September 30, 2007
Marc Bousquet, Associate Professor, English
**Research program for Sabbatical Leave, Winter 2009**
9 credits will have been accrued by August 2008

***Tom Sawyer, Temperance Cadet:***
***Participatory Culture in the United States***

**Summary.** Monograph studying the relationship between the rhetorical intentions of ordinary writers and emergent literary-cultural forms from the nineteenth century to the present. This project seeks to account for the ways in which ordinary persons—especially in organized, usually activist groups such as school reformers, feminists, and abolitionists—produced culture that helped them to resist, frustrate, and alter the trajectories of dominance. These "rites of dissent"--including literary, dramatic and ritual performance—were authored, staged, publicized, and printed by ordinary persons, often without literary ambitions, or with an embracingly democratic and politically transformative notion of literary merit. These efforts supported the cohesion and collective agency of diverse (and often displaced) social groups. These events of **participatory culture** were very different from mass spectator culture. They supported habits of civic participation, social activism, and collective self-determination (rather than passivity, consumerism, and so forth). For some readers, the major contribution will be a much-broadened understanding of the precursors of today's "sociable media" in the the participatory culture of the 19th and early 20th century. Most significant from an American cultural studies point of view is the portrait of widespread theatrical activity, generally based in schools and self-improvement contexts, in the early republican period, a cultural moment often misunderstood as "antitheatrical." (Antitheatricalism may well be understood better as a reaction of political dominance to a theatrical "many-headed hydra.") Based on a prizewinning doctoral dissertation, and substantial subsequent research, including at the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, and other repositories.

**Relationship to Scholarship and Teaching.** This project incorporates archival research conducted from the 1990s to the present in my field of expertise (politics and culture, ordinary writers and elocutionists, new media studies) and reflects the transdisciplinary commitments of my teaching, spanning rhetoric, literary and cultural studies, writing, education, and critical social theory. As with my teaching and previous publications, it strives to make connections between the present and much earlier composition of "social media" by dissenting individuals and groups.

**External grants.** Some modest internal grants at the University of Louisville and the City University of New York supported some of the research. Some of my SCU startup funds have been in support of this research as well.

**Dissemination.** This is a substantial book project. Cambridge University Press has indicated interest in reviewing the project upon completion.

**Timetable.** This would be my fifth book and third monograph. Elements of this project

have been drafted, and a significant portion (24,000 words, several images) presented in a special online format at the American Studies Association. It is reasonable to anticipate completing two to four chapters during the sabbatical period. Whether this will result in completion of the project will depend on what I have done before the sabbatical begins. (I am currently attempting to complete a short single-author sequel to my first monograph.) At minimum, I would expect to have two to four chapters prepared for submission as articles to the major venues for American cultural studies and rhetorical studies: *American Studies, American Literary History, American Literature,* and *Rhetoric Review.*

**Benefits.** This is an extremely important sabbatical for me as a scholar, representing an opportunity to bring a very long-term research project substantially toward fruition. Insofar as I am currently strongly identified with critique of the "corporate university," the opportunity to move this project into scholarly view will make my national reputation more complex and a more complete reflection of my scholarly interests and teaching. The project does now and will continue to inform and unify the concerns and aims of all of my teaching, currently 1/3 radical culture, 1/3 internet culture, 1/3 writing with new media. Both the teaching and the scholarly outcomes will benefit the department and university, with tangible consequences for student learning. In terms of benefits to the discipline, there are a number of key research questions within diverse disciplines being addressed (see the project description below). The material on schoolroom theatricals alone is of interest to diverse fields of study, ranging from education, rhetoric and composition, and performance studies, to literature, cultural studies and social theory.

What I would most hope is that the project helps some of us working in the discipline of English studies to accept at least a small portion of what I've come to believe over the past decade—that the figures of writing and performance, especially by ordinary persons, offer the discipline real potential for continuing relevance, public support and framing research questions at least partly occluded by the dominant figures of reading, especially of "literature" and "literariness."

**Description of Project.** Much of the most exciting recent work on writing in the 19th-century U.S. examines it as the medium for the dissemination of ideology—so that literature provides what Bercovitch compellingly describes as "rites of assent" to an emerging national order. *Tom Sawyer, Temperance Cadet* acknowledges the importance of ideology critique, but moves in another direction. This project seeks to account for the ways in which persons—especially persons in organized, usually activist groups such as school reformers, feminists, and abolitionists—produced culture that helped them to resist, frustrate, and alter the trajectories of dominance. These "rites of dissent"--including literary, dramatic and ritual performance--supported the cohesion and collective agency of diverse (and often displaced) social groups.

