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University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Music

**The Reception of French Opera in Amsterdam
(1830-1839)**

by

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ORCID: 0009-0000-1917-2003

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Faculty of Humanities

Music

Doctor of Philosophy

The Reception of French Opera in Amsterdam (1830-1839)

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The present thesis addresses the essential questions regarding French Opera and musical theatre in Amsterdam in the 1830s. An initial presentation of the existing favourable historical and cultural circumstances in the Netherlands explain how French-language musical theatre was able to attain such a high, albeit presently overlooked, degree of importance in the Dutch capital. By taking into account the theatres where these works were seen and heard, it is possible to determine how numerous French stage genres were adapted to the reality and limitations of these theatre halls. The presentation and analysis of the repertoire performed in these theatres, announced daily by the Dutch press, have made it possible to establish performance statistics and determine trends in the popularity of certain genres among the audience. By laying out the intricate network of agents involved in the performance of these works, it was possible to explore the dynamics that existed between local and foreign artists, the directors that hired them, the critics that passed judgement and the audience that acclaimed or rejected the show. Theatre life in 1830s Amsterdam was vibrant with French stage works, performed either in their original language or translated into Dutch or German, making the capital of the Netherlands an important hub for French *opéra*, *opéra-comique* and *comédie-vaudeville*; and a brilliant jewel on the crown of the Francosphere.

La présente thèse aborde les questions essentielles concernant la place de l'opéra et du théâtre musical français à Amsterdam dans les années 1830. Une présentation initiale des circonstances historiques et culturelles favorables présentes aux Pays-Bas expliquent comment le théâtre musical français a pu atteindre un degré élevé d'importance, bien qu'actuellement ignoré, dans la capitale néerlandaise. En prenant en compte les différents théâtres où ces œuvres ont été vues et entendues, il est possible de déterminer la façon dont les nombreux genres scéniques français ont été adaptés à la réalité et aux limites de ces salles de spectacle. La présentation et l'analyse des répertoires joués dans ces théâtres, annoncés quotidiennement par la presse néerlandaise, ont permis d'établir des statistiques et ainsi déterminer les tendances chez le public de la popularité de certains genres. En arborant le réseau complexe d'agents impliqués dans l'exécution de ces ouvrages, il a été possible d'explorer les dynamiques qui existaient entre les troupes locales et les artistes en tournée, les directeurs qui les ont engagés, les critiques qui les ont jugés et le public qui a acclamé ou rejeté le spectacle. La vie théâtrale à Amsterdam dans les années 1830 était riche en œuvres scéniques françaises, jouées soit dans leur langue d'origine, soit traduites en néerlandais ou en allemand, faisant de la capitale des Pays-Bas un haut lieu français de l'opéra, l'opéra-comique et la comédie-vaudeville; et un joyau brillant sur la couronne de la Francosphere.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name:	WILLIAM OSMOND
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Title of thesis:	The Reception of French Opera in Amsterdam (1830-1839)
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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:-

William Osmond '« *En Hollandais, s'il vous plaît!* » Singing and reciting French *comédie-vaudeville* in Amsterdam (1830s)', Maria Encina Cortizo (ed.) and Michela Niccolai (ed.), *Singing Speech and Speaking Melodies, Minor Forms of Musical Theatre in the eighteenth and nineteenth Century*, (Lucca: Brepols, 2021), pp. 91-102.

Signature:		Date:	
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Acknowledgements

Introduction

The 1830s constitute a high point for composition, performance and appreciation of a broad spectrum of genres in the French musical theatre; Paris was the epicentre for the dissemination of these works, which then spread first to the French provinces and, ultimately, to other nations. For reasons ranging from the geographical (distance from Paris) and logistical (network of roads linking Paris to Amsterdam), to the political (progressive loss of influence in Europe), the religious (austerity of Protestantism), the moral (posture towards French theatre) and the linguistic (Dutch language is closer to German than French), the Netherlands are far down the list of places contemporary early-nineteenth-century scholars have ventured to look for French opera and musical theatre outside of France. This is still because music history is considered primarily as an account of composers and their music. As Carolyn Abbate put it a decade ago, ‘the history of classical music has been more a history of composers and compositions, and less a history of singers, instrumentalists, or the cultural contexts of performance’.¹ By the standards of composers and compositions, the 1830s do not pose a very compelling period for scholars studying the Netherlands when, in reality, Dutch cities were regularly visited by an important traffic of French actors,² musicians and singers. In the specific case of Amsterdam, there is extensive evidence of the presence of artists and peripatetic troupes that circulated and performed an abundance of French repertoire in over a dozen different theatres and venues. The Netherlands therefore constitute a neglected field of music history involving the cultural transfer and cultural dissemination of French musical repertoire.

Music reception history and comparative history

Although Carl Dahlhaus considered the work (*poiesis*) and not the event (*praxis*) to be the cornerstone of music history,³ he suggested that any attempts to reconstruct part of the

¹ Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, Princeton University Press: 2014), p. x.

² The word *actor* is used as a gender neutral term throughout this thesis, it refers to both male and female players.

³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 177 p.

musical past had to consider the history of reception (an aspect of the musical event).⁴ In his article on reception, Jim Samson places the focus of reception history on 'people's awareness of, and attitudes toward, particular repertoire [and is] less concerned with individual responses [...] than with collective, intersubjective responses based on determinate groups of listeners'.⁵ In the case of Amsterdam, this 'people's awareness' survives mainly through the words of nineteenth-century Dutch critics who reported on the premières, reprises or notable performances of stage work in the local press. Richard Taruskin defined a critic as 'someone who evaluates music and musicians professionally, for the benefit of non-professionals and non-practitioners'⁶ and to become a critic, one needed either to be employed in a newspaper or to found one. By establishing the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant en Algemeen Handelsblad* in 1831, Pieter Arnold Diederichs (1804-1874) was able to convey both the behaviour and reactions of the audience (the collective) and also deliver his own personal reflections regarding the overall quality of the performance. These commentaries, along with the performance advertisements in the periodical, make up the foundations on which this study is based. Modern musical criticism was born 'in response to a new public need' resulting from the creation of the public sphere, where the expert could 'influence or even mould public opinion'.⁷ Yet the audience's perception of a work or 'its manner of occupying the social landscape' was not etched in stone, but rather changed continually.⁸ By paying attention to these changes, the fluctuations in the popularity of certain French works in Amsterdam come into focus.

This study engages certain aspects of comparative history in an effort to better understand Amsterdam's place within the Francosphere, the French-speaking world and sphere of influence.⁹ Using Paris as a model, I have compared theatre operations of the Amsterdam French Theatre with that of other French theatres. The most striking difference was that, contrary to Paris, theatres in Amsterdam were not bound by the generic

⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, (Berkeley and L.A.: University of California Press, 1989), p. 2.

⁵ Jim Samson, 'Reception', Grove Music Online. 2001. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040600> (consulted on 02 October 2022).

⁶ Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) p. 289.

⁷ Richard Taruskin, *Ibidem*.

⁸ Jim Samson, *op. cit.*

⁹ Michael Mann, 'Globalization, Macro-Regions and Nation-States', Gunilla Bude, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Janz (eds.), *Transnational Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), p.28.

restrictions dictated by the Napoleonic decrees issued in 1806 and 1807, which attempted to assign each theatre a specific genre. As a result, Amsterdam's French Theatre, the Théâtre Français sur l'Erwtenmarkt, put on everything from *grand opéra* to *comédie-vaudeville*, from classical tragedies to feats of acrobatics and magic tricks, bringing a regular traffic of stage works, artists and directors from Paris and the rest of the Francosphere to the Netherlands. This apparent freedom might have worked in a city like Amsterdam, but would have had hard consequences on the Paris model. Katharine Ellis argues that the Théâtre-Lyrique was created to promote young composers, but, due to a lack of proper subsidies, staged a greater number of proven works in order to ensure its economic survival.¹⁰ The advocates of deregulation, nostalgic for the release of all theatres from royal control in 1791, believed it would encourage a much-needed revivification of operatic life by creating a new audience for opera and offer new operatic opportunities [to] living composers. However, deregulation had the adverse effect of forcing new operatic ventures to put on public domain works rather than new repertoire, which led to many Parisian and regional theatres to close. It is my belief that the deregulated model in Amsterdam worked because, contrary to Paris, each theatre catered to a very specific language-oriented audience.

Important parallels existed between Amsterdam and other Dutch cities such as The Hague. As established by Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt,¹¹ the comparative approach revealed the hierarchical differences that existed between Amsterdam and the rest of the Francosphere. The performances the Amsterdam French Theatre troupe gave in neighbouring cities like Utrecht or Haarlem (which lacked a permanent troupe) illustrate Amsterdam's cultural predominance, but when compared to The Hague (capital of Dutch diplomacy with a larger French-speaking community), that position is overshadowed. Whereas the positioning of Amsterdam regarding other Dutch cities could be measured in comparative terms (similarities and differences), its relationship to Paris would fall more along the lines of *histoire croisée* or entangled history (focusing on transfers and

¹⁰ Katharine Ellis, 'Systems Failure in Operatic Paris: The Acid Test of the Théâtre-Lyrique', *Music, Theater and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, Mark Everist and Annegret Fauser (eds.), (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 64-65.

¹¹ Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives of Comparative History', *Comparative and Transnational History Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qd75h.4> (consulted on 9 October 2022).

interactions rather than similarities or differences), given that 'societies [or cities] in contact with one another [...] modify one another reciprocally as a result of their relationship'.¹² As French artists helped to shape the meaning of modern stage works in Amsterdam, impacting the local production of stage music and text, inversely, they brought back to Paris the experience of the *Amsterdam Hoogeschool* (contact with a foreign culture and a demanding audience), which nourished their method in a characteristic manner.¹³

Music and cultural transfer

For Michel Espagne, cultural transfer was originally focused on understanding the interpenetration of French and German culture, notably how the 'Eighteenth-century [nations that would later constitute] Germany were constituted by a deconstruction of French culture and, inversely, Germany functioned as a mirror allowing 'French identity' gestating in the nineteenth century to stabilise'.¹⁴ The cultural transfer between the Netherlands and France, dating back to the fourteenth century, shows how the French language was an integral part of the education of the Dutch high-middle and upper classes, while many French authors of the Enlightenment saw the first editions of their work printed in the Netherlands because of censorship in France.¹⁵

When the concept of cultural transfer is applied to music, it can be used to illustrate the ways Western music was transferred to the rest of the world.¹⁶ This diffusion of European music was driven more by the receiving nations' readiness to import it than the European drive to export it.¹⁷ This is shown in Chenyin Tang's dissertation, *Imagining Opera: Ideas of Western Opera in the British India, Singapore and Shanghai (1860s-1920s)* (2019) and, in Amsterdam's case, in the eagerness with which the *abonnés* and *habitués* of

¹² Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory*, Vol.45 N°1 (Feb., 2006), p. 35.

¹³ See p. 114.

¹⁴ Gerard Noiriel, 'Transferts culturels: l'exemple franco-allemand. Entretien avec Michel Espagne', *Genèses. Sciences sociales et histoire*, no. 8, 1992, p. 146.

¹⁵ See Chapter 1.2

¹⁶ Jin-Ah Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2015, p. 50.

¹⁷ Matthias Middell, 'Cultural Transfers and Historical Comparative Studies – Theses of their Relationship', *Comparativ* 10/1 (2000), p. 20-21.

the Amsterdam French Theatre demanded the latest Parisian successes to be played on their stage, which in turn attracted directors and performers from Paris.

In 'Comparative History and Cultural Transfers', Matthias Middell explained how cultural transfer was the solution to avoid being trapped inside a container (where events happening on the inside are oblivious to events happening outside). French-born artists like Nicolas Alexandre, Paul Coeuriot, Henri Moulin-Neuf, Auguste Nourrit and Alex Vautrin who stayed in the Netherlands for extended periods of time, occupying important positions in Dutch musical life and founding families, cannot continue to be considered exclusively French.¹⁸ They were 'the carriers of transfer processes because of their temporary or longer immersion in another culture'.¹⁹ Cultural transfers therefore offer a new way of considering the dynamics of these cross-cultural relations.

Candida Mantica's dissertation, *Gaetano Donizetti's L'Ange de Nisida: History, reconstruction and critical edition of a Franco-Italian opera* (2013), revealed interesting parallels between the Franco-Italian experience of a writer/composer and those in the Franco-Dutch context. Donizetti's adaptation of the Italian compositional style to conform to French expectations is comparable, albeit to a lesser degree, to Florentine composer Rinaldo Benucci's (1774-1841), an orchestra conductor of Amsterdam's Italian opera company who later became the director of the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre for which he composed many circumstantial and patriotic pieces.²⁰ Like Donizetti's 'efforts to reach a transnational musical language that combined Italian and French practices'²¹ the works of Benucci show similar aspects of cross-culturalisation.

Culture can be considered as being something mobile rather sedentary, where the meaning of certain works changes in accordance to time and space. Auber's *La muette de Portici*²² is a singular example of how one of the most performed works of the Amsterdam repertoire came to be regarded as a dangerous, subversive piece after the Belgian

¹⁸ Matthias Middell, 'Comparative History and Cultural Transfers' (unpublished paper read at the European University at St. Petersburg on 11 October 2013).

¹⁹ Matthias Middell, 'European History and Cultural Transfer', *Diogenes*, Vol. 48, no. 189, p. 26.

²⁰ *Caecilia: algemeen muzikaal tijdschrift van Nederland*, 1 May 1845.

²¹ Candida Billie Mantica, 'Gaetano Donizetti's "L'Ange de Nisida" and "opéra de genre" in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 26 (1), 2019, p. 63.

²² For a reconsideration of *La Muette's* meaning, see Sonia Slatin, 'Opera and revolution: La Muette de Portici and the Belgian revolution of 1830 revisited', *Journal of Musicological Research* 3 (1979) 45-62.

Revolution of 1830 and, as a result, was banned from Dutch and German language theatres until 1837. In his essay *Theatrical Mobility*, Stephen Greenblatt argued that Shakespeare 'understood there was no final form to any of his creations [which] lend themselves to continual metamorphosis', an ongoing process of appropriation, adaptation and transformation.²³ The performance of French repertoire in Amsterdam, which went from canonic plays by Molière and Racine to modern thorough sung operas, were subject to constant adaptations in order to align with the structural confines of each theatre, the budgetary restrictions of directors and the aesthetic expectations – *Erwartungshorizont*, to borrow Hans-Robert Jauss's term – of the audiences.

Music and transnationalism

The circulation of agents and the repertoire between Paris and Amsterdam naturally falls within the scope of international history, but could the subject matter also be considered from the perspective of a transnational history? The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History defines 'transnational' as the product of a historical process.²⁴ As social processes 'transcend the boundaries of nation states', the traditional model of national history can be replaced by 'a history of exchanges, networks and hybridities'.²⁵ Transnationalism is 'first and foremost about people: the social space they inhabit, the networks they form and the ideas they exchange'²⁶ but these ideas rarely retain their original meaning when they cross borders.²⁷ This was well illustrated by *La muette de Portici*'s reception in Amsterdam, but also by the most performed *comédie-vaudeville* of 1837: *Le gamin de Paris*. As Axel Körner pointed out, 'what a specific work means differs according to the context of

²³ Stephen Greenblatt, 'Theatrical Mobility', Stephen Greenblatt et alii, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 76-77.

²⁴ Akira Iriye, Pierre-Yves Saunier, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the mid-19th century to the present day*, (London: Macmillan, 2016), p. 1047.

²⁵ Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Comparative and Transnational History', Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Jürgen Kocka, *Comparative and Transnational History, Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, (Cambridge: Berghahn Books, 2012), p. 43.

²⁶ Patricia Calvin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History* Vol. 14 no. 4, 2005, pp. 421-439 p. 422.

²⁷ Axel Körner, 'Transnational History: Identities, Structures, States' (essay available online on the website https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1541133/3/K%C3%B6rner_OeAW2.pdf, consulted on 26 March 2023), p. 2.

reception, which is determined by local conditions’.²⁸ The ‘street boy’ was a figure whose political significance in Paris dated back to the July Revolution, whereas for *Amsterdammers*, he was perceived as a cultural curiosity, a foreign archetype appreciated for its exoticness, similar to the way Carmen became a symbol for the Western woman in Japan.²⁹

Clair Rowden identifies opera as ‘the ultimate transnational artistic form’ where the attention given to translations is often superficial, when it should be treated as ‘a negotiation of differences.’³⁰ I believe this also applies to *comédie-vaudeville* which, outside of the French Theatre, were performed in Dutch or German translations. These translations often came with adaptations of the text: for example, the Dutch version(s) of *Le gamin de Paris* (*De Straatjongen van Parijs*) systematically excised any nostalgic mention of Napoleon from the text, given his incursion in the Netherlands was still recent history.³¹ The music could also be altered: if most works kept the couplets and original airs, it was common to swap certain *airs connus* for music more familiar to *Amsterdammers*. Couplets could be recast into prose and sometimes all of the music was suppressed, as in *Arthur of Zestien Jaren Later*.³²

Music and cosmopolitanism

In the field of music, Cosmopolitanism appeared in the eighteenth century when scholars sought to move beyond the nationalist mentality dominant in Europe. The notion of nationality in a work increasingly lost meaning as it travelled across borders and was exposed to foreign elements, to the point where Europe could be thought of as ‘a mother country where all the arts are citizens’.³³ For William Weber, cosmopolitanism is applicable to music when it exerted musical authority, like Italian vocal music in the seventeenth century and German instrumental music in the eighteenth century. As a result, repertory

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

²⁹ Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden, *Carmen Abroad*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 15.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³¹ See Chapter 5.4

³² See Appendix L and M.

³³ Michel Noiray, *Vocabulaire de la musique de l'époque classique* (Paris: Minerve, 2005), p. x.

and taste were largely determined by cosmopolitan practices.³⁴ In Amsterdam, the city enforced protectionist laws to protect its Municipal Theatre from unwanted competition and negative foreign influence until Napoleon's invasion of the Netherlands (1794). From that time on, French, Italian and German operas were featured in several theatres throughout Amsterdam. It was during the 1830s and 1840s that the debates on cosmopolitanism began to intensify, in a world otherwise dominated by national paradigms.³⁵ The critiques Donizetti received in Vienna for his 'frenchification' of Italian opera illustrate the cosmopolitan tendencies of that time. As the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna alternated between Italian-language and German-language opera, so did certain secondary theatres like the Leerzaam Vermaak, Grand Salon and Salon des Variétés, alternating Dutch-language and German-language performances, sometimes in the same evening.

Mark Everist draws attention to the exclusion of French music within the 'Teutonic Universalism' that dominates present-day historiography of music.³⁶ His example of how Italian and German operas were heard in French at the Batavian Theatre (Dutch East Indies) can be compared to the reception of Italian opera in Amsterdam: as the city lacked an official Italian playhouse, the other theatres gave Italian opera performances in either Dutch, French or German. Between 1830 and 1831, the French Theatre put on the most Italian operas (5-6 with an average of 13 performances per year) before the German Theatre became the main Italian opera provider from 1833 to 1839 (7-8 with an average of 25 performances per year). Everist concludes that 'the moment that a musical work in the theatre is transferred from its native environment, its national origin and language become a site of contest and exchange'.³⁷

Cosmopolitanism, comparativism, *Histoire croisée*, cultural transfer, transnational history... the abundant terminology applied to nineteenth-century historiography led

³⁴ William Weber, 'Cosmopolitanism, National and Regional Identities in 18th-Century European Musical life', Jane Fulcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The New Cultural History of Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 211-212.

³⁵ Claudio Vellutini, 'Donizetti, Vienna Cosmopolitanism', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 73, no. 1, p. 2.

³⁶ Mark Everist, 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre: Europe and beyond, 1800-1870', Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö, Derek B. Scott (ed.), *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 14.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

Matthias Middell to declare: ‘historians tend to be very undisciplined: they invent always new terms instead of dealing precisely with a term that exists already’.³⁸ Historians risk using ‘cosmopolitanism’ as a synonym for ‘international’ or ‘transnational’ or ‘global’³⁹ when the concept is more useful ‘when employed in a narrower, more specifically ethical and political sense’.⁴⁰ Not every border-crossing event is necessarily cosmopolitan: ‘music only becomes specifically cosmopolitan when a person perceives it as crossing an established boundary (local, regional, national) or somehow shifting the horizon of world-belonging’.⁴¹

Music and theatre in the Netherlands

At present, the majority of case studies dealing with opera and theatre culture in the Netherlands tend to focus on the early modern period rather than the nineteenth century. French actors in Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries formed part of either the French troupe known as *Comédie Française* or the *Collège Dramatique* (the embryo of the future Amsterdam French Theatre) and fought to circumvent the city’s protectionist laws in order to perform.⁴² Conferences such as the one held in Amsterdam in 2008 (*Drama, Performance, Debate, Theatre and Public Opinion*) show the predilection scholars have for the Dutch early modern period, as all fifteen papers dealt with issues from before 1800.

Nineteenth-century studies on theatre in the Netherlands remain relatively rare. Some of the existing works on the nineteenth-century are part of studies with a broader time span, usually stemming from the previous century, like Edouard Gregoir’s *Biography of Dutch artists-musicians* (1864),⁴³ or articles like Marjolein Hageman’s *The reception of*

³⁸ Matthias Middell, ‘Comparative History and Cultural Transfers’ (Conference held at the European University at St. Petersburg on 11 October 2013).

³⁹ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, ‘Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities’, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 99, no. 2, 2016, p. 141.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

⁴² Jan Fransen, *Les Comédiens Français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècles*, (Paris : Champion, 1925), p. 354-377.

⁴³ Edouard Gregoir, *Biographie des artistes-musiciens néerlandais des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles et des artistes étrangers résidant ou ayant résidé en Néerlande à la même époque* (Antwerp, L. Dela Montagne: 1864) 238 p.

Voltaire's plays in the Netherlands (2007)⁴⁴. There is less enthusiasm for the 1800s, either because the previous epochs were particularly brilliant or because, as Gerd Aage Gillhoff claimed without evidence, performances in the nineteenth century were 'rarely more than mediocre [and] totally devoid of gifted players'.⁴⁵ The inaccuracy of this statement is proved by the case of Amsterdam's French Theatre whose programme offered both canonic repertoire and the latest Parisian novelties performed by some of the best French singers, actors and artists throughout the 1830s.

Interest in French theatre in nineteenth-century Holland tends to focus more on The Hague rather than Amsterdam. The Hague's status as seat of the Dutch government made it an ideal place for the cultivation of French theatrical culture, and the presence of a French-language press provided accessible primary sources to *non-néerlandophones*. Gillhoff's *The Royal Dutch Theatre at The Hague* gives detailed information on the French Theatre at The Hague: its management, repertoire and performers. The lists of foreign plays given with both the original and translated title was a quintessential aid in identifying works announced in Amsterdam's newspapers. This work served as an initial guideline and a valuable guide to Amsterdam's French-language Theatre.

Aside from the consultation of the Press, there are three Dutch works that deal specifically with Amsterdam in the early nineteenth century and had a substantial bearing on the research. First, Ineke van Rossum's 'Grand Theatre on a small Stage' (1988) examines the stage decorations and the production of several French operas at the Amsterdam French Theatre between 1795 and 1855. The dissertation includes some 30 previously unpublished illustrations of the French Theatre that illustrate the physical restrictions of the stage, (reproduced in the appendix). Henny Ruitenbeek's *Kijkcijfers, The Amsterdam Theatre 1814-1841* (2002) is an introduction into the theatre world of Amsterdam in the 1830s. Ruitenbeek gives an account of how the Municipal Theatre positioned itself in Amsterdam with regard to other theatres in the city. It details its inner workings as the capital's first theatre, from issues of subsidy to the contents of programmes (works regarded as 'bad plays' by the city council were tolerated if they drew a large

⁴⁴ Marjolein Hageman, 'La réception du Théâtre de Voltaire aux Pays-bas', Sophie Linon-Chipon (ed.) *Revue Voltaire - Echos du théâtre voltairien*, N°7 (Paris: Press Sorbonne, 2007).

⁴⁵ Gillhoff, Gerd Aage, *The Royal Dutch Theatre at the Hague 1804–1876*, (The Hague: Martinus Hijoff, 1938), p. 1.

crowd),⁴⁶ from the functions expected of commissioners, managers (*tooneelmeester*), actors and instrumentalists, to the habits of the audience and their 'need to feel emotions, to pass the time, or to see and to be seen'.⁴⁷ Overall, Ruitenbeek's book is full of insight on the mechanics that bound this playhouse to Dutch culture and how it perceived foreign ones within the period of my research. Lastly, Patrick van den Hanenberg's *De Kleine Komedie, a History* (2012), tells the story of the Amsterdam French Theatre which, from 1786 to 1855, stood as the Dutch capital's most important venue for French theatrical repertory. Hanenberg provides a general understanding of how the French Theatre operated in the first half of the nineteenth century, which could be supplemented by the primary sources at my reach (newspapers, programme books, magazines and pamphlets). It is of great value to those interested in following the transformations of the theatre into a church, a Jewish lecture hall, a bicycle shelter and ultimately a source of firewood. The author takes a longer look at the history of the theatre from its reopening in 1948, all the way to 2011, where the Amsterdam French Theatre survives today as a comedy club: De Kleine Komedie.

Methodology and Contribution

In present-day Amsterdam, little today remains of the performance material in theatres where French repertoire was given in the 1830s. None of Amsterdam's three main theatres is still active: the French Theatre stopped putting on performances in 1855 when the building was converted into a church, the Municipal Theatre was completely destroyed in a fire in 1890 and the German Theatre was demolished in 1946. As a result, this study is based on the surviving primary sources, largely extrapolated from the advertisements and reviews published in the Amsterdam press.⁴⁸ From these sources, it was possible to recover the names of theatre directors, local performers and visiting artists (agents); discover what operas and musical stage works were performed (repertoire) and identify the theatres and

⁴⁶ Henny Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers: de Amsterdamse Schouwburg 1814-1841* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 2002), p. 47.

⁴⁷ 'behoefde aan emotie, om de tijd te doen, of om te zien en gezien te worden'. H. Ruitenbeek, *op. cit.*, p.14.

⁴⁸ Most of this material is available in open source on www.delpher.nl, the missing editions and periodicals can be found on microfilm at the Royal Library at The Hague and the theatre programmes (*programboekjes*) are conserved in the Special Collections Library of the University of Amsterdam.

venues where these performances took place (institutions). The written critiques regularly inserted in the press made it possible to ascertain the editor's (and ultimately the audience's) reception of the different performances given throughout the city. The information provided by these primary sources – considerably enriched by source material and illustrations provided by Europe's largest theatre documentation centre, the *Theater Instituut Nederland* (TIN) – permitted the creation of a data-set in which the theatres where works (French or otherwise) were given, the title of the work, the language the work and the number of performances for each work. This quantified data revealed the importance of French repertoire in Amsterdam theatres in the 1830s, as well as the then predominant genres of stage music. Rather than flood my appendix with the entirety of this data, I decided to only include the yearly performance charts for the French Theatre, in decreasing number of performances, and refer the rest to a future online database.

The global health crisis and subsequent lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 had a considerable impact, restricting both travel and access to libraries and archives. Gratitude must be extended to the creators of the multiple online resources that have greatly changed the conditions in which research is conducted today. As a sizeable online library, Google Books provided a large quantity of primary sources (mostly the libretti for a large part of the works performed in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s). Much of the secondary material was provided by online resources such as *JSTOR*, *Persée* and *cairn.info*. As frustrating as the lockdown and the shutting down of most cultural organisations was, there is a growing number of online resources available that offer a solution to the obstacles of distance and crisis. There was also a certain irony to my situation which did not escape me: just as the impact of the Covid19 pandemic led to the closing down of most theatres, libraries and places of public gathering across the world, so did the cholera (1832) and influenza (1835 and 1837) epidemics ravage Amsterdam, which resulted, among other things, in the cancellation of the 1832 *Kermis*, a much awaited annual event which brought tents with attractions, exhibits and touring theatre troupes to the city.

