PIZARRO

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PIZARRO:
A TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS

Richard Brinsley Sheridan

edited by Selena Couture and Alexander Dick

broadview editions

BROADVIEW PRESS – www.broadviewpress.com
Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

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Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 1751–1816, author
Pizarro : a tragedy in five acts / Richard Brinsley
Sheridan ; edited by Selena Couture and Alexander Dick.

(Broadview editions)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-1-55481-154-0 (softcover)

1. Pizarro, Francisco, approximately 1475–1541—Drama.
I. Couture, Selena, editor II. Dick, Alexander J., 1970–, editor
III. Title. IV. Kotzebue, August von, 1761–1819 . Spanier in
Peru. V. Series: Broadview editions

PR3682.P59 2017 822'.6 C2017-902618-6

Broadview Editions
The Broadview Editions series is an effort to represent the ever-evolving canon of texts in the disciplines of literary studies, history, philosophy, and political theory. A distinguishing feature of the series is the inclusion of primary source documents contemporaneous with the work.

Advisory editor for this volume: Michel Pharand

Broadview Press handles its own distribution in North America
PO Box 1243, Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7H5, Canada
555 Riverwalk Parkway, Tonawanda, NY 14150, USA
Tel: (705) 743-8990; Fax: (705) 743-8353
email: customerservice@broadviewpress.com

Distribution is handled by Eurospan Group in the UK, Europe, Central Asia, Middle East, Africa, India, Southeast Asia, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Distribution is handled by Footprint Books in Australia and New Zealand.

Broadview Press acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for our publishing activities.

Typesetting and assembly: True to Type Inc., Claremont, Canada
Cover Design: Lisa Brawn

PRINTED IN CANADA

Introduction

First performed in 1799, Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *Pizarro* was the most popular play of its time. With spectacular scenery, historical characters, an exotic setting, rousing music, and stirring patriotism, *Pizarro* became a staple of world theatre into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries. There are many "firsts" in *Pizarro*: the first use of music alongside action (rather than *entracte*), the first collapsing set, the first production to inspire celebratory ephemera such as cartoons, portraits, postcards, and even porcelain collector plates. *Pizarro* marks the end of eighteenth-century drama and the birth of a new theatrical culture.

The plot of *Pizarro* is as melodramatic as its production values. Its subject is the Spanish Conquest of the Incan Empire in Peru in the early sixteenth century.[1] It opens on "a magnificent Pavilion" where Francisco Pizarro Gonzalez and his conquistadores debate plans to subdue the Incas and kill their former compatriot, Alonzo, who has switched his allegiance to the Peruvian side and married a Peruvian woman, Cora, formerly betrothed to the warrior Rolla. The Spanish attack the Peruvians at their capital during a ceremony. Alonzo is captured during the battle and condemned to death. When Pizarro's mistress, Elvira, who has come with him to Peru, learns that he intends to kill Alonzo, she turns against him and enlists Alonzo's help to assassinate Pizarro. Meanwhile, goaded by Cora, Rolla secretly takes Alonzo's place, where Elvira finds him and they agree to murder Pizarro. They sneak into his tent, but Rolla cannot kill a sleeping man. He wakes Pizarro and reveals Elvira's plot. Pizarro condemns her to death and frees Rolla. Alonzo and Cora reunite but Spanish soldiers kidnap their young son. As Rolla is leaving the Spanish camp, he rescues the baby but is wounded during the escape, though he lives long enough to return the boy to Cora. Pizarro attacks and, while he and Alonzo fight, Elvira appears, distracting him so that Alonzo can kill him. The play ends with Rolla's magnificent funeral.

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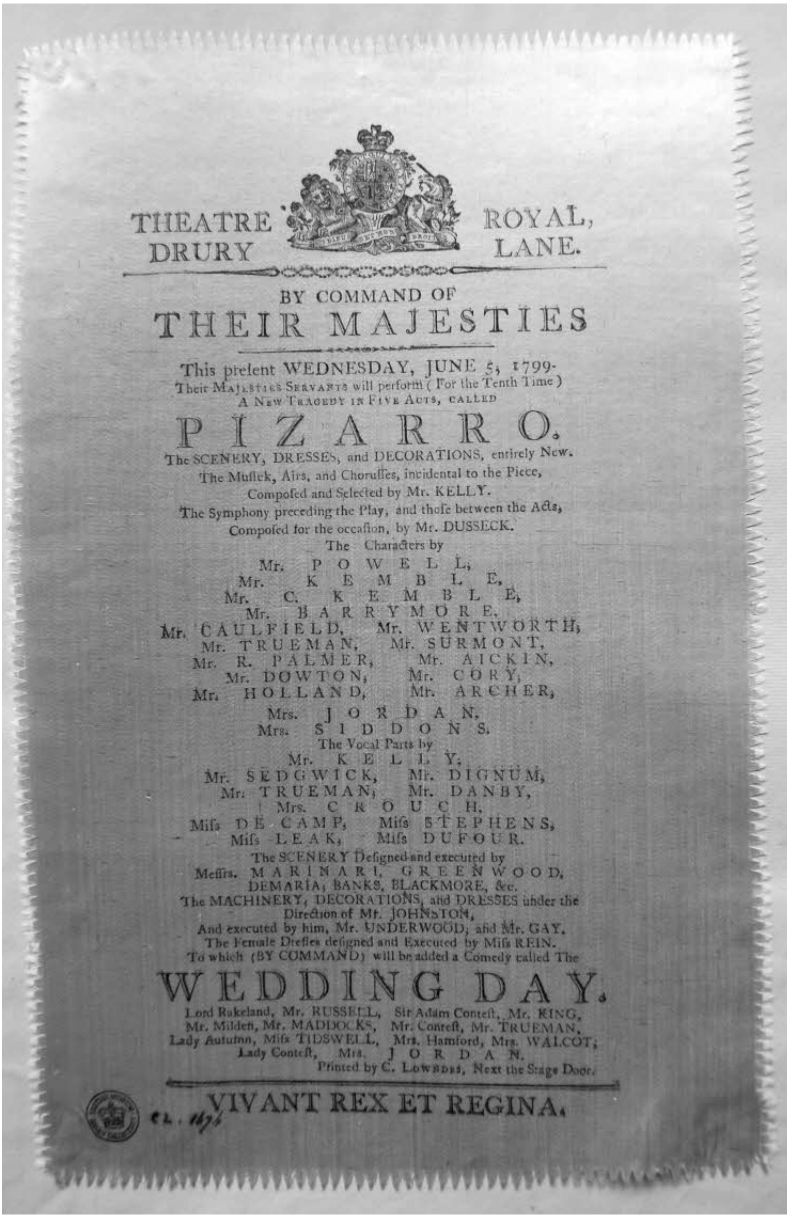
[1] We mark, through capitalization, the European concept of the "Spanish Conquest" which was the subject of Kotzebue's play and Sheridan's adaptation. Scholars now usually refer to the Spanish imperial invasion of the Americas to reflect the fact that Indigenous peoples there were never fully "conquered." Our commentary aims to reflect this.



THEATRE ROYAL,
DRURY LANE.

BY COMMAND OF
THEIR MAJESTIES

This preſent WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 1799.
Their MAJESTIES SERVANTS will perform (For the Tenth Time)
A NEW TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS, CALLED

PIZARRO.

The SCENERY, DRESSES, and DECORATIONS, entirely New.
The Muſick, Airs, and Choruſſes, incidental to the Piece,
Compoſed and Selected by Mr. KELLY.
The Symphony preceding the Play, and thoſe between the Acts,
Compoſed for the occaſion, by Mr. DUSSECK.
The Characters by
Mr. POWELL,
Mr. KEMBLE,
Mr. C. KEMBLE,
Mr. BARRYMORE,
Mr. CAULFIELD, Mr. WENTWORTH,
Mr. TRUEMAN, Mr. SURMONT,
Mr. R. PALMER, Mr. AICKIN,
Mr. DOWTON, Mr. CORY,
Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. ARCHER,
Mrs. JORDAN,
Mrs. SIDDONS.
The Vocal Parts by
Mr. KELLY,
Mr. SEDGWICK, Mr. DIGNUM,
Mr. TRUEMAN, Mr. DANBY,
Mrs. CROUCH,
Miſs DE CAMP, Miſs STEPHENS,
Miſs LEAK, Miſs DUFOUR.
The SCENERY Deſigned and executed by
Meſſrs. MARINARI, GREENWOOD,
DEMARIA, BANKS, BLACKMORE, &c.
The MACHINERY, DECORATIONS, and DRESSES under the
Direction of Mr. JOHNSTON,
And executed by him, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. GAY.
The Female Dreſſes deſigned and Executed by Miſs REIN.
To which (BY COMMAND) will be added a Comedy called The

WEDDING DAY.

Lord Rakeland, Mr. RUSSELL, Sir Adam Conteſt, Mr. KING,
Mr. Milden, Mr. MADDOCKS, Mr. Conteſt, Mr. TRUEMAN,
Lady Autumn, Miſs TIDSWELL, Mrs. Hamford, Mrs. WALCOT,
Lady Conteſt, Mrs. JORDAN.
Printed by C. LOWNDES, Next the Stage Door.

VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

CL. 1676

Figure 1: Playbill for Royal Command Performance (5 June 1799).

As this brief summary shows, the play's melodramatic rivalries and clamorous rhetoric are redolent of colonial and international conflict. When the play opened in May 1799, Britain was at war with post-Revolutionary France. The press was full of fears of French invasion, reports of British and allied defeats, and accounts of a tenacious young military genius, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). The global theatre of this war, extending to the Indian subcontinent and South America, was making Britain's colonial power seem increasingly fragile. The London theatres, a critical medium of popular culture and political commentary, often represented government efforts to maintain this global Empire. The aim of this edition is to present *Pizarro* and its production history as an especially revealing node in a complex genealogy of celebrity, spectacle, indigeneity, and colonialism. This edition is thus part of a broader scholarly intervention: the persistent preference for domestic comedy among theatre companies and literary scholars alike that sidelined *Pizarro* throughout the twentieth century has been replaced by a wider interest in the global context of British Romanticism, its media culture, and its international and inter-racial conflicts. *Pizarro* is important not only because it is about such conflicts told through the allegorical lens of the Spanish invasion of Peru but also because it manifests the fundamental ambiguity of colonial nationalism: both staunchly patriotic about the distinctiveness and superiority of the British national character and, under the triple pressures of war, empire, and insurgency, curiously self-aware that this "character" was neither strong nor unique. The particular focus of this edition is the way in which *Pizarro* "performs" indigeneity. This is a play that asks, What is a "native" person? And by what right did the dominant powers of Europe claim authority over the Americas or anywhere else? *Pizarro* also invites discussion of the roles that theatrical performance, adaptation, translation, reception, and character play in ongoing conversations about imperialism, gender, and indigeneity. Accordingly, our edition provides a broad context for examining the political dynamics of Romantic-era theatre and the ways in which it mirrors and defines an emerging public culture. Our appendices include a selection of material on the history of European colonialism in Peru and of the dramatic representation of Indigenous Americans on the British stage, as well as reviews and critiques of the play's initial productions. The introduction elucidates how production values *and* colonial representations combined and entangled through initial performances and theatrical legacy.

Pizarro and the Politics of Adaptation

Richard Brinsley Sheridan was born in Dublin in 1751, the son of the actor, theatre-manager, and elocutionist Thomas Sheridan (1719–88) and the writer and playwright Frances Sheridan (1724–66). Sheridan's early childhood was full of upheaval: his father frequently changed occupations and moved house to evade creditors, though the family finally settled in London in 1758. Though Sheridan always claimed Dublin as his spiritual home, and associations with both the Protestant Ascendancy and Gaelic peoples of Ireland notwithstanding, he never returned to his native land after the age of seven. Sheridan was educated as a gentleman: he attended the elite Harrow school, was taught fencing and horsemanship, and spent much of his youth in a state of polite ennui. He also had a flair for drama and flamboyance. In 1771, while visiting the resort city of Bath, he met and fell in love with the singing sensation of the day, Elizabeth Linley (1754–92). The couple went to France in March 1772, possibly to avoid a nasty encounter with Captain Thomas Matthews, a married man who had been pursuing Linley. Matthews published a scurrilous account of the couple in the *Bath Chronicle* inviting Sheridan to defend Elizabeth's honour. Sheridan and Matthews duelled (with swords) near Hyde Park on 4 May. Sheridan won the duel without hurting Matthews and demanded that he publicly retract his article. Matthews complied, but he was so enraged by the resulting publicity that he challenged Sheridan to another swordfight; this time Matthews won and Sheridan was severely wounded, though he recovered within a week. Sheridan and Linley marred in April 1773.

These events became the loose basis for Sheridan's first play, *The Rivals*, first performed at Covent Garden in 1775. Though it bombed on its opening night, Sheridan's revisions to his comedy about Lydia Languish, her beloved Captain Jack Absolute, the hilarious Mrs. Malaprop (whose vocabulary is widely thought to satirize Thomas Sheridan's views on language), and a new cast won over the fickle London audiences. It remains a standard of the English comic repertoire. Sheridan followed the play later the same year with a comic operetta, *The Duenna*, which was even more successful. On the backs of these triumphs, Sheridan entered into a partnership with Elizabeth's father Thomas Linley

(1733–95) to purchase Drury Lane Theatre in 1776. Sheridan became the theatre's manager and immediately mounted a series of revivals and adaptations of stock Restoration comedies as well as two of his own plays, *The School for Scandal* (1777), still his most successful work and a scathing satire on the culture of "sensibility" then pervading English literary culture, and *The Critic* (1779), which lambasted the country's burgeoning obsession with celebrity.

Having proved himself to be an adept satirist of English media and culture, and though he remained principal owner of Drury Lane for the rest of his life, in the 1780s Sheridan turned his attention to another theatrical milieu, Parliament, becoming MP for the corrupt borough of Stafford (one of many boroughs so small that the electorate could be bribed or influenced in this time before secret ballots) and a leading front-bench member of the Whig opposition along with Edmund Burke (1729–97) and Charles James Fox (1749–1806). Although Sheridan was an active Parliamentarian, he held few government offices, as the Whig party was in opposition for most of his career. In an age of champion political rhetoricians, Sheridan was one of the most popular, his crowning achievement being his part in the prosecution of Warren Hastings in 1788 (see below). These successes were marred, however, by the pressures of opposition and the challenges of running a major theatre company, which Sheridan did until the 1810s. He was routinely excoriated in the press as a shallow and persuadable politician who cared far more for his own interests than for those of the nation or his constituencies, even though he often stood for democratic causes. *Pizarro,* his first full-length literary effort in almost twenty years, was met with as much ridicule as praise. Sheridan's family life was also complicated. He had one son with his first wife, Elizabeth, who also had a daughter with her lover in 1792, dying soon after. The baby also died at 18 months in 1793. Sheridan married Hester Jane Ogle (1775–1817) in 1795 and they had a son. Sheridan remained in Parliament until 1812 when he lost his seat, after which, having lost the presumption of government immunity, he was hounded by his creditors until his death in 1816. In spite of these hardships, Sheridan was celebrated by notables of the day, such as Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) and Lord Byron (1788–1824), as the Protean genius of British comedy.

