

Patriot, Satirist, Bagman

Picturing John Brougham's *Columbus Burlesque*

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This essay closely examines John Brougham's burlesque *Columbus El Filibustero!!* (1857) and its postbellum incarnation, *Columbus Reconstructed*, considering in particular the relationship between Brougham's blending of satire and patriotism and his metatheatrical performance in the title role. Drawing on playbills, a promptbook, and cartoons from the periodical *Diogenes; Hys Lantern* (1852-53), I demonstrate how visual resources can help us understand Brougham's work specifically and burlesques generally.



Playwright, actor, poet, essayist, and editor John Brougham debuted *Columbus El Filibustero!!* at Burton's Theatre in New York on December 30, 1857. The riotous two-act burlesque enjoyed a "triumphant run,"¹ and was published by Samuel French with the breathless subtitle, *A New and Audaciously Original Historico-Plagiaristic, Ante-National, Pre-Patriotic, and Omni-Local Confusion of Circumstances, Running through Two Acts and Four Centuries*. Brougham performed the role 169 times and left behind a postbellum promptbook titled *Columbus Reconstructed* that contains numerous revisions and editions as well as staging choices.² *Columbus* proceeds on a clever anachronism: the titular figure steps ashore not on the island of Guanahani in the fifteenth century but on the shores of Manhattan in the nineteenth. The burlesque's jokes gesture toward the sobering and now commonplace conclusion that, regardless of his historical iconicity, Columbus cannot be extricated from the ample sins of European empire (including his own) or the contemporary violence, political corruption, and

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I. M. Enzing-Müller, *Historical Monument of Our Country* (1874 print engraving). Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pgs.01206>. Columbus appears in the bottom left corner with a raised sword and a flag.

sectionalism of the U.S. At the same time, Brougham assiduously avoids directly addressing slavery and mixes the play's satire with patriotic song and tableaux, especially in a rousing conclusion set to the tune of "Hail Columbia." After running Columbus through a comic ringer, Brougham places him right back in the national pantheon.

The surrender to patriotism is, perhaps, one reason why literary critics and theatre historians alike (with some important exceptions³) largely disregard *Columbus*, which was declared "almost a classic" upon Brougham's death.⁴ A more immediate reason for the neglect of Brougham's *Columbus* and of burlesques generally are the challenges they pose for twenty-first-century readers, who may find themselves overwhelmed by outmoded puns, slang, popular songs, ethnic types, theatrical in-jokes, and partisan references.⁵ The mid-nineteenth-century burlesque, as well as the related form of the extravaganza, combined subversive imitation and satire with spectacle and music. In Richard Schoch's words, burlesques "do not confirm pre-existing binaries (high/low, elite/popular, legitimate/illegitimate) by inverting them, but rather explode the hierarchies on which such accustomed meaning rely," "proceed[ing] according to the more deconstructive logic of performative

free play.”⁶ Further, as Robert C. Allen highlights, the burlesque resists theatrical resolution, refusing “to bring all its parts together into a unified and ideologically monovocal whole.”⁷ Yet, for all of its formal experimentation and impertinence, Schoch notes, the burlesque often betrays a faithfulness to neglected ideals, its cynicism evaporating in moments of sentiment.⁸ Frustratingly presentist in reference, boundlessly creative in diction and staging, dogmatically irreverent yet inconsistently satirical, the burlesque opens up the tensions, the complexities, the oddities of the mid-nineteenth century. Heather Nathans reminds us, “by deliberately embracing representations of fractured, folded, carnivalized, and disjointed times, scholars may reveal how *conflicting* experiences of time shaped not only the dramatic literature but the many performance cultures of the nineteenth century.”⁹ The burlesque warrants close examination by all who are interested in nineteenth-century theater in the US—and in complicating received histories of nineteenth-century US culture more broadly.

In this essay, I delve into Brougham’s *Columbus*, considering in particular the relationship between its lack of ideological closure and its excessive metatheatricality, especially with regard to Brougham’s identification with the title character. Fittingly for a burlesque, *Columbus* is many things at once: a light-hearted romp through the pleasures of popular theater, a biting satire of political corruption and social hypocrisy in America, an occasion for rousing patriotic ritual, and a boldly commercial vehicle starring its playwright. The play unsettles any conclusions one might make about Columbus’s actions (were they visionary? accidental? pecuniary? deadly?) and by extension Brougham’s artistic vision (was it partisan? neutral? scornful? anti-imperialist? affectionate? cynical?). All these frames co-exist in the *Columbus* burlesque and within Brougham himself. In another of his burlesques, *Po-Ca-Hon-Tas; or, The Gentle Savage* (1855), which engages the romantic myths of the seventeenth-century Jamestown colony, Brougham performed as John Smith, who is appropriately described as (among other things) a “Statesman, Pioneer, and Bagman,” accompanied by “a crew of Fillibusters [sic],” or soldiers of fortune seeking to establish political power in a sovereign nation.¹⁰ Certainly, Brougham’s *Columbus* fits the same description, and Brougham prompts laughter through the idea that the revered explorer was also a conman, racketeer, and filibuster who bears little or no resemblance to figure enshrined in American myth. I argue that, given the twists and turns in *Columbus*—and given the irony of a satirist beholden to white patrons and

a democracy with imperial designs to extend slavery—Brougham might well have considered *himself* a Patriot, Satirist, and Bagman.

My main goals in this essay are to untie for modern readers at least a few of the knotted ideological and aesthetic threads of *Columbus* and to spotlight how Brougham riffs on his own mixed motivations and allegiances. But in pursuing these tasks, I seek also to demonstrate how visual resources help us understand Brougham's work—and burlesques more broadly. Amy E. Hughes encourages scholars of nineteenth-century theater to look not only to dramatic texts but also to records of actual performances, such as “playbills, newspaper advertisements, and cast books,” taking up “quirky remnants in tandem with other sources” to “gain a more nuanced understanding of the content and craft of theatermaking during the 1800s.”¹¹ The burlesque was marked by playful verbal excess but also by sonic and visual abundance, and certainly stage spectacle added to the ideological noise of *Columbus* and Brougham's other works. Drawing on figures in the postbellum promptbook, nineteenth-century depictions of Columbus and Columbia, and most important, political cartoons found in *Diogenes; Hys Lantern*, I attempt to recapture a sliver of the visual richness found in Brougham's fleeting, shifty performances. With the recognition that even more work needs to be done on Brougham's use of *music* (especially his parody of popular tunes and deployment of patriotic sing-alongs), I bring new focus here on scraps of the visual culture informing the text and the staging of *Columbus*, hoping to bring us one step closer to the richness Brougham's art and at the same time trouble any conclusions regarding the politics of his art.

Like the man whom he portrayed, Brougham was a voyager-entrepreneur who sought fame and fortune in the so-called New World under an adopted flag.¹² Born in Dublin in 1810 to a Protestant Irish father and a French Huguenot mother, he left for London in 1830, where he debuted in a bit part at the Tottenham Street Theatre and then as a member of Madame Vestris's troupe performed at the Olympic Theatre and Covent Garden Opera House. Excelling in caricature, Brougham most often played the comic Irishman, from Phelim O'Smirk in *The Dumb Belle* to Terry O'Roukre in *The Irish Tutor*. Brougham continued his Irish caricatures after he immigrated to the U.S., appearing first as O'Callaghan in *His Last Legs* at New York's Park Theatre on October 4, 1842. He also performed in Philadelphia and Albany in his first season, and in his second made a western tour, stopping in St. Louis New Orleans, Mobile, Natchez, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Cincinnati.