The research has brought to light many forgotten theatre directors, singers and players that, over the course of a decade, brought varied forms of musical and theatrical entertainment to Amsterdam. Although some of the artists that performed in Amsterdam left behind a legacy, many of them left only small traces of their existence. By assembling fragments of information (a headline, a music critique, an advertisement for a portrait...) in

the press, it has been possible to recompose the itinerary of several forgotten talents that passed through Amsterdam. Chapter 1 outlines the cultural and historical circumstances from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century that led to the high regard and the importance of the French language in the Netherlands, justifying the presence of French opera and stage music in nineteenth-century Amsterdam. Chapter 2 presents the primary and secondary theatres where French repertoire was performed from 1830 to 1839. Each of these theatres was characterised by the social group(s) that frequented the establishment and the language in which the repertoire was given. The agents, ‘the cooperative network [of individuals] through which art happens’,⁴⁹ responsible for producing and performing this vast quantity of repertoire are detailed in next two chapters: chapter 3 gives a chronological account of the directors of the Amsterdam French Theatre while chapter 4 lists the twenty of the most renowned singers and actors who visited the institution throughout the 1830s. It is arranged by the Parisian theatres from which these talents emerged, bringing both diversity of repertoire and international prestige to the Amsterdam French Theatre. Chapter 5 presents the diversity of French repertoire performed in Amsterdam from 1830 to 1839. The data, extrapolated from the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, revealed the plurality of genres performed in Amsterdam, from spoken dramas to thorough sung *grand opéras*. Individual examples illustrate the singular aspects of this repertoire and explain the quantifying process used to determine the popularity of genres.

The Dutch capital has long been overlooked as a key stage in the Francosphere, overshadowed by the prestige of The Hague. This has led not only to the unjustified neglect of Amsterdam as a hub for French opera and stage music in the 1830s, but also to the mislabelling of events and persons in documents. This research and its findings should not only help to rehabilitate Amsterdam as a relevant hub for French opera and musical theatre in the first half of the nineteenth century, but also encourage further work in this particular field, especially the decade of the 1840s, a study of which – given the growing popularity of French opera and theatre, the audience’s unrelenting desire to see and hear stage celebrities from Paris and the opening of new *comédie-vaudeville* playhouses – would both complement and expand the conclusions in this dissertation.

⁴⁹ Howard Becker, *Art Worlds*, (London: University of California Press, 1982), p. 1.

Chapter 1 Setting the Stage: The Netherlands as a Potential Venue for French Language Opera and Musical Theatre

*La langue allemande est énergique, mais rude.
L'espagnole est grave, mais trop enflée.
L'italienne est mignarde, mais molle.
La hollandaise est copieuse, mais peu châtiée.
La langue française a toutes les beautés de celles-ci,
Sans avoir aucun de leurs défauts.
C'est à juste titre, qu'on l'appelle la langue régnante.
Les rois et les princes font gloire de la parler.*

– Pieter Marin, Language professor, 1712

Of all the places one might look for French opera outside of France in the nineteenth century, Amsterdam is perhaps not the first city that comes to mind. Yet, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Amsterdam was hailed as one of the most important cities where the French language was widely spoken and sung outside of France. The broad variety of plays and their performance in several theatres across the capital attested to a pronounced taste for French lyrical and dramatic works. Whether set in their original language or translated, French *dramas*, *comédies*, *comédie-vaudevilles*, *opéras* and *opéra-comiques* were put on both by local performers as well as peripatetic troupes for an eager and broad socio-economically diverse audience. In this chapter, I will give an account of how the French language acquired its notoriety in the Netherlands as early as the fourteenth century and, as the centuries passed, gained enough importance to attract French-language theatre troupes in Amsterdam.

1.1 Presence and importance of the French Language in the Netherlands

In the 1830s, French repertoire was widely performed in Amsterdam's primary playhouses: the Stadsschouwburg (Municipal Theatre), the Théâtre-Français sur l'Ewrttenmarkt (French Theatre), and the Deutsches Theater (German Theatre). These three institutions account

for over 90% of all French productions in the Dutch capital.⁵⁰ Additionally, there were quite a number of smaller, secondary theatres that featured works from French repertoire. Amsterdam's annual September fair -- the *Kermis* -- covered entire city squares with tents that became ephemeral venues which would fill to capacity. Theatre companies from neighbouring cities, like Hoedt and Bingley's troupe, would take up residence in these tents or in empty venues, thereby adding to the already vast selection of theatrical entertainment. And though the play season in Amsterdam officially ran from late August to early May, summer programmes regularly marked the theatre calendar, never leaving the Amsterdam public for too long without some form of dramatic or musical divertissement.

Over 500 kilometres north of Paris, the Dutch capital is distant from the important centres of the European Francosphere. Even during the time of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1839), cities in Wallonia (southern Belgium) such as Tournai, Charleroi, Liège or Brussels had few exchanges with Amsterdam because of cultural and religious differences: the southern Netherlands were traditionally of the Catholic faith whereas the northern countries tended more towards Protestantism.⁵¹ Hence, for there to be French opera in Amsterdam, there would first have to be a sizeable Francophone community in demand of French stage works. Consequently, before exploring the presence of French opera and stage works in Amsterdam, the place of the French language in Dutch society must first be ascertained. Determining the historical circumstances that gave the French language such a degree of importance and notoriety in cities across the Northern Netherlands (such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam) will undoubtedly help to shed light on the reasons behind the strong presence of French-language opera and stage works in Amsterdam.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 5.5

⁵¹ Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe*, (Cambridge U. Press, 2014), p. 5.

1.2 From the heritage of Burgundy ancestors to the Napoleonic occupation

Compared to other foreign tongues, the French language held a privileged position both in Dutch society in general and in Amsterdam in particular, with varying degrees of importance throughout history. The history of French spoken as a second language throughout the northern Netherlands has been the main subject of interest of a collective of researchers known as SIHFLES.⁵² One of their arguments is that international trade and cultural exchanges between France and the Low Countries were at the root of this phenomenon, but this can be said of many other European countries. As the linguist and academic Marie-Christine Kok Escalle suggests:

French has been the object of linguistic policy since the Renaissance: the Villiers-Cotterêt Mandate designates French as the [official] language of the Institutions in France in 1539, and the creation of the *Académie Française* in 1635 normalises the ‘sun tongue’, which became centralised and aristocratic. Nobility and elegance characterise the ‘versailification’ of French culture that will spread throughout Europe, especially within certain layers of society and for different functions [...] French becomes of equal rank as Latin [...] one speaks greatly of the universal nature of the French language [...] because it is superior to other languages due to its spirit of clarity and natural order.⁵³

Kok Escalle and other linguists such as Madeleine Van Strien-Chardonneau, Ferdinand Brunot and Pierre Swiggers believe that the reception of the French language in the Netherlands was the result of a different process altogether. Given the Dukes of Burgundy were in control of the Northern provinces that roughly correspond to present day Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands, French was spoken in the Low Countries as early as the fourteenth century. The Dutch magistrates were forced to learn the language of the

⁵² SIHFLES : *Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Étrangère ou Seconde*.

⁵³ ‘Le français a fait l’objet d’une politique linguistique dès la Renaissance: l’Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts en fait en 1539 la langue des institutions en France, et la fondation de l’Académie française en 1635 normalise la « langue soleil » qui devient centralisée et aristocratique. Noblesse et élégance caractérisent une « Versaillification » de la culture française qui va se répandre en Europe, en particulier dans certaines couches de la société et pour différentes fonctions [...] Le français acquiert un rang d’égalité avec le latin [...] on parle beaucoup de l’universalité de la langue française [...] car supérieure aux autres à cause de son génie de clarté et de son ordre naturel’. Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, ‘La diffusion du Français hors de France: Histoire, Modèles, Pratiques’ [‘The diffusion of French outside of France: History, Models, Practices’], *Revue d’études et recherches francophones* (Ankara : Frankofoni, 2007), p.245.

dukes, as French was the imposed language in all official acts.⁵⁴ From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, great migratory waves of French speakers flooded into the Low Countries as a direct result of the Reformation and the subsequent religious persecutions. French-Swiss Calvinism merged with the Dutch Protestant church, leading to the establishment of a fully bilingual reformed church in the Netherlands by 1572.⁵⁵ French remained the language of court in the Netherlands even during the Franco-Dutch wars (1672-1678).⁵⁶ When King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the royal decree that had guaranteed the freedom to practise any religion without persecution from the State, a large number of French Protestants, known as Huguenots, left France. The historian Jean-Paul Pittion estimates that, between 1680 and 1700, approximately 200,000 Huguenots fled from the kingdom of France and that 'Holland, The Great Ark of Refugees, had long been a land of refuge and welcomed the largest number of fugitives'.⁵⁷ Being historically a land of religious tolerance and general openness to other cultures, the Netherlands was regarded as the ideal choice for asylum. Those refugees went on to establish large francophone communities in the Low Countries, with French-speaking churches and schools to pass down the language to their children. For descendants of Huguenots in the Low Countries, French remained their first language for many generations more, and thus generated a demand for French cultural institutions and academies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Dutch historian Willem Frijhoff referred to this process as the 'Frenchification' of the United Provinces.⁵⁸

In the seventeenth century, the Netherlands broke free from Spanish domain at the end of the Eighty Years War (1648) and enjoyed a Golden Age of great economic growth, cultural wealth and economic prosperity known as the *Gouden Eeuw*, when Dutch navigators established trading posts across the seas in both the East and West Indies. Knowledge of the French language greatly facilitated this commercial growth, since French was the

⁵⁴ J. Fransen, *Les Comédiens Français en Hollande aux XVII et au XVIII siècles* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925), p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁵⁷ 'Il est probable qu'entre 1680 et 1700, quelques 200000 huguenots [...] s'enfuirent du royaume [et que] La Hollande, « la Grande Arche des Réfugiés », était depuis longtemps terre de refuge et accueillit le plus grand nombre de fugitifs'. <http://archives.ville-saumur.fr/a/752/consulter-l-histoire-de-l-academie-par-jean-paul-pittion/> (consulted on 21 May 2019).

⁵⁸ Willem Frijhoff, 'verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 104 (1989) p. 592-609.

official language of international commerce and navigation. It was not long before the Netherlands was drawn into war with England and France, both nations who had been observing this Dutch expansion with growing concern. The Dutch aristocracy, who had acquired French from their Burgundian ancestors, sought to hire private teachers or governesses to educate their children. The bourgeoisie mirrored this practice, making the French language a cornerstone of education among the middle and upper classes. Young aristocrats and bourgeois also learned French as a means of embarking on the *Grand Tour*, a formative journey that would take them to Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany. The language manuals they read taught French through conversation templates but also through chosen excerpts of literature, whether on the countries they would visit, or on their own country. Thus, French was also the language through which the Dutch learned about their own history and forged their individual identity. These manuals shaped the reader into the French archetype of a well-rounded individual by teaching manners, etiquette, morality, history as well as basic everyday skills.

In the eighteenth century, the cultural and sartorial hold of Versailles on the imagination of the Dutch upper classes endured, clearly visible in works such as Adriaan de Lelie's *Portrait of Jan Van Loon's family* (1786). Yet the French social model taught in conversation books progressively began to lose its appeal. According to Kok Escalle, the French language nevertheless maintained its intellectual relevance in the Low Countries and even developed a new importance as a key to discovering the authors of Antiquity.⁵⁹ Dutch men fluent in French but novice in Greek or Latin could now explore Classical literature through its availability in French translations. Women especially, who normally did not learn Latin, now had access to a corpus of literature formerly beyond their reach. French was not only the language of modernity; it was now also the language of Antiquity. French Philosophers in the Netherlands like René Descartes, Pierre Bayle, Count Buffon, and Voltaire not only contributed to the internationalization of Dutch philosophy, but were also printed locally. Shown below (figure 1) are a few examples of first and early editions of French works printed in Leyde, Utrecht, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, a result of contemporary censorship in France. French schools taught many of the subjects that were neglected by the Latin schools, like commerce and navigation. French thus allowed access to modern geography,

⁵⁹ Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

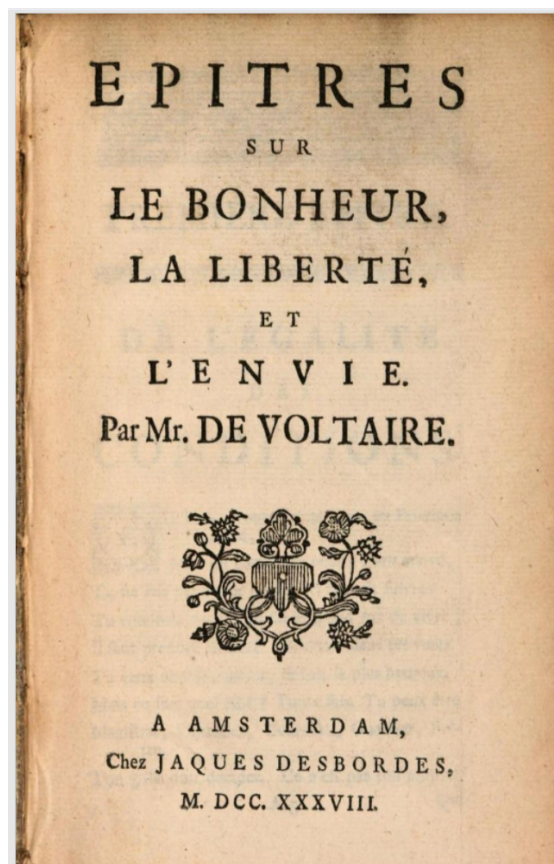
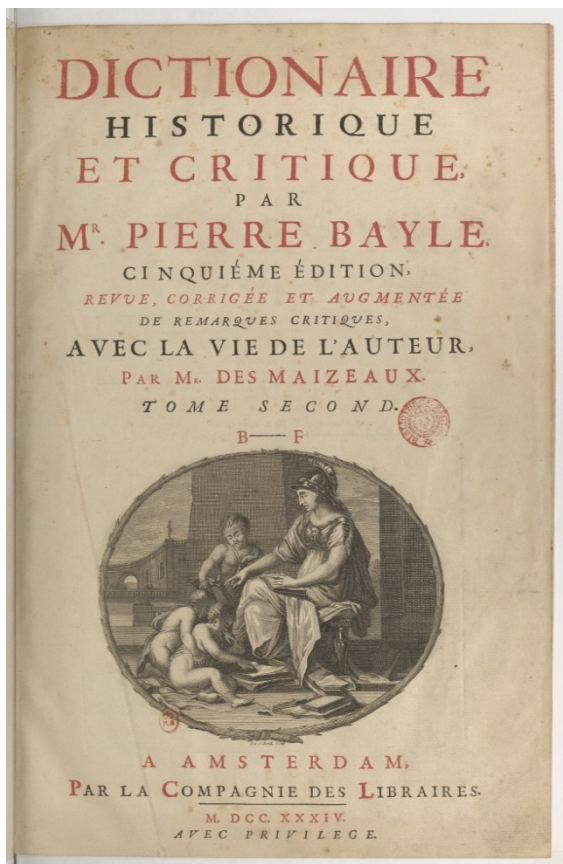
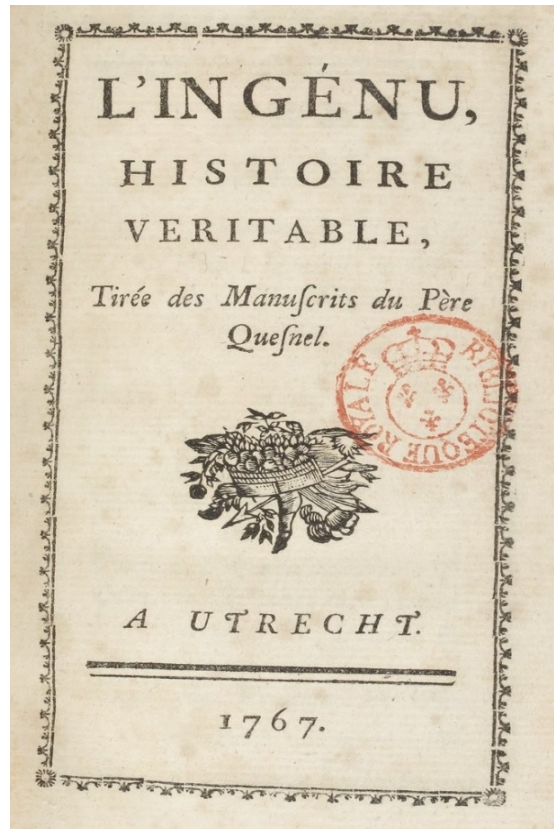
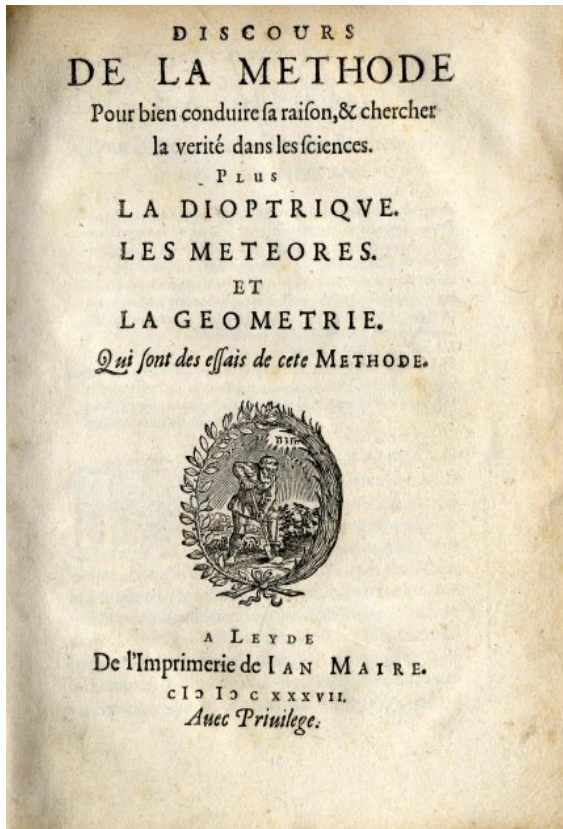


Figure 1: First and early editions of French works printed in the Netherlands.

which benefited various enterprises such as Captain Jean-François de La Perouse's 1785 expedition around the world, as immortalised in Nicolas-André Monsiau's painting, *Louis XVI giving his instructions to La Perouse* (1817). La Perouse's *Atlas* contained prints of his voyage and was widely published in major Dutch cities such as Antwerp and Amsterdam.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the French *Convention Nationale* declared war on England and the United Provinces, and the Stadholder Willem V of Orange fled the country in 1795, leading to the establishment of the Batavian Republic. Though an ally of France, the country's constant unrest and inability to promote a constitution led Napoleon to create the Kingdom of Holland, which was ruled by his brother Louis from 1806 to 1810. Louis's later abdication resulted in the annexation of Holland into the French empire until French troops were effectively expelled in 1813. Thus, at the start of the nineteenth century, French evolved from being the language of Revolution and Enlightenment to the language of Occupation.

1.3 The rehabilitation of Dutch and the role of French as a second language

Napoleon's annexation of the Low Countries no doubt played a hefty part in encouraging the renewed appreciation for the Dutch language in the early nineteenth century. Incidentally, this deepened the cultural differences that existed between the northern Netherlands (Dutch-speaking and Protestant) from the region mainly occupied by Belgium, which was Francophone and Catholic. The Belgian Revolution of 1830, immortalised by the uprising at La Monnaie in Brussels during a performance of Auber's *La muette de Portici*, not only triggered a rebellion against Dutch authority, but accrued the growing nationalist convictions in the northern Netherlands. Though the size of a nation was a major factor when measuring strength, many agreed that the Netherlands were a stronger people once they had severed the links between them and the Belgian people – a nation 'of different nature and opposite character'.⁶⁰ In October 1830, Amsterdam's most influential

⁶⁰ 'De zelfstandigheid en onafhankelijkheid van een Volk, is niet gelegen in het getal der Burgers, of in de uitgestrektheid van gebied, maar in morele Kracht en Waarde' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 October 1830).

periodical, the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, published an article, entitled 'The autonomy and independence of a nation does not lie in the number of the citizens, or in the vastness of the territory, but in moral strength and value'.⁶¹ This article covers various aspects of bolstered national pride and identity. The following passage specifically refers to the place of the Dutch and French languages in Holland:

Our language [...] has been entrapped from all sides, reviled, sneered and already too often it has had to make way for the mutilated bastard-sound of a neighbouring people which has absolutely nothing in common with our idiosyncratic national existence. The relationship between language and civilization is so clearly recognized that there is no need to demonstrate it here [...] A civilized education must now be French! French morals, French habits, French sincerity, French theatre, French language..., nothing is more natural and more comprehensible.⁶²

Though it is possible to understand the emotion in the author's revolt against the historic imposition of French (the 'mutilated bastard-sound') by the Dukes of Burgundy, to have claimed that people of both nations have 'absolutely nothing in common' is nevertheless incorrect: history attests to a shared ancestry and heritage of both nations since the fourteenth century. To claim ironically that 'a civilized education must now be French, [and] nothing is more natural and more comprehensible' is to challenge the influence that the French language exerted over Dutch society in 1830. This questioning indicates a renewed interest and appreciation for the Dutch language, which could be felt even beyond the Netherlands. In the following excerpt, taken from the French literary magazine *Le Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle*, a Frenchman illustrated the qualities of the Dutch language through the travel experience of the French actor François Joseph Talma:

I have often heard asked if Dutch poetry has [any] charm, if the Dutch theatre has [any] tragedies. [...] I had regarded the Dutch language as harsh, barbaric even, Talma told me; how deceived I was! I understood only a few words; yet as I listened to Madame Wattier,

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² 'Onze taal [...] wordt van alle kanten in het naauw gebragt, verguisd, gesmaad en heeft reeds te dikwijls plaats moeten maken voor den verminkten bastaard-klank van een naburig volk hetwelk volstrekt niets gemeens heeft met ons eigenaardig volksbestaan. Het verband tusschen taal en beschaving is te zeer erkend, dan dat hpt noodig zoude zijn hetzel-e hier te betoogen. [...] Eene beschaafde opvoeding moet immer thans Fransch zijn ! Fransche zeden, Fransche gewoonten, Fransche oprotbeid, Fransche schouwburg, Fransche taal..., niets is natuurlijker en begrijpelijker', translated by Guillemette Koning (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 October 1830).

I thought I was hearing Clairon or Dumenil recite one of Racine's most sublime tirades. This language hardly spoken and barely known, and yet so rich, so energetic, and so noble in its phrasing and poetic expressions [...] to be appreciated, needs to be spoken purely and perfectly accented. Certainly, Dutch literature deserves neither the sarcasm of an unjust prevention, nor the oblivion to which it is condemned.⁶³

Despite this rehabilitation of the Dutch language, albeit sometimes accompanied by strong patriotic and anti-French sentiments, Holland still held the French language in high regard. The motto adopted for the creation of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815) was written in French on the coat of Arms: *Je maintiendrai* ('I shall maintain'). And although French became a second language in the Netherlands, it retained a central role in the education of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Selected readings of French texts were meant to nurture the distinction of fair and good and cultivate the intellect in aspects of judgement, thought, taste and expression. Of the three foreign languages taught, French was the first and most important, followed by German and lastly English. Additionally, the learning of other foreign languages took place through methods originally developed for the teaching of the French language, acting as a bridge between the student and the foreign language.⁶⁴

French was taught either in boarding schools or directly in the home, where the head of the household would hire a francophone preceptor or a governess.⁶⁵ Throughout the 1830s, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* was littered with advertisements – often in French in the midst of the Dutch text – by applicants looking for 'A respectable family who wishes to engage, as a GOVERNESS, a lady capable of giving a distinguished education'.⁶⁶ Though

⁶³ 'J'ai entendu souvent demander si la poésie hollandaise a du charme, si le théâtre Hollandais a des tragédies. [...] J'avais regardé la langue hollandaise comme dure, barbare même, me dit Talma; combien je suis détrompé! Je n'en comprends que bien peu de mots; eh bien en écoutant Madame Wattier, j'ai cru entendre Clairon ou Duménil me réciter une des plus sublimes tirades de Racine. Cette langue si peu parlée, si peu connue, et cependant si riche, si énergique et si noble dans son tour et ses expressions poétiques, [...] pour être appréciée, a besoin d'être parlé [*sic*] purement et parfaitement accentué [*sic*]. Certes, la littérature hollandaise ne mérite ni les sarcasmes dont souvent l'accable une injuste prévention, ni l'oubli auquel on la condamne'. *Le Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle, Vérité, Liberté*, Tome XVI, (Paris: Mercure, 1827), p. 538.

⁶⁴ Kok Escalle, *op. cit.* p. 9.

⁶⁵ Madeleine Van Strien-Chardonneau and Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, 'Le français aux Pays-Bas (XVIIe-XIXe siècles) de la langue du bilinguisme élitare à une langue du plurilinguisme d'éducation', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, 2010, p.126. <https://doi.org/10.4000/dhfiles.2448> (consulted on 5 March 2022).

⁶⁶ 'Une Famille respectable, qui désire engager, comme gouvernante une Dame capable de donner une éducation distinguée' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 March 1832).

not explicitly mentioned, it is understood from the choice of language for the advertisement that 'distinguished education' alludes to a French education. Aristocratic or bourgeois families could also make their intentions known and request candidates in this manner. Here is a request from a 'distinguished family' in Amsterdam looking for a Catholic governess:

We ask from Amsterdam, for a distinguished family, a foreign governess, of the Catholic faith, able to give a careful education to some children. She who can teach Dutch, besides other languages, and music, will have the preference.⁶⁷

As shown above, the language requirement of the candidate was often followed by other demands. The religion of the governess was a crucial matter, as the education she would impart would be bolstered with either Catholic or Protestant values. Complementary requests covering a broad spectrum of proficiencies (sometimes referred to as 'female crafts'),⁶⁸ from needlework to piano playing, also figured in the description. The following advertisement specifies the desired language, religion and skills of the potential governess:

By next May, one desires a governess, of the Reformed Religion, above thirty years of age, to be able to give thorough education in Dutch and French, History and Geography, linen and woollen sewing (as well as other feminine crafts of taste), the pianoforte and all that is required for a good upbringing.⁶⁹

1.4 The cultural contrasts of north and south

The evidence presented above shows that, since the Middle Ages, the history of the Low Countries has been one of commerce, navigation and cultural exchange with other nations. Therefore, the reception of French opera in the Netherlands in general must be treated as

⁶⁷ 'On demande d'Amsterdam, pour une famille distinguée, une gouvernante étrangère, de la religion catholique en état de donner une éducation soignée à quelques enfants. Celle qui puisse enseigner, outre des autres langues, la Hollandaise par principes, comme aussi la Musique, aura la préférence' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 February 1836).

⁶⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 September 1832.

⁶⁹ 'Tegen Mei aanstaande verlangt men eene gouvernante, van de Gereformeerde Godsdienst, boven de dertig Jaren, zich in slaat bevindende grondig onderwijs te kunnen geven in de Hollandsche en Fransche Talen, Geschiedenis en Aardrijkskunde, het Linnen en Wollen naaijen en andere Vrouwelijke Handwerken van Smaak, de Piano-Forte en al wat tot eene goede opvoeding wordt vereischt' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 March 1833).

a multidimensional question, to be approached from multiple angles. From a cultural point of view, there were distinct differences between the northern and southern parts of the Low Countries. The south – modern-day Belgium – was annexed to the newly formed Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815, despite considerable protest from both Catholic Wallonia – who held strong cultural, religious and linguistic ties with France – and Flanders, where King Willem I wished to impose the Dutch language over the Flemish dialects spoken in that region.⁷⁰ After Belgium's declaration of independence in 1830 – traditionally triggered by Masaniello's patriotic song in Auber's *La muette de Portici* – the country became a haven for French singers and actors in exile.⁷¹ This receptiveness of French extended to The Hague, the seat of Dutch government. In contrast, the north was primarily a Protestant region with puritan moral standards. For an actress to be accepted on stage in Amsterdam, she 'must have very pure manners, otherwise no one will share the stage with her; many French actresses having presented themselves were refused for this reason'.⁷² The Amsterdam bourgeoisie had a more reverential – if not pious – approach to art and French farces were not always met with approval, as can be appreciated below:

Between the city where government resides and the capital where trade concentrates, there is a very marked difference in taste. The audience of the former sees great pleasure in plays with light gay, salacious or saucy tones, which contain what we call 'somewhat naughty' details. Therefore, [the *comédies-vaudevilles*] *Jeune et Vieille*, *La Chercheuse d'esprit*, *Le Plus beau jour de la vie* were giving the greatest pleasure in The Hague, royal residence, where the audience better understands the ease of manners and tone, and shows much tolerance for tasteful French farces, which in Amsterdam seem to slightly shock the severity of the ladies of the upper bourgeoisie.⁷³

⁷⁰ Cécile Vanderpelzn-Diagre, 'La Révolution belge et La Muette de Portici', *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* n°265 (Paris: Asopéra, 1986), p. 79.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

⁷² 'Il faut que l'actrice ait des mœurs très-pures, sans cela personne ne joueroit [sic] avec elle; plusieurs actrices françaises s'étant présentées furent refusées par cette raisons' (*Le Courrier des spectacles ou Journal des théâtres*, 17 April 1802).