Ascribing the success of *Pizarro* to Sheridan's dramatic instincts is a thorny issue mainly because it was *not* an original composition. Sheridan adapted his play from a ten-act, two-part melodrama, *Die Sonnenjungfrau* (*The Virgin of the Sun*) and *Die Spanier in Peru* (*The Spaniards in Peru*), by the celebrated German playwright August von Kotzebue (1761–1819). Sheridan had been proprietor of Drury Lane Theatre since 1776, and the expense of mounting costly productions, with new scenery and impressive effects, meant that it was always a losing concern. In 1791, to create space for larger audiences, Sheridan had the old Drury Lane (built in 1674) demolished; "New Drury" opened in 1794 with a "cavernous" auditorium holding more than 3,600 people. It featured the latest in stage spectacle and scenic technologies and was built to withstand their rigorous demands, putting further strains on the company's finances (Thomson 310–11). Sheridan was barely able to pay his leading actors. A massively entertaining play by a famous author was the only solution to mounting debt.

Kotzebue was an obvious choice. Born into a wealthy merchant family in Weimar in 1761, the friend of writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), he became a political and cultural minister in Russia, Austria, and throughout Germany. As the author of a number of notorious novels and spectacular melodramas related to the *Sturm und Drang*[1] tradition, August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue was already well known in Britain by the 1790s. Though often excoriated by critics, the risqué themes of Kotzebue's plays—personal liberty, pre-marital sex, and illegitimacy—guaranteed full houses. Drury Lane had mounted a lucrative production of his *Menschenhass und Reue* (translated as *The Stranger*) in 1798 featuring lead actors John Philip Kemble (1757–1823) and Sarah Siddons (1755–1831); the same year, Covent Garden produced Kotzebue's *Das Kind der Liebe* (*The Natural Child*), translated as *Lovers' Vows* by Elizabeth Inchbald

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[1] Translated as "storm and stress," this German theatre movement is named after Friedrich Maximilian Klinger's (1752–1831) play of the same name (1776). It was a loose group of German playwrights who were inspired by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), which criticized Enlightenment rationalism and celebrated the sincerity of a natural, authentic humanity. Their plays emphasized German national feeling and included strong protagonists with an emphasis on freedom and untrammelled genius (Nellhaus et al. 275–78).

(1753–1821), the scandalous play that the young characters try to mount in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814).

Of course, not everyone was happy with this "invasion" of German drama. Contemporary reactions to Kotzebue's popularity show both an emerging Romantic aesthetic of originality and its nationalistic impetus. "Sickly and stupid German Tragedies" (747), as William Wordsworth (1770–1850) called them in the Preface to his *Lyrical Ballads* (published in 1800 while *Pizarro* was being staged), were prominent in the English theatrical repertoire through the period and were even referred to as "Kotzebue-mania" (see Appendix E6). Kotzebue-mania is an addiction to a false and delusive yet irresistible artistic drug, but these symptoms also hide something far more serious: an invasion of foreign literary standards, weakening and conquering the otherwise healthy state of British literary taste such that "crimes were metamorphosed into virtues, and religion and decency were thrown aside like old garments" (p. 203). The issue was not whether a play had been imitated, but how such imitations could exist alongside unchangeable moral values.

The London patent theatres[1] had a long tradition of mounting and adapting classic plays, and Sheridan was personally involved in productions of plays by Henry Fielding (1707–54), David Garrick (1717–79), Joseph Addison (1672–1719), and especially William Congreve (1670–1729). In 1777, Sheridan staged an adaptation of Sir John Vanbrugh's comedy *The Relapse* (1696) as *A Trip to Scarborough*, to considerable acclaim. *The Critic*, Sheridan's last full-length play before *Pizarro*, satirized the bombastic theatre of his time and owes considerable debts to Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (1691) and Garrick's *A Peep Behind the Curtain* (1767). Critics of *Pizarro* later noted how often Sheridan flouted his own injunctions against theatrical excess written two decades earlier.[2]

Adapting *Die Spanier in Peru* cost Sheridan considerable time and effort.[1] Sheridan could not read German, so his first task was to find a suitable translation. His initial partner in the venture was Matthew "Monk" Lewis (1775–1818), whose Gothic romance tragedy *The Castle Spectre* (1796) had run for an impressive 47 nights the previous season and who had successfully translated Kotzebue and Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) for other productions (Cox and Gamer xix). Lewis's role was to "furnish the *literal* translation, and the Epilogue" while Sheridan took responsibility for "a new Catastrophe" and "a Song or two" (Lewis, qtd. in Peck 77; emphasis in original). Sarah Siddons and Dorothy Jordan (1761–1816) were already slated for major parts. "Drury Lane," Lewis remarked, "needs something as strong as this union, for at present they are playing to Empty Benches" (qtd. in Peck 77). Lewis knew that he was not the only partner, writing to a friend in January 1799 that such "a great many cooks" were already "employed" on the play "that it will be high luck, if the Broth be not spoiled." Lewis finished his translation, but Sheridan was apparently "vexatious and uncertain" about it and made Lewis "want to give up the bargain" (Lewis, qtd. in Peck 77). That *Pizarro* became so successful was later a sore point with Lewis, who was neither acknowledged for his participation nor paid. Still, Lewis did eventually publish his translation as *Rolla; or the Peruvian Hero* to favourable reviews.

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[1] After his restoration to the English throne in 1660, Charles II issued royal patents to two London theatre companies to perform "serious" drama. By the time *Pizarro* was performed, the three patent theatres were Drury Lane and Covent Garden, which closed in the summer when the Theatre Royal, Haymarket operated.

[2] See the anonymous writings *A Critique of the Tragedy of Pizarro* (Appendix E2) and "Mr. Sheridan" (Appendix E5).

Sheridan finally paid £100 for a new translation that, although the newspapers reported it to be "so unintelligible that little use could be made of it," became the foundation for *Pizarro*. Now at the Harvard University Library, the manuscript translation represents an "intermediate version" between Kotzebue's original and *Pizarro*.[2] It contains Sheridan's revisions and notes, Rolla's monumental funeral in Act V, and several major extensions to Elvira's part suitable for Sheridan's star, Sarah Siddons. Sheridan worked on the play, still called "Rolla," whenever he could around his political obligations. He took the draft with him on parliamentary business to Staines (near his country house) and Winchester, where he dictated revisions to his secretary Henry Burgess. Sheridan told his wife that he had "been going over Rolla with Kemble who is just returned from Scotland. All the Scenery Dresses and musick are going on" (*Letters* II, 109–10).

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[1] News that Sheridan had "been for some weeks" working on it was already in the papers in December 1798. The *Monthly Mirror* and the *Oracle* reported that, knowing of the success that both of Kotzebue's Peruvian plays were enjoying in Vienna, Sheridan planned to combine them into a single five-act super-play. See Price 625.

[2] The identity of this translator remains a mystery. The likeliest candidate is either Constantine or Maria Geisweiler, both German immigrants; the former was a bookseller who soon after Sheridan's version of *Pizarro* was published translated it back into German. The latter had published at least two other translations of Kotzebue. See Price 645–46.

Toward the end of March, Sheridan learned that Anne Plumptre (1760–1818), Kotzebue's most prominent English translator, was about to publish *The Virgin of the Sun* and *The Spaniards in Peru.* On 30 March, he wrote a thinly veiled threat to her publisher, Richard Phillips: "I am confident that no consideration would induce you to spoil the first Nights effect of our Rolla by a previous publisher on your Part. Therefore tho' I have paid no credit to the Rumour I trouble you with this Line" (*Letters* II, 111). Sheridan wrote a bond to Phillips on 2 May, stating that he would "repay Mr. Phillips what he has paid Miss Plumptre for The Spaniards in Peru and pay him tomorrow fifty Pounds over, Mr. S taking the risk of publication on himself.... Mr. Phillips is to withhold the publication of Miss Plumptre's Spaniards in Peru for three weeks or till that Day after the Play call'd Pizarro shall have been performed at Drury-Lane-Theatre" (*Letters* II, 112). Sheridan's gamble paid off: his adaptation was (and remains) better known than Kotzebue's original. Plumptre's translations finally appeared, though very much in the shadow of Sheridan's production. An advertisement in the *Morning Herald* for 4 June remarked that she had "been singularly fortunate in having had nearly the whole of her translations performed on the English stage" and, remarkably (since Sheridan's version was still playing), that "The *Spaniards in Peru, or Death of Rolla* is now performing at Drury-lane, under the title of *Pizarro*; and her *Virgin of the Sun* was performed for a few nights since, at Canterbury."[1]

The production was also beset by delays. New sets had to be designed and built for the Temple of the Sun, featuring massive backdrops, sculpture-work, and glowing fireballs lowered from the ceiling, and for the bridge that collapses during the climactic rescue scene. Sheridan insisted that the play feature music throughout, not only between scenes as was customary in "serious" dramas performed at the patent theatres. The Irish composer Michael Kelly (1762–1826) was commissioned to write original music. As Kelly later reported, he hectored Sheridan for weeks to finish the play so that he could write the music. Sheridan repeatedly told him to wait and then, a few days before opening, dragged Kelly from a dinner party to the theatre:

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[1] The confluence did not go unnoticed. The *St. James Chronicle* reported on 25 May that while the morning papers had published "long and partial panegyricks" on *Pizarro* "and its incomparable editor" they also adverted that "Miss Plumptre's *Spaniards in Peru,* translated from Kotzebue, is 'identically Pizarro of Drury Lane!!'" That same morning, *The Oracle and Daily Advertiser* and *The Sun* had in fact advertised Plumptre's translation adjacent to their reviews of *Pizarro*'s opening night. *The True Briton* advertised the Drury Lane performance of Sheridan's version and the publication of Lewis's *Rolla* on the same page.

> The great author established himself in the centre of the pit, with a large bowl of negus [hot sweetened spiced port] on the bench before him; nor would he move until it was finished. I expostulated with him upon the cruelty of not letting me have the words which I had to compose, not to speak of his having taken me away from my friends, to see scenery and machinery, with which, as I was neither painter, nor carpenter, nor machinist, I could have nothing to do: his answer was, that he wished me to see the Temple of the Sun, in which the choruses and marches were to come over the platform.—"To-morrow," said he, "I promise I will come and take a cutlet with you, and tell you all you have to do. My dear Mic, you know you can depend upon me; and I know that I can depend upon you; but these bunglers of carpenters require looking after." (M. Kelly, *Reminiscences* 160)

The next day, Sheridan outlined his expectations. Kelly "sang two or three bars of music to him, which … corresponded with what he wished, and marked them down." Sheridan "then made a sort of rumbling noise with his voice (for he had not the smallest idea of turning a tune), resembling a deep gruff bow, wow, wow; but though there was not the slightest resemblance of an air in the noise he made, yet so clear were his ideas of effect, that I perfectly understood his meaning." A few days later, Sheridan delivered "Cora's Song"—one of his few original contributions—and with this section of the operatic elements of the play in hand, Kelly turned to a collaborator, John Richardson, to complete the choruses. With little time to prepare, and following established theatrical precedent, Kelly borrowed a good deal of popular music from other well-known composers, many of whom had previously been employed in London (M. Kelly, *Reminiscences* 158–64).

Legend has it that Sheridan had yet to complete *Pizarro* when the curtain rose on the first night. The memoirist John Britton (1771–1857) recalled that "when the performance began, the author was in his room at the theatre, meditating on, and writing the concluding sentences, and it was not till the end of the first act that he placed them in the hands of the famed actress" Sarah Siddons (Britton 129–30). Kelly's account is even more dramatic: "at the time the house was over flowing on the first night's performance, all that was written of the play was actually rehearsing, and that, incredible as it may appear, until the end of the fourth act, neither Mrs. Siddons, nor Charles Kemble,[1] nor Barrymore, had all their speeches for the fifth!" (*Reminiscences* 163). To save time, Sheridan recycled a prologue he had written in 1781 for *The Miniature Picture* by his friend, Lady Elizabeth Craven (1750–1828), and which has nothing whatsoever to do with *Pizarro*. Sheridan also had no time to edit. When *Pizarro* finally opened on 24 May the performance was almost five hours long. Many reviewers suggested that several passages were unnecessary, including an entire comic scene involving Alonzo's servant Diego being interviewed by Pizarro and relating the back-story for Cora and Rolla.[2] Sheridan cut it and redacted many other dialogue scenes. But the other reason for the play's length was the response to Rolla's speech in Act II: the speech garnered so much applause that Kemble had to recite it two or three times a night.

The play ran for 31 performances, finally closing on 4 July. It was revived during the 1800 season; on playbills for other productions at Drury Lane, London playgoers were assured that *Pizarro* would return and that tickets would be available—and the play quickly entered the standard repertoire. When Kemble left Drury Lane to take over the management of Covent Garden, he took *Pizarro* with him, mounting a new production in 1807. A published version, listing Sheridan as the adaptor of Kotzebue,

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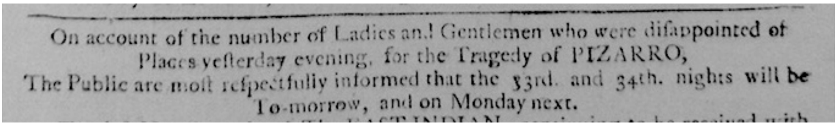
[1] Charles Kemble (1775–1854) played Alonzo, the Spanish soldier who marries Cora and fights with the Peruvians. He was a younger brother of John Philip Kemble and Sarah Siddons. A minor actor compared to his famous siblings, he married Theresa De Camp (1774–1838) in 1806, and their oldest daughter, Frances (Fanny) Kemble (1809–93), was also a notable actor, writer, and abolitionist. De Camp played one of the Virgins of the Sun in *Pizarro*, although she and Kemble were not yet married.

[2] The scene is extant in Lewis, Plumptre, and Thomas Dutton (1770–1815). See Appendix A for Sheridan's original in the manuscript.



On account of the number of Ladies and Gentlemen who were diſappointed of
Places yeſterday evening, for the Tragedy of PIZARRO,
The Public are moſt reſpectfully informed that the 33rd. and 34th. nights will be
To-morrow, and on Monday next.

Figure 2: Announcement of *Pizarro* returning for a second season (12 December 1799).

was published on 25 June 1799. None of the other translations rivalled the popularity of Sheridan's, which went through 21 editions in its first year. The published version of *Pizarro* is heavily edited, its spectacle reduced to simple stage directions and its music and choruses barely mentioned, with the exception of Cora's song. In publishing the play in this form, Sheridan was following convention: published drama was never intended to replace performance. But he was also appeasing his critics, who had been astonished at the play's popularity and impressed (not always favourably) by its spectacle and rancor. Several critical responses to the play followed, many of which admonished Sheridan for altering the history of the Spanish Conquest and for overusing theatrical effects. These criticisms slipped into politics: Sheridan and other key parliamentary figures were associated with its main characters in the popular press and in political cartoons. When King George III (r. 1760–1820) and the royal family returned to Drury Lane on 5 June for the first time in five years, cartoonists pilloried Sheridan for his apostasy. *Pizarro* came to define the mixed cultural dynamics of the late 1790s, blending radicalism and patriotism, originality and adaptation, intellectual heft and spectacular celebrity. In the process, Sheridan brought debates about European colonization that had been underway for decades into the cultural mainstream.