Brougham primarily stayed put in New York from 1848 to 1860, during which time he wrote prolifically and dabbled unsuccessfully in both theatrical management and editing, overseeing the *Punch*-inspired, Democratic-affiliated periodical *Diogenes; Hys Lantern* with Thomas Powell. But he received accolades for his dramatic texts and performances, such that in 1860 actress, critic, and celebrated Bohemian Ada Clare named him “the most influential man on the stage in New York.”¹³ Brougham spent the Civil War in London and returned to the U.S. in 1865, where he remained until his death in 1880. By the time his performance career ended in 1879, Brougham had “played at least 477 roles in at least 443 different plays” in theatres across the country, penned no fewer than 160 theatrical scripts, and published at least thirty-five dramas with Samuel French, in addition to multiple collections of short fiction and poetry.¹⁴ As Marc Robinson has it, “For every form the American theater puts forward—heroic tragedy, romance, history play, melodrama—Brougham counters with plays less poised, less linear, less respectful of polarities of good and evil.”¹⁵

Brougham’s multitudinous work as playwright and performer drew energy from contemporary literature, art, and national myth through a blend of word play, narrative, caricature, and spectacle. His selection of Columbus as a subject for burlesque made sense in light of the figure’s ubiquity. By the first half of the nineteenth century, the Genoese admiral served alongside George Washington as *pater familias* in the U.S. imaginary—a powerful a “figure of empire.”¹⁶ An emphasis on his exploitation or victimization by the Spanish monarchy worked to associate Columbus with an imperialism “free of the flaws of monarchy.”¹⁷ Many antebellum Americans came to understand the explorer, Thomas J. Schlereth writes, as having “sanctioned nineteenth-century American Manifest Destiny and western expansionism” in the interest of liberty.¹⁸ Such a conception contributed to Columbus’s indispensable place within nationalistic imagery, as evident in Johann Michael Enzing-Müller’s mid-century portrait of Washington (along with feminine representations of Liberty and Justice) at the apex of a national procession initiated by Columbus.¹⁹ (figure 1) The depictions of Columbus created for the U.S. capitol in the 1840s and 1850s, especially John Vanderlyn’s *Landing of Columbus* (commissioned 1836, installed 1846), took part in the scenario repeated throughout the rotunda, where the arrival of superior, masculine European colonizers results in the surrender of largely naked savage men and the ready submission of their female counterparts.²⁰ Alongside this virile portrait of

the admiral emerged the figure of Columbia, “a feminine, classical deity” synonymous with the westward extension of “liberty and progress.”²¹ Like the feminine forms of Enzing-Müller’s image, Columbia often kept George Washington company, appearing with the accoutrements of national iconography, and by the early republic, she graced publications and works of art and lent her name to numerous sites, from the nation’s capital to a river contested by Great Britain.²²

Brougham’s burlesque is inspired not only by the visual presentation of Columbus and his feminine persona as signifiers of territorial expansion, but also by the literary presentation of the same. Washington Irving published the wildly popular *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in 1828, and William H. Prescott followed with *The History and Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic* in 1837. Neither of these volumes, to which Brougham explicitly refers in his burlesque,²³ offer unadulterated praise for Columbus; rather, they document weaknesses that were in some-times admirable but also circumscribed his accomplishments. For Prescott, Columbus suffered from the “unnatural exaltation” of his imagination and singular fixation.²⁴ For Irving, Columbus was an idealist pitiable for his exploitation by the Spanish throne and the violence his voyages unleashed upon Native peoples.²⁵ In this way, concludes John D. Hazlett, Irving’s account is “an odd mixture of hero-worship and hero-deflation,” a text that does not adequately suppress unease over the destructiveness of European imperialism.²⁶ One way in which Irving and Prescott navigate the flaws of their hero and the perceived versus actual connection between European colonialism and U.S. nationalism is through and emphasis on what Columbus, Moses-like, was never able to appreciate in the flesh. Prescott bemoans that fact that “the man to whom [the empire of Spain] was all due was never permitted to know the extent, or the value of it,”²⁷ while Irving closes his work with poetic conjecture:

What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind, could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the whole of the Old World in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man! And how would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled, amidst the afflictions of age and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public, and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the

splendid empires which were spread over the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages which were to fill its lands with his renown, and revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!²⁸

Such settler-colonial projections are a staple of U.S. poetry from Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus* (1787)/*Columbiad* (1807) to Walt Whitman's "Prayer of Columbus" (1875), a genre also known as the *columbiad*. But as Jordon Wingate emphasizes, Irving insists here not just on the glory to come but on Columbus's *failure* to see it, this despite being "decidedly a visionary" with an "ardent, imaginative, and mercurial nature . . . controlled by a powerful judgment, and directed by an acute sagacity."²⁹ These related tensions—Columbus as a visionary who does not actually envision the future and as adopted icon of U.S. nationalism whose own history belies any relation to that nation—are raw material for Brougham's burlesque.

Act 1 begins in the court of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castille, where Columbus, attended by his son Diego, seeks sponsorship. Described in the *dramatis personae* as "an aggressive and progressive monarch, of rather a speculative turn," the scepter-wielding Ferdinand immediately proves himself to be a greedy thug.³⁰ He is a stand-in for both fifteenth-century Spain, whose coffers had been depleted through war, and contemporary Wall Street. Ferdinand declares that, by conquering the Moors, he has "in the usual way, our faith defended, / That is by slaying every slavish minion / Who dares to differ with us in opinion."³¹ In addition to squashing those who oppose him, Ferdinand seeks to exploit all others. Learning of Columbus's request for an audience with the King, Ferdinand observes,

He's poor, it seems, despite all his pains—
Then, ten to one, the fellow's cursed with brains.
If so, I'll steal 'em, for mere brains *alone* are
Seldom any use to the first owner.³²

Columbus shares his hard luck story and failure to gain sponsorship from other courts. Isabella sympathizes while Ferdinand minds the main chance: "[We] pledge our royal word to make it right / If to our realm you'll add some foreign nation, / Rich and disposed to stand extreme taxation."³³ The answer is the perfectly craven solution of a "joint-stock" company:

- King.* We'll call our company—'the *Anti-Panic Perpetual Gold Producing Oceanic*,'
And true *de facto* high old 'Life and Trust—'
Bound in due time to spread itself—
- Col[umbus].* And bust.
- King.* Of course, but not till we go in and win,
Capital we'll call five millions to begin.³⁴

Brougham, as Pat M. Ryan details, associates with imperial Spain the precarious financial practices and political collusion that resulted in the Panic of 1857.³⁵ Ferdinand is a shyster versed in the language of Wall Street and the wildcat banks of the western states.