⁷³ 'Entre le public de la ville où séjourne la cour et celui de la capitale où siège le commerce, il y a une différence très-marquée dans le goût. Le premier voit avec un grand plaisir les ouvrages d'un ton un peu gai, un peu leste ou grivois, qui contiennent ce qu'on appelle des détails un peu croustilleux [sic]; ainsi *Jeune et Vieille*, *la Chercheuse d'esprit*, *le Plus beau jour de la vie* faisaient le plus grand plaisir à La Haye, résidence royale, où la société comprend mieux la facilité de mœurs et de ton, et montre beaucoup de tolérance pour les plaisanteries françaises et de bon goût, qui à Amsterdam semblent choquer un peu la sévérité des dames de la haute bourgeoisie'. Olivier, W. J., *Manuel des étrangers à Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam: Diederichs Frères, 1838), p. 11.

The Netherlands were therefore a multicultural nation where art in general and theatre in particular were not received in the same manner throughout the kingdom. The study led by Mark Everist on the dynamics of the different musical spheres of influence places the Low Countries in an overlapping situation between the Francosphere rising from the south and the Germanosphere pushing in from the east.⁷⁴ The Italosphere's impact in Amsterdam in the 1830s is indirect: Italian opera companies made repeated attempts to establish themselves in Amsterdam, but if works by Rossini (and later Bellini) were appreciated by the Amsterdam audience, they were performed in French, Dutch or German... anything but Italian. The geographical proximity between the Netherlands and the British Isles facilitated influences from the Anglosphere, primarily through the circulation of plays by William Shakespeare from the second half of the sixteenth century onward.⁷⁵ Fransen notes there was more English than French influence on the Dutch theatre in the seventeenth century.⁷⁶ Though this has diminished in the nineteenth century, there are still works of English origins being performed in Dutch at the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre. If the degree of predominance of one sphere or another varied at different moments in the history of the Netherlands, the 1830s represented a decade of triumph for the Francosphere as works ranging from *grand opéra* to *comédie-vaudeville* were staged all across several of Amsterdam's theatres, both in French and in translation.

The evidence presented here shows that the French language has been spoken in the Low Countries since the fourteenth century. In addition to being present in aristocratic and bourgeois circles, French was also the language of contemporary knowledge and the language of travel, particularly for *Le Grand Tour*. By the nineteenth century, an important part of the Netherlands was francophone and in demand of French culture, presenting a potential market for those who dealt in French art, music, theatre and opera. If an entrepreneur managed to put together a troupe capable of performing a variety of works and satisfy the local audience, the potential for profits was high.

⁷⁴ Mark Everist, 'Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and Beyond, 1800–1870', Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpio and Derek Scott (eds.) *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, (London: Routledge, [forthcoming]).

⁷⁵ Ton Hoenselaars, 'Shakespeare and the Low Countries: An Introduction', Douglas A. Brooks, *Shakespeare and the Low Countries* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), p. 1.

⁷⁶ J. Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

1.5 All the ‘word’ is a stage: the *Nederduitsche* language and the meaning of *Tonneel*

Considering that much of the primary sources used for this research come from statements found in the surviving press, the study of nineteenth-century theatre in Amsterdam has much to do with understanding the subtleties of the language spoken in The Netherlands at that time: *Nederduitsche* (Low German). Different in many aspects from modern-day Dutch, *Nederduitsche* grammar is closer to German, with case declensions that impact the endings at the end of nouns⁷⁷ (‘French theatre’ in *Nederduitsche* is written *Fransche Schouwburg* rather than *Frans Schouwburg*). When designating a ‘theatre’ – ‘a building [...] from which people can watch a performance’,⁷⁸ – the preferred word is *Schouwburg*, a union of ‘*schouwen*’ (to view) and ‘*burg*’ (a burrow or fortress), rather than ‘*theater*’. The word ‘toon’ (to show, to demonstrate) serves as root for ‘*tonneel*’, which encompasses both the idea of theatre and stage,⁷⁹ along with ‘*toneelspel*’ (stage play), ‘*toneelspeller*’ (actor) and ‘*toneelspeldichter*’ (playwright). Opera is defined as ‘*zangtonneel*’.⁸⁰

Use of the word ‘*tonneel*’ is attested as early as the Renaissance and finds its etymology in the middle Dutch word *tineel*, from the Old French *tin*, which is a ‘short piece of wood [...] used [...] to serve as a support [...] for the keel of a ship under construction, in order to raise it’.⁸¹ In the Middle Ages, outdoor performances sometimes drove actors to perform on podiums or raised platforms set atop barrels (*tonnels*). Given that both *tineel* and *tonnel* give the idea of an elevated space, apt for performances, it is likely that *tonneel* resulted from the fusion of both. The modern Dutch form of *tonneel*, spelled *toneel*, is defined by Van Dale as ‘the elevated part of a theatre, on which acting takes place: putting something on the stage [...]; anything related to drama; written plays of a period or country; incident, series of incidents; affectation, comedy’.⁸² There is also a semblance with the Old

⁷⁷ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia, ‘Dutch language’, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 19 Jul. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Dutch-language> (Consulted 3 May 2022).

⁷⁸ *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary & Thesaurus* @ Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁹ Samuel Hull Wilcoke, *Nieuw en Volkomen Woordenboek der Nederduitfche en Engelfche Taalen...* [New and Complete Dictionary of the Low German and English Languages...], (London: C. Dilly, 1798), p. 254.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

⁸¹ ‘Morceau de bois de peu de longueur [...] employé [...] pour servir de support [...] à la quille d’un navire en construction, afin de l’exhausser’. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, eighth edition (1932-1935).

⁸² ‘(1) verhoging in een schouwburg, waarop gespeeld wordt: iets ten tonele voeren [...] (2), alles wat met toneelspel in verband staat (3) geschreven toneelstukken van een periode of land, (4) voorval, reeks

English *tunne*, designating a tun, cask or barrel. Coincidentally, a tunnel or barrel vault was employed in the architecture of Amsterdam's first municipal theatre on *Keizersgracht* 384, built by Jacob van Campen.⁸³ Though etymology is not the primary interest of this study, it has often helped illustrate the ideas that certain *Nederduitsche* words were trying to convey. Thus, *tonneel* can be parented to the Middle French word *tonnelle*, meaning a 'small trellis construction, a cradle covered with vegetation forming a shelter'⁸⁴ suggesting that a theatre is a shelter where people can congregate to escape from the elements and the cold, which wholly resonates with what theatres in the Amsterdam of the 1830s were purposed for.

voorvallen (5) aanstellerij, komedie'. Van Dale is currently the leading dictionary for the Dutch language, <https://www.vandale.nl/gratis-woordenboek/nederlands/betekenis/toneel>, (consulted on 17 April 2022).

⁸³ See p. 209.

⁸⁴ 'Petite construction de treillage, berceau couvert de végétation et formant abri' (*Société Éditions Larousse*).

Chapter 2 Theatres in Amsterdam: *L'embarras du choix*

*Dans toutes les villes qu'il trouve sur son passage,
le théâtre est toujours pour lui une auberge assurée,
et dont il sort, contrairement à l'usage,
la bourse plus ronde qu'avant d'y être entré....*

– Adrien Perlet, actor from the Comédie-Française, 1841

During the 1830s, there were over a dozen theatres active in Amsterdam. Though many of these playhouses offered a broad variety of performances, few had sufficient resources and the necessary manpower to be regularly advertised in Amsterdam's daily newspapers: the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and later the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant en Algemeen Handelsblad* (*Algemeen Handelsblad* in shorthand). In this chapter, I will comment on the three most advertised playhouses of Amsterdam: the Théâtre-Français sur l'Erwtenmarkt (the French Theatre on the Pea market), the Stadsschouwburg (the municipal theatre), and the Deutsches Theater (the German theatre). I will also explore certain less advertised venues that gave performances of French works, like the Leerzaam Vermaak, Kunstgenoegen, Jean Duport's *comédie-vaudeville* theatres, the venues in the *Plantagie*, the Amsterdam *Kermis* and concerts that featured French works.

2.1 The origins of Amsterdam's three main theatres

The historical predilection for theatre had led to the construction of several playhouses throughout Amsterdam. By the seventeenth century, there were so many theatres running in Amsterdam that, in 1638, the Burgomasters of Amsterdam restricted the privilege of performing Dutch language presentations to the Municipal Theatre. This decision caused a considerable decrease in the diversity of shows available throughout the capital. The reason for such a cultural monopoly was to prevent unwanted competition from other theatres that might distract citizens from the Municipal Theatre. During this time, the Municipal Theatre provided crucial funds that maintained Amsterdam's orphanages and homes for the elderly. An inscription on one of the beams of the Municipal Theatre read: 'Here the bees shed the most noble that they gather/read (*lezen*), to feed the old stick [old

men], and parentless Orphans'.⁸⁵ The double meaning of the Dutch verb *lezen* is used to depict actors as bees who gather pollen to make honey but also read plays to feed the needy.⁸⁶ Aside from paying actor's wages and keeping the theatre running, profits were donated in their entirety to charity. Stage scenery was reused as often as possible. As a result, the Stadsschouwburg was the only theatre allowed to perform Dutch language plays in Amsterdam from 1638 to the advent of the French Period (*Franse Tijd*) in 1794, when Napoleon controlled the Netherlands and most of Northern Europe.

Wealthy *Amsterdammers* who wanted to see modern works were forced to travel to other cities, notably The Hague, which – as the official seat of the royal family and the government – had some of the most reputable theatres in the Netherlands. Given that travelling to another city just to see a show was both impractical and time-consuming, rich theatre aficionados decided to band together to create amateur theatre societies. These institutions were tolerated as long as productions were performed in a foreign language and only accessible to paying subscribers. When Napoleon lifted the restrictions on Dutch theatres in 1794, entrepreneurs were able to open playhouses in Amsterdam and compete freely for the favours of the public.

2.2 Le Théâtre-Français sur l'Erwtenmarkt: The French Theatre

In the seventeenth century, troupes of actors and singers from France began performing at the Municipal Theatre following the end of the Franco-Dutch war in the late 1670s. Several attempts were made in the 1680s to establish a permanent French troupe in Amsterdam, yet none could cover the high costs of maintaining the enterprise.⁸⁷ In 1700, the first permanent French theatre company was successfully established in The Hague, creating a stable foothold for travelling French artists in the Netherlands. In August of 1727, a troupe of French actors performed on the stage of the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre on the Keizersgracht. Their presence was met with much apprehension by the Dutch actors

⁸⁵ 'De Byen [torten hier het eelfte dat- / ze lezen / Om d'oude [tok te voên, en ouderloze / Wezen'. Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der stad Amsterdam [...]*, (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663), p. 443.

⁸⁶ Eversmann, Peter G.F., 'Founded for the Ears and Eyes of the People: Picturing the Amsterdam Schouwburg from 1637', Jan Bloemendal (ed.), Peter Eversmann (ed.), Elsa Strietman (ed.), *Drama, Performance and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, (Amsterdam: Brill, 2012), p. 288.

⁸⁷ J. Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 161-166.

who feared the public might be taken in by the novelty (to say nothing of the quality) of the French works and forsake the national theatre altogether. To Dutch actors, the danger was threefold. First, there was the fear of cultural invasion. Poems, like the one below, were published denouncing the 'French occupation of the Amsterdam's theatre' and how the Franco-Dutch of 1672 had already been forgotten:⁸⁸

<i>Wie zendt ons deesen hoop van muggen op den hals ?</i>	Who sends us this swarm of mosquitoes on the neck?
<i>'t Is Voordaag; opperhoofd der kreuplen Poëeten</i>	It is Voordaag, the leader of the crippled poets,
<i>Die somtijds is als dol van fransche drift bezeeten:</i>	Who is sometimes mad with enthusiasm for all that is French:
<i>Hoe komt die schurk Regent, zo eereeloos en vals ?</i>	How can this rascal, so without honour and false, be director [of the theatre]?
<i>Dus wordt den mideren t brood ontnomen door de honden</i>	Thus is the bread taken from the poor by the dogs
<i>Verlieft op Hollands gelt, haar geld en broodt verslonden;</i>	In love with Dutch money, they devour their money and bread;
<i>'t Jaar twee en zeventig is nu al in 't vergeten !</i>	The year [16]72 is now to be forgotten!
<i>Wijl Amstels Schouwburg van de Franschen wordt bezeeten;</i>	Because the theatre of Amsterdam is occupied by the French.
<i>O schand! o spijt! o hoon ! voor Nederduitsche spraek ;</i>	O shame! O regret! O insult! to the Dutch language;
<i>Die haar heeft hier gebracht, die wensch ik op de kaak.</i>	Whoever brought them here, I wish to see on the pillory.

Second, the Amsterdam public might be drawn to these popular foreign productions, thus imposing a threat to the security of Dutch actors who solely performed works from the national repertoire. Finally, there was the danger of money being drawn away from the Stadsschouwburg, which was the principal source of income for the orphanages and hospices of the capital.

The call for protecting the rights of the Municipal Theatre and Dutch actors was immediately met by local Dutch authorities who limited the number of performances by the French troupe in Amsterdam to occasional concessions, and always with a very strict set of conditions. Until 1780, the French troupe was only allowed to perform during the summer season – between May and August – when the Municipal Theatre was closed. The

⁸⁸ *Op het Speelen der Franssen op den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg, in het jaar 1727* [On the performances of the French troupe at the Municipal Theatre in the year 1727]. Corpus of poetry from the *Tooneel* Portfolio, University of Amsterdam Library.

troupe was not allowed to make use of the Municipal Theatre, even though it was vacant, nor were they permitted to perform inside the city walls. The early French Theatre in 1752, known as the 'Fransche Komédie', was housed in a plain edifice on the outskirts of the capital, at Overtoomsche Weg.⁸⁹ Despite its rural location, a large crowd came from Amsterdam and other neighbouring towns, to the point where the city had to make parking arrangements for the coaches shuttling back and forth. From 1780, the French troupe was allowed to perform in the new residence of the Municipal Theatre: the *Houden Kast* on the Leidseplein. Entrepreneurs had trouble sustaining the activity in light of the heavy taxes that had to be paid in favour of the hospices.⁹⁰ In 1781, despite the delicate state of affairs, the holder of the privilege, a Monsieur Julien, expressed the wish to move his enterprise into a more a suitable and durable locale. The defenders of Dutch theatre tradition, then being in a similarly delicate financial state, not only saw this as open competition but knew that their deficit would increase if they could not secure Julien's annual contribution. The solution would be to create a *cercle fermé*, a stage to host modern French works exclusively for the institution's members. The institution christened as the *Collège dramatique et lyrique* took up residence in the building of the *Gouden Bal* and was given the credo *Delectat et Erudit* (Entertain and educate). As this *Collège* was only open to its members, the Municipal Theatre's assets were protected. Only foreigners were allowed to directly purchase *billets du jour* (tickets for a performance). Initially members of the *Collège* took part in performing, and later, the hiring of a theatre troupe from Paris became the norm. By 1784, the *Gouden Bal* was no longer adequate for the *Collège*, so the managers Elias Abbema and Jean-Alexandre Botereaux purchased two houses and a property on the Pea market (*Erwtenmarkt*) along the Amstel for 32 000 florins. After the standing structures were demolished, Abraham van der Hart (architect of the Municipal Theatre on the Leidseplein) was hired to erect the very first French Theatre in Amsterdam, which opened in 1786.

From 1791 onward, there were approximately two to three shows per week, and these were to fall on days that did not clash with performances at the Municipal Theatre. Napoleon's invasion of the Netherlands in 1811 initially closed down all theatres in Amsterdam, but once French authority had been established, the theatres were reopened.

⁸⁹ Bob Logger (ed.), *Theaters in Nederland sinds de zeventiende eeuw*, (Amsterdam: Harderwijk, 2007).

⁹⁰ J. Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

As it was necessary to provide occasions where French soldiers could enjoy an evening of French theatre, the protectionist mandates that restricted other theatres were revoked. With the approval of content from French authority, playhouses were now permitted to give public performances. The French troupe was even granted permission to play on Saturday evenings, which until now had been the sole privilege of the Municipal Theatre. With the permission to perform, the French Theatre posted playbills outside the edifice to advertise the evening's programme, which also published in the local newspaper. The stature of the French Theatre was now on par with the Municipal Theatre, as found in the theatre section of the bilingual newspaper *Gazette d'Amsterdam ou Amsterdamsche Courant*: the French Theatre's programme appeared in the right column in French, whilst opposite was Municipal Theatre's programme in the left column, in Dutch. The popularity of French theatre quickly spread throughout the city and the number of subscribers increased, much to the displeasure of the defenders of Dutch theatre, who viewed French works, and particularly French actresses, with the lowest of regards. Below is a collection of the most significant excerpts from a satirical poem entitled *Kroon van Brandnetelen* [Crown of Thorns],⁹¹ which was published in reaction to a performance given by actress Blanche Alziary de Roquefort (1752-1836) known as Madame Sainval:⁹²

<i>Qu'est ce qui vous fait courir, plein d'enthousiasme et en foule, Aux limites de ma célèbre ville, les limites d'Amsterdam Où dernièrement une p[utain] française vint se montrer, Est elle si admirable [...] si belle [...] Pour aller voir loin de chez vous ce monstre ? Sainval, cette actrice a-t-elle tant de prise sur vous ? Avez vous trop d'argent, Public insensé [...] Donnez en une partie aux pauvres de votre ville [...] Chassez cette canaille française de votre ville.</i>	What causes you to run, full of enthusiasm and in a crowd, At the limits of my famous city, the limits of Amsterdam Where lately a French w[hore] came to show herself, Is she so admirable [...] so beautiful [...] To go see, far from your home, this monster? Sainval, does this actress have such a grip on you? Have you too much money, insane Audience [...] Give part of it to the poor of your city [...] Get this French vulgar woman out of your city.
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⁹¹ Excerpt from the poem *Kroon van Brandnetelen*. University of Amsterdam Library, *Tooneel Portfolio*.

⁹² Pierre-David Lemazurier, *Galerie historique des acteurs du Théâtre français, depuis 1600 jusqu'à nos jours*, Tome 2 (Paris: P.D. Le Mazurier, 1810), p. 401-402.

The attack on Madame Sainval's did not sit well with her colleagues and the French troupe emitted an official response to the Municipal Theatre (or to the author of the *Crown of Thorns*): 'Madame Sainval, though she does not have the fairest face, is full of spirit and charm, none of which are to be found at your house [the Municipal Theatre]'.⁹³ The statement not only avenged Madame Sainval's honour but also alluded to the absence of new repertoire at the Municipal Theatre, where the same plays and ballets ran for several weeks on. At the French Theatre, one out of every two works ran for no more than two performances.⁹⁴ Although the Municipal Theatre's limited resources made it impossible to compete with the French Theatre's constant renewal of repertoire, it was nevertheless forced to incorporate more contemporary repertoire and, especially, translated French and German plays in order to remain an attractive venue for the Amsterdam public.

By the 1820s, the French Theatre was managed two individuals: Pierre Henri Moulin-Neuf (1761-1837) and the actor Monsieur Dangeville who later became sole director in 1823. According to *Le Camp-volant*, opera at that time was 'the dominant genre of their stage, although comedy plays [were] performed often in a very pleasant manner'.⁹⁵ In 1827, *L'Observateur* reported that 'French novelties are represented -- to the satisfaction of the Dutch [people] -- on the stage of the Amsterdam [French] theatre, skilfully directed by Monsieur Dangeville [...] the Amsterdam French Theatre is prospering day by day'.⁹⁶ There were further accounts that testified to the appreciation *Amsterdammers* had for dramatic works spoken and sung in French. In 1833, *La Gazette des Théâtres* praised the spirit and good taste of that learned audience:

All the subtleties of our language are understood by the Dutch public, who knows how to appreciate the most delicate features: there is not a gesture, a glance, a natural inflection that is not appreciated or applauded by the audience [*parterre*] here, often more enlightened and gallant than most of the audiences [*parterres*] of our provinces.⁹⁷

⁹³ 'Madame Sainval, bien qu'elle ne soit pas belle de visage / Est pleine d'Esprit et a des charmes / Qu'on ne peut découvrir chez vous'. *Réponse au Théâtre d'Amsterdam ou bien à l'auteur de la Couronne d'Orties*. University of Amsterdam Library, Tooneel Portfolio.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 5.5

⁹⁵ 'L'opéra est le genre dominant de leur spectacle, cependant la comédie y est jouée souvent d'une manière fort agréable' (*Le Camp-volant: journal des spectacles de tous les pays*, 25 July 1819).

⁹⁶ 'Les nouveautés françaises sont représentées, à la satisfaction de MM. Les Hollandais, sur le Théâtre d'Amsterdam, habillement dirigé par M. Dangeville [...] Le Théâtre Français d'Amsterdam prospère de jour en jour' (*L'Observateur*, 19 May 1827).

⁹⁷ 'Toutes les finesses de notre langue sont comprises par le public hollandais, qui sait avec esprit apprécier les traits les plus délicats : pas un geste, pas un coup-d'œil, pas une inflexion naturelle qui, là, ne soit apprécié

From a structural perspective, the Amsterdam French Theatre was a relatively small venue. The red brick façade (figure 2) rested on an arcade of five bays that alternated with doors and windows, crowned by round arches with a central keystone and lit up at night by four hanging lanterns. The upper levels were endowed with white-framed rectangular windows and the attic was crowned with a single circular dormer window. Dr Timothy De Paepe's 3D rendering (figure 3) shows the stalls (*parterre*) were divided into sixteen rows of benches: thirteen for the actual *parterre* and three for a small amphitheatre. The comfortable benches were numbered and equipped with backrests, unlike the ones at the Municipal Theatre.⁹⁸ A central aisle divided the stalls down the middle.⁹⁹ In front of the stalls, the orchestra occupied a cramped space behind a balustrade, scrunched between a pair of smaller balconies, while His Majesty's box faced the stage.¹⁰⁰ The auditorium was completed by two U-shaped balconies on two levels. In his book on the history of the French Theatre,¹⁰¹ Patrick van den Hanenberg gives the following numbers regarding the capacity of the different seating areas in the theatre:

Section of the theatre	Estimated capacity
stalls (<i>parterre</i>)	200
Amphitheatre	37
Balconies of the Orchestra (X2)	?
His Majesty's Box	?
1 st Balcony	170
2 nd Balcony	170
TOTAL	577

Table 1: Number of seats by section at the French Theatre.

In total, the French Theatre had a capacity of about 600 seats. The reduced size of the French Theatre was largely due to its original function as a 'members only'

ou applaudi par un parterre souvent plus éclairé et plus galant que la plupart des parterres de nos provinces' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 13 Janvier 1833).

⁹⁸ J. Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

⁹⁹ In the present day theatre, this central aisle has since disappeared. See the photos on p. 497.

¹⁰⁰ Pieter Gerardus Witsen Geysbeek, *Tableau d'Amsterdam, ou Guide des étrangers dans cette ville*, (Amsterdam: L. A. Hesse, 1810), p. 176.

¹⁰¹ Patrick van den Hanenberg, *De Kleine Komedie. Een geschiedenis van het oudste theater van Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 2012), p. 14.



Figure 2: Noach van der Meer jr., Engraving of the Amsterdam French Theatre
(Courtesy of Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, *theatercollectie* [g000590.000])

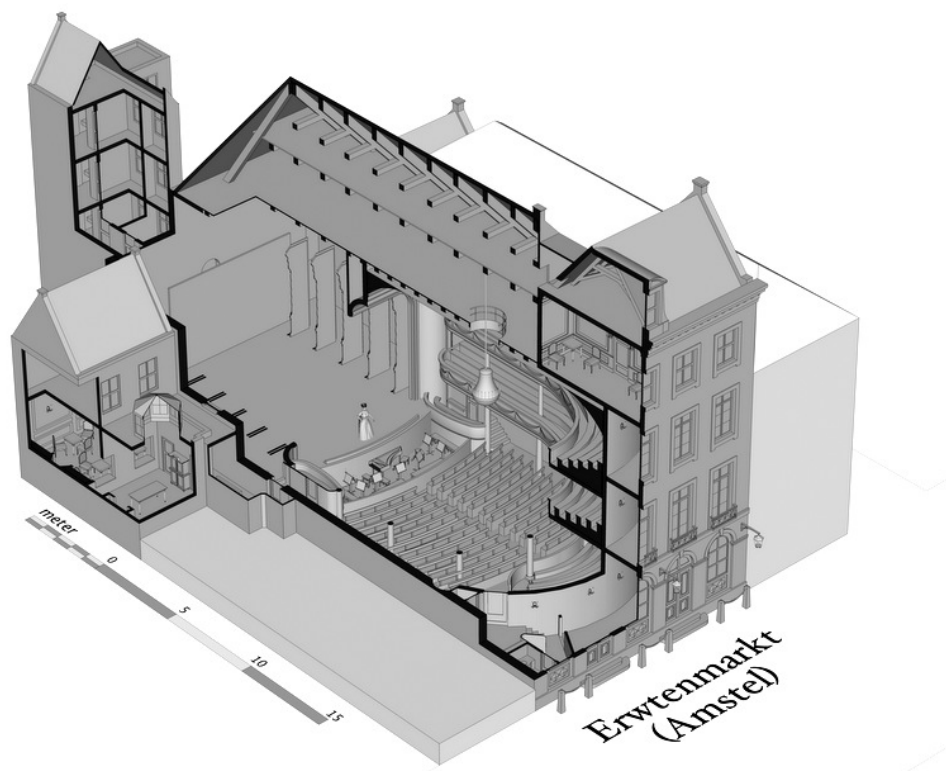


Figure 3: Modern 3D rendering of the Amsterdam French Theatre by Dr Timothy De Paepe.
(Copyright: Timothy De Paepe/University of Antwerp).

venue. Yet, by comparison, the French Theatre in The Hague was only slightly larger, with space for an audience of 680, while the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre could sit around 970 people.¹⁰² Given the Amsterdam French Theatre was already a middle to upper-class establishment, the social context of the seating was slightly different than in theatres with a more socially diverse audience. According to the programme of the 1836-1837 season, the most highly prized seats were the first rows of each section. Then came the (rest of) the stalls, followed by the second rows and finally, the third rows, as shown below:

Season tickets (90 shows)	Prices in florins (1836)
1 st Row for a Gentleman and his Lady	f 250.00
1 st Row for a Gentleman on his own	f 160.00
Stalls for a Gentleman and his Lady	f 160.00
Stalls for a Gentleman on his own	f 95.00

Box office prices for day tickets	Prices in florins (1836)
1 st Row	f 2.60
Stalls	f 1.50
2 nd Row	f 1.00
3 rd Row	f 0.70

Table 2: Prices of season and day tickets at the Amsterdam French Theatre (1836).