During the nineteenth century, these practices of association completely saturated social life. However, the written traces of this culture are usually archival in nature, encompassing the manuscripts, journals, autobiographies and printed ephemera of an enormously disparate organized life, including sewing circles and trade unions, fraternal associations, reform movements, and utopian communities.

Substantial research has already been accomplished, including previously-undiscussed or generally neglected material. These include the papers of early-national education reformers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, the archives of the U.S. Sanitary Commission (New York Public Library), as well as some ephemera held at the Newport Historical Society and other locations.

Of particular importance is the material unearthed in the schools collection of the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Mass.) especially dozens of handbills and programs of quarterly school exhibitions, demonstratively the pervasiveness of theatrical composition and performance by ordinary persons, of both sexes, at all ages, often on significant contemporary or political topics, frequently with a substantial fraction of the community as an audience. (Even as the workforce industrialized, the quarterly school exhibitions were often holidays, sometimes holidays of two or even three days). For examples see the attached images.Additional materials examined include relevant manuscript collections in the history of everyday life, a variety of relevant imprints, and substantial holdings of the publications of voluntary associations and other institutions, including amateur newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, annuals, and pamphlets.

Just as the worldwide web is simultaneously a medium for real-time interpersonal interaction and a massive textual artifact largely composed by ordinary persons (sometimes seeking to “perform themselves” online), ordinary persons in the early 19th century composed texts for a vivid culture of performance, often with similar intentions of “composing themselves” or re-composing social relations.

More often than not, this theatricality of everyday life took place in masonic temples, barrooms, workplaces, streets, churches, schools and homes--and not in a theater. Schoolroom exhibitions, fraternal ritual, benefit productions, and the amateur performances of every sort of voluntary association (temperance advocacy, abolition, trade unionism, utopian socialism, and the like) all contributed to a vital perfomance culture sustaining a complex associational life well into the twentieth century, supporting habits of civic participation, social activism, and collective being. These often-humble productions of ordinary persons were generally subcultural events, establishing a subordinate group's cohesion and locating its aspirations to social agency. These theatrical "practices of association" completely saturated social life: through them, persons and groups sustained alternate and frequently oppositional lifeways--even as a national consciousness and the logic of possessive individualism ascended to cultural dominance.

Recent historical work (e.g. Blumin, Wiebe, Gilkeson, Ryan, Shields, Banner) has begun to address the pervasiveness of associational life in the century and argue for the social as a primary ontological sphere (Hansen). The performance culture of this associational life was chiefly a drama of participant-observers: the spectators were equally performers and belonged intimately to the social scene of the performance in a complex field of relationships.

Practice theory's observation that a society is "composed of certain foregrounded practices organizing its normative institutions and of innumerable other practices that remain 'minor,'" (de Certeau 48) is relevant here: the practices of association and the cultural formations of participant-observership a) were not always so 'minor' as they became toward the end of the 20th century and b) were socially and culturally operative even as they became minor. Even as minoritarian structures, the practices of association and their subcultural inventions serve as the cement and the ground of what Said, for example, has called the "filiations" of "a kind of compensatory order, that, whether it is a party, an institution, a culture, a set of beliefs, or even a world-vision, provides men and women with a new form of relationship . . . which is also a new system" (19).

In the past ten or fifteen years there have been significant studies of the social logic of participatory culture. These include books by David Shields (Civil Tongues) and Mary Ryan (Civic Wars), Karen Hansen's A Very Social Time, and examinations of revolutionary and early-national festive culture (Waldstreicher, Newman, Travers). While Shields' s project is restricted to the eighteenth century and largely belletristic activity, the present effort attempts a general account of participatory culture relating the subordinated print and performance cultures of associational life to the dominant expressions of print and performance (especially sensation fiction, literary fiction, and the melodrama). By contrast, Ryan focusses on popular-political practice: the politics-of-culture orientation of this project nonetheless strongly and enthusiastically complements Ryan's study, documenting the pervasion of associational life and its continuing utility as a mode of contestation and struggle. And--although Hansen relies mainly on autobiography and correspondence to reconstruct social activity--this project supports Hansen's conclusion that we need to address the century by way of an intermediate field of cultural activity ("the social") that cannot easily be discussed in connection with traditional theories relying too strongly on distinctions between putatively separate “public” and “private” spheres. (See Brooke, who examines antebellum participatory culture by way of a modified Habermasian framework, for a contrasting view.)

There are several major contributions to the field that excavate dimensions of participatory culture: artisanal festival (Wilentz); mourning ritual and parlor conduct, including performance (Haltunnen); early-republican nationalism (Waldstreicher); post-revolutionary parade (Newman), Fourth of July orations and festivities (Travers); fraternal ritual (Carnes), militia parades & burlesques (Davis), and civic pageantry (Glassberg). Among this group, only Haltunnen relates participatory practice to literary culture. A number of studies to a greater or lesser degree discuss nineteenth-century print cultures as participatory culture (e.g. Denning).

