterpoint in the instrumental accompaniment to underscore the proclamation.

Mistaken Identity

Disguises and misidentifications are common devices in eighteenth-century operas (as discussed in Chapter 3), and Colman does not disappoint in *Inkle and Yarico*. An exchange between Medium and Sir Christopher Curry establishes that Medium is a kind and honest man, and that Sir Christopher is inclined to making passionate, hasty decisions. Thus when Campley arrives, the audience is prepared to believe Sir Christopher's unwarranted assumption that this young man is Inkle. When Campley mentions Narcissa as the subject of his visit, Sir Christopher is impressed by the young man's urgency, stating that he is an "impatient, sensible young dog! like me to a hair! Set your heart at rest, my boy. She's yours before to-morrow morning." Indeed, when Narcissa and Patty arrive on the scene, Sir Christopher's immediate order for a carriage to take them all directly to the church for the wedding ceremony comes as no surprise.

A dance-like trio ends the act—"Your Colinets and Arietts"¹⁰—sung by Campley, Narcissa, and Patty in celebration of their success and the haste with which the wedding will take place. Each character sings a verse, followed in turn by an ensemble chorus (see lyrics below). Campley is first to sing, citing several names that are typical of naïve shepherds and rustic characters in English pastoral poetry, such as Colin and Damon, as examples of old-fashioned courtship that "waste years in love." In contrast, he claims that "modern folks know better jokes," which apparently leads to quicker results: "to Church they hop at once and pop—E-gad, all's done."

¹⁰ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 209. Felsenstein notes that "Arriette was most probably suggested to Colman by Steele's employment of 'Arietta' as the narrator of 'the history of Inkle and Yarico' in *Spectator*, no. 11."

Campley:

Your Colinets and Arietts,
 Your Damons of the Grove
 Who like fallals¹¹ and pastorals
 Waste years in love
 But modern folks know better jokes
 And courtship once begun
 To Church they hop at once and pop –
 E-gad, all's done.

The chorus emphasizes the “modern” perspective by referring to a “country dance,” which was very popular in the late eighteenth century, in contrast to the older, more formal styles of social dance.

Chorus:

In life we prance a country dance
 Where ev'ry couple stands
 Their partners set a while curvet
 But soon join hands.

Word play is also employed in the chorus through juxtaposition of opposites—prance/stand, set/curvet¹²—adding to the playful quality of the song.

Narcissa's verse echoes the formality of old-fashioned courtship, referring to “the powder'd lover” sitting at the lady's feet, “so trim and neat.”

Narcissa:

When at your feet, so trim and neat,
 The powder'd lover sues;
 He swears he dies, the lady sighs,
 She can't refuse;
 Ah how can she, unmov'd e'er see,
 Her swain his death ineure;
 When once the Squire is seen expire
 He lives with her. – *Chorus*

¹¹ Trinkets, novelties.

¹² According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “curvet” refers to the frisky leaping of a horse (accessed March 29, 2011).

The final quatrain of her verse present another pair of opposites—expire, live—in a passage that potentially conveys risqué meaning. If “expire” is taken as death, perhaps his money “lives” with her; on the other hand, if “expire” is understood as sexual climax following his advances, which “she can’t refuse,” perhaps he “lives” with her through a resulting pregnancy.

Speaking from the servant perspective, Patty refers to “John and Betty” wasting no time. Once John has managed to get a kiss, Betty is apparently a willing participant as “the bargain’s struck.”

Patty:

When John and Bet are fairly met
 John boldly tries his luck,
 He steals a buss without more fuss
 The bargain’s struck;
 While things below are going so,
 Is Betty pray to blame;
 Who knows upstairs, her mistress fares
 Just, just the same. – *Chorus*

The line “While things below are going so” is likely a double entendre for the potential sexual activity of either or both couples. The final lines suggest that the high-bred are not above the lures of courtship, as Betty’s mistress upstairs engages in similar conduct.

Allegro mod.º

CAMPLEY

Your Colinets and Arietts your Damons of the Grove who like fallals and paftorales waste years in love but
p $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{5}{3}$ 6 6 6 6 \sharp

modern folks know better jokes and courtship once begun to Church they hop at once and pop *f* - gad all's
 $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{5}{3}$ 6

Cho: done In life we prance a country dance where ev'ry couple stands their partners fet a
 $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{5}{3}$

Inlle & Yario

while curvet but foon join hands.
 $\frac{6}{4}$ 6 6

Figure 6.6: Score of “Your Colinets and Arietts” (38–39).

The reference to “a country dance” in the chorus is reflected in the duple-meter setting of the song and its Allegro moderato tempo. Although two “upper-class” individuals are singing in the trio, the music is folk-like, in keeping with a social dance or dance-song type. Pedal points and parallel-motion passages abound, as the text is delivered in a steady fashion. The second couplet of text is set in a more disjunct manner to alternating dominant/tonic harmonies, effectively making fun of the words. Whereas the voices are accompanied to this point, mostly on a pedal G, or alternating F sharp and G, the accompaniment drops out for the third couplet. In both the verses and the chorus, an ascending scalar passage ends with a fermata (see “pop,” end

of first verse in third system and “curvet” in the bottom system, Figure 6.6 above). This device, as in previous uses, allows for a punch-line effect in the phrase that follows it, such as “E-gad all’s done.” Such moments were no doubt accompanied by choreographed gestures to emphasize the conclusive effect.

All’s Well That Ends Well

Inkle’s reform at the end of Act Three lacks a dramatically convincing anagnorisis and peripeteia. All of the right couples end up together, which (at least superficially) seems like a happy outcome. But Inkle’s reform—rather than representing a turning point in the drama, a moment of recognition of his error in choosing money over love for Yarico—comes across as his only possible recourse, the only way he could save face. Further, even though he will be with Yarico, Inkle has lost Narcissa’s fortune, lost the esteem of the governor, failed to make any money on his trip, and will be returning to England a commercial and social failure. Lest this reality sink in too readily, the ensemble finale comes to the rescue by putting on the face of a happy ending.

The tune of the finale, “Come let us dance and sing,” is the only music that was previously heard in the opera, having been used for the third movement of the overture (see Figure 6.7 below).



Figure 6.7: Beginning of third movement of overture (6).

The tune, widely known as “La Belle Catherine,” was a popular dance tune of the era—perhaps better known now as “Do you know the muffin man?”—set to Colman’s new text (see Figure 6.8 below). Setting text to this pre-existing dance music was a logical choice for Arnold, certainly befitting of the celebratory dance for the “happy” ending.

Figure 6.8: Score of “Come let us dance and sing” (44).

Set in verse-chorus form, the song provides a final opportunity for some of the characters to comment on what has transpired. Campley and Narcissa, the only upper-class characters to sing in the finale, appropriately take the lead. The first half of Campley’s text matches the chorus, which is sung by the entire ensemble after each verse.

Chorus:

Come let us dance and sing
 While all Barbadoes bells shall ring
 Love scrapes the fiddle string
 And Venus plays the lute!

Hymen gay foots away
 Happy at our wedding day
 Cocks his chin and figures in
 To tabor, fife and flute.—*Chorus*

Relieved and happy (after all, she got her way), Narcissa declares that “each anxious care is vanished into empty air,” thus expressing the overall message of the finale, which is essentially “all’s well that ends well.”

Since thus each anxious care
 Is vanish’d into empty air;
 Ah how can I forbear
 To join the jocund dance.

To and fro, couples go,
 On the light fantastic toe;
 While with glee, merrily
 The rosy hours advance.—*Chorus*

Trudge, to whom the Governor has offered a job, sings a verse tainted with the mixed blessing of his situation: “my fortune’s fair, tho’ black’s my wife.” Despite his earlier extolling of her virtues, his words now reveal the extent to which he is aware of society’s general opinion of their situation.

‘Sbobs now I’m fix’d for life
 My fortune’s fair, tho’ black’s my wife;
 Who fears domestic strife,
 Who cares now a souse.¹³

Merry cheer, my dingy dear
 Shall find with her Factotum here,
 Night and day I’ll frisk and play
 About the house with Wows.—*Chorus*

His words also reflect a more domestic attitude toward his relationship with Wowski than the eroticized transaction of the first act.

¹³ “Souse” is a monetary term that refers to a coin of little or no value. It also refers to various parts of a pig or other animal that, although often considered discards of little edible value, are prepared or pickled for consumption.

Yarico expresses that she will be happy despite being “doom’d to know care and woe.” Because Inkle has repented, “her love will constant prove”; her words reflect the earlier perspective of their “simple maid” duet—all will be well as long as they are together. In addition, her final words mirror Steele’s portrayal of women’s fidelity in his telling of the Inkle and Yarico tale in the *Spectator*.

When first the swelling sea
Hither brought my love and me;
What then my fate wou’d be
Little did I think;

Doom’d to know care and woe
Happy still is Yarico
Since her love will constant prove
And nobly scorns to shrink.—*Chorus*

Ultimately, regardless of how badly she has been treated, Yarico reverts to sentimentality; even though Inkle has not proven that his love is constant, she has not learned from her experience.

Patty, who provides the perspective of prevailing social attitudes through the voice of the servant class, gets the last word in the finale. It is her message that the audience will carry with them when they leave the theater: when all is said and done, society still considers Inkle’s behavior “absurd”; it “hardly suit[s] an age like this.”

Let Patty say a word—
A chambermaid may sure be heard—
Sure men are grown absurd,
Thus taking black for white;

To hug and kiss a dingy miss,
Will hardly suit an age like this,
Unless, here, some friends appear,
Who like this wedding night.—*Chorus*

New Music for Covent Garden

When modifying *Inkle and Yarico* for Covent Garden's 1788 season, Colman and Arnold created two additional songs for Inkle. Records do not tell us whether the songs were added to break up the long stretch of dialogue, reveal more about Inkle's psychological state, or merely give the actor more songs to sing. The added songs, however, fulfill all of these functions. John Henry Johnstone, who played the part of Inkle, certainly had sufficient talent to perform the new songs for Inkle's character.¹⁴ The songs were so popular that they were published in full score in December 1788, and the texts of the songs were published in a small collection shortly thereafter, with designations indicating the acts in which they were to be included.¹⁵

Hoskins posits that the additional songs for Inkle were likely intended to replace Yarico's two solos, which he states were not sung. He bases this conclusion on a report that "Charlotte Chapman was not a musician and, according to the *Morning Post* of 23 October 1788, she performed only 'Oh say, simple maid.'"¹⁶ While Chapman no doubt covered the role, she was not the reason for the additional songs, nor was she the actress who created Yarico at Covent Garden; the performers who created the roles at each of the theatres are shown below in Table 6.1. According to Roger Fiske, and as noted in prompt books, the role was performed there by Mrs. Billington, who, "finding herself without any display pieces, incongruously added 'Sweet

¹⁴ Hoskins, *Thematic Index*, 77: "We learn from the *Morning Chronicle* of 23 October 1788 that Johnstone sang the new songs 'with great taste and effect.'"

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: London: Longman & Broderip, 29 December 1788; RISM A2277 and A2278. Both added songs' texts are also found in *The new vocal enchantress containing an elegant selection of the newest songs Lately Sung at the Theatres Royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Haymarket, Royally Theatre. ... Hall. A new edition for 1789*. London, [1789]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>, s.v. "What citadel so proud" (accessed July 14, 2010). Also, printed in *An excellent garland, containing: 1. Additional Songs in Inkle and Yarico. 2. The Revolution, and Gun powder Plot. 3. God save the King. 4. The Top-sails shiver in the Wind* (London: G. Swindells, 1790?), 2–3, in which the act is designated for each song.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Bird’ from Handel’s *L’Allegro* and for good measure ‘Ah, will no change of clime’ by Paisiello, which as ‘Nel cor più’ had just been heard in *La Molinara*.”¹⁷

ROLE	HAYMARKET	COVENT GARDEN
Inkle	Mr. Bannister, Jun.	Mr. Johnstone
Sir Christopher Curry	Mr. Parsons	Mr. Quick
Medium	Mr. Baddeley	Mr. Wewitzer
Campley	Mr. Davies	Mr. Davies
Trudge	Mr. Edwin	Mr. Edwin
Mate	Mr. Meadows	Mr. Darley
Yarico	Mrs. Kemble	Mrs. Billington
Narcissa	Mrs. Bannister	Mrs. Mountain
Wowski	Miss George	Mrs. Martyr
Patty	Mrs. Forster	Mrs. Rock

Table 6.1: Performers who created the roles at Haymarket Theatre and Covent Garden.

Song and dance insertions by performers, common practice in both serious and comic operas of the era, were generally either brand new works or tried-and-true favorites. In the case noted above, there was one of each. Mrs. Billington’s new song became so popular that it was published separately from the piano-vocal score of the opera. “Ah will no change of clime” was published by John Lee (Dublin) in a version for voice and keyboard or harp, with one set of Italian words and two sets of English (“Ah will no change of clime” and “Hope told a flattering tale”), along with a version for solo German flute, and was also published by Longman and Broderip, the Haymarket publishers, both for voice and solo guitar.¹⁸

“What Citadel so proud can say,” the song added to Act Two (see lyrics below), provided Inkle an opportunity to musically reflect on his feelings for Yarico. More importantly, however, the song portrays Inkle as a more sympathetic and likeable character, making more believable his later reform. The (somewhat enigmatic) lyrics introduce an absent blocking agent—his father’s business-driven precepts—as the basis for his conflicted feelings, which he later cites, just prior

¹⁷ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478.

¹⁸ Paisiello *Thematic Index*, 433–34.

to his reform, as his rationale for deciding to part with Yarico. It is, then, through song that the audience learns that Inkle actually has a heart.

What citadel so proud can say,
 No force shall move, no foe molest?
 E'en prudence' [s] surly guard gives way,
 When warmer passions storm the breast.
 Vainly I said, in calmer hour,
 What shock can steady Caution know?
 Alas! I felt not then the power
 Of Gratitude and Yarico.

The hoary precept, cold and slow,
 A while it's [*sic*] influence may impart,
 But Passion beaming, melts the snow,
 Which Caution scatters on the heart.
 Tho' long in frozen maxims arm'd,
 At length I felt my bosom glow,
 Dissolv'd in tenderness, when warm'd
 With Gratitude and Yarico.

Inkle's text reveals that his love for Yarico is bringing about a change of heart: "I felt not then the power of gratitude and Yarico," he states at the end of the first verse, referring to his earlier sense of priorities. His words reveal a love and affection for her that have grown beyond the more superficial "mistress" attraction and transaction of the first act, thus showing his capacity to change, to love something other than money. The inclusion of this song thus prepares the audience for a more convincing anagnorisis than the Haymarket 1787 version of the score and libretto, as it implies that Inkle's reform is based on his recognition of his erroneous judgment.

Fiske describes the music as a "curiosity in that it is written for clarinets that transpose down a semitone and must therefore be in B major (the song is in A major; the clarinet parts are written in B-flat major)."¹⁹ Set in triple meter (see Figure 6.9-1 below), it carries the marking *Pomposo*, which imparts a sense of elevated social status—real or assumed—or an elevated pomposity.

¹⁹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 478.

What Citadel so proud can say
An additional Song in
INKLE AND YARICO
Sung by M^{rs} Johnstone
Composed by
DOCTOR ARNOLD

Entered at Stationer's Hall Price 1^s

Printed by Longman and Broderip N^o 26 Cheapside and N^o 13 Hay Market
Music Sellers and musical Instrument makers to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

The musical score consists of seven staves. From top to bottom, they are: Corni (Corns), Clarinets, Violino 1st (Violin 1), Violino 2nd (Violin 2), Viola, Voce (Voice), and Bassi (Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 7/4. The vocal line is marked with a forte dynamic and the tempo marking 'Pompofa'. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Figure 6.9-1: First page of “What Citadel so proud can say.”²⁰

²⁰ Samuel Arnold, “What Citadel so proud can say” (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788), Sister Mary Collection, Early American Musical Theater Collection, American Music Research Center, University of Colorado at Boulder.

The musical language of “What Citadel so proud can say” is replete with dotted rhythms, sixteenth- and thirty-second-note figures and runs, trills, dynamic contrasts, and a vocal line that alternates between arching and disjunct lines. In the instrumental introduction, corni play in horn-fifth intervals, thus bringing the hunt trope into the song, but this time in a descending line rather than the more typical ascending gesture (see Figure 6.9-1 above).

Accents in all instruments punctuate the cadential horn fifths, thus emphasizing the decisiveness of Inkle’s words for the first half of the verse. A *forte* rapidly ascending passage leads into a *subito piano* contrast in the music for the second quatrain of the verse (see last two mm., Figure 6.1-2 below), better mirroring the now-more-reflective nature of Inkle’s words, “vainly I said in calmer hours,” with calmer music.

The image displays a musical score for the second page of the piece "What citadel so proud." The score is written for a piano and includes a vocal line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains five staves: four for the piano accompaniment and one for the vocal line. The piano accompaniment features a complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the right hand and a more rhythmic bass line. Dynamic markings include *mf.* (mezzo-forte) and *f* (forte), with accents and hairpins. The vocal line begins with the lyrics: "What Ci-ta-del, so proud can say no force shall move, no foe mo- left evn prudence fur-ly guard gives". The second system contains five staves: four for the piano accompaniment and one for the vocal line. The piano accompaniment continues with similar textures, including a prominent sixteenth-note figure in the right hand. Dynamic markings include *f* and *p* (piano). The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "way when warmer passions storm the breast, vainly I said in calmer hours what". The score concludes with a final cadence in the piano part.

Figure 6.9-2: Second page of "What citadel so proud."

The image shows a page of musical notation for a piece titled "What citadel so proud." The score is arranged in a grand staff format, featuring multiple staves for different instruments and a vocal line. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The music includes various dynamics such as *mf.*, *rinf.*, *pmo*, and *P*. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Lyrics:

flock can steady caution know - - A - - las! I felt not then the powrs of Grati - - tude and

Var-i-co, of Gratitude, and Yari-co of Gratitude and Yarico.

Figure 6.9-3: Third page of "What citadel so proud."

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are for the vocal line, with the first staff in treble clef and the second in bass clef. The bottom four staves are for the piano accompaniment, with the first two in treble clef and the last two in bass clef. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a 3/4 time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f'.

The hoary precept's cold and flow
A. while its influence may impart

But passion beaming, melts the snow
Which caution scatters on the heart

2

Tbo' long in frozen maxims arm'd
At length I feel my bosom glow;

Dis-solv'd in tendernefs when warm'd.
With Gratitude and Yari-co.

Ger: Flute or Guitar.

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for the vocal line in treble clef. The bottom three staves are for the piano accompaniment, with the first two in treble clef and the last one in bass clef. The music continues with the same key signature and time signature as the first system. The lyrics are written below the staves.

What Citadel, so proud can say no force shall move no foe mo-left evn prudence sur-ly guard gives
way when warmer passions storm the breast. vain-ly I said in cal-mer hours what
shock can steady caution know... A. - las! I felt not then the pow'r of Grati-tude and
Yari-co of Grati-tude and Yari-co of Grati-tude and Yari-co.

Figure 6.9-4: Last page of "What citadel so proud."

The more elevated musical language in “What Citadel so proud can say” helps redeem Inkle’s the earlier portrayals of his social and moral status to some extent, as such language is appropriate for someone of higher status. The stalwart force of his words, particularly in combination with Arnold’s music features, conveys the power of Yarico’s influence on Inkle and the import of his realization.

The second song that Colman and Arnold added for Inkle at Covent Garden, “Simplicity thou favorite child,” occurs in Act Three. While the precise location of the insertion is not indicated, its text (shown below) suggests that Inkle sings the song immediately after he announces his decision to reform.

Simplicity! thou fav’rite child
 Of heav’nly Nature, chaste and mild;
 Sweet guard of playful youth
 Thy nakedness is thy defence,
 Thy silent gesture eloquence;
 Thy eloquence is Truth.

Ah! say then, who could injure thee,
 Nature’s lov’d babe—Simplicity?
 So sweet, so chaste, so mild:
 The worst of wretches, who has not
 Thy parent’s traces long forgot,
 Could never hurt it’s [*sic*] child.

The text reflects the positive meaning of “simplicity” as a virtue, once again reinforcing Yarico’s nobility of soul, if not of birth, consistent with the cultural construct of the noble savage.

Having established, through “What Citadel so proud can say,” that Inkle is capable of a change of heart, that Yarico’s love has affected him deeply, “Simplicity! thou fav’rite child” musically presents Inkle’s moment of anagnorisis, emphasizing the statement he made just prior to the song:

Ill-founded precept too long has steeled my breast—but still ’tis vulnerable—this trial was too much—Nature, ’gainst habit combating within me, has penetrated to my heart; a heart, I

own, long callous to the feelings of sensibility; but now it bleeds—and bleeds for my poor Yarico. Oh, let me clasp her to it, while 'tis glowing, and mingle tears of love and penitence.

That Inkle is emotionally shaken by this moment is apparent in the way his thoughts tumble out unfinished until they are spent. In contrast, the delivery of his words in the song conveys suggest that he is at peace, now that his horrible dilemma is resolved, and filled with regret for what he nearly did to Yarico.

Simplicity, thou fav'rite Child
An additional Song in
INKLE AND YARICO
Sung by Mr. Johnstone
Composed by
DOCTOR ARNOLD

Entered at Stationer's Hall Price 1^s

Printed by Longman and Broderip N^o 26 Cheapside and N^o 13 HayMarket
 Music Sellers and musical Instrument makers to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

Corni
 Oboi *solo oboe*
 Vio.1. *p*
 Vio.2.
 Viola *f*
 Voce *solo oboe*
with Expression
 Bassi *f*
tutti

Figure 6.10-1: First page of "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child."²¹

²¹ Samuel Arnold, "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child" (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788), Sister Mary Collection, Early American Musical Theater Collection, American Music Research Center, University of Colorado at Boulder.

The image shows a page of musical notation for the hymn "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child." The score is arranged in two systems. The first system consists of six staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and four piano accompaniment staves (Right Hand Treble, Left Hand Treble, Right Hand Bass, and Left Hand Bass). The piano part features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamics include *P* (piano), *F* (forte), and *pp* (pianissimo). The word "Simplicity" is written across the piano staves. The second system contains three staves: two vocal staves and one piano accompaniment staff. The vocal staves have lyrics: "Simplicity, thou fav'rite fav'rite Child of heavenly nature chaste and". The piano accompaniment continues with the same complex texture. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

Figure 6.10-2: Second page of "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child."

Arnold's musical setting is appropriately expressive for the sentimental and remorseful lyrics. "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child," like his previous solo, is set in triple meter and a major key, this time B-flat major. Once again, dotted rhythmic gestures, ornamental turns, rapid passages, and dynamic contrasts abound, but the texture is lighter throughout. Streams of parallel thirds and octaves permeate the instrumental accompaniment, often creating an ascending *forte* wave of anticipation that is answered by a *piano* response, such as at the bottom of the first page (mm. 4–5) and the top of the second page (see Figures 6.10-1–2 above). When the voice enters on "simplicity," the texture is sparse and delicate, underscoring the word itself. After a full three beats, the word is repeated, followed by a similar quiet interlude of one measure. An interlude gesture moves chromatically through neighbor tones, upward in the bass and downward in the oboes, strings, and keyboard. As Inkle sings "thou fav'rite Child of heav'nly nature chaste and mild," the instruments provide a heavenly fanfare of sixteenth-note gestures and the horns play at *pianissimo* (see Figure Figure 6.10-2 above and 6.10-3, first system, below).

The image shows a page of musical notation for a vocal piece. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line with lyrics: "mild fweet guard of playful youth?..... Thy". The second system includes a vocal line with lyrics: "nakednes is thy de- fence Thy fi- - lent gesture Elo- quence thy Eloquence is. Truth thy". The music is written in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings like "mf." and "P". The word "Legate" is also present in the second system.

Figure 6.10-3: Third page of “Simplicity! thou fav’rite child.”

Inkle's next phrase is stated somewhat more straightforwardly, with steady eighth notes accompanying him, then a stream of sixteenth notes as he sustains a high F through a fermata (see Figure 6.10-3 above). As Inkle's lyrics express "Thy nakedness is thy defence, Thy silent gestures Eloquence, thy Eloquence is Truth," the rhythmic pace of the instruments slows. To underscore the meaning of the words, the instruments play in accented scalar lines that lead to a fermata on "Truth."

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child." The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a flute or guitar part. The lyrics are as follows:

Eloquence is truth.

Ah! fay then .

Ah! fay then. fay who cou'd injure thee

Natures lov'd babe simplicity!

So sweet, so Chafte so mild!

2

The worlt of wretches, who has not

Thy parent traces long forgot

Could never hurt it's Child!

Could never hurt it's Child,

Ger: Flute or Guitar.

Sim - pli - ci - ty. Sim - pli - ci - ty thou fav'rite fav'rite

Child of heav'nly nature Chafte and mild fweet guard of playful youth?... Thy

nakednes is thy de - fence Thy filent gesture Elo - quence Thy Elo - quence is

Truth thy E - lo - quence is Truth.

Figure 6.10-4: Last page of "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child."

The musical language is appropriately more complex for the end of the verse (see Figure 6.10-4 above), with a triplet and sixteenth notes employed for “Eloquence is truth,” thus underscoring the import of the words. Another *forte*, accented, ascending line follows, leading to a delicately stated final phrase in oboes and strings that is joined by horns at the final cadence.

“What Citadel so proud can say” and “Simplicity! thou fav’rite child” were both printed in full score for horns, clarinets, and strings, which is rather curious. After about 1762, publishers turned away from printing full scores, largely due to the increased number of operas. Fiske notes the following statistics:

Years	Full Scores	Vocal Scores
1743–62	11	2
1763–83	2	80 (at least)

Table 6.2: Decline in publication of full scores after 1762.²²

In addition, due to the shift to the galant style, more staves were required for full scores, thus adding to the publication expense. Vocal scores, because of their smaller size, could also be printed more quickly and sooner after opening nights, and thereby became available to amateur performers more quickly. They were also considerably less expensive than vocal scores.

Toward the end of the century, Harrison, Cluse & Co. published *Pianoforte Magazine*, which was intended provide music at a lower cost for household use. Songs from the popular operas from the last quarter of the century were included, as well as some instrumental music.²³ Given that there was a market for instrumental music, particularly for currently popular comic opera songs, Longman and Broderip may have been competing with Harrison, Cluse & Co. by

²² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 294.

²³ *Ibid.*, 299–300. A major marketing draw was the fact that people who bought every weekly issue were to be given a free piano as a final installment; only about two-thirds of the projected publications were completed.

publishing “What Citadel so proud can say” and “Simplicity! thou fav’rite child” in this format (smaller size and upright shape).

In addition to the above songs added for Inkle, a song collection published by G. Swindells (ca. 1790) includes two additional verses for the ensemble finale—one for Wowski and one for Inkle.²⁴ Wowski sings:

Whilst all around rejoice,
Pipe and Tabour raise the voice,
It can’t be Wowski’s choice,
Whilst Trudge’s to be dumb;

No, no, dey, blithe and gay,
Shall like Massa, Missy, play,
Dance and sing, hey ding ding,
Strike fiddle and beat drum.—*Chorus*

Wowski’s text conveys that she is ultimately powerless in her relationship with Trudge; she is at the mercy of whatever decisions Trudge makes. Her statement that they will play “like Massa, Missy” underscores the owner-slave overtones of their relationship.

It is not stated in what order the characters sing, so Inkle’s verse may or may not be the final word in this revised version of the finale. But he does put the final word on how he feels about the outcome of the events that just transpired:

Love’s convert here behold,
Banish’d now by thirst of gold,
Blest in these arms to fold
My gentle Yarico.

Hence all care, doubt and fear,
Love and joy each heart shall cheer,
Happy night, pure delight
Shall make our bosoms glow.—*Chorus*

²⁴ *An excellent garland, containing: 1. Additional Songs in Inkle and Yarico. 2. The Revolution, and Gun powder Plot. 3. God save the King. 4. The Top-sails shiver in the Wind.* London: G. Swindells, 1790?), 3–4.