Ferdinand's financial aspirations go hand-in-hand with imperial ones, as he makes clear that this "Life and Trust" will be a "new filibustering association" with "Profits enormous, and the outlay small."³⁶ Here filibustering refers to the practice of U.S. citizens using private armies to established political power in other sovereign nations, and it had come to particular prominence at the start of the 1850s. The filibusters were often aligned with the cause of slavery, seeking to establish territory for its extension to the south, and this certainly applied to William Walker, the most prominent of the filibusters when *Columbus* debuted in 1857. After conducting an unsuccessful war in Mexico for control of Sonora, Walker interceded in the Nicaraguan civil war and served as the country's president from 1856 to 1857, was removed under duress by the U.S. Navy, and subsequently returned to form a colony in Honduras only to be executed by the Honduran government.³⁷ Ryan points out that Walker had at the start appreciated a close relationship with Cornelius Vanderbilt, effectively finding his own sponsor among the New York elite—a fact to which Brougham eludes.³⁸ Ferdinand's use of a nineteenth-century term to describe Columbus's mission is a comic anachronism and also a somewhat ambivalent commentary on Walker and his ilk. Motives at once pecuniary and imperialistic convert the dream of exploration into an act of filibustering. At the same time, because Brougham draws upon the narrative of Columbus planting the seeds of liberty *despite* his sponsors' best intentions, the satire of the title is rendered toothless.

Instructive here is the presentation of filibustering in *Diogenes; Hys Lantern* (*The Lantern* here forward), the periodical which Brougham contributed to from its inception in January 1852 and edited with Englishman Thomas

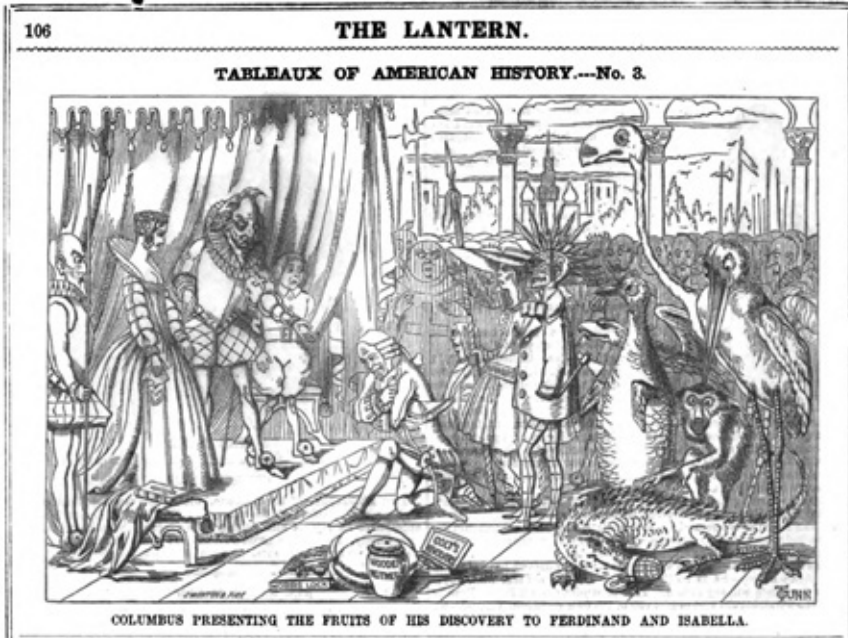
Powell from mid-1852 through 1853.³⁹ *The Lantern*, promising to “‘take the shine’ out of all HUMBUG, FOLLY, PRIDE, VAIN-GLORY, and HYPOCRISY,” overflows with satirical cartoons and pieces in tune with Brougham’s dramatic bailiwick: the comic Irishman, the corrupt politician, the selfish banker, the suffering poor white, the destructive reformer, and (overall) the embattled ideal.⁴⁰ The title refers to the most famous cynic philosopher of ancient Greece who was said to carry a lantern in the daytime in his unending quest to find an honest man. In line with the New York Democratic Party, the journal communicates distrust of federal authority and opposition to factionalism around the issue of slavery.

In the early 1850s, *The Lantern*’s treatments of Whig President Millard Fillmore’s response to two crises prompted by U.S. citizens’ aggressive dealings in Central America show its sympathy (mixed occasionally with chagrin) for white American men who sought power abroad through filibustering. First, there was the case of Narciso López and his U.S. recruits, whose dogged attempt to overthrow Spanish rule in Cuba ended in August 1851 when Spanish forces executed Colonel William Crittenden and his fifty men by firing squad and publicly garroted López.⁴¹ A second crisis came when the Spanish colonial government in Cuba declared that one of George Law’s steam ships would not be allowed to enter harbor in Cuba as long as two crew members who had been vocally critical of the government were on board. Fillmore worked behind the scenes to avert a crisis, but Law openly declared Fillmore a coward. The López controversy led to the formation of the Order of the Lone Star, a fifty-chapter Southern organization that lobbied in the North, promoting the annexation of Cuba as a slave-holding territory.⁴² Their efforts reached *The Lantern* cartoonist Thomas Butler Gunn, whose “The Eagle and the Wren” of October 1852, depicts U.S. as an observant eagle and Lone Star president John V. Wren as a wren, swooping down to carry Cuba away from Spain, a ridiculous crowned woman sucking on a stick of candy while riding a lion.⁴³ An explicitly theatrical cartoon in a subsequent issue, “The Mare’s Nest, or Cuba Preserved. An Extravaganza in One Act,” seems to ask whether filibustering might lead to unwanted turmoil. Gunn labels Law as “Chief of the Filibusters” and portrays him as a large bird sitting on a nest of eggs marked “Filibusterism,” “Annexation,” “Treason,” and “War,” while President Fillmore, in the guise of a dandy-ish hunter, approaches.⁴⁴ But *The Lantern* seemingly embraced such prospects, publishing unattributed new lyrics for the belligerent Irish Protestant ballad “Lillibulero” under the title

“Fili-bustero.” The song criticizes Fillmore and his perceived unwillingness to redress national insults, charging him with allowing “Spain’s yellow frogs” to “shoot[] our Yankees like dogs,” thus “prov[ing] ‘July Fourth’ to be writ but on sand.” The refrain (replacing the line “Lillibulero bullen a la”) is “Fili-bustero, bullets and LAW.”⁴⁵ *The Lantern’s* volatile depictions of macho patriotism, use of visual with verbal puns, and blending of the theatrical with political terminology all help us glimpse the staging of *Columbus*.

After the King imagines a profitable voyage in Act 1 of *Columbus*, Columbus enters a “clairvoyant state” and recites a poetic vision of the land to which he will sail, sparking the rise of a great nation. *Columbus*, that is, contains a *columbiad*.⁴⁶ These lines in the play are, at first, identical to those of “The Vision of Columbus,” a dignified occasional poem Brougham recited at a December 18, 1858, benefit for the Mount Vernon Association held at the Academy of Music in New York.⁴⁷ In the burlesque, Brougham-as-Columbus offers the same poetic vision until he is interrupted by Ferdinand who, unsatisfied by prophecy of a sublime landscape, demands, “See something else or down will go our stock.”⁴⁸ The standard “vision[] of glory” broken, Columbus proceeds by listing cash crops and natural resources, including “life-giving grain” and, in “the southern zone,” “a small shrub in whose white flower lies / A revenue of millions!”⁴⁹ Ferdinand puns “we’ll cotton to that tree!” then expresses doubt when Columbus proceeds to describe tobacco’s value as “smoke.” Next comes gold (“My eyes! why didn’t you see that before?” queries the King), “towns swollen to cities,” and miraculous railroads through which “Time is outstripped—.”⁵⁰ The end of Columbus’s vision omits the panegyric to Washington in the original. Brougham’s burlesque, then, transforms the poetic epic into a compressed history of imperialism’s profit motive and its deleterious effects.