Historical Sources and Colonial Contexts

Pizarro was part of an established vogue in Europe for South American history, and especially the exploits of Francisco Pizarro (1470s–1541) in Peru. This vogue was itself a response to the Peruvian and Colombian Mestizaje rebellions against Spain in the 1770s. But the Conquest of Peru had been a literary subject since the sixteenth century and was especially popular in the mid-eighteenth century, when criticisms of religious and especially Catholic dogmatism became a hallmark of European thought. Kotzebue's plays are themselves adaptations of a contemporary best-seller on the same topic, the 1777 historical novel *Les Incas, ou la destruction de l'empire du Pérou* by the French historian Jean-François Marmontel (1723–99; see Appendix B3). Translated into English soon after appearing in French, *Les Incas* denounced the Spanish Conquest of the Americas and the hypocritical religiosity of Spain's claims to do so by divine right, but it did so in the form of a "fiction" or "narrative" in which the sentiments and feelings of the characters were a more important marker of historical significance than their actions. It was Marmontel who devised many of the characters that Kotzebue, and eventually Sheridan, would use. As in the theatrical versions of the story, much of its action revolves around the Spaniards' erroneous justification for invasion. Marmontel focuses his criticisms of the Church on the sinister figure of Valverde, who persuades the Spanish to ignore the entreaties of the sympathetic and enlightened priest, Bartolomé de Las Casas (who in reality had never been to Peru). After the Peruvian king Atahualpa (whom Marmontel is the first to call "Ataliba") throws a proffered Bible to the ground, Valverde orders the vengeful attack. The novel's climax pits Pizarro against Ataliba, casting the encounter as a conflict between the demagoguery, hypocrisy, and greed of the Europeans and the innocent, stately liberalism of the Peruvians.[1] But Marmontel also foregrounds the moral ambiguities of his story. While hardly a paragon of civic virtue, Pizarro nevertheless regrets at key points the effects of his destructive actions: such displays of manly remorse were commonplace in the literature of sensibility and served to humanize otherwise villainous characters. One of Marmontel's central characters is Orozimbo, an Aztec Prince and warrior who arrives in Peru ahead of the Spanish to recount to the Peruvians the conquistadores' invasion of Mexico. In Sheridan, Orozimbo appears only as a defiant Peruvian prisoner executed by Pizarro; in Marmontel he is a proto-Byronic outsider, a role that Kotzebue and Sheridan transformed into the neo-classical figure of Rolla.

Marmontel's account of the Spanish invasion was in turn based on the final chapters of the Jesuit Abbé Guillaume Thomas François Raynal's (1713–1796) *Histoire philosophique des deux Indes*, translated into English in 1777 as *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East*

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[1] The Peruvian king is variously referred to as Atahualpa, Ataliba, Atabalipa, and Atau Wallpa by European and American authors alike. We will refer to him as "Ataliba" in accordance with Sheridan and Kotzebue.

and West Indies and the most comprehensive account of European colonial expansion to date (see Appendix B2). Both Marmontel and Raynal sympathized strongly with the peoples who had been "conquered" by the Spanish invaders under the leaderships of Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) and, later, Pizarro.[1] In some respects, they portray the Peruvians as "innocents" or "children of nature" utterly under the command of their king or Inca, at this time Ataliba (Feldman 22–23). But they also note—as do several of the earlier dramas about the Spanish Conquest—that Ataliba had become the Inca only after a protracted civil war that, the Spanish knew, had left them in a vulnerable state politically and militarily. For Raynal, the contrast between the Peruvians and the Spanish was at heart theological. The Peruvian religion is polytheistic, naturalistic, and above all oral: divine law is enacted through the Inca's decree. In contrast, Spanish theology is rooted in biblical texts and doctrinal niceties. Ataliba's rejection of the Bible instigates the slaughter of his people—though Raynal and Marmontel are both clear that the entire scene was a ploy.

The most significant English account of the Spanish invasion was the Scottish Whig historian William Robertson's *History of America* (see Appendix B4). First published in three volumes in 1777, Robertson's *History* portrays Pizarro and his compatriots as focused mainly on acquiring as much gold and silver as they could mine; like his French contemporaries, Robertson denounces the violent excesses of Spanish colonialism. But unlike Raynal and Marmontel, Robertson describes Peru as a sophisticated culture, albeit at an early stage of social development, according to the stadial theory of history[2] developed by him and other Scottish historians. "In Peru," Robertson says, "agriculture … was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America." Indeed, Peru's agricultural system was "regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community" (p. 168). Because Peru has no native river system, the Peruvians constructed "artificial canals" built "with much patience and considerable art," and experimented with manure and basic plowing. Robertson also documents the Peruvians' skill in building houses in a variety of environments and regions, though "it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance" (p. 169). Peru did not, Robertson admitted, have proper cities, an established bureaucracy, or commercial ties with other American nations such as the Aztecs in Mexico, and this accounts for their defeat. Robertson also agreed with Raynal that a protracted civil war between rival claimants to the Inca throne also accounts for the Peruvians inability to mount a successful defence. Although the invasion was malicious and self-serving, it was in Robertson's account almost inevitable, as the Spanish had both superior military technology and spiritual justification for their exploitation of the Peruvian territories.

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[1] Raynal's history was banned (and burned!) in France in 1779 for its criticisms of the way in which Catholic doctrine could so easily be used to endorse imperial expansion and tyranny.

[2] The stadial theory of historical development proposed that societies progressed through stages, such as from hunting and gathering to pastoralism, then nomadism, then agricultural, and finally to industrial commercial-based. Stadial theory was influential in colonial policy making; for example, between 1888 and1896, after the signing of the Prairie numbered treaties in Canada, North-West Territories Indian commissioner Hayter Reed refused to allow Indigenous people to use farm machinery, insisting that they could not transition directly from buffalo hunting to mechanized farming without first becoming peasant farmers with hand tools (Ray 256).

Several poems on the same subject appeared in the following years, the most significant of which is Helen Maria Williams's sentimental epic poem *Peru*, first published in 1784 and revised and expanded in 1786.[1] It focuses more definitively on the effects of the Spanish Conquest on the "natural" arts and domestic life of the Peruvians. Like Marmontel, Williams conceives of "Peruvia" as emblematic of a Rousseauian "state of nature," corrupted and ultimately ruined by the bloodlust of the conquistadores. As Paula Feldman has shown, Williams offered a stark contrast between the "native grace" of the Peruvian king, Atilaba, and the "savage pomp" of the Spanish. Also like Marmontel, Williams omits any mention of the Peruvians' civil conflicts, embodying them as a single, harmonious race and embossing her descriptions of them with allusions to Genesis and *Paradise Lost.* Satan-like, Pizarro hoodwinks the Peruvian monarch with eloquent promises of power and virtue before slaughtering his innocent people. Also like Marmontel, Williams puts Las Casas in the middle of the action, with an extended subplot in which the intellectual, enlightened priest is captured and tortured for his anti-colonial views by Pizarro's secretary, Valverde. In the end, Pizarro is killed in a duel with his underling, Almagro, over a petty claim to the Peruvian gold, a clear indication, for Williams, of their divorce from natural feelings or religious truth. Williams's poem was celebrated for its portrayal of the tragic love story between Alonso and Cora, who, in Williams's version, dies at the thought of her country's destruction and leaves her child to her lover's care. Williams's poetic vision, then, is of Peru/Cora as a proto-Romantic ruin, from the destruction of which arises a new hope for domestic affection, Christian benevolence, and progressive politics.

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[1] Helen Maria Williams (1761–1827) is best known for her eye-witness accounts of the French Revolution and Terror, published in 1790 as *Letters Written in France*. She was an accomplished poet and a central figure of the London Whig literary society in which Sheridan also moved.

Though it is not clear how well Sheridan knew Williams's poem, there are important parallels between it and *Pizarro*. Cora's song, one of the most celebrated elements of the play, though not based on Williams's poem, retains much of its sentimental energy.[1] But Sheridan transforms it from a scene of death to one of rebirth, recasting the tragic love plot as a national-colonial fantasy of marriage and miscegenation.[2] Indeed, Sheridan's version of the play, and especially his characterization of Alonzo, underlines the potential benefits of the European presence in America in contrast to the historical sources. In Acts III and IV, Sheridan's Alonzo recalls that the Peruvians were backward savages until he, Prometheus-like, brought them agriculture, leading them to the progressive state they are in when the Spanish finally attack. In this way, Sheridan made his Peru stand in for *both* American innocence and British progress *at the same time*—avoiding or possibly occluding any possibility of either colonial or anti-colonial criticism. Sheridan's adaptation of Kotzebue is but the last in a whole series of adaptations that inform not only the development of certain literary tropes—remorse, spectacle, improvement—but also the complex global orientation of the play. By the time Sheridan staged *Pizarro*, the ambivalent situation of the colonial American was already firmly entrenched in the European and British popular and intellectual canons; Sheridan's genius was to crystallize these ambiguities into a powerful and impressive dramatic medium, the effect of which was to transform the political complexities of globalization into a new *British* national identity.

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[1] See Canto VI, lines 51–112, in Paula Feldman's edition of Williams, *Peru and Peruvian Tales* 88–90. As they are on similar topics, we direct readers to this edition to make comparisons between Williams's poem and Sheridan's play.

[2] Nothing like "Cora's Song" exists in Kotzebue. Price (639–40) suggests that both of Cora's songs (in Acts III and IV) were inspired by some lines from Lewis's translation, though we are at a loss to see the connection.

British Theatre and the Spanish Conquest of America

To understand the roots of this distinctly British colonialist position and its influence on the British stage, we need to return to the original source for the above accounts of the Conquest of Peru. All eighteenth-century accounts of the Conquest are indebted to Bartolomé de las Casas (1481–1566), the Dominican Friar who, though he was one of the initial settlers of the Americas, later vociferously opposed the enslavement and exploitation of its Indigenous peoples and wrote at length about the genocidal tendencies of the conquistadores in several histories.[1] Las Casas is notable among early-modern documentarians for his extensive critique of both the use of "barbarian" to describe Americans and the presumption, derived from Aristotle, that non-European peoples were natural slaves. Describing and cataloguing the social, legal, and agricultural practices of Aztec, Inca, Mexican, and other societies, Las Casas produced not simply a defence of American civilization but the first genuinely *comparative* ethnology (Pagden 119–45). Translated first into French and then into English in 1656 by John Phillips (1631–1706) as *Tears of the Indians* (see Appendix B1), Las Casas's proto-anthropological treatises became at the same time important tools of anti-Spanish and, especially during the Puritan Commonwealth in England, anti-Catholic propaganda. In this respect, the fate of Las Casas's works demonstrates the split between pro-British and anti-colonial sentiment that permeates the intellectual genealogy behind *Pizarro*. Indeed, Las Casas's appearances in the first act of *Pizarro* (the scene is apocryphal: Las Casas was never in Peru), demonstrates a similar ambivalence. Las Casas speaks both for compassion for the Americans *and* as the opponent of Catholic extremism.

Dedicated to Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), then Lord Protector of the English Commonwealth, Phillips's translation was in large part a justification for the ongoing contention with Spain for control of the West Indies. It was followed almost immediately by a dramatization of the same events, William Davenant's *The*

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[1] Las Casas did not use the term "conquest," and once, in a prologue, referred to "atrocities which go by the name 'conquests'" (1992, 6).

Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru (1658; see Appendix C1). A cross between pre-1649 court masques and plays from after the 1660 Restoration, and employing spectacular scenery, costume, speech, acrobatics, music, and dance, Davenant's *Cruelty* is composed of six "entries" taking the audience from the peaceful Peruvian society before the invasion, to their civil war and the Spanish Conquest of their society. It then stages the torture of both Peruvians and English soldiers, ending with the liberation of the Peruvians by an English fleet—and the Peruvian gratitude to their saviours. Five years later, after the Restoration of the monarchy and the reopening of the public playhouses, John Dryden and Robert Howards's *The Indian Queen* (1663/4) dramatized the war between the Aztec and Incan empires before the Spanish invasion. Dryden (1631–1700) picked up the story again in *The Indian Emperour* (1667), which depicts Cortés attacking Montezuma with the help of the Taxallan Indians. Pizarro, one of Cortés's commanders, is characterized as vicious and greedy; the play includes a scene in which Pizarro and an unnamed Christian priest torture Montezuma and his High Priest in order to get them to reveal the gold they are hiding. Cortés, by contrast, is a more sympathetic figure and anticipates Marmontel's Pizarro and Kotzebue's and Sheridan's Alonzo. The play features a great deal of romantic intrigue and includes a scene where the vengeful Indigenous woman character, Almeria, tries to kill Cortés while he is imprisoned but falls in love with him. Cortés in turn tries to negotiate with Montezuma and falls in love with his daughter. Dryden's Cortés thus represents the benign and cosmopolitan imperialism that emerged during the Restoration.

Other dramatizations of the invasion written and produced during the 1790s also stressed the "British-Inca kinship" against a common Spanish/French foe and thus reveal, in Rebecca Cole Heinowitz's terms, a "constitutive overlap between apparently antithetical ideological positions" (70). Thomas Morton's historical play *Columbus*, performed at Covent Garden in 1792, concerns the "discovery" of America and the Conquest of Peru, truncating forty years of Spanish colonial history into a few hours (see Appendix C3). Columbus is presented as an honourable explorer who establishes good relations with the Inca. However, his crew rises up against him and sends him back to Spain. As in Marmontel, Alonzo falls in love with Cora; their relationship is discovered and she is condemned to death. Pizarro is renamed Roldan, who, as well as plundering the "innocent" Peruvians, captures the benign hero Columbus and takes him back to Spain as a traitor. Morton (c. 1765–1838) has an Orozimbo who, like Marmontel's Mexican prince, acts as Morton's American king. The climax of the play occurs amid the ruins of the Temple of the Sun as it is attacked by the Spanish forces; here again the love story embodies the possibility of a Euro-American colonial détente. The final scene of the play has Cora arrested by the Peruvian High Priest for betraying their city to their "barbarous foe," the Spaniards. As Cora is about to be executed by a firing squad of archers, Alonzo, presumed dead, appears to rescue her and the Peruvians prepare for the onslaught of the Conquistadores. The day is saved by Columbus's English mate, and Morton's hero, Herbert, who arrives with news that Columbus has landed and fought off Roldan and his malevolent crew. The play ends with a triumphal procession featuring Columbus, his sailors, a model ship, monks, bibles, banners, "Indian women scattering flowers," and the admiral announcing his joy at returning to Peru, his own "dear country" (p. 180). Ultimately, in the figures of Columbus, Herbert, and Alonzo, *Columbus* presents a benign version of colonialism based not on the massacre of Indigenous peoples but rather on respect for their proto-European monarchy, which enables the Europeans to exploit their natural resources. The play associates these colonial values with the British, whom, in the last lines of the play, Columbus calls the true benefactors of his mission: "Had I earlier known that England's monarch would have graced my fortunes with his victorious banner, then would your freedom [have] been firmly fixed.—They only, who themselves are free, give liberty to others" (p. 181).