The smaller dimensions of the proscenium (about half the size of the one at the Paris Opéra) had to be taken into consideration in the adaptation of Parisian repertoire, especially in the case of *opéra* and *opéra-comique* which often demanded more grandiose staging than *drame*, *comédie* or *comédie-vaudeville*. Spectators of the Amsterdam French Theatre were conscious of the impact these physical limitations had on the visual perception of works: ‘one can expect nothing but miniature staging in the limited space of this theatre, and one must therefore judge them from this perspective’.¹⁰³

Between 1795 and 1854, the French Theatre became Amsterdam's most important venue for French plays and French opera performances, providing over 85% of the entire

¹⁰² Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

¹⁰³ ‘kan men in de beperkte ruimte van dezen Schouwburg niets anders dan miniatuur-tooneelen verwachten, en uit dit oogpunt moet men dezelve ook beschouwen’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 September 1834).

production of French works in Amsterdam during the 1830s.¹⁰⁴ The French Theatre played three nights a week: on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. On Mondays and Wednesdays, the troupe played in either Utrecht or Haarlem or could perform concerts and extraordinary shows not part of the season-ticket package. Those desiring to retain their seats for such performances had until 10h00 on the show date, after which time the ticket seller (*buraliste*) would put them up for sale. By the 1850s, the operations of the French Theatre became more and more complicated until it became a German playhouse called the Neues Hochdeutsche Theater (1854) and ultimately a Scottish Missionary Church (1855). The most important change during that time was the installing of a pipe organ on top of the stage. Financial issues forced the church to rent out the building as a lecture hall for the Free University (1880-1885) and even used it as a cinema. From 1908 to 1935, the edifice was handed over to the Dutch Association for Israel (*Nederlandse Vereniging voor Israël*), later referred to as 'Salvatori'. During World War II, the building was used as a Bicycle shed for the employees of the *Amsterdamsche Bank*. However, the true tragedy came with the winter of 1944-1945, when every ounce of wood – from the floor planks to the doors – was chopped up for firewood. In 1948, the ruins of the French Theatre were salvaged and became, after extensive restorations, the Kleine Komodie, a comedy club still in operation today in what is Amsterdam's oldest theatre building still in existence.¹⁰⁵

2.3 The Stadsschouwburg: The Municipal Theatre

The origins of the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre, the Stadsschouwburg, can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first dramatic institutions in the Netherlands were modelled on Italian academies that gave peripatetic actors a place to perform. Over time, the academy in Amsterdam came to require a larger space, which led to the construction of a proper theatre in 1637. The theatre on the Keizersgracht was inaugurated on 3 January 1638, with one of the most famous and patriotic works of the Dutch repertoire: *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*,¹⁰⁶ by the poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679).

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 5.5

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁶ *Revue britannique, ou Choix d'articles traduits des meilleurs écrits périodiques de la Grande-Bretagne*, May 1841.

This Five-act tragedy retells the siege of Amsterdam by the farming communities enraged by the assassination of Floris V, count of Holland, known as the 'God of Peasants'. They believed Gijsbrecht IV, Lord of Holland, to be responsible for the beloved Count's death. When the Amstel fell, Gijsbrecht IV was forced into exile in Prussia, where he founded 'another Holland'. The play's heroic and patriotic content is intermingled with references to the Trojan War and allusions to the birth of Christ, making it an ideal choice of repertoire for the Christmas season.

The theatre on the Keizersgracht was renovated entirely in 1665, and as previously mentioned, was visited by French troupes. In May, 1772, a fire destroyed most of the theatre, which was replaced by a new building. Only the portico and certain elements are still visible nowadays. In 1774, the Municipal Theatre was relocated as a stand-alone building on the Leidseplein (figure 4). Built entirely of wood, it was referred to as the *Houten Kast* (Wooden Cupboard). Reputably the largest theatre house ever built in all of Holland,¹⁰⁷ the edifice could host around a thousand spectators, offering excellent acoustics and visibility.¹⁰⁸ A simple description of the stage (figure 5) – surmounted by an arcade imitating marble and held up by a pair of Corinthian-styled columns on each side – gives a good idea of the theatre's importance and elegance. The theatre could pass as one of the most beautiful in all of Europe.¹⁰⁹

In the days prior to the seventeenth century, stage works were given over seven or eight days, with one three-hour long act given each night. Later on, shorter formats became the new standard for the Dutch stage.¹¹⁰ Because of its commitment to maintaining hospices, the programming at the Municipal Theatre lacked both variation and novelty. With the advent of Napoleon and the liberation of the monopoly, other theatres were now allowed to open and put on plays in Amsterdam. After this, the Municipal Theatre felt obliged to diversify its programme to include works from French, German and Italian repertoire. This caused a commotion amongst part of the audience that preferred the more

¹⁰⁷ Lambiek Berends, *Rozen en tomaten: De Amsterdamse Schouwburg, 1894-1994*, (Amsterdam: Stadsuitgeverij Amsterdam, 1994), p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ William John Olivier, *Manuel des étrangers à Amsterdam, ou Description topographique, historique, politique et statistique de cette capitale; avec l'indication de tout ce qu'il importe d'y connaître...*, (Amsterdam: Diederichs, Frères, 1839), page 142.

¹⁰⁹ *Le Courier des spectacles ou Journal des théâtres*, 17 April 1802.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

traditional Dutch plays and felt the repertoire of the Municipal Theatre was being overwhelmed by foreign works. A divide in the audience now separated those who saw opera as the most sublime artistic expression and those who preferred the less grandiose and costly genres, which were more characteristic of the Dutch tradition:

People neglect the once popular tragedy, they have forsaken the ballets that were once so much appreciated and why? To present operas, whose performances for the national stage still represent insurmountable obstacles. The experience of [the last] several years, in our opinion, ought to have convinced the management of our theatre of this [fact], and yet things seem to continue in the same direction.¹¹¹

Regarding the repertoire, Olivier's *Foreigner's Manual to Amsterdam* gave a good account of what one could expect to see in the late 1830s:

High tragedy, bourgeois drama, opera and [*comédie-vaudeville*] all have their place in the performances of this theatre. The foreigner who will spend part of his evening there, will often recognize the translations of French, German, or English pieces; but very often he will also see tragedies or operas, composed by Dutch poets and virtuosi. If these works, in spite of their merit, do not conquer his heart because the language is unknown to him, he will be compensated by the ballet that usually ends the show. With regard to the richness and beauty of the scenery, the truly magical effect of the set changes in full view of the audience, the elegance of the costumes, the graceful movements of the pantomimes, and the superior art of the dance, he will be hard pressed to find the same in any other country.¹¹²

¹¹¹ 'Men verwaarloost het eertijds zoo geroemde treurspel, laat de vroeger zoo gaarne geziene balletten bijna geheel varen, — en waarom ? Om Opera's ten tooneele te voeren, waarvan de voorstellingen voor het nationaal tooneel voor alsnog onoverkomelijke hinderpalen aanbieden. De ondervinding van onderscheidene Jaren behoorde, onzes bedunkens, de directie van onzen Schouwburg hiervan te hebben overtuigd, en echter blijft men nog sleeds op denzelfden weg voortgaan' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 December 1833).

¹¹² 'La haute tragédie, le drame bourgeois, l'opéra, le vaudeville ont indistinctement leur part aux représentations sur ce théâtre [...] L'étranger qui y va passer une partie de sa soirée, y reconnaîtra souvent les traductions de pièces françaises, allemandes, ou anglaises; mais bien souvent aussi il y verra représenter des tragédies ou des opéras, composés par des poètes et des virtuoses hollandais. Si ces pièces, malgré leur mérite, n'obtiennent ses suffrages parce que la langue lui est inconnue, il en sera dédommagé par le ballet qui, d'ordinaire, termine le spectacle, et dont il aura difficilement trouvé le pareil en aucun pays, par rapport à la richesse et la beauté des décors, l'effet vraiment magique des changements à vue, l'élégance des costumes, les mouvements gracieux des pantomimes, et l'art supérieur de la danse'. William John Olivier, *Manuel des étrangers à Amsterdam, ou Description topographique, historique, politique et statistique de cette capitale; avec l'indication de tout ce qu'il importe d'y connaître...* (Amsterdam: Diederichs Frères, 1839), p. 142.



Figure 4: Exterior view of the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre, the Stadsschouwburg, Lithograph.

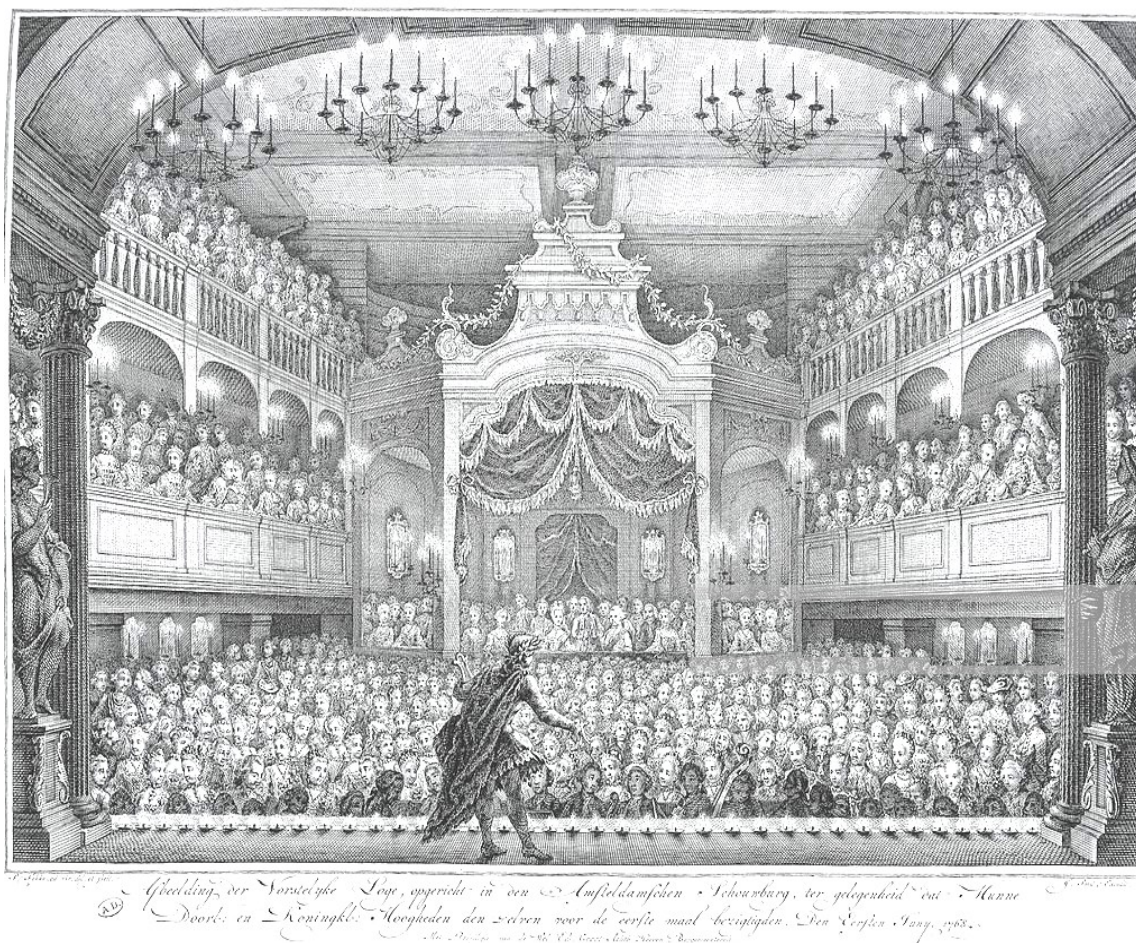


Figure 5: Royal box of the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre, the Stadsschouwburg, Litho. by J. Smit, 1768.

In the 1830s, the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre held around 250 performances per year, 15% of which were French works translated into Dutch. The popularity or favourable reception of a French work at the French Theatre sometimes prompted a Dutch translation for the Municipal Theatre or any other theatre of the capital. The repertoire of the 1830s thus presented a much larger diversity in genre than in the previous centuries. In 1874, the theatre house celebrated its 100th anniversary and it was decided that the 'wooden cupboard' should be given a stone encasing with a neoclassical hexastyle facade topped with a triangular pediment, similar to certain eighteenth-century Parisian landmarks like the Church of the Magdalene, the Bourbon Palace or the Pantheon. Fire was yet again responsible for the complete destruction of the theatre in 1890 and the outer stonewalls were the only thing left standing. The Dutch historian Lambiek Berends reports that, 'though there were no casualties, virtually the entire archive, library, scenery, costumes and props have been lost'.¹¹³ Therefore, it is extremely difficult to find performance material for works prior to 1890. A new theatre in the neo-gothic style was constructed on the same site, still visible today.

2.4 The Deutsches Theater: The German Theatre

Amsterdam's German-language playhouse, the Deutsches Theater or Hoogduits Schouwburg, was inaugurated in 1791 to serve as a private venue of German-language repertoire. Since it was Abraham van der Hart, architect of the Amsterdam French Theatre, who was responsible for building the German Theatre, both share a similar looking façade (figure 6). However, according to the *Theatre Instituut Nederland*, the German theatre was slightly larger and could hold up to 800 spectators in its auditorium (figure 7). Alexandre Ferrier de Tourettes described the German Theatre as being the largest and most beautiful¹¹⁴ of Amsterdam's three theatres whereas Jean Marie Audin said 'it is larger [than the French Theatre] but not as nice'.¹¹⁵ As with the French Theatre, it originally operated as a members-only establishment. With the abolishment of the Municipal Theatre's

¹¹³ Lambiek Berends, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Alexandre Ferrier de Tourettes, *Description historique et topographique d'Amsterdam et de ses environs*, (Brussels: Hauman, Cattoir & Co., 1837), p. 27.

¹¹⁵ Jean Marie Vincent Audin, *Guide classique du voyageur en Europe* (Paris: Audin, 1829), p. 269.



Figure 6: Facade of the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg. Engraving by J.G. Schulz (1792), (Courtesy of Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, *theatercollectie* [g001478.000]).

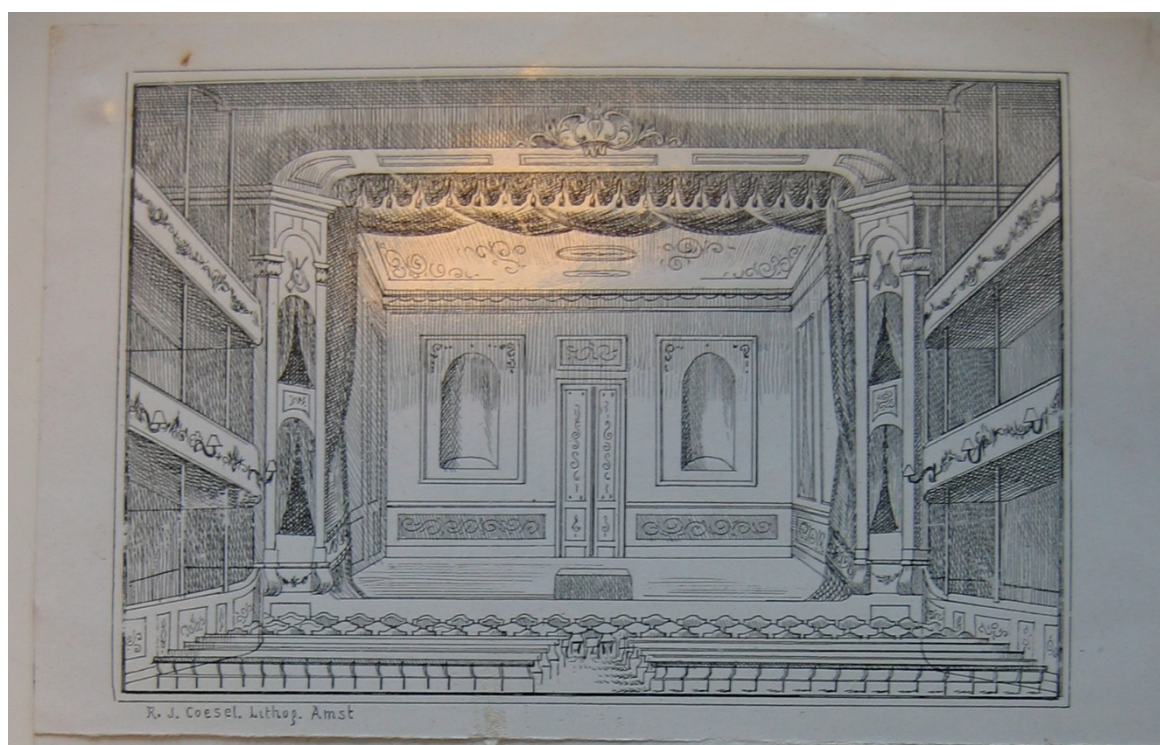


Figure 7: Interior of the Hoogduitsche Schouwburg. Engraving by R. J. Coesel, (Courtesy of The Royal Library of the Netherlands).

privilege, the playhouse was opened to the general public, offering German operas and German translations of Italian and French operas.

Throughout the early nineteenth century, the Deutsches Theater experienced a series of mixed fortunes: many different companies aside from the German troupe made use of its walls, including two English troupes and a Jewish troupe, the latter whose performances 'only obtained a mild attendance'.¹¹⁶ In the 1810s, an Italian troupe staged an opera in the German Theatre that 'nearly obtained the general approval of the public'.¹¹⁷ By 1830, the German Theatre was prosperous and its troupe had toured in cities such as Antwerp and Gent.¹¹⁸ That said, the activity of the German Theatre throughout the 1830s was irregular: it opened and then closed, sometimes remaining vacant for months at a time. Consequently, the German Theatre was often rented out, becoming the temporary home for various itinerant companies. One of its regular occupants was Hoedt and Bingley's southern theatrical troupe, who made use of the theatre mainly in the summer months and during the Amsterdam *Kermis*. For a brief moment, there was even an Italian opera troupe lodged in its premises. On 30 November 1835, the French troupe gave a benefit performance of Auber's *Fra Diavolo* at the German theatre in front of 'an audience as exalted as it [was] numerous',¹¹⁹ in aid of the singer and recent widow Madame Lafrenz,¹²⁰ and gratitude was extended to Alex Vautrin and the artists of the French Theatre for this gesture of solidarity.¹²¹ Activity picked up again from April 1838 to May 1839. The following season had instrumental concerts in November and December, without an opera in sight. On 3 August 1839, an article in the *Tooneelnieuws* column of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* stated that, due to the lack of German opera the previous season, an entrepreneur had created the 'German Opera Association in Amsterdam' (*Deutsche Opernverein zu Amsterdam*). Its purpose was to find a manager for the German Theatre's opera season (from 1 October to 1 May) able to provide 50 to 60 performances on Wednesdays and Saturdays. 'Six new or never performed works will be given, and, the old or previously

¹¹⁶ 'Ces représentations n'ont connu qu'un concours médiocre'. P. G. W. Geysbeek, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 179.

¹¹⁸ In Antwerp, they had obtained 'brilliant successes' with works like Boieldieu's *Die Weisse Frau* (*La Dame Blanche*), also performed and much appreciated in Gent (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 22 July 1830).

¹¹⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 December 1835.

¹²⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 November 1835.

¹²¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 November 1835.

known works will only be given once, or in some situations at most twice'.¹²² This initiative was not successful and the theatre's ultimate fate was announced in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in early August of 1840:

We hear with regret, that Sirs Nieser Eschborn and Kuhn have not succeeded in the fulfilment of the conditions which they had associated with the pursuit of a High German opera, and that the Amsterdam art-loving public will be deprived of this delightful enjoyment of art [during] the upcoming winter session.¹²³

Despite its inability to maintain regular performances throughout the 1830s, the German Theatre remained the most important provider of Italian opera in Amsterdam.¹²⁴ In spite of a widely attested appreciation for Italian opera, there was no official Italian Theatre in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s: Amsterdammers could only see Italian operas in Dutch, French or German translations. Where Rossini's *De Jonkvrouw van het Meir* (*La donna del lago*), given at the Municipal Theatre in 1833, was perceived as being a 'great detriment of patriotic music and the destruction of national taste',¹²⁵ performances of Rossini at the German Theatre were met quite differently. The soprano Madame Stoll 'sang a well-known aria by Rossini with much bravado; the brilliance of the composition as well as that of the execution set everything in motion'.¹²⁶ On another occasion, 'she showed that [the] Italian manner is no stranger to her, and that she has completely mastered all of its difficulties'. Italian opera performances were thus commonplace in Amsterdam's primary theatres: 18 different Italian operas [50 performances] were given in 1833. As the German Theatre staged Italian operas regularly, it is only fitting that this playhouse ultimately became an Italian theatre in the autumn of 1840.

¹²² 'Er zullen zes nieuwe of ailuer nog onbekende opera's gedurende dien tijd ten tooneele moeien gebragt worden, en van de oude of reeds bekende mag elke opera slechts eenmaal, en in sommige gevallen ten hoogste tweemaal gegeven worden' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 August 1839).

¹²³ 'Wij vernemen met leedwezen, dat het aan de Heeren Nieser Eschborn en Kuhn niet gelukt is, de vervulling der voorwaarden, welke zij met de oprigting eener Hoogduitsche opera alhier verbonden hadden te erlangen, en dat het Amsterdamsche kunstminnend publiek dus ook weder het volgende winter seizoen van dit heerlijk kunstgenot zal verstoken zijn' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 August 1840).

¹²⁴ William Osmond, 'Amsterdam's invisible Italian Theatre, an account of Italian opera performed in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s' (unpublished paper read at the conference 'Opera in Transnational Context' at the University of Cardiff on 25 March 2023).

¹²⁵ 'tot verderf van den nationalen smaak zal strekken' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 January, 1833). The accusations of foreign works of robbing the national stage of its Dutch authors is not a new thing in the 1830s.

¹²⁶ 'zong eene bekende aria van Rossini met veel bravour; zoo wel het schitterende der compositie als dat der uitvoering bragt alle banden in beweging' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 February, 1833).

2.5 The Leerzaam Vermaak and the Kunstgenoegen

In addition to the Municipal, French and German Theatres, Amsterdam possessed several smaller venues, like the Leerzaam Vermaak (Educational Entertainment) and the Kunstgenoeg (Artistic delights), where French stage works were performed in Dutch (even though Rossini's *Der Barbier von Sevilla* was sung in German at the latter's opening ceremony in 1832).¹²⁷ These theatres attracted a broad public, notably towards the end of the 1830s when *comédie-vaudeville* established itself as the favourite repertoire of both the primary and secondary stages of the Dutch capital. The main difference that separated the primary theatres from the Leerzaam Vermaak and the Kunstgenoeg was the scope of their activity: in the early part of the decade, the Kunstgenoeg performed exclusively on Sundays, and seldom on Saturdays and Mondays while the Leerzaam Vermaak performed once or twice a week in addition to Sunday evenings. The Leerzaam Vermaak was a 'well-polished, well heated and well lit'¹²⁸ theatre at n° 84 on the Elandsstraat near the Hazenstraat. It was opened by Jan Gras in 1825, who ran it until his death in 1835, when it continued under Mademoiselle Ridder and J. A. Gras. It had a small hall comprising a theatre and a balcony often referred to as the cowshed (*koeienstal*). In wintertime, a pot of hot coals was passed from hand to hand to warm up the spectators.¹²⁹ The magazine *De Arke Noach's* reported the theatre was quite busy; one could always see a vast repertoire of musical theatre and tragedies, including French works.¹³⁰

The Kunstgenoegen was founded in 1831 by W. G. Weddelooper¹³¹ and was located next to a horse riding establishment known as the *Fransche Manege* on the Kerkstraat (present day Nieuwe Kerkstraat). On 10 March 1832, the Kunstgenoegen came under the management of Dessaur and Fransman's Company, performing both German-language (*Hoogduits*) and Dutch-language (*Nederduitsche*) pieces (sometimes the same evening). The theatre offered a varied repertoire that included French *comédie-vaudeville* and German and Dutch works. For the rest of the week, the Kunstgenoegen was hired out to

¹²⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 March 1832.

¹²⁸ 'goed geboend , verwarmd , verlicht'. Hendrik Gartman, *De Ark Noach's*, vol. 3, (Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman, 1829), p. 390-391.

¹²⁹ J. K. Looijen, *Een Geschiedenis van Amsterdamse Theaters, Wie kwam er niet in de Nes?*, (Amsterdam: Heuff/Uniepers, 1981), p. 90.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹³¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1831.

troupes requiring a space to perform, as well as for wedding receptions and parties.¹³² Given *Amsterdammers* not only enjoyed listening to music but practising it as well, concerts given at the Kunstgenoegen during the fair season on Fridays, a day where the city's three main theatres did not play, were performed exclusively by amateur musicians.

2.6 The Grand Salon and the Salon des Variétés

The Grand Salon first opened at number 112, on the Rokin, in 1828. Of all the different venues operating in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s, the Grand Salon was perhaps the most stylistically diverse in terms of repertoire. In 1830, C. Benjamin announced a series of concerts ranging from the widely popular *Vocaal en Instrumentaal* concerts, given by orchestras that included the best musicians of this city,¹³³ to three mountain musician octets (*Bergmuzijkanten*) and two concerts executed by an Italian company (*Italiaansche Gezelschap Groot Concert*). These performances took place on Sundays after church. In 1831, in addition to Sundays, a handful of Saturdays featured strongman Monsieur Étienne, who performed feats of strength as Alcide (Hercules) while his wife Madame Étienne gave zither recitals. Six performances of *Jocko of de Aap van Braziliën*¹³⁴ took place in late November and throughout December. In the following year, performances were less eventful, despite the addition of a Grand Turkish Orchestras (*Groot Turksch Orkest*) to the programme. In 1834, weapon displays known as *tours d'adresse* and acrobatic performances (*Acrobatische Exercitien*) complemented Sunday concerts. Some pantomime ballet performances, *Arlequinades*, tightrope walking (*Koorddansen*), Indian and Turkish dancing (*Indiaansche Exercitie*, *Turksche Telder-Wals*) were staged in 1835. The establishment's *Estaminet* (a locale selling beer and tobacco) was very popular and attracted many customers. Art exhibitions (*tentoonstelling*) took place once a month and on a weekly basis in March and April. The following year, twelve *Groot Vocaal en Instrumentaal* concerts were announced and *Théâtre Pittoresque* (exhibiting mechanical apparati) were given 2-3 times a week in December. The diversity continued in 1837 under Joseph E. Duport, with further displays of mechanical wonders (*Mechanische Proeven*) by D.

¹³² *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 9 January 1830.

¹³³ 'Orchest met de beste muzikanten dezer stad' (*Amsterdamsche Courant*, 23 October 1830).

¹³⁴ *Jocko ou le singe du Brésil*, drame in 2 acts by Gabriel and Rochefort, Music by Alexandre Piccini, 1825.

L. Bamberg, free entry to *Vauxhall* (social events), seven military concerts, painting exhibitions and a closing ball for the *Kermis*. In 1838, the 'entertainment as usual, starting after church time'¹³⁵ was complemented by theatre performances on Tuesday evenings. From 13 February, the Grand Salon added the subtitle *Théâtre de Variétés*, foreshadowing the creation of the Salon des Variétés the following year. On 17 April, vocal performances on Tuesday and Thursdays were labelled as 'beautiful vaudevilles and song pieces' (*Fraaije vaudevilles en Zangstukken*). From 16 November, the Grand Salon played different works every day of the week until the closing of the theatre on 30 April 1839.

On 5 September 1839, a 'tastefully decorated tent'¹³⁶ called the *Théâtre des Variétés* was pitched on the Botermark (Rembrandtplein) by Pierre Boas and Monsieur Étienne for the duration of the *Kermis*. The show opened with Dutch translations of *Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort* and *Le diner de Madelon*, followed by a series of herculean, academic and acrobatic exercises by the Étienne family (a programme identical to the one given at the Grand Salon on 25 March 1839). On 7 September, Duport added a *Nota Bene* to the Salon des Variétés' daily advertisement in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, announcing that his hall, the Grand Salon on the Rokin, 'shall be opened throughout the *Kermis*, from 7 to 22 September'.¹³⁷

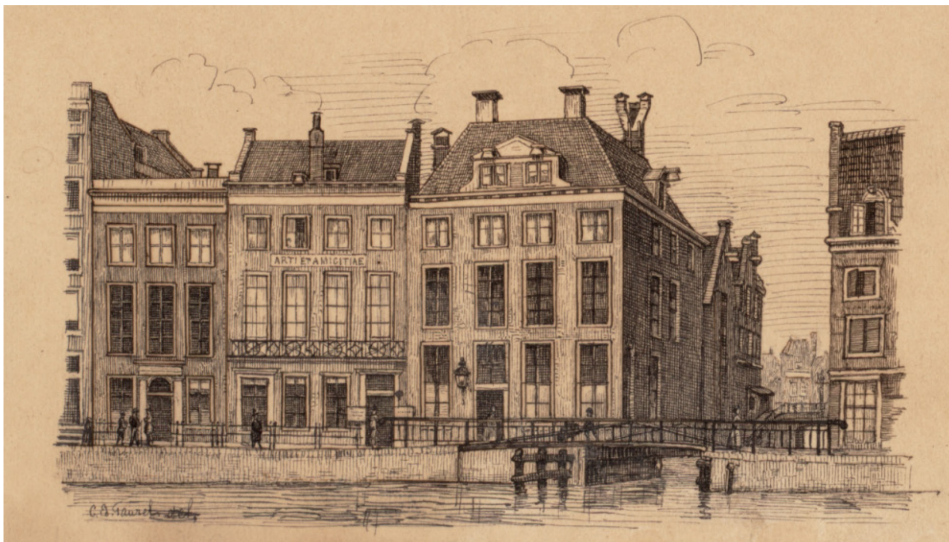


Figure 8: Exterior view of the Rokin and Duport's Grand Salon by Charles Edouard Taurel (circa 1840-1856). (Courtesy of Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, *theatercollectie* [t005648.000]).