This project shares some of the ambition of such recent efforts as T.V. Reed's 2006 *The Art of Protest: From the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* to trace connections between earlier and Internet-mediated forms of political power through participatory culture. It is unique in attempting to draw connections over two centuries, to the early-republican era.

Some of the modes of participatory culture explored by this study have been relatively overlooked. This is particularly the case with schoolroom theatricals (although Jean Baker and others have written about other republican aspects of school culture), utopian-socialist festival culture (Guarneri discusses them insightfully but mostly in passing), women's civil-war benefit performances. As with significant recent projects like Mickenberg's *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States* (2006), the aim is to produce an account of the means by which ordinary persons succeeded in crafting a counterculture, even where the forces of reaction have acted to erase the traces of those successes.

This project also usefully participates in the discussion of 19th-century theatricality and its continuing contemporary import. There have been significant recent studies of the social logic of melodrama (Hadley's contestatory "melodramatic mode" and McConachie's hegemonic "melodramatic formations") and of the operation of that genre in other cultural formations (Jameson, urging its police-function; Brooks, urging its radically-democratic epistemology; Sollors, remarking on it as an agent in constellating the discourse of ethnicity). And some sophisticated treatments within the Foucauldian discourse have persuasively described alternate uses of theater-structures in other cultural formations (e.g., Litvak).

This project observes that the tremendous variety of textual and performance practices by ordinary persons produced correspondingly various logics of social relations. The very different social logics of melodrama and associational performance are apprehensible as variations of the Turnerian distinction between ritual and theater. Generally speaking, melodrama produces the "theatrical" economies--of spectatorship, spectacle, and self-display that sustained the ascendant values and practices of possessive individualism. In describing the operation of (melodramatized) theater in other cultural formations, Jameson observes "the obsessive repetition through the nineteenth-century novel of theatrical terms like 'scene,' 'spectacle,' and 'tableau,'" arguing that these "urge on the reader a theater-goer's position with respect to the content of the narrative," and that this organization of point of view by way of "the metaphor and ideal of theatrical representation" necessarily reproduces the passive subject of supervision featured in what might be termed strong-Foucauldian accounts of Victorian subjectivity (231). This is an important story, not least because the theater practices of today--including film and television viewing--are in some ways similar to the bourgeois spectatorship upon which Jameson bases his critique.

And yet the vast majority of performance practices in the period didn't involve

"theater-going" at all. As Hobsbawm observes, invented-tradition ritual and the theater-practice of voluntary association/imaginary community ("establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities") was in the nineteenth century even more prevalent subculturally than nationally (9). Nonetheless, until very recently, most studies of invented tradition had focussed on it as a modality of nationalism, doing the work of social control, hegemony, legitimation and indoctrination. Now, however, the relative neglect of subcultural invented tradition is being addressed even within the discourse surrounding nationalism: reconsiderations of early-national festival such as Waldstreicher's persuasively portray nationalist festival as an opportunity for contest, struggle, and negotiation, and not merely as legitimation or indoctrination.

Bercovitch provides what is perhaps the leading discussion of the ritual dimension of participatory culture by a scholar in literature. He applies the figure of ritual to mass-cultural formations and to canonical American literature as an agent of social control, the "ritual recycling of the energies of radical change into the structures of continuity" (Investigations 983). Assigning much of this social-control operation to melodramatic structures, this project instead looks at subcultural, other-than-nationalist ritual formations as frequently providing an antidote to what Bercovitch compellingly names the "tyranny. . . of a liberal-symbolic system of thought" (Assent 41). In this way, the project offers an alternative to strong-Foucauldian and specular/spectacular accounts of nineteenth-century theatricality, not contradicting these efforts, but usefully supplementing the narrative marked out by them.

The emphasis of this project on a lesser-told story shares into the effort of historical investigations of associational life in the United States. Consistent with the sociological approaches to literature supported by practice theory and British cultural studies (especially Jameson, Williams, and Hall), the book gives its particular attention to the historical practices and cultural formations of groups and persons seeking to uphold alternate lifeways. It explores the associational vision of democracy re-articulated by internet utopians and by such U.S. political scientists Cohen and Rogers,(Associations and Democracy: The Real Utopias Project, vol. 1). It perhaps more vigorously lends historical credence to Iris Young's response to Cohen and Rogers--that associational democracy might be best served not by inventing associations out of whole cloth but by strengthening extant associational ties (Young names "clubs, discussion groups, nonprofit organizations and their boards of directors, task forces, political committees and lobbying organizations and community arts and theatre organizations both at local and national levels" [208]).