A particular series by Gunn in *The Lantern* potentially sheds further light on the spectacle of how Ferdinand manipulated Columbus and the *columbiad*. Brougham and fellow editor George Woodward engaged Gunn to draw a “Series of Historee Burlesques,” later titled “Tableaux of American History,” for the journal’s first issues.⁵¹ These are exceedingly theatrical pieces that capture in visual form the comedic elements of burlesque: anachronism, puns, ethnic caricature, popular dress and entertainment, and of course, metatheatricality. In “Columbus Presenting the Fruits of His Discovery to Ferdinand and Isabella,” a subservient Columbus presents to the monarchs at once the New World’s animal life (including an alligator, a monkey, an over-



"Tableaux of American History—No. 3: Columbus Presenting the Fruits of His Discovery to Ferdinand and Isabella," *The Lantern* 1852, 1:106, available <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011571119>. Columbus bows before Ferdinand and Isabella.

sized fowl, and a caricatured Native American adapted to nineteenth-century New York, with a scalp lock, tomahawk, topcoat, and checked pants) and its ignoble inventions (including wooden nutmegs, the Hobbs lock, and a Colt revolver). (figure 2) Pleasing his audience as P.T. Barnum might, Columbus reveals the "Fruits of His Discovery" to be oddities and humbugs befitting the demands of a devil-like monarch who surrounds himself with crosses. As a whole, Gunn's five "Tableaux of American History"—including "The Landing of Columbus on Cat Island," "The Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock," "The Invasion of Mexico by Cortez," and "The First Discovery of the Dutch by the Aborigines of New York"—deflates the triumphant scenario of European conquest of the Americas as instances of imperial incompetence and ludicrous violence waged against nonhuman indigenes, whether cats or racist caricatures. These images—the product of collaboration between Gunn and Brougham—appear to be the print equivalent of scenes from Brougham's burlesques of North American history, going back to *Metamora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs* (1847), which lampoons John Augustus Stone's 1829 historical melodrama on King Philip's War.



"Columbia and her Suitors." *The Lantern* 1852, 1:217, available <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/O11571119>. Columbia, beset by presidential hopefuls and consulting Diogenes, wears the liberty cap and flag-inspired dress.

The Lantern's cartoons deflate the historical narratives on which white nationalism rests; however, they do so without endorsing an alternative. For all of their irreverence, the cartoons do not ultimately condemn settler colonialism, chattel slavery, or U.S. imperialism. We see the same in Brougham's *Columbus* as it pivots from profitable filibustering to urban political corruption. Pressed again by Ferdinand, Columbus prophesies "The plethora of wealth / Corrupt and undermine the general health," and in the 1858 published edition he emphasizes the alcohol-spurred murder and mayhem, including gang warfare, of the modern city.⁵² (In the post-bellum prompt-book, Columbus foresees the Civil War, when "madness rules the hour.") Ferdinand halts Columbus's forecast and returns attention to his plan for the "grand scheme of general annexation," especially the pursuit of gold, and inducts Columbus into "the order of the 'Golden Fleece.'" As Brougham

applies the nineteenth-century designation filibuster to a fifteenth-century voyager, so too he applies in punning fashion a Catholic chivalric order founded in the fifteenth-century to an association of those who seek wealth and power in the subjugation of foreign peoples (they *fleece* them). The reference is even more timely than first appears, as the Order of the Golden Fleece sounds not a little a bit like the Knights of the Golden Circle (a.k.a. the Knights of the Columbian Star), another pro-filibustering secret society founded by slavery apologist George W. L. Bickley and increasingly allied with like-minded societies such as The Lone Star Order.⁵³ Columbus accepts the tainted alliance and promises Ferdinand to “bring you back a world.”⁵⁴ This hearkens to a cartoon by Frank Bellew in *The Lantern* depicting “Santa C[Law]s” filling the Democratic President Franklin Pierce’s stocking with the territory of Cuba.⁵⁵

After the first meeting of Columbus and Ferdinand at court, Brougham brings in Columbia to signal the reputable result of an otherwise distasteful alliance: the (so-called) extension of liberty. In Act 1, scene 2, Columbus settles into his accommodations at the palace with a nightcap of gin, then falls asleep in a chair while wondering aloud what a future playwright of his adventures “would do / For female interest.”⁵⁶ Columbia enters and introduces herself as his “own child,” niece of “old Uncle Sam,” “the genius of the mighty land / On which will rest your name and fame,” and one with Liberty. Driven from Europe by corruption, Columbia wears a “cap and spangled bodice” as she does in *The Lantern* cartoons (figure 3), carries a “Silk American Flag on staff,” inspires Columbus to sing the “Star-Spangled Banner,” and resembles “Crawford’s sculptured Goddess,” or Thomas Crawford’s 1856 models for the Statue of Freedom for the U.S. Capitol Dome.⁵⁷ (figure 4) This nod to a work of art taking shape for the capitol is one of many ways in which Brougham fuses comedic anachronism with an affirmation of national symbols staving off disunion.

For the same reason, Columbus’s dream concludes with his namesake’s announcement that as they travel westward, she will protect him with her unfurled flag. Columbus agrees to the plan and then launches into a version of the “Star-Spangled Banner”:

Oh, say, shall I see, ere my soul takes it flight,
 Though the last ray of life should be fitfully gleaming,
 A new country arise, on whose banner of light



Figure 4 - "Statue of Freedom Capitol Dome Capitol (plaster model)" (~1910-20 photograph). Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <https://loc.gov/pictures/resource/hec.14235/>. Thomas Crawford produced this third model in 1856, swapping a liberty cap for a helmet, and the cast statue was erected in 1863.

Freedom's sons may behold the bright heaven of their dreaming.
 Should a factious hand dare
 Its proud folds to impair,
 May it withering fall, and Columbia still bear
 Her own star-spangled banner, forever to wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.⁵⁸

The much-loved ditty would not become the national anthem for many more decades, but its association of a flag's persistence with the nation's persistence meets Brougham's thematic need. Apparently the scene was so rousing that on the night of January 20, 1858, when nativist political bosses Isaiah Rynders and Richard B. Connoly and two hundred of their Empire Club associates attended the play at Burton's Theatre, the audience rose "*en*

masse” and “gave the chorus with a patriotic gusto, which they kept up long after Mr. Brougham left the stage, and continued it until the opening of the next scene.”⁵⁹ Triangulating Columbia, Columbus, and the flag, Brougham successfully suspends humor for patriotic ritual.