¹³⁵ 'Vermakelijkheden als naar gewoonte. Den aanvang na kerktijd' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 January 1838).

¹³⁶ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 September 1839.

¹³⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 September 1839.



Steendr. v. Mensing en Last.

DE SALON DES VARIÉTÉS VAN DEN HEER DUPORT.

Figure 9: Lithograph of the interior of J.E. Duport's Salon des Variétés on the Nes (1840).

On 1 November 1839, Duport opened his new theatre, the Salon des Variétés, on the Nes (figure 9), performing the same works he had staged at the Grand Salon, while clients smoked and ordered refreshments. The French *comédies-vaudevilles* were translated into Dutch and performed in a socially relaxed atmosphere, accessible to a broader public than that of the other theatres. Duport managed the theatre until 1842, when his son Jean Eugène Duport took over until the closing of the theatre in 1868.¹³⁸ Although Duport had opened a new theatre on the fashionable Nes, he was still the proprietor of the Grand Salon on the Rokin, now managed by H. J. De Boer. The similarity in repertoire between De Boer's Grand Salon and Duport's new venue suggests there might have existed a collaboration between both playhouses. On 11 April 1840, the very popular Grand Salon had become too expensive to rent and was forced to close. The edifice was taken over by The Association for Art and Friendship (*Maatschappij Arti et Amicitiae*) in July 1840 (figure 8). With the purchase of the hotel on the corner, both buildings were merged into a single edifice, united under a large neoclassical facade in 1854.¹³⁹ This building is still in existence today.

2.7 The Secondary theatres

Aside from the main playhouses of Amsterdam, other venues developed throughout the city. By determining the social nature of the outing (whether purely recreational or driven by the pursuit of prestige), the type of show one wished to attend (ballet or opera, vocal or instrumental, singing or spoken dialogue...) and the language that the performances would be given in, *Amsterdammers* would have selected their favourite playhouses and visited them on a regular basis. The following is a non-exhaustive list of venues that occasionally published advertisements in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*:

The Nieuw Rozenburg Theatre was located just outside of the Raampoort. Announcements first appeared in the *Amsterdaamsche Courant* on 5 May 1831, advertising shows which started on 8 May and on every Sunday of the summer season.¹⁴⁰ These

¹³⁸ J. K. Looijen, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹³⁹ Bob Logger (ed.) and Eric Alexander (ed.) *Theaters in Nederland sinds de zeventiende eeuw*, (Amsterdam: Theater Instituut Nederland, 2007), p. 143.

¹⁴⁰ *Amsterdaamsche Courant*, 5 May 1831.

performances were scheduled at 8pm and cost 60 cents, which included complimentary refreshments (*verteering*). The programme was made up of a series of orchestral numbers enriched with intricate luminescent displays, often evoking faraway exotic destinations such as Turkey or Egypt. The dynamic nomenclature always resulted in a combination of the following: *Groot Tivoli*, *Groot Vauxhal*, *Groot Turksch Harmonie Muzijk*, *Egijptische Verlichting*, *Illuminatie*, as well as patriotic renderings (*Tempel-Decoratie*) of Baron Chassé's Bombardment of Antwerp (*Het Bombardement der Stad Antwerpen*) lit up with pyrotechnics involving the use of Bengal fire or blue light.

The Weesperpoort Theatre was a Dutch-language theatre under the direction of W. G. Weddelooper. It played on Sundays, giving mostly Dutch, French and German *comédie-vaudeville*, along with the occasional French *grand opéra* (*La muette de Portici* was staged on 3 and 17 January 1830). During Amsterdam's *Kermis*, from 10 to 20 September 1830, the theatre gave daily performances, but soon afterwards Weddelooper closed the theatre. He opened the Kunstgenoegen the following year with the same repertoire.

The Zaal de duizend kolommen (hall of a 1000 columns), was a venue that mostly performed instrumental concerts, but later evolved towards vocal performances of opera arias from the French, Italian and German repertoire. Works by Boieldieu, Auber and Meyerbeer were performed as often as Rossini, Mozart and Weber.

Special attention should be paid to the handful of venues that popped up in a borough on the east side of Amsterdam called the *Plantagie*. There, a collection of tea gardens, gazebos and bars refreshed 1000 – 1500 visitors a day during the summer.¹⁴¹ Additionally, there were also several theatre institutions with similar names that operated in the 1830s and promoted French works. These included the Park in de *Plantagie*, the Parkschouwburg, Parktuin, among others. The Zaal in het Park, erected around 1814, was a popular venue for concerts and balls where French, German and Dutch *comédies-vaudevilles* were given on occasion. In the summer, when the three main theatres of Amsterdam were closed, theatre and opera productions in the Zaal increased. If the weather permitted, concerts would have taken place in the garden and concluded with a fireworks display.

¹⁴¹ T. K. Looijen, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

2.8 The *Kermis*: Amsterdam's September fair

At the end of every August, *Amsterdammers* awaited the reopening of the main theatres of the capital and, in September, the annual fair known as the *Kermis*. The word came from the fusion of the words 'church' (*kerk*) and 'mass' (*mis*). Originally intended to commemorate Saint Nicholas (*Sinter Claes*), the city's patron saint, this elaborate market began losing its religious significance and became host to artistic demonstrations and side-show attractions. Here is a short description made in the *Foreigner's Manual to Amsterdam*:

The first Monday of [September] is the day the fair or *Kermesse* begins, which is made up of a series of popular celebrations, the duration of which is three weeks, day and night without interruption. Plays have an especially large role in the Botermarkt. There, tents are erected with curiosities and singular shows. The trumpets and shouters rival to see who will be best heard in this terrible explosion: invitations to purchase [things], furious recommendations to come see the wonders of nature [...] the music of the acrobats, the roaring of the comedians mingle pleasantly with the shouts, the boos and the laughter of the crowd.¹⁴²

During those three weeks, various theatrical performances happened right alongside the regular shows of Amsterdam's theatres. The back-page of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* normally allocated a small section for upcoming theatrical events. In the 2 September 1839 edition, however, these advertisements take up almost two-thirds of the page with shows of every description (figure 10). The Amsterdam Municipal Theatre and French Theatre are featured at the centre of the page, while the remaining half of the page lists the different manifestations that were to take place during the *Kermis*. The regular musical events that took place in the *Plantagie* were enriched with all sorts of attractions and pyrotechnics during the time of the *Kermis*. Theatre tents drawn for the occasion were used to shelter

¹⁴² 'Le premier Lundi [*sic*] du mois est le jour, où commence la foire ou Kermesse, qui forme une série de réjouissances populaires, et dont la durée est de trois semaines, jour et nuit sans interruption. C'est surtout le *Botermarkt* qui y joue un grand rôle. Là sont érigés [*sic*] les tentes de curiosités, des spectacles uniques... Les trompettes et les gosiers rivalisent à qui se fera le mieux entendre dans cette horrible explosion : des invitations à acheter, de furieuses recommandations à venir voir les merveilles de la nature, [...] La musique des saltimbanques, le mugissement des histrions se mêlent plaisamment aux cris, aux huées, aux éclats de rire de la foule'. William John Olivier, *Manuel des étrangers à Amsterdam, ou Description topographique, historique, politique et statistique de cette capitale; avec l'indication de tout ce qu'il importe d'y connaître...*, (Amsterdam: Diederichs, Frères, 1839), p. 332-333.

the performances. Stands included a coffee establishment with billiard tables, an optical theatre, a theatre with great military illusions, grand musical concerts in various venues, eating establishments, Russian *pantomime* shows, magic shows based on the wonders of physics and machinery, an Olympic Circus with large cavalry manoeuvres; railroad exhibitions and events planned by other cities, like Berlin, appear at the bottom of the list. Some of the large-scale productions at the Municipal Theatre went as far to enlist the local townsfolk to partake in the performance:

It is an immemorial tradition in Amsterdam to stage, at the time of the *Kermis*, on the main theatre, a play that requires a large number of actors and extras. In order to execute these types of works correctly, which are reminiscent of a historical fact, the bourgeois send to the director, their cooks and their nannies. It is said that a merchant told Mintje, his maid, that she was to go to the theatre that evening, and that she would appear in the performance. She was very happy to go to the theatre without having to pay. As it turned out, the play was about the sacking of a city where, as the curtain went up, there was a crowd of women who were supposed to have been raped, when it was said to Mintje that she would take part in that number, she naively said 'Oh my God, if I had known I would be raped, I would have dressed myself in my best outfit.'¹⁴³

The main theatres increased the number of shows during the time of the *Kermis* in order to keep from losing too much of their audience to the ephemeral venues. The Municipal Theatre played every day of the week (except for Sundays) during the time of the *Kermis* in 1831, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1838 and 1839, while the French Theatre gave only one extraordinary performance in 1831 when it opened on a Wednesday. At the French Theatre, French celebrities were invited to perform during the *Kermis*, such as Adrien Perlet (1832), Charles-Gabriel Potier (1833), Bernard-Léon (1834), Madame Albert (1835), Xavier Delmary (1837) and Madame Laglange (1839).

¹⁴³ 'C'est un usage immémorial à Amsterdam de représenter, à l'époque du carnaval, sur le premier théâtre, une pièce qui exige un grand nombre d'acteurs et de figurans [*sic*]. Pour la bonne exécution de ces sortes d'ouvrages, qui rappellent un fait historique, des bourgeois envoient au directeur du spectacle, leurs cuisinières, leurs bonnes d'enfants [*sic*]. On raconte qu'un négociant ayant prévenu Mintje, sa domestique, qu'elle devait le soir même se rendre au théâtre où elle figurerait dans la représentation, celle-ci y courut fort contente d'aller à la comédie, sans payer. Or, il s'agissait du sac d'une ville, où au lever du rideau, on apercevait une foule de femmes qui étaient censées avoir été violées; quand on eut dit-à Mintje qu'elle serait du nombre : « Ah mon ?! Dieu, dit-elle naïvement, si j'avais su que je devais être violée, je me serais parée de mes plus beaux ajustements'.

Amsterdam was not the only city to host a *Kermis*: large cities held their commemoration to *Sinter Claes* at different moments of the year. If the Amsterdam *Kermis* took place in September, the one in Groningen happened in May. Victor Lh  rie, an actor and singer from Paris was scheduled to tour the Netherlands after having played at the Amsterdam French Theatre from 18 April to 7 May 1839.¹⁴⁴ His arrival in Groningen was made to coincide with the city's May *Kermis*.¹⁴⁵ Since 1796, troupes from Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague have come to Groningen to perform, as the theatre was an important part of that city's culture, considered to be a vector for civic virtues and the ideas propagated by the French Revolution.¹⁴⁶

The attempts made by main theatres to compete against the *Kermis* illustrate its importance and position in Amsterdam's theatre scene. The overall increase of theatre activity during those three weeks not only added to the city's range of entertainments but also represented a great source of income for both actors, entrepreneurs and the city. Finally, the *Kermis* was a cultural part of Amsterdam, awaited by all and where everyone had a part to play.

2.9 Concerts and benefit concerts

In Amsterdam, theatrical venues were often used to support those in need. Aside from the Municipal Theatre's patronage of the hospices, theatres regularly hosted *pro bono* performances to support artists afflicted by prolonged illness or who had recently become a widow or widower. Benefit performances to support apprentices of the craft (*kwekelingen*) or to raise pension funds for retired actors were commonplace also. In that regard, there was great solidarity amongst actors from different theatres who readily participated in these concerts together. Amsterdam took great pride in its military: not only were officers in uniform able to secure tickets at half price, but extraordinary performances in honour of wounded soldiers and their families were planned in both primary and secondary theatres.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 4.7

¹⁴⁵ *Groninger Courant*, 07 May 1839.

¹⁴⁶ Marjolein Hageman, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65.

Concerts often featured some of Amsterdam's leading musicians, such as Willem Pasques de Chavonnes Vrugt (1798-1841), a concert tenor and head chamber singer of His Royal Majesty the King of the Netherlands.¹⁴⁷ His benefit concert on 19 October 1830 in favour of the families of those killed or wounded in action was carried out with the express collaboration of orchestra and chorus members from the Municipal Theatre and the Dutch Royal Music School in The Hague. The repertoire, 'selected as efficiently as possible',¹⁴⁸ presented a mixture of instrumental pieces including an overture by the Italian born Rinaldo Benucci (1774-1841) and chamber music for cello, piano, violin, flute. Patriotic pieces included Kalkbrenner's *Piano variations on a theme of God Save the King* and a declamatory work entitled *The Shocked Netherlands*, with music from the renowned Dutch composers Johannes Bernardus van Bree (1801-1857). Vrugt sang Bree's composition along with *arias* by Fernando Paer translated into Dutch, *Sehnsucht* by Andreas Romberg (1767–1821), *Variations* by Pierre Rode (1774-1830) and what was then the national anthem of the Netherlands: the *Volkslied*.

On 27 October 1830, the director of the French Theatre Auguste Nourrit organized a benefit performance for the 'recently established relief funds'.¹⁴⁹ At the Leerzaam Vermaak, Jan Gras (1797-1844) held a 'benefit of the Fund in support of the Households of mobilised Amsterdam Shooters' on 16 December 1830.¹⁵⁰ The punctual support of troops and their families found its place alongside the broad range of benefit performances hosted by playhouses all year round, including benefits which were not directed towards charities. Travelling singers and actors playing at the French Theatre might be granted a benefit performance where they would claim the totality of the proceeds. A benefit could also be directed towards assisting a group of actors belonging to a theatre. Auguste Nourrit organised a French-language performance for several artists of the French Theatre at the German Theatre on 22 October 1830, where the clarinet virtuoso Joseph Faubel played one of Weber's concertos and Vrugt sang an aria from Paer's opera *Achille*.

¹⁴⁷ *Amsterdamsche Courant*: 12 October 1830.

¹⁴⁸ *Amsterdamsche Courant*: 19 October 1830.

¹⁴⁹ 'Par Extraordinaire et au bénéfice des caisses de secours nouvellement instituées' (*Amsterdamsche Courant*: 27 October 1830).

¹⁵⁰ 'ten voordeel van het Fonds ter ondersteuning der Huisgezinnen van Uittrekkende Amsterdamsche Schutters' (*Amsterdamsche Courant*: 15 October 1830).

In conclusion, the numerous theatres of the city and their broad spectrum of performances, advertised on a daily basis in the Amsterdam press, make the capital of the Netherlands a fertile ground for the reception of French stage repertoire. From the main playhouses to smaller institutions, *Amsterdammers* were given a broad range of stage pleasures to choose from. Theatres in Amsterdam were not regulated by the Paris model and were thus free to stage any and all genres. The main theatres catered towards a particular social group whereas the smaller venues were more colloquial in terms of etiquette. The agents that collaborated in making the Amsterdam French Theatre the most fashionable venue in the capital is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 3 On Stage and Behind the Curtain: Directors, Troupes and Agents of the Amsterdam French Theatre

*La première science de l'homme,
C'est de savoir quel est son travail.*

– Jean Domat, *Harangues*, 1796

3.1 *Messieurs les Directeurs du Théâtre-Français d'Amsterdam*

Since its founding as a *Collège dramatique* in 1786, the Amsterdam French Theatre (Théâtre-Français d'Amsterdam) had been a centre for the dissemination of French culture in Amsterdam. Performances at the French Theatre were subject to a series of regulations laid down by the City Council, aiming to protect the interests of their Municipal Theatre (Stadsschouwburg). Performance could only be attended by the members of the *Collège* until the creation of the Batavian Republic under Napoleon in 1795, when the first subsidised public plays and operas began to appear. Public theatre did not last long however, as the financial risk involved in such an enterprise was a major deterrent. The French theatre thus became a private venture, its management (and fate) left in the hands of a director. The literature of yesterday and today present the nineteenth-century theatre director as a fearless knight embarking on his glorious venture, seeking the recognition of the audience and the rewards of its triumphs.¹⁵¹ He is often a man of society, highly connected in the world of the art, an administrator who risks his own personal fortune to produce operas and ensure the public's acclaim. This archetype was mostly applicable to those in charge of major theatres – like Doctor Louis Véron who directed the Paris Opéra from 1831 to 1835 – rather than the majority of directors who ran secondary and provincial theatres such as the French Theatre in Amsterdam. The following account, given by the actor Adrien Perlet (1785-1850)¹⁵² in his description of a *Directeur d'un théâtre de province*, gives a more representative image of a provincial director's career:

¹⁵¹ Pascale Goetschel, Jean-Claude Yon (ed.) *Directeurs de Théâtre, XIXe-Xxe siècles* (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008) 250 p.

¹⁵² Adrien Perlet performed at the Amsterdam French Theatre from 20 September to 1 November 1832.

He is generally a fairly pleasant type of man ... His height is below average; he is extremely overweight. He draws a convex semicircle as he walks, so proudly his head is tilted back, so prominent is his abdomen [...] He has a lot of the Robert Macaire.¹⁵³ [...] However he is not deceitful [...] if he cheats, it is out of necessity. [...] In the midst of continual discords, the repertoire always remains the same, and the public asks for something new. It is in this critical situation [that] he develops all the resources of his brilliant imagination. No one is stronger in the art of distorting the titles of old works. [...] He cuts, he trims, he slices mercilessly [...] He removes a scene, an act, one, two, three characters, depending on the number of actors of his troupe, which sudden desertions sometimes reduce to two or three artists. [...] For the distribution of a work, he resorts, if necessary, to the transmutation of the sexes, that is to say, he turns an uncle into an aunt, a sister to a brother, etc. [...] He in no way fears the anger of the public [...] His *régisseur*, poor fellow, a true Jack-of-all-trades who [cumulates] the functions of manager, actor, secretary, prompter, inspector general, etc. [sometimes] the same actor has to play two characters [or that] the prompter leaves his post and his wife [must] replace him...¹⁵⁴

The events that the directors of the Amsterdam French theatre had to deal with in the 1830s pushed them into situations similar to the ones described by Perlet.

Throughout the reign of Louis Bonaparte and the Netherland's subsequent annexation into the French Empire, the Amsterdam French theatre had two distinct troupes, one for *comédie* and another for *opéra-comique*. In November 1813, the Russian Cossacks led by General von Benckendorff crossed into the Netherlands and, through a series of engagements, managed to push the French out. By 1816, when the idea of a

¹⁵³ Robert Macaire is a fictional character of French literature, who embodied the unscrupulous swindler, con artist, manipulator and opportunist under the French July Monarchy (1830-1848).

¹⁵⁴ 'C'est en général un type d'homme assez plaisant [...] Sa taille est au-dessous de la moyenne ; son embonpoint est extrême. Il décrit en marchant un demi-cercle convexe, tant sa tête se porte fièrement en arrière, tant son abdomen est proéminent [...] Il tient beaucoup du Robert Macaire [...] Toutefois il n'est pas fourbe [...] s'il trompe, c'est par nécessité. [...] Au milieu de ces continuels [*sic*] discords, le répertoire reste toujours le même, et le public demande du nouveau. C'est dans cette situation critique [qu'il] développe toutes les ressources de sa brillante imagination. Nul n'est plus fort dans l'art de dénaturer les titres des anciens ouvrages. [...] il coupe, il taille, il tranche sans pitié [...] Il en supprime une scène, un acte, un, deux, trois personnages, suivant l'état du personnel de sa troupe, que de subites désertions réduisent parfois à deux ou trois artistes [...] Pour la distribution d'un ouvrage, il a recours, s'il le faut, à la transmutation des sexes, c'est-à-dire qu'il fait d'un oncle une tante, d'une sœur un frère, etc. [...] Il ne redoute aucunement la colère du public [...] Son régisseur, pauvre hère, véritable maître-Jacques dramatique, [cumule] les fonctions de régisseur, d'acteur, de secrétaire, de souffleur, d'inspecteur général, etc. [Il arrive parfois que] le même acteur remplit [*sic*] deux personnages [ou que] le souffleur quitte son trou, où sa femme le remplace...'. Adrien Perlet, 'Le directeur d'un théâtre de province' in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle. Province*, Tome VI, (Paris: L. Curmer, MDCCCXLI [1841]), p. 25-32.

French theatre became once again fashionable, a single troupe able to put on both *comédie* and *opéra-comique* was established both in Amsterdam and in The Hague. Between 1820 and 1823, these cities were forced to share the same *comédie* and *opéra-comique* troupes, united under the appellation *Les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roy* and run by a single directorship, alternating residence every three months.¹⁵⁵ Monsieur Dangeville, the man running this complicated enterprise, decided to abandon The Hague completely in 1823 and base himself in Amsterdam with just the opera troupe, establishing the origins of the French theatre troupe present in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s.

3.2 Origins of the French troupe in Amsterdam: Dangeville (1823-1828) and Martin-Touring (1828-1830)

Little is known of Dangeville's origins. Many actors and actresses have used the name since the seventeenth century. An actor by the name of Dangeville appears in Amsterdam as early as 1810, in Pieter G. W. Geysbeek's guidebook *Tableau d'Amsterdam*; he was a member of the *comédie* troupe – along with his wife and daughter – where he held the *raisonneur* roles. The earliest mentions of him in the press as director of *Les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roy* are in 1820.¹⁵⁶ In 1821, a benefit performance held for him in Rotterdam identifies him as 'Monsieur Morguet, called Dangeville'.¹⁵⁷ The author and actor Pierre-François Camus (1781-1853), better known as Merville, published an *Almanach des Spectacles* from 1822 to 1837 where he listed the names of singers and actors assigned to theatres both in and outside of France. The degree of precision regarding the information that Merville was able to obtain on French Theatre in the Netherlands varied from year to year. The distance between Amsterdam and Paris sometimes hindered communications, which resulted in information gaps. Yet, even though Merville made no mention of the French troupe in Amsterdam for 1821 and 1823, its existence can be attested through other sources. The following reconstruction of the French theatre troupe in Amsterdam is based on Merville's 1822 account, enriched with local press reviews whenever possible.

¹⁵⁵ *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1823*, p. 287-288.

¹⁵⁶ *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 25 August 1820.

¹⁵⁷ 'M. Morguet, dit Dangeville' (*Roterdamsche Courant*, 9 June 1821).

French <i>comédie</i> troupe (1822)	French <i>opéra</i> troupe (1822)
Poirier, <i>Jeune premier</i>	Cœuriot, <i>Elleviou</i>
Bertaut, <i>premier comique</i>	Joly, <i>Gavaudan</i>
Louis, <i>financier</i>	Faget, <i>Martin</i>
Mme Ribou, <i>premiers rôles</i>	Fabre, <i>jeune amoureux</i>
Mme Léon, <i>jeune première</i>	Mme Bellemont, <i>première chanteuse</i>
Mme Louis, <i>soubrette</i>	Mme Cœuriot, <i>première chanteuse</i>
	Mme Joly, <i>Dugazon</i>
	Mme Loth, <i>duègne</i>

Table 3: Comparison of the Amsterdam's French *comédie* and *opéra* troupes in 1822.
Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1823.

The combined troupes present fourteen artists, six in charge of the spoken plays and eight for the operatic repertoire. Only two names are given for the administration: Monsieur Dangeville and Monsieur Moulin-Neuf who cumulated the responsibilities of both administrator and conductor. The *Almanach* further mentions that this theatre is 'not prosperous, and, as in France, the resources have been reduced by half for the last 10 years'.¹⁵⁸ Although the *Almanach* gave no details for this troupe in 1823, the following edition presented a list almost identical to the one from 1822, suggesting that there was in fact a French troupe singing and acting in Amsterdam that year. The company gained Monsieur Margaillan, and became an *opéra* and *comédie-vaudeville* troupe:

French <i>opéra</i> troupe (1822)	French <i>opéra</i> and <i>comédie-vaudeville</i> troupe (1824)
Cœuriot, <i>Elleviou</i>	Cœuriot, <i>Elleviou</i>
Joly, <i>Gavaudan</i>	Joly, <i>Gavaudan</i>
Faget, <i>Martin</i>	Faget [sic], <i>Martin</i>
Fabre, <i>jeune amoureux</i>	Fabre, <i>deuxièmes hautes-contre</i>
	Margaillan, premières basses-tailles
Mme Bellemont, <i>première chanteuse</i>	Mme Bellemont, <i>premières chanteuses à roulades</i>
Mme Cœuriot, <i>première chanteuse</i>	Mme Cœuriot, <i>chanteuse sans roulades</i>
Mme Joly, <i>Dugazon</i>	Mme Joly, <i>Dugazon</i>
Mme Loth, <i>duègne</i>	Mme Luth [sic], <i>duègne</i>

Table 4: Comparison of the Amsterdam's French troupes of 1822 and 1824.
New recruits are show in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1823 and 1825.

¹⁵⁸ 'Ils ne sont pas en prospérité, et, comme en France, il y a presque diminution de moitié, dans les ressources depuis dix ans'. Melville, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

In 1825, contrary to the dismal forecast given by the *Almanach*, the troupe of the French Theatre grew to eleven artists. Dangeville still had his conductor Moulmeiss (probably a misspelling of Moulin-Neuf) and even gained a *régisseur* that year: Monsieur Grandville. Cœuriot and Margaillan returned to Paris to sing at the Odéon theatre, respectively replaced by Monsieur Mesplon and Monsieur Dushesne. Cœuriot's departure also triggered that of his wife, Madame Cœuriot, replaced by Madame Bernardy. Both of them later returned to the French Theatre in Amsterdam the following decade as singers:

<i>Opéra et Vaudville troupe (1824)</i>	<i>Amsterdam French Theatre troupe (1825)</i>
Cœuriot, <i>Elleviou</i>	
	Mesplon , <i>premières hautes-contre, Elleviou</i> [sic]
Joly, <i>Gavaudan</i>	Joly, <i>Gavaudan, Philippe</i>
Fagel [sic], <i>Martin</i>	Fagès [sic], <i>Martin, Laïs, Solié</i>
Fabre, <i>deuxième hautes-contre</i>	Fabre, <i>deuxièmes hautes-contre, les jeunes premiers</i>
Margaillan, <i>première basse-taille</i>	
	Hyppolite Duchesne , <i>premières basses-tailles</i>
	Adrien , <i>deuxièmes basses-tailles</i>
	Pitrot , <i>Lesage, Laruette, etc.</i>
	Prudhomme fils cadet , <i>Trial Dozainville, utilités en tous genres</i> [sic]
Mme Bellemont, <i>chanteuse à roulades</i>	Mme Belmont [sic], <i>premières chanteuses en tous genres, fortes chanteuses, mères Dugazon</i> [sic]
Mme Cœuriot, <i>chanteuse sans roulades</i>	
Mme Joly, <i>Dugazon</i>	
	Mme Bernardy , <i>deuxièmes chanteuses et les jeunes premières</i> [sic]
Mme Luth [sic], <i>duègne</i>	Mme Loth, <i>duègne et caractères, deuxièmes duègnes, etc. grandes utilités</i> [sic]

Table 5: Comparison of the Amsterdam's French troupes of 1824 and 1825.
New recruits are show in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1825 and 1826.

By comparing 1824 and 1825, we not only notice a broadening of responsibilities for each member of the troupe, but also the addition of three male parts and the reduction of one female part. Despite Dangeville being an 'able and generally esteemed man', the *Almanach* indicated that the city of Amsterdam might be without a French troupe in 1826.¹⁵⁹ The following year, there was an important change in the repertoire: the Amsterdam troupe would now perform essentially *comédie* and *comédie-vaudeville*. The reasons behind this decision are not clear, yet the financial difficulties expressed in the *Almanach des*

¹⁵⁹*Almanach des Spectacles pour 1826*, p. 404.

Spectacles could explain a move towards less costly (and perhaps more accessible) repertoire. Regardless of the reason, the shift in repertoire led to a quasi-total renewal of the troupe. Nearly each member now had a role in both *comédie* and in the *comédie-Vaudeville* troupes. Dangeville is credited for playing the third roles in *comédie*; only he and Madame Loth remain from the original troupe from 1822.