Inkle's text expresses the power of romantic love over money, pointing to the next era's focus on human emotion. Hearing Inkle rejoice in his good fortune—i.e., recognizing his true love for Yarico and deciding to spend his life with her—suggests that the couple may indeed enjoy a happy future together, thus creating a more convincing sense of peripeteia than the original version of the finale. Ultimately, Inkle's verse constitutes a reaffirmation of the promises he and Yarico made to each other in "Oh say simple maid."

Whether these added songs or verses became standard in performance, either in Covent Garden or other later performances, is not clear. A review of the libretti published subsequently in England and the U.S., shows that the additional songs were not included. Nonetheless, since English performances and music generally made their way to the United States, separately in publication or as part of performers' repertoire, it is likely that the added songs discussed here would have sometimes been performed in American productions of the opera. Unfortunately, conclusive evidence is lacking.

Summary

Literary scholar Linda Troost, apparently using the smaller number of songs in Colman's opera as the basis for her opinion, concludes that "[o]ne could leave all the songs out of *Inkle and Yarico* and lose little of significance."²⁵ Musicologist Robert Hoskins, who summarizes only the superficial features of the music, judges *Inkle and Yarico* to be musically "light, airy and uncomplicated."²⁶ The analyses and discussions presented here indicate otherwise: the music of *Inkle and Yarico* makes vitally important contributions to the opera, informing our understanding of characterization and the complex allegory of meaning. In fact, without knowing about or

²⁵ Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera."

²⁶ Hoskins, "Dr. Samuel Arnold," 179.

understanding the implications of function of music in the opera, scholars have missed out on deeper layers of analysis and interpretation.

Previous scholarly analyses and discussion of *Inkle and Yarico* have perceived Narcissa and Campley as the normative, or even exemplary, couple, based on their better racial and moral fit than the other two couples in the opera. As the “aristocratic” pair, they are above the sexual commodification that takes place between Inkle and Yarico, and Trudge and Wowski. Their bargaining is of the marital rather than sexual realm and, thus, beyond condemnation. In addition to this categorization, O’Quinn points to their roles in the complex allusions of meaning that comprise the moral messages of the opera. In his view, as has been discussed somewhat extensively in Chapter 3, Narcissa represents colonialism and Campley represents a military alliance with her, brought about by the intervention of the state (her father).

By taking into consideration the additional information provided through analysis of their songs, we are challenged to renegotiate our understanding of the characters and their roles. At the outset we have to admit that these two characters are much more interesting than a neutral, normative couple. For instance, rather than seeing Narcissa as a sweet girl smitten with true love who is defying her father’s arranged marriage, we see that she has a darker psychological side, one of obsession and control. Likewise, Campley is not just a lowly sea captain who braves social-class difference for love. He is a cowardly man who, despite loving Narcissa, seems to be growing aware of her darker, controlling side.

Further, we are faced with factoring this new information into the existing analyses of the meanings, metaphors, and allegorical complexities of *Inkle and Yarico*. If Narcissa represents colonialism, and Narcissa is now seen to be self-obsessed and controlling, what does that imply about the practice of colonization? For instance, does this provide another critique of colonialism

by pointing to its darker, self-serving side? If Campley, as the military presence, is now seen to have been weak or hesitant in forming an alliance with colonialism, what does that say about the desirability of that alliance? Should there be some concern and cause for hesitation before making such an alliance? These and more questions arise in the quest to fully understand Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico*.

Patty, like the other women, has been shown to be a strong character, in contrast to her weaker male counterpart, Trudge. Speaking from the perspective of the servant class, Patty's voice reveals the prevailing social attitudes. The fact that Patty has been shown to be old-fashioned and narrow-minded, however, calls into question just what message the audience perceives about those attitudes. If, as has been characterized through her dialogue, actions, and songs, Patty's attitudes represent traditional social attitudes that are obsolete, then her final pronouncement in the ensemble finale would also have to be considered out-dated. In itself, in fact, it "will hardly suit an age like this," the age of enlightenment. Ultimately, hers is a call for change.

The fact that Colman and Arnold added songs for Inkle at Covent Garden suggests that the lack of music for the previous Haymarket season may have had more to do with lack of sufficient time to create additional music than the dramatist's intent that Inkle not sing. By adding "What Citadel so proud can say" and "Simplicity! thou fav'rite child," Colman makes Inkle a more sympathetic character and makes his reform seem more believable. The musical settings of both of Inkle's added songs are congruent with the meaning expressed in the lyrics, thus supporting their meaning rather than adding layers of meaning or nuance. The very fact that Inkle sings, however, is significant for several reasons. As has been stated, the songs make Inkle a more sympathetic character, and his reform at the end of the opera more believable. Further,

however, the fact that Inkle's songs are in the galant style, with attendant sophistication and ornamentation, places his social status on a par with Narcissa and Campley.

CHAPTER 7

THE MUSIC OF *INKLE AND YARICO* IN AMERICA

Hard evidence about the nature of American performances of *Inkle and Yarico* is fragmentary at best. While we know that adding, changing, interpolating, and otherwise altering the music in any given performances was done freely, records reveal extremely little in the way of specific details about these fluid changes. Only by compiling material from disparate sources can one get a glimpse into the nature of the songs, dances, and other insertions of music in actual performances in American theatres. Using such fragments of evidence as a basis for discussion, this chapter reconstructs the nature and role of music in American performances of *Inkle and Yarico*.

When *Inkle and Yarico* was performed on American stages, not all of its music was completely new to audience members, as some of the tunes were current favorites in the United States. As in England, the music heard in these performances fell into three general categories: borrowed tunes, new music written by Arnold, and additions and interpolations in individual performances or by particular performers. These various music types had their own cultural resonance as part of the overall performance experience.

Borrowed Tunes in *Inkle and Yarico*

Familiar and well-liked music in *Inkle and Yarico* added to the appeal of its performances and also colored the theatrical experience with pre-existing referential meaning. In some cases, the resonance for American audience members would have been the same as or similar to that of English audiences, but these borrowed tunes had their own history in the United States, having

been widely used for a variety of purposes: as vehicles for song texts providing political commentary, for amateur performance in private households, and to accompany social dance music.

The first familiar tune that audiences would have heard at a performance of *Inkle and Yarico*—in the third movement of the overture—was “La Belle Catherine.” This popular fiddle piece was brought to America in English dance-music publications, as well as published in America in the eighteenth century. Andrew Kunst, in his article in *The Fiddler’s Companion*, speaks to the popularity of the tune, noting its inclusion in several American commonplace books¹ dated as early as 1786.² American music scholar Kate Van Winkle Keller describes social dancing in the Colonies, including gatherings at local taverns and occasional balls, and the use of this tune.³ Keller reports that Winchester, Virginia, sought a dancing master as early as 1771, and:

By 1788, Winchester had its dancing master of Scottish descent [Simon C. McMahon] and yet his offerings were of the latest fashion. “La Belle Catherine” and “The German Spa” had appeared on the first page of the most recent collection printed in London by the Thompson company. . . . He boasted that he had “procured the best white music that is to be had in these parts, and will teach both in private and in publick.”⁴

¹ Commonplace books were notebooks in which were recorded personal information and observations, such as quotes, poems, and music that individuals found interesting. Each commonplace book was, therefore, unique to its compiler’s interests.

² Andrew Kuntz, “Belle Catharine, [1], La. AKA Lady Belle Catherine,” *Fiddler’s Companion: A Descriptive Index of North American, British Isles and Irish Music for the Folk Violin and Other Instruments*; available at http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/BELL_BH.htm (accessed July 6, 2010).

³ Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America, 1528–1789* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007).

⁴ Keller, *Dance and Its Music*, 238–39: the song appears as “La Belle Catherine” in *Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1788* (London: Saml. Ann & Peter Thompson, [1787]), 1. Library of Congress.

Figure 7.1: Image of “La Belle Catherine” in Thompson’s London publication.⁵

Figure 7.1 above shows the short *da capo* piece as included on the first page of Thompson’s *Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1788*. Dance instructions for the tune were later included in *The Scholars Companion, Containing a Choice Collection of Cotillons & Country Dances* (shown in Figure 7.2 below).

•••••

No. 39—LA BELLE CATERINE.

First cou. swing round, undo that, 1st gent. turns 2d lady with both hands, ditto the 1st lady with 2d gent. and right and left at top.

•••••

Figure 7.2: Dance instructions for “La Belle Catherine.”⁶

Below, Figure 7.3 shows the tune as included in a later (ca. 1805) collection published in Philadelphia for playing on the German flute or violin:

⁵*Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1788* (London: Saml. Ann & Peter Thompson, [1787]), 1. Library of Congress; in Keller, *Dance in America*, 238.

⁶M. J. C. Fraasier, *The Scholars Companion, Containing a Choice Collection of Cotillons & Country Dances* (Boston: D. Bowen, Columbian Museum Press, 1796), 14.



Figure 7.3: “La belle Catherine” as included in a tune collection.⁷

The “La Belle Catherine” theme was borrowed by Benjamin Carr for a set of variations for piano (see Figure 8.4 below), published in 1793, the same year he emigrated to the United States.⁸ Carr may have been familiar with a slightly earlier work by Austrian composer and pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), who also found the tune pleasing enough to use it for a piano theme-and-variations piece, published in London around 1791.⁹ The young Hummel spent four years in London (1787–1791); it is likely that he heard the tune at a dance,

⁷ *The Gentleman’s Pocket Companion for the German Flute or Violin, consisting of most Elegant Songs, Airs, Marches, Menuets, Cotillions, Country Dances &c.*, No. 1 (Philadelphia: G. Willig, [1805–10?]), in the Library of Congress (from the Cohen Estate, 1930).

⁸ [Benjamin Carr], “The 2d Number: La Belle Catherine with Variations (In wich [*sic*] is Introduced the favorite AIR of the Yellow Hair’d Lady),” (Philadelphia: Moller & Capron, 1793); imprint from Oscar George Theodore Sonneck and William Treat Upton, *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 266. Sister Mary Collection, American Music Research Center, University of Colorado.


⁹ Johann Nepomuk Hummel, “La Belle Catherine” (London: J. N. Hummel, n.d. [1791?], from *International Music Score Library Project*, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Variations_on_'La_belle_Catherine'_\(Hummel,_Johann_Nepomuk\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Variations_on_'La_belle_Catherine'_(Hummel,_Johann_Nepomuk)) (accessed June 27, 2010).

but also conceivable that he saw a performance of *Inkle and Yarico* at Covent Garden or the Haymarket during its years of peak popularity in London.

9


THE 2^d NUMBER

LA BELLE CATHERINE

WITH VARIATIONS  by Benj. Carr

(In wich is introduced the favorite AIR of the Yellow Hair'd Lady,
for the

HARPSICHORD OR PIANO FORTE.



22913

Figure 7.4: First page of Carr’s piano variations on “La Belle Catherine.”

Like the English comic operas and their songs, many of London’s pleasure-garden songs were performed in America, including “Last Valentine’s day” (also known as “Black Sloven”), which Colman and Arnold appropriated for Trudge’s solo in Act One, “A voyage o’er seas.” The

song was performed “by particular desire” by the popular singer-actor Mr. Wools of the American Company in New York’s Vaux Hall Gardens in 1769.¹⁰ The appeal to American audiences of the tune’s use in *Inkle and Yarico*, however, was owed to more than its British origins.

Like many popular tunes, “Black Sloven”¹¹ was frequently refitted with new lyrics—often issued as broadside ballads—including texts reflecting both sides of the American Revolution in political terms. In occupied New York, for instance, a Loyalist version of lyrics appeared in the *Royal Gazette* in 1778. Another set of lyrics was written in sympathy with Shays’s Rebellion and issued via broadside ballad in 1787 by printer Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts.¹²

Musicians often notated their favorite tunes and texts in commonplace books or manuscript collections, in some cases providing evidence not otherwise available in print. Amateur music historian Andrew Kunst, in an extensive website publication on American fiddle music, describes the extent to which “Black Sloven” appears in such collections.¹³ Comparing the tune to “Yankee Doodle,” Kunst theorizes that colonials appropriated and reconfigured the “Black Sloven” tune as a source of nationalist pride. In fact, Kunst includes an account of an

¹⁰ Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America: 1731–1800*, 1907, pub. *New York Journal*, June 8, 1769. Also noted in Andrew Kuntz, “The Black Sloven,” *Fiddler’s Companion: A Descriptive Index of North American, British Isles and Irish Music for the Folk Violin and Other Instruments*. This is a reprint of his article originally published in *Fiddler Magazine* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2008); available at http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/Black_Sloven.htm (accessed June 25, 2010).

¹¹ Kunst, “The Black Sloven.” According to Andrew Kunst, the tune’s title derives from the name of a horse—whether a specific horse or one of legendary status. Originally stated as “Black Clover,” the nickname “Black Sloven” is a form of affection (similar to “lazy mutt”). The earliest known Black Sloven derives from an account of King Charles II’s favorite horse at the Burford Downs, around 1690. It was also the name of an early eighteenth-century tavern in Lancashire, named after the owner’s favorite steed.

¹² See Andrew Kunst’s extensive article for more details about the use of the tune for expressing political sentiments from both sides of the Revolutionary War conflict, including some of the lyrics.

¹³ Kunst, “The Black Sloven.”

American ship named the Black Sloven that captured a British schooner bound for New York with gunpowder in May 1782.

The jig-like tune was also popular as an instrumental piece for fiddle, fife, or flute, and appears in American music manuscripts and commonplace books. One of those books belonged to John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), in which he notated the tune around 1786. It also appears as a “marching air,” thus further connecting the tune to military use. According to Kunst, it appeared in an old manuscript book that was kept at the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, under the title “Col. Pickering’s March to Lexington.”¹⁴ Kunst also notes:

“The Black Sloven” can even be heard on the only recorded music devices from the period that existed—musical clocks—in particular one by Bucks County, Pennsylvania, clockmaker Joseph Ellicott from around the 1770s.¹⁵

Another popular dance tune, “O say bonny lass,” was borrowed for the duet dialogue between Inkle and Yarico in Act One of the comic opera, “Oh say simple maid.” “O say bonny lass” is written in a notebook belonging to Captain George Bush (1753–1797), an officer of the Colonial Continental Army who recorded many of the popular songs of the time.¹⁶ The song was published as sheet music by Benjamin Carr around 1797–98 in New York, in the *American Musical Miscellany* published in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1798, and in the *Songster’s Companion* published in Brattleborough, 1815.¹⁷ Carr’s publication is unique for its inclusion of

¹⁴ William Dinneen, “Early American Manuscript Music-Books,” *The Musical Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (Jan. 1944), 5. Music historian William Dinneen, identifying the tune as appearing in Miss Carew’s personal song collection (1790), also notes that the tune was “historically important as the fife and drum piece played on the march from Salem to Lexington on April 19th, 1775.”

¹⁵ Kunst, “The Black Sloven.”

¹⁶ Susan Lawlor, liner notes to *Jefferson and Liberty*, compact disc recorded by The Itinerant Band, available at <http://www.itinerantband.com/jlnotes.html> (accessed Jan. 3, 2011). Bush’s notebooks were later published by Kate Van Winkle Keller when the Bush family donated them to the Historical Society of Delaware (*Songs from the American Revolution from Captain George Bush’s Notebook* [Sandy Hook, Conn.: Hendrickson Group, 1992].)

¹⁷ Also known as “Scotch Air from Inkle and Yarico,” *The Scots Musical Museum* (1797): 133–114, <http://www.colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Index.htm> (accessed June 29, 2010).

both Colman’s text and the “original words” of the song (see Figure 7.5 on the following page).

(Because the image is difficult to read, the lyrics are provided below.)

“Oh say, simple maid”	“O say, bonny Lass”
<p>Inkle: Oh say simple maid have you form’d any notion Of all the rude dangers in crossing the ocean When winds whistle shrilly ah wou’d they remind you To sigh with regret for the grot left behind you.</p>	<p>Laddie: Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack Oh say bonny Lass will you live in a Barrack And marry a soldier and carry his wallet.</p>
<p>Yarico: Ah no I cou’d follow and sail the world over, Nor think of my grot when I look at my lover; The winds which blow round us your arms for my pillow, Will lull us to sleep while we’re rock’d by the billow.</p>	<p>Lass: O yes I will go and think nae mare on it, I’ll marry my Jockey and carry his Wallet, I’ll neither ask leave of my Mammy or Daddy But off and away with my dear Soldier Laddie.</p>
<p>Inkle: Then say lovely lass what if haply espying, A rich gallant vessel with gay colours flying;</p> <p>Yarico: I’ll journey with thee love to where the land narrows And sling all my cares at my back with my arrows.</p>	<p>Laddie: And O bonny Lass will you go a Campaigning And brave ev’ry danger of Battle and Famine, When weary and wet I have none to befriend me In sickness caress me, in danger attend me.</p>
<p>Duet: Oh say then my true love we never will sunder Nor shrink from the tempest nor dread the big thunder, Still constant we’ll laugh at all changes of weather And journey all over the world both together.</p>	<p>Lass: O yes I will brave all the dangers you mention And fifty times more ‘gin you had the Invention Nor Famine nor Battle nor Danger shall fear me Whilst I have my Jockey my Soldier Lad near me.</p>


Table 7.1: Comparison of song texts: “Oh say, simple maid” and “O say, bonny Lass.”

OH SAY SIMPLE MAID

A favorite DIALOGUE in INKLE and YARICO to which is annex'd the Original Song of

Oh say bonny Lafs

NEW YORK Printed and sold at B CARRS Musical Repository. Price 10 Cts



Oh say simple Maid have you form'd a - ny no - tion on all the rule
Oh say bon - ny Lafs will you live in a Bar - rack Oh say bon - ny

dangers in crofing the o - cean When wind-whistle thrilly ah woud they remind you to
Lafs will you live in a Bar - rack Oh say bonny Lafs will you live in a Bar - rack and

sigh with re - gret for the gret left be - hind you
mar - ry a Sol - dier and car - ry his wal - let

Words in INKLE & YARICO	Original words
<p>YARICO Ah no I could follow and sail the World over, Nor think of my gret when I look at my lover The winds which blow round us your arms stormy blow Will let us to sleep while we're rock'd by the billow.</p> <p>INKLE Then say lovely lafs what if haply efping, A rich gallant Vefel with gay colours flying, YAR. Ill journey with thee love to where the land narrow And fling all my cares at my back with my arrows.</p> <p>BOTH Oh say then my true love we never will part, Nor shrink from the tempeft nor dread the big thundr Still conftant I'll laugh at all changes of weather And I journey all over the World both together.</p>	<p>O yes I will go and think nre mare on it, I'll marry my Jockey and carry his Wallet, I'll neither ask leave of my Mummy or Daddy But off and away with my dear Soldier Laddie.</p> <p>And O bonny Lafs will you go a Campaigning And brave every danger of Battle and Famine, When weary and wet I have none to befriend me In sickness carefs me in danger attend me.</p> <p>O yes I will brave all the dangers you mention And fifty times more 'tis you had the Invention Nor Famine nor Battle nor Danger shall fear While I have my Jockey my Soldier Lad (near me.</p>

Figure 7.5: Sheet music imprint of “Oh say simple maid.”¹⁸

¹⁸ “Oh say simple maid,” A favorite dialogue in Inkle and Yarico to which is annex’d the Original Song of “Oh say bonny Lass” (New York: B. Carr Musical Repository, n.d.), <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/2085/search> (accessed November 12, 2010).

The tune used for “Wampum Swampum,” a duet dialogue featuring Wowski and Trudge in Act One of *Inkle and Yarico*, was derived from Thomas Linley’s pantomime *Robinson Crusoe*. Entitled the “Savage Dance,” the music was widely used as a dance tune in England and the Colonies. The tune appeared in a 1782 Glasgow music publication (see Figure 7.6 below), as well as in Francis Werner’s London music collection of 1784, both of which made their way to America. Keller’s dance-music research includes the story of businessman Robert Hunter’s visit to Baltimore in 1785, during which he attended a local social dance. When the “poor Negro” musician grew tired, Hunter took the fiddle and “played two of the latest hits from London for his company, both new country dances for the 1784–85 season,” one of which was “Savage Dance.”¹⁹



Figure 7.6: Image of “Savage Dance with Variations.”²⁰

These examples represent just some of the ways in which the borrowed tunes in *Inkle and Yarico* were distributed and used in America. *Early American Music and Its European Sources*,

¹⁹ Keller, *Dance and Its Music*, 267.

²⁰ “The Savage Dance with Variations,” *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs adapted for the fife, violin, or German Flute* (Glasgow: Jas. Aird, 1782), 2:66. © The British Library Board. All Rights Reserved, Music, a.27, in Keller, *Dance in America*, 268.

1589–1839 lists many additional occurrences of the dance tunes, including in fife instruction books such as *Goulding Fife* (1790), *The Gentleman’s Amusement* (1794), *Caledonian Muse* (1798), *The Instrumental Assistant* (1803), *Williams Fife* (1819), and others.²¹

Publication and Distribution of Arnold’s Songs

Well-liked songs from *Inkle and Yarico* were published as sheet music and bound in music collections for amateur use. “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing,” sung by Narcissa to open Act Two, was distributed, like “Oh say simple maid,” by American publisher, Benjamin Carr. The Gansevoort Collection in the Library of Congress contains the song on a single page with penciled notation suggesting that it is likely a Carr imprint ca. 1795. This copy includes two additional verses, which have been handwritten in ink at the top of the score (see Figure 7.7 below); such additions indicate the extent to which the story of *Inkle and Yarico* was still a living artifact in the eighteenth century:

By her anchor still supported
 Idly round her Tempests soar
 Lest her broken anchor’s parted
 And alas! the Ship’s on shore.

So my heart by doubts distracted
 Like an overwhelming wave
 Doubts & fears alike destroying
 Speed me to the silent grave.

²¹ *Early American Secular Music and Its European Sources, 1589–1839*, <http://www.colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Index.htm> (accessed June 29, 2010).

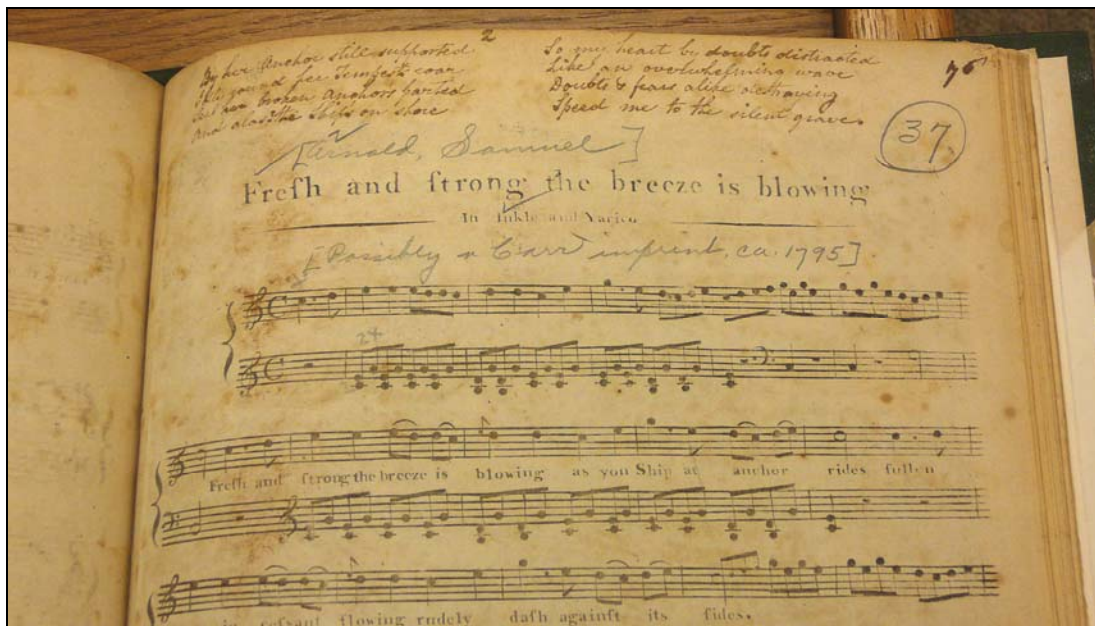


Figure 7.7: Photo of page from the Gansevoort Collection, Library of Congress.²²

Another imprint is included in *A Collection of New & Favorite Songs*, printed by Benjamin Carr in Baltimore [undated] and distributed in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, as noted at the top of the score beneath the title (see Figure 7.8 below):

²² [Samuel Arnold], “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing,” in Gansevoort Collection, Volume 13, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Fresh & Strong the breeze is blowing:

NEW YORK Printed & Sold at J. HEWITT'S Musical Repository N° 59 Maiden Lane. HIGGINS also by R. SHAW Philadelphia & D. BOWEN Columbian Museum in BOSTON

Fresh & Strong the breeze is blowing as you ship at anchor rides sullen
 waves insesant flowing rudely dush against its sides
 So my heart its course im peded beats in my peiturbed breast doubts like
 waves by waves sue ceeded rise and still deny it rest so my heart its course im
 peded beats in my pet tur bed breast doubts like waves by waves sue
 ceeded rise and still deny it rest

Figure 7.8: “Fresh & Strong the breeze is blowing,” in a song collection housed at the Library of Congress.²³

Music Additions and Interpolations

There is extremely little extant evidence of the specific music changes in *Inkle and Yarico*, primarily a few references in newspaper performance advertisements and reviews, and

²³ “Fresh and strong the breeze is blowing,” in *A Collection of New & Favorite Songs* (New York: J. Hewitt [n.d.]), Library of Congress.

some notations in published music. Insertions referring to the portrayal of slaves and natives, such as “Negro” dances and songs and “savage” dances, comprise the largest number of identified music changes.

Songs about slaves were not new to the second half of the eighteenth century. In his article on “negro songs,” historian Samuel Foster Damon describes two types of such songs in early American songsters: “comic songs” before the American Revolution, and “humanitarian songs” shortly thereafter, nearly all having been written for the stage.²⁴ Damon specifically credits Colman and Arnold’s *Inkle and Yarico* as the catalyst for creating the humanitarian type of “negro song”:

Colman’s opera initiated the lyrical onslaught against slavery; it was followed by quite a number of sentimental songs bewailing the injustice of the negro’s lot, sung with darkened skin, but always in the high language of conventional tragedy. Usually these songs proved somewhat more popular than their comic predecessors.²⁵

Of particular note is a song, “The Negro Boy,” that was given to Inkle’s character and sung by Mr. Joseph Tyler, a member of the Old American Company who performed the role of Inkle in *Inkle and Yarico* beginning in Boston in January 1796. Tyler’s name continues to appear in advertisements for performances of *Inkle and Yarico* until 1806. Damon reports that the song was published in the *American Musical Miscellany* in 1798, and that between 1799 and 1829 it was printed in at least fifteen other songsters. A copy of the sheet music, located in the Library of Congress (see Figure 7.9 below), was printed by Benjamin Carr around 1796 and carries a statement that the song was sung by “Mr. Tyler.”

²⁴ Samuel Foster Damon, “The Negro in Early American Songsters,” in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 28 (1934): 132–163.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

oldest negro song

[Arnold, Samuel]
from his opera "Inkle and Yarico"

THE NEGRO BOY

Sung by M^r TYLER.

Price 25 Cents

Printed at B. & CARR'S Musical Repositories. [ca. 1796]

Allegro

When thirst of Gold enslaves the mind and selfish
views a lone bear sway and selfish views a lone bear sway
Man turns a savage to his kind and blood and rapine
mark his way and blood and rapine mark his way a-las for this poor

Figure 7.9-1: First page of the sheet music of Inkle's song, "The Negro Boy."²⁶

²⁶ Anonymous [attributed in pencil to Samuel Arnold], "The Negro Boy" (New York, Benjamin Carr Repositories, ca. 1796), Library of Congress.

83

Simple toy I fold a guiltless Negro boy I fold a guiltless

Negro boy

2

His fathers hope his mothers pride
The black yet comely to the view
I tore him helpless from their side
And gave him to a ruffian crew
And yet for this same simple toy
I fold a weeping Negro boy

3

In Isles that deck the western main
Th'unhappy youth was doom'd to dwell
A poor forlorn insulted slave
A beast that christians buy and sell
To feed that Africks coast annoy
I fold the weeping Negro boy

4

May he who walks upon the sea's wind
Whose voice in duntlers heard on high
Who doth the raging tempest bind
And wings the lightning thro' the sky
Forgive the wretch that for a toy
Could sell a helpless Negro boy

For the Flute

Figure 7.9-2: Second page of sheet music of Inkle's song, "The Negro Boy."