As Columbus nears the shores of the not-so-new world at the start of Act I, scene 3, Columbia must indeed come to the aid of what the play frames as a righteous end—but one it cannot possibly treat seriously. The scene opens with a “Striking Chorus of Mutinous Mariners” who threaten to throw him overboard, and Columbus bemoans his fate in song: “Must I be dishd, while thus so surely / Verging on the land of Plato, / Its [sic] hard to be so prematurely / Dropped just like a hot potato.”⁶⁰ The song ends, Columbus calls on his protector, and she takes charge:

Colum[bia]. Back, senseless crew!
 ‘Tis just such mindless reprobates as you
 That mar the calculations of the wise,
 And clog the wheels of glorious enterprize! [sic]⁶¹

Columbia encourages the hero to collect evidence of imminent landfall from the water. This comes from Irving’s narrative of the first voyage, wherein Columbus points his mutinous crew to promising signs: sweet aromas, singing birds, river weeds, fish known to live near shore, tree branches bearing fruit, and a carved staff.⁶² In Brougham’s version, the floating evidence consists of the hallmarks of nineteenth-century American cuisine: greens, pork and beans, and pumpkin pie.⁶³ Further, the carved staff becomes Isaiah Rynder’s walking-stick, labeled “The Empire Club,” and is accompanied by a playbill for “Sleek and Toodles” at Burton’s Theatre and the song of “cat-birds.”⁶⁴ The steamboat *Adriatic* then passes, its band playing “Yankee Doodle,” as the crew spies Coney Island. The iconic moment of discovery dissolves into a riot of guffaws; as in Gunn’s “Tableaux of American History,” comedy arises from the one-to-one exchange of fifteenth and nineteenth-century items and cultural phenomena.

The burlesque establishes its cycle: as soon as Columbus articulates the ideal of freedom, agents of corruption swarm, and Columbia springs into action. Landing at Pier 1 in the Battery, they are surrounded by men Columbus identifies as “the magnates of Manhatta’s Isle,”⁶⁵ or what the dramatic personae lists as “Members of Reception Committee, Aldermen”

and “Discontented Politicians, Independent Voters, and other natural curiosities.”⁶⁶ They hold up political signs with a cacophony of inscriptions: “Columbus for Mayor,” “The People’s Choice,” “Columbus for Alderman,” “Columbus for Governor,” “Columbus for President,” “Columbus for Everything,” “Sound on the Goose” (a pro-slavery phrase), “Liberty for ever,” “Who dare oppose us,” “Try Columbus Hair Dye,” “Columbus Shirt Collars,” “Columbus neck ties,” and “Columbus pickles.”⁶⁷ In Brougham’s depiction, Native New Yorkers are Euro-American men who have even foresworn symbolic association with indigenous peoples (note that the Nativist party changed its name to the American party in 1857). Party representatives are eager to make Columbus a political candidate, ignoring his female companion, who “*remains unnoticed in the back-ground.*”⁶⁸ Before one of the committee men can commence with a long address, the crowd calls for a song. The audience enjoys then a “*Dis-concerted piece, by the antagonistic Politicians*” set to the tune “Vive le Roi” from Daniel Auber’s *Gustave III*, and touching on electoral fraud and intimidation:

Swearing death to all who cave,
 What care we for the law?
 He who bolts, we’ll touch the knave
 On the raw, on the raw.
 Hearts the gold and rum inspire
 Legal threats ne’er can fright,
 He who slumps we’ll knock him higher
 Than a kite, than a kite.⁶⁹

This strain is followed by a parody of a song from another French opera, *Robert le diable*, in which political discourse is no different from percussive clatter: “Shout away it does’nt [sic] matter what you say, / Tol de dol de diddle day.”⁷⁰ Stage directions in the post-bellum promptbook have Columbia cover Columbus with her flag as he shrinks from this “Infernal Row” as Act 1 ends. The burlesque prompts laughter by framing a national icon as implicated by the worst aspects of the nation he supposedly helped generate. Yet the sustaining presence of his female champion signifies the survival of a virtuous U.S. imperialism and the limits of Brougham’s critique.

Act 2 of *Columbus* takes place back in Spain, where a bored Ferdinand rejects his adviser Fonseca’s suggestion of a theatrical matinee, whether

opera, play, ballet, or the latest meeting of the city aldermen or police commissioners. The testy monarch longs for more Jews to burn at the stake and is about to settle for immolating debtors when Diego, who has remained as a page (or “semicolon”) at court, arrives with a telegraph announcing his father’s homeward voyage, “Freighted with odds and ends, and Yankee Notions.”⁷¹ The group breaks out in song, anticipating new wealth in lyrics set to snippets of songs from popular theatre, culminating in this adaptation of “Lucy Neal”:

And all will you see kneel,
 Oh, all will you see kneel,
 Before the great and mighty dollar
 All will *you* see kneel.⁷²

When adviser Fernando de Talavera announces Columbus to the court, the King declares, “We’ll take his presents and give him the sack.”⁷³ As in Gunn’s “Columbus Presenting His Fruits of Discovery” (figure 2), Columbus at once provides Ferdinand gifts and insight into its festering culture. In the published text, Columbus’s “*Trans-Atlantic procession*” begins with police who usher in dishonest vendors, “a politician of character, supported by a few distinguished members of the ‘Dead Rabbit Club’” and carrying a glass ballot box, and Barnum, “*The Prince of Humbugs*,” accompanied by a mermaid and Joice Heth, the “*nurse of Washington*.”⁷⁴ Theatrical entertainment comes next in the procession in the form of blackface minstrels—“*Two Ethiopians, bearing respectively a mint julep and a sherry cobbler*” (popular cocktails of the day)—and the comedic roles for which Brougham and his good friend William Burton were known, namely Captain Cuttle, whom Brougham played in his adaptation of Dickens’s *Dombey and Sons*, Aminadab Sleek and Timothy Toodles, the roles that made Burton famous, and Powhatan, Pocahontas, and John Smith, historical figures Brougham had already successfully burlesqued. “*Almighty Dollar, in regal robes, and promiscuously attended*” follows. Columbus enters last, accompanied by “*All the States, represented by beautiful young ladies*,” who proceed to present an “*allegorical mask* [sic].” Bringing to court the much looked for booty of his expedition, Columbus fulfills his depiction in the *dramatis personae*: “a clairvoyant voyager, whose filibustering expedition gave rise at the time to a world of speculation.”⁷⁵

By Act 2, Columbus stands explicitly as the playwright's guiding spirit and alter ego. In addition to visionary and martyr, Columbus is necessarily a *showman* who heightens and resolves conflict through spectacle and sleight of hand. This aspect harkens to the metatheatrical manner of Hamlet or Prospero, characters Brougham happened also to have performed in his Shakespearean burlesques. Columbus appears to be less a victim of others' ill intentions than a cash-strapped playwright and theatre manager happy to meet the base desires of patrons. That the historical Columbus carefully presented the wealth and wonders of the New World to his Spanish sponsors was well known in the nineteenth century. That Brougham would recite "Vision of Columbus" at a patriotic fundraiser for Mount Vernon then turn around and embed a portion of the poem in a burlesque gives us a sense of how much winking and nodding he did toward his audience. Brougham inhabits at once Patriot, Satirist, *and* Bagman. His willingness to amend his art in the interest of economic and social stability appears to be a theatrical strategy and a political ideology within the play.