Chapter 1: The Unexpected Ambiguities of Melodrama. Chapter 2: Republican Enjoyment: Schoolroom Theatricals, 1798-1848 Chapter 3: Tom Sawyer,Temperance Cadet. Ch 4: Species Performance: The Naturalist Imaginary Ch 5. The Klan and other Pageant Communities Ch 6. Socialism and Americanism Ch 7. Proletarian Women Ch. 8 The Internet: Subcultures and Mass Politics.

APPENDED: programs, schoolroom theatricals; works cited.

# ANNIVERSARY.

## *Grammar School, Granville.*

August 26, 1819.

### ORDER OF EXERCISES.

1. Oration in Latin, by ADONIJAH STRONG.
2. Examination in Geography.
3. Oration on the appearance of a Comet, by AUSTIN A. HAYES.
4. Plea for the Aborigines of America, by HENRY WHITE.
5. Forensic Disputation, on the question, "Which has been of the greatest utility, the art of printing, or the magnetic needle?" by AUSTIN A. HAYES and HORACE WILDER.
6. Poem, "The Storm," by EBENEZER LATIMER.
7. Dialogue, "The Printer's Boy," by NATHANIEL W. BOSWORTH, PHINEHAS R. COOLEY, OLIVER B. COOLEY, THOMAS P. PHINNEY, PHINEHAS B. SQUIRES and ELISHA T. STERLING.
8. Oration in Greek, by HORACE WILDER.
9. Dialogue, "The Robbers Daughter," by ROBERT BIGELOW, JOHN BOIES, GARDNER K. CLARK, JEFFERSON COOLEY, WILLIAM HAY, SERGIUS W. LLOYD, HORATIO N. LYMAN and RUSSEL A. WILSON; Misses E. C. C., H. C. and M. C.
10. Oration, on the fall of Switzerland, by WILLIAM G. BATES.
11. Oration, on the character of Claudius Buchanan, by GARDNER K. CLARK.
12. Poem, by GURDON HAYES.
13. Oration, in Hebrew, by PHINEHAS R. COOLEY.
14. Oration, on the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, by EBENEZER LATIMER.
15. Greek Dialogue, "School of Socrates, by WILLIAM G. BATES, GURDON HAYES, ADONIJAH STRONG and HORACE WILDER.
16. Oration on the emancipation of Slaves, by WILLIAM HAY.
17. Valedictory Oration, by GURDON HAYES.

O. Goodwin & Sons...Print...Hartford.

ORDER OF EXERCISES

# At the Exhibition of the Centre Schools,

## IN SOUTH READING, IN THE TOWN HALL,

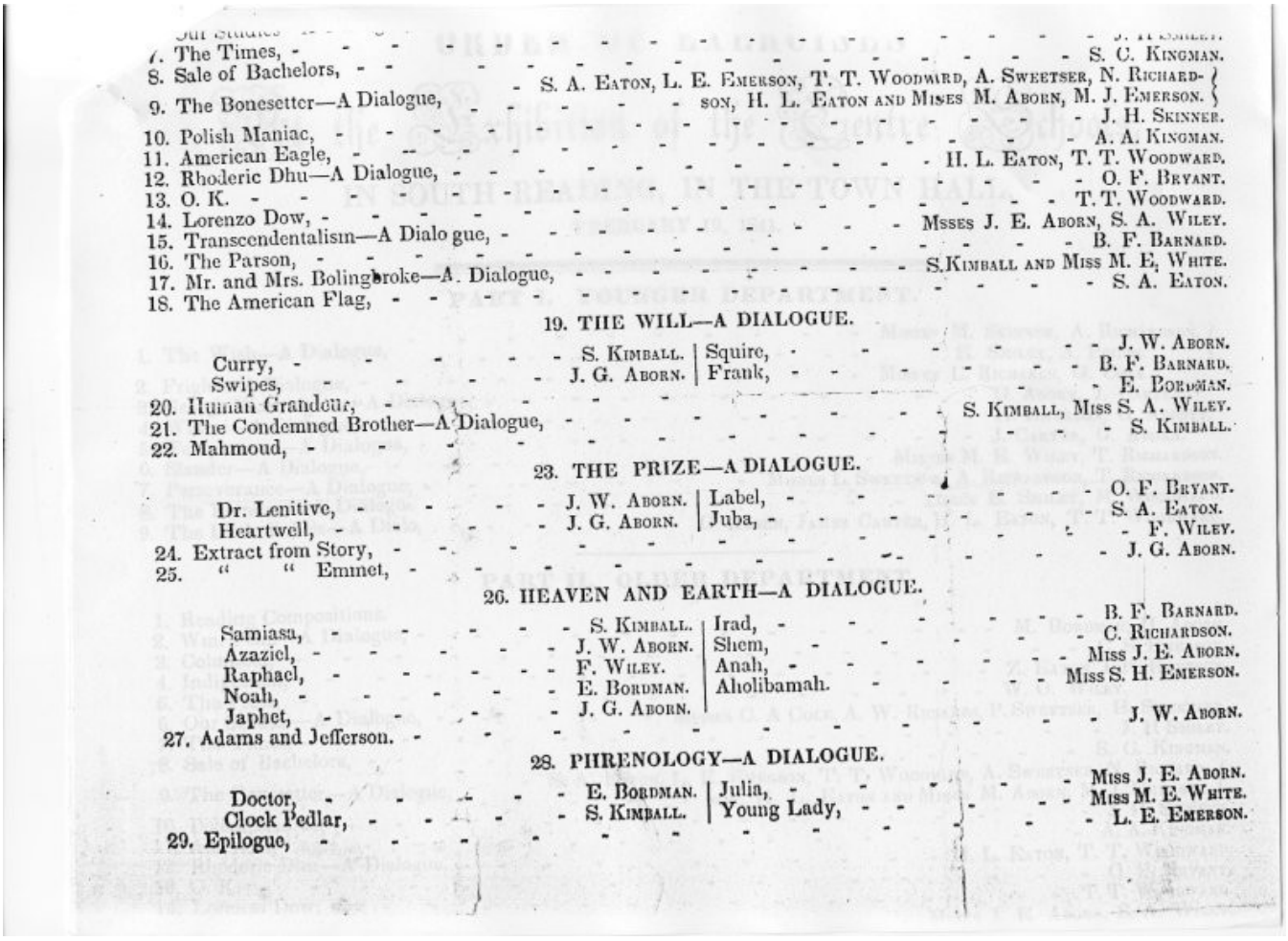
FEBRUARY 19, 1841.