Damon notes the earliest known printing of the song's text in the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal* in August 1792, accompanied by the following note to the editor:²⁷

The inclosed [*sic*] lines were lately received from a respectable merchant of this place, now in London. They are simple, natural, and charmingly descriptive of the greatest existing blot on the character of man—and ask a place in your Poet's Corner.

A history of the song is included under its title in the publication:

SENSIBILITY.

The African Prince, who in the last summer arrived in England, and is now under the tuition of a gentleman of the University of Cambridge, being asked what he gave for his Watch, answered, "What I will never give again:—I gave a fine Boy for it."

The first stanza is stated as follows:

When avarice enslaves the mind,
And selfish views alone bear sway,
Man turns savage to his kind,
And blood and rapine mark his way.
Alas! for this poor simple toy,
I sold a blooming Negro Boy.

These early lyrics are slightly different than found later in the published sheet music and songsters. Also, this particular account provides seven stanzas, whereas the songsters and sheet music versions generally include only four, sometimes using the title "I Sold a Guiltless Negro Boy."²⁸

It is not surprising that Inkle would be given this song (likely sung around the time of his "reform" at the end of the opera), as Colman and Arnold had also given Inkle songs that portrayed him more sympathetically when they prepared *Inkle and Yarico* for performances at Covent Garden. "The Negro Boy," however, makes an even stronger moral statement than the London song additions, inasmuch as Inkle emphatically expresses the devastating realities of

²⁷ Damon, 140–141.

²⁸ S.v. "negro boy," *Early American Secular Music and Its European Sources, 1589–1839*, <http://www.colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Index.htm> (accessed June 29, 2010).

enslaving human beings in the lyrics (song lyrics are stated below, which are slightly different from those published in the 1792 Providence newspaper):

When thirst of Gold enslaves the mind
 And selfish views alone bear sway,
 Man turns savage to his kind
 And blood and rapine marks his way.
 Alas for this poor simple toy
 I sold a guiltless Negro boy.

His father's hope, his mother's pride
 Tho' black, yet comely to the view.
 I tore him helpless from their side
 And gave him to a ruffian crew.
 And yet for this same simple toy
 I sold a weeping Negro boy.

In isles that deck the western main,
 Th' unhappy youth was doom'd to dwell
 A poor forlorn insulted slave,
 A beast that Christians buy and sell.
 To fiends that Afrik's coast annoy
 I sold the weeping Negro boy.

May he who walks upon the main wind,
 Whose voice in thunders heard on high,
 Who doth the raging tempest bind
 And wings the lightning thru the sky,
 Forgive the wretch that for a toy
 Could sell a helpless Negro boy.

At the end of the song, Inkle begs for forgiveness for his past slave-trading practices. The realization of his wrong-doing represents a true anagnorisis—his defining moment of discovery that culminates in a decisive change of heart.

Eileen Southern, in her monumental *The Music of Black Americans*, describes the use of the song in a later comic opera:

Another singer of Negro songs was Mrs. Graupner, who sang “The Negro Boy” “in character” (that is, in blackface with appropriate costume) at the end of the second act of Southerne’s play *Oroonoko* on December 30, 1799, at the Federal Theatre in Boston.²⁹

²⁹ Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 1997), 89.

Thus, true to the practice of freely adding and interpolating songs in comic opera, “The Negro Boy” enjoyed some continued currency on the American stage.

There is another song that was added to *Inkle and Yarico* in performance. The 1805 Baltimore publication, *A Choice Collection of Admired Songs*, includes the lyrics for a solo for Yarico, to be sung to the tune of “Allen Brooke of Windermere.” Damon includes the first stanza of the song (shown below) as an example of “how the American knowledge of the negro influenced the English text.”³⁰

O Inkle, tink how griev'd my heart;
 Say, it is true that we must part?
 Oh! tink, when first my grot you spied,
 How danger lurk'd on ev'ry side;
 And when you saw the daring foe,
 Who save you but poor Yarico?

A newspaper advertisement for a July 20, 1797 performance in Providence, Rhode Island, mentions several song additions in the performance of *Inkle and Yarico*. The following are listed: at the end of Act One, the “favorite Song of the Galley Slave”; at the end of Act Two, “an admired Hunting Song”; and at the end of the opera, “a Hornpipe, in the Character of a Sailor” (see Figure 7.10 below).

³⁰ Damon, *Negro Songs*, 139.

Positively the last Night.

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall's Benefits

On Friday Evening, July 21, 1797,
will be presented a favorite Comedy,
in 2 Acts, never acted here, called

The Wedding Day.

Written by Mrs. Incebold.

Mr. Adam Contest,	Mr. Kenny.
Mr. Contest,	Downie.
Mr. Millden,	Kewley.
Thomas,	McKenzie.
Lord Rakelard,	Harper.
Mrs. Hamford,	Mrs. Rowson.
Lady Autumn,	Keane.
Hannah,	Miss Green.
Lady Contest (with a Song in Character)	Mrs. Marshall.

To which will be added, a Comic Opera, in three Acts, called

Inkle and Yarico.

With all the Original Music, Songs, Chorusses, &c.

In the Course of the Evening the following Entertainments will be given
End of the Comedy, a Hornpipe, in the Character of a Sailor, by Miss Green.
End of Act 1st, of the Opera, the favorite Song of the Galley Slave, by Mr. Marshall. End of Act 2d, an adorned Hunting Song, by Mr. Marshall.

Tickets to be had of Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, at Mr. Rea's, Westminster-Street, and at the usual Places.

Figure 7.10: Several music additions mentioned in performance advertisement.³¹

“Song of the Galley Slave” likely refers to the song by that name from the comic opera *The Purse* (shown in Figure 7.11 below), probably *The Purse; or, the Benevolent Tar* by J. C. Cross with music by William Reeve, although it could be from John Hodgkinson’s own

³¹ *United States Chronicle: Political, Commercial, and Historical* XIV, issue 705 (Providence: July 20, 1797), 3, via *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 2009).

adaptation, called *The Purse; or, American Tar*.³² The source tune is generally credited to E. S. Biggs, setting lyrics by George Saville Carey, an English poet and dramatist who was a contemporary of Colman and Arnold.³³

37

The Galley Slave
A SONG in the OPERA of the PURSE

Andante espressivo. Pizzc^d

Oh think on my fate once freedom enjoy'd, was as happy as happy could be, but
pleasure is fled, even hope is destroy'd a captive alas, on the Sea I was taken by the foe, 'twas the
fiat of fate, to tear me from her I adore, when that brings to mind my once happy Estate, I
sigh, I sigh as I tug at the Oar.

2 3

<p>Hard hard is my fate oh how galling my chain My life's steer'd by misery's Chart And though gainst my tyrants I learn to complain Tears gush forth to ease my sad heart L'ist'nd e'en to shrink tho' I feel sharp the lash Yet my breast bleeds for her I adore While around me the unbel'ng billows will dash I sigh and still tug at the Oar.</p>	<p>How fortune deceives I had pleasure in tow The port where she dwelt we'd in view But the wild martial morn was overclouded with awe And dear Anne I hurried from you Our shallop was boarded and borne away To behold my dear Anne no more But dispar' wallo's my spirits my form feels decay. He sigh'd and expir'd at the Oar.</p>
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Figure 7.11: “The Galley Slave” from *The Purse*.³⁴

³² Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963), 97.

³³ George Saville Carey and E. S. Biggs, “Say, have you in the Valley seen, Allen Brooke of Windermere. A Ballad with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte” (London: R. Birchall, 1796).

³⁴ “The Galley Slave,” *The Lester S. Levy Collection of Sheet Music*, Johns Hopkins University, Box 031, Item 086; available <http://jhir.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/25811> (accessed Dec. 28, 2010).

In either case, the tune was a likely a borrowed one, that of “Allen Brooke of Windermere”; the text of the borrowed tune³⁵ and that of “The Galley Slave” are compared below in Table 7.2.

“Allen Brooke of Windermere”	“The Galley Slave”
<p>Say have you in the village seen, A lovely youth of pensive mein, If such a one hath passed by, With melancholy in his eye, Where is he gone, ah, tell me where? 'Tis Allen Brooke of Windermere</p>	<p>Oh think on my fate once I freedom enjoy'd, Was as happy as happy could be, But pleasure is fled, even hope is destroy'd A captive alas, on the Sea. I was ta'en by the foe, twas the fist of fate, To tear me from her I adore,</p> <p>When tho't brings to mid my once happy Estate, I sigh, I sigh as I tug at the Oar.</p>
<p>Last night he sighing took his leave, Which caus'd me all the night to grieve, And many maids I know there be, Who try to wean my love from me; But heaven knows my heart's sincere To Allen Brooke of Windermere.</p>	<p>Hard hard is my fate oh! how galling my chain My life's steer'd by misery's Charts And though 'gainst my tyrants I scorn to complain Tears gush forth to ease my sad heart I disdain e'en to shrink tho' I feel sharp the lash Yet my breast bleeds for her I adore</p> <p>While around me the unfeeling billows will dash I sigh and still tug at the Oar.</p>
<p>My throbbing breast is full of woe, To think that he should serve me so, But if my love should anger'd be, And try to hide himself from me, Then death shall bear me on a bier, To Allen Brooke of Windermere.</p>	<p>How fortune deceives I had pleasure in tow The port where she dwelt we'd in view But the wish'd nuptial morn was o'er clouded with woe And dear Aune I hurried from you Our shallop was boarded and I borne away To behold my dear Aune no more</p> <p>But despair wastes my spirits my form feels decay. He sigh'd and expir'd at the Oar.</p>

Table 7.2: Comparison of song texts: “Allen Brooke of Windermere” and “The Galley Slave.”

Although the lyrics of “The Galley Slave” do not quite mirror the meaning of “Allen Brooke of Windermere,” the two songs do share similar emotional undertones. In “Allen Brooke of Windermere,” the maid who is singing expresses her anguish that her lover has left her, implying at the end that she will die of a broken heart. In “The Galley Slave,” the singer is a man who, taken from his betrothed and enslaved, sings of the torture that he endures. The final line, delivered as if by a narrator, states that he died at the oar. From the performance advertisement

³⁵ George Saville Carey, lyrics of “Allen Brooke of Windermere,” Oxford Conversion of ECCO Files, <http://tei.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ecco/K093603.000.tei> (accessed June 29, 2011).

shown in Figure 7.10, it is clear that the song was not performed as part of the opera itself, but rather interpolated between acts. Thus, while the song does not specifically contribute to characterization, its inclusion suggests an anti-slavery sentiment that would have nonetheless informed audience understanding of Inkle and his treatment of Yarico.

Not only songs, but dances reflecting savage, native, and slave characters were added to performances of *Inkle and Yarico*. Several advertisements for the Old American Company mention the addition of the “Celebrated Negro Dance” in “the course of the Opera,” beginning as early as 1795 in Boston (see Figure 7.12 below).

Theatre Federal Street.
Mr. & Mrs. Cleveland's

BENEFIT,
 Will be **THIS EVENING,**
 When will be presented, (first time this season)
Inkle and Yarico ;
Or, The AMERICAN HEROINE.

Inkle,	Mr. CLEVELAND
Sir Christopher Curry,	Hughes
Medium;	Kenny
Campley,	Hullam, jun.
Mate,	Lee,
First Planter,	Wools
Second Planter;	Ashton
Third Planter,	Tomkins
And Trudge,	Hodgkinson
Narcissa,	Mrs. Hodgkinson
Wowski,	Hughes
Patty,	Chambers
And Yarico,	S. Powell.

In the course of the Opera, the
Celebrated Negro Dance.

Between the Play and Farce, a New Pantomimical Dance, called,
The Grateful Lion ;
Or, Harlequin Shipwrecked.

The Lion (for that Night only)	Mr. Villiers
Harlequin;	Durang
Captain of the Ship,	Ashton
Indian Princess,	Madame Gardie.

In the course of the Ballet will be introduced, a
Characteristic Dance of Savages.

The whole got up under the direction of Mrs. Cleveland. The Music by Monsieur Laumont. To which will be added, a Comedy, in 2 Acts; written by Mr. Rowson, Author of the *Inquisitor, Charlotte, &c.* performing in Philadelphia, with the greatest applause, called,
Slaves released from Algiers,
Or, a Struggle for Liberty,

Ben Hassan,	Mr. Prigmore
Nuley Moloc,	Kenny
Mustapha,	Durang
Selim,	Lee
And Seralhan,	Villiers
Zoriana, (with a Song)	Mrs. Pck
Selma,	King
And Ictnah,	Cleveland

AMERICAN CAPTIVES

Frederick,	Mr. Cleveland
Henry,	Harper
Constant,	Tyler
And, Augustus,	Mrs. Harding
Rebecca,	Mrs. Tyler
And Olivia,	Johnson

Figure 7.12: "Celebrated Negro Dance" advertised for a performance of *Inkle and Yarico*.³⁶

³⁶ *Massachusetts Mercury* VII, issue 2 (Boston: Jan. 5, 1795), 3, via *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 2009).

The same company included a “Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves, incidental to the Opera. Principal Slaves, Madame Gardie and fourteen Auxiliaries” at the end of Act One for a Dec. 2, 1796 performance in Boston, shown in the advertisement below:

Theatre Federal Street.
THIS EVENING DEC. 2, 1796
Will be presented (by particular desire) the celebrated Opera, of
Inkle and Yarico.
 Inkle, Mr. Marshall; Sir Christopher Curry
 Mr. Hamilton; Medum, Mr. Kenny; Camply,
 Mr. Downe; Mate, Mr. Rowson; 1st Planter
 Mr. Hogg; 2d Planter, Mr. McKenzie; Sailors,
 Messrs. Solomon, Clarke, &c. Trudg, Mr.
 Bates.
 Yarico, Mrs. Cleveland; Narciss, Miss. Row-
 son; Patty, Mrs. Rowson; Wowsky, Mrs. Wil-
 liamson.
END OF THE FIRST ACT, A
Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves, inci-
 dental to the Opera.
 Principal Slaves, Madame Gardie and
 fourteen Auxiliaries.
To which will be added (never performed here)
a Satyric PANTOMIME, in two Acts, consisting
of Speaking, Singing and Action, called,
Harlequin's Invasion:
Or, The Taylor Without a Head.
With new Dresses, Machinery, and Decorations.
 Harlequin, (speaking and pantomimical) Mr.
 Chalmers; Mercury [with Songs] Mr. Mar-
 shall; Galconade, Mr. Cleveland; Bogg, Mr.
 Collins; Corporal Bounce, Mr. Fawcett;
 Abram, Mr. Villiers; Forge, Mr. Hamilton;
 Tapsy, Mr. Hogg; Dismal, Mr. Clarke; Jus-
 tices, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Solomon, and Mr.
 Downie; Snip, the Taylor, and old Woman
 [with a Song] Mr. Bates.
 Mts. Snip, Mrs. Rowson; Sukey Chitterlin,
 Mrs. Solomon; Dolly Snip, Mrs. Collins.
With a DANCE of a Liliputian Pan-
 tomimic Family.
 Principal Fairy with Song & Dance,
 Miss Solamon.
 To conclude with the sinking of HARLEQUIN,
 and the rising of SHAKESPEARE.
 Doors will be opened at 5 and perform-
 ance will begin precisely at 6 o'clock.

Figure 7.13: “Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves” performed at end of Act One.³⁷

³⁷ *Massachusetts Mercury* VIII, issue 45 (Boston: Dec. 2, 1796), 3, via *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 2009).

As noted in Chapter 6, “Ah will no change of clime” had been added to the Covent Garden performances by Mrs. Billington. The publication of the song in Philadelphia around 1796 indicates that this song was performed with some regularity on American stages (and likely several other added London songs). Recall that this is a reworking of “Nel cor più non mi sento” from *La Molinara* by Paisiello. Sung by Yarico, the lyrics are as follows:

Ah! will no change of clime produce a change of love,
 Or will no length of time inconstant make you prove.
 In my all faithful breast can love e'er find delay
 Ah no ah no ah no ah no
 With you so blest I own love's foreign sway.

But should you ever prove untrue to love and life, alas adieu;
 But should you ever prove untrue to love and life, alas adieu, alas adieu.

The text, as with Yarico's other songs, is suitable for a woman of high status, and the music is appropriately sophisticated (see Figure 7.14 below).

C. S. N. 65

AH WILL NO CHANGE OF CLIME

A FAVORITE SONG. Publish'd by G. WILLIG 165 Market St. PHILADELPHIA

D.P. AL SEG.^o

Figure 7.14: American publication of “Ah will no change of clime.”³⁸

³⁸ Anonymous, “Ah will no change of clime” (Philadelphia: G. Willig, n.d.), *Lester S. Levy Collection of Sheet Music*, Johns Hopkins University, Box 031, Item 004, <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/otcgi/llscgi60> (accessed July 14, 2011).

A keyboard introduction establishes the Andantino 6/8 meter of this da capo aria in G major. Against the steady, ascending, arpeggiated triads in the bass line, the sixteenth- and thirty-second notes in the treble fill out intervals of thirds, giving the song a lilting feel. When Yarico's voice enters at the beginning of the A section, the text is delivered in a melodic line that continues unadorned until the repetition of "can love e'er find delay." The word "love" is emphasized by being sustained via a fermata, as is the word "find." A filigree of ornamentation decorates an arching line that descends to another fermata at the end of "delay," thus "delaying" the progress of the song and underscoring the meaning of the lyrics. A keyboard interlude concludes the A section and, after the da capo, the song. The B section modulates to the parallel G minor, which helps to convey the darker meaning of the words: should the lover ever prove untrue, the singer's life will be over. The phrase "alas adieu" is emphasized through ornamentation in its first and last iterations, while added fermatas for the final iteration add to the bittersweet sentiment.

Very rarely do other performance advertisements mention songs or dances by title that were added or interpolated into *Inkle and Yarico*. While copies of the named songs are scarce or unavailable, the mention in these advertisements of titles, descriptions, and characters singing the songs provides some evidence about the rationale for their inclusion. It was announced, for instance, that a Nov. 4, 1796 Boston performance would include (see Figure 7.15 below):

End of the first act, a New Comic Song, in Character of a Dutch Fisherman, called "Ik Bin Ludderlick du buist Slidderlick snick snack Ludderlick a Laite," by Mr. Jones.

The "Dutch" reference could be aimed at a local immigrant population, or be intended to provide comic commentary on stereotypes of the time. Like Trudge's solo, "A clerk I was in London gay," this title suggests that the song employs nonsense words, much like Mother Goose nursery rhymes. It is not surprising that this particular ad includes details about added numbers, since

songs and other entertainments were added to increase the appeal for benefit performances. Note in the ad that the Jones's four-year-old son was slated to perform at the end of the second act, no doubt a performance that would charm audiences.

MR. JONES'S BENEFIT.

Boston Theatre.

FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 4, 1796,

Will be presented, for the first Time this Season, the celebrated Opera, of

Inkle & Yarico.

Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Camply, Mate, 1st Planter, 2d do. 3d do.	Mr. Marshall Mr. Hamilton Mr. Kenny Mr. Downie Mr. Rowfon Mr. Ashton Mr. Beete Mr. M'Kenzie	Sailors, Trudge, Yarico, Narciffa, Patty, Wowfky,	Messrs. Solomon, Clarke, &c. Mr. Jones. Mrs. Marshall Miss Rowfon Mrs. Rowfon Mrs. Williamfon.
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END OF THE FIRST ACT,

A NEW COMIC SONG,

In Character of a Dutch Fisherman, called "*Ik Bin Ludderlick du buist Slidderlick snick
snack Ludderlick a, Laité*"—By Mr. JONES.

END OF THE SECOND ACT,

A SONG, by Master Jones, of 4 years of age,
(*Being his second Appearance on any Stage.*)

END OF THE OPERA,

Jacob Gaukey's Rambles from London to Boston.
BY MR. JONES.

To which will be added, a New Farce, never performed here, called

The First Floor:
OR, THE MACARONI PASTRY COOK.

Old Whimsy, Young Whimsy, Monford, Landlord, Simon, Furnish, Snap,	Mr. Hamilton Mr. Cleveland Mr. Beete Mr. Kenny Mr. M'Kenzie Mr. Ashton Mr. Clarke	Tim Tartlet, (<i>the Macaroni Pastry Cook</i>) Mr. Jones. Charlotte, Nancy, Mrs. Pattypan,	Mrs. Cleveland Miss Rowfon Mrs. Rowfon.
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THE WHOLE TO CONCLUDE WITH

A DISSERTATION on HOBBY HORSES, by Mr. JONES—the Clown's Hobby—the
Statesman's Hobby—the Soldier's Hobby—the Patriot's Hobby—the Beaux Hobby—
the Fiddler's Hobby—the Manager's Hobby—and his own Hobby.

* * The Doors will be opened at 5, and the performance will begin precisely at 6 o'clock.

Figure 7.15: Advertisement including added song in *Inkle and Yarico*.³⁹

³⁹ *Massachusetts Mercury* VIII, issue 37 (Boston: Nov. 4, 1796), 3, via *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 2009).

The only other specific song title specified (at least in the advertisements located for this study) is one for Campley's character, "Girl of My Heart," designated for Mr. Webster for a March 13, 1807 performance in Philadelphia at the Southwark Theatre. The *Early American Secular Music* database lists only two songs with that specific title, located in *The Musical Repertory*, Vol. 1 (1799) and *Gentlemen's Amusement*, No. 3 (1825).⁴⁰

The lyrics of "Girl of My Heart" seem more appropriate for a merchant's declaration of love, but here are sung by the military man, Campley, not the merchant Inkle (see lyrics below):

I have Parks, I have grounds, I have Deer I have Hounds,
& for sporting a neat little Cottage;
I have Youth, I have Wealth, I have Strength, I have Health,
Yet I mope like a Beau in his Dotage.

What can I want but the Girl of my heart
To share those treasures with me
For had I the wealth which the Indies impart,
No pleasure would it give me Without the lovely Girl of my heart.
Without the lovely Girl of my Heart, The sweet lovely Girl of my Heart.
For had I the wealth which the Indies impart
No pleasure would it give me
Without the lovely Girl of my Heart.

My Domain far extends and sustains social friends
Who make Music divinely enchanting
We have Balls, we have Plays, we have Routs, Public Days,
And yet still I feel something a wanting.

What should it be but the Girl of my Heart
To share those treasures with me.
And had I the wealth which the Indies impart,
No pleasure would it give me, Without the lovely Girl of my heart.
Without the lovely Girl of my Heart, The sweet lovely Girl of my Heart.
For had I the wealth which the Indies impart
No pleasure would it give me
Without the lovely Girl of my Heart.

⁴⁰ *Early American Secular Music and Its European Sources, 1589–1839*, <http://www.colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Index.htm> (accessed June 29, 2010). A similar song by Domenico Corri, "When the girl of my heart," noted as a "favorite pollacca," published in London around 1805, also appears with a reference to *Inkle and Yarico* on the score. It was likely added in London performances and may have inspired Shield's song.

In each verse, the quatrain enumerates the various riches possessed by the singer, as well as the realization that these things are not entirely fulfilling by themselves. The rest of each verse then expresses that those material items mean nothing unless shared with the one he loves, the “girl of my heart.” These declarations are appropriate for Campley’s character—while not designated, it is likely that Campley sings this song after telling Narcissa:

In short, the case stands exactly thus—your intended spouse is all for money; I am all for love. He is a rich rogue; I am rather a poor honest fellow. He would pocket your fortune; I will take you without a fortune in your pocket.

In keeping with the highly sentimentalized lyrics, Shield’s musical setting is appropriately expressive, bordering on saccharine. Set in common time and G major, the music features an abundance of dotted rhythms, grace notes and ornaments, chromatic inflections, and heartfelt expressions sustained on fermatas (see Figures 7.16-1 and -2 below). The melodic line generally outlines triadic pitches or moves stepwise diatonically, with occasional upward leaps of an octave.

The Girl of my Heart.
as Sung by
MR. WEBSTER,
The Music by
WILLIAM SHIELD.

PHILADELPHIA, PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY GEORGE E. BLAKE.

ANDANTE
CON
ANIMA.

I have

Parks, I have grounds, I have Deer I have Hounds, & for sporting a neat little Cottage;

I have Youth, I have Wealth, I have Strength, I have Health, Yet I mope like a Beau in his

Figure 7.16-1: First page of “Girl of my heart.”⁴¹

⁴¹ William Shield, “Girl of My Heart,” (Philadelphia: George E. Blake, n.d.), Lester Levy Collection, Box 109, Item 112, available from <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/otcgi/llscgi60> (accessed March 20, 2011). The Levy Collection contains another, nearly identical version, published by G. Grapner, Boston, n.d. There are more listed in Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America, 1801–1825*, three volumes (New York: New York Public Library, 1962). According to Kitty Keller, the song is also available on a broadside in the Isaiah Thomas collection and in many songsters as well (personal email correspondence, Kate Van Winkle Keller, March 19, 2011).

The singer's intense desire to share his material wealth with the woman he loves is underscored at the top of the second page (see Figure 7.16-2 below). Shield takes the music through a series of secondary dominants that end on the dominant V7 at the top of the page on "Dotage." The accompaniment is barely existent for the next phrase, providing only the root pitches for the heartfelt expression at the word "want," which is sustained with a fermata. To emphasize the emotional expression, Shield places "heart" with a diminished sonority that resolves to the tonic on the word "share." At the end of the second system, contrary motion supports the ascending vocal line that includes an ornamental turn that adds expression to the statement "No pleasure would it give me." Following that, the vocal line is doubled in the accompaniment, underscoring the certainty of the singer's statement. Chromatic inflection to a lower-neighbor tone in the fourth system provides a heartfelt expressiveness on the phrase "The sweet lovely Girl of my Heart." Again reinforcing the certainty of his words, Shield places the vocal line and accompaniment in octaves for the beginning of the final phrase, leading into a repetition of the contrary-motion gesture to a fermata at the end of "No pleasure would it give me." The instrumental accompaniment ends with a retardation that resolves upward to the tonic.

The image shows the last page of a musical score for the song "Girl of my heart." The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of seven systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: "What can I want but the Girl of my heart To share those treasures with me, For had I the wealth which the Indies impart, No pleasure would it give me without the lovely Girl of my heart. Without the lovely Girl of my Heart, The sweet lovely Girl of my Heart, For had I the wealth which the Indies impart No pleasure would it give me without the lovely Girl of my Heart." The score includes performance markings such as "Dotage" and "Expressivo." The final system features a more complex piano accompaniment with sixteenth-note patterns.

Figure 7.16-2: Last page of “Girl of my heart.”

Rather than enumerating his own riches to make his point, Campley seems to be making fun of Inkle by exaggerating the emotional expression of the song. The addition of this song for Campley’s character conveys his love for Narcissa and the extent to which he cares not about her fortune, which musically portrays him in a more favorable light than his later “Why should I vain fears discover,” making his apparent cowardice in the latter song all the more humorous.

The Orchestra

In his seminal publications on early music and opera in America, Oscar George Theodore Sonneck describes the use of orchestral musicians in comic opera performances. First, he surmises that Lewis Hallam, Sr.

did not import the half dozen instrumentalists he needed, because he expected to find enough at New York. . . . Bearing in mind that about this time New York and other American cities were becoming used to performances of the best music of the time by orchestras, possibly smaller than the small orchestras used abroad, but sufficiently large to render overtures, concerti grossi, and symphonies, it may be seriously doubted whether Lewis Hallam would have dared treat New York to the ballad-operas with “the single fiddle of Mr. Hewlett.”⁴²

Sonneck does, however, grant that in the early days of the theatre in America, only a very small orchestra might have been available—as little as a harpsichordist and a fiddler. The likelihood of sufficient numbers of players is strengthened, however, by the practice of “gentlemen performers” sitting in with the orchestra for their own pleasure (and without payment).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, most English comic opera scores around the end of the eighteenth century were published in keyboard-vocal form with some indications for obbligato instruments. With smaller companies, particularly in the early days of American theatre, musicians were expected to realize their parts from the limited notation. When a performing company employed an official composer or arranger, it was their responsibility to arrange the figured bass and write out the various parts, depending on the available musicians.⁴³

By 1796, the standard orchestra consisted of fourteen to twenty musicians, sometimes a few more added for particular performances.⁴⁴ At the Park Theatre in New York that year, the orchestra was directed by James Hewitt and personnel included Victor Pelissier, a horn virtuoso;

⁴² Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 23–24.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 88, 117.

both were composers and arrangers for the Old American Company whose names appear on performance advertisements and printed music (see Figure 7.17 below).