Soon, however, Columbus loses control of his production at the Spanish court through challenges to the orderly arrangement of the states. In the 1858 published text, the "Imp of Discord" and "Little Miss Kansas," whose wild behavior and bloodied nose signify the open skirmishing in Bleeding Kansas, burst onto the scene.⁷⁶ In the post-bellum promptbook, Little Miss Colorado, whose request for admission to the union was marked by partisan disagreement, disturbs the gathering but is easily removed by Columbus, only to be followed by the "Demon of Disunion," who "*stirs up strife between the states, leading to tableaux of contention*" set to torch light and "demon music."⁷⁷ Columbia again steps forward to restore peace. Such authority catches the attention of Ferdinand, who asks to be introduced, and when she shakes hands with rather than kneel before the monarchs, she puns, "I can't—my constitution wouldn't stand it."⁷⁸ In contrast, Columbus continues to grovel before the King, declaring, "Our fillibustering [sic] scheme I've carried through, / The country's safe, and now belongs to you."⁷⁹ Like the diminutive man of Gunn's tableau (figure 2), the iconic discoverer of the New World, and by extension Brougham, is only too willing to genuflect before a paying audience. Yet his feminine namesake remains as placeholder for the ideal of liberty's so-called extension and a displacement of the greed and violence entailed by American imperialism. The gendered binary of the play makes possible its simultaneous satire of contemporary greed and violence, includ-

ing filibustering, and patriotic justification for all means of securing national power.

The burlesque betrays an awareness of its own doubleness in a truly strange patriotic spectacle derived from a famous anecdote concerning Columbus's time in the Spanish court after the first voyage. Irving recounts the story this way:

A shallow courtier present, impatient of the honors paid to Columbus, and meanly jealous of him as a foreigner, abruptly asked him whether he thought that, in case he had not discovered the Indies, there were not other men in Spain who would have been capable of the enterprise? To this Columbus made no immediate reply, but, taking an egg, invited the company to make it stand on one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain; whereupon he struck it upon the table so as to break the end, and left it standing on the broken part; illustrating in this simple manner, that when he had once shown the way to the New World, nothing was easier than to follow it.⁸⁰

This famous story is a commentary on, among other things, historical progression, providence, and the ridiculousness of counterfactuals. Brougham reclaims the fragmented symbol as worthy of both burlesque and patriotic tableau. In the play, the jealous Fonseca challenges Columbus's voyage as nothing special. The admiral keeps his cool, issues the egg challenge, and when no one is able to meet it, successfully smashes his own down; however, the scene does not end there. "Now behold, oh king," cries Columbus, "What great effects from such slight cause will spring!"⁸¹ According to the published play, the egg becomes "much magnified" and then "*changes to the Temple of Fame, in which are grouped a selection from American celebrities on a pyramid.*" Through a combination of theatrical technologies—the prompt book specifies a series of gongs, lowered stage and house lights, a "Box with red fire" in front of the orchestra pit, and a tiered arrangement of figures on a platform at the rear of the stage—a "toy egg" becomes a giant orb with cracked shell that then transforms again into a Temple of Fame populated with the canon of national saints. The iconic occupants of the Temple varied over time: one antebellum production included "Revolutionary and other Heroes," a post-bellum staging show-

cased “[Union] Generals GRANT, SHERMAN, SHERIDAN,” and a performance in 1876 included “grand Centennial tableaux.”⁸² Consistently, the direct challenge to Columbus’s accomplishment becomes his glorious realization of America.

What a spectacle it must have been. The promptbook indicates a somewhat historical-thematic arrangement of figures and props: Columbia stands at the apex with two laurel wreaths; below her are arranged military leaders Sherman, Washington (with a sword, belt, and copy of the Constitution), and Sheridan, flanked by a plow and an anvil; the next row includes Revolutionary War generals framed by canons; underneath is a longer row of colonial era figures in which Columbus is surrounded by “Indians,” a lady (or two?), William Penn with a bible and red cloth, and Myles Standish with a belt; on either side are arrayed eighteen states, with Massachusetts and New York having pride of place while Colorado lies prostrate between the Temple and the pit. A June 30, 1860 playbill from the Howard Athenaeum promotes the closing spectacle as a “Grand Parachronistic, Patriotic and Pyrotechnic Tableaux.”⁸³ This was quite fittingly accompanied by “Hail Columbia,” the unofficial national anthem of the day, but with lyrics by Brougham. His verse celebrates “ye worthies of the land, / By freedom broke / From the foreign yoke”—punning further on the egg (yolk)—and confirms “Columbia’s happy land” as one of “*Peace and Liberty!*”⁸⁴ The foundational greed and violence the play finds echoed in contemporary New York politics and filibustering disappears along with the egg, replaced by transcendent national personages. No wonder Ryan concludes that the play is “benignly satiric” and contemporary critic William Winter pronounced his friend’s work “sweet-tempered.”⁸⁵

Not all of Brougham’s contemporaries were certain of the temper of his performances. Actor and diarist Harry Watkins, after an evening of socializing with Brougham, T.D. Rice, critic Ned Wilkins, and other theater types, concluded that Brougham, an Irish “*bon vivant*,” was not “sincere as a man,— he is rather a man of the world—one who sides with all parties and carefully avoids giving offense even to those he may dislike.”⁸⁶ In contrast, Thomas Gunn reflected in his diary, “Now I’d wager anything” that Brougham “is the dupe of the loud sounding virtuous clap trap he puts in the mouths of his characters, nay, that he has an indistinct sort of belief that all virtue is *but* that.”⁸⁷ Thus a hardworking showman and a satirical cartoonist, both of whom were intimately familiar with the underbelly of mid-century New York, viewed Brougham as a confidence man and a dupe, respectively.

Going with Watkins, what happens if we reimagine the closing patriotic display of the Columbus burlesque as a spectacular put-on? Afterall, can an arrangement of “*American Celebrities*” within an inflated egg reinstate an imperialistic grandeur once the audience has glimpsed its vulgar mechanisms? To what extent might the Temple of Fame signal not a transformation but an irreversible deracination of the Columbian legacy? Writing in January 1860, Ada Clare praised Brougham’s performance in *Everybody’s Friend* at Wallack’s but worried that he “waste[d] himself in farces and jigs.” She went on to defend the potential profundity of humor, “the true ‘reduction to the absurd,’ of the false social problem.” She writes, “When the foolish human throat wears itself out with shrieking its pitiful platitudes about talent, and love, and women, and religion, humor takes pride in displaying the ludicrous side of the argument.” Clare continues with a visceral scene of humor’s work:

When that pompous little frog-convention strikes to swell itself out into the majestic promotion of truth, humor loves to paint its funny little strut of ceremony, its grotesque affectation of puny dignity and command. It even leads heavy-footed truth to the spot where that poor reptile is crawling. Truth, the all-crushing, puts its foot down upon it, there is a gurgling sound, the reptile convention turns over, its horrid little legs writhe for a moment, then hang damp and limber, and it is given over to decay.⁸⁸

The possibility that the *Columbus* burlesque’s attention to “grotesque affectation” might not be overwhelmed by a closing “strut of ceremony”—that indeed, that strut is essential to its satirical thrust—reminds us of the multiplicity of audience reactions no less than the multiplicity of performances Brougham’s work afforded.