	Amsterdam French Theatre troupe (1826)	
	<i>comédie</i> roles	<i>vaudeville</i> roles
Durand	<i>premiers rôles</i>	<i>rôles à caractère</i>
Desroches	<i>jeunes premiers</i>	
Saint-Albain jeune	<i>troisièmes amoureux</i>	<i>seconds amoureux</i>
Ferdinand Stéphan	<i>pères nobles</i>	
Chazel	<i>Financiers</i>	<i>Pères et paysans</i>
Dangeville	<i>troisièmes rôles</i>	
Villeneuve	<i>premiers comiques</i>	<i>second comiques</i>
Richard Mutée	<i>second comiques</i>	<i>troisièmes comiques</i>
Cugnier	<i>seconds pères</i>	<i>seconds pères</i>
Derouvère		<i>premiers amoureux</i>
Bernard Léon jeune		<i>Premiers comiques</i>
Mme Pujos	<i>premiers rôles</i>	
Mme Léon Fauvel	<i>jeunes premières</i>	<i>premières amoureuses au besoin</i>
Mme Brochard	<i>ingénuités</i>	<i>secondes amoureuses</i>
Mme Julienne	<i>soubrettes</i>	<i>Paysannes et soubrettes</i>
Mme Loth	<i>caractères</i>	Duègnes
Mme Emilie	<i>troisièmes amoureuses</i>	<i>troisièmes amoureuses</i>
Mme Richard Mutée		<i>premières amoureuses</i>

Table 6: The distribution of roles in Amsterdam's French troupe in 1826.
New recruits are shown in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1827.

Despite the abrupt changes in cast and repertoire, the total number of performers had risen to eighteen (eleven actors and seven actresses). Three more openings were created in 1827, taking the total number of artists to 21 with, once again, important changes in the cast: thirteen new actors, including Monsieur Alexandre who will return to the French Theatre as a guest in 1832 and give a dozen performances, including the perhaps unique English-language performance ever given at the French Theatre.¹⁶⁰ Table 5 presents the

¹⁶⁰ 'The Adventures of a Ventriloquist or the Rogueries of Nicolas, entertainment in one part, in English, constructed expressly for him, bij W. T. Moncrieff (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 April 1832).

state of the French Troupe before Dangeville relinquished his position to Monsieur Martin-Touring, the actor who would assume stewardship of the troupe from 1828 to 1829.

Amsterdam French Theatre troupe (1827)	Role
Richard Mutée	<i>(régisseur) deuxièmes comiques</i>
Eugène	<i>premiers rôles</i>
[Nicolas] Alexandre	<i>jeunes premiers</i>
Saint-Albain [sic]	<i>deuxièmes et troisièmes amoureux</i>
Chazel	<i>financiers, grimes, paysans</i>
Bernard Léon jeune	<i>premiers comiques</i>
Baret	<i>premiers et deuxièmes comiques</i>
Gublin	<i>deuxièmes comiques</i>
Marchand	<i>raisonneurs, pères nobles</i>
Montigny	<i>deuxièmes pères</i>
Fulerand	<i>grandes utilités</i>
Gravaut [sic]	<i>utilités</i>
Mme Sainville	<i>premiers rôles</i>
Mme Richard Mutée	<i>premières amoureuses</i>
Mme Jamain	<i>jeunes premières</i>
Mme Emélie [sic]	<i>deuxièmes et troisièmes amoureuses</i>
Mme Vochez	<i>soubrettes</i>
Mme Brochard	<i>deuxièmes id., paysannes</i>
Mme Beaudin	<i>mères nobles, caractères</i>
Mme Loth	<i>duègne</i>
Mme Chavanne	<i>utilités</i>

Table 7: The distribution of roles in Amsterdam's French troupe in 1827. New recruits are shown in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1828.

In 1807, Napoleon had created an administrative subdivision known as an *arrondissement théâtral* where he grouped the cities of the French Empire into geographical zones. Originally 25, the number of *arrondissements* was reduced to 18 after the Treaty of Vienna redefined the borders of France. A theatre troupe was therefore assigned a group of cities in which they would perform during the season. Martin-Touring was the director of the troupe of the second *arrondissement* (Boulogne, Saint-Omer, Saint-Pol, Arras) in 1817. As many directors of itinerant troupes, he was not only its director but also played the third roles in *comédie* and 'noble fathers' in opera.¹⁶¹ He was involved with running the theatre of Calais the following year and seemingly triggered complaints from the City hall of

¹⁶¹ 'Troisièmes rôles dans la comédie, puis père nobles dans l'Opéra' (*Les Théâtres*, 1817).

Calais.¹⁶² In 1820, Martin-Touring was mentioned as a ‘director [having been given the] privilege for the Pas-de-Calais department’.¹⁶³ By 1823, he was still director of the second *arrondissement* but resources were scarce, as were the wages of the actors in the troupe.¹⁶⁴ The *Almanach* states that Martin-Touring was in charge of the Théâtre d’Amiens until April 1827, when he was replaced by Joseph Jacob.¹⁶⁵ By 1828, Martin-Touring had become director of the Amsterdam French Theatre, playing in neighbouring cities such as Utrecht.¹⁶⁶ The French troupe underwent another important change that year as opera was reintroduced into the repertoire. The total number of players remained 21 as the previous year, but only six members (three men and three women) remained from the 1827 troupe.

Amsterdam French Theatre troupe (1828)	Role
Stokleit	<i>Premier rôle, Philippe, Gavaudan</i>
Auguste Nourrit	<i>Premières hautes-contre [sic]</i>
Latappie	<i>Deuxièmes, premières au besoin, jeune premier [sic]</i>
St.-Aubin	<i>Matrin, Laïs, Solié, des comiques</i>
Valois	<i>Colin, troisième amoureux</i>
Chevalier	<i>Laruelle, des comiques</i>
Bernard	<i>Première basse-taille</i>
Jules	<i>Deuxième [basse-taille], première au besoin</i>
Gublin	<i>Trial</i>
Gravan	<i>Troisième basse-taille</i>
Stréletsky	<i>Accessoires</i>
Mme Berthault	<i>Première chanteuse à roulades</i>
Mme Ternaux	<i>Première chanteuse sans roulades</i>
Mme Stokleit	<i>Premiers rôles</i>
Mme Meunier	<i>Dugazon, jeune première</i>
Mme St-Aubin	<i>Seconde Dugazon</i>
Mme Emilie	<i>Troisième [Dugazon]</i>
Mme Loth	<i>Duègne, caractère</i>
Mme Chevalier	<i>Betzi</i>
Mme Corinne	<i>Utilité</i>
Mme Chavanne	<i>Utilité</i>

Table 8: The distribution of roles in Amsterdam’s French troupe in 1828.
New recruits are shown in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1829.

¹⁶² S. Olivier, ‘F/21/1204, 2. Pas-de-Calais. Théâtre de Calais. 1808-1863. Correspondance générale : plaintes de la municipalité contre le directeur Martin-Touring (1818-1819)’, *Théâtres (XIXe siècle), Inventaire semi-analytique (F/21/953-F/21/1339)*, (Paris, Archives nationales (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), 1961), p. 135.

¹⁶³ ‘Directeur privilégié pour le département du Pas-de-Calais’ (*Union Fauconnier*, 1905).

¹⁶⁴ *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1823*, p. 271.

¹⁶⁵ *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1828*, p. 311.

¹⁶⁶ *Utrechts Voksblad*, 12 November 1828.

For the first time, the *Almanach* reported on the size of the orchestra (32 musicians) and the chorus (twelve singers). The administrative department expanded to include positions of dual responsibility: a second conductor who also performed walk-on parts on stage (Monsieur Streletsky) and a *souffleur*/secretary (Monsieur Benett). Madame Samson is credited as *magasinière* (costumes) and Monsieur Auguste is the *régisseur*. It is possible the tenor Auguste Nourrit, brother of Adolphe Nourrit, could have held that position in addition to his singing role, as he would succeed Martin-Touring as director of the French Theatre in 1830 and 1831, the latter having returned to Amiens.¹⁶⁷

Though the men who directed the French Theatre throughout the 1830s were all in the theatre trade, they each had very different origins and careers that impacted the contracts they signed and repertoire they produced. The historical lack of interest in nineteenth-century theatre in Amsterdam has left many pages of Dutch music history in a fragmentary state. As most of these individuals were not included in Francois Joseph Fétis's *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, the following portraits have been reconstructed from advertisements and articles found in local and international press. It is my hope that the following profiles, far from being complete, can act as a foundation stone for those wishing to establish more precise accounts of these men and women in the future.

3.3 Tale of Two Cities: Auguste Nourrit (1830-1833) in Amsterdam and The Hague

Achille Gabriel Auguste Nourrit was born on 5 January 1805 in Paris, son of the singer Louis Nourrit (1780-1831) and younger brother of Adolphe Nourrit (1802-1839), one of history's most famous French tenors. Auguste Nourrit is mentioned as early as 1827, when he performed at the theatre in Nantes.¹⁶⁸ He later made his début at the Opéra-Comique in Paris on 22 April 1828 in the role of Georges from Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*. His singing skills did not meet the audience's favour, however, and Nourrit was booed off the stage.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1831*, p. 211.

¹⁶⁸ *Gazette des Théâtres*, 14 September 1834.

¹⁶⁹ Frédéric Jules Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours: d'après des documents inédits reposant aux Archives générales du Royaume*, Volumes 3 à 4, (Paris: Maison Tresse, 1879) p.139 (reads '22 April, 1822' should read '22 April, 1828').

His second debut (June 1828) in *Jean de Paris* was a happier one and, although the editors of *La Pandore* thought his voice to be an 'unforgiving instrument', they believed he could become a pleasant singer.¹⁷⁰ On a similar note, *Le Figaro* said Nourrit, with more assurance and practice, could someday hope to surpass the singer Jean-François Lafeuillade, whom Amsterdam should send back to Paris in exchange for Nourrit.¹⁷¹ It seems like *Le Figaro* got its wish, for Nourrit was singing in Amsterdam under Martin-Touring's directorship in 1828¹⁷² and giving concerts in The Hague in early 1829.¹⁷³ It is possible that an advertisement similar to the one published in *Gilblas* in November of 1829 might have caught his eye:

Notice - The management of the Amsterdam French Theatre will be granted to the director who will accept to lead a suitable troupe from 1 May or 1 September next. To discover the advantages, conditions, arrangements and obtain the necessary information, contact Monsieur P.-H. Moulin-Neuf, conductor, authorized for this purpose by MM. the administrators of the hall of the French Theatre'.

Amsterdam, 9 November 1829. P.H. Moulin-Neuf, conductor. ¹⁷⁴

Thus, the Amsterdam French Theatre came under the direction of Auguste Nourrit in 1830, who was able to maintain the theatre (like the one in The Hague), despite a considerable decrease in resources.¹⁷⁵ The information published in the *Almanach* is somewhat patchy, as Jules-François Dupuis-Delcourt was unable to travel to Amsterdam to obtain a more detailed troupe list. The table below presents the handful of names given by Dupuis, augmented with information drawn from the *Algemeen Handelsblad*.

¹⁷⁰ *Le Pandore*, 2 June 1828.

¹⁷¹ *Le Figaro*, 2 June 1828.

¹⁷² *Le Corsaire*, 10 October 1828.

¹⁷³ *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage*, 18 February 1829.

¹⁷⁴ 'Avis - La direction du Amsterdam French Theatre sera concédée au directeur qui s'engagera d'y conduire une troupe convenable le 1er Mai ou le 1er septembre prochain. S'adresser, pour connaître les avantages, conditions, arrangements, et prendre les renseignements nécessaires, à M. P-H Moulin-Neuf, chef d'orchestre, autorisé à cet effet par MM. les administrateurs de la salle du Théâtre-Français'. Amsterdam, ce 9 Novembre 1829. P.H. MOULIN-NEUF, chef d'orchestre' (*Gilblas*, 15 November 1829).

¹⁷⁵ *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1831*, p. 271.

Amsterdam French Theatre troupe (1830)	Role
Auguste Nourrit	<i>Directeur ; Haute-contre (1) – Elleviou</i>
Moulin-Neuf	<i>Chef d'Orchestre</i>
Victor Emile ¹⁷⁶	<i>Haute-contre (2) – Colin</i>
Bazin ¹⁷⁷	<i>Philippe, Gavaudan</i>
St. Aubin	<i>Martin, Lais</i> ¹⁷⁸
Margaillan ¹⁷⁹	<i>Baryton ou Basse-Taille</i>
Bernard fils ¹⁸⁰	<i>Basse</i>
[Alex] Vautrin ¹⁸¹	<i>Comique de Vaudeville</i>
Chevalier ¹⁸²	<i>Laruelle, Financier</i>
J. Stokleit	<i>Administrateur</i> ¹⁸³ <i>Unknown (second Philippe, Gavaudan?)</i>
Mlle Boelly [Bailly] ¹⁸⁴	<i>Cantatrice</i>
Mme Durand ¹⁸⁵	<i>Mezzo-soprano (Marguerite in La dame blanche)</i>
Mme Vautrin ¹⁸⁶	<i>Philis, Jeunes coquettes, soubrettes</i>
Mme Stevens ¹⁸⁷	<i>Duègne</i>
Mme Dorsan	<i>Jeune Dugazon</i>
Mme Bazin	<i>Forte Dugazon</i>
Mlle Dupuis	[Unknown]

Table 9: The distribution of roles in Amsterdam's French troupe in 1830.
New recruits are shown in bold letters. Source: *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1829.

Nourrit called upon the itinerant talents of the most renowned actors and singers Paris had to offer. Though he probably invited guest singers to make appearances at the French playhouse in 1830, there was no mention of it in the press. However, when the *Algemeen Handelsblad* merged with the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in late 1831, the periodical began to provide more detailed information on coming performances: in addition to merely announcing titles at the box office, the new *Algemeen Handelsblad* now mentioned certain singers and actors due to appear on the billing. In this manner, it recorded the passage of Monsieur and Madame Ponchard. This tenor and soprano couple

¹⁷⁶ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 September 1830.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 April 1830.

¹⁷⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1830.

¹⁸⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 September 1830.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸² *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 April 1830.

¹⁸³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 April 1830.

¹⁸⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 September 1830.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 September 1830.

from the Théâtre royal de l'Opéra-Comique in Paris gave eleven performances throughout January and February of 1832, including Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*. Charles-Emmanuel Lepeintre, the leading actor from the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in Paris, visited the French Theatre from February to March and was featured in eighteen evenings, followed by ten performances by the French mime artist and ventriloquist Nicolas Alexandre. In April, another couple from the Opéra-Comique arrived in Amsterdam at Nourrit's request: Jean-Baptiste Chollet and Zoé Prévost. They sang ten evenings and gave their last performance on 14 May, when the French Theatre closed for the summer. In September, Nourrit invited Adrien Perlet, main comic of the French Theatre in Paris (Comédie Française), who took to the stage on nine occasions. Finally, Nourrit was able to secure the talents of Jenny Vertpré of the Gymnase Dramatique. The following year, Nourrit attracted another artist from the French Theatre in Paris: J.-B. François Becquerelle, better known by the stage name 'Firmin', gave a total of 23 performances in Amsterdam. Nourrit also brought talents from the Imperial theatres of Russia (Mademoiselle Dangeville), Milan, Naples and Madrid (Madame Garcia-Vestris) for a handful of performances. The last visiting talent to put himself on display in the French playhouse was Monsieur Phillipe, yet another first comic of the Théâtre du Palais-Royal, who gave thirteen evenings from 11 April to the theatre's closing on 14 May 1833.

From 1832, Nourrit found himself in a situation similar to that of Dangeville in 1820: he was directing both the French theatres in Amsterdam and The Hague, a double administration that was too perilous to last. In September 1833, it was officially announced that Nourrit would not continue his directorship of the French Theatre in Amsterdam: 'He seems to have been chiefly compelled to do so by the overwhelming workload of his dual administration of [the theatre] here and at The Hague'.¹⁸⁸

In May 1833, which corresponded to the début of the French troupe at The Hague, Nourrit had announced that his brother Adolphe Nourrit would visit the Netherlands in October and perform at the Royal Theatre in The Hague.¹⁸⁹ Originally hired to give six performances (from 3-14 October), Adolphe Nourrit was convinced to give an additional four. He sang the lead roles in *La dame blanche* and *Le Calif de Bagdad* (3 October) *Robert*

¹⁸⁸ 'Voornamelijk schijnt hij wel hiertoe te zijn gedrongen geworden door de te veelvuldige werkzaamheden aan zijn dubbel bestuur hier en te 's Gravenhage...' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1833).

¹⁸⁹ *Journal de La Haye*, 5 May 1833.

le Diable (5, 7, 10 and 29 October), *Le siège de Corinthe* and *Le bouffe et le tailleur* (12 October), the role of Masaniello in *La muette de Portici*, which he had created in Paris (14 October), Gluck's *Orphée et Euridice* (17 October), *Fernand Cortez* (19 October) and *Le Comte Ory* (21 October). It is interesting to note that the Nourrit brothers sang the same repertoire, and thus the public at The Hague was able to compare the two. Auguste Nourrit must have been aware of the risk he was taking by bringing his famous sibling to The Hague, but the earnings he stood to make were too important to resist. In any event, having relinquished the reins of the French Theatre in Amsterdam, Auguste Nourrit could better manage his singing career with his duties as a theatre director. While he waited on the arrival of Monsieur Duvernoy, his first tenor, Nourrit took over the role of Georges in *La dame blanche*.¹⁹⁰ He was complimented on his singing and acting both in *Le barbier de Séville*¹⁹¹ and in *Robert le Diable*, where he was praised as a 'skilful singer, possessing an undeniably pure and wise method, he directs his voice with as much taste as talent'.¹⁹² After a performance of *Robert* in November 1833 – following his brother's passage through The Hague -- the *Journal de La Haye* expressed nothing but admiration for him, both as a manager and as an artist:

The last performance of *Robert le Diable* was very brilliant. The hall was packed, and the execution left nothing to be desired. Monsieur Auguste Nourrit has above all obtained many marks of satisfaction from the public, which has shown him that we appreciate his zeal as a director, and his talent as an actor and as a singer.¹⁹³

In the latter half of the year, he gained acclaim for operas such as *Fernand Cortez*,¹⁹⁴ *La Vestale*¹⁹⁵ and *Armida*.¹⁹⁶ On 16 April 1834, he led the troupe of The Hague in the Rotterdam première of *La muette de Portici*.¹⁹⁷ The following year, Nourrit sang *Anna*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹¹ *Journal de La Haye*, 7 May 1833.

¹⁹² 'Habile Chanteur, M. Nourrit possède incontestablement une méthode pure et sage ; il dirige sa voix avec autant de goût que de talent' (*Journal de La Haye*, 26 Juillet 1833).

¹⁹³ 'La dernière représentation de Robert le Diable, a été très brillante. La salle était comble, et l'exécution n'a rien laissé à désirer. M. Auguste Nourrit a surtout obtenu de nombreuses marques de la satisfaction du public, qui lui a prouvé que l'on apprécie, et son zèle comme directeur, et son talent comme comédien et comme chanteur' (*Journal de La Haye*, 23 November 1833).

¹⁹⁴ *Journal de La Haye*, 19 August 1833.

¹⁹⁵ *Journal de La Haye*, 6 September 1833.

¹⁹⁶ *Journal de La Haye*, 7 November 1833.

¹⁹⁷ *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 12 April 1834.

Bolena alongside Amélia Massy on 29 January 1835.¹⁹⁸ Before leaving The Hague in May 1835, Nourrit left an advertisement in the *Journal de La Haye* stating his departure plans. Anyone wishing to lodge a complaint regarding his directorship should come to his residence no later than 30 April.¹⁹⁹ In the winter of 1835, he gave 'one of the most brilliant *soirées musicales*' the Théâtre de Strasbourg had seen that year, where he was described as 'a singer full of [good] taste possessing a perfect method'.²⁰⁰ In 1836, Nourrit was hired at Antwerp's French Theatre as *premier tenor* where he sang the role of Arnold from Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* 'with the superiority of a perfect musician and actor that we know in our excellent tenor'.²⁰¹ On 15 September 1839, due to his bad state of health,²⁰² Nourrit retired from the stage with a farewell concert at Le Havre, seconded by multiple artists including Jean-François Lafeuillade and the baryton Jules Lesbros.²⁰³ He performed arias from Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*, Monpou's *Piquillo*, Carafa's *Masaniello*, Halévy's *La juive* and Auber's *Domino noir*. 'The evening was splendid and Nourrit received from the public the regrets that his departure created'.²⁰⁴ In November, he was made joint-professor of lyric declamation at the Paris Conservatory, taking over for his late brother Adolphe, who had flung himself out of a window in Naples after being booed by a spectator. In 1840, *Le Figaro* reported adversely on Auguste Nourrit teaching lyric declamation, as none of the male students received any award.²⁰⁵ Nourrit left for New Orleans in July 1840 with a contract for 35 000 Fr.²⁰⁶ He returned to Europe a few years later and became director of La Monnaie in Brussels on 17 June 1847 but was forced to abandon this venture on 4 December 1847 due to growing discontentment of the public, the depleting quality of the productions and the eventual economic hardships that ensued.²⁰⁷ Following his brother's example, Auguste Nourrit took his own life by drowning himself in the Oise in 1853.²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁸ *La Romance*, 28 February 1835.

¹⁹⁹ *Journal de La Haye*, 25 April 1835.

²⁰⁰ '...une des plus brillantes [...] un chanteur plein de goût et d'une méthode parfaite...'. *Revue d'Alsace*, Tome 1, 2nd series, 1836.

²⁰¹ *Revue du Théâtre*, 13 January 1838.

²⁰² Charles-Théodore Vesque, *Histoire des théâtres du Havre, 1717 à 1872* (Le Havre: Labottière et Ce, 1875), p. 235.

²⁰³ *Le Monde dramatique : revue des spectacles anciens et modernes*, 19 septembre 1839.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁵ *Le Figaro*, 13 August 1890.

²⁰⁶ *Journal des Beaux-arts*, 10 July 1840.

²⁰⁷ Jacques Isnardon, *Le théâtre de la Monnaie depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours*, (Brussels: Schott Frères, 1890), p. 354.

²⁰⁸ *La Nouvelle revue*, 1879, Tome 1, p. 602.

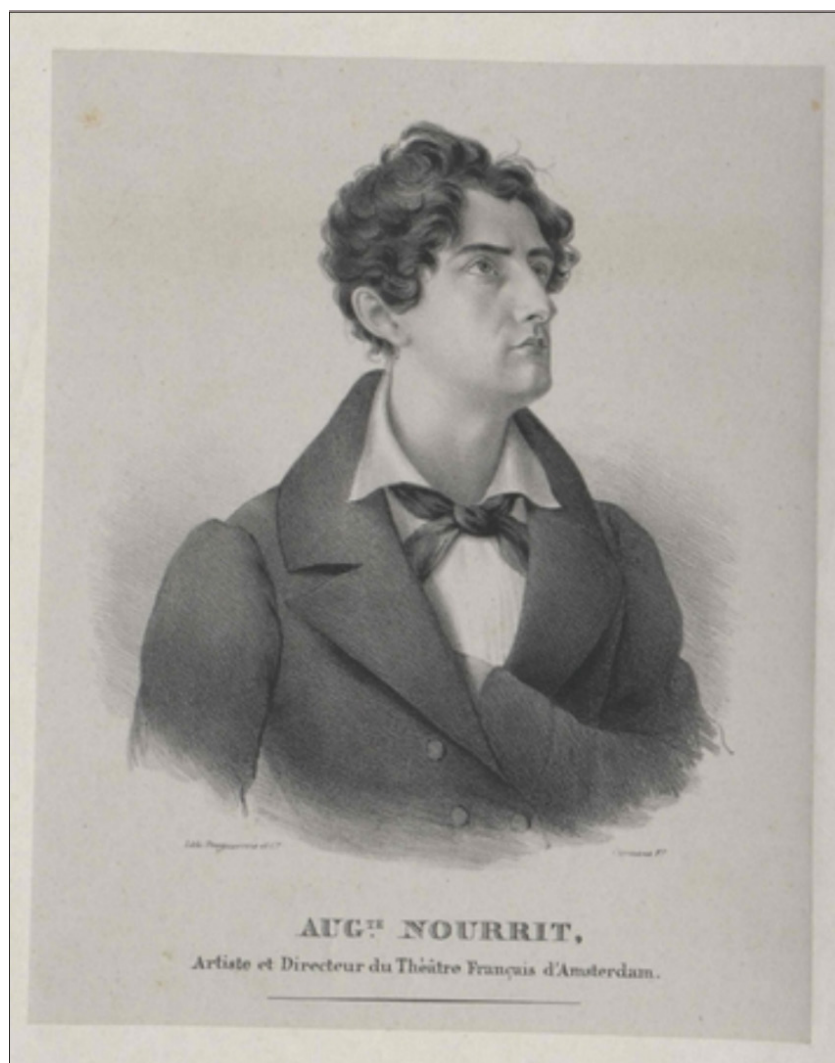


Figure 11: Lithograph of Auguste Nourrit 'artist and director of Amsterdam's French Theatre' (1830).

3.4 Transition and Triumph: Charles Fédé and Alex Vautrin (1833-1837)

Nourrit's double-management of Amsterdam and The Hague came to an end in September of 1833 when he decided to abandon the former to concentrate on the latter. Several members of the French troupe chose to follow him to The Hague and what remained of the company was left in the hands of two actors: Charles Fédé and Alex Vautrin. The new directors had to ensure the season's début while dealing with the 'difficult and at first ungrateful task of putting together a brand new theatre company'.²⁰⁹ Hence, while Vautrin would set off to find singers in Paris, Fédé ran the French Theatre and saw to the continuation of performances.

²⁰⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1833.

Charles Éléonor Fédé (1797-18??) was an actor who had triumphed in *comédie-vaudeville*. He had made his début in May 1823 at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris, bringing with him an already strong reputation from his days at the Grand Theatre in Bordeaux. He must have arrived in The Netherlands sometime in 1831 (his son Henri Cinti Gervais Fédé was born in Amsterdam on 25 June 1831) and joined the troupe of the Amsterdam French Theatre.

Knowing that the survival of a theatre depended on its audience's fidelity, Fédé and Vautrin's first task was to gain the confidence of the public with 'appropriate, simple but genuine words'.²¹⁰ With Vautrin off to Paris in search of new talent,²¹¹ Fédé opened the French Theatre season with what was left of the French troupe. The début performances of the troupe were 'calmly' executed, the audience neither swaying 'much for or against the debutants'.²¹² As they awaited the arrival of new members, Fédé filled in missing parts like the tenor role of Philippe (Giannetto) in Rossini's *La pie voleuse* (*La gazza ladra*) on 3 September 1833. He even coached certain members of the troupe, like the young first tenor Sambet, whom the editors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* believed could one day become 'a meritorious actor' thanks to Fédé's lessons.²¹³ It seems however that he was not enough of a rapid learner: the performance of Isouard's *Cendrillon* on 28 September 1833 caused such a level of discontent from the audience that the Direction saw no other solution but to ask for Sembat's resignation.²¹⁴

The debut performances were also rattled by sudden departures, such as that of Chevalier, second tenor who returned his advances and left Amsterdam. The directors quickly found a replacement, Monsieur Cronau, whose debut performance was 'not without some success'.²¹⁵ The *Algemeen Handelsblad* further added that Cronau would have been a perfect choice as a permanent second tenor (of which little is demanded) if only the position did not require him to replace the first tenor in the event of an

²¹⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1833.

²¹¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 October 1833.

²¹² 'kalm afgeloopen, zonder juist veel voor of tegen de debutanten te doen bespeuren' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 September 1833).

²¹³ 'eenen verdienstelijken Akteur' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 October 1833).

²¹⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 October 1833.

²¹⁵ 'niet zonder eenig succes' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 October 1833).

indisposition.²¹⁶ It is not known what became of Chevalier as the Dutch press does not mention him again.

Once Vautrin returned from Paris, Fédé declared in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* that, from 1 November 1833, he would no longer be involved with the directorship of the theatre.²¹⁷ Vautrin thus became sole director of the French troupe, a position he would hold for the next four years. Fédé nonetheless remained with the troupe as an actor and even wrote for the French Theatre on at least one occasion. His *Tromp et de Ruyter, ou les deux Amiraux*, a *Chronique Historique* in one act recounted the lives of two famous Dutch sea heroes, but was performed only once, on 9 March 1835.