THEATER.

By the Old American Company.

On Friday Evening, the 14th of February, will be presented, a celebrated **COMIC OPERA**, called,

INKLE and YARICO.

Written by the Author of the *Surrender of Calais, Mountaineers, &c.*

Orchestra Accompaniments by Mr. PELISSIER.

Inkle,	-	Mr Tyler,
Sir Christopher Curry,	-	Mr. King,
Medium,	-	Mr. Johnson,
Camply,	-	Mr Munto,
Mate,	-	Mr Lee,
Sailors,	Messrs. Durang, Leonard, &c	
Savagers,	Messrs Tompkins, M Knight, &c.	
Planter,	-	Mr Wools,
And, Irudye,	-	Mr. Hodgkinson,
Wowsky,	-	Mrs Hodgkinson,
Narcissa, (<i>her first appearance on any Stage,</i>)	-	Miss Brett,
Patty,	-	Mrs. Brett,
And, Yarico (<i>her first appearance on this Stage,</i>)	-	Miss Broadhurst,

Previous to the Entertainment,
A New Federal Overture,
by Mr. HEWITT.

To which will be added, a favourite **COMEDY**, in two Acts, called,

THE GUARDIAN,

Written by David Garrick, Esq

Mr Hearily,	-	Mr Hallam,
Sir Charles Clackett,	-	Mr. Fiermore,
And, Young Clackett,	-	Mr. Jefferson,
Lucy,	-	Mrs Brett,
And, Harriet,	-	Mrs Hallam

On Saturday will be presented, a celebrated Tragedy, called, **MALCOLM**: the Parts of *Zabara* and *Pahura* by Mr and Mrs Clelland, (their first appearance)

* * The Doors will be opened a quarter after Five, and the Curtain drawn up a quarter after six o'clock

Figure 7.17: Advertisement mentioning Hewitt and Pelissier's musical contributions.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *American Minerva and the New-York Advertiser* III, issue 658 (New York: Feb. 12, 1796), 3, via *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 2009).

The Wignell and Reinagle troupe was also supported by an outstanding orchestra, “probably the best yet united in this country.”⁴⁶ Many of the musicians were political refugees from France, which (temporarily at least) disrupted the dominance of German musicians in America. Theatre historian Durang describes the quality of the orchestra:

The orchestra department was under the direction of manager Reinagle and the musicians were deemed equal in general ability with the stage artists—the celebrated violinist from London, George Gillingham [being] the leader. In truth, the orchestra contained about twenty accomplished musicians, many of them of great notoriety as concert players on their respective instruments.⁴⁷

Alexander Reinagle was not only an accomplished composer, but a highly effective leader of his orchestra. So imposing and dignified was his appearance and demeanor in the theatre that even those in the gallery behaved in a more orderly fashion.

The Importance of Benjamin Carr in *Inkle and Yarico* History

It is not only through his publication of its music that Benjamin Carr (1768–1831) is connected to English comic opera in America. Carr studied music in London with three notable musicians, including Dr. Samuel Arnold, before emigrating to the United States in 1793 at the age of twenty-four with his father and brother. Before he set up his publishing business in America, Carr worked as an actor-singer with the Old American Company in New York for the 1794–95 season (generally October to April or May); *Inkle and Yarico* was performed at least once that season, although there is no indication that Carr performed in the opera. His first role was as Young Meadows in *Love in a Village*, for which his performance received encouraging comments:

⁴⁶ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 117.

⁴⁷ John Durang, likely from *A History of the American Theater* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832), as quoted in Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 117.

Mr. Carr made on this occasion his first appearance on our stage; and we confess, to us a very prepossessing first appearance. Good sense and modesty, united to a perfect knowledge of his profession as a musician, and a pleasing and comprehensive voice are not the only qualifications which this young gentleman possesses for the stage; he speaks with propriety, and we doubt not but practice will make him a good actor, in addition to his being an excellent singer.⁴⁸

Despite receiving such praise for his acting and singing abilities, Carr performed little, turning instead to publishing and writing music for the American stage, often creating new orchestral arrangements for English works, including a version of Samuel Arnold's *The Children in the Wood*.⁴⁹ Carr's first successful comic opera music was for *The Archers* (libretto by William Dunlap), which premiered in New York in 1796, for which efforts Sonneck refers to Carr as "the predecessor of Rossini."⁵⁰

The Carr name had long been associated with publishing in England (as far back as the publishing of *The Theatre of Music* for Henry Playford in 1685),⁵¹ so it is not surprising that the family was able to quickly set up shop in America. Benjamin first opened for business in Philadelphia and, shortly thereafter, in New York; his father and brother located their business in Baltimore. Benjamin divided his time between his shops in the two cities until he sold the New York business to James Hewitt, a talented composer and violinist, in 1797 or 1798.

Savvy about the tastes of consumers, the Carrs provided the public with the most popular songs from comic operas, as well as music from other sources, predominantly English in derivation. Thus it is largely due to the Carr family's publishing efforts and repertoire selections

⁴⁸ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 102–103.

⁴⁹ Virginia Larkin Redway, "The Carrs, American Music Publishers," *The Musical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (Jan. 1932), 158.

⁵⁰ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 99.

⁵¹ Redway, "The Carrs," 150–151.

that we are able to get a sense of musical tastes and song selections from comic operas of this time.

Summary

The borrowed tunes contained in Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* were not just familiar to English audiences, but to American ones as well, although not always due to the same frames of reference. Like many well-liked tunes, several had been reworked with new lyrics that reflected American current events, historical figures, and political issues, sometimes being printed in sheet music or broadsides. In addition to these, more borrowed songs were added, some of which were based on music for dancing, a popular social activity during this time. Dances were added during performances of the opera, such as during or between acts, or as interludes on the night's billing. Such dances typically portrayed the savage or "noble savage" characterization of Native Americans or Africans. These additions appear in newspapers of northern states, including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Providence, but are noticeably absent in newspapers of the south.

Most of the songs added in American performances, to the extent that they have been identified in newspaper advertisements and billings, deal with the issue of slavery. In "The Negro Boy," the plight of a native child torn from his parents is highlighted as an inhumane consequence of selling him into slavery. In "The Galley Slave," the plight is that of an adult male who, sold into slavery, is separated from the woman he loves and dies of a broken heart at the oar. Clearly these added songs were intended to appeal to the Enlightenment sensibility by tugging at the heartstrings. Notations of these added songs primarily appear in newspapers in Boston, Providence, and Philadelphia.

The added songs for American performances of *Inkle and Yarico* not only enhance the setting of the story and the issue of slavery, but also inform the characterization of Inkle and Campley. Through the added songs, Inkle is revealed to have a heart, which, like Colman and Arnold's added songs for Covent Garden, better prepares him for his later anagnorisis and reform. Campley's song simultaneously emphasizes his love for Narcissa (rather than her fortune) and makes fun of Inkle's greed.

The performing forces for productions of comic opera in America varied greatly, depending on the size of the theatre and the locale. While some amateur performers participated in the productions, most were skilled musicians. Not having access to full scores, company music directors generally had to write out their own arrangements, which were largely customized for available instruments and performer abilities. Some of these music directors also performed in the ensembles and some were composers or publishers, such as James Hewitt, Alexander Reinagle, Victor Pellisier, and Benjamin Carr. The last was particularly important for his important contributions to the history of *Inkle and Yarico* in America through his own compositions and many music publications.

CHAPTER 8

INKLE AND YARICO ON THE AMERICAN STAGE

Unlike the well-documented performance history in England that informs earlier chapters, the performance history of the American stage is sparsely documented. Thus, extensive research is required to reconstruct even an approximate account of *Inkle and Yarico* on the American stage—an extremely challenging and time-consuming task. While historical theatre records do exist, particularly for the larger cities and major theatres, much of the information consists of lists of performance dates and personnel. Useful in their own way, such lists convey little about the content of the performance or their reception. For this study of *Inkle and Yarico*, then, contemporaneous information constitutes the main focus, primarily newspaper performance advertisements and reviews located in theatre records, library compilations, microfilm records, and digital archives.

Despite vast numbers of records, the details that are specific to performances of *Inkle and Yarico* found in these sources are fragmentary and incomplete. As a repository of composite information, books by American theatre historians provide a rich context that illuminates the meager details about performances of *Inkle and Yarico*. In particular, the works of Oscar G. T. Sonneck, George Seilhamer, William Dunlap, and George C. D. Odell have been consulted for their breadth of information.

Even when newspaper advertisements and reviews of *Inkle and Yarico* are available, the information included can be very slim. As noted by Sonneck, when trying to piece together theatre history from newspaper accounts, “even the most careful study of the old newspapers

does not always help us to establish first performances.”¹ Because advertising was printed in weekly papers, sometimes multiple papers in the same city, such promotion entailed considerable expense. Often, therefore, to save space and thus money, the names of the characters and cast were left out. Sonneck states that leaving out the casts was not a problem: it was, in fact, “really unnecessary, as play-bills were distributed.”² He notes that, unlike England, there is a lamentable lack of anything like an adequate and comprehensive history of American opera.

It was the crucial period in our country’s history, when Colonial tastes, standards and traditions were making place for those of an infant democracy, politically, economically, socially unsettled and with a population which was becoming kaleidoscopic in its (often undesirable) elements. The spectacular, the sensational instincts in this heterogeneous and somewhat crude new mass of humanity were bound to make their demands . . .³

Sonneck was, of course, referring to the availability of historical documents and bibliographic materials in the early twentieth century.

As the present bibliography indicates, there are many newer sources of information and means of accessing them. The discussion that follows about performances of *Inkle and Yarico* in America draws upon such fragmentary evidence as can be located in order to provide glimpses into theatre practices and conditions, performance characteristics, reception of the work, and changes in the opera over time.

American Theatre in the Late Eighteenth Century

The early history of *Inkle and Yarico* in America is enmeshed in large part in the history of the Old American Company, the first professional theatrical company in America. While America provided performing opportunities—a frontier populace in growing cities, eager for

¹ George O. T. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963), 42.

² *Ibid.*, 78.

³ *Ibid.*, 128.

novel entertainment—that were often lacking in Europe, the working and travelling conditions challenged theatrical troupes to their limits. Performances were further hampered by anti-theatrical laws and the Revolutionary War. A resolution of the Continental Congress halted play-going in 1774; the resolution was further strengthened in 1778 with the additional stipulation that anyone holding office would be dismissed for any involvement with the theatre.

The prohibited entertainments included “tragedy,” “comedy,” “tragicomedy,” “farce,” “interlude,” or any other kind of “play”; the law was in effect until 1789. As a result, the American Company (which had been active since the middle of the century) spent a season in Charleston, and then went into exile in Jamaica until the end of the Revolutionary War. Some efforts to stage drama continued, however, with performances in New York and Philadelphia by British soldiers.⁴ After returning from their exile in Jamaica, the company established a regular circuit—Philadelphia–New York–Baltimore—until their later reorganization.

While a few small companies started performing again in the 1770s, the real revival of American theatre came with the return of the American Company in 1784. Lewis Hallam, Jr., whose late father had first headed the company, reopened the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia with a series of offerings intended to conform to the anti-theatre law, at least in superficial designation (such as “lectures” and “concerts”) if not content. The company moved to New York the following year and reopened the John Street Theatre. Joined by its newest members, John Henry (now Hallam’s partner) and his troupe, they called their new company the Old American Company, a marketing ploy to differentiate themselves from the numerous new troupes that had arrived on the scene. The Old American Company enjoyed a monopoly of sorts for several years

⁴ For a more extensive discussion of American theatre history during this time, see Susan L. Porter, *With an Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America 1785–1815* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) and George O. T. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963). A good preliminary discussion of early opera in America is found in Elise K. Kirk, *American Opera*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

from New York to Annapolis, expanding its circuit as anti-theatre laws were repealed. The rival Wignell and Reinagle troupe first seriously challenged the monopoly of the Old American Company in 1792, further stimulating theatrical developments.

Another threat to the Old American Company was presented by the New American Company, which consisted of the Kenna family and some other minor actors who banded forces. Moving northward, the new company arrived in Philadelphia in 1791 and took up a residence of sorts at the Concert Hall in the Haymarket. In order to fill out their billings, they were joined at times by some French dancers.⁵ They were eventually absorbed by the Old American Company for a time, and then joined by the new talent that John Henry brought back from England. This invigorated Old American Company could not, however, continue to compete with Wignell and Reinagle and, after one last short season, left Philadelphia in December 1794.

Early American theatre was essentially English theatre on American soil, but the Revolutionary war and anti-theatrical laws had temporarily halted the arrival of current successful works from England. A fresh infusion began in the early 1780s, and virtually every new work was imported from London to the United States, whether in the form of printed libretto, musical score, manuscript, or personal memory. These new materials, in addition to providing usable and novel repertory for performers, also provided fledgling American publisher-booksellers (in Boston and Philadelphia in 1789 and in New York in 1793) with reprinting and sales opportunities. Well-liked songs from the comic operas were published for amateur consumption, both in individual sheet music form as well as in sets of collections.

In addition to serving as important places for amusing entertainment in the new egalitarian American cities, theatres also served as community centers for various types of social

⁵ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 110.

interaction, entertainment, and civic activities. Musicologist Susan Porter describes the early American theatre as:

[A] gathering place where one might see and be seen, with various sections of the house considered appropriate for one's social class, race, and sex. Young bucks strutted, maidens coquetted, businessmen relaxed, sailors aroused, stagestruck youths critiqued, and society matrons reigned. It was the place to hear the latest news, with important events . . . announced from the stage. It provided a focal point for community holidays and celebrations . . . the rallying point for patriotism, the center of information on Election Day, and the place to see one's favorite celebrities. Presidents' or generals' or naval heroes' attendance at the theatre was often announced in advance, and the populace would throng to share the occasion.⁶

Inkle and Yarico in Print

As with other London libretti, that of *Inkle and Yarico* was reprinted and advertised for its literary value to readers who read them like novels. Libretto reprints usually bore an indication of their London performances, but with the added designation of the American theatre at which they had been successfully performed, such as that printed by the Enoch Story Printing Office described in an ad in the Philadelphia *Mail* on Dec. 14, 1792:

[Works available for sale include] a Comic Opera printed on writing paper, containing 66 pages, Called, Inkle and Yarico, Or, The Benevolent Maid. This very beautiful and interesting performance is replete with sentiment and wit, and will afford much pleasure to the reader.—Inkle's discovery of Yarico in a Cave in the American Forrest—The native innocence and simplicity of the Indian Maid and her assiduous care in the preservation of the life of Inkle, fills the mind of the reader with the most tender and affecting sensations. But the ingratitude of Inkle, in offering to sell Yarico a slave on their arrival at Barbadoes, strikes us with horror and amazement—Here opens a scene of keen distress, and at the tale of woe the tear of pity must fall. But happily the mind is not long left in this situation,—Virtue triumphs over the sordid passions of interest, and the unfortunate Yarico is restored to joy and happiness by the repentance and reformation of her beloved Inkle.⁷

⁶ Susan L. Porter, *With an Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America 1785–1815* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 2.

⁷ *Mail*, issue 483 (Philadelphia: Dec. 14, 1792), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

Inkle and Yarico was not usually described as fully as the advertisement above; more typically, it was included with several popular titles given in succession. Such libretti were not only a boon for publisher-booksellers, but also whetted their buyers' appetites for live performances. It is also notable that, although advertised with the subtitle "The Benevolent Maid," the libretto itself does not carry that indication (see Figure 8.1 below).

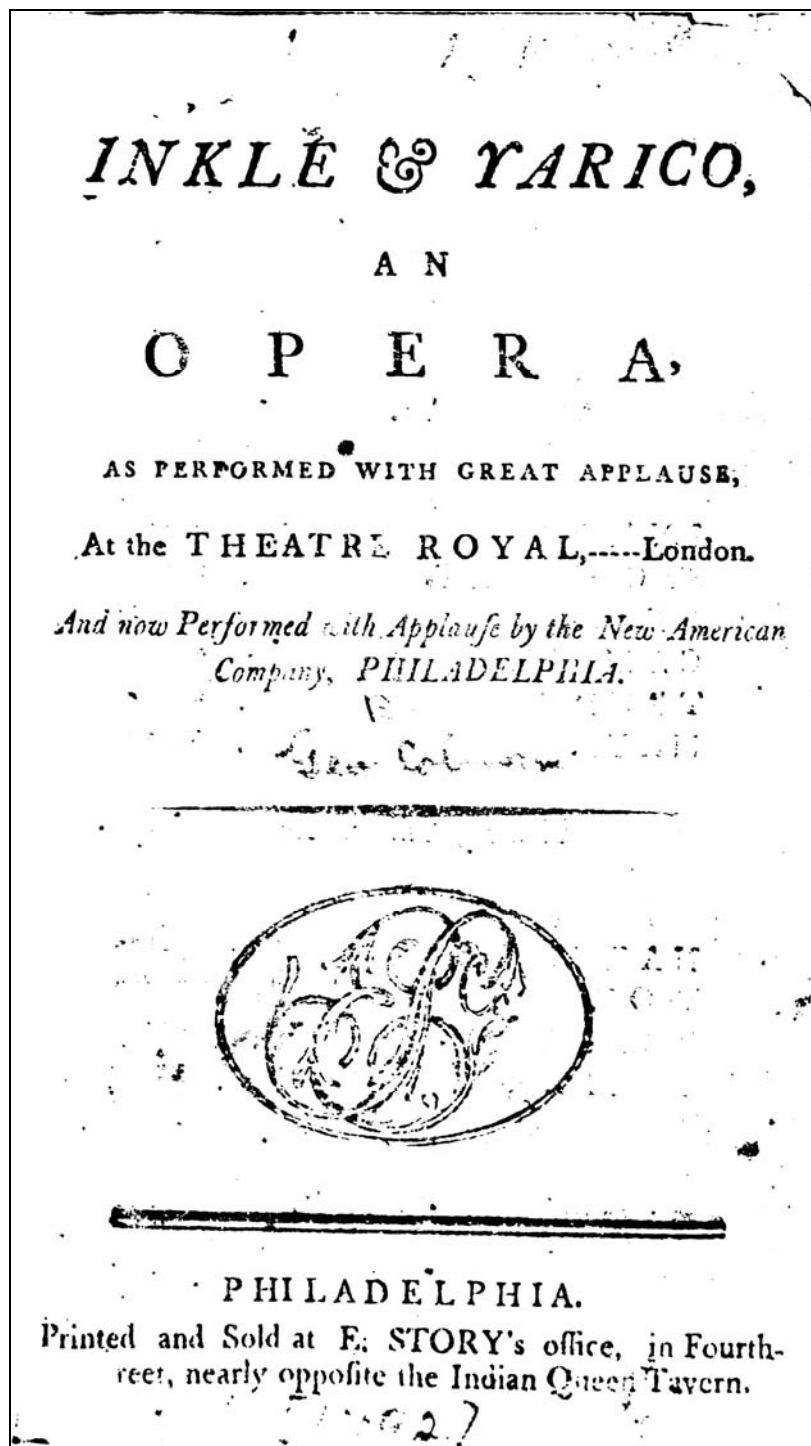


Figure 8.1: Cover page of 1792 Philadelphia publication of the libretto.⁸

⁸ George Colman the Younger, *Inkle & Yarico, an Opera, as Performed with Great Applause, at the Theatre Royal, London. And now Performed with Applause by the New American Company* (Philadelphia: Enoch Story Printing Office, [1792]).

The libretto for *Inkle and Yarico* was reprinted in America three times, but with minimal changes from the London and other British Isles imprints, including new cover pages and, if designated at all, the names of the *dramatis personae*. As shown in Table 8.1 below, overall publication of the work occurred between 1787 and 1827, with the printing of American versions beginning in 1792 (as shown above and noted below in bold).

Year	City of Publication	Comments
1787	London	G. C. J. and J. Robinson
	Dublin	[Chamberlaine, Moncrief, et al.]
1788	London	G. C. J. and J. Robinson
	Dublin	Chamberlaine, Moncrief, et al.
1789	London	G. C. J. and J. Robinson
	Dublin	[unknown]
1792	London	G. C. J. and J. Robinson
	Philadelphia	Enoch Story Printing Office
1794	Boston	Apollo Press for William Blake
1795	Edinburgh	[unknown]
1796	Glasgow	“Printed for the Booksellers”
1806	New York	D. Longworth
1808	London	Vol. 20, <i>The British Theatre</i>
1827	London	Vol. 16, <i>Cumberland’s British Theatre</i>

Table 8.1: Publications of Colman’s libretto for *Inkle and Yarico*.

In all of these versions, the text and songs that Colman had excised from the opera after its very first performance in 1787, in response to critical complaints about too many puns, still appear in print until the later publications, with quotation marks around the dialogue and song-text entries to signify the removal of those parts in performance. Figure 8.2 below shows a page from Act Two of the 1792 libretto with these indications.

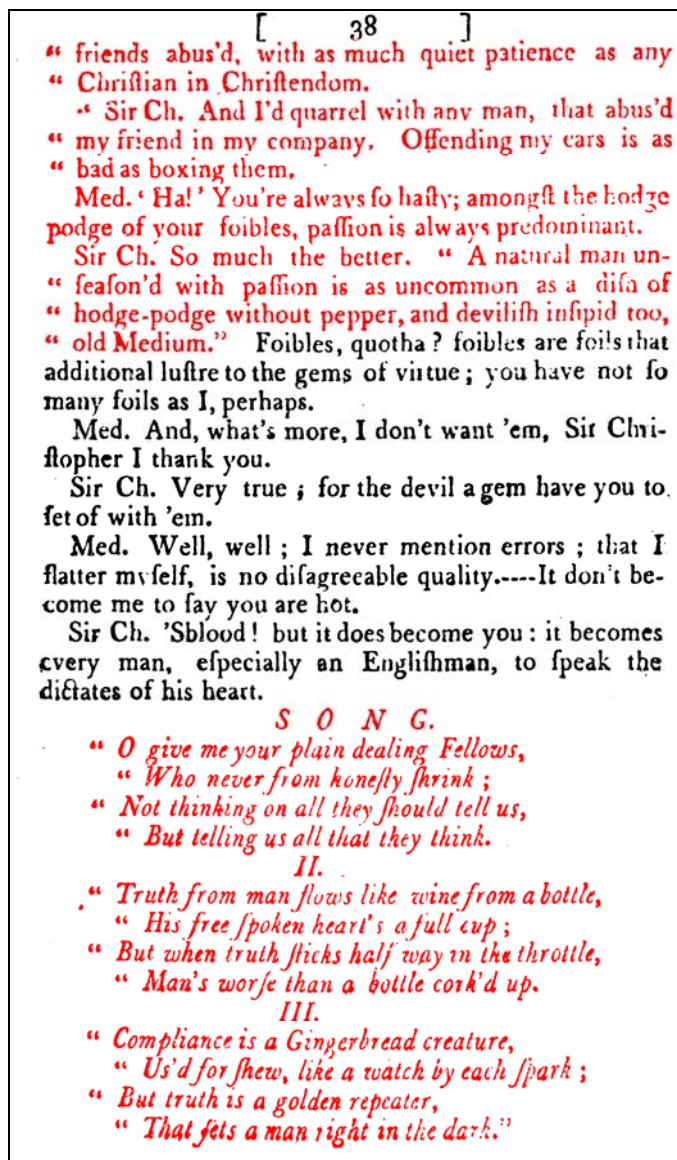


Figure 8.2: Example of excised dialogue and song lyrics (colored red) in libretto.⁹

The dialogue at the top of the page (originally in black, but shown in red in the example above for illustrative purposes) is marked with quotation marks indicating that it is to be omitted, then resumes again (shown in black) at “Foibles, quotha? foibles are . . .” The song (again in red), “O give me your plain dealing Fellows,” was removed before the first Haymarket performance in

⁹Colman the Younger, *Inkle & Yarico* (Philadelphia), 38.

August 1787, yet appears in published iterations until the 1827 Cumberland collection. Also notable, the songs added for Covent Garden do not appear in any printed versions of the libretto, and Patty's verse, the last one sung, does not appear in the ensemble finale of the Cumberland collection.¹⁰

American Performances

The first American performance of *Inkle and Yarico* took place in New York on July 6, 1789, less than two years after its London premiere. An announcement in the *Advertiser* in July 1789 noted the following:

On the last night before the recess [July 6], with *The School for Soldiers* was presented ("never yet performed") the farce of *Inkle and Yarico*, taken from Mr. Colman's opera of that name. New Scenery incidental to the piece.¹¹

It appears, then, that the first American performance of *Inkle and Yarico* did not present the full, three-act drama, but instead was a reduced version. Unfortunately, no other commentary was provided about the performance.

Inkle and Yarico continued to be performed for several decades, primarily along the eastern coast, in the major theatres of larger cities. Most of the information about theatre performances in this time is located in extant theatre records and newspaper entries, including advertisements and performance reviews. By combining these sources, a rough approximation of

¹⁰ *Inkle and Yarico* in John Cumberland, *Cumberland's British Theatre, with Remarks, Biographical and Critical. Printed from the Acting Copies, as Performed at the Theatres Royal, London*, Vol. XVI (London: John Cumberland, 1827), 54.

¹¹ George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage, Vol. 1: To 1798* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), 275.

the number of performances can be made. Table 8.2 below shows the total number of known performances in some of the major cities of the United States between 1789 and 1844:¹²

CITY	PERFORMANCES
Boston	42
New York	32
Philadelphia	23
Charleston	16
Providence	10
Baltimore	9
Salem	5
Alexandria	4
Portland	2
Hartford	2
Savannah	1
Norfolk	1
Albany	1
Washington, D.C.	1
TOTAL	152¹³

Table 8.2: Number of performances in major U.S. cities, 1789–1844.

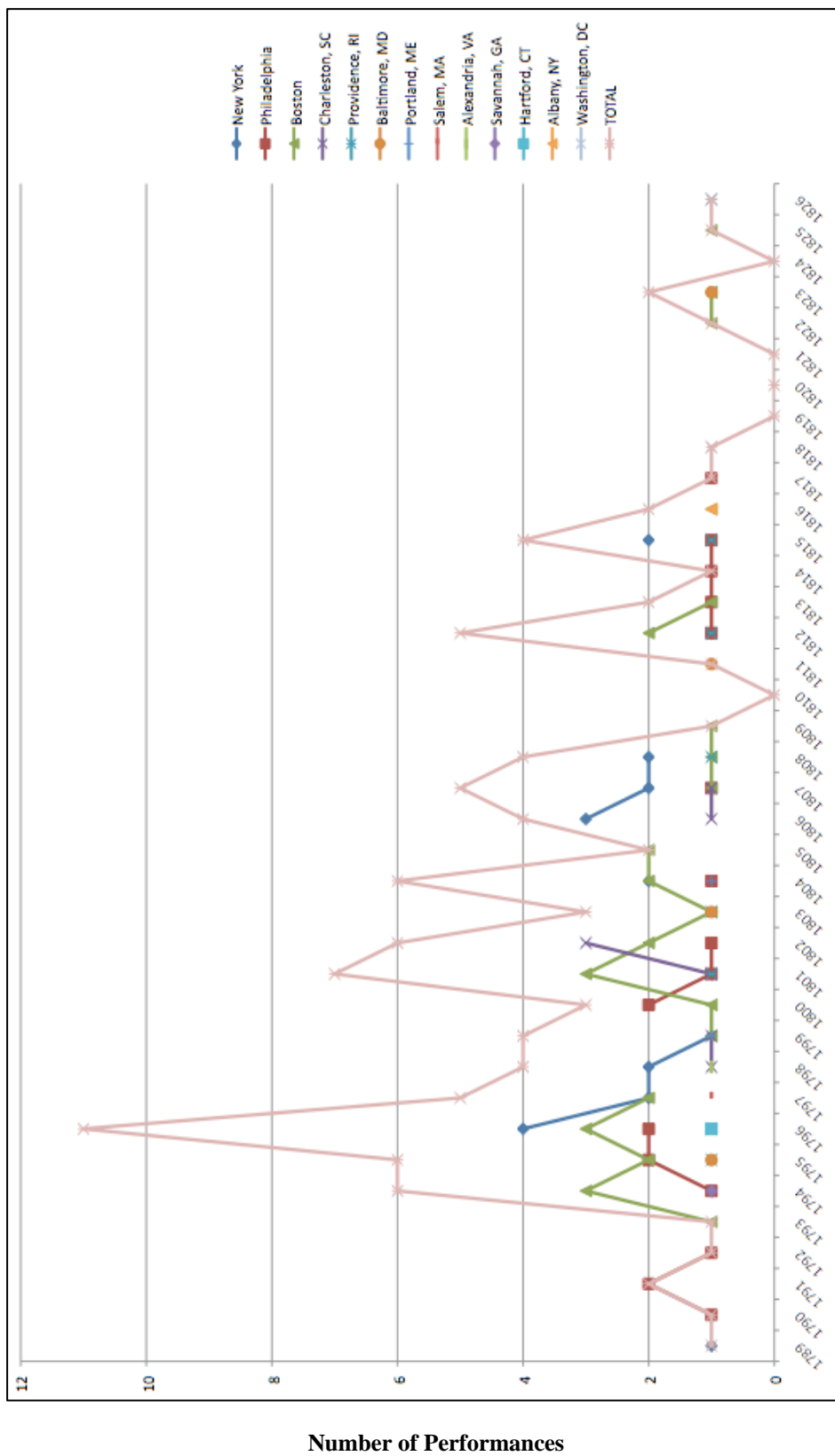
The peak number of performances occurred in 1796 (shown in Table 8.3 below) with at least sixteen performances that year: New York (4); Boston (3); Charleston (3); Philadelphia (2); and Hartford, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Providence (1 each). A second, but smaller, peak occurred in 1804 with eight performances, mostly in those same cities. Performances fell off beginning in 1810, and then rose beginning in 1812. This moderate resurgence in performances lasted until around 1816 and is likely related to the war and the concurrent rise in a sense of nationalism in America.