One more scrap from the archive—a January 25, 1867, promotion of Brougham’s appearance in *Columbus Reconstructed* at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia—pushes against any simple reading of the Brougham burlesque as acquiescing to blind patriotism. In a description of the production, a generic “SHOWMAN” describes what potential ticket buyers will witness in the concluding “Pyramidic Tableau of American Worthies”:

‘Look straight before you, and you will see Christopher Columbus, the Great Discoverer of America—which he never saw in his life—

but that's the way some people slide into immortality. To the right you will observe the sagacious William Penn, consummating a smartish business transaction with the Aborigines; but if he swindled, he did not slaughter them, as was the pastime of the pious Puritans, which you may perceive, by glancing to the left, where their peculiar process of proselytation [sic] is illustrated, and the "Sword of the Lord" is seen sticking in the gizzard of an Indian.⁸⁹

Next comes a grouping of the "Heroes of the Revolution," and a "step higher" the Civil War Union generals. At "apex of the Pyramid," the showman continues, "you cannot fail to recognize the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, surrounded by COLUMBIA, who holds in her extended hand the victorious wreath of the two Martial Epochs, 1775 and 1865." Like the Washington of Enzing-Müller's portrait of the nation, this one stands at the pinnacle; however, he overlooks a scene far less harmonious. In so many ways, Columbus's egg and its spectacular transformation capture the purposeful suppression—within the play and within the nation—of violence's central place in U.S. history. Brougham's *Columbus* depicts the ideal for which so many audience members yearned, the unsettling humor to be made out of the nation's persistent, violent failings, and the burlesque writer's suspicion that it rested on fissures no one could truly laugh away.

Coda

On January 13, 2021, one week after an insurrection spurred by the forty-fifth president of the United States, the U.S. Capitol was filled with members of the National Guard. Their mission was to protect the building while the House of Representatives was in session to consider articles of impeachment. Media outlets posted scores of images showing guardsmen in fatigues surrounding the statues and works of art that make the Capitol a national shrine. One video caught my eye in particular: that of guardsmen assembled in the Capitol's Hall of Emancipation around the restored 1856 plaster model for the Statue of Freedom.⁹⁰ I was reminded immediately of the conclusion to Brougham's *Columbus*. From atop a pedestal in the nation's actual Temple of Fame, this Columbia-like Freedom looked out upon those who would stay the hand of the Demon of Disunion. The image reminded me why Brougham's

Columbus continues to compel attention despite its concluding consent to American patriotism and the symbols that obscure the nation's violent history. As insurgents bearing the iconography of white supremacy stormed the Capitol, they passed works of art that celebrate settler colonialism—including Columbus's exploits—and bear the imprint of chattel slavery and racial injustice. The Statue of Freedom in the Hall of Emancipation is no different.

As you may recall, Brougham references Crawford's models for the Statue of Freedom when Columbus first meets Columbia. Here is a part of their exchange:

Col[umbus]. From your cap and spangled bodice,
I took you first for Crawford's sculptured Goddess.
Colum[bia]. And so I am — myself and Liberty
Are one
Col[umbus]. Thus, undivided may you ever be.⁹¹

When Columbus notes the cap on Crawford's Statue of Freedom, he refers to the two models by Crawford that each donned a liberty cap, an American symbol reflecting the Roman practice of granting a cap to those emancipated from slavery. According to the Architect of the Capitol, Crawford constructed the third and final model with a helmet—one "more commonly associated with Minerva or Bellona, Roman goddesses of war," than with Liberty or Freedom—after Secretary of War and future President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis objected to the association of American citizens with a symbol of slavery.⁹² Further, the casting of the bronze statue began in June 1860 by a group that included enslaved artisan Philip Reid, whose freedom subsequently came with the Emancipation Proclamation.⁹³ The Statue of Freedom on the Capitol Dome, then, was made in the image of the slaveholder and by the hands of the enslaved in a nation divided from liberty and divided within itself. In the Hall of Emancipation, Crawford's original cast of the nation's essential ironies stands. Brougham, an artist of irony and anachronism, made and continues to make that spectacle all the more visible.

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Notes

- The author wishes to thank the many colleagues who provided invaluable feedback on drafts of this essay, especially Rachel Linnea Brown (my co-editor on a digital edition of *Columbus*), Katie Conrad, Phillip Drake, Randall Fuller, Jonathan Lamb, Anna Neill, Paul Outka, and members of the Midwest Nineteenth-Century Americanists writing group.
1. "Dramatic and Musical Matters."
 2. Sutton, "Performance Career," 374. The *Columbus Reconstructed* promptbook, which consists of an interleaved and heavily inscribed cloth-bound copy of the Samuel French printing, is held in the Playbooks Collection, Princeton Rare Books and Special Collections.
 3. The scholarship of Pat M. Ryan is essential to anyone working on Brougham, and his "*Columbus El Filibustero*: John Brougham's Mirror of Discovery," which references the promptbook, made this study possible. Dana Rahm Sutton provides an indispensable record of Brougham's performance career, and Rita Plotnicki an overview of his comedic oeuvre. Marc Robinson offers a brief treatment of Brougham in *The American Play* (10-11), as does Robert Clyde Allen in *Horrible Prettiness* (103-7) and Tice L. Miller in *Entertaining the Nation* (129-31). Materials on Brougham and the artistic world in which he worked may be found in the fantastic digital archive, *The Vault at Pfaffs*, which is co-directed by Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman and hosted by Lehigh University.
 4. "Obituary."
 5. Such obscurity leads Robinson to comment, "No one should be surprised that John Brougham's burlesques have proven perishable" (10).
 6. Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 104.
 7. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 28.
 8. Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 104.
 9. Nathans, "Nineteenth Century," 401.
 10. Brougham, *Po-Ca-Hon-Tas*, 119-20. This is the extended description of Smith in the opening song to *Po-Ca-Hon-Tas*: "Sailor, Buccaneer, Explorer, / Hero, Trader, Colonizer, / Gent, Adventurer, Commander, / Lawyer, Orator, and Author, / Statesman, Pioneer, and Bagman / . . . With a crew of Fillibusters [sic], / Each with matchlocks and revolvers, / To take peaceable possession / Of some transatlantic region. . . ."
 11. Hughes, "Theater," 413. One finds a rewarding application of this methodology in Hughes's *Spectacles of Reform* (2012), which draws on the "frequent use of theatrical techniques in print and visual culture" to reveal the centrality of theatricality to nineteenth-century reform (34).
 12. For information on Brougham's performance career, I depend especially on Sutton, "Performance Career." I also draw on Ryan, "John Brougham"; Plotnicki, "John Brougham"; Sutton, "John Brougham"; Boase and Wells, "John Brougham"; and "Brougham, John (1810-1880)."
 13. Clare, "Thoughts and Things."
 14. Sutton, "Performance Career," 381.
 15. Robinson, *American Play*, 11.
 16. Bartosik-Velez, *Legacy*, 10.
 17. Bartosik-Velez, 81.
 18. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus," 937.
 19. On an 1858 print of the same, see Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus*, 125.
 20. Architect of the Capitol, "Landing of Columbus."
 21. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus," 937.
 22. See Scheckel, *Insistence*, chap. 6; Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus," 937, 940.
 23. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 13.
 24. Prescott, *History and Reign*, 243.