The radical John Thelwall (1764–1834) also adapted Marmontel into *The Incas* in 1792 (see Appendix C2), though it was never staged. Like Morton's and Sheridan's, Thelwall's play is counter-historical: it imagines an alternative reality wherein a Spanish Conquest is averted when the Conquistadores are defeated by a Peruvian army led by an English soldier, Faulkland, Thelwall's version of Marmontel's Alonzo. Unlike the other plays on the subject, Thelwall's *begins* with an imagined victory over the Spanish: there are no Spanish characters on stage after the first act. The main action concerns Faulkland's mistreatment at the hands of the Peruvian monarch's spies and informants.[1] *The Incas* also has a Rolla figure, named Rocca, who befriends Faulkland and tries to substitute himself when Faulkland is to be sacrificed to the Incan sun god. Faulkland's trial for insurrection is clearly an allegory for the British government's intensifying persecution of "traitorous" radicals, a charge for which Thelwall would himself stand trial in 1794. Thelwall has Rocca deliver a triumphal speech in Faulkland's defence that anticipates in many respects the cadences of Rolla's famous speech in *Pizarro*. Thelwall had in fact submitted his play to Sheridan and Drury Lane, and when *Pizarro* was produced Thelwall tried to sue Sheridan (unsuccessfully) for plagiarism (Thelwall 83–84).

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[1] In his recent edition of the play, Michael Scrivener has found many parallels between *The Incas* and Thelwall's own political ambitions for revolution in Britain.

Like the historical sources, these dramatic treatments of the invasion of Peru were part of the broader Spanish-American "vogue" in the 1790s. As Rebecca Cole Heinowitz suggests, the Whig leaders were especially sensitive to the plight of the Mestizaje Andeans because they felt a strong affinity for a local aristocracy fighting an invading force, and because associating themselves with a seemingly anti-colonial power meant that Whigs and Tories alike could downplay the violence and injustice of their own anti-revolutionary policies. "While British radicals arguing against working-class disenfranchisements were jailed on charges of sedition," Heinowitz notes, "British ministers condemned Spain's social and political discrimination against creoles. While British reformers protesting inordinate taxation incurred the suspicion of the police, the Pitt administration listened sympathetically to creole insurgents' complaints regarding the unjust duties and taxes imposed by the mother country" (75). The slipperiness of Britain's colonial policy is the ultimate background for understanding *Pizarro.* Sheridan's treatment of Thelwall—whose *Incas* Sheridan barely acknowledged as existing, let alone as a source—is another indication of how, as a member of the political and literary mainstream, Sheridan could *at the same time* claim certain radical and anti-colonial affinities *and* maintain the patriotism of his work. Sheridan did not simply adapt a popular German play; he cultivated a politics of adaptation through which the conflicted stories and ambiguous plotlines of European colonial history were reformed to create a new and highly ambiguous imperial ideology.

Gender, Colonialism, and the Staging of *Pizarro*

If the genealogy of European interest in Spanish America transformed the Enlightenment critique of colonization into a mandate for imperial cosmopolitanism, then the first performances of

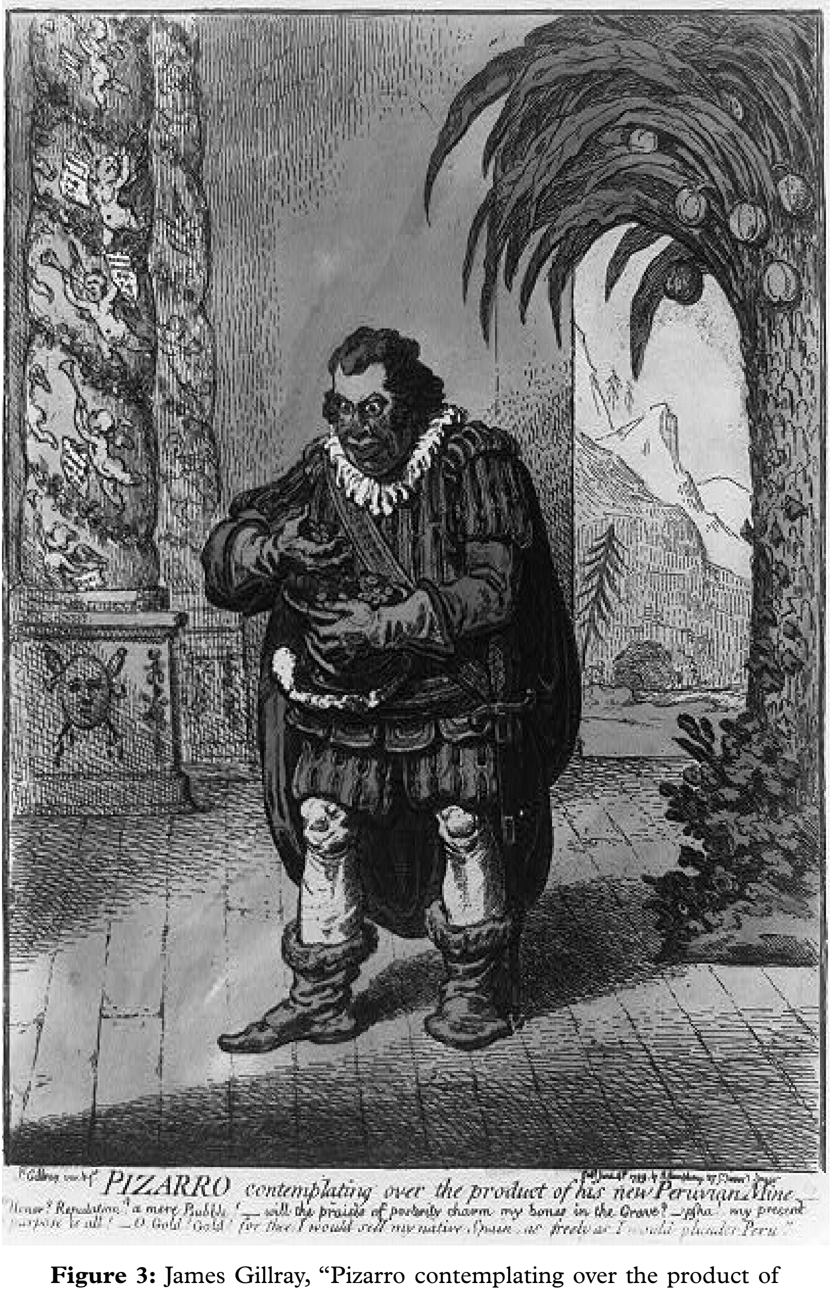
PIZARRO contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine
"Honor? Reputation? a mere Bubble! — will the praises of posterity charm my bones in the Grave? — psha! my present purpose is all! — O Gold! Gold! for thee I would sell my native Spain, as freely as I would plunder Peru."

Figure 3: James Gillray, "Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine" (1799). Library of Congress.

Pizarro—featuring Drury Lane's "all-star" cast of Sarah Siddons, Dorothy Jordan, and John Philip Kemble—entrenched that mandate into the public consciousness of nineteenth-century London (see Appendix D). James Gillray (1756–1815) caricatured Sheridan in Spanish dress as "Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian Mine," emphasizing the correlation between theatrical success and colonial enterprise (figure 3). But the intricacies of these early performances also manifest the internal contradictions of that mandate. One of the key (and often overlooked) tensions between these elements of the play is the confluence of colonialism and gender, both in the play's action and by way of the celebrated actors who first performed it.

When *Pizarro* opened in 1799, Sarah Siddons was one of the most famous actors of the era. Sheridan significantly adapted the role of Elvira to suit her public persona. She was 44 years old and had been a London acting sensation since the 1782 season. George III and Queen Charlotte attended five of her performances in January 1783 and subsequently appointed her "reader in English" to the royal children (Aleson xiii–xiv). She was famously painted by Joshua Reynolds (1723–92) in "Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse" in 1784, which, according to Joseph Roach (*It*), was an expression of her *iconic* status as the "tragedy queen," which she played both on and off stage (fugure 4). She had seven children, three of whom had died by the time she performed Elvira. Her public persona was carefully managed: she was always known as Mrs. Siddons, and although her performances were full of emotional and sexual power, her offstage identity was based on her role as a wife and mother (Cox 37–38). She skillfully enacted "points" of her acting predecessors while also furthering "the emotional effect of the action by moving rapidly between passions or endeavoring to convey several passions simultaneously" (West, "Public" 16). In 1789 Siddons appeared as Britannia, the female personification of the country, at the Brooks ball, to celebrate King George III's recovery from illness during the Regency Crisis (Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons* 277–78; Tomalin 91).

Sheridan carefully designed Siddons's role as Elvira to embody an idealized, benign British colonialism, which had been more overtly represented in the English heroes of earlier plays. In Kotzebue's play, the character of Elvira betrays Pizarro for love of Alonzo and is not seen again after she is sent to be tortured at the end of Act IV (scene 13). Sheridan expands Elvira's speeches throughout and shifts her motivation away from attraction to moral choice. His use of Siddons's ability to move rapidly

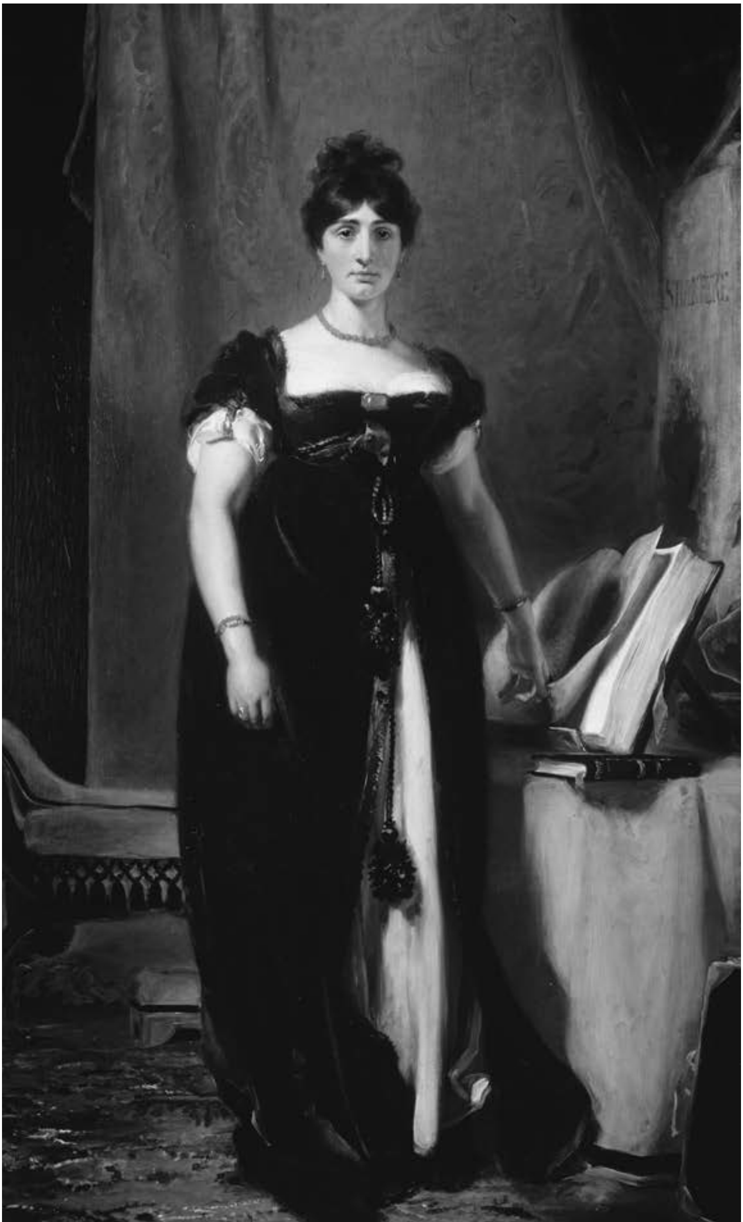

Figure 4: Sir Thomas Lawrence, "Mrs. Siddons" (1804). © Tate, London/Art Resource, NY.

through passionate states, as well as her personal moral status, is exemplified by the speech at the end of Act III, scene 3: moving from humility and embarrassment to self-admonishment and then to growing fury. The most significant change to Elvira's character comes with Sheridan's new ending. Kotzebue's play ends with Rolla returning Alonzo and Cora's child as he dies; Sheridan adds a final confrontation in which Alonzo slays Pizarro. At first, Alonzo seems to be losing, but then the fight turns on Elvira's entrance, which startles Pizarro, allowing Alonzo to kill him. Her appearance, dressed as a novice nun, sets up her final speech in which she declares her intention to atone for her guilt and advises the invaders to return to Spain to inform their rulers that greed and conquest do not make a nation great. This message is further underscored by Siddons's presence, which combined the ideal of British womanhood and the novice nun's habit, visually citing her famous portrayal of Lady Macbeth in the sleepwalking scene. Siddons's Lady Macbeth (a figure associated with madness brought on by remorse) was renowned, so much so that Charles Lamb (1775–1834) in "(On The) Tragedies of Shakespeare," cited her performance as so dominant that it overwhelmed Shakespeare's text (3). It was a role she returned to throughout her career. There are two paintings of her performing the scene: one by Henry Pierce Bone (undated) and the other by George Henry Harlow (1814). Both depict her wearing a long, white, flowing gown with her head covered, similar to the white head covering worn by novitiate nuns (figure 5). Contemporary reviewers found Siddons's portrayal of Elvira to be full of "mixed dignity and tenderness" and "the best in the piece"; Samuel Bardsley wrote that Siddons's characterization rendered lofty sentiments, energetic language, and forcible depictions of "virtuous struggles of repentance and remorse" (*A Critique on the Tragedy of Pizarro* 39–40; Bardsley 28).[1]

As she was known for her portrayal of maternal vulnerabilities as well as for her nobility, the decision to cast Siddons as Pizarro's mistress instead of as Cora, the noble Peruvian wife and mother who suffers the near losses of her husband and child, seems out of alignment with her skills and celebrity. The other lead female actor in the Drury Lane company, Dorothy Jordan, usually

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[1] Dana Van Kooy considers the play in terms of ambivalence relating to the colonial project and suggests that Elvira, whose personal journey enacts the seduction of colonial adventure, is the moral compass of the play (191–92).