The majority of *Inkle and Yarico* performance activity ended after 1818, with only sporadic performances occurring thereafter. The New York legislative statue in 1817, which had

¹² Preliminary performance dates were gleaned from other scholars, particularly Susan Porter, O. G. Sonneck, and Roger Fiske, as well as theatre history books for various major cities, but additional performances were discovered through an extensive search of newspaper advertisements and performance reviews. It is beyond the scope of the present study to explore the extent to which *Inkle and Yarico* was performed in theatres of smaller communities.

¹³ Just for comparison, Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* was performed 167 times on London stages between 1787 and 1800 (Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 168), but only 85 times on American soil during that same time period.

been under discussion for some time prior, ended slavery in that state in 1827. By the time of this manumission, slavery had become a national and highly contentious issue that was not apt to be frequently played for laughs (or even old-fashioned sentiment) on the theatrical stage. The last known performances of *Inkle and Yarico* on a major stage in America were in New York in 1839 and 1844, but those performances came at least a decade after the majority of the opera's American run. Further, the 1839 performance had not been planned, but instead was a substitution, indicating that the troupe knew it well enough to perform at the last minute. It was likely that they had been performing it in other, smaller theatres in the area.



Year of Performances

Table 8.3: Number of performances at major theatres in select U.S. cities, 1789–1826.

Not only the repertory, but also the organization of musical entertainments in the United States generally mirrored that of English theatres. Generally open three or four nights a week during the season, theatres presented revivals of favorites and occasional new pieces for added appeal. As these new pieces came along, many of the old favorites were demoted to second place on the billing or to afterpiece (the short comedy or opera performed as the farce). Based on newspaper advertisements, Table 8.4 below shows the number of times *Inkle and Yarico* was billed as main piece or placed lower in the hierarchy for an evening's bill.

Overall, the falling-off in total number of performances and shift to lower billing follows a predictable path—fewer main piece billings and more frequent designations as a second piece or an afterpiece over time. Just as overall performances picked up in numbers again beginning in 1812, so did the number of times that *Inkle and Yarico* was listed as the main piece on the bill.

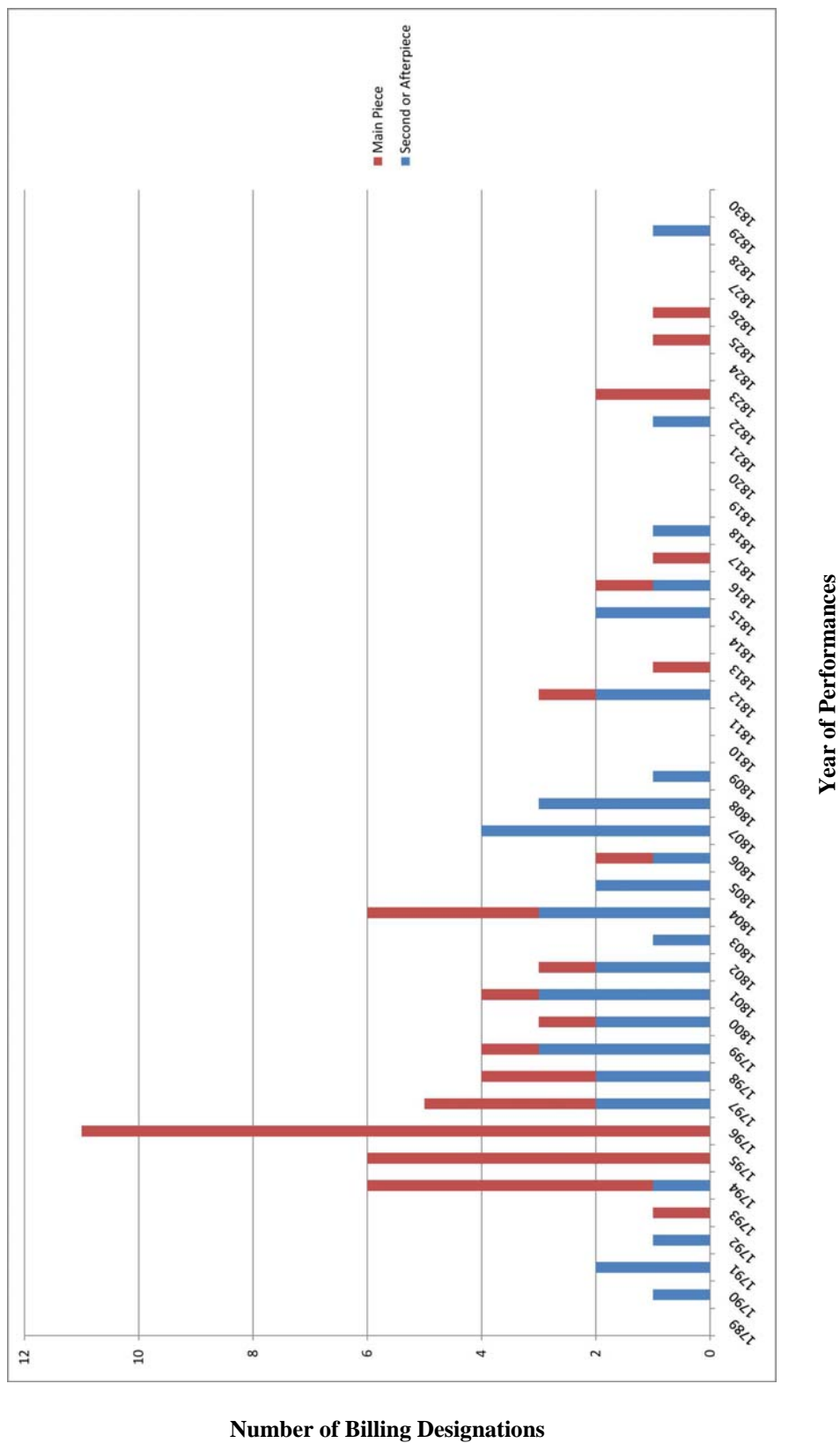


Table 8.4: Number of billings as main piece vs. second or afterpiece, 1789–1829.

Theatres and Performing Troupes

Having performed in makeshift theatres, Lewis Hallam the Elder's American Company was responsible for the construction of more permanent structures, first in New York on Nassau Street in 1753, followed by theatres in Annapolis, Maryland (1760), and Newport and Providence, Rhode Island (1761). Under Douglass (Hallam's partner, who became the new manager after the elder Hallam died), the company built the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia in 1766, and the John Street Theatre in New York in 1767.

A disgruntled comic actor, Thomas Wignell, left the Old American Company in 1791 and, with composer and harpsichordist Alexander Reinagle, started a new company, constituting the first real threat to Hallam and Henry's monopoly in Philadelphia and New York. The Southwark had been the only theatre in Philadelphia, but the facility was only accessible via unpaved streets and was unbearably hot during the summer season.¹⁴

Not only did the New Theatre outclass the Southwark, the new company also employed better talent. While Reinagle supervised the construction of the New Theatre on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, Henry went to England to recruit excellent actors and singers; a rivalry between the two companies thus began in 1793.

One of the first performances at the New Theatre featured *Inkle and Yarico* as shown in Figure 8.3 below:

¹⁴ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 84.

NEW THEATRE.

TO-MORROW EVENING, May 9,
Will be presented,
An OPERA, called
Inkle and Yarico.

(With the original Overture and Accompaniments.)

Inkle,	Mr. Marshall.
Sir Christopher Curry,	Mr. Whitlock.
Medium,	Mr. Finch
Campley,	Mr. Moreton.
Trudge,	Mr. Bates.
1st. Planter,	Mr. Harwood.
2d Planter,	Mr. Cleveland.
3d Planter,	Mr. Warrell.
Waiter,	Master T. Warrell.
Mate,	Mr. Darley.
Sailors,	Missrs Blisset, Lee, Bason, &c.
Yarico,	Mrs. Marshall.
Narcissa,	Miss Williams
Wowki,	Miss Broadhurst.
Fatty,	Mrs. Shaw.

In Act 2d, will be introduced a characteristic Pantomime Dance, incidental to the Piece, (composed by Mr. Francis) by Messrs. Darley, Darley, jun. Blissett, De Moulin, Warrell, Lee and Francis.

With new Scenery, Dresses and Decorations.
The Scenery designed and executed by
Mr. Milbourne.

To which will be added a Farce, called
The Lovers' Quarrels,
Or, Like Master like Man.

Don Carlos,	Mr. Moreton.
Don Lorenzo,	Mr. Green.
Lopez,	Mr. Bates.
Sancho,	Mr. Wignell.
Leonora,	Miss Francis.
Jacintha,	Mrs. Rowson.

Figure 8.3: Performance advertisement for *Inkle and Yarico* at the New Theatre.¹⁵

The advertisement is notable for its mention of several features, including the inclusion of a “characteristic Pantomime Dance, incidental to the Piece” and “new Scenery, Dresses and Decorations.” Clearly Wignell and Reinagle were leaving no stone unturned to entice audiences to partake of the offerings of the New Theatre.

¹⁵ *Philadelphia Gazette* XI, issue 1739 (Philadelphia: May 8, 1794), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922*, (accessed July 9, 2009).

In order to compete with the new company, the Old American Company also sought to improve its repertory and raise acting standards. Henry sailed for England in 1792 and brought back highly qualified performers, including John Hodgkinson, who bought out Henry's part of the company in 1794. That fall, a critique in *The New York Magazine* described the revised company as "truly formidable—altogether superior to anything the citizens of New York have seen before, and in our opinion, unrivalled by any force upon the continent."¹⁶ In part yielding to Wignell and Reinagle's popularity in Philadelphia, the Old American Company gave a final performance and closed their Southwark Theatre in 1794 and focused its efforts instead on performances in New York's John Street and later Park Street Theatres, with occasional tours to other cities.

Meanwhile, the Virginia Company was active in the southern states, particularly in Charleston, under the direction of John Bignall and Thomas Wade West. Having built a theatre there on Broad Street in 1793, the Virginia Company was joined for several months by a troupe of French refugees led by Monsieur Sollee. The troupes joined together to become the Charleston Theatre Company in 1794 and continued to dominate Charleston performances, also touring to perform in Richmond, Norfolk, and Savannah. A performance of *Inkle and Yarico* by the Virginia Company took place in February 1796, as described in the following advertisement:

¹⁶ *The New York Magazine or Literary Repository* 5 (New York: December 1794): 718, as quoted in Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 10.

CHARLESTON THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, the 16th instant,
will be presented, the **COMIC OPERA** of
INKLE AND YARICO;
Or, The American Heroine.

With the Original, **OVERTURE, MUSIC, &c.**
Inkle—Mr. J. WEST
Sir Christopher Curry—Mr. WEST.
Captain Campley—Mr. BIGNALL.
Medium—Mr. LEWIS
First Planter—Mr. KEDDY.
Second Planter—Mr. PARSONS.
Sailors—Messrs. LATTE and COPELAND.
And, Frudge—Mr. SULLY.
Woufki—Mrs J. WEST.
Narcissa—Mrs. DECKER.
And, Yarico—Mrs. WEST.

End of the Play, a new **COMIC BALLET** called
THE BROTHER QUAKERS.
Junior Quaker—Monsieur DOUVILLE.
Senior Quaker—Monsieur PLACIDE.
Statuary Man—Master DUPORT.
Landlord—Monsieur LATTE.
Village Maid—Madame PLACIDE, by whom in the
course of the **BALLET**, will be introduced a
HORNPIPE.

To which will be added, the **FARCE** of the
CITIZEN.
Young Philpot—Mr. HIPWORTH.
Old Philpot—Mr. LEWIS
Beauford—Mr. BIGNALL.
Quildriver—Mr. KEDDY.
And, Sir Jasper Wilding—Mr. SULLY.
Cornua—Mrs. DECKER.
And, Maria—Mrs. J. WEST.

* * Doors to be opened at five o'clock, and the Cur-
tain to rise at half past six precisely.

No admittance behind the Scenes.

TICKETS to be had at Mr. Young's book-store, at
the Post-office, at Mr. Bradford's music-store, Church-
street, at Mrs. Coats's globe-tavern, on the Bay, and at
the office of the Theatre, where places in the boxes may
be taken from eight to twelve o'clock in the forenoon,
and, on days of performance, from eight to twelve in
the forenoon, and two to four in the afternoon.

The Subscribers are respectfully informed, that their
TICKETS are left at Mr. Young's. Feb. 16.

Figure 8.4: Performance of *Inkle and Yarico* in Charleston
by the Virginia Company.¹⁷

¹⁷ *City Gazette* XIV, issue 2670 (Charleston: Feb. 16, 1796), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

When anti-theatrical laws were repealed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1793, a new theatre was built in Boston, opening on Federal Street in 1794. Colonel John S. Tyler took over a failed company in 1795 and invited the Old American Company to play there that fall. The invitation was welcomed by John Hodgkinson, who was by that time the manager of the Old American Company, as a yellow fever epidemic had limited performances in New York. Charles Stuart Powell, whose failed company Tyler had taken over, opened a second Boston theatre in 1797, the Haymarket (named after London's Little Theatre in the Haymarket and often advertised as the Hay-Market; see Figure 8.5 below), which directly competed with the Federal Street Theatre.

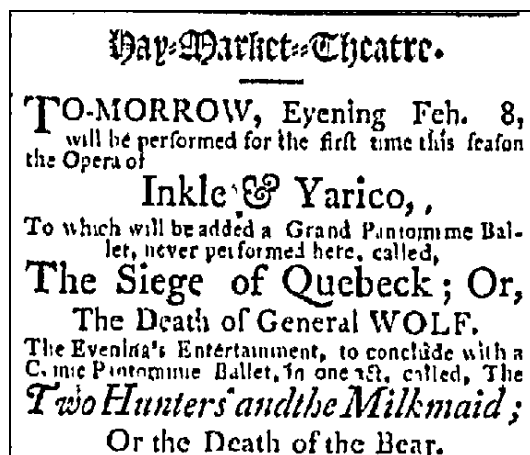


Figure 8.5: Advertisement for *Inkle and Yarico* at the “Hay-Market Theatre.”¹⁸

When the Haymarket reopened after burning in 1798, it was leased to Hodgkinson; William Dunlap, who had joined Hodgkinson in managing the New York Theatre in 1796, became its sole manager in 1798 when Hodgkinson took over the Haymarket in Boston. For

¹⁸ Identical ads published in *Massachusetts Mercury* IX, issue 11 (Boston: Feb. 7, 1797), 3; and *Columbian Centinel* XXVI, issue 45 (Boston: Feb. 8, 1797), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

several years, the Federal Street Theatre held its season during the winter and the Haymarket during the summer.

Despite the continued construction of theatres and virtually permanent status of the larger troupes, not all cities yet had suitable theatre spaces. An advertisement for a performance of *Inkle and Yarico; or, The American Heroine* in Salem, Massachusetts, in June of 1797 refers to Washington Hall being “engaged and fitted up, like a regular Theatre” for a performance (see Figure 8.6 below):

THEATRICAL!

THE Public are respectfully informed, that Washington-Hall is engaged and fitted up, like a regular Theatre, for the purpose of Theatrical Representation, and will open

On Wednesday Evening

Next, 21st June, 1797,
With a Celebrated Comic Opera (written by the Author of the Mountaineers) called

Inkle and Yarico :

OR,

The American Heroine.

Inkle	Mr. Cleveland
Sir Christopher Curry	Mr. Hughes
Medium	Mr. Dickinson
Trudge	Mr. Jones
Woylkl	Mrs. Hughes
Narcissa	Mrs. Graupner
Patty,	Mrs. Jones
Yarico,	Mrs. Cleveland.

To which will be added,
The much admired COMEDY, written by Mr. GARRICK, called

B O N T O N :

OR,

High Life above Stairs.

Sir John Trotley	Mr. Hughes
Lord Minikin	Mr. Cleveland
Col. Tivy	Mr. Dickinson
Davy	Mr. Jones
Lady Minikent	Mrs. Graupner
Gymp	Mrs. Hughes
Miss Tittup	Mrs. Jones

Tickets to be had at the Sun Tavern, and at the Bible and Heart—BOXES 4. 6d. P I E T 3s—Children half price.

Doors to be opened at half past 6; and the performance to commence precisely at half past seven o'clock

Figure 8.6: Performance advertisement that refers to alternate performing space.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Salem Gazette* XI, issue 615 (Salem: June 20, 1797), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

An account by John Bernard, who arrived in America in 1797, nicely summarizes the theatrical situation in America at the end of the eighteenth century:

There were three leading managements at this time in America, conducting three distinct circuits—in the North, South, and centre: that of Hodgkinson and Dunlap, who had succeeded Henry and Hallam, in the direction of what was called the “Old American Company,” and whose principal cities were New York and Boston; that of Mons. Solee [*sic*], whose headquarters was Charleston, but who migrated northward to Newberne and Richmond; and that of Wignell and Reinagle, whose home was Philadelphia, but who also paid visits to Baltimore and Annapolis.²⁰

The main theatrical centers, once well-established, remained relatively stable, even though there were frequent changes in managers, actors, and support staff. Smaller troupes began to move west into the American frontier, particularly to New Orleans, Lexington, Louisville, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, as well as north to Canada.

Performers and their Reception

Theatrical troupes presenting *Inkle and Yarico* on American stages primarily featured English actors, particularly in the beginning, as early companies brought theatre materials—scripts, music, scenery, costumes—and personnel from England. Over time, these troupes were joined by some American as well as newly emigrated English and Irish performers and, later, French refugees. Theatre agents regularly returned to London, occasionally seeking younger members to replace aging ones, but also scouting out new talent in order to compete with other companies.²¹ Bringing in new or visiting talent provided theatrical companies with the opportunity to offer fresh faces to audiences (although the “star” system did not fully develop until the turn of the century).

²⁰ John Bernard, *Retrospections of America: 1797–1711* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1887), 259, as quoted in Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 11.

²¹ Because comic operas featured spoken dialogue interspersed with singing, acting ability was highly valued, but English actors also received significant singing training, making them particularly versatile.

The earliest such talent search was undertaken by the Old American Company in 1792 when, threatened by the competing Wignell and Reinagle company, John Henry set sail for England. He returned with a crop of recruits that were to have a far-reaching impact on the history of the American theatre. Probably the most notable of these was John Hodgkinson, dubbed the “provincial Garrick” by his biographer for his “phenomenal versatility as tragedian, comedian and vocalist,” as well as for his remarkable memory.²² Unfortunately, Hodgkinson was also quite vain and sought the best parts, to the detriment of the company. The resulting bickering and discontent drove Henry away and put Hodgkinson in his place to manage the company; this arrangement did not last long, however, and Hodgkinson returned to the ranks in 1796.

The first mention of Hodgkinson’s name on a billing for *Inkle and Yarico* was for a January 1796 performance in Boston (see Figure 8.7 below), although it is quite likely that he performed the role prior to that.

²² Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 85.

Mr. & Mrs. Cleveland's

BENEFIT,
Will be on Friday Evening next,
When will be presented, (first time this season,)
Inkle and Yarico;
Or, The AMERICAN HEROINE.

Inkle,	Mr. CLEVELAND
Sir Christopher Curry;	Hughes
Medium,	Kenny
Campley,	Hallam, jun.
Mate,	Lee,
First Planter,	Wobls
Second Planter,	Ashton
Third Planter,	Tomkins
And Trudge,	Hodgkinson
Narcissa,	Mrs. Hodgkinson
Wowski,	Pick
Patty,	Chambers
And Yarico,	S. Powell,

In the course of the Opera, the
Celebrated Negro Dance.

Figure 8.7: John Hodgkinson in the role of Trudge.²³

It is not surprising, given his vanity and then-status as a manager, that Hodgkinson performed Trudge, the most likeable character with the most songs in the opera.

The popular and talented Miss Arabella Brett, another actor recruited to this company by Henry on his talent search in 1792, is also listed on the above billing. Probably at least in part due to her popularity, Hodgkinson married her shortly after their arrival in America, as her speaking and singing talents made her a favorite *soubrette*. Sonneck notes that, as “the young, beautiful and exemplary wife of John,” she was systematically pushed to the front.²⁴

²³ *Federal Orrery* 3, issue 23 (Boston: Jan. 7, 1796), 91; the same ad appeared in *Massachusetts Mercury* VII, issue 3 (Boston: Jan. 8, 1796), 3; *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

²⁴ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 86.

Wignell and Reinagle also employed formidable actors, including several artists with solid reputations established in England, all of whom are listed on the performance advertisement in Figure 8.8 below. Among them were the experienced Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, the Darleys, and the Warrell family. The Marshalls were known for their vocal prowess, Mr. Marshall being the principal tenor of the company and his wife a powerful soprano. In addition to acting talent, Wignell recruited Mr. and Mrs. William Francis, dancers and pantomimists. As stated in the ad, Mr. Francis created a “characteristic Pantomime Dance” for the second act; his skill in arranging ballets and other dances enhanced presentations of comic operas for some time.

NEW THEATRE.

TO-MORROW EVENING, May 9,
Will be presented,
An OPERA, called
Inkle and Yarico.

(With the original Overture and Accompaniments.)

Inkle,	Mr. Marshall.
Sir Christopher Carry,	Mr. Whitlock.
Medium,	Mr. Finch
Campley,	Mr. Moreton.
Trudge,	Mr. Bates.
1 st . Planter,	Mr. Harwood.
2 ^d Planter,	Mr. Cleveland.
3 ^d Planter,	Mr. Warrell.
Waiter,	Master T. Warrell.
Mate,	Mr. Darley.
Sailors,	Missrs Blisset, Lee, Bafon, &c.
Yarico,	Mrs. Marshall.
Narcissa,	Miss Williams
Wowski,	Miss Broadhurst.
Patty,	Miss Shaw.

In Act 2^d, will be introduced a characteristic Pantomime Dance, incidental to the Piece, (composed by Mr. Francis) by Messrs. Darley, Darley, jun. Blisset, De Moulin, Warrell, Lee and Francis.

With new Scenery, Dresses and Decorations.
The Scenery designed and executed by
Mr. Milbourne.

To which will be added a Farce, called
The Lovers' Quarrels,
Or, Like Master like Man.

Don Carlos,	Mr. Moreton.
Don Lorenzo,	Mr. Green.
Lopez,	Mr. Bates.
Sancho,	Mr. Wignell.
Leonora,	Miss Francis.
Jacintha,	Mrs. Rowson.

Figure 8.8: Wignell and Reinagle talent, including recruited dancers.²⁵

One name that appears in several later performance advertisements of the Wignell and Reinagle troupe is that of Mrs. Oldmixon, first mentioned in a billing advertisement for *Inkle and Yarico* in Philadelphia in January 1795. This actress was the talented Miss Georgina George

²⁵ *Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser* XI, issue 1739 (Philadelphia: May 8, 1794), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

from London who created the role of Wowski at the Little Theatre at the Haymarket. Having married Sir John Oldmixon (who declined to use the title “Sir”), she went to America in 1793, where she worked and lived until her death in 1835.²⁶

Mrs. Oldmixon’s name appears in newspaper advertisements for *Inkle and Yarico* until 1808, both in Philadelphia and New York. Company managers, did, of course, use to their advantage the fact that she had created Wowski in London. Odell includes the following account of advance notice of a 1797 performance:

[I]t is not often that we can expect to see on our stage, first, or original performers, of any of the principal characters in the celebrated and popular pieces of the English Drama; but this pleasure the lovers of the Theatre may experience this Evening by seeing the character of “Wowski” exhibited by the same performer and in the same manner, as when the play was first got up, under the eye of its Author in London: Mrs. Oldmixon, then Miss George, being the first lady and only Wowski, during her stay in that capital.²⁷

Odell also notes that the other actors on the bill were advanced in age at that time (a middle-aged Mr. Tyler played the young Inkle), and speculates that audiences of the day probably found this ridiculous.

While Mrs. Oldmixon did, of course, play the part of Wowski in many performances, she was given other roles when she was a new-comer in the American troupe. The advertisement for the 1795 Philadelphia performance, for instance, lists her in the role of Narcissa (see Figure 8.9 below).

²⁶ Mollie Sands, “Miss George,” *The Musical Times* 106, No. 1473 (Nov. 1965), 864. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/952181> (accessed July 15, 2009); Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, S.v. “George, Georgine, later Mrs. John Oldmixon,” *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Vol. 6 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 154–158.

²⁷ George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. II (1798–1821), 43.

New Theatre.

This Evening, Jan. 17,
Will be presented an Opera,
Called,

Inkle and Yarico.

With the original overture and accompaniments,

Inkle	Mr. Marshall
Sir Christopher Curry	Mr. Whitlock
Medlum	Mr. Francis
Cumpley	Mr. Moreton
Trudge	Mr. Wignell
1st Planter	Mr. Harwood
2d Planter	Mr. Cleveland
3d Planter	Mr. Warrell
Waiter	Master T. Warrell
Mate	Mr. Darley
Sailors	Me. Blisset, Mitch- ell, De Moulin, Price, &c.

Yarico	Mrs. Marshall
Narcissa	Mrs. Oldmixon
Wowski	Miss Broadhurst
Pat'y	Mrs. Shaw

To which will be added,

A Comedy in two acts, (written by the author of the
School for Scandal) called the

C R I T I C,

Or, a Tragedy Rehears'd.

Dangle	Mr. Wignell
Sneer	Mr. Moreton
Sir Fretful Plagiary	Mr. Harwood
Sig. Pacifico Ritornello	Mr. Marshall
Interpreter	Mr. Blisset
Prompter	Mr. Rowton
Puff	Mr. Chalmers
Mrs. Dangle	Mrs. Francis
Italian girls	Mrs. Oldmixon & Miss Broadhurst

Characters of the Tragedy.

Gov. of Tilbury Fort	Mr. Darley
Lord Burleigh	Mr. Blisset
Earl of Leicester	Mr. Cleveland
Sir Christopher Hatton	Mr. Green
Sir Walter Raleigh	Mr. Francis
Master of the Horse	Mr. Warrell
Don Ferolla Wilkerandos	Mr. Bates
1st Niece	Mrs. Cleveland
Second Niece	Miss Rowton
Confidant	Mrs. Rowton
Tilburina	Mrs. Shaw

Vivat Respublica!