25. Bartosik-Velez argues that American authors developed the depiction of Columbus as a betrayed idealist from own writings. Bartosik-Velez, *Legacy*, 38.
26. Hazlett, "Literary Nationalism," 574. Hazlett expands, "The significance of Irving's *Columbus*, therefore, lies . . . in the complexities that developed out of the conflict between Irving's internalization of the national mythology and his obtrusive skepticism about America's past and his own role in society." Jordan Wingate adds, "Irving's Columbian historiography is less nationalistic than it is acutely self-aware of the ideological nature of cultural nationalism and its strategic filtration of history" (467-68). On the popularity of Irving's volume, see Schlereth: "Translated into eight languages, the biography went through thirty-nine printings and editions in the United States and Britain and fifty-one more in Latin America and Europe during Irving's lifetime" (943).
27. Prescott, *History and Reign*, 507.
28. Irving, *Life and Voyages*, 1868, 2:596.
29. Wingate, "Irving's Columbus," 483; Irving, *Life and Voyages*, 1868, 2:595.
30. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 2.
31. Brougham, 3.
32. Brougham, 5.
33. Brougham, 8.
34. Brougham, 8-9.
35. Ryan, "Columbus," 152.
36. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 8, 9.
37. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 45-52.
38. Ryan, "Columbus," 152.
39. *The Lantern* appeared from January 1852 to June 1853 and, according to contributor Thomas Butler Gunn, was in financial trouble within the first six to eight months. It was officially founded by Dick Hutchings, and Brougham was a primary contributor from the start. After the paper passed to George Woodward in mid-1852, Brougham and Powell served as co-editors. Frank Luther Mott identifies George G. Foster, Thomas Dunn English, Frank Bellew, Thomas Butler Gunn, George Woodward, Fitz-James O'Brien, and Charles Seymour as contributors. See Gunn, *Diary*; Kingman, "Comic Periodicals," 262-65; Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 2:181-82.
40. *Lantern*, 1:3. I consulted copies of *The Lantern* volumes one and two (January-June and July-December, 1852) in the Graphic Arts Collection of Princeton University Rare Books and Special Collections. Scans of Harvard's copies are available via HathiTrust.
41. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 1-4, 179. During the López expeditions, writes May, "Americans fastened on [the term] filibuster—a modification of the French word *flibustier* and the Spanish *filibustero*, which were themselves derivative of an old Dutch term for freebooter" (3).
42. On the Lone Star Order, which merged with the pro-slavery secret society of the Knights of the Golden Circle in 1858, see Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle*, 15-16. In an August 5, 1852, article titled "Order of the Lone Star," the *New York Times* reported that Lone Star president John V. Wren traveled to New York to establish northern chapters, aligning the group with Tammany Hall, then traveled on to Baltimore.
43. *Lantern*, 2:139. Gunn's diary includes an undated clipping that praises "The Eagle and the Wren" and states "DIOGENES must belong to the Lone Star Order. This Lantern certainly reflects a filibusterish [sic] light or image this week which confirms our former suspicions" (5:152). Immigrating from England in 1849 after drawing for *Punch*, Gunn made a living in early 1850s New York by illustrating for a number of periodicals, and eventually edited one himself and published *The Physiology of New York Boarding-Houses* (1857).
44. *Lantern*, 2:245. The use here of the term "mare's nest" suggests that though Law was incubating ruin, the whole affair was overblown. It is difficult to determine whether this appeared in late December 1852 or early 1853, as a dated cover is not included in consulted copies.

45. *Lantern*, 2:260.
46. Brougham surely relished the fact that *columbiad* was the name of both a poetic genre and a canon employed by the U.S. military from 1811 till the end of the century.
47. Sutton, "Performance Career," 500.
48. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 10.
49. Brougham, 10. In the poem, this line reads, "a small shrub, whose modest flower supplies / A revenue of millions" ("The Vision of Columbus," ll. 27–28). The reference to tobacco appears only in the play.
50. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 10–11. The postbellum promptbook completes this line as it appears in Brougham's "A Vision of Columbus": "Time is outstripped, and naught is that has been" (l. 46).
51. Gunn, *Diary*, 4:12–13.
52. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 11.
53. Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle*, chap. 1.
54. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 11.
55. *Lantern*, 2:269.
56. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 13.
57. Brougham, 13–15. The silk flag is mentioned in the promptbook. On Crawford's models, see Architect of the Capitol, "Statue of Freedom."
58. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 15.
59. "Burton's Theatre." The report also mentions that Brougham was called out for a curtain speech at the end of the night, during which he thanked the Empire Club and praised "their feelings of patriotism." Isaiah Rynders is referenced in Act 1 of *Columbus*, a passage struck in the promptbook.
60. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 15.
61. Brougham, 16.
62. Irving, *Life and Voyages*, 1:186–90.
63. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 16.
64. Brougham, 17. Burton was known for the roles of Timothy Toodles in *Toodles* and Aminadab Sleek in *Serious Family*, plays in which Brougham also performed. These references are replaced in the post-bellum prompt book with a nod to the popular character Solon Shingle.
65. Brougham, 17.
66. Brougham, 2.
67. These are sign inscriptions from both the published play and the promptbook.
68. Brougham, 17.
69. Brougham, 18.
70. Brougham, 18.
71. Brougham, 20.
72. Brougham, 21.
73. Brougham, 22.
74. Brougham, 22. In the promptbook, the procession consists only of Columbus and the states.
75. Brougham, 2.
76. Brougham, 22. Strikingly, on the very page announcing the December 30, 1857, debut of *Columbus* at Burton's Theatre, the *Herald* offers this anti-abolitionist, theatrically-minded commentary: "We congratulate all honest and sensible people that this Kansas extravaganza is now nearly played out."
77. A playbill for a production at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, 25 January 1867, gives a more direct treatment of the allegory: "intrusive appearance of the Demon of Disunion! strife stirred up, and the antagonistic States resolve themselves into Belligerent Tableaux. Decisive action of Columbia; Discord demolished; State lines Reconstructed" (Walnut Street Theatre Duplicates).

78. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 23.
79. In lines omitted from the post-bellum performance, he adds, "Bye and bye, perhaps, when they've experience bought, / They may return us the same blow we taught" (23).
80. Irving, *Life and Voyages*, 1:334–35. On the history of this apocryphal story, see Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus*, 104–5.
81. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 24.
82. December 30, 1857, playbill for *Columbus* at Burton's Theatre in New York (Playbills and programs from New York City theaters); January 25, 1867, issue of *The Player* for the production at Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia (Walnut Street Theatre Duplicates); "Dramatic, Musical, &c."
83. and Hutton, *Actors and Actresses: Brougham*.
84. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 24.
85. Ryan, "Columbus," 149; qtd in "Brougham."
86. Watkins Diary, 14 January 1857. In Watkins's diary entries from 1847 to 1857, one finds that he initially admired Brougham's acting, but after working for Brougham in 1848, began to question his talent and sincerity.
87. Gunn, Diary, 6: 218.
88. Clare, "Thoughts and Things."
89. Matthews and Hutton, *Actors and Actresses: Brougham*.
90. The video of guardsmen in the Hall of Emancipation may be found in Cochrane, "Inside the Capitol for Impeachment."
91. Brougham, *Columbus El Filibustero!!*, 13–14.
92. Architect of the Capitol, "Statue of Freedom."
93. Architect of the Capitol, "Philip Reid."

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