Various aspects of Vautrin's life remain a mystery. In 1825, he was in Paris at the Théâtre-Ambigu and his wife, Madame Vautrin, at the Théâtre des Variétés.²¹⁸ The playwright Eugène Ronteix noted that, despite her round figure and oversensitive character, Madame Vautrin had an impeccable reputation as an actress.²¹⁹ From 20 April 1828 to 20 April 1829,²²⁰ the Vautrins signed on with the Royal Theatre of La Monnaie in Brussels. He undertook the *Alphonse* and *rôles de convenance* in the comedy and tragedy troupe while she joined the opera troupe as a *troisième chanteuse*. Both of them alternately performed similar roles in Brussels' Royal Theatre. At some point in the Spring of 1829, Vautrin returned to Paris to the Ambigu-Comique, but 'disregarding his commitment' left again in July,²²¹ this time for the French Theatre in Gand, where he performed the *Colin* roles and his wife was a *seconde chanteuse* throughout the 1829-1830 season.²²² In the autumn of 1830, the Vautrins were hired by Auguste Nourrit at the French Theatre in Amsterdam, where Vautrin took on the *comique de vaudeville* roles while Madame Vautrin held the *Philis, jeunes coquettes, soubrettes* parts.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

²¹⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 November 1833.

²¹⁸ *Le Pandore*, 28 May, 1825.

²¹⁹ Eugène Ronteix, *La rampe et les coulisses: esquisses biographiques des directeurs, acteurs et actrices de tous les théâtres*, (Paris: [s.n.], 1832), pp. 216-217.

²²⁰ Frédéric Jules Faber, *Histoire du Théâtre Français en Belgique depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours : d'après des documents inédits reposant aux Archives générales du Royaume*, Vol. 3 (Brussels: F. J. Olivier, 1879) p. 139 and 147.

²²¹ 'Au mépris de ses engagements [sic]', *Almanach des Spectacles pour 1830*, p. 7.

²²² *Ibidem*, p. 213.

In November 1830, Vautrin wrote *Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam*²²³ a *comédie-vaudeville*-type composition written in the wake of the Belgian Revolt. It was given for the first time on 23 November, only five days after the Belgian's declaration of independence. *Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam* has twelve musical numbers, including two original compositions by Vautrin. It was given again on 25 and 27 November, then on 4 and 14 December and three more times the following year. 1831 marked a high-point in Vautrin's career as a composer: six of his *comédies-vaudevilles* were given a total of 24 performances. His pieces all carry a similar air of militarized patriotism. Vautrin's interest for Dutch history brought forth *Tromp à la cour de Louis XIV*, an imaginary voyage where the naval hero Maarten Tromp (1598-1653) is granted the Order of St. Michael by the young French King after his victory at the Battle of the Downs on 21 October 1639. In 1832, *Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam* was translated into Dutch and given at the Kunstgenoegen Theatre on 28 March 1832, with almost as many performances as Vautrin's apotheosis on Jan Van Speijk.²²⁴ Yet, as the fires of the Belgian Revolution died down, so did the need for incidental patriotic compositions and Vautrin's works were put to rest. It seems that during Vautrin's entire directorship (and for the rest of the decade) none of his works were performed. There is, however, the matter of an anonymous cantata entitled *Le retour de la Garde Nationale* which was sung at the French theatre on 6 and 10 September 1834, and is perhaps a sequel to Vautrin's *Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam*.

For the remainder of 1833, Alex Vautrin restaged popular works from the previous season and introduced new pieces to showcase fresh talent. The hopes of a successful opening night (31 August) and a successful following evening were entrusted to Rossini's *La pie voleuse*. Soon after, *La dame blanche* was shown at the French Theatre on 5 September and again on 16 November amid several Dutch and German performances. It was the most performed French opera of the year (twelve performances) of the main theatres. Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville* was seen at the French Theatre on 10 September and once more on 7 November. These classics would give the season the necessary lift-off it required to reassure the public after Nourrit's departure. Vautrin revived some of the year's early success: Lebrun's *opéra-comique* *Le rossignol* or Scribe's comedy *Valérie*, both

²²³ *Le départ de la garde nationale d'Amsterdam, à-propos patriotique* in 2 acts by Alex Vautrin.

²²⁴ *Van Speijk aux Champs Elysées* premiered at the French Theatre on February 22, 1831. See Chapter 5.6

given in early 1831, were revived in the last quarter of the year which, in *Valérie's* case, prompted a Dutch translation at the Municipal Theatre in late December. Isouard's *Cendrillon* was shown once on 28 September, in the wake of six earlier German-language performances. New works were also premiered, like Melesville's *comédie-vaudeville* *Les vieux pêchés*, played six times between 12 September and 28 December, with three additional performances in early 1834.

Like Nourrit, Vautrin made sure the French playhouse was visited by a great number of actors and singers from Paris to enrich his bill. Charles-Gabriel Potier (1774-1838), advertised to spectators as the first comic in France, gave seven performances between 8 and 24 October 1833, 'to help the management out of embarrassment, and to keep the *Abonnés* and *Habitués* going until a newly engaged *chanteuse à roulades* and an *haute-contre* could take the places of Madame Roche and Monsieur Sambet'.²²⁵ If Amsterdam's French-speaking audience had been cleverly distracted by Potier's many incarnations of *comédie-vaudeville* characters, its heart was won by the enchanting Elisa Verneuil (1804-1876) of the Comédie-Française in Paris, who gave six performances in late November and early December 1833. The following table gives the ten most performed French works at the French Theatre the following year:

Rank	Title Of Work	Genre	Composer / Librettist	N° of Perf.
1	<i>Robert le Diable</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Meyerbeer / Scribe	19
2	<i>Masaniello ou le pêcheur Napolitain</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Carafa / Moreau, Lafortelle	9
3	<i>Bertrand et Raton ou l'art de conspirer</i>	<i>comédie</i>	Scribe	8
4	<i>La prison d'Édimbourg</i>	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	Carafa / Scribe	7
5	<i>Le barbier de Séville</i>	<i>opéra-buffa</i>	Rossini / Castil Blaze (Beaumarchais)	7
6	<i>Le Prince de Soubise ou sait-on qui gouverne?</i>	<i>comédie mêlées de vaudevilles</i>	Mélesville & Carmouche	5
7	<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Paer / Gay	5
8	<i>Le lorgnon</i>	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	Scribe	5
9	<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	5
10	<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Boieldieu / Scribe	4

Table 10: Top ten French works performed at the French Theatre in Amsterdam in 1834.

²²⁵ 'de Directie uit de verlegenheid te helpen, en de Heeren *Abonnés* en *Habitués* toch eenigzins nog gaande te houden, tot zoo lang eene nieuw geëngageerde Chanteuse a roulades en een dito haute-contre de plaatsen van Mme Roche en den Heer Sambet zullen hehben ingenomen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 October 1833).

Robert le Diable, with 19 performances, was the most performed work in 1834 and 1835. Vautrin had invested considerable time, resources and logistics to ensure the success of Meyerbeer's composition. He had a 'famous Parisian decorator'²²⁶ make two of the backdrops for *Robert le Diable* in Paris and had them brought to Amsterdam:

The scenery was quite well chosen, and the two new sets from Paris, one of which represents a dilapidated cloister with the tombs of the nuns; and the other, the nave of a cathedral, were most exquisitely arranged and painted.²²⁷

To enhance the seductive nature in Act III, Vautrin hired an *entrée* dancer for the role of Héléna, Mother Superior of the nuns, to which the *habitués* of the Amsterdam French Theatre did not fail to express their satisfaction:²²⁸

It may be said that Monsieur Vautrin, as Director, for the daring undertaking and successful execution of this great work, is most commended, and we have no doubt that the large attendance of each of the performances yet to be given, will amply compensate him the toil, zeal, and expenses he has incurred.²²⁹

Carafa's *Masaniello ou le pêcheur napoléain* and Auber's *La muette de Portici* were staged nine and five times respectively. Despite the tension that the Neapolitan fisherman's revolt had brought to the Netherlands, the subject matter was still one of great interest: the portrayal of the Spanish as occupants in a foreign land spoke to the Dutch people. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* thought that *Masaniello* was 'certainly less valuable than *La muette de Portici* [it is] interlaced with musical beauties [but] has so much local idiosyncrasy in its music that it is considered to be above *La muette* in this respect'.²³⁰ If it was felt that the tenor Becquet was tackling a role beyond his means, the bass Margaillant as Ruffino had

²²⁶ 'beroemden Franschen décourateur' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 november 1834).

²²⁷ 'De decoratiën waren vrij wel gekozen, en de beide nieuwe van Parijs gekomene, waarvan de eene een vervallen klooster met de graftombes der Nonnen en de andere het schip eener domkerk voorstelt, waren alleruitmuntendst geordonneerd en geschilderd' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 September 1834).

²²⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1834.

²²⁹ 'Zij gezegd dat de Heer Vautrin, als Directeur, wegens de gewaagde onderneming en de gelukkige uitvoering van dit grootsche werk den meesten lof verdient, en wij twijfelen geenszins, of het talrijke bezoek bij elke der nog te geven voorstellingen zal hem voor zijne moeite, zijnen ijver en zijne kosten betoonen en ruimschoots schadeloos stellen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 September 1834).

²³⁰ 'voorzeker minder waarde dan *La muette de Portici* [...] muzikale verdienste [...] De Masanieilo, echter, heeft in hare muziek zoo veel plaatselijk eigendonnnelijks, dat men haar in dit opzigt boven de muette raag stellen'. (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 January 1834).

‘fulfilled his difficult part very well’.²³¹ As the prohibition on playing *La muette* in Dutch or German would last until its revival at the Municipal Theatre (18 February 1837), the French Theatre enjoyed a sort of exclusive right to perform the work. Although *La dame blanche* was only granted four performances at the French Theatre, the opera received a total of ten performances in all three primary theatres, making it the second most performed French work in Amsterdam that year. Scribe’s works continued to grow in popularity: his name was attached to eight of the top ten works of the year.

In 1834, Vautrin wrote to Charles-Emmanuel Lepeintre, who was known to the Amsterdam public since 1832. Lepeintre gave eleven performances at the French Theatre between 30 January and 22 February 1834. He was followed by Jenny Vertpré, an artist of the Théâtre du Gymnase, who was featured eighteen times from 1 March to 19 April. On 22 April, Madame Roche made a second attempt at a début, she sang on the last four evenings of the season, though no critique was made on the quality of her rendition. That year, the French Theatre gave a summer season (3 June to 31 July) with a subscription of 20 performances (10 June to 24 July) that showcased many of the talents of the in-house troupe. In the second half of August, the first comic of the Theatre du Vaudeville, Jean-Pierre Bertrand (1785-1858), known as Monsieur Bernard-Léon aîné, gave four performances before the French Theatre reopened its doors on 30 August, as well as three additional evenings in September.

On Saturday 13 September, the première of *Robert le Diable* took place in front of an audience that, by the tenth performance on 6 November and the fifteenth by 23 December, eagerly returned ‘to a hall more than full’ to see it once more.²³² In 1835, *Robert le Diable* remained the most popular work and raised the total number of operas in the top ten works performed from seven to nine, leaving but a single *comédie-vaudeville*: *Estèlle, ou Le père et la fille* by Scribe.

²³¹ ‘zeer wel van zijne moeilijke rol gekweten’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 January 1834).

²³² ‘was de zaal meer dan vol’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1834).

Rank	Title Of Work	Genre	Composer / Librettist	N° of Perf.
1	<i>Robert le Diable</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Meyerbeer / Scribe	18
2	<i>Gustave III, ou le bal masqué</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	11
3	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Rossini / E. de Jouy, Victor Joseph	8
4	<i>Le chalet</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Adam / Scribe	8
5	<i>Estelle ou le père et la fille</i>	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	Scribe	6
6	<i>Le barbier de Séville</i>	<i>opéra-buffa</i>	Rossini / Castil Blaze (Beaumarchais)	6
7	<i>Fra Diavolo, ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Auber / Scribe	5
8	<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	5
9	<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	5
10	<i>La fiancée</i>	<i>opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	5

Table 11: Top ten French works performed at the French Theatre in Amsterdam in 1835.

With almost as many performances as in 1834, *Robert le Diable* remained the most popular work on the programme, no doubt due to its immense popularity and the need to justify the heavy expenses of the scenery. Seeing how his elaborate investments had paid off, Vautrin once again turned to Paris for the sets of his next project, Auber's *Gustave III, ou le bal masqué*. The *opéra-comique* premiered at the Amsterdam French Theatre on 3 September with not only backdrops painted by Ciceri, decorator of the Paris Opéra, but costumes and *grotesques* fashioned by the Opéra's storekeepers (*magasiniers*). Auber proved to be the most popular composer that year, with *Fra Diavolo*, *Le concert à la cour*, *La muette* and *La fiancée* (each performed five times). *Guillaume Tell* debuted on 2 June, despite the long-term indisposition of Moulin-Neuf who was replaced by Johannes Bernardus Van Bree. *Guillaume Tell's* modern scenery came from The Hague.²³³ The *Algemeen Handelsblad* praised Vautrin once more for having 'overcome all obstacles [to] give this stage brilliance and acclaim'.²³⁴ The costumes and stage sets left nothing to be desired: Vautrin had spared no effort nor expense in providing the greatest splendour to his operas.²³⁵ Despite the popularity Adam's *Le chalet* found in Amsterdam, the critic in Utrecht found it to be 'a little trivial [where] the music lacked originality [...] especially the instrumentation [...] reminding us of a novice in the trade, while some features in the new

²³³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 June 1835.

²³⁴ 'aan dit tooneel glans en bijval te verschaffen, alle hinderpalen weten te overwinnen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 June 1835).

²³⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 June 1835.

French manner, contribute even more to [its] disfigurement'.²³⁶ This contrasting view of Adam's work shows that the reception of French works in the Netherlands could be very different from one city to the next.

Visiting talents in 1835 included Amelia Masi, who gave her first performance on Monday 2 February: the first three acts of Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville* and Auber's one-act opera *Le concert à la cour*. Masi gave eight performances which culminated with a benefit in her honour on 18 February. The following evening, Madame Roche returned to the stage. On 14 March, it was announced that Masi would sing the role of Amenaïde in Rossini's *Tancredi* and that Elisa Verneuil would return to Amsterdam in April and sing until May. The season ended on 30 May with a unique performance of *Robert le Diable*, where the ballet of the nuns from Act III was performed by the dancers of the Municipal Theatre. On 2 June, a two-week summer season featured almost exclusively (five out of seven performances) *Guillaume Tell* under Van Bree's direction. The French Theatre closed its doors on 16 June for two months, before reopening mid-August with Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*. Prices by seating category were published on 3 September, along with the assurance that military personnel in uniform would be admitted at half price. *Gustave III* was given that evening and five times until Madame Roche withdrew from the French Theatre due to an illness of the throat. In September and October, Marie Charlotte Thérèse Vernet travelled to Amsterdam with her husband Albert Rodrigues, performing as Monsieur and Madame Albert. Over the course of eleven evenings, Madame Albert took part in 13 different works from multiple genres: *drame*, *comédie*, *opéra-bouffon* and *comédie-vaudeville*, many of which were never seen again after her departure. Having arrived at The Hague on her way to Antwerp, Madame Albert returned to Amsterdam on 24 October to help Vautrin manage the indispositions of several artists.²³⁷ After rumours began to circulate about Vautrin refusing to pay the wages of his ill-stricken singers, Roche wrote to the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, affirming that Vautrin had always paid them what was owed and even more.²³⁸ Though Madame Roche made an attempt to return to the French stage on 3 November, it soon became clear that her absence at the French playhouse might be indefinite. On 7 November, Vautrin organized a performance in Madame Roche's

²³⁶ *Utrechtsche Courant*, 17 April 1835.

²³⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 October 1835.

²³⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 October 1835.

benefit to help her retire. Three days later, Roche openly thanked everyone who attended the benefit for his wife, greatly indebted towards Vautrin for organizing the event. Still, the director of the French Theatre now needed to travel to Paris and urgently look for a new *chanteuse forte*, in the middle of the season. He was able to hire Elise Ponchard:

Madame Ponchard, well known to the Amsterdam public for several years, and encouraged by the favourable reception she had then enjoyed here, did not hesitate in immediately following Monsieur Vautrin [to Amsterdam].²³⁹

The following year, musical tendencies remained similar to 1835, with *Robert le Diable*, *Fra Diavolo* and *Le chalet* as the most performed works on the year:

Rank	Title Of Work	Genre	Composer / Librettist	N° of Perf.
1	<i>Robert le Diable</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Meyerbeer / Scribe	9
2	<i>Fra Diavolo, ou l'hôtellerie de Terracine</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Auber / Scribe	9
3	<i>Le chalet</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Adam / Scribe	9
4	<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Boieldieu / Scribe	8
5	<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	7
6	<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>grand opéra</i>	Auber / Scribe	6
7	<i>Zampa, ou la fiancée de marbre</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Auber / Mélesville	6
8	<i>L'estocq, ou l'intrigue et l'Amour</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Auber / Scribe	6
9	<i>Le gamin de Paris</i>	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	Bayard & Vanderburch	5
10	<i>Le bandit</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	Van Bree / Théaulon	4

Table 12: Top ten French works performed at the French Theatre in Amsterdam in 1836.

For the third year in a row, *Robert le Diable* remained the most performed opera at the French Theatre in Amsterdam. On 1 March, *Robert* was staged at Monsieur Theodore's benefit performance. Theodore, who sang the part Raimbaut 'with much purity and graceful recitation', was assisted by artists from The Hague's French Theatre: Albert (Robert) 'an excellent singer', Camoin (Bertam) 'a pleasant bass voice', Madame Firmin (Isabelle) 'a melodious and large voice', and the dancers Monsieur Murat and Madame Camoin 'who gained general approval'.²⁴⁰ Between January and April 1835, *Robert le Diable*

²³⁹ 'Mad. Ponchard, reeds van voor onderscheidene jaren by het Amsterdamsch Publiek voordeelig bekend, en aangemoedigd door het gunstig onthaal, dat zij hier toenmaals genoten had, aarzelde niet den Heer Vautrin dadelijk hier heen te volgen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 december 1835).

²⁴⁰ 'met veel zuiverheid en bevallige voordragt [...] een voortreffelijk Zanger [...] Zijne aangename basstem [...] eene welluidende en omvangrijke stem [...] verwierven zich de algemeene goedkeuring' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 March 1836).

was given seven times. It returned in the fall with Vautrin's new troupe. Although the *Algemeen Handelsblad* praised Vautrin for his undertaking, some of the *habitués* and *abonnés* of the Amsterdam French Theatre were dissatisfied with how the opera was being performed. After the *Algemeen Handelsblad* allegedly refused to print a critique made by a 'concerned theatregoer', a pamphlet was published denouncing the failure *Robert le Diable's* reprise (1 October 1835): the cause was not the fault of the composition nor the difficulty of staging *Robert* in such a small hall, but the 'inability of the actors to humble themselves before this magnificent work of genius'.²⁴¹ The author believed that Vautrin had cast actors in roles that were 'too far above their feeble means'²⁴² and if Vautrin, rather than constantly complaining about how much he spent on productions, hired meritorious actors, then his 'financial sacrifices' would be compensated by a just attendance at his theatre by the public.²⁴³ After this, *Robert* was only staged once more, on 22 October.

On 22 December 1835, *Le bandit*, originally a two-act *comédie-vaudeville* by Théaulon, was rearranged into an *opéra-comique* in three acts by Margaillan and set to original music by Van Bree. Axel Körner suggested that goods and ideas go through change when they travel across borders.²⁴⁴ A *comédie-vaudeville* travelled from Paris to Amsterdam and was first adapted to the local stage (1830) and later transformed into an *opéra-comique* (1835). Théaulon's text was rearranged by a local actor and given a new score by a renowned Dutch composer.

Elise Ponchard's contract with the Amsterdam French Theatre would have been a happy affair had she not been struck with profound feelings of homesickness and expressed her desires to shorten her stay. On 12 January 1836, her strength failed her in the middle of *Le concert à la cour*, which she was unable to finish. Two days later, Vautrin stated the need to have Ponchard replaced, but that it would take at least a month to find another soprano. He hoped Ponchard would not allow the events of the 12 to be repeated.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ 'C'est à l'impuissance absolue des acteurs de faire amende honorable à cette œuvre magnifique de génie'. *Exposé de l'Opinion de plusieurs Abonnés et Habitues au Théâtre Français d'Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam: A. Wzeesaardt, 1836), p. 6.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 1.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

²⁴⁴ Axel Körner, 'Transnational History: Identities, Structures, States', Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis / International History in Theory and Practice* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), p. 270.

²⁴⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 January 1836.

Nevertheless, the performance of *Robert le Diable* planned on the 16 was cancelled. Ponchard sent a letter defending her reputation to the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on January 19. More cancellations and internal drama ensued. The last mention of Ponchard in Amsterdam was on 20 February. Vautrin distracted the *abonnés* and *habitués* by fetching incidental artists like the Einhoorn brothers (11 and 13 year old students of Paganini). The performance of *Robert le Diable* on 1 March could not have taken place without the support of the artists of The Hague, where Madame Ponchard's role (Isabelle) was sung by Madame Firmin who, 'though still young and not very skilled in music, has displayed quite a lot of ability and prudence [...] in this role [where] the public has so often admired Madame Roche and Madame Ponchard'.²⁴⁶ In late March, The Gymnase Castelli, a travelling troupe of 40 children aged between 5 and 12 years of age, gave four performances of one-act *comédies-vaudevilles* and *ballet-divertissements*. By April, rumours began to circulate that Vautrin had abandoned all hopes of finding a first soprano, and intended to give only *comédies* and *comédie-vaudevilles*, dropping opera from the repertoire for the rest of the season and sending certain singers home.²⁴⁷ Despite this, Bellini's *Le pirate* was nonetheless scheduled to première on 5 April. The day before, Vautrin announced a delay on account of the conductor, Moulin-Neuf, being taken ill. The opera was finally given on 13 April and severely criticized by the *Algemeen Handelsblad* for having changed the events, their sequence, the characters and the music of the score. This observation comes as no surprise, given the state of the French troupe at that time. On the other hand, Vautrin managed to secure the talents of Édouard David (1794-1866), a *sociétaire* of the French Theatre de Paris since 1828. David performed a total of eleven plays over eight evenings at the Amsterdam French Theatre, winning the public's acclaim. He portrayed iconic characters such as Tartuffe, Almaviva and Henri V, plus several roles he himself created in Paris: Victor in *Les comédiens*,²⁴⁸ Mombray in *Le voyage à Dieppe*²⁴⁹ and Valsain in *Un moment d'imprudence*.²⁵⁰ The French Theatre closed the season with David's farewell performance, on 30 April.

²⁴⁶ 'hoewel nog jong en niet zeer in de toonkunst bedreven zijnde, heeft zij tamelijk, veel vaardigheid en omzigtigheid ten toon gespreid [...] het publiek zoo dikwerf Mad. Roche en Mad. Ponchard in deze rol bewonderd had' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 March 1836).

²⁴⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 April 1836.

²⁴⁸ *Comédie en 5 actes et en vers* by Casimir Delavigne (1820).

²⁴⁹ *Comédie en trois actes et en prose* by Alexis-Jacques-Marie Wafflard and Fulgence de Bury (1821).

²⁵⁰ *Comédie en trois actes et en prose* by Alexis-Jacques-Marie Wafflard and Fulgence de Bury (1819).

Choosing to ignore the nasty comments made about him in his absence, Vautrin wrote to the directors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on 9 August, saying he had toured France in search of 'artists with the qualities that the public of the French Theatre are fond of above all'.²⁵¹ A detailed prospectus explaining all of this would be made available to the *abonnés* and *habitués*. On 1 September, the newly assembled troupe opened the season with Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville*. Two days later, Moulin-Neuf was back at his post and directing some of the most performed works of the year: *La dame blanche*, *Le chalet*, *Le concert à la cour* and *La muette de Portici*. On 6 October, the troupe premiered *Le gamin de Paris*, a *comédie-vaudeville* explored in depth in chapter 5. On 20 October, Paul Cœuriot joined the French Theatre. He made his début as Tony in *Robin des bois* (*Der Freischütz*), which, according to the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 'did not live up to expectations [...] due to the choice of a role wholly unsuitable for him'.²⁵² He appeared in the title role of *Robert le Diable* on 22 October, though it is difficult to say if he fared any better. The première of Auber's *L'estocq, ou l'intrigue et l'Amour* on 29 October was given a mixed reception which triggered the appearance of a letter in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* three days later. The missive, signed *un abonné, au nom de plusieurs*, complimented Madame Teisseire, the new first soprano and deplored the behaviour of certain members of the audience who whistled during the performance.²⁵³ In the next issue of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, Vautrin stated that neither he nor any member of the troupe was responsible for the letter. With November came the arrival from Paris of the first guest star of the season: Félicité Pradher. She gave 41 performances between 1 November 1836 and 21 February 1837.

On 11 January 1837, the Municipal Theatre received permission from the City Council to give the first revival performance of *La muette* under the title *De sprakelooze Meisje van Portici* which, by 20 February, was played for nineteen consecutive evenings. The German Theatre put on *Die Stumme von Portici* eight times between 18 February and 4 May. On two accounts (18 and 20 February), the German Theatre and Municipal Theatre played *La muette* on the same evening, allowing audiences to decide whether they wanted to hear the Dutch or German version.

²⁵¹ 'Les qualités que le publique, qui fréquente le Théâtre Français de cette ville, affectionne de préférence' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 August 1836).

²⁵² 'dat hij [...] niet in de verwachting voldeed, was [...] in de keuze van eene voor em geheel ongeschikte rol gelegen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 October 1836).

²⁵³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 novembre 1836.

On 19 January, it was announced that no show would take place at the French Theatre to allow for the rehearsal of Auber's *Le cheval de bronze*, the new *opéra-comique*. The première took place on 2 February, with Félicité Pradher in the role of Peki, which she had created in Paris, alongside Elise Ponchard, on 23 March 1835. The critic of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* hated the theme of the opera, saying the music was not very different from *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*, but that Auber's 'special talent for comedy' otherwise managed to keep everyone interested.²⁵⁴ Incidentally, the original première was meant to happen between 23 and 28 January 1837. According to the press, the delay was due to the stage sets not being ready. It would seem as though, in the end, the critic was especially impressed by the scenery:

The attention which Monsieur Vautrin has devoted to the scenery deserves special mention. While praise must be given to the generosity with which the Director [of the Amsterdam French Theatre] has proceeded in commissioning the scenery, [we must also] compliment the excellent accomplishment of [the decorators], our compatriots, Messrs. Nuyen and Van Hoven. In particular, we were delighted by the last set of the third act, depicting a Chinese pagoda. The effect it created was truly beautiful.²⁵⁵

It was after the third performance of *Le cheval de bronze*, that Alex Vautrin, in his fourth year as director of the French Theatre in Amsterdam, left the Dutch capital. His reasons for leaving were given by the *Revue des Théâtres* on 17 February 1837:

Monsieur, I have come to ask you to add my name to the list of too many directors of provincial theatres, victims for some time of the limitless demands, the lack of good faith and especially the uselessness of certain artists. I was made to leave an administration that I had directed for four years with honour, abandoning precious theatre materials and fine furniture, the only fruit of my labour. It would be too good if, by the sale of the one and the other, I could pay the debts incurred to honour my engagements. As an enemy of scandal and pride, I do not wish to provoke it, but, if required, I will give you detailed and positive explanations. I only wish to point out the catastrophe of which I am the victim, a

²⁵⁴ 'bijzonder talent voor het komieke' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 February 1837).