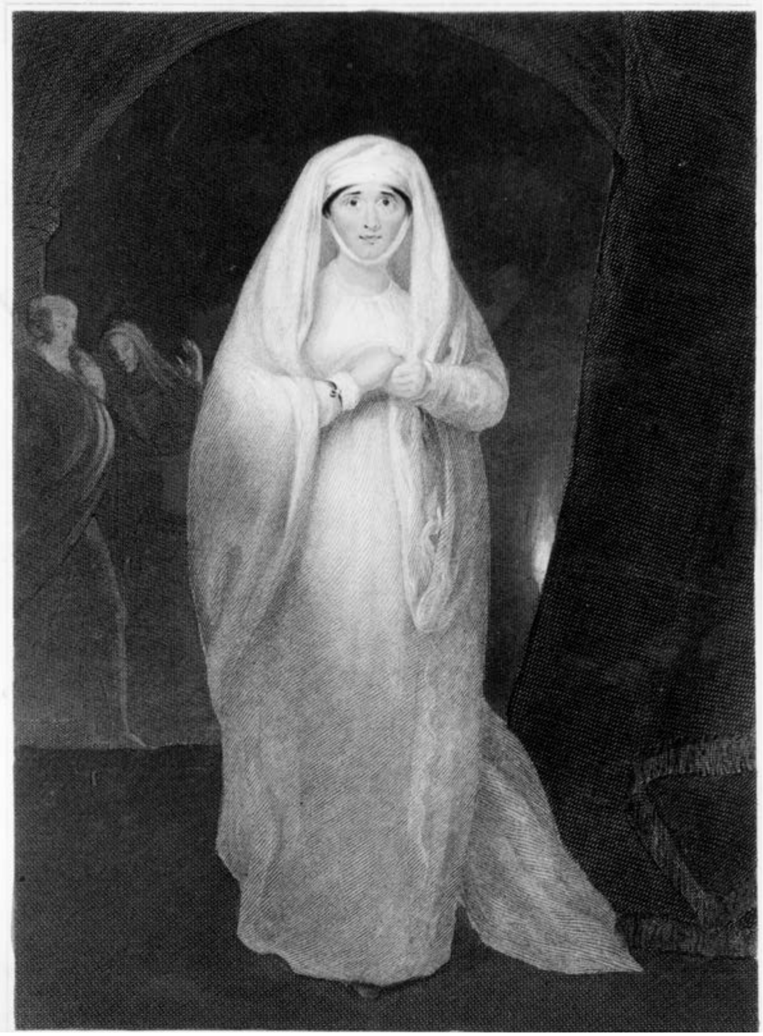

Figure 5: "(After) Mrs. Siddons as Lady Macbeth in The Tragedy of Macbeth: 'Out damned Spot!' Act V, Scene 1." VCA Images London/Art Resource, NY.

known for her spontaneous comic style and breeches roles, would have been a more obvious choice for Elvira (a breeches role in Kotzebue).[1] A consideration of Siddons's and Jordan's celebrity power, and personal position, explains how each role was developed to align with their performance skills and offstage status.

Though not as iconic as Siddons, and with a very different career, Jordan was also a significant performer in the late 1790s.[2] Born in London in 1761, Jordan was the illegitimate third child of a Welsh actress, Grace Phillips (c. 1740–89), and a Yorkshire gentleman, Francis Bland (1736–78). Her father abandoned the family when she was 13 and she began performing to support her mother and siblings at 17. By the age of 20 she was pregnant by Richard Daly (1758–1813), her Dublin theatre manager. It is unclear whether this was the result of a rape or an affair, but she left Ireland unmarried and pregnant and began performing under the name Mrs. Jordan in 1782 (Tomalin 10–27; Baker 65). By 1785 she had been hired by Sheridan at Drury Lane for £4 per week. After moving to London, she entered into a relationship with Richard Ford (1758–1806), one of the co-owners of the Drury Lane theatre, and had two children with him. When Ford refused to marry her, Jordan left him in 1791 for William, Duke of Clarence, the third son of King George III and the future King William IV (1765–1837). Their affair was a tremendous scandal. As a member of the royal family, William could not choose whom to marry, and his family would never have approved of Jordan, with her illegitimate origins and offspring, as well as her stage profession. They endured scandalous press attention and caricatures, which eventually waned when they began living together and having children (Tomalin 122–24). They stayed together for twenty years and had ten children, all of whom, despite their illegitimacy, were eventually given the surname Fitzclarence and accepted as the King's grandchildren. Jordan continued her stage career despite William's dislike of some of her roles, only leaving the stage briefly as part of the stipulations of their separation agreement in 1812 (253; 134). When *Pizarro* opened in 1799, they were a well-established couple and she was pregnant with their fifth child. The fourth, Mary, was five months old, and, as per acting customs of the day, accompanied her mother on stage as the baby in the play. Samuel de Wilde painted them together as Cora with her baby (176).

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[1] This casting decision was commented on in reviews of the play. See Appendix D4.

[2] Siddons's salary was an astonishing £20 per night; Jordan's was £30 per week, whether she acted or not, and she wasn't required to perform more than three times per week; in today's currency, Jordan was earning up to £56,570 per performance and Siddons up to £113,100. For more on the relation between British theatre and the "geopolitical relation that underpins capitalist modernity," see Dillon, *New World Drama*.

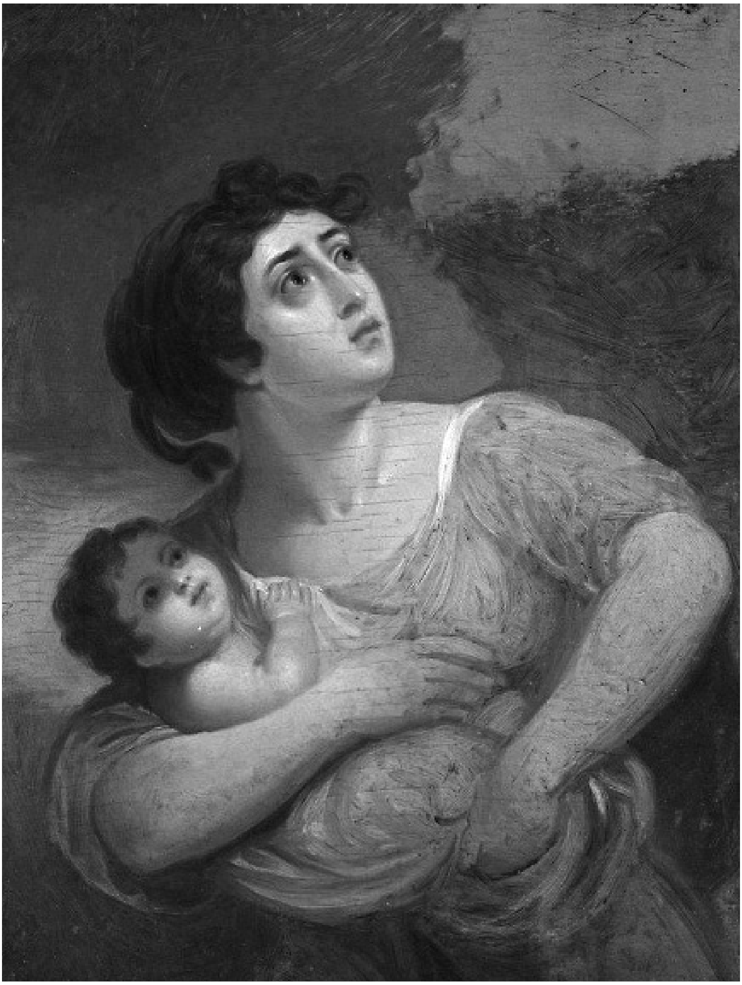

Figure 6: Samuel de Wilde, "Dorothy Jordan as Cora in 'Pizarro'" (n.d.).

In contrast to Siddons's motherly demeanour, Jordan had a spontaneous, comic style, harmonious voice, amazing curly hair, and fine appearance in boys' clothes (Tomalin 39, 51–52; Roach, *It* 37). Jordan's qualities as an actor, however, are only one part of the significance of her performance as the effusive and tenacious Cora. Given her lively character and the fact that Jordan often appeared in breeches roles, why did Sheridan not cast her as Pizarro's mistress Elvira? The most likely explanation goes precisely to the political implications of Sheridan's adaptation. Casting Jordan as the mistress Elvira would have suggested that the play's villain, Pizarro, was the Duke of Clarence. While he was not known for his military leadership, the Duke did have a naval career. He was briefly considered a national hero because he was with the British fleet when it captured a Spanish flagship in 1780, and he served as a captain in the West Indies with Horatio Nelson in the late 1780s (Tomalin 103–04). Seen either as a satire of his failed naval career or, due to his service in the West Indies, as an implied political criticism, the parallel between William and Pizarro implied by Jordan's casting as Elvira would have jeopardized the patriotic agenda of the play.

While there is no record detailing the factors weighed in the casting decision, we do know the outcome: Siddons was cast as Elvira, bringing her physical presence of ideal British womanhood, strength, and remorse to the role, and Jordan was cast as Cora, the adored and distressed Peruvian wife to the Spanish deserter Alonzo and mother to their Mestizaje son, Fernando.[1] Indeed, much of the sensational plot revolves around Alonzo and Cora's love for the child as displayed in the opening scene of Act II, and then his endangerment and rescue later in the play. But what sort of meanings would have been transmitted in the first production by the presence of Jordan's own child on stage—including the fact that she was the illegitimate (although acknowledged) offspring of a member of the English royal family?[2] Would this have evoked a further identification of the

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[1] For an extensive discussion of the Mestizaje as an imaginary site of gendered, racialized, sexualized identity that exists at the discursive, dialogic, ongoing contact zones, see Arrizon.

[2] Daniel O'Quinn notes that the offspring of Cora and Alonzo represents the type of allegiance beyond nation to a Christian cosmopolitan human identity advocated by Las Casas and Alonzo. According to O'Quinn, the hybrid child's endangerment, and his rescue by Rolla (Sheridan's Whig hero), are "crucial to the play's spectacular dynamics" and underscores Sheridan's criticism of English ministerial corruption and absolutism (207; 219–20). For further consideration of children on stage—on being born into the profession, the acting family's kinship formation, and transmission of acting skills—see Bratton 174–78.

British with the Spanish? The Duke, who was known to be critical of the French/English war, could then be aligned with Alonzo, who betrays Pizarro using familial ties to create a more just society. Or would it have encouraged identification between the British and the Peruvians, or some "illegitimate but acknowledged" offspring of them both? This would further Sheridan's aim to be simultaneously patriotic and critical of the British government.

Another significant factor in Jordan's performance as Cora was her ability to sing. The music of *Pizarro* was, according to Michael Pisani, a "tour de force" pastiche created by Kelly (*Imagining* 70), which employed, in musical semiotic terms, a symbolic signification of Indianness through the staging and music, such as in the Temple of the Sun scene, which mixed "New World symbols, Baroque spectacle and Greek revival."[1] Pisani also asserts that the play's "significant contribution" to popular theatre was the orchestral "characteristic pieces" that preceded each act (*Music* 55–56). While opera already employed music in this manner, theatre up to this point had not. Indeed, Sheridan mentions the music, marches, and choruses (which were not composed by him) only in stage directions in his published version of the play.

We have decided to include the songs and their assigned roles for two reasons. First, the songs are all performed by Peruvian characters, mainly Priests, Attendants, and Virgins of the Sun, supporting Pisani's point regarding the musically symbolic invocation of indigeneity. By representing the full stage spectacle of the music, the complex nature of the colonial relation—with its presences and absences—becomes more apparent. Present is a European concept of Incan natural spirituality as expressed through Western musical mechanics, classical Greek and Roman costumes, and symbols of sun and nature worship. Absent is any sense of the Indigenous material defence of their land and resources; the conflict is kept at the level of who will gain power to rule the people.

Second, the inclusion of the songs makes clear that only one of the principal characters sings—Cora in the opening scene of Act V. This was Sheridan's original contribution: the song is not in Kotzebue's version and is quite different from Williams's similar, but much darker, scene (in which Cora dies) in the poem *Peru*. Sheridan's song was a high point of the play: sung by Jordan, composed by Michael Kelly with lyrics by Sheridan, and staged with "Thunder and Lightning," Cora's song is delivered to her baby about dying on his father's grave. It also precedes a double reversal: Alonzo calls to Cora just as she finishes singing and she runs to find him, leaving Fernando momentarily unattended. The baby is then seized by Spanish soldiers. The kidnapping precipitates Rolla's rescue of Fernando, his flight over the collapsing bridge, and his death as he returns the baby, covered in his blood, to Cora's arms. The song lyrics were included in all versions of the play, and it was published separately from the rest of the music, always with credit to Sheridan and Kelly. Jordan's skill as a musician and singer was well known: songs were often published "as sung by Mrs. Jordan," and in 1800 she composed what has become known as a Scottish traditional ballad, "The Bluebells of Scotland." As she was known to appreciate music and poetry, Wordsworth sent her the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* in December 1800. She responded that she intended to sing stanzas of "Mad Mother" if she ever performed as Cora again, though there is no evidence this ever occurred.[1] This consideration of the political and musical significance of the casting of Dorothy Jordan as Cora, the only principal character who sings, allows us to more fully imagine a few elements of the event that was the first run of *Pizarro*. Kemble's performance as Rolla also leads to an understanding of the most significant physical stage design and metaphorical structures of the play.

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[1] Pisani describes Kelly's music as "relatively simplistic, offering little more than embellishments of tonic-dominant harmony with repetitive generic British military flourishes" (*Imagining* 71). An important reason for the relative simplicity of the music is the speed at which Kelly had to compose it, as discussed above.

Kemble, Rolla, and the "Address to the People"

Celebratory images of John Philip Kemble's performance as Rolla began circulating within the first month of performance. Robert Dighton's drawing, published in June 1799 as part of a series of commemorative images, shows him dressed in a knee-length, white Roman tunic with gold trim and red shoulder decorations. He wears sandals and two gold circlets on each arm, and a gold headdress with white, feathered plumes sweeping up and backwards. The image captures him during the moment of his speech to the Peruvian warriors, and has the caption "We serve a KING whom we LOVE—a GOD whom we ADORE," (figure 16)[1] Dighton's image of Kemble as Rolla captures one of Sheridan's alterations of the play that involves Rolla; the other famous portrait of Kemble in the role, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, *John Philip Kemble as Rolla in Pizarro* (1800), captures the other alteration (figure 7). It is a portrait of Rolla, again wearing a Roman tunic, holding the infant protectively in his left hand above his head, with his sword ready to strike in his right. He is in the act of fleeing with the child, leaning on his left leg, with all of his considerable muscles—legs, chest, neck, and arms—flexed. Lawrence's painting of Kemble is in keeping with the charismatic, commanding presence that Kemble was known for.

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[1] The poem is about a woman, abandoned by the father of her baby, travelling alone. She keeps her madness at bay by suckling her baby at her breast. See Tomalin 178–80.