Figure 8.9: Advertisement showing Mrs. Oldmixon in the role of Narcissa.²⁸

Inkle and Yarico was advertised for a Dec. 7, 1796 performance at the New Theatre,

“with a new Comic Ballet, in which Mr. and Mrs. Byrne, from the Theatre, Covent Garden, will

²⁸ *Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser* XII, issue 1946 (Philadelphia: Jan. 17, 1795), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

make their first appearance in America.”²⁹ The opera also featured “Mr. Moreton (first time Inkle) . . . [and] Mrs. Mechtler as Narcissa/first appearance on this stage,” along with Mrs. Oldmixon. A review the next day stated:

Mr. Moreton played Inkle in a pleasing manner, though we do not think it is a favorable character for the display of his talents. Mr. Wignell's Trudge was humourously given; and Mr. Warren, in SCC, gained considerable applause. Mrs. Oldmixon performed the part of Wouski [*sic*] in a manner at once natural, sprightly and interesting; she sung delightfully. After the opera, Mr. and Mrs. Byrne, from the Covent Garden Theatre, made their first appearance on the American stage in the ballet of Dermot and Kathleen, which was originally composed by Mr. Byrne.³⁰

The advertisement in Figure 8.9 above also includes Miss Broadhurst, another actor whom Wignell had recruited from Covent Garden, in the role of Wowski. According to Sonneck, historians provide conflicting reports of her talents: Seilhamer says that “her musical accomplishments were considered truly wonderful and they shone with equal brilliancy on the concert-stage,” whereas Dunlap “claims that Miss Broadhurst never developed much skill as an actress.”³¹

One of the more notorious couples employed by Wignell and Reinagle, Monsieur Gardie and his wife barely escaped the guillotine. Gardie, a French nobleman, and his wife, a lovely and talented ballet dancer, were only with the troupe a short time. An advertisement for a December 1796 performance in Boston (shown in Figure 8.10 below) includes “a Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves incidental to the Opera. Principal Slaves, Madame Gardie and fourteen Auxiliaries” to be

²⁹ *Gazette of the United States* X, issue 1325 (Philadelphia: Dec. 7, 1796), 2, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

³⁰ *Gazette of the United States* X, issue 1326 (Philadelphia: Dec. 8, 1796), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

³¹ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 116.

performed at the end of the first act. Tragically, in 1798, Mr. Gardie murdered his wife and committed suicide.³²

Theatre Federal Street.
THIS EVENING DEC. 2, 1796
Will be presented (by particular desire) the celebrated Opera, of
Inkle and Yarico.
 Inkle, Mr. Marshall; Sir Christopher Curry
 Mr. Hamilton; Medium, Mr. Kenny; Campy,
 Mr. Downie; Mate, Mr. Rowson; 1st Planter
 Mr. Hogg; 2d Planter, Mr. McKenzie; Sailors,
 Messrs. Solomon, Clarke, &c. Trudge, Mr.
 Bates.
 Yarico, Mrs. Cleveland; Nereiss, Miss. Row-
 son; Patty, Mrs. Rowson; Wowsky, Mrs. Wil-
 liamson.
END OF THE FIRST ACT, A
Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves, inci-
dental to the Opera.
 Principal Slaves, Madame Gardie and
 fourteen Auxiliaries.
To which will be a Head (never performed here)
a Satyric PANTOMIME, in two Acts, consisting
of Speaking, Singing and Action, called,
Harlequin's Invasion:
Or, The Taylor Without a Head.
With new Dresses, Machinery, and Decorations.
 Harlequin, (speaking and pantomimical) Mr.
 Chalmers; Mercury [with Songs] Mr. Mar-
 shall; Galconade, Mr. Cleveland; Bogg, Mr.
 Collins; Corporal Bounce, Mr. Fawcett;
 Abram, Mr. Villiers; Forge, Mr. Hamilton;
 Tapsy, Mr. Hogg; Dismal, Mr. Clarke; Jus-
 tices, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Solomon, and Mr.
 Downie; Snip, the Taylor, and old Woman
 [with a Song] Mr. Bates.
 Mts. Snip, Mrs. Rowson; Sukey Chitterlin,
 Mrs. Solomon; Dolly Snip, Mrs. Collins.
With a DANCE of a Liliputian Pan-
tomimic Family.
 Principal Fairy with Song & Dance,
 Miss Solomon.
To conclude with the sinking of HARLEQUIN,
and the rising of SHAKESPEARE.
 Doors will be opened at 5 and perform-
 ance will begin precisely at 6 o'clock.

Figure 8.10: Grand ballet dance featuring Mrs. Gardie.³³

³² John Durang, *A History of the American Theater* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832), 208–209. Durang recounts the tragic event in great detail; in summary: Madame Gardie married the French nobleman Gardie and went with him to America with her illegitimate son, in part because his French family refused to accept their marriage, but also because of the outrage that ensued after she refused to sing *La Marseilles* on the Paris stage. In America, Monsieur Gardie developed severe depression and in August 1798, when the family was experiencing severe financial problems, it was decided that he would return to France while Madame and her seven-year-old son would return to her home in Santo Domingo. Unable to bear the separation, on the night before his scheduled departure, the husband stabbed his wife and her son to death and then committed suicide.

Since her native land was Santo Domingo, it could be reasonably speculated that Madame Gardie was black, although I have not found that stated in any records. That would certainly help explain why her husband's French parents did not approve of their marriage, as well as her position in the "Grand Ballet Dance of Slaves."

Black, or “burnt cork,” roles were nearly always played by white actors, as it was not an option for a black actor to be employed by a white company at this time in American theatre history. Nonetheless, black actors apparently participated in some performances of *Inkle and Yarico*. English clothier Henry Wansey, after attending a performance in Boston in 1794, recorded that “one of the dramatis personae, was a negro, and he filled his character with great propriety.”³⁴ From his description, it would seem that the actor played more than a minor role, such as a runner or servant, but none of the newspaper advertisements or reviews located for that year make mention of a black actor appearing in the performance.

Benefit Performances

Performers in American companies, like those in England, were paid in shares according to their rank, responsibilities, and relative contributions to performances (such as costumes and scenery, musical arrangements, and management of the company). Each actor was allowed to perform an occasional benefit performance, usually toward the end of a run, in which all of the proceeds went to the designated performer or performers. It behooved the performers, therefore, to play to the audience and to select works for benefit performances that were likely to draw a large audience. Of the 152 performances I have been able to identify through theatre records and newspaper advertisements and reviews, at least 25 were known to be benefit performances, which would seem to indicate that *Inkle and Yarico* was sufficiently popular to generate ticket sales.

³³ *Massachusetts Mercury* VIII, issue 45 (Boston: Dec. 2, 1796) 3; the same ad appeared in *Polar-Star and Boston Daily Advertiser* 50 (Dec. 2, 1796), 3; *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

³⁴ Henry Wansey, *The Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America, in the Summer of 1794* (Salisbury, 1796), 42.

Acting Traditions and Expectations

In newspaper and magazine reviews of performances, critics focused primarily on the main piece in their commentary on the text and quality of performance, including singing and acting ability and interpretive nuance. Critiques also often addressed the ability of performances to convey moral lessons or otherwise educate the audience, for such was considered the most worthy goal of performance in this day—not merely to entertain or amuse. Because of this focus, the success or failure of a performance depended on the words and meaning; the music was generally considered mere decoration of the text, although singing and acting ability were still subject to criticism.³⁵

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were three distinct acting styles in practice. The oldest, which predated David Garrick and *Inkle and Yarico*, was a conservative dramatic style characterized by lofty declamation, stilted and stylized movements, and monotonous delivery. Those who still practiced this style, and there were those who did, were often criticized for excessive pomp and lack of natural movement and speech. An artificial style in an age that valued naturalism and sincerity, this traditional style of acting could be either be judged as lacking heart and soul, or being too extravagant.³⁶

David Garrick created from the old acting style one that was more natural, representative of real emotions and movements, which we now generally refer to as “character acting.” A description of the actor Joseph Jefferson conveys this ideal:

He always understands the character he personates and catches it with a peculiar felicity; he never utters a sentence the scope and spirit of which he does not comprehend; while his

³⁵ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 262.

³⁶ See Susan Porter, *With An Air Debonair*, 231–303 for a thorough description of the various styles and their practitioners.

voice, action and eyes, and even every limb and muscle gives it the liveliest impression on the audience.³⁷

In addition, he began the practice of wearing costumes suited for the individual character, making a more unified and realistic impression of the role being portrayed.

The third type was made famous by Sarah Siddons (born Sarah Kemble). So enamored of her acting style was the English public that she created a sensation that lasted several years. Essentially the opposite extreme of the old style of the tragedians, Siddons's acting was filled with pathos bordering on melodrama; by the mid-1780s she was a cultural icon. ; eventually actors who emulated her style toned the pathos down a bit, resulting in a more natural, but still highly expressive style.

All three styles could be found on the comic opera stage, depending on the actor and the role being portrayed. The old, stilted tragedian style was an effective device to convey pompous, old-fashioned characters. The natural style was favored for sincere characters, whereas the Siddons style was applied for great emotional impact. Actors were expected to be skilled in applying these diverse styles, and to know when and how to apply them. To do so to the satisfaction of audiences and critics was a balancing act, however, as actors had to try to balance the ideals of naturalism with theatrical acting traditions. The writer in the *Daily Advertiser* quoted above summarizes it well:

True eloquence is a sublime and fascinating art—it must be founded in good sense, animated by a vigorous fancy and an ardent sensibility, and guided by a correct judgment. Supported by these, and by all graces and energies of voice and action, the actor can delight, transport, and seduce us at pleasure—provided he is sincere and in earnest—or persuades us that he is.³⁸

³⁷ *Daily Advertiser*, New York, March 9, 1801, quoted in Porter, *With An Air Debonair*, 241.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

On the comic opera stage, actors who employed an exaggerated style tended to be popular, as such a style more clearly conveyed the comic characters and situations.

A performance review of *Inkle and Yarico* in *The Philadelphia Minerva* in March 1796 presents an especially thorough description and critique of the previous night's performance and provides an example of acting expectations:

The Opera of *Inkle and Yarico* is an exquisite portrait of the force of ingratitude, and the conflict between pride and the remaining sparks of sensibility. One would scarcely imagine that man could be so far divested of humanity, so mercenary and unprincipled, as to consign to slavery a beloved object who had rescued him from destruction; but human depravity has no bounds.

In the exhibition of this Opera last evening many of the characters received a greater tribute and applause from the audience than they justly merited. The representation in many parts wanted life, vivacity, and characteristic energy. Mr. Marshall's abilities seem but indifferently qualified for parts where such a conflict of passions predominate; in the prominent character of *Inkle* he wanted that expression and pathos which are necessary to interest the passions of an audience, and he failed to excite that burst of indignation which the perpetration of so flagitious an act would naturally inspire.

Mr. Whitlock, who has much tragic excellence, is deficient in point of comic powers; and in *Sir Christopher Curry*, the enthusiasm and extravagance of his mirth in consequence of the marriage of *Narcissa*, were rather forced and unnatural—a character to which the talents of Mr. Bates would have done ample justice.

Mr. Francis in the characters of *Medium* [and a role in another work] was entitled to every plaudit that could be bestowed by a discerning audience. They were parts well adapted to his genius, and he is peculiarly successful in exhibiting the odium and disgust that must ever result from an inveterate habit of misanthropy.

Mr. Moreton was tolerable; but Mr. Wignell in *Trudge* indulged himself too much in that waggery and *Darbyism* which did not well compose with his appearance, and as a servant he was dressed in that elegance of stile which appeared rather incompatible with his station.

Mr. *Darley* signalized himself in nothing but the power of his voice; unaccompanied however with that sprightliness of aspect which should be if pleasing concomitant.

Mrs. Marshall was exquisite;—and in the character of *Yarico* was an animated portrait of simplicity, innocence and the constancy of love.

Miss Willems performed with tolerable propriety; some of her attitudes were however ungraceful, and she is principally deficient in the nervous management of her arms.

Miss Milbourne, especially as she attempted the character of *Wowski* at so short a notice upon the account of the indisposition of Mrs. Oldmixon, merited considerable applause.³⁹

³⁹ *The Philadelphia Minerva, Containing a Variety of Fugitive Pieces in Prose, a...* 2, issue 59 (Philadelphia: March 19, 1796); 2, *American Periodical Series Online* (accessed July 2011).

The review begins by praising the moral value of the story, which, as previously noted, was one of the most important contributions of a good theatrical work and its performed interpretation. The critic then chastises the performance for want of “life, vivacity, and characteristic energy.” The rest of the review addresses each performer’s relative contributions to the entertainment and meaning of the story. Apparently Mr. Moreton chose a costume above Trudge’s station and Miss Willems had trouble controlling her arm movements.

The reviewer’s comments regarding both Mr. Henry and Mrs. Gee in the above review of a performance of *Inkle and Yarico* indicate that audiences enjoyed actors who effectively portrayed their characters’ emotions. If a song was well-liked or particularly well-delivered, a spontaneous encore could be demanded by the audience, with perhaps more than one repetition being demanded. It is not clear in just what ways Mrs. Wilson “was too hideous”—whether it was due to her acting or her appearance, or both.

Just two months later, an advertisement for Miss Tuke’s benefit, to take place on June 23, 1791, commented on her developing talents:

The attention which Miss Tuke has uniformly paid to her profession, will undoubtedly secure the public patronage, for this, her first attempt to reap the fruit of her assiduity and desire to please. For a display of her talents she has happily selected the dramatic entertainment of *Inkle and Yarico*; in the performance of which she is sensible and interesting.⁴⁰

Two days after her benefit, the following review was published:

On Thursday evening the Old American Company performed *The Conscious Lovers* and *Inkle and Yarico*, for the Benefit of Miss Tuke, before a numerous and polite audience. Our correspondence remarks, that general satisfaction was given, and that Miss Tuke, Mrs. Gee and Mr. Martin having much improved, promise to be shining ornaments to the Theatre. The old performers exhibited their usual comic abilities, and the almost only defect was a careless inattention to the scenery. The whole audience made a brilliant appearance.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Federal Gazette* (Philadelphia: June 22, 1791), 3, *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁴¹ *General Advertiser*, issue 3 (Philadelphia: June 25, 1791), 3, *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

The reviewer points to Miss Tuke's improvement and predicts her continued success.

Sometimes performance expectations were raised, but not quite delivered. A short article in New York's *National Advocate* on June 21, 1815 touted the talents of performers featured in that evening's entertainment:

COMMUNICATION.

Theatre—We are pleased to observe in our Theatrical advertisements that Mr. & Mrs. Burke takes a benefit this evening. As a singer, Mrs. Burke stands unrivalled on the continent of America; and as an actor, Mr. Burke is always sure to inspire mirth and good humour. We cannot doubt but they will be honored with a numerous and fashionable audience. The only way to retain talent among us is to encourage it. The selection of entertainments are of the first order—“The Hero of the North” is a piece of much merit; and the opera of *Inkle and Yarico* (not performed here these nine years) are among the attractions of the evening.

Figure 8.11: Announcement of anticipated performance.⁴²

Perhaps because the review was published by a rival newspaper, or because the performance did not live up to expectations, a mixed review appeared the following day, on June 22, 1815. Evidently the performance of *Inkle and Yarico* was a redeeming factor for the evening's entertainment:

The Theatre was last evening handsomely attended, though not so full as it ought to have been, for the benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Burke. The play was unluckily destitute of that novelty, having been repeated very often this season, which is one of the principal attractions to the house. The beautiful and pathetic afterpiece (of *Inkle and Yarico*,) however, was extremely well played. Mrs. Burke, in *Wowski*, sung with unusual sweetness—Mrs. Darley was exquisitely interesting—Mr. Green played very well—and the whole piece (if we may say

⁴² *National Advocate* III, issue 785 (New York: June 21, 1815), 2, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

the whole, when two of the best songs, or rather a due and song, were omitted) was no less ably and delightfully sustained than it was happily chosen and properly cast. Mrs. Burke, we understand, was remarkably excellent in the bravura, between the play and the farce.

Mrs. Claude, on whom public opinion cannot but bestow the praise due to an attentive, correct, a capable and improving, an industrious and meritorious actress, played well (and if she never reached the highest flights of the dramatic muses, she never sinks below mediocrity, but always supports her characters respectably) in both the operas, and we hope and trust will be remembered in her benefit by a just and discerning community.⁴³

This review is notable for its mention of songs being omitted from the performance.

While the music was less important than the play, clearly the audience expected, at a minimum, the pieces normally performed and noticed when they were not included. An indication of the vagaries of taste and judgment, the main piece on the bill, *The Hero of the North*, was praised as a “piece of much merit” in the June 21 ad, but criticized after the performance as “unluckily destitute of that novelty, having been repeated very often this season, which is one of the principal attractions to the house.”

All the Trappings

The performance reviews of *Inkle and Yarico* provide some insight into the practices of costuming and make-up, as well as the audience expectations and reception of these features. (The reviewer’s comment about Trudge’s costume in *The Philadelphia Minerva* in March 1796 provides a good example.) Audiences expected clothing and make-up to befit particular characters to a greater or lesser extent. Actors (particularly those in the early travelling troupes) generally had their own stock costumes, sometimes wearing their own clothes in lieu of actual costumes for particular roles, and costumes, as other theatre features, were modeled after

⁴³ *The Columbian* VI, issue 1730 (New York: June 22, 1815), 2, *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

London's stages. Some idea, therefore, of the standard costumes for *Inkle and Yarico* can be gathered from a list of descriptions printed in *Cumberland's British Theatre*.⁴⁴

INKLE: Nankeen trowsers [*sic*] and jacket, white waistcoat, light hat, white stockings, black belt and hanger.

SIR CHRISTOPHER: Blue coat, embroidered button-holes, white waistcoat and breeches, white hat, gold button and loop, knee and shoe buckles, and white silk stockings.

CAMPLEY: Regimental coat, white trowsers, sash, sword, hat, &c.

MEDIUM: Plain brown coat and waistcoat, blue striped trowsers, white stockings, shoes, black leather belt, and hanger.

TRUDGE: Nankeen trowsers and jacket, white waistcoat and stockings, shoes, hat, black leather belt and hanger.

MATE: Blue jacket, light waistcoat, cord trowsers, white stockings and shoes.

SERVANT: White livery, scarlet collar, &c., white trowsers.

WAITER: Light trowsers, waistcoat, &c., nankeen jacket, buff waistcoat, and breeches.

PLANTERS: Light coat, waistcoat and white trowsers.

YARICO: White and coloured striped muslin dress, with coloured feathers and ornaments, leopard's skin drapery across one shoulder, dark flesh-coloured stockings and arms, sandals, various coloured feathers in head, a quantity of coloured beads around the head, neck, wrists, arms, and ancles [*sic*].

WOWSKI: Black skin, arms and legs, sandals, plain white dress with small skin hung across shoulder, beads, &c.

NARCISSA: Handsome white trimmed dress, with ornamented head, satin hat, &c.

PATTY: White muslin dress, trimmed with blue and pink ribbon, apron, hat, &c.

Actors generally provided their own costumes and were given a small allowance for procuring necessary additions to their wardrobe. Depending on the roles, they often were able to

⁴⁴ *Inkle and Yarico* in John Cumberland, *Cumberland's British Theatre, with Remarks, Biographical and Critical. Printed from the Acting Copies, as Performed at the Theatres Royal, London*, Vol. XVI (London: John Cumberland, 1827), 7.

use items in their personal wardrobe, such as dresses, trousers, and shoes. A frontispiece to *Inkle and Yarico* in *Cumberland's British Theatre* (see Figure 8.12 below) provides a glimpse of the typical costuming for Trudge and Wowski. Note that Wowski is wearing a simple dress with apron and headscarf, which are appropriate for a woman of servant status. Of course, by this scene, the characters are in Barbados, not in the women's native locale.

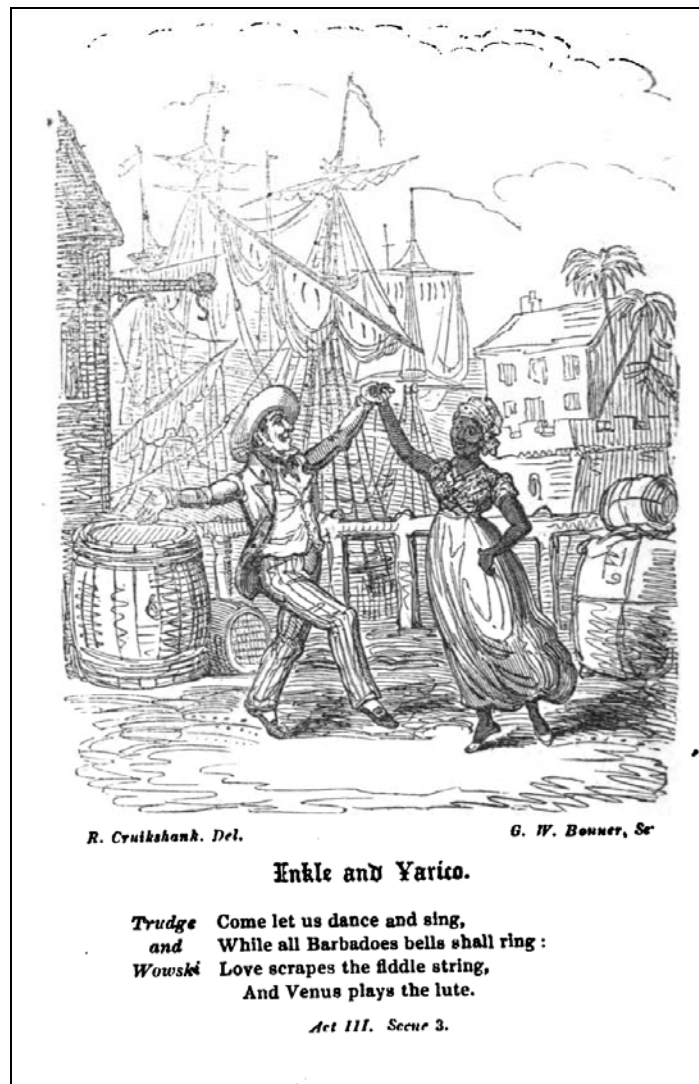


Figure 8.12: Frontispiece of *Inkle and Yarico* showing typical costumes.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Wood engraving, "Come, let us dance and sing," cut by George Wilmot Bonner, from a drawing by Robert Cruikshank. Frontispiece to *Inkle and Yarico* in John Cumberland, *Cumberland's British Theatre, with Remarks, Biographical and Critical. Printed from the Acting Copies, as Performed at the Theatres Royal, London*, Vol. XVI (London: John Cumberland, 1827).

The above descriptions include several class-related features, such as those for the aristocratic characters: embroidered buttonholes, gold buttons, and shoe buckles for Sir Christopher, and a “handsome” trimmed and ornamented dress with a satin hat for Narcissa. Also notable are the descriptions for Yarico and Wowski, the only two “native” characters specified in the opera (although others were sometimes included, as indicated by “Negro dances” stated in performance advertisements). Susan Porter describes the use of “pseudoethnic costuming, with little regard for accuracy,”⁴⁶ which seems to apply to the native women described above. Yarico’s “leopard skin” is not native to North America and further confuses the “American wilderness” setting (lions are mentioned in the libretto, but it is not specified whether they are African or North American mountain lions).

Yarico, it is indicated, should be made up in “dark-colored” stockings and arms, but Wowski’s skin, arms, and legs are to be black. Typically, make-up was racially generic (i.e., white or light flesh-colored for English characters, red for “Indians,” and black for Africans). Because Yarico was described in the libretto as a “comely copper color,” and because she is portrayed as more noble and desirable in the opera, it is likely that her make-up color was more “tawny” than black.

Adherence to costume and make-up expectations was expected by the audience and deviations could result in derision in performance reviews. A young Miss Tuke had to fill in as Yarico for Mrs. Henry, who was ill, for an April 29, 1791 performance in Philadelphia; Miss Tuke acted the role, but did not sing Yarico’s parts. The review the following morning (see Figure 8.13 below) provides interesting commentary—not only about her acting, but also about deficits in costume and make-up.

⁴⁶ Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 155.

INKLE and YARICO.

The songs in Yarico were missed, owing to the absence of Mrs. Henry; but Miss Tuke did perfect justice to the acting part of the character; we never saw her perform with such feeling. The scene in which Inkle and Yarico are reconciled is truly interesting. Her dress might have been much better chosen, it was not Yarico's dress.—Her complexion was of a piece with it.

The character of Sir Christopher Curry could not have been better filled than it was by Mr. Henry. The sentiments introduced were well chosen, delivered with real feeling, and received with merited applause.

Mrs. Gee in Narcissa sung with expression.—Her second song was encored and would very well have suffered another repetition.

Mrs. Wilson in Wowsky performed her part with great truth and real humour; but was too hideous to receive the applause she merited. Her dress might have been more engaging and as proper.—Her complexion too dark.

Figure 8.13: Commentary about acting, costume, and make-up in a review.⁴⁷

Miss Tuke apparently wore a dress too close to the color of Yarico's make-up for this performance. Given the typically poor lighting conditions (one or two chandeliers, candles at the front apron of the stage, and candle sconces on the walls), it is understandable that the color of the two could easily indistinguishably blend.

Setting the Scene

While elaborate scenery was not always available for performances of *Inkle and Yarico*, audiences did expect at the very least to see scenery that was appropriate for the setting(s) of the story. In small theatres and for travelling troupes, stock scenes were recycled, employing at the

⁴⁷ *General Advertiser*, issue 182 (Philadelphia: April 30, 1791), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

minimum rolled drop scenes portraying an interior scene and an exterior scene. Over time and with use, scenes had to be repainted; colors were intense and bright to compensate for poor lighting and distance from the audience. Theatre companies had to replace or obtain materials, such as scenery, costumes, and other decorations and props, particularly for new works, often obtaining new materials from England. More established companies, particularly those in residence at theatres, expanded their materials over time to provide more variety and to meet the particular needs of individual works. Such new or specially designed accoutrements were also advertised in order to further entice audiences.

Because of its native settings in the American wilderness—particularly Yarico’s cave—and the quay and plantation settings on the island of Barbados, *Inkle and Yarico* performances benefited from specially designed scenery and costumes. Likely as a marketing approach, 1794 performances in Boston were advertised as including “new Scenery for the occasion.”⁴⁸ The sole advertisement for a performance in Alexandria in March of 1798 also boasts the use of special scenery, but is more specific about its features:

⁴⁸ *Massachusetts Mercury* III, issue 38 (Boston: May 9, 1794), 3; *Columbian Centinel* XXI, issue 18 (Boston: May 10, 1794), 3; *Pennsylvania Packet*, issue 3523 (Philadelphia: May 17, 1790), 1; all in *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009). An identical ad appeared on May 16 in the *Massachusetts Mercury*.

T H E A T R E.

BY PERMISSION.

THIS EVENING,
MARCH 5

Will be presented the COMIC OPERA of
• **INKLE AND YARICO;**
OR,
The American Heroine.

In act the first will be discovered a view
of Yarico's cave; and in the third
act a view of the town and harbour
of Barbadoes.—Painted by Mr.
BARTLETT

To which will be added, the admired
FARCE of
THE WEDDING DAY.

* * * The Doors to be opened at 5
and the performance to begin precisely
at 6 o'clock —

††† TICKETS to be had at Messrs.
Thomas & Westcott's Royal Street, Reno's
Tavern King Street, and at the office of
the Theatre — Boxes 6s0 Upper Boxes
4s6 Children under ten years of age
half price.

Particular care will be taken
to prevent improper characters intru-
ding themselves into the boxes. No
admittance behind the scenes.