### PART I. YOUNGER DEPARTMENT.

1. The Wish—A Dialogue, - - - - - Misses M. Skinner, A. Richardson, E. Smiley, A. Phipps.
2. Fright—A Dialogue, - - - - - Misses L. Richards, G. Cole.
3. George Washington—A Dialogue, - - - - - H. Emerson, G. Abbott.
4. Winter—A Dialogue, - - - - - J. Carter, G. Aborn.
5. Temperance—A Dialogue, - - - - - Misses M. E. Wiley, T. Richardson.
6. Slander—A Dialogue, - - - - - Misses L. Sweetser, A. Richardson, T. Richardson.
7. Perseverance—A Dialogue, - - - - - Misses E. Smiley, M. Woodward.
8. The Reindeer—A Dialogue - - - - - G. Aborn, James Carter, H. L. Eaton, T. T. Woodward.
9. The Little Rebels—A Dialo[illegible]e, - - - - -

### PART II. OLDER DEPARTMENT.

1. Reading Compositions. - - - - - M. Bordman, H. Aborn.
2. Wm. Penn—A Dialogue, - - - - - C. S. Emerson.
3. Columbia, - - - - - Z. Eaton, J. H. Emerson.
4. Indigestion, - - - - - W. O. Wiley.
5. The Press, - - - - - Misses C. A Cole, A. W. Richards, P. Sweetser, H. Sweetser.
6. Our Studies—A Dialogue, - - - - - J. H Smiley.
7. The Times, - - - - - S. C. Kingman.
8. Sale of Bachelors, - - - - - S. A. Eaton, L. E. Emerson, T. T. Woodward, A. Sweetser, N. Richardson, H. L. Eaton and Misses M. Aborn, M. J. Emerson.
9. The Bonesetter—A Dialogue, - - - - - J. H. Skinner.
10. Polish Maniac, - - - - - A. A. Kingman.
11. American Eagle, - - - - - H. L. Eaton, T. T. Woodward.
12. Rhoderic Dhu—A Dialogue, - - - - - O. F. Bryant.
13. O. K. - - - - - T. T. Woodward.
14. Lorenzo Dow, - - - - - Misses J. E. Aborn, S. A. Wiley.



7. The Times, - - -

# EXHIBITION.

## Vermont Literary and Scientific Institution,

Brandon, Thursday Evening, November 17, 1842.

EXERCISES.

1. Music—Seminary Choir, "*The earth is the Lord's*," &c.
2. Salutatio Latina, . . . . . Chancey L. Case, *Fairfield.*
3. Oration. Immortal product of mind, . . . . . J. C. Nutting, *Jaffrey, N. H.*
4. Oration. Slander, . . . . . A. W. Thomas, *Sudbury.*
5. Oration. The progress of Science—Its relation to the interests of mankind, C. M. Warren, *Keeseville, N. Y.*
6. Music. "*The Wrecker's Daughter.*"
7. Oration. Perversion of talent, . . . . . D. N. Casey, *Whiting.*
8. Oration. Mystery, . . . . . L. C. Kelsey, *Brandon.*
9. Oration. Virtuous ambition, . . . . . J. C. Smith, "
10. Oration. Decision of character, . . . . . J. B. P. Churchill, *Hubbardton.*
11. Music. Choir, "*Hail Smiling Morn.*"
12. Literary Conference, . . . . . C. L. Case, R. M. Phillips.