But the tremendous physical vigour and beauty of the body in the painting was not an accurate portrait of Kemble. In 1799, Kemble was 42 years old, suffered from asthma, and had to reserve his efforts for bursts of energy or could end up gasping. His voice sometimes failed him, but he managed this through the use of pauses and a dignity of carriage, concealing the disability (Donohue 251). In order to fully display Rolla's Herculean strength, Lawrence used the pugilist John "Gentleman" Jackson as the model for the body on which he painted Kemble's head (West, "Thomas Lawrence's" 235; Farington 1377). While the onstage rescue was thrillingly accomplished, the portrait is a stylized interpretation of Rolla's heroism and Kemble's performance. Like the "gentle" Peruvian described by Robertson and Raynal, Kemble's Rolla is an anachronistic icon of classical European indigeneity, a "noble savage" endowed with strength and tenderness, reason and physicality, a digression in the history of the world.

As he did with Siddons, Sheridan used Kemble's Rolla to invigorate his political identity as both critic of Empire and British patriot. In 1788, Sheridan, along with other opposition leaders Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, brought 22 charges of "high crimes and misdemeanours" against Warren Hastings (1732–1818), then a director of the East India Company and governor of Fort William, in Bengal, ostensibly Britain's first Governor-General of the Sub-Continent. Hastings

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[1] McPherson considers this image, and the corresponding one that Dighton drew of Siddons as Elvira later that year (figure 18), to demonstrate the stylization of their acting and asserts that they are like *Pizarro* itself, "high-blown artistic-theatrical hybrids that reach for the sublime through the popular vernacular" (628–29). See figures 16 and 18.

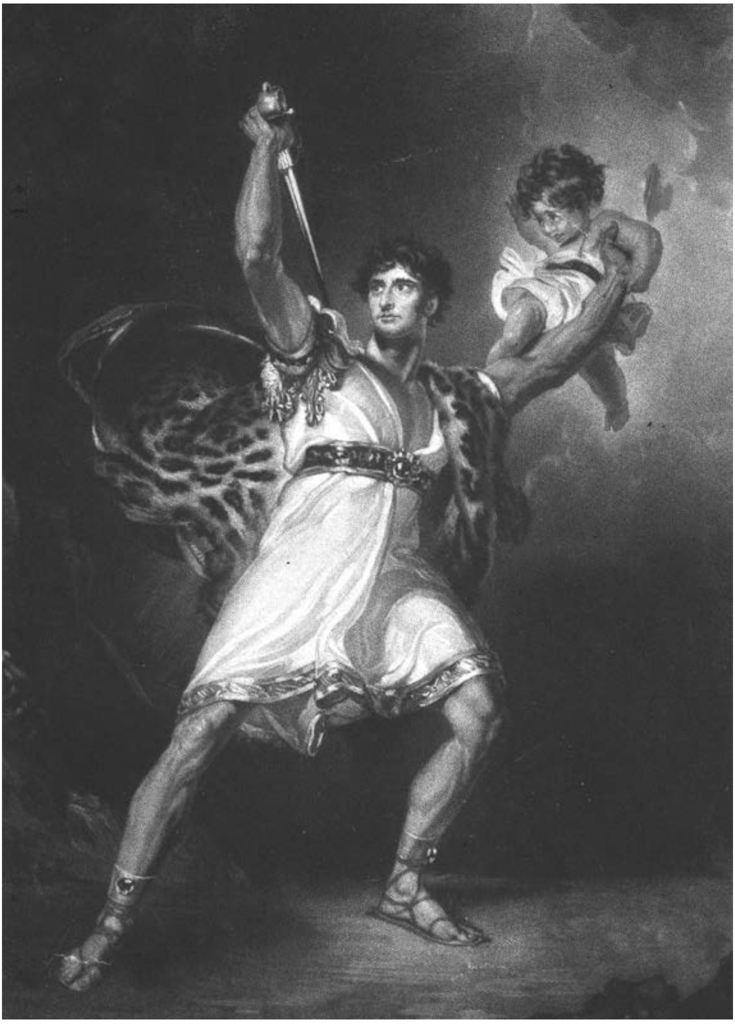

Figure 7: Henry Dawe, after Sir Thomas Lawrence, "Mr. Kemble in the character of Rolla" (1805). Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

was born poor and rose to great wealth as a "Nabob."[1] Though by colonial standards a highly successful governor, Hastings had nevertheless offended many members of the aristocracy, notably

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[1] Term used in England for men who amassed great wealth through their work with the East India Company and then, upon returning home, used it to influence their social or political status.

Sir Francis Phillips, who had been wounded in a duel against Hastings and who encouraged the Whigs to impeach him. Hastings's trial, which took place in the House of Lords, lasted 148 days and was the runaway "hit" of the 1788 season. Sheridan was responsible for the "Begum's charge": one of Hastings's most vicious crimes was to have violated the East India Company's 1781 pledge to the ruling Nawab of Oudh, Asaf-ud-Daula, to respect the property rights of his mother and grandmother, by forcing the Nawab to take over those same lands and hand over their treasures to the British. Over the course of several months, and largely through the machinations of his agents, John Scott-Waring (1747–1819) and Nathanial Middleton (1750–1807), Hastings had, according to Sheridan, duped the Nawab into betraying his family and then extorting from them riches worth £600,000.[1] In his speech, delivered over four days in June 1788 (see Appendix F1), Sheridan accused Hastings of circumventing a legitimate contract in the name of sheer greed and of contravening the laws of "FILIAL PIETY!" It is, Sheridan urges, this "primal bond of society … that instinctive principle, which, panting for its proper good, soothes, unbidden, each sense and sensibility of man!" (p. 207; see J. Carlson, "Trying" 360). Sheridan's speeches against Hastings form part of the broader genealogy of anti-colonial, and even anti-national, sentiment that pervades Enlightenment discourse.[2] Sheridan sarcastically called Hastings's actions examples of "British justice!" and "British humanity!" In a passage that would become a rhetorical gem, he declared that

> Mr. Hastings ensures to the allies of the company, in the strongest terms, their prosperity and his protection; the former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth and to desolate their soil! His protection is fraught with a similar security; like that of a vulture to a lamb; grappling in its vitals! thirsting for its blood! scaring off each petty kite that hovers round; and then, with an insulting perversion of terms, calling sacrifice, *protection!*—an object for which history seeks for any similarity in vain. (pp. 206–07)

Sheridan compared Hastings to Roman emperors Nero and Caligula, and to Oliver Cromwell, and called him "that monster in nature, a *deliberate and reasoning tyrant*" (125). Sheridan's

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[1] In today's money, around £30 million.

[2] For more on the Hastings trial, see Suleri 50–75; David Taylor 67–118.

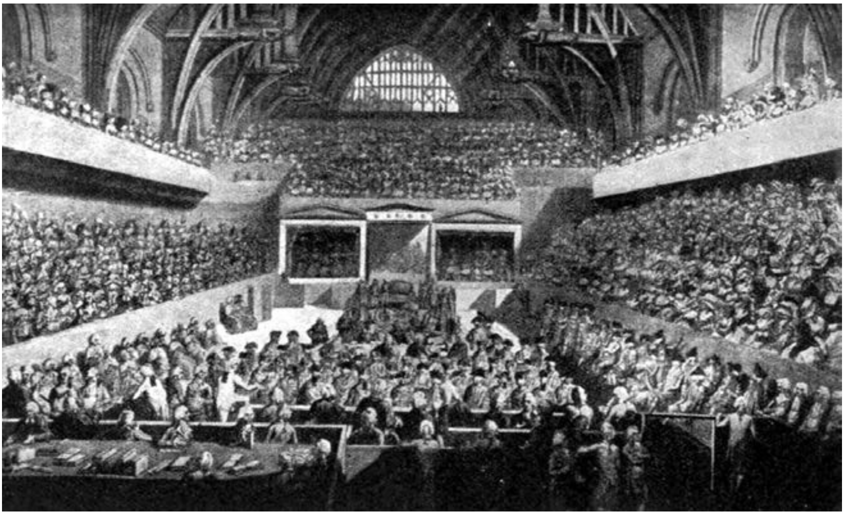


Figure 8: Edward Days, "A View of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq." (1789).

speech was, by all accounts, the most effective, and also the most theatrical, of the trial: at its end, Sheridan fell into the arms of his friend, Edmund Burke, declaring "My Lords, I have done."

Although Hastings was ultimately acquitted of all charges—in 1795, only four years before *Pizarro* premiered—Sheridan's speech continued to be widely recognized as the high-water mark of his political career. In 1799, amid still-lively fears of a French invasion, Sheridan needed an opportunity to prove his continued allegiance to Britain and the crown; returning to a central image from this speech—the vulture and the lamb—and giving it to his most patriotic actor, Kemble, must have seemed like a veritable boon. Whereas the Hastings trial had offered a chance for critics of colonialist excess to mount a public critique, Rolla's speech in Act II turned this critique into a conduit of British nationalism:

> They boast, they come but to improve our state, enlarge our thoughts, and free us from the yoke of error!—Yes—THEY will give enlightened freedom to *our* minds, who are themselves the slaves of passion, avarice, and pride.—They offer us their protection—Yes, such protection as vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them!—They call on us to barter all of good we have inherited and proved, for the des-

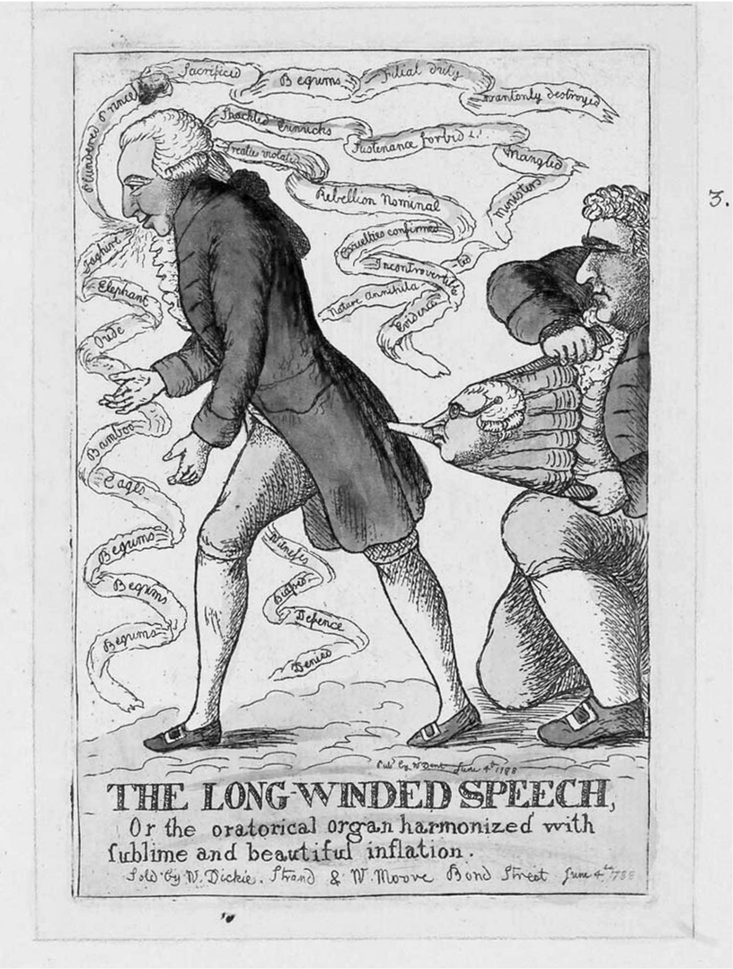

Plundered o'nnce
Sacrificed
Begums
Filial duty
wantonly destroyed
Shackled Eunuchs
Sustenance forbid!!
Treaties violated
Mangled
Rebellion Nominal
ministers
Cruelties confirmed
Incontrovertible
Nature annihila-ted
Evidence
Jaghire
Elephant
Oude
Bamboo
Cages
Begums
Begums
Begums
Witnesses
Scraped
Defence
Denied
Pub^d by W Dent June 4th 1788
THE LONG-WINDED SPEECH,
Or the oratorical organ harmonized with
ſublime and beautiful inflation.
Sold by W. Dickie. Strand & W. Moore Bond Street June 4th 1788
3.

Figure 9: William Dent, "Long-winded speech" (4 June 1788). BM Satires 7330.

> perate chance of something better which they promise.—
> Be our plain answer this: The throne WE honour is the PEOPLE'S CHOICE—the laws we reverence are our brave Father's legacy—the faith we follow teaches us to live in bonds of charity with all mankind, and die with hope of bliss beyond the grave. Tell your invaders this, and tell them too, we seek no change; and, least of all, such change as they would bring us. (pp. 95–96)

Rolla's speech promises change, even as it rejects it: this is perhaps its most adamantly and paradoxically colonialist sentiment. It was precisely the ambivalence of these sentiments that the Drury Lane audience and the British public sphere embraced. Uttered in Kemble's commanding tones, this speech became a centrepiece of the play's popular profile.

The patriotism of Rolla's speech is confounded, however, by other events—and other speeches—closer to the first performance of *Pizarro*. These have to do not with India but rather with Ireland. At the time Sheridan was transforming *Pizarro*, the Irish were experiencing the aftermath of a Catholic insurgency against British rule. David Francis Taylor comments that Rolla's speech is much closer in both form and "tone" to a speech Sheridan gave in January 1799, about the time that he was beginning work on *Pizarro*, on the British government's egregious mishandling of the Irish rebellion (127–32; see Appendix F2). Although Sheridan had lived most of his life in England, he nevertheless continued to think of himself as a "patriotic" Irishman, and his speeches in 1798 and 1799 present a stark divide between English oppression and Irish enslavement that, Taylor contends, "provided the discursive prototype for Rolla's oration" (128):

> I must think the people in that country, who really cherish a love of rational liberty, who have dwelt with delight on the recollection of that, till now, auspicious period, when independence came upon them … the whole people, in short, will come to this second adjustment with a temper which I am afraid … will augur not tranquility but disquietude; not prosperity but calamity; not the suppression of treason but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors. (p. 210).

Could this and other speeches from the same period be as much an influence on *Pizarro* as the Begum's speech? Given how many critics have read Rolla's speech as an "adaptation" of the much earlier Begum's speech, it is surprising to note that the two speeches actually have little in common *except* the "vulture and lamb" image. Although Rolla's speech was taken up as a patriotically British call-to-arms against an impending French invasion, it bears significant traces of decidedly un- or even anti-British sentiment. In fact, the popular press did not know what to do with these confounding political echoes. Political cartoons published in the wake of *Pizarro*'s success depict the prime minister, William Pitt—who was mercilessly executing the Irish rebels—as the Incan King, and Sheridan—with his pro-Irish views—as Pizarro. When King George III attended a royal performance of *Pizarro*, his first at Drury Lane in many years, the press depicted Sheridan as an obsequious patriotic toady. Sheridan's placing of his anti-colonialist speeches from *both* the Hastings trial *and* the Irish Rebellion debates into Kemble's portrayal of Rolla point exactly to the ambiguous layering of patriotisms that made the play so politically malleable and ideologically complicated.