Figure 8.14: Mention of scenery designed specifically for *Inkle and Yarico*.⁴⁹

Some newspaper advertisements and reviews alluded to or reported upon exciting events associated with an evening's theatrical experience. An advertisement for a May 1804 performance in New York seems to off-handedly mention the reason for a postponed

⁴⁹ *Alexandria Times and Advertiser* I, issue 283 (Alexandria: March 5, 1798), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

performance: “The Public are respectfully informed, that on account of the late disturbance at the State Prison, the Entertainments for Tuesday Evening, were unavoidably postponed.”⁵⁰

A January 11, 1826 article in a Hartford newspaper provides a rather detailed account about a Philadelphia performance, describing rowdy behavior that ensued when the promised actor, Edmund Kean, failed to make an appearance. Following a lengthy paragraph describing the audience’s displeasure, it was reported in the same column:

[Last night during the cry for Kean, which is said to have been nearly unanimous, a person in the Gallery, taking offence at another man’s bawling out “Kean, Kean” struck him a violent blow under the right jaw, and knocked him over two benches. The man thus knocked down obtained a warrant and an officer:--the offender was promptly taken before an alderman and bound over for the assault and battery.]—*Demo. Press.*⁵¹

That the raucous behavior occurred in the gallery is not surprising; American theatres were modeled after those of Europe, particularly English theatres, with three areas of seating: the pit, the boxes, and the gallery. Separated from the higher classes of patrons and relegated to sitting on benches or standing, the lower classes generally occupied the cheapest seats, which were in the gallery. So concerned was management about keeping these poorer audience members from the wealthier and better-dressed patrons, the gallery often had its own entrance and those in the gallery were not permitted in the lobbies of the theatre.⁵² Over time, patrons of all classes and gender occupied seats throughout the house.

If column space permitted, theatre critics would also comment on other aspects of the evening’s entertainment, such as the afterpiece. If dances, pantomimes, or ballets were added to the bill, they rarely received mention in the reviews. Furthermore, if critics perceived the

⁵⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, issue 498 (New York: May 10, 1804), 2, *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁵¹ *American Mercury* XLII, issue 2168 (Hartford: Jan. 17, 1826), 3, *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁵² Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 85.

response to a performance as overly enthusiastic, they took it upon themselves to chastise audiences for their behavioral lapses. For instance, it was not unusual for individual songs to be encored one or more times during a performance, whether warranted or not. A short article in *The New-York Mirror: A Weekly Gazette of Literature and Fine Arts* on January 26, 1839, titled “Theatrical Miseries,” describes one person’s dissatisfaction with audience behavior at the theatre, including an undeserved request for an encore:

THEATRICAL MISERIES.—A fine overture playing and a noisy audience. At the play, just as you are beginning to recover yourself, after a song of unequalled length and insipidity, to which the singer has added the deficiencies of taste, time and tune—to hear “encore!” “encore!” from every mouth but your own. Shirking a pleasant party, to get early to the theatre to see a new comedy by a popular writer, and when the curtain draws up, learning from your next neighbour, that, on account of the indisposition of the principal performer, the managers have been under the necessity of substituting the *Stranger* or *Inkle and Yarico*. N. B.—No money returned. A modern prologue to a modern play.

Figure 8.15: Commentary about a patron’s acute dissatisfaction with audience behavior.⁵³

To add insult to injury, the expected work was not performed; instead, *Inkle and Yarico* was substituted and no refunds were given. It is clear from the sarcastic tone of the writer that being offered *Inkle and Yarico* was a disappointment; expecting a “new comedy by a popular writer,” the audience was instead offered a distinctly old-fashioned work. While the commentary does not indicate the quality of or response to *Inkle and Yarico*, the mere fact that the company was able to substitute the work indicates that it must have still been in their repertoire in 1839, perhaps being performed by the troupe in smaller towns and theatres.

⁵³ *The New York Mirror: A Weekly Gazette of Literature and Fine Arts* 16, issue 31 (New York: Jan. 26, 1839), 247, ProQuest American Periodical Series Online (accessed July 20, 2009).

Theatres had to deal with new competition from the circus, the first of which was established by Alexander Placide and his troupe of French acrobats in 1792. Permanent facilities were constructed in New York and Philadelphia in 1793, with pantomime plays and comic operas added to the evening's entertainment. Because circuses generally performed in the summer when the theatre was closed, or on nights when theatres were dark, they were able to coexist with the major theatres.

Circus exhibitions were quickly integrated into theatrical offerings, including equestrian feats, tumbling, tightrope walking, dumb pantomime, and demonstrations of strength and agility. One of the most interesting advertisements for a spectacular performance is printed in *The Diary or Loudon's Register* on Oct. 28, 1797 for an unspecified date of performance at "New Circus, Greenwich Street" (see Figure 8.16 below). Befitting a circus setting, the billing starts with horsemanship and also lists a "Festival Ballet Dance in honour of the President of the U.S.," which would have been John Adams, who took office in March of that year. "The American Heroine, An Heroic Pantomime" in three acts was noted as the work concluding the evening. This performance was advertised to include "grand military evolutions, single combats, new decorations, etc. painted by Mr. Perovani. . . . The whole to conclude with a Grand Indian Dance, Composed by Mr. Francisquy." Given the references in the billing to English captains and soldiers, and Indian chiefs and warriors, it appears that this was the French pantomime version by Arnould-Mussot, which speaks to the appeal of novelty on the stage.

NEW CIRCUS,
GREENWICH-STREET.

SATURDAY EVENING, October 23.
HORSEMANSHIP,
By the Equestrian Company.
Crown, Mr. M'Donald

Mr. Langley will dance a Hornpipe on Horseback and throw a lofty Back Sommetier, the bottle in full speed.

Mr. Langley and Mr. M'Donald will perform several double leaps over a horse in full gallop.

FESTIVAL BALLET DANCE,
In honour of the President of the United States, With new decorations, scenery, &c. adapted to the subject; painted by Mr. Perovani, an Italian artist.

The principal parts by Mr. Francisquy, Miss Teiffere, and Mrs. Douvillers.

Mr. M'Donald will perform the
POLANDERS ASTONISHING TRICKS,
Never attempted by any person but himself.

He will place a decanter, under each foot of a chair, upon a table; get upon the top of the chair and stands upon his head, on one side of the chair; at the same time one of the decanters is taken away from under the foot of the chair, and remains suspended in the air.

Mr. M'Donald will place a candlestick on the table, and stand with his head on it, with the assistance only of one hand, his feet dancing in the air, and turning round at the same time.

Mr. M'Donald will throw a row of FLIP-FLAPS across the circle, with his feet tied.

STILL VAULTING.

The Feats of Horsemanship to conclude with a Grand Leap over a Ribbon.
By Mr. Langley.

The amusements of the evening will conclude, for the second time (by particular desire) with
The American Heroine.

An Heroic Pantomime, in 3 acts, in which will be grand military evolutions, single combats, new decorations, &c. painted by Mr. Perovani.

The English Captain,	Mr. Poubert
Inkle,	Mr. Douvillers
Indian Chief,	Mr. Raymond
Yarico,	Mrs. Douvillers
Indian Chiefs, Messrs Louziers, Gartinou, &c.	
English Officers, Messrs Gourville and Martin	
English Soldiers, Indian Warriors	

The whole to conclude with a Grand
INDIAN DANCE,
Composed by Mr. Francisquy. The principal parts by Mr. Francisquy, and Miss Teiffere.

Box Es — Second do 6s — Pit 4s.

Doors to be opened at half past 5, and the performances to begin at half past 6 o'clock.

Tickets to be had at the Circus from 9 until 12.

Boxes to be taken at the same place.

Days of performance, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

THE Directors of the Circus, anxious to deserve the patronage of an indulgent public, have spared nothing to join in the New Circus elegance with commodiousness, and flatter themselves that the uncommon exertions of the whole Company, will afford satisfaction to the persons with whose presence they shall be happy enough to be honored.

Figure 8.16: Ad for performance to be attended by the President.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ *The Diary or Loudon's Register*, issue 1782 (New York: Oct. 28, 1797), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers*, including *Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

Some scholars have speculated that “The American Heroine” advertised here was a variation on Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico*,⁵⁵ but that is an erroneous conclusion. Despite the similarity to the “American Heroine” subtitle added to Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico* (which is discussed in the following section), a closer reading of the advertisement reveals significant differences: an English captain and soldiers, an Indian chief, and no mention of Trudge and Wowski; the actors all have French names; and the “Grand Indian Dance” was created by Mr. Francisquy. The names listed were, in fact, performers who worked with Mr. Lailson, a French manager who built a circus venue in Philadelphia in 1797.⁵⁶ This work was not by Colman, but instead the French version of the *Inkle and Yarico* tale by Arnould-Mussot, *L’héroïne américaine: Pantomime en trios actes*, which was translated into English and performed in America (although not in England due to the unflattering portrayal of the English).⁵⁷ That the French version was being performed “for the second time (by particular desire)” speaks to the appeal of novelty on the stage.

For a July 31, 1829 performance in Providence, which was a benefit for Mrs. Finn, the advertisement (shown on the following page) prominently featured Mr. Finn, and also described an added attraction that shows the influence of circus acts:

Mons. Fillelippes, the Celebrated Patagonian, nine feet high!! exceeding in stature the celebrated Canadian Giant, has kindly volunteered his powerful aid, and will sing a Comic Song in a Higher Key, than has ever been attempted.

⁵⁵ Lynn Matluck Brooks, “A Decade of Brilliance: Dance Theatre in Late-Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia,” *Dance Chronicle* 12, no. 3 (1989), 354, and Marian Hannah Winter, “American Theatrical Dancing from 1750 to 1800,” *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938), 71.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 352–353.

⁵⁷ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 234.

THEATRE.

MRS. FINN'S BENEFIT.

First night of the new petit Comedy, called **PETER FINN'S TRIP TO SEE THE SEA.**

Positively **MR. FINN'S** Last Appearance.

Mrs. FINN respectfully informs her friends and the public, that her Benefit will take place
THIS EVENING, JULY 31,
 On which occasion **MR. FINN** will appear for that night only, when will be repeated by particular desire, the Prelude of

1 0 2

OR THE VETERAN AND HIS PROGENY.
 Philip Garbois, aged 102, **MR. FINN.**

After which **MONS. FILLELIPPES**, the celebrated **PATAGONIAN, NINE FEET HIGH!** exceeding in stature the celebrated Canadian Giant, has kindly volunteered his powerful aid, and will sing a Comic Song in a **HIGHER KEY**, than had ever been attempted.

After which (for this night only) a Comedy in three acts; called
PETER FINN'S TRIP TO SEE THE SEA.
Mr. Finn, (a Fishmonger) Mr. FINN.
 (For other characters see bills.)

The evening's entertainments to conclude with the celebrated Piece not acted here for some years, called
INKLE AND YARICO.
Sir Christopher Agree, Mr. FINN.
Yarico | Mrs. Finn.
 [For other characters see bills.]

NO POSTPONEMENT ON ACCOUNT OF WEATHER

Doors opened at half past 6, and performance to commence at half past 7 precisely.

* * Boxes 75 cents, second tier 50 Cents; Pit 37 1/2 cents; Gallery 25 Cents. July 31

Figure 8.17: Performance advertisement that includes novelty attraction.⁵⁸

Again, however, the advertisement requires a closer reading; rather than Sir Christopher Curry, the only character listed besides Yarico is “Sir Christopher Argue.” It is not possible to determine whether this was a printing error, or whether this was a different version of the Inkle and Yarico tale. If the latter, it was apparently a work that had been performed in Providence several years earlier.

⁵⁸ *Rhode-Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette* v. I, issue 4 (Providence: July 31, 1829): 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 2009).

Changes in and Adaptations of *Inkle and Yarico*

It was not unusual for a comic opera to carry a descriptive subtitle after the primary title, such as *Love in a Camp; or, Patrick in Prussia* (1786; by dramatist John O’Keeffe and composer William Shield).⁵⁹ While Colman’s original title did not have such an appendage, several descriptive subtitles were later added in printed libretti⁶⁰ and for some of the American performances of *Inkle and Yarico*. While it would require research beyond the scope of this study to unearth possible local connections to the various subtitles, we can nonetheless speculate the possible significance of their use.

Of the various performing companies, the Old American Company seemed to be fondest of adding a subtitle in their advertisements. They added *A School for Avarice* around 1790 for a few performances, and then used the subtitle *The Indian Heroine* in 1792 and 1793. After that, they settled on *The American Heroine*, which was by far the most-frequently used subtitle, appearing in print for at least twenty-two performances.⁶¹ In the early nineteenth century (1804–1817), *Love at First Sight* and *The Blessings of Liberty* also were used, but only a few times (see Figure 8.18 below). Note that although the libretto advertisement carried the subtitle “The Benevolent Maid,” this subtitle did not appear in later advertisements for performances of the work.

⁵⁹ The practice of supplying subtitles was also true for pantomimes, farces, and later melodramas, and it continued in the Savoy operas of Gilbert and Sullivan (such as *The Gondoliers; or, The King of Barataria*).

⁶⁰ For instance, the 1795 Edinburgh edition is titled *Inkle and Yarico; or, the Slave-Trade Exposed*.

⁶¹ Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 350. The first time that *The American Heroine* addition appears (in a newspaper advertisement in New York for an April 21, 1794 performance), the order is reversed and the title is stated as *The American Heroine; or, Inkle and Yarico*. This was a benefit performance for Mrs. Henry, for whom the Hodgkinsons and Hallams acted for her benefit, despite the fact that they were driving her from the troupe.

<p align="center">NEW-THEATRE.</p> <p align="center">TO-MORROW EVENING, FEBRUARY 29, Will be presented, a Comic Opera in 3 acts, called <i>Inkle and Yarico;</i> OR THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY. <i>Written by George Coleman, Esq. author of the Heir at Law, John Bull, Mountaineers, &c.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Campley, Trudge, First Planter, Second Planter, Waiter, Servant, Yarico, Narcissa, Wowski, Patty,</td> <td>Mr. Cain, Warren, Francis, Fox, Jefferson, Milbourne, Mestayer, Durang, Soffe, Mrs. Wood, Miss Solomon, Mrs. Olinixon, Jefferson.</td> </tr> </table> <p>To which will be added a Farce called THE CRITICK; OR A TRAGEDY REHEARSED. <i>(By Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.)</i> Sneer, Puff, On Friday the Tragedy of Alfonso, King of Castile, with entertainments. A New Comedy is in rehearsal. THE publick are respectfully informed, that for the remainder of the season, the doors will be open at half past 5, and the curtain to rise at half past 6 o'clock. February 28.</p>	Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Campley, Trudge, First Planter, Second Planter, Waiter, Servant, Yarico, Narcissa, Wowski, Patty,	Mr. Cain, Warren, Francis, Fox, Jefferson, Milbourne, Mestayer, Durang, Soffe, Mrs. Wood, Miss Solomon, Mrs. Olinixon, Jefferson.	<p align="center">THEATRE.</p> <p align="center">FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR. GARNER. MONDAY, FEB. 12.</p> <p>When will be presented the celebrated Opera, in 3 acts, called INKLE & YARICO; Or, <i>LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Trudge, Yarico, Wowski,</td> <td>Mr. Garner Robertson Price Bernard Mrs. Aldis Miss Allen</td> </tr> </table> <p align="center">END OF THE OPERA A DRAMATIC OILIO, CONSISTING OF <i>Singing, Recitation, and Dancing.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Song, <i>Old Tonter,</i></td> <td>Mr. Garner</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Recitation, <i>The Three Warnings, or, Death & the Farmer,</i></td> <td>Mr. Bernard</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Song, { <i>The Soldier Tir'd of</i> }</td> <td>{ Miss Allen</td> </tr> <tr> <td> { <i>War's Alarms,</i> }</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Song, <i>Fam'd for Deeds of Arms,</i></td> <td>Mr. Garner</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Dance,</td> <td>Miss Flint</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Duett, <i>All's Well,</i></td> <td>Messrs. Garner & Charnock</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Song, { <i>When first I slipp'd my</i> }</td> <td>{ Miss Flint</td> </tr> <tr> <td> { <i>leading strings</i> }</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p align="center">TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED, A celebrated and much admired Pantomime, in 2 acts, (never performed in Albany,) called ROBINSON CRUSOE, OR HARLEQUIN FRIDAY.</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Robinson Crusoe, Lieutenant (with a Song) Columbine,</td> <td>Mr. Robertson Mr. Garner Mrs. Allen</td> </tr> </table> <p align="center">MRS. ALDIS'S BENEFIT ON WEDNES- DAY EVENING. * * Curtain rises at half past six pre- cisely.</p>	Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Trudge, Yarico, Wowski,	Mr. Garner Robertson Price Bernard Mrs. Aldis Miss Allen	Song, <i>Old Tonter,</i>	Mr. Garner	Recitation, <i>The Three Warnings, or, Death & the Farmer,</i>	Mr. Bernard	Song, { <i>The Soldier Tir'd of</i> }	{ Miss Allen	{ <i>War's Alarms,</i> }		Song, <i>Fam'd for Deeds of Arms,</i>	Mr. Garner	Dance,	Miss Flint	Duett, <i>All's Well,</i>	Messrs. Garner & Charnock	Song, { <i>When first I slipp'd my</i> }	{ Miss Flint	{ <i>leading strings</i> }		Robinson Crusoe, Lieutenant (with a Song) Columbine,	Mr. Robertson Mr. Garner Mrs. Allen
Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Campley, Trudge, First Planter, Second Planter, Waiter, Servant, Yarico, Narcissa, Wowski, Patty,	Mr. Cain, Warren, Francis, Fox, Jefferson, Milbourne, Mestayer, Durang, Soffe, Mrs. Wood, Miss Solomon, Mrs. Olinixon, Jefferson.																								
Inkle, Sir Christopher Curry, Medium, Trudge, Yarico, Wowski,	Mr. Garner Robertson Price Bernard Mrs. Aldis Miss Allen																								
Song, <i>Old Tonter,</i>	Mr. Garner																								
Recitation, <i>The Three Warnings, or, Death & the Farmer,</i>	Mr. Bernard																								
Song, { <i>The Soldier Tir'd of</i> }	{ Miss Allen																								
{ <i>War's Alarms,</i> }																									
Song, <i>Fam'd for Deeds of Arms,</i>	Mr. Garner																								
Dance,	Miss Flint																								
Duett, <i>All's Well,</i>	Messrs. Garner & Charnock																								
Song, { <i>When first I slipp'd my</i> }	{ Miss Flint																								
{ <i>leading strings</i> }																									
Robinson Crusoe, Lieutenant (with a Song) Columbine,	Mr. Robertson Mr. Garner Mrs. Allen																								

Figure 8.18: Advertisements for *Inkle and Yarico; or, The Blessings of Liberty* and *Inkle and Yarico; or, Love at First Sight*.⁶²

In addition to the usual music modifications, such as song or dance additions, substitutions, and interpolations, comic operas were sometimes more substantively altered. As noted by musicologist Susan Porter:

[Alteration] was so thoroughly a part of theatrical life that its practice and extent were seldom questioned. New plays were altered during the preparations for the first production,

⁶² LEFT: *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* XXXIII, issue 8497 (Philadelphia: Feb. 29, 1804), 2; RIGHT: *Albany Daily Advertiser*, issue 119 (Albany: Feb. 12, 1816), 3; *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

more to meet technical or performance needs than to improve the work artistically. After the first production, still more cuts and alterations were made as a response to the audience and the critics.⁶³

Since an evening's fare might include two or three works spanning three or four hours, a full-scale work would be trimmed to fit into the afterpiece spot on the bill.

The earliest such alteration of *Inkle and Yarico* was noted in a newspaper advertisement in Philadelphia for a May 1790 performance of *Inkle and Yarico; or, A School for Avarice*, which was described as “a Farce, taken from Mr. Coleman’s [sic] opera *Inkle and Yarico* (see Figure 8.19 below).

BY AUTHORITY.

Mr. Henry's Night.

Will be Presented, By the OLD AMERICAN COMPANY, at the THEATRE in SOUTHWARK,

On Monday the 17th May,

A Dramatic Piece, called,

A School for Soldiers;

OR,

The Defenter.

In act the fourth, a Grand Military Proceffion, to the execution of the deserter.

End of the play, a comedy in one act, called,

Half an Hour after Supper.

In the Comedy by particular desire, Mrs Henry will sing the Irish song of Ellen a roan. End of the comedy Hippiely's Drunken Man by Mr. Henry. To which will be added; a Farce, taken from Mr. Coleman's opera of *Inkle and Yarico*, called

Inkle and Yarico,

OR, A

SCHOOL for AVARICE.

With new Scenery, incidental to the piece.

The DOORS will be opened in future at 6, and the CURTAIN drawn up precisely at 7 o'Clock.

Figure 8.19: Philadelphia advertisement for farce version of *Inkle and Yarico*.⁶⁴

⁶³ Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 71–72.

⁶⁴ *Pennsylvania Packet*, issue 3523 (Philadelphia: May 17, 1790), 1; *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

Because the work was billed as an afterpiece, the “taken from” statement indicates that this was likely a reduced version, as most afterpieces were two acts in length and Colman’s version was staged in three acts. The following advertisement in a New York newspaper makes clear that this afterpiece is a modification of Colman’s opera, as it specifies “compressed into an After Piece”:

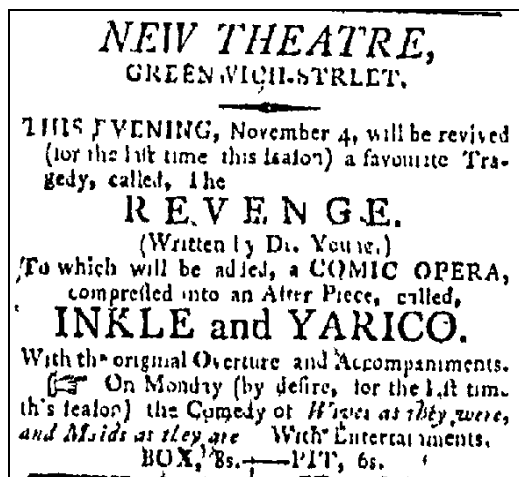


Figure 8.20: Advertisement for a compressed version of *Inkle and Yarico*.⁶⁵

Several performances between 1805 and 1815 describe the work as being presented in two acts, either as an afterpiece or farce:

⁶⁵ *The Diary or Loudon’s Register*, issue 1788 (New York: Nov. 4, 1797), 3, and the same ad in *The Weekly Museum* X, issue 20 (New York: Nov. 4, 1797), 3; *America’s Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, JAN. 16th, will be presented, (for the last time this season) a favorite Comedy, in 5 acts, called **THE JEW:**
OR—BENEVOLENT HEBREW.
Written by R. CUMBERLAND, Esq.
 Sheva, (the Jew) Mr. Bernard; Jabal, Deckerfon;
 Sir Stephen Bertram, Kenney; Frederick, Jones;
 Saunders, Bignall; Charles Ratchiffe, Wilson.
 Mrs. Ratchiffe, Mrs. Baker; Eliza Ratchiffe,
 Powell; Mr. Goodison, Bignall; Dorcas, Bernard.

To which will be added, the celebrated Comic Opera, in 2 acts, called
INKLE & YARICO.
 Inkle, Mr. Jones; Yarico, Mrs. Powell;—
 Trudge, Mr. Wilson; and Wowiki, Mrs. Jones.

Doors to be opened at 5, and the Curtains to rise precisely at 6 o'clock.

Boston Theatre

The Public are requested to notice, that this being the last week of Mr. COOPER'S Engagement, the nights of performance, will be THIS, To-morrow, and FRIDAY Evenings.

THIS EVENING, FEB. 17, 1808,
 WILL be presented, for this night only, a much admired Play, in 5 acts, called the
MERCHANT OF VENICE.
 Shylock, - for the only time, - Mr. Cooper.
 Gratiano, - - - - - Mr. Harwood.
 Portia, - - - - - Mrs. Stanley.

For other Characters, see Bills.

After the Play, will be presented, for the last time this season, a favorite Afterpiece in 2 acts, called
INKLE AND YARICO;
OR THE AMERICAN HEROINE.
 Trudge, - for this night only, - Mr. Twaits.
 Sir Christopher Curry only time, Mr. Harwood.

For other Characters, see Bills.

The Public will notice, that places for the whole of the Benefits may be taken at any time during the time of the Box-Office being open.
 Doors open at a quarter past 5, and curtain to rise at a quarter past 6 o'clock.

Figure 8.21: *Inkle and Yarico* ads specifying “two acts.”⁶⁶

⁶⁶ LEFT: *Columbian Centinel* 42, issue 41 (Boston: Jan. 16, 1805), 3; RIGHT: *Columbian Centinel*, issue 2492 (Boston: Feb. 17, 1808), 3; *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

PROVIDENCE THEATRE.

For the Benefit of Mr. W. JONES.

THIS EVENING, August 18, will be presented, a much-admired Comedy, called

JOHN BULL,

Or, *THE TRADESMAN'S FIRE-SIDE.*

Peregrine,	Mr. HUMPHS.
Hon. Tom Shuffleton,	Mr. YOUNG.
Sir Simon Rochdale,	Mr. W. CLARK.
Frank Rochdale,	Mr. FENNELL.
Job Thornberry,	Mr. W. JONES.
John Burr,	Mr. SAVAGE.
Deans' Boulgruddery,	Mr. GREEN.
Dan,	Mr. BRAY.
William,	Mr. JONES.
Lady Caroline,	Mrs. GREEN.
Mary,	Mrs. YOUNG.
Mrs. Boulgruddery,	Mrs. BARNES.

The original Epilogue, by Mr. GREEN.

After the Play, an Interlude, in one Act, consisting of the following Entertainments:

A GRAND MILITARY TEMPLE,
A GRAND NAVAL TEMPLE,

Surrounded by the names of Military and Naval Heroes:

BROWN,	SCOTT,	MILLER,
DEARBORN,	GAINES,	MACOMB,
JACKSON,	RIPLEY,	HARRISON,
BAINBRIDGE,	HULL,	DECATUR,
JONES,	PERRY,	PORTER,
MACDONOUGH,	ROBBER,	STEWART,
	ALLEN.	

On the right, a Transparent Column, with Emblems, *Commerce, Honour and Glory.*
On the left, a Transparent Column, with Emblems, *Agriculture, Arts and Sciences.*

During the Scene the following—

1. Patriotick Song, by Mr. JONES.
2. Song, called the Proclamation and Ratification, or Peace and Plenty, by Mr. BRAY.
3. Double Military Hornpipe, by Mr. JONES and Mrs. BRAY.
4. Recitation, Alonzo and Imogene, by Mr. W. JONES.
5. To conclude with the celebrated Flag Dance, by Mr. JONES, Mrs. BRAY and Mrs. CLARK.

To which will be added, the much-admired Farce, in two Acts, called

INKLE AND YARICO.

Inkle,	Mr. LEGG.
Sir Christopher Curry,	Mr. GREEN.
Tudge,	Mr. BRAY.
Campley,	Mr. FENNELL.
Medlum,	Mr. HUGHES.
1st Planter,	Mr. SAVAGE.
2d ditto,	Mr. JONES.
Yarico,	Mrs. YOUNG.
Narcissa,	Mrs. BRAY.
Wowski,	Mrs. W. CLARK,
(with the original Songs and Duet) being her first appearance here these eight years.	
Patty,	Mrs. BARNES.

August 18.

Figure 8.22: *Inkle and Yarico* advertised as a two-act farce.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *Rhode-Island American, and General Advertiser* VII, issue 89 (Providence: Aug. 18, 1815), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

In some instances, it is not clear whether a particular performance was Colman's work or not. For instance, a Boston advertisement in 1793 referred to the *Inkle and Yarico* on the billing as a "pantomime" (see below):

New-Exhibition-Room---Board-Alley

ON MONDAY EVENING, April 1, 1793, will be
Exhibited,
A TRAGEDY, by N. Rowe, Esq, called,
JANE SHORE.

Hastings,	Mr. Harper.
Gloster,	Mr. Kenny.
Belmour,	Mr. Minchin
Ratcliffe,	Mr. Vatts,
And Duncan,	Mr. Powell,
Alicia,	Mrs. Metebler.
And Jane Shore,	Miss Smith.

End of the Tragedy,
Feats on the Slack Rope.
By M^r. HARRINGTON.

The whole will conclude with an Historic Pantomime, called
The Indian Heroine ;
Or,
Inkle and Yarico.

* * Tickets at the usual places.

Figure 8.23: Advertisement reference to a pantomime with a similar title.⁶⁸

In contrast, the following 1797 advertisement for a performance in Philadelphia, by virtue of "as performed in Paris" and the characters' names, clearly is not Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico*:

⁶⁸ *Boston Gazette*, issue 2009 (Boston: April 1, 1793), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

LAILSON'S CIRCUS.