### CHARACTERS.

*Esq. Clarkson*, A man of Science and liberal views, R. M. Phillips.
*Dr. Feeler*, A Practical Phrenologist, . . C. L. Case.
*Mr. Wakefield*, A Student of Classical Literature, . H. Spencer.
*Mr. Fribble*, A Dandy, and advocate of the fashionable, C. M. Warren.
*Mr. Gripus*, Immensely rich, but somewhat "*ratified*," N. Chaffee.
*Ichabod Greenhorn*, A back-district Pedagogue, . A. W. Thomas.

(Scene—*Esq. Clarkson's Office.*)

13. Music. "*Wood Up.*"
14. Oration. A defense of Law, and of its Advocates, . . Wm. C. Hyatt, *Brandon.*
15. Oration. Virtue the true source of pre-eminence, . . S. D. Wing, *Rochester.*
16. Poem. Change, . . . . . J. C. Nutting.
17. Music. "*Pilgrim Fathers.*"
18. Oration. The progress of civil and religious truth, . . R. M. Phillips, *Westhaven.*
19. Oration. Moral influence of adversity, . . . . H. Spencer, *Sudbury.*
20. Oration. Poverty not an effectual barrier to intellectual pre-eminence, . C. L. Case.
21. Music. "*Kendall's March.*"
22. Political Conference, . . . . . Wm. C. Hyatt.

### CHARACTERS.

*Esq. Sensible*, A Conservative, . . . Wm. C. Hyatt.
*Mr. Garmon*, *Mr. Quirk*, Political Opponents, . . . S. D. Wing, F. J. Farr.
*Dea. Credulous*, An honest Enquirer, . . C. L. Case.
*Mr. Ambiguous*, A Demagogue, . . J. B. P. Churchill.
*Mr. Oracular*, A Third Party man, . . . . M. Hill.
*Timothy Twist*, A Wag, . . . . D. W. Hall.

(Scene—*Office of Esq. Sensible.*)

23. Music. "*Webster's Quickstep.*"

*** Exercise to commence at 5½ o'clock, Seminary Chapel.

# EXERCISES AT HAMPTON ACADEMY,

*Friday, August* 16, 1816.

## Latin Oration. - - - - - - *O. Bradbury.*

## Schoolmaster Ignoramus.

| | |
|---|---|
| IGNORAMUS, - - - - - - | *J. H. Hobbs.* |
| PARSON, - - - - - - - | *J. Stickney.* |
| FIRST COMMITTEE, - - - - - | *O. Bradbury.* |
| SECOND Do. - - - - - | *C. S. Toppan.* |
| THIRD Do. - - - - - - | *H. C. Knowlton.* |
| LANDLORD, - - - - - - | *J. S. Leavitt.* |

## The Affectionate Parent.

| | |
|---|---|
| MRS. DENNISON, - - - - - | *M. Godfrey.* |
| MIRANDA, her daughter, - - - - | *A. R. Shaw.* |

## Physiognomy.

| | |
|---|---|
| FRANK, the Physiognomist, - - - | ~~*F. K. Webster.*~~ *J. H. Hobbs* |
| HENRY, - - - - - - - | *J. A. Williams.* |
| GEORGE, - - - - - - - | *H. C. Knowlton.* |
| PETER, - - - - - - - | *C. S. Toppan.* |

## Dialogue, - - - - - - ~~*F. K. Webster.*~~ *S. Garland.*

## Cowardice and Knavery.

| | |
|---|---|
| HECTOR, an Officer, cashiered for cowardice, - - - | *O. Bradbury.* |
| HAMBURGH, a fraudulent Bankrupt, - - - - - | *J. Stickney.* |
| SIMON, a Pawn Broker, - - - - - - - | *J. A. Williams.* |
| TRUSTY, in disguise, acquainted with all, - - - - | *J. S. Leavitt.* |
| LANDLORD, - - - - - - - - - | *H. C. Knowlton.* |