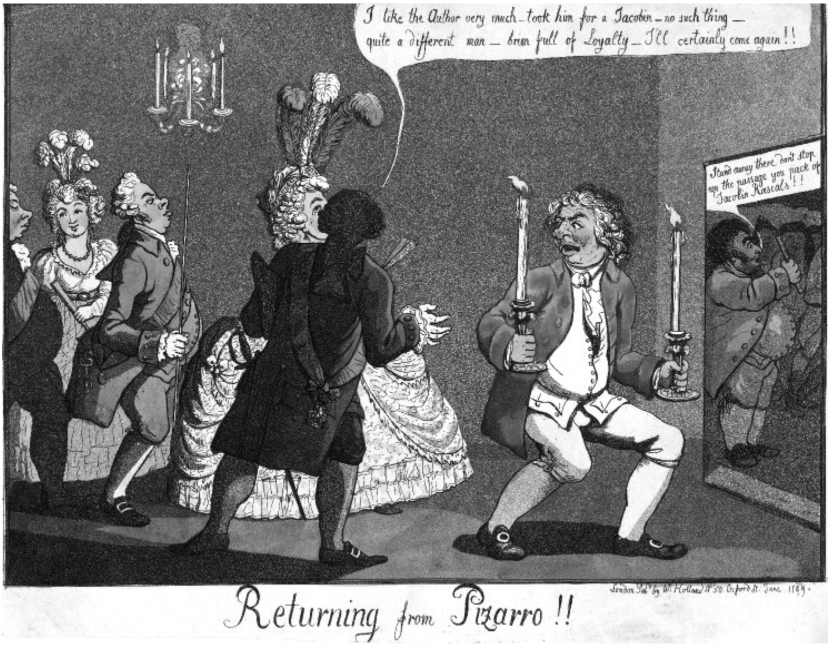
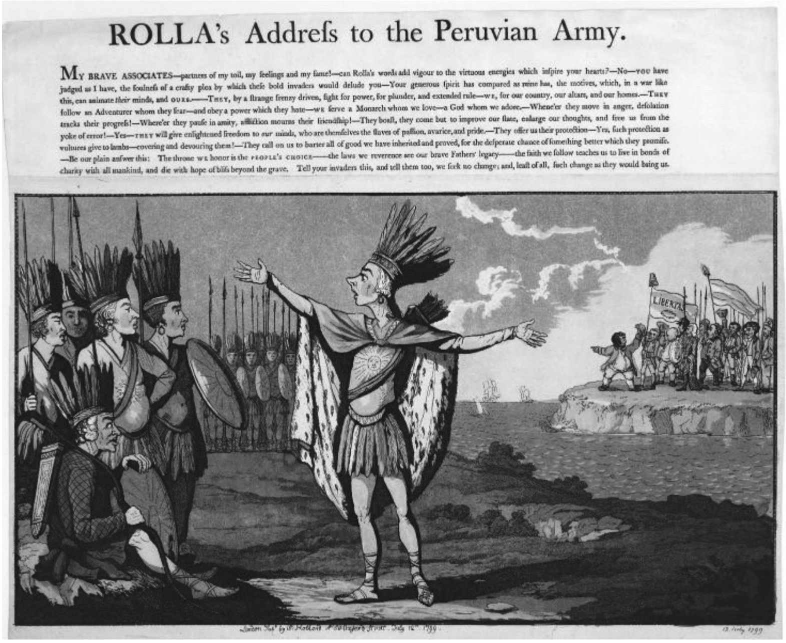

I like the Author very much _ took him for a Jacobin _ no such thing _ quite a different man _ brim full of Loyalty _ I'll certainly come again!!
Stand away there don't stop up the passage you pack of Jacobin Rascals!!
London Pub. by W. Holland No 50 Oxford St. June 1799.
Returning from Pizarro !!

Figure 10: William Holland, "Returning from Pizarro!!" (1799). BM Satires 9398.

Sheridan's radical views were also well known to clash with Kemble's monarchist loyalties. Six years earlier, on 24 January 1793, when the news reached London that King Louis XVI of France had been executed, Kemble, who was managing the Haymarket theatre for Sheridan while Drury Lane was being rebuilt, shut down the theatre for the night. Sheridan was furious, saying this was "unnecessary and expensive" (Tomalin 141–42; "British Newspaper Coverage"). Kemble's acting style, which evoked traditionalism and authority, related well to his politics (West,



ROLLA's Addreſs to the Peruvian Army.

MY BRAVE ASSOCIATES—partners of my toil, my feelings and my fame!—can Rolla's words add vigour to the virtuous energies which inſpire your hearts?—No—YOU have judged as I have, the foulneſs of a crafty plea by which theſe bold invaders would delude you—Your generous ſpirit has compared as mine has, the motives, which, in a war like this, can animate *their* minds, and OURS.——THEY, by a ſtrange frenzy driven, fight for power, for plunder, and extended rule—WE, for our country, our altars, and our homes.—THEY follow an Adventurer whom they fear—and obey a power which they hate—WE ſerve a Monarch whom we love—a God whom we adore.—Whene'er they move in anger, deſolation tracks their progreſs!—Where'er they pauſe in amity, affliction mourns their friendſhip!—They boaſt, they come but to improve our ſtate, enlarge our thoughts, and free us from the yoke of error!—Yes—THEY will give enlightened freedom to *our* minds, who are themſelves the ſlaves of paſſion, avarice, and pride.—They offer us their protection—Yes, ſuch protection as vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them!—They call on us to barter all of good we have inherited and proved, for the deſperate chance of ſomething better which they promiſe.—Be our plain anſwer this: The throne WE honor is the PEOPLE'S CHOICE——the laws we reverence are our brave Fathers' legacy——the faith we follow teaches us to live in bonds of charity with all mankind, and die with hope of bliſs beyond the grave. Tell your invaders this, and tell them too, we ſeek no change; and, leaſt of all, ſuch change as they would bring us.

Figure 11: William Holland, "Rolla's Address to the Peruvian Army" (1799). BM Satires 9407.

"Thomas Lawrence's" 84–87). Giving the patriotic speech to Kemble allowed Sheridan both to make use of his declamatory style and to invoke his conservative patriotism. Indeed, as mentioned above, there are reports that Kemble was required by the audience to repeat the speech three times on opening night before the play could go on (Britton 129–30). In 1803, when the collapse of the Peace of Amiens meant a renewal of hostilities with France, Sheridan published Rolla's speech as a broadside entitled *Sheridan's Address to the People: Our King! our Country! And our God!* (see Appendix F4). The speech thus re-entered political discourse as part of Sheridan's political program, re-adapted from Rolla's version of his attack on Hastings. More significantly, Rolla's speech enhanced the affinity between the play's British audience and its Indigenous subjects. More than Morton's Herbert or Thelwall's Faulkland, through which the Spanish hero Alonzo becomes an icon of British colonial benevolence—an element of the character that Sheridan retained and enhanced—Sheridan's Rolla entrenched a fantasy of British indigeneity. Interestingly, Kemble's promptbook (Shattuck) indicates that at some point he excised the "vulture and lamb" metaphor from Rolla's speech, likely to dissociate it from Sheridan's addresses and possibly to dissociate himself from Sheridan's politics.

Something that is not usually attributed to Kemble but that may have been part of his contribution to the performance is the construction of the collapsing bridge over which Rolla flees. Donohue asserts that Kemble's chief contribution to English theatre was "innovation in staging," whereby using "fullest realizable detail Kemble dressed out his stage in the settings and special effects called for in the new texts accepted for production as well as those implicitly suggested by plays in the repertoire," and his stage design "correlated visual effects with the equally apprehensible qualities manifested by his subjective approach to character" (249).[1] Kemble's attention to detail also enabled him to take advantage of developments in chemistry, which gave scene artists a larger palette to work with, and in particular Argand lighting technology, which meant that the design, costumes, and actors could all be perceived more clearly (Baugh 44, 51). These technologies made possible the play's special effects, such as the elaborate staging of Peruvian ritual during the Temple of the Sun scene,[2] the thunder and lightning during Cora's song, and the rocky precipice with the cascading waterfall and bridge used for Rolla's rescue of the baby, played by the five-month-old Mary Fitzclarence, in the play's climactic moments.[3]

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[1] Kemble was able to build on the kinds of staging developed by Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740–1812), employed by Garrick at Drury Lane from 1772 to 1781, which gave control of the stage design to one person in order to create a world for the actors to perform within, rather than in front of, a background, as well as the implementation of the role of "stage designer," who controlled the overall effects of the staging, including the costumes of the actors (Baugh 47).

[2] Staging the Incan Temple of the Sun or Indigenous sun worship had been recurring since Davenant's *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658), the most recent prior to *Pizarro* being Morton's *Columbus* (1792). See Appendix C for details.

[3] As Daniel O'Quinn argues, the bridge scene is also a metaphor for the way in which the play crosses political and aesthetic realms (222–28). In her discussion of race and profit in English theatre, Julie Carlson also emphasizes how, after *Pizarro*, many plays concerning Africans from the early nineteenth century staged hanging bridges and rescues, calling this a "visual cross-referencing of scenes in plays critical of colonial power encouraging sympathetic viewers to read—that is preview—the new play from a position of resistance" ("Race" 183–85).

The Afterlife of *Pizarro*

After the end of the Drury Lane production, other versions of *Pizarro* were quickly produced. One, a recitative for the Royal Circus summer theatre, was an elegant dramatic verse version of Marmontel's novel (Britton 138–39). Another, for Astley's Royal Amphitheatre, was a ballad called "Rolla and Cora," which omitted Alonzo, made Rolla Cora's husband, and introduced a war dance (139–40). Kemble took the play with him when he moved to Covent Garden in 1803 and it became part of the British theatrical repertoire throughout the nineteenth century. In 1856 Charles Kean staged a revival that aimed for historical authenticity in the staging of the Incan religious festival of Raymi, using costumes of animal skins, numerous actors to fill the stage, and music based on Spanish documents regarding "Peruvian Antiquities"; in this version Pizarro does not die (Heinowitz 184–94). Kean's version also inspired parodies, such as C.J. Collins's *Pizarro; A Spanish Rolla-King Peruvian Drama, a Burlesque*, which opened at Drury Lane three weeks after Kean's revival.

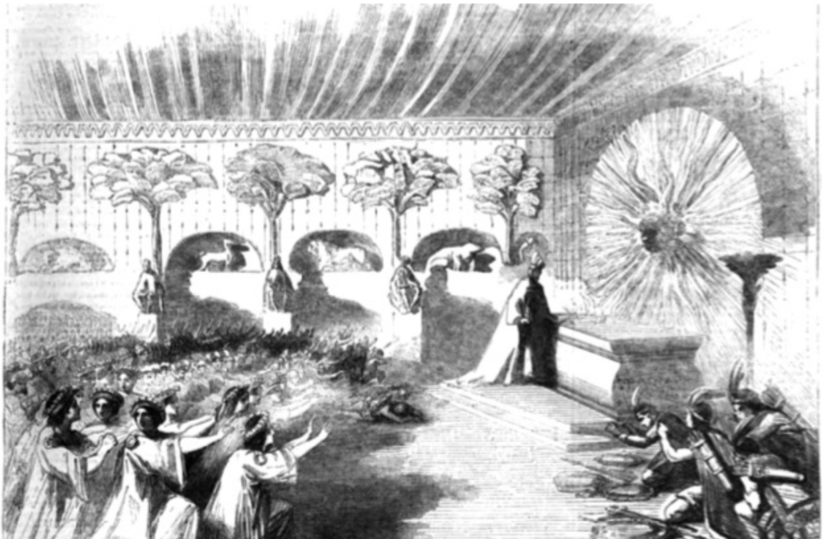

Figure 12: "Scene of the Temple of the Sun from the revived play of 'Pizarro' at the Princess Theatre" (1856), *Illustrated London News* 29: 251.

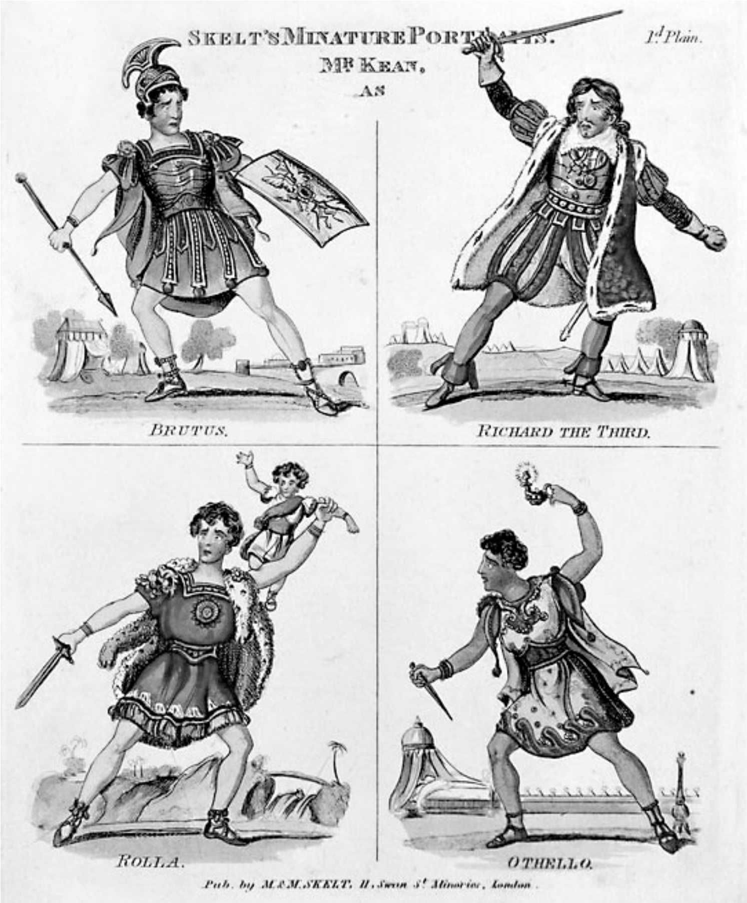
SKELT'S MINIATURE PORTRAITS.
1d Plain.
MR KEAN,
AS
BRUTUS.
RICHARD THE THIRD.
ROLLA.
OTHELLO.
Pub. by M.&M. SKELT, 11, Swan St Minories, London.

Figure 13: Skelt's Miniature Portraits, "Mr. Kean as Brutus, Richard III, Rolla and Othello" (nineteenth century). Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Image number 2006AH3889-01.