The performances at the New Circus, This Evening
May 2, will begin by a
GRAND DISPLAY OF HORSEMANSHIP,
By Equestrian Performers of both Sexes.

MISS MANICE

Will perform with the usual graces of her sex, numerous feats, never attempted but by herself.

The young **GERMAN** will perform several feats of activity.

Mr. Langley (the American Equestrian) will dance a hornpipe, standing upon the saddle of a single horse; he will throw a stone backwards from his horse, in full speed; he will leap over several bars of a prodigious height, with the greatest activity.

Mr. Sully, in the character of Clown, will perform on a single horse, a variety of comic feats.

Mr. Lailson, for the first time, will jump on a single horse, having his legs tied; a feat which has never been attempted, but by himself.

To this truly curious exercise he will add several others, which have never been performed in this city, and which he will not undertake to enumerate, in order to surprize the spectator, having no other aim but to please the public; he ventures to assure them, that the variety, the originality, and the difficulty of the exercises, will leave nothing to be desired by the amateurs of this new art.

Mr. McDonald, whose superior talents are well known, will perform the character of
BILLY BUTTON
In the laughable scene of the
Taylor and his Horse.

The evening's entertainments to conclude by a third representation of the grand Historical Pantomime, in three acts, with military evolutions, battles, dresses and scenery, entirely new, under the direction of Mr. Jaymond, called the
American Heroine.

As performed in Paris with the greatest applause.

Yarico	Mis. Douvilliers
English Captain	Mr. Prouble
Indian Chief	Mr. Jaymond
Isble	Mr. Douvilliers

English Officers, Messrs Vieillard and Polignand.
A Company of English Soldiers.
A Company of Savages.

Box, One Dollar—Pier, Half a Dollar.

The DOORS will be opened at past 6 o'clock, and the performance begin precisely at seven.

Explanations of the Pantomime to be had at the Circus.

Figure 8.24: Advertisement for a different “American Heroine” version.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser XIV, issue 2653 (Philadelphia: May 2, 1797), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

Instead, this was likely a performance of Jean-François Arnould-Mussot's three-act mime, *L'héroïne américaine*. This work had first been performed in Paris in 1786 and, although never well-received in England, was translated into English and printed in Philadelphia in 1797 as *The American Heroine*. It presents an entirely different version of the Inkle and Yarico story.⁷⁰

Inkle and Yarico's Demise

The last documented performances of *Inkle and Yarico* took place in New York in April 1844 at the Park Theatre, as noted in the following newspaper advertisement:



Figure 8.25: Last known performances of *Inkle and Yarico* in a major theatre.⁷¹

Decades later, an article in an 1885 *Philadelphia Inquirer* made a reference to *Inkle and Yarico* in an article entitled “Revival of a Favorite Play.”

Once upon a time when the people had tired of ragged representations of Shakespeare's plays, of Inkle and Yarico, the West Indian and others, there came into favor a number of excellent dramas, which were usually succeeded by a rollicking farce. . . . The Willow Copse was a revelation of contemporary domestic life that took the public fancy at once and held it until the rage for Vaudeville and ballet swept almost everything else off the stage.⁷²

⁷⁰ Felsenstein, *English Trader*, 31: Felsenstein provides more information about this lesser-known staged French version of the Inkle and Yarico tale and its English translation.

⁷¹ *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics and Literature* 3, issue 16 (New York: April 20, 1844), 196, *ProQuest American Periodical Series Online* (accessed July 20, 2009).

⁷² *Philadelphia Inquirer* CXIII (Philadelphia: Sept. 1, 1885), 3, *America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1–3, 1690–1922* (accessed July 9, 2009).

The author was familiar enough with *Inkle and Yarico*, by title at least, to be able to categorize it with older works, such as Shakespeare plays and other comic operas. By this time, other forms of popular entertainment had superseded these now-antiquated entertainments.

Inkle and Yarico was gradually supplanted by other forms of entertainment—American comic operas, variety shows, circus acts, and many others—that offered greater spectacle and variety on the stage in the early nineteenth century, prompted in part by the arrival of the circus. Further, *Inkle and Yarico* was increasingly out of fashion with American audiences. While the English sense of humor responded favorably to puns and double entendres in plots filled with improbabilities and complications, American audiences objected to excessive use of puns and sexual innuendos, and these features were part and parcel of Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico*.⁷³ Sonneck states:

Moreover, in those years, the world over, a change in literary taste was latent. Perhaps not so much in the plots, because the psychological problems which confront the dramatist will ever remain essentially the same, but as to the manner of expression, make up, style of utterance. . . . People began to object especially to the broad suggestiveness of the dialogues, or at least they were becoming tired of the low garb in which slippery double-entendres were presented during the eighteenth century, and the hypocritically prudish, high-collared, but just as slippery nineteenth century was not yet born.⁷⁴

The political climate in America also contributed to the opera's demise, as tensions grew between the Northern and Southern states over the practice of slavery, particularly as England had addressed the issue by abolishing the practice around 1808 (but officially in 1831). Although those in the Northern states, particularly New Englanders, were sympathetic to the plight of

⁷³ Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 99–100.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

slaves, they “nonetheless retained a significant repulsion for blacks as people and as a presence in their provincial culture.”⁷⁵

Summary

A close examination of the composite information available on early American theatre makes clear that we know more about the theatres than about the actual performing conditions or details of performances. Based upon bits of information gleaned from newspaper performance advertisements and reviews located in theatre records, library compilations, microfilm records, and digital archives, this study has made some observations about performances of *Inkle and Yarico* in America and their reception. It is likely that an exhaustive search in theatre archives and local libraries would yield a few more pieces of information, but it is not likely that this information would significantly change the profile presented here. Thus, despite the summary and details this study provides, there is much we will never know.

The story of *Inkle and Yarico* on American theatre stages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is also the story of the major companies and their directors. In particular, the Old American Company and its competition with Wignell and Reinagle stimulated the building of new theatres and the recruitment of top talent from England. The imported actors were gradually joined by American performers as the companies became established and set up residency in the major cities. Some of the imported actors approached star quality, such as Mrs. Oldmixon, known for creating Wowski in London.

American performances of comic opera consisted almost entirely of current successful works imported from England, usually within a couple years of their London premiers. Fledgling

⁷⁵ Jeffrey H. Richards, “Race and the Yankee: Woodworth’s *The Forest Rose*,” *Comparative Drama* (Spring 2000), 9 [fn 41], <http://findarticles.com/>, s.v. “Inkle and Yarico” (accessed July 2, 2010).

publishers and booksellers took advantage of the influx of libretti and music, reprinting the well-liked songs in sheet music and compilations for amateur performance. Some of these publishers, including Benjamin Carr, printed new songs that were added or interpolated into performances. In the three American reprints of the *Inkle and Yarico* libretto, publishers made only minimal changes in the cover pages and, when included, the list of *dramatis personae*. Even the parts that had been excised in London still appeared in the American versions.

The performance history of *Inkle and Yarico* follows the expected arc, with the peak number of performances occurring in the years 1789–1796 and generally declining after that. The largest numbers of total performances took place in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, followed by Charleston. A later smattering of performances in the larger theatres came almost a decade after the main part of the opera's run, but it is probable that *Inkle and Yarico* continued to be performed in smaller theatres and outlying cities well into the middle of the nineteenth century.

As was typical for comic operas, *Inkle and Yarico* underwent various changes over time, including being shortened to two acts for use as an afterpiece and being converted into a pantomime. These changes reflect both the changing popularity of the opera as well as the need to feature newer works on the stage. Staged versions of the *Inkle and Yarico* tale other than Colman's made occasional appearances, reflecting the appeal of both the story and novelty. Increasingly, novelty and circus acts were added to the bill, creating new competition for the more old-fashioned comic operas.

Large newspapers often printed reviews a day or so following performances, usually focusing on the main piece. Critics would comment upon how well the actors conveyed the moral message of the opera, which was the primary goal of theatrical performance, as well as

actors' acting and singing ability, use of make-up, and choice of costumes. The commentary provided in these reviews also reflects the Enlightenment aesthetics, particularly the desire for natural and sensible renditions.

Inkle and Yarico was gradually supplanted by other forms of entertainment and more current works. The features of the work also increasingly fell out of favor with American audiences, particularly the excessive use of puns and double entendres. As the American political climate changed and slavery became an increasingly contentious issue, performances of *Inkle and Yarico* declined and the opera fell into obscurity.

CHAPTER 9

EPILOGUE

The performance and reception histories of *Inkle and Yarico* in England and America point to the popularity of the story and the timeliness of its messages. The revised story as conceived by George Colman the Younger is unusual for its time, employing as it does exotic settings and controversial issues in a comic staged work. In his modifications of the original (Steele, 1711) version of the tale, Colman manages to confront the inhumanity of slavery, the possible superiority of noble savages over civilized people, and the issue of misogyny. Rather than circumscribe these issues narrowly, he widens the scope to encompass historical practices of colonialism and mercantilism. As described by Keith Sandiford:

Colman's bold experimentation with mixed modes (comic and sentimental) . . . took to new heights the role of the theatre in legitimizing the history of "other" voices and "other" sensibilities.¹

Within the broad genre of comic opera, *Inkle and Yarico* represents a transitional work between traditional comic opera and melodrama. As Linda Troost points out, *Inkle and Yarico* was the

first comic opera that worked with something other than tried-and-true material. . . . [It] foreshadows the theater of the later part of the century, the theater in the throes of Romanticism, the theater of German melodrama. The traits that define this new Romantic musical—limited music, songs for the lower classes only, controversial issues, exotic settings and characters—appear in embryonic form in *Inkle and Yarico*.²

¹ Keith A. Sandiford, "Inkle and Yarico: The Construction of Alterity from History to Literature," *New West Indian Guide* 64, no. 3/4 (1990): 123.

² Linda Veronika Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera" in "The Rise of English Comic Opera: 1762-1800 (Sheridan, Richard; Shield, William; Brooke, Frances; Linley, Thomas, Jr.; Colman, George, Jr.)," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985); available via <http://www.uwec.edu/mwood/colman/troost.html> (accessed Oct. 6, 2008).

In addition, *Inkle and Yarico* also began to shift the topical focus in the genre to include the middle class in the critique of British culture and social conventions. As described by Troost:

The comic operas before *Inkle and Yarico* avoid undermining the class structure, although some of the ones written a year or two before toy with (and abandon) egalitarian ideas. The French Revolution may be imminent, but it does not really influence the romantic, fairy-tale world of the comic opera. . . . Some of these comic operas of the middle 1780s contain seeds or romanticism, but not until *Inkle and Yarico* do these seeds grow into new social concepts.³

Without significantly concrete evidence, it would be foolish to speculate what impact the opera had in shaping social and political awareness or attitudes in either England or America. It seems reasonable to assert that, by virtue of the length of its performance history, numbers of performances, and geographical spread of its performances, Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* contributed to the ongoing dialogue about the ethics and morals of the practice of slavery.

***Inkle and Yarico* in the Present Day**

While Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico* gradually faded into obscurity as the nineteenth century progressed, mention of the tale continued to crop up occasionally in reference to abolition politics and sentimental ideals. An article titled "Depravity" in an 1819 magazine opens with "Our readers doubtless recollect the story of *Inkle and Yarico* . . ." and proceeds to relate a similar, but more recent, betrayal of a slave's kindnesses.⁴

In an 1899 newspaper (see Figure 9.1 below), a full-page compilation is dedicated to the New York theatre. The article "History of the Opera in America" reflects the significance of the comic opera genre in that history. Although the print is too small to read here; only a handful of works are named, so it is significant that *Inkle and Yarico* was included among them.

³ Troost, "Social Reform and Comic Opera."

⁴ "Depravity," *The Antheneum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines (1817-1833)* 8, no. 1 (Oct. 1, 1819), 42; *American Periodicals Series Online* (accessed July 18, 2009).

AT THE PLAY IN GOTHAM

THE two plays about which New York is talking just now are "The Only Way" and "The History of the Opera in America." The former, written by Arthur J. Stringer, and the latter by the late Charles D. Bennett, is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.



THE Ghetto. FINALE OF ACT III. The scene is set in a crowded street in New York. A man in a top hat is walking towards the camera. In the background, there are buildings and other people.



THE CHAIR is the work of William Shakespeare. It is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

THE HISTORY OF THE OPERA IN AMERICA. This is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

THE STAGE IN OCTOBER. The stage in October is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

A FAST YOUNG CYCLIST. A play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.



INDIANA MEDICAL AND SURGICAL INSTITUTE. A play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

GOOD HEALTH. A play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.



RELIABILITY! A play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

INDIANA MEDICAL AND SURGICAL INSTITUTE. A play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order. The former is a play of the highest order.

Figure 9.1: Feature article on New York theatre, including history of notable works.

5 Arthur J. Stringer, "History of Opera in America," Fort Wayne Morning Journal-Gazette (Oct. 8, 1899), 10; America's Historical Newspapers, including Early American Newspapers Series 1-3, 1690-1922 (accessed July 9, 2009).

Recent Publications

Novels based on the Inkle and Yarico tale are not a new innovation, but instead a continuation of the literary tradition that produced poems, song lyrics, epistles, and even Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico*. Robert Paltock's 1750 adventure *Peter Wilkins* is a retelling of the tale based on a poem written by Lady Hertford in 1725.⁶ Literary scholar Steven Epley also points to Susanna Rowson's 1791 *Charlotte Temple, A Tale of Truth*, once the bestselling novel in American literary history, as being based on the Inkle and Yarico story. Several of the details are different, but there are enough similarities to make the connection likely.⁷

The story seems to be dormant for a century until the publication of a novel in 1996 by author Beryl Gilroy on the Inkle and Yarico theme,⁸ which demonstrates that the story still holds fascination for contemporary readers. Gilroy expands the original tale, describing in detail the nature of Inkle and Yarico's relationship in her native country, after their arrival in Barbados, and well into their later years of life. As stated on the publisher's website:

Inkle and Yarico has the same magic and pertinence. As a narrative of deep historical insight into the commodification and abuse of humanity, Gilroy lays the past bare as a text for the present.⁹

⁶ Peter Merchant, "Robert Paltock and the Refashioning of 'Inkle and Yarico,'" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 1 (October 1996), 37; *Academic OneFile*, Gale, Library of Congress (accessed July 17, 2009).

⁷ Steven Epley, "Alienated, Betrayed, and Powerless: A Possible Connection between *Charlotte Temple* and the Legend of Inkle and Yarico," *Papers on Language & Literature* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2002), 200; *Academic OneFile*, Gale, Library of Congress (accessed July 17, 2009).

⁸ Beryl Gilroy, *Inkle & Yarico: Being the Narrative of Thomas Inkle Concerning His Shipwreck and Long Sojourn among the Caribs, his Marriage to Yarico, a Carib Woman, and his Life on the Island of Barbados* (Leeds, UK: Peepal Tree, 1996).

⁹ Publication information for the novel, *Inkle and Yarico*, Beryl Agatha Gilroy, PeepalTreePress.com: The Best in Caribbean Writing, www.peepaltreepress.com (accessed June 27, 2011).

Gilroy, a native of Guyana, carefully researched historical and cultural details in writing her novel, thus weaving together fact and fiction in a story that explores the psychological experiences of the characters.

Revivals of *Inkle and Yarico*

Judgment of a work's value and merit is, quite naturally, tempered and changed by time. This is amply reflected in a 1931 article by Elizabeth M. Lockwood who was writing about an eighteenth-century music folio belonging to Miss Anne Lloyd of Worcester:

The taste of Miss Anne Lloyd was by no means altogether highbrow, for the first (and worst) opera in the book is 'Inkle and Yarico,' by Dr. Samuel Arnold, classed as Opera XXX, though like most of the others, a composite work. It is a heartless burlesque of a pitiful little story told in the first volume of the *Spectator*, and it was produced, with some of the chief musical comedy stars, in 1797—Mrs. Kemble (? the wife of Stephen) was *Yarico*, the Indian maid. The comic element was chiefly provided by a black girl called *Wowski* and *Trudge*, once a 'clerk in London gay,' played by Mr. Edwin, the leading funny man at Covent Garden. . . . The humor of the lyrics has so entirely evaporated that they are not worth quoting.¹⁰

Lockwood concludes at the end of her article:

[A]mong the hundreds of dead ballad operas there may be buried gems worth resetting, though it would be a depressing quest.

Fortunately, not everyone seems to have agreed with this statement, as is revealed by the twentieth- and twenty-first-century revivals of *Inkle and Yarico*.

Barbados

Shortly after the publication of Gilroy's novel, a revival performance of *Inkle and Yarico* took place in Barbados, largely due to the efforts of Barbadian historian Kevyn Arthur, who suggested it for a part of the Holders Season. Subsequently commissioned and performed by the Holders Season March 6–29, 1997, the revival of Colman and Arnold's work featured the

¹⁰ Lockwood, Elizabeth M. "Some Old-Fashioned Music." *Music and Letters* 12, no. 3 (July 1931): 264.

original score, which was re-orchestrated by Roxanna Panufnik and performed by the Royal Philharmonic Concert Orchestra. Panufnik was assisted by Eddy Grant, a Caribbean music specialist, in incorporating some Caribbean elements, particularly in the ensemble finale. Steel-pan drums and Caribbean dancers were added in the Barbadian style known as “ringbang,” giving the finale a contemporary feel.¹¹ The original libretto was cut and adapted by opera director Jonathan Moore; these modifications and the music additions resulted in a work that certainly cannot be considered an “authentic” recreation.¹² Although the Peepal Tree website’s page for Kevyn Arthur states “[get the CD!]” in the text, no recording has been located.¹³

Following the successful production of *Inkle and Yarico* in 1997, and influenced by the fact that the Holders Seasons were losing money year after year, John Kidd, owner of the Holders plantation, looked into the possibility of creating a musical spin-off of the story. Prompted by advice from Disney International’s Theatre Director, Martyn Hayes, Kidd enlisted lyricist Paul Leigh and composer James McConnell to undertake the project. The result was the 1999 Holders Season production of *Yarico: The Musical*.¹⁴ The first part of the show reprises the Holders Season 1997 *Inkle and Yarico*, followed by a conversation between the abolitionist William Wilberforce and Thomas Inkle. Wilberforce proceeds to set up the next part of the performance, *Yarico: The Musical*. A tougher conclusion replaces the happy ending, as Yarico

¹¹ Patrick J. Smith, “Arnold: *Inkle and Yarico*,” *Opera News* 62, no. 1 (July 1997), 48; *General OneFile*, Gale (accessed July 24, 3009).

¹² “Inkle and Yarico,” Barbados Tourism website, www.barbados.org/inkle/htm (accessed June 29, 2011).

¹³ “Kevyn Alan Arthur,” PeepalTreePress.com: The Best in Caribbean Writing, www.peepalTreePress.com (accessed June 27, 2011).

¹⁴ Jane Bryce, “Yarico: Staging Slavery in 1999,” *Caribbean Beat*, issue 40 (Nov./Dec. 1999), http://www.google.com/search?sourceid=navclient&ie=UTF-8&rlz=1T4ADBS_enUS315US315&q=Yarico+the+musical (accessed July 12, 2011).

gives Inkle, returning after some absence, a chance to redeem himself by rescuing his slave daughter from the plantation where she was born after Inkle sold Yarico.

Audiences were reportedly shocked by the story portrayed in the musical. Jane Bryce, reviewing the work in *Caribbean Beat*, writes:

On stage, before our eyes, the process of dehumanization which underpinned slavery is enacted, and we are forced to sit and be a party to it, as trapped as [Yarico] is. The fact that the production's sympathy is undoubtedly with Yarico heightens the tension for the audience, who know that history is against her. . . . The Barbados audience is not accustomed to seeing the issue of miscegenation addressed as explicitly and brutally as it is in this production. It is one of the well-guarded secrets of slavery that everybody knows but tacitly agrees not to talk about.¹⁵

Although Bryce's article reports that John Kidd's intention was to have the work re-worked for performance in other countries, no subsequent mention of the work has been located.

McConnell, whose compositions for the project Bryce describes as reminiscent of the Andrew Lloyd Webber style, repeats some of the songs in the course of the opera, but their meanings are recontextualized each time. Like the 1997 *Inkle and Yarico* production, local artists and Caribbean music and performance features are included, such as steel-pan, Calypso, folksongs, and local styles. In an effort to appeal to local residents, Holders managers lowered ticket prices, invited school groups to come for free previews, and provided complimentary tickets to those who could not afford to pay.¹⁶

England

The first British revival of *Inkle and Yarico* was apparently performed "around 1990" and staged by the opera company, Show of Strength.¹⁷ The company later also performed Thelwall's *Incle and Yarico*. The Straydogs Opera Company performed the work at London's Battersea Arts

¹⁵ Bryce, "Yarico."

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Personal correspondence, Sheila Hannon, Show of Strength Creative Producer, email, Oct. 21, 2009.

Centre on August 19, 1998. Simon Godwin was responsible for staging this performance, which was later briefly reviewed in *Opera*.¹⁸

Nearly a decade later on Feb. 16, 2007, Opera East, under the direction of Oliver Gooch, presented the work at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The company also presented it later that year, on Nov. 26, 2007, at the Fitzwilliam Museum. The work is described in advertisements as a “spirited resurrection” and “an engagingly authentic recreation” of the original opera, enhanced by being performed in such an historical setting, but was in fact a staged concert performance rather than fully acted. It is interesting to note that, unlike the eighteenth-century practice of designating the librettist as the creator, the opera is referred to as “Samuel Arnold’s” (see Figure 9.2 below), and is subtitled “An Abolitionist’s Opera,” thus continuing the subtitle naming conventions of the eighteenth century. The figure at the center of the advertisement is that of a seal that frequently appeared on Wedgwood in the eighteenth century,¹⁹ which is, of course, related both to the topic of slavery and to the reference to Yarico’s skin color in the first act of the opera. The producers cleverly restored Colman’s “Christians are so good they say” (from the second act), for which Colman had designated an unspecified “American tune,” by setting it to “Yankee Doodle.” Unfortunately, the performance was neither audio- nor video-recorded.²⁰

¹⁸ David Blewitt, “Opera on the Fringe: *Inkle and Yarico*,” *Opera* 49, no. 11 (Nov. 1998): 1383–1384; *International Index to Performing Arts*, ProQuest (accessed July 18, 2009).

¹⁹ Frank Felsenstein, ed., *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World: An Inkle and Yarico Reader* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 41.

²⁰ Personal correspondence, Oliver Gooch, Director, Opera East Productions, email, Oct. 20, 2009.

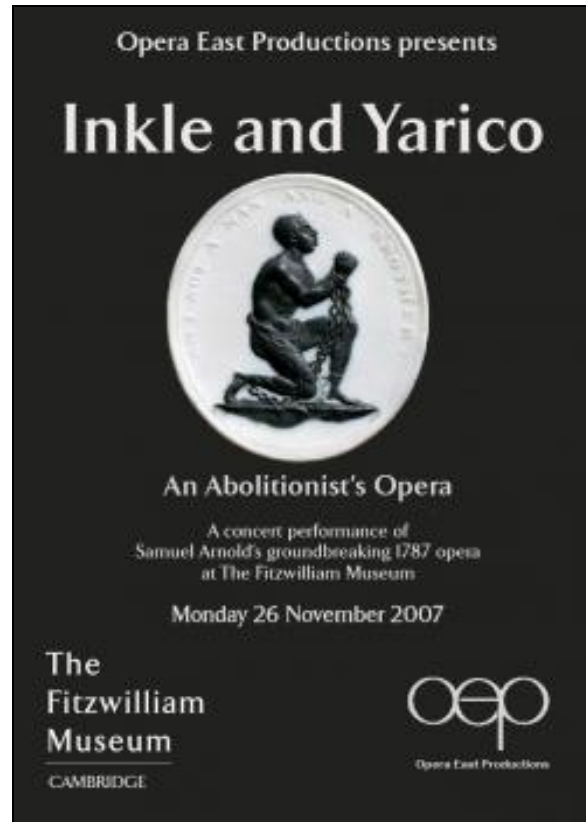


Figure 9.3: Poster advertising the Nov. 26, 2007 performance at the Fitzwilliam Museum.²¹

Significance and Implications of the Present Study

It is clear from this study that, even with far fewer songs than earlier comic operas, *Inkle and Yarico*'s music is vital to the overall impact of the opera. The music participates in communicating the opera's anti-slavery message—that the practice of slavery is inhumane—and does so in a way that conveys and challenges the social norms and stereotypes of the times. Rather than merely entertaining the audience, however, the music adds vital dimensions to the characters, thereby contributing to the moral and political messages conveyed in the opera's complex allegory. Colman and Arnold used comedy and music—to a greater or lesser extent—to

²¹ *Inkle and Yarico*, "Talks and Events," The Fitzwilliam Museum, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/article.html?958> (accessed July 25, 2009).

neutralize the potential for audience discomfort with the racial tension inherent in the story. On the one hand, the opera allows the audience to feel pity for “the poor creatures” and thereby enjoy a sense of enlightened thinking. At the same time, however, they can leave the theatre having been thoroughly entertained and feeling satisfied with a “happy” ending.

Although not presuming to be an ideal model for comic opera research, this study nonetheless can be viewed as a primer on a massive subject. The lessons learned from undertaking this project demand sharing a word of caution for other musicologists: while it would be ideal to locate all (or even most) of the extant records on any given comic opera, it is not realistic to expect to find complete, detailed records. Most of the music additions and interpolations were freely employed, but not recorded, leaving only fragmentary evidence. Further, even if one were to locate all of the records that exist, the details that they contain is quite sparse. Instead, specific bits and pieces about individual operas must be compiled, evaluated, and analyzed, and then placed within the context of the genre as a whole. Literary scholar Edmond Gagey’s description of his earlier ballad opera research still sums up the situation nicely:

[T]his type of antiquarian research is like reconstructing a prehistoric fossil on the basis of a recently excavated toe or femur.²²

When working with these materials, therefore, we can get a composite impression with a few fleshed-out details, but it is difficult to get a detailed picture of any individual work.

Unfortunately, until now scholars have largely ignored the contributions of music in the comic opera genre. This study has demonstrated that musical analysis yields fruitful results, providing a model for further research and evaluation. That the genre has been generally ignored

²² Edmond McAdoo Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 130 (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1937; reprinted 1968), 10.

is a reflection of the long-standing scholarly prejudice that favored “serious” over popular music. As musicological research activity moves into a variety of popular-music realms, historical as well as contemporary, comic opera needs to be included as a focus for study. Its value lies not only in analyzing and describing the music for its own sake, but also in considering its contributions to these works as a whole. As stated by music scholar Mary Hunter:

[W]hat tends to be “marked” for attention is the *combination* of musical, textual and dramatic resonances, since it is by means of these combinations that character is developed and the action of an opera is individuated.²³

It is by better understanding the multiple combinations and interactions that we can gain a deeper, more well-informed historical and cultural understanding of comic operas, their characters and stories, their moral and political messages, their performance history and reception, and their overall historical and cultural impact.

In an effort to reveal the richness of the heretofore undiscovered significance in the music of comic opera, it is possible to lose sight of what we already knew or presumed: the music in English and American comic opera made an important contribution to the sheer entertainment value of an evening’s performance. We also knew that the music types employed were tuned to the occupations and social classes of the characters. The music was comprised of both new and borrowed works, from the most common ballad to the most elevated arias of Italian *opera seria*. What we did not fully know was the extent to which the music creates depth, dimension, meaning, and insight beyond the libretto and beyond the acting.

If we take more time to look more closely at this enormous body of works, particularly its music, we will discover new layers of cultural, historical, and musical richness that will inform our understanding of eighteenth-century life in England and America. In individual works, we

²³ Hunter, Mary. “Some Representations of Opera Seria in Opera Buffa.” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 2 (July 1991): 90.

will gain new insights into the features of musical language that conveyed meaning to audiences—without their conscious effort—through shared cultural recognition. We will gain new appreciation for the creativity and ingenuity of comic opera composers who have largely been dismissed as hacks. And we will find in these works the seeds of genres that followed, including melodrama and blackface minstrelsy, Gilbert and Sullivan and the revue, musical theatre and film.

Music history has given a nod to comic opera and then passed it by. It's time we take a closer look.

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