## Genteel Manners. - - - *D. Ward.* / *N. F. Lawrence.*

## Civilization. MERCHANT, - - - *J. S. Leavitt.* / MARKETMAN, - - *A. B. Hogans.*

## The Folly of local Prejudices.

| | |
|---|---|
| FREEMAN, or JOHN HICKORY, a polite young gentleman, affecting to be a rustic, | *H. C. Knowlton.* |
| JAMES HOTSPUR, a young satirist, - - - - - | *C. S. Toppan.* |
| J. BATTLEDOOR, a boxer, - - - - - - | ~~*F. K. Webster.*~~ *J. S. Leavitt* |
| H. PLUME, a young Beau, - - - - - - | *J. A. Williams.* |
| TALBOT, a good-natured Boy, - - - - - | *J. Marston.* |
| MARTIN, a serious Young Man, - - - - - | *J. H. Hobbs.* |
| CHRISTOPHER, a Waiter, - - - - - - | *S. Garland.* |
| MYRA, a Miss, favorite of H. Plume, - - - - | *N. F. Lawrence.* |
| Sisters of Freeman, | *E. G. and M. C. Toppan.* |

## Single Piece. - - - - - - *A. B. Hogans.*

## Christianity favorable to Women.

| | |
|---|---|
| CONSTANTIA, Mother to Constantine the Great, - - | *S. Dodge.* |
| EUDOCIA, her Sister, who had suffered Persecution, - | *E. Gerrish.* |
| METRODORA, a fine lady of the Court, bigotted to Paganism, and favoring the Rival of Constantine, - | *O. Merrill.* |
| APHRODITE, a young lady of the Court, inclining to Paganism, from the love of Dissipation, - - | *M. C. Toppan.* |
| THALIA, a young lady of the Court, inclined to Christianity, | *E. G. Toppan.* |
| [illegible] Constantine | *S. P. Symmes.* |

# Afternoon Exercises at Newburyport Academy, March 30, 1819.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, *I. Jackson.*

## Dialogue.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Solus, | *J. M. Rea.* |
| Mr. Harmony, | *I Adams.* |
| Servant, | *C. T. Carter.* |
| Miss Spinster, | *J. N. Wills.* |

## Local Prejudices.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Freeman, or John Hickory, | *H.N. Wood.* |
| Hotspur, | *W A. Rea.* |
| Battledoor, | *C.K Whipple.* |
| Plume, | *E.S. Rand.* |
| Talbot, | *J. W. Hale.* |
| Martin, | *S.Le Breton.* |
| Christopher, | *J. H. Tenney.* |
| Myra, | *H.P.Sweetser.* |

## Battle of Trenton.

| | |
|---|---|
| Washington, | *B.W.Bonney.* |
| Hamilton, | *J.Frothingham.* |
| Jonathan, | *J Francis.* |
| Tabitha, | *I. Jackson.* |

## The Conjurer.

| | |
|---|---|
| Richard, | *R. Jenkins.* |
| Jack, | *J. Stone.* |
| Thinkwell, | *W. P. Johnson.* |
| Conjurer, | *W. Horton.* |
| Mr. Credulous, | *E. H. Holland.* |
| Bluster, | *E.L.Le Breton.* |
| Longstaff, | *J. Francis.* |
| Witnesses, | *B W.Bonney, & G. Lunt.* |

## Dialogue.

| | |
|---|---|
| Charon, | *J.Frothingham.* |
| Mercury, | *H Perkins.* |
| Menippus, | *W.Horton.* |

## Dialogue.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Buberley, | *I Jackson.* |
| Dr. Panglos, | *B. W. Bonney.* |

## High life below stairs.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lovel, | *E. S. Rand.* |
| Phillip, | *W. A. Rea.* |
| Duke's servant, | *J. Stone.* |
| Sir Harry's servant, | *S. Sweetser.* |
| Kitty, | *H.N.Wood.* |
| Lady Babb's servant, | *C. K. Whipple.* |

## Boniface fr. the 'Beaux stratagem.'

| | |
|---|---|
| Boniface, | *E.L Le Breton.* |
| Aimwell, | *H. Perkins.* |

## Lady Townly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Poundage, | *W. A. Rea.* |
| Lady Townly, | *E. S Rand.* |
| Mrs. Trusty, | *H. N. Wood.* |

## Alexander & Robber.

| | |
|---|---|
| Alexander, | *J. M. Rea.* |
| Robber, | *S. Le Breton.* |

## West Indian.

| | |
|---|---|
| Capt. Dudley, | *E. L. Le Breton.* |
| Charles Dudley, | *B. W. Bonney.* |
| Major O'Flagherty | *J. Frothingham* |
| Varland, | *J. Francis.* |
| Lady Rusport, | *I. Jackson.* |
| Charlotte Rusport, | *S. Sweetser.* |

## Quaker.

| | |
|---|---|
| Steady, | *W. Horton.* |
| Solomon, | *W.P. Johnson.* |
| Lubin, | *R. Jenkins.* |
| Floretta, | *C. K. Whipple.* |
| Gilliana, | *H. N. Wood.* |