As Elizabeth Dillon explains, in the United States *Pizarro* was performed a few months after the first Drury Lane production and every season thereafter in New York City until 1863 ("Print" 366). In *New World Drama*, Dillon connects theatrical representations of the torture of Indigenous people, Spanish colonial violence from 1649 to 1849, and the creation of what she terms a "performative commons," where theatre became a gathering place to assert the new English representational political power

(54). The interest in *Pizarro* in the United States was linked to an effort by settlers to create an indigenous white creole identity to support a nationalist identity, called at the time "American Nativism" (230).[1] The most prominent American actor of the nineteenth century, Edwin Forrest (1806–72), sponsored a writing contest offering $500 to the "author of the best Tragedy, in five acts, of which the hero or principal character shall be an aboriginal of this country" (234). The playwright John Augustus Stone (1801–34) saw Forrest perform Rolla and was inspired to write *Metamora* (1829), which triangulates white Americans (creole British) with English aristocrats and Native Americans. Metamora sacrifices himself, his son, and his wife for a good white woman who marries her love. Forrest's performance of Metamora became an iconic role demonstrating American masculinity (Dillon, *New* 233–38). Dillon argues that more than staging Spanish abuses, *Pizarro* evokes first an English and then an American performative commons through the marriage of Alonzo and Cora and the creation of their family. In the context of the newly formed United States, the most significant plot revolves around Rolla attempting to keep the family intact—offering himself up to be the tortured Indian, instead of Alonzo, when he's captured—and then rescuing their baby but dying in the process. Dillon explains the triangulation of politics that an American audience would see: instead of the original Spanish/English/Peruvians, it would be understood as "metropolitan English, creole Americans and Native Americans" (*New* 232–33).

The Atlantic circulation of *Pizarro* and Rolla was not unidirectional from the United Kingdom to the West Indies and Americas. The African Theatre Company, operating in New York City from 1821–24, staged *Pizarro* four times, and Ira Aldridge's debut performance was as Rolla (Dillon, *New* 231).[2] No reviews exist of these shows; however, it is possible to understand them as being an expression of horizontal relations of differently colonized peoples, as demonstrated by blackface minstrelsy, popularized in the United States by T.D. Rice (1808–60), who also performed in post-abolition Britain. In an 1837 Jim Crow play, *The Peacock and the Crow*, the Jim Crow character explains that he was raised in Surinam, ran away to New Orleans, and has come to England to thank the English for the emancipation (Parry 281). The rakish Mr. Quickset then persuades Crow to impersonate a lost heir to the fortune of Nehemiah Peacock, the offspring of an English man and an Indigenous woman. Crow, who doesn't know his father, believes this may well be true. In order to look the part, Quickset then runs offstage to get his actor friend's costume of Rolla, saying, "Mr. Crow must be a native chieftain at least, and there's a Rolla's dress that will be the very thing for him" (Parry 282). This trace of Rolla almost 40 years after the first performance demonstrates how iconic the Indigenous character had become. The symbolic meaning now associated with Rolla's costume of a Roman tunic and sandals and with feathers adorning his head demonstrates that the community of interpretants that had been created around Sheridan's *Pizarro* had little to do with indexical or iconic Incan signs.

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[1] Philip J. Deloria has chronicled this extensively in *Playing Indian*.

[2] Ira Aldridge (1807–67), the pioneering African-American actor, was born in New York City to free parents. Although he was not enslaved, he suffered under the limitations of racialized biases and eventually emigrated to London in 1824. He was very successful, playing Black characters such as Othello and Oroonoko, as well as many other leading Shakespearean roles. In the 1850s he travelled throughout Europe,

A few years later, back in the United States, a new religious group, the Mormons, performed Sheridan's *Pizarro* to express beliefs of their own indigeneity and persecution by outsiders.[1] The first staging in April 1844 raised funds for Joseph Smith's defence[2] and featured professional actors Thomas Lyne (Rolla)

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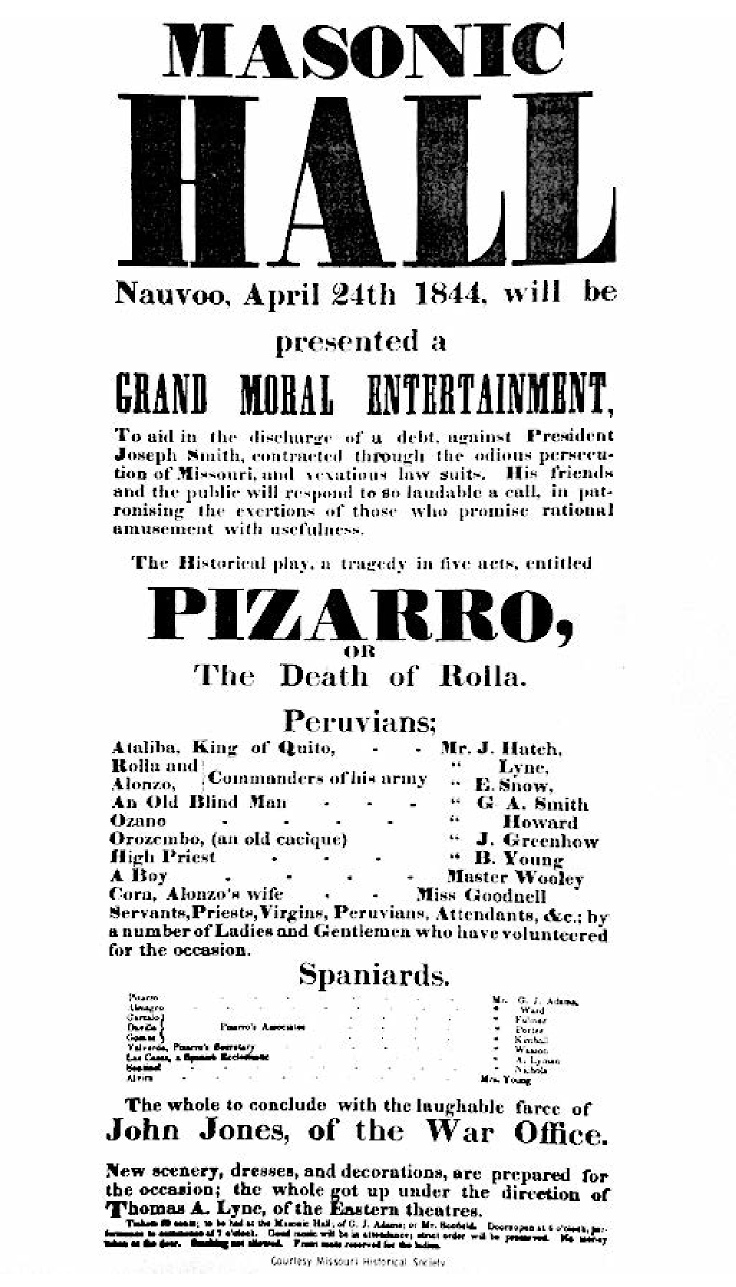
gaining admiration and awards from leaders in Prussia, Austria, and Germany. Bernth Lindfors discusses Aldridge's frequent performances of Rolla in his early career and notes that Aldridge recorded his debut performance as the character on a New York stage in his memoir. Lindfors speculates this may have been in Albany, New York, on 19 December 1822 (30, 33–34, 105).

[1] As Jeremy Mumford explains, the Mormon fascination with the play is embedded in the construction of identity based on Indigenous peoples. Joseph Smith discovered the Book of Mormon in 1827, but Mormons believed it to be an ancient text left for them by the Nephites, who had been killed by their Lamanite cousins, themselves ancestors of contemporary Indigenous people of the Americas; these groups had common origins from the Israelites who came to the Americas by sea in 600 BCE. The European notions of Incan society as a noble, hierarchical, stable, and well-organized one that permitted polygamy also increased Mormon identification with the Incas (Mumford).

[2] Smith, founder of the Mormon Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, was arrested many times between 1817 and 1844 and was repeatedly forced to defend himself in court.



MASONIC

HALL

Nauvoo, April 24th 1844, will be presented a

GRAND MORAL ENTERTAINMENT,

To aid in the discharge of a debt, against President Joseph Smith, contracted through the odious persecution of Missouri, and vexatious law suits. His friends and the public will respond to so laudable a call, in patronising the exertions of those who promise rational amusement with usefulness.

The Historical play, a tragedy in five acts, entitled

PIZARRO,

OR

The Death of Rolla.

Peruvians;

Ataliba, King of Quito,	Mr. J. Hatch,
Rolla and } Commanders of his army	" Lyne,
Alonzo, }	" E. Snow,
An Old Blind Man	" G. A. Smith
Ozano	" Howard
Orozembo, (an old cacique)	" J. Greenhow
High Priest	" B. Young
A Boy	Master Wooley
Cora, Alonzo's wife	Miss Goodnell

Servants, Priests, Virgins, Peruvians, Attendants, &c.; by a number of Ladies and Gentlemen who have volunteered for the occasion.

Spaniards.

Pizarro	Mr. G. J. Adams,
Almagro	" Ward
Gonzalo } Pizarro's Associates	" Fulmer
Davila }	" Porter
Gomez }	" Kimball
Valverde, Pizarro's Secretary	" Wasson
Las Casas, a Spanish Ecclesiastic	" A. Lyman
Sentinel	" Nichols
Elvira	Mrs. Young

The whole to conclude with the laughable farce of

John Jones, of the War Office.

New scenery, dresses, and decorations, are prepared for the occasion; the whole got up under the direction of Thomas A. Lyne, of the Eastern theatres.

Tickets 50 cents; to be had at the Masonic Hall, of G. J. Adams; or Mr. Scofield. Doors open at 6 o'clock, performance to commence at 7 o'clock. Good music will be in attendance; strict order will be preserved. No money taken at the door. Smoking not allowed. Front seats reserved for the ladies.

Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

Figure 14: "Masonic Hall, Navoo April 24th 1844, will be presented a Grand Moral Entertainment." Mormon fundraiser playbill.

and George Adams (Pizarro). Major church leaders also appeared: Alonzo was played by Erastus Snow (1818–88), who became an Apostle after Mormons arrived in Salt Lake, and the Peruvian High Priest was played by Brigham Young (1801–77) (Smith 91). The play became known as the Mormon national play, opening the first theatre in Utah and then performed yearly between 1863 and 1874 (132).

One last remarkable expression of the malleable cosmopolitical futurity of the play is its many translations and adaptations in India. Ramanalala Ke Yajnika's *The Indian Theatre: Its Origins and Its Later Developments under European Influence* (1934) lists four different versions: two in Marathi and one each in Urdu and Gujarati. He explains the play's commercial success between 1890 and 1917 and offers some description of the adaptations: for example, Hindu Elvira is the captive of Muslim Pizarro and is rescued by Rolla her Hindu lover; in another version, Spain and Peru are replaced by Turkey and India (206–09).[1] The Hindi silent film *Blood for Blood*, produced in the late 1920s by the Universal Syndicate, is listed as being an adaptation of Sheridan's *Pizarro* (Rangoonwala 39). The circulation of the play and its adaptations to stage and cinema in early-twentieth-century British Raj India, where audiences may have been aware of the allusion in Rolla's speech to Sheridan's activities in the attempted impeachment of Warren Hastings, are one more example of how *Pizarro* served multiple political purposes for decades.

It is because the play opens up these colonial concerns so forcefully and dramatically that, while yet to receive a full revival, *Pizarro* has recently claimed the interest of at least one major theatre company: the National Theatre in London held a staged reading of *Pizarro* in 2006 alongside its production of Peter Shaffer's 1964 version of the same story, *The Royal Hunt of the Sun*. The first in many decades, this staged reading helped to connect contemporary theatre's global consciousness to its historical genealogy and takes a modern production right back to its eighteenth-century roots. The legacy of *Pizarro*, we are suggesting, is highly ambivalent. It began as part of a Eurocentric reckoning with the imperial project and then ricocheted around the world in adaptations by those critical of, fighting against, or re-imaging that imperialism. We have also traced this genealogy back from 1799 to the earliest records of the meeting of Pizarro and Atahualpa to see the play as a crucial nodal point for the history and contradictions of colonial modernity.

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[1] The British Library also holds copies of a Gujarati version (1876) and a Tamil version (1915). Our thanks to Kathryn Hansen for directing us to some of these sources.

There is, however, a corresponding performance history centring not on the imagined Peruvian victory over Pizarro but rather on the death of Ataliba, whose Incan name is Atau Wallpa. That tradition began as a sixteenth-century Andean dance drama. The first written report of a performance is in 1555, a few years after his death (Diana Taylor, "End" 60). Versions of this drama of invasion are still performed at festivals in Peru and Bolivia in a mix of Spanish and Quechua (Taylor and Townsend 6).[1] One such performance is represented in *The End of Atau Wallpa, a Tragedy*, by Jesús Lara (1898–1980). It references a scene recorded in repeated versions of the encounter between Pizarro and Atahualpa, where the latter throws down the Bible after trying to listen to it. It also enacts the "incommensurability of sign systems" as the Inca and his people pass around a written Spanish message and the indecipherable Spanish characters onstage only move their lips, with no sounds emerging ("End" 61). The play is about Inca experience, showing their relationships, trauma, and fate. It invokes indecipherability throughout; even the final scene has the King of Spain being rendered speechless by Pizarro's beheading of the Inca ("End" 62; Lara 79). *The End of Atau Wallpa* has seven Inca men and two women, as well as four "bearded enemies": Pizarro, Almagro, Valverde, and the King of Spain. The play opens with Atau Wallpa searching for an interpretation of a foreboding dream. He has an adviser, Waylla Wisa, who sleeps and dreams understanding. This character wakes and sleeps many times during the play. Some of the dialogue describes the movements that characters would be making: "Woe is me! I'll go this way./Woe is me! I'll go the other way. My body is clumsy./ My feet trip me up" (Lara 67). There are multiple scenes with Almagro and Valverde moving their lips and shouting silently (68). The Spaniard's written message, which the Incas call a *chala* (a kind of corn husk), is passed around as the Incans try to read the "ants." As Atau Wallpa's end nears, he gives away all the objects of his rule, which he has repeatedly mentioned throughout the play, one by one to each character (74). There is a long lament by the princesses, "my Inca, my only lord," repeated with another line over sixty times. The Inca's son curses Pizarro, saying, "you will be a prisoner/of your remorse" (79). The play concludes with Pizarro bringing the head of Atau Wallpa to the King of Spain, who then declares that Pizarro has made him speechless and that the Inca's face is equal to his face; he orders him to be burned at the stake: "May he perish and with him, all his descendents, / and destroy his house. / Nothing shall remain of this infamous soldier. / Those are my orders" (80).

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[1] Historical transfer through performative repertoire occurred very differently in places colonized by the Catholic Spanish, who encouraged public ritual, and British Protestants who were suspicious of it (Taylor and Townsend 5). During the enactment of Christian ritual imposed by colonial rulers, Indigenous people would also be likely to be able to continue their own cultural traditions through multiplication and simultaneity while adapting to their situation (Diana Taylor, *Archive* 46).

The ending is not historically accurate: Pizarro was praised by the King of Spain only to be assassinated by his own men in 1541. And so, in a way, *The End of Atau Wallpa* represents yet another version of the fantasies similar to those that European writers and playwrights have culled from the story of the Spanish invasion of Peru. Here, though, the fantasy is reversed: the power of an Inca king is redeemed by the acknowledgement of a European equal, rather than, as in Sheridan's case, a German-British imperial monarchy redeemed by its identification with a noble, native hero. But together *The End of Atau Wallpa* and *Pizarro* demonstrate the importance of dramatic genealogies. Combining historical and colonial sources, genres, and spectacles, the celebrity of actors, and the confluence of classes and identities, they show us how the most seemingly natural thing is not only fantastic but also a complex of power and countercurrents.

From the Publisher

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