## Judge found guilty.

| | |
|---|---|
| Duke Alberti, | *J. Frothingham.* |
| Baron Montaldi, | *B. W. Bonney.* |
| Julian, | *S. Sweetser.* |
| Ambrose, | *W. P. Johnson.* |
| Vincent, | *E. H. Holland.* |
| Ludovico, | *E. L. Le Breton* |
| Stefano, | *I. Jackson.* |
| Dutchess Leonora | *H. Perkins.* |
| Rosalie, | *H. N. Wood.* |

## Cowardice & Knavery.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hector, | *W. Horton.* |
| Hamburg, | *W. P Johnson.* |
| Simon, | *J. W. Hale:* |
| Trusty, | *R. Jenkins.* |
| Landlord, | *G. Lunt.* |

## Pedantry.

| | |
|---|---|
| Digit, | *B. W. Bonney.* |
| Trill, | *H. Perkins.* |
| Sesquipedalia, | *I. Jackson.* |
| Drone, | *E. L. Le Breton.* |

## Academician.

| | |
|---|---|
| Old Trumpet, | *J. Francis.* |
| Leander, | *J Stone.* |
| Goody Trumpet, | *S. Sweetser.* |

## Benevolent Jew.

| | |
|---|---|
| Jabal, | *E. S. Rand.* |
| Sheva, | *C. K. Whipple.* |
| Charles Ratkliff, | *J. K. Whipple.* |
| Frederick, | *W. A. Rea.* |
| Dorcas, | *H. N. Wood:* |

## Shylock, fr. Merchant of Venice.

# NICHOLS ACADEMY.

## *Order of Exercises at Exhibition,*

### NOVEMBER 20, 1822.

### FORENOON.

Declamation, *in Latin*, - - S. C. Johnson.
Dec. - - - - - J. W. Spurr.
Dec. - - - - - F. Wright.

*The Provoking Husband*—A Dialogue.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Capt. Brute, - - - S. S. Mason.
Mrs. Brute, his wife, - Miss C. M. Brown.
Belinda, her niece, - Miss A. Healy.

*MUSIC.*

Dec. - - - - - - J. J. Mason.
Dec. - - - - - A. M. Cheney.

COLLOQUY—*In French,*
*By* Misses S. Newton and M. B. Campbell.

Dec. - - - - - J. S. Tourtellot.
Dec. - - - - - F. E. Knight.
Dec. - - - - - - S. A. Cooke.

THE SUICIDE—*A Tragedy.*

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Alphonso Bellamy, - - P. R. Minard.
Abraham Bellamy, his father, S. C. Johnson.
Orville, his friend, - - - P. C. Bacon.
John, a boy, - - - E. M. Aldrich.
Dec. - - - - - - S. Penniman.
Dec. - - - - - E. M. Aldrich.

*MUSIC.*

*Non Sum Qualis Eram*—A Dialogue.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Zig Zag, - - - - - S. G. Cole.
Father of Zig Zag, - - - B. D. Hyde.
Blunt, a farmer, - - - S. C. Fiske.
Underweigh, a traveller, - B. F. Corey.
Politarche, a lawyer, - N. Holbrook.

### AFTERNOON.

Declamation, ~~in Greek~~, ~~F. Nichols.~~
Dec. - - - - - S. S. Mason.

*HOT COCKLES*—A Colloquy.
*By* J. W. Spurr, *and* Frederick Wright.

Dec. - ~~M. Morse.~~

*The Fatal Beauty*—A Colloquy.
*By* Misses J. Mason, *and* A. Elwell.

*MUSIC.*

Dec. - - - - - E. Lamb.

*The Genteel Miss*—A Colloquy.
*By* Misses H. D. Southwick *and* J. Mason.

Dec. - - - - A. D. Carrol.
Dec. - - - - - A. Lyon.

*The Judge Found Guilty*—A Tragedy.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Duke Alberti, - - - S. G. Johnson.
Ducthess Leonora, - Miss C. Marcy.
Montaldi, Alberti's brother, B. Freeman.
Julian, the peasant boy, - S. C. Fiske.
Rosalie, Julian's friend, Miss L. C. Southwick.
Ludovico, - - - P. R. Minard.
Stefano, - - - C. Belknap.
Officers, Witnesses, Guards, &c.

*MUSIC.*

Dec. - - - - B. F. Corey.
Dec. - - - - - P. R. Minard.
Dec. - - - - S. G. Cole.

*Glory of Columbia*—A Tragedy.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Washington, - - - S. C. Johnson.
Arnold, - - - B. Freeman.
Melville, - - - S. S. Mason.
Bland, - - - A. M. Cheney.

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