²⁵⁵ 'Doch wat bijzonder aandacht verdient zijn de zorg, welke de Heer Vautrin aan de decoratiën besteed heeft. Terwijl men van den eenen kant lof moet toezwaaijen aan de onbekrompenheid, waarmede de Directeur bij het bestellen dier decoratiën is te werk gegaan, verdient de uitmuntende uitvoering derzelve door onze landgenooten, de Heeren Nuyen en van Hoven, de meeste aanbeveling. Inzonderheid hebben wij de laatste decoratie van het derde bedrijf, voorstellende eene Chinesche Pagode, met genoegen gezien. Het effect daarvan is waarlijk schoon' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 February 1837).

proof of the increasing embarrassment of provincial administrations, which will soon lead to the impossibility of having theatres outside of Paris. A. Vautrin.²⁵⁶

Vautrin's letter was met with a column-long response by the actors of the French Theatre who, feeling accused, found themselves 'forced to stigmatize the one [their] pity wanted to forget'. In their letter, the actors meant to justify their position by revealing not only the trail of debts that Vautrin left behind him, including a month and a half of unpaid wages to the troupe and the orchestra, but also the dishonest practices through which he had embezzled funds. Vautrin's accusations were called out as outrageous lies: for 'never has a troupe cost so little' where the actors had 'always earned their salaries'. Regarding the alleged 'uselessness of certain actors', the players brought up the brochure that Vautrin himself published in 1836 as a means of presenting his troupe to the season ticket holders.²⁵⁷ In this document, Vautrin had published the names of 'known and reputable artists' with the talent required to please the *abonnés* and *habitués* of the Amsterdam French Theatre.²⁵⁸ If the artists Vautrin had heard and selected were now considered useless, he had only himself to blame. When Vautrin referred to himself as a victim of a failed enterprise where stage sets and beautiful furniture were the sole fruits of his labour, the troupe pointed out that the furniture had been placed under his mother's name and that the stage sets had been paid for using the money of the owners of the playhouse. Moreover, the sum of 350 florins had been requested from these owners to pay an invoice of only 250 florins, while Vautrin quietly pocketed the extra 100 and left 'costume designers, shoemakers, carpenters [and] suppliers of all kinds' unpaid. 'Does such shameless hypocrisy not fill your heart with indignation?' pleaded the actors, who went on to give the financial breakdown of Vautrin's stewardship:

²⁵⁶ 'Monsieur, Je viens vous prier de joindre mon nom à la liste des trop nombreux directeurs de province, victimes, depuis quelques années, des exigences sans bornes, de la mauvaise volonté, et surtout de la nullité de certains artistes. J'ai dû quitter une administration, que je dirigeais depuis quatre années avec honneur, abandonnant un matériel de théâtre considérable et un fort beau mobilier; seul fruit de mon travail. Trop heureux encore si, par la vente de l'un et de l'autre, je parviens à payer des dettes contractées pour faire honneur à mes engagements [sic]. Ennemi du scandale et de la personnalité, je ne veux pas le provoquer ; mais, si besoin est, je vous donnerai des explications positives et détaillées.... Je ne veux aujourd'hui que constater une catastrophe dont je suis victime, et qui est une preuve des embarras qui s'accroissent autour des administrations de province, et qui feront que bientôt il n'y aura plus de théâtre possible hors de Paris. / A. VAUTRIN, Directeur du Théâtre d'Amsterdam' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 March 1837).

²⁵⁷ A. Vautrin, *Théâtre français d'Amsterdam à MM. les abonnés et habitués suivi du tableau de la troupe et de l'administration* (Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1836), 6 p.

²⁵⁸ 'artistes connus et réputés' 'Je me suis assuré [...] du talent de chaque artiste, et, si je lui reconnaissais les qualités requises pour vous plaire, je l'engageais'. *Ibidem*, p.1.

Season:	1833-1834	1834-1835	1835-1836	1836-1837
Length of the season:	10 months	9 months	8 months	5 ½ months (only 4 months were paid)
Generated income:	53 000 florins	79 000 florins	83 000 florins	40 000 florins

The income generated by the French Theatre troupe over four years (255 000 florins), including the profits from the performances in Utrecht (7 000 florins), totalled 262 000 florins. The artists estimated Vautrin's monthly expenses to be no greater than 6 000 florins, which over 31 months would amount to 186 000. These expenses, subtracted from the gross income, came to a net income of 60 000 florins. By comparison, the average real industrial daily wage for a Dutch worker between 1830 and 1840 was about 1 florin.²⁵⁹ This would mean that, in four years' time, Vautrin had managed to make 50 times a worker's salary. Multiple debts were furthermore incurred up to the day prior to his departure: Vautrin owed over 8 000 florins to friends, colleagues, moneylenders and bankers, a bookseller, a tailor, a perfumer, a shoemaker, a hairdresser, a pharmacist and many merchants dealing in thrifts, curiosities, silk, wine and diamonds.

This scandalous affair was illustrated with great precision in an anonymous caricature (figure 16) sold by Fredericus Johannes van Tetroode in 1838. The lithograph depicts Alex Vautrin on a bronze horse (in reference to Auber's *cheval de bronze*, the last opera staged under Vautrin's regime), laden with bags and satchels labelled 'Profits' (*Recettes*) and 'Artist's salaries' (*Appointemens des artistes*). Holding his apologetic letter addressed to the *Revue des Théâtres* in one hand and a platter of *foie gras* in the other. The phrase stemming from Vautrin's mouth, '*Je leur fais donc à tous la q...!!!*' is best translated as 'I give them all the finger'. A book under his arm reads '*L'art de voler sans ailes*' with a play on the verb *voler* which can be translated as (to) fly or (to) steal, giving 'The art of flying/stealing without wings'. In Auber's opera, the magical bronze horse that can fly its rider into space. Vautrin is shown flying towards a hollowed-out moon with a signpost marked 'France' surrounded with crates carrying Vautrin's name and labelled 'wardrobe, painting, library, valuable effects, jewels, porcelain, china, etc...' On the ground below, a crowd of excited onlookers with spyglasses, shout variants of the phrase '*comme il vole*'

²⁵⁹ Jan-Pieter Smits; Edwin Horlings; Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP and its Components, 1800-1913', p. 55.

(‘how he flies/steals’): ‘Monsieur Vautrin you fly/steal delightfully’, ‘He knows how to fly/steal properly’ or ‘he was fit for flying/stealing’.²⁶⁰ A member of the orchestra carrying brass instruments, a shoemaker with boots in his hands, a tailor brandishing a pair of scissors and an individual shaking his fist all represent the creditors that Vautrin is leaving behind. One of the bystanders is attempting to spray Vautrin with a syphon. Several of the spectators are holding up small signs with the word ‘memory’ (*mémoire*), warning Vautrin that the Dutch do not easily forget those who have wronged them.

At present, this print is exhibited in Amsterdam’s Rijksmuseum and enjoys a certain degree of visibility to both scholars and the general public. Yet, rather than providing an important source of information regarding the French Theatre in Amsterdam, the description on the Rijksmuseum’s own website reads ‘Caricature on the departure of Vautrin, the director of the French Opera in The Hague, to Paris, 1838’.²⁶¹ It is of little wonder that researchers have not given Amsterdam its due as a centre for French opera and stage music in the 1830s when the few surviving documents are mislabelled. But the Rijksmuseum is not to blame, given the misattribution of Vautrin’s print dates as far back as the 1870s. In his *Dutch History in Plates*, the historian Frederik Muller catalogued Vautrin’s print (N°6989) as depicting the director of the French opera ‘at The Hague’ rather than in Amsterdam,²⁶² causing this error to be repeated countless times.

Upon reflecting on the reasons Vautrin might have had to pillage and run, an opening statement made by Amsterdam’s *Algemeen Handelsblad* comes to mind:

When one considers all of the difficulties and obstacles a director of the Amsterdam French Theatre is faced with, in order to form and maintain a good and celebrated opera troupe, it [is] incomprehensible to us how anyone has the courage to accept such an endeavour and maintain the desire to remain with it.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ ‘Mr. Vautrin vous volez à ravir! / Il sait voler dans les formes / Il était en mesure pour voler’.

²⁶¹ ‘Spotprent op het vertrek van Vautrin, de directeur van de Franse Opera te Den Haag, naar Parijs, 1838, anoniem, 1838’. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-88.643>, (consulted on 27 January 2022).

²⁶² Frederik Muller, *De nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen: beredeneerde beschrijving van nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten : verzameld, gerangschikt, beschreven*, Volume 3, (Amsterdam: Muller, 1879) p. 236.

²⁶³ ‘Wanneer men overweegt, met welke moeilijkheden en hinderpalen een Directeur van den Fransche Schouwburg hier ter stede te worstelen heeft, om een goed en toererkend Operagezelschap bij elkander te krijgen en bij elkander te houden, dan moet het ons onbegrijpelijk toeschijnen, hoe iemand den moed heeft, zulk eene directie te aanvaarden, en hoe hij den lust kan behouden om dezelve voort te zetten’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 december 1835).

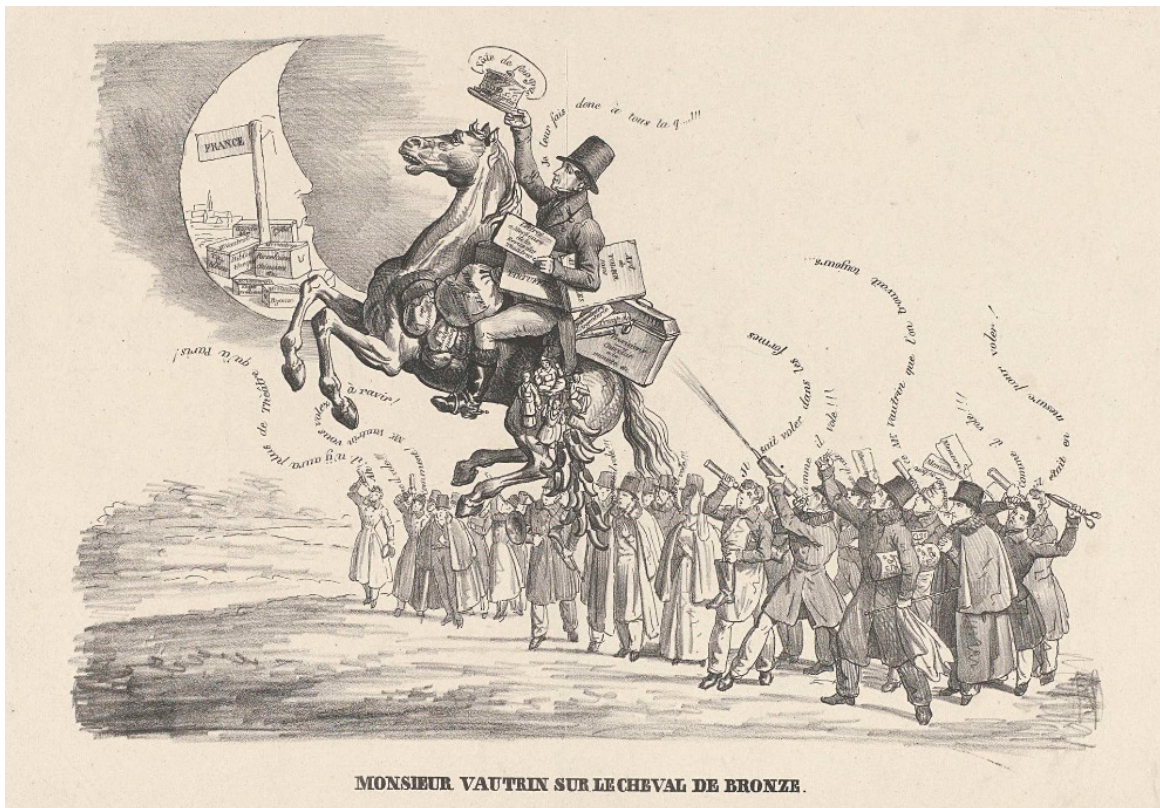


Figure 12: Anonymous, *Monsieur Vautrin sur le cheval de bronze*, cartoon depicting the departure of Vautrin, the director of the French Opera, Lithograph, 1838, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Though Vautrin did make a run for it with everything he was able to carry, we cannot overlook the effort and finances he poured into the French Theatre throughout his directorship.²⁶⁴ The multiple contingencies that befell Vautrin, including several indispositions, prior to his departure, must have led him to believe that those assets were owed to him.²⁶⁵ The *Handbook for Foreigners in Amsterdam* had the following reflection:

[Vautrin] lost sight of what the directors of this theatre must never forget: in Holland, good faith and loyalty *in all things* form the absolute condition for the success of any enterprise, as they are the safest guarantee of the benevolence of the public of the French Theatre in Amsterdam.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ 'Patrie Adoptive'. W. J. Olivier, *Manuel des étrangers à Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam: Dietrich Frère, 1838) p. 146.

²⁶⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 February 1837.

²⁶⁶ 'Il a perdu de vue, ce que les directeurs de ce théâtre ne devaient jamais oublier, c'est qu'en Hollande la bonne foi et la loyauté en toutes choses forment la condition absolue de la réussite de toute entreprise, comme elles sont les plus sûrs garants de la bienveillance du public du théâtre français d'Amsterdam'. *Ibidem*.

The artists of the Amsterdam French Theatre were forced to create a society in the hope of honouring the playhouse's engagements towards its *abonnés* and *habitués*:

The members of this troupe deserve praise and distinction for having, after the flight of their Director, been able to hold their ground with such unanimity. They have so generously endeavoured to honour their Director's promised subscription of performances. Public interest has also recognized and rewarded the honest and noble conduct of this troupe. May the next season bring better prospects to this theatre!²⁶⁷

On 28 March 1837, one of the institutional figures of the French Theatre, the conductor Moulin-Neuf died of illness and an obituary was published (figure 17). The *Algemeen Handelsblad* published an obituary on 4 April that provided the details of his career in broad strokes. Moulin-Neuf had appeared on stage as a *jeune premier* under the name Montrose. His arrival at the French Theatre happened while it was still a *Collège dramatique*, hence between 1786 and 1795. He debuted as a singer and later took on the role of conductor. In 1810, Geysbeek's *Tableau d'Amsterdam* placed Moulin-Neuf as the

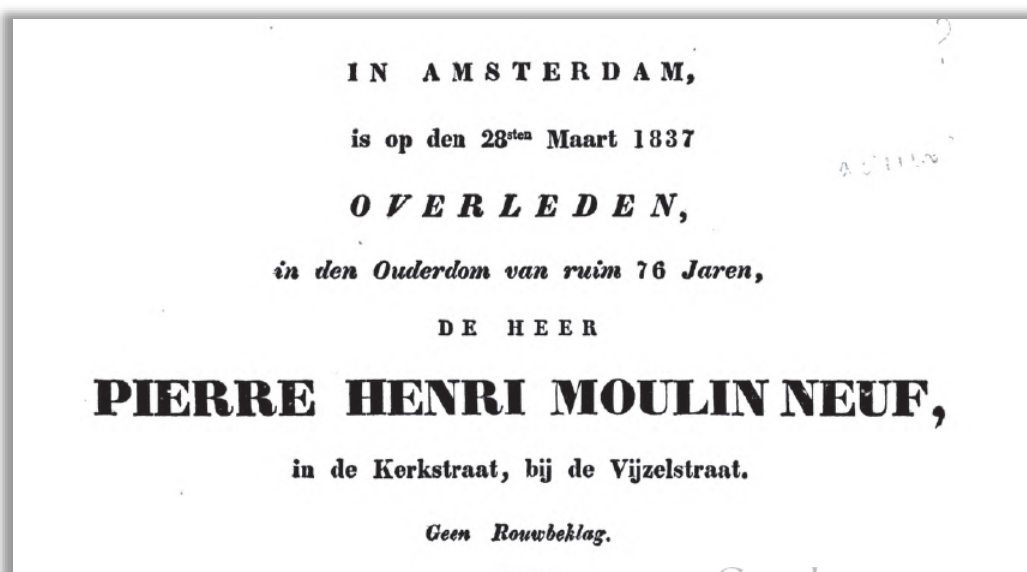


Figure 13: Pierre Moulin-Neuf's obituary notice:

'In Amsterdam, / on 28th of March 1837 /has passed away / at the age of 76, / Mr. Pierre Henri Moulin Neuf, / on the Kerkstraat, near the Vijzelstraat. / [there will be] No service'. Source: *Google Books*.

²⁶⁷ 'Lof en onderscheiding verdienen de Leden Van dit gezelschap, dat zij zich, na de vlugt van hunnen Directeur, zoo eendragtig hebben weten staande te houden, en dat zij de verschuldigde abonnements-voorstellingen van hunen Directeur zoo edelmoedig hebben trachten in te halen. De belangstelling van het publiek heeft ook het manmoedig en edel gedrag van dit gezelschap erkend en beloond. Moge het volgende sazoon aan dezen schouwburg eene betere uitkomst verschaffen!' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 April 1837).

administrator of the French Theatre²⁶⁸ and later became joint director with Dangeville. In 1832, when the audience of the French Theatre turned against one of the singers, Mademoiselle Bailly, Moulin-Neuf addressed them 'In the honourable tone and with the convincing voice of an old man, but with the touching and vivacity of a young man'.²⁶⁹ Able to regain the audience's acclaim, Mademoiselle Bailly could not have had a better advocate (*voorspraak*) than Moulin-Neuf. Though he had suffered an indisposition in May and June of 1835 (Van Bree had stepped in and led the rehearsals of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*),²⁷⁰ he continued to conduct the orchestra of the French Theatre until his death. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* believed Moulin-Neuf's condition deteriorated in part due to Vautrin's criminal departure:

The fraudulent bankruptcy of the former director of the Amsterdam French Theatre, Vautrin, in which [Moulin-Neuf] was also involved for a large sum [Vautrin owed him over 5 000 florins],²⁷¹ struck him deeply, and, it seems, contributed to the decline of strength, from which he died.²⁷²

Though the troupe tried to hold up the programme promised to the *abonnés* and *habitués*, by attracting the known talents of Bernard-Léon ainé (nine performances in March) and Mademoiselle Verneuil (seven performances in April), the French Theatre closed on 29 April 1837, a month sooner than expected. It reopened on 31 August with *Robert le Diable* and the tenor Paul Joseph Cœuriot as its new director.

²⁶⁸ Geysbeek, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²⁶⁹ 'In den achtbaren toon, en met de overtuiging wekkende stem eens grijsaards, doch met de aandoenlijkheid en levendigheid eens jongelings zag men' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 March 1932).

²⁷⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 and 23 May 1935.

²⁷¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 March, 1837.

²⁷² *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 April 1937.

3.5 Interregnum: Paul Joseph Cœuriot (1837)

In the chaos that followed Alex Vautrin's disappearance, the artists of the Amsterdam French Theatre did their best to honour their engagements with the *abonnés* and *habitués*. Paul Joseph Cœuriot (1787-1846) was announced as the new director of the playhouse only two days prior to the opening night.²⁷³ Although he had only been with the French troupe since 10 October 1836, Cœuriot was nevertheless well established in his career, having sung and performed in over a dozen French, Belgian and Dutch cities. From a young age, Cœuriot obtained several first prize diplomas (*Premier Prix*) from the Paris Conservatoire (for the horn in 1806 and for singing in 1811) and made his début at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique either in 1812²⁷⁴ or 1813.²⁷⁵ He performed in provincial theatres as early as 1814, where he sung tenor roles on the French stages of Antwerp and Malines.²⁷⁶ By 1819, he had joined Dangeville's French opera troupe in Amsterdam and was regarded as a 'singer full of taste'.²⁷⁷ Three years later, Cœuriot had 'become a favourite with the public' and had a style that was 'very superior to the French singers in general'.²⁷⁸ It was also in Amsterdam that he met and later married Victoire Marie Françoise Lestage. Their daughter Alceste 'Ismaël' Cœuriot was born in 1823. Cœuriot returned to Paris in 1825, singing at the Odéon theatre, before travelling onwards to Antwerp in 1827. In 1832, he was called upon at short notice to replace Lecomte at the Théâtre de Lyon in the tenor lead role of Masaniello in Auber's *La muette de Portici*. Unfortunately, Cœuriot's performance did not satisfy the audience, who let loose a tidal wave of whistles. His wife rushed out onto the stage and took Cœuriot's defence, reminding the audience that her husband was there to replace a sick comrade.²⁷⁹ Between 1835 and 1837, Cœuriot became a *pensionnaire de l'Opéra*; he travelled to Amsterdam in 1836 and was employed at the French Theatre in October of that year.

²⁷³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 August 1837.

²⁷⁴ *Journal de l'Empire*, 6 August 1812.

²⁷⁵ Pierre Constant, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation : documents historiques et administratifs...*, (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1900), p. 723.

²⁷⁶ Frédéric Faber, *Histoire du Théâtre Français en Belgique depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours...* Tome 3, (Bruxelles: J. Olivier, 1879), p. 215

²⁷⁷ *Le Camp-volant: journal des spectacles de tous les pays*, 25 July 1819.

²⁷⁸ *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol. V. (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1823), p. 489.

²⁷⁹ *Gazette des Théâtres : Journal des comédiens*, 14 Octobre 1832.

The unusual circumstances that had led to Cœuriot's appointment as the new director of the French troupe were even put into rhyme. The 'successor' (Cœuriot) of the 'fallen dictator' (Vautrin) now leads the 'temple of the fine art' (Amsterdam French Theatre), while the audience – made up of many heads, an unpredictable temper and tendency to lash out when angered – is duly depicted as a 'hydra': ²⁸⁰

<i>D'un dictateur déchu</i>	Of a fallen dictator
<i>dont les fautes trop graves</i>	whose faults too serious
<i>Avaient aliéné le cœur de tous les braves,</i>	Had alienated the hearts of all the brave,
<i>Le successeur, jadis illustre au second rang,</i>	The successor, once illustrious on the stage,
<i>Commençait à gérer sur le plus noble plan,</i>	Began to direct on the noblest of levels,
<i>Le temple du bel art présidé par Thalie.</i>	The temple of fine art presided by Thalia.
<i>Fondant de ses succès, sur une sœur chérie,</i>	Building on his successes, a dear sister,
<i>L'espoir le plus flatteur,</i>	The most flattering hope,
<i>peut-être trop formel</i>	perhaps too formal
<i>Il vous la présenta, vous juge naturel,</i>	He will present her to you, you natural judge,
<i>Régulateur du goût, Public, hydre terrible,</i>	Regulator of taste, audience, terrible hydra,
<i>Qui donnez coups de dents,</i>	Who inflicts wounds with teeth,
<i>à guérir impossibles !</i>	which are impossible to cure!

The challenge of rebuilding the financially ruined French Theatre was nothing short of Herculean. Paul Joseph Cœuriot was wagering his reputation on the outcome of the French troupe's début, scheduled on 31 August 1837, as shown in the playbill below:

²⁸⁰ Deuteroscopicus et Omnium Amicus, *La Guerre Des Braques*, (Amsterdam: Marché aux Fleurs, 1837) p. 5.

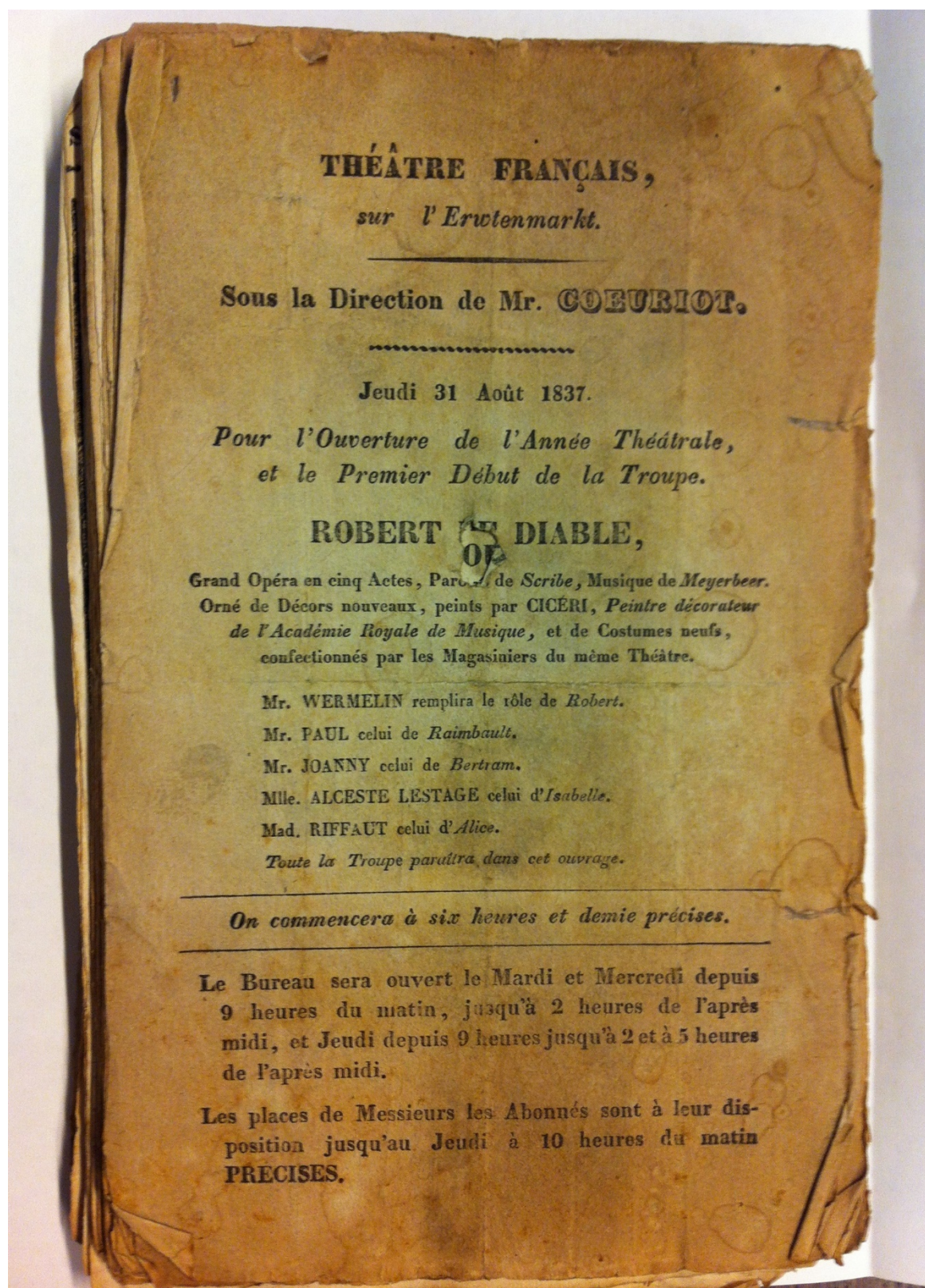


Figure 14: Playbill of the Amsterdam French Theatre, 31 August 1837.
Source: Specials Collections Library, Amsterdam.

For the reopening of the French Theatre, *Robert le Diable* was the most logical choice for Cœuriot: he still had most of the singers from Vautrin's troupe (notably Paul, Joanny and Madame Riffaut) who had performed *Robert le Diable* six times the previous season and were thus well acquainted with the work. Cœuriot took advantage of the impressive scenery that Vautrin had commissioned Ciceri in Paris to create. On the other hand, the *premier rôle* and *première chanteuse* parts were entrusted to two newcomers: the Dutch-born Monsieur Wermelin²⁸¹ and Mademoiselle Alceste Lestage (possibly related to Victoire Marie Françoise Lestage). Much expectation was riding on this first performance, considering the 'large sums of money' that several benefactors had invested in Paul Cœuriot in order to uplift the indebted theatre and enlist new singing talents from France.²⁸² Yet expectations were not exceeded: while a large portion 'conveyed their approval by repeated applause [...] another portion of [the Public] expressed their disapproval by hissing and whistling'.²⁸³ The majority of the discontentment seemed to be addressed at Alceste Lestage for her rendition of Isabelle who, according to the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 'possessed all qualities which are required [for a first soprano] but lacked the physical strength to assert those qualities'.²⁸⁴ Although there were only a few dissatisfied spectators, Cœuriot announced on 9 September that he would start looking for a new leading soprano, and Lestage would continue in her roles until a replacement was found.

A first attempt to replace Lestage was made by hiring Annette Lebrun in October 1837. On 12 October, Wilhelmine of Prussia, Queen of the Netherlands, died at The Hague. All the theatres in Amsterdam were closed from 15-20 October in mourning. Having recently defected from the Opéra-Comique,²⁸⁵ Annette Lebrun arrived in a city that had been deprived of theatrical entertainment for an entire week. On 23 October, Annette Lebrun appeared in Auber's *Le concert à la cour* as Adèle, a role previously sung by Alceste Lestage.²⁸⁶ The following evening, she sang the role of Rosine in Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville*. On the 27, she performed *Premières stances*, a piece of her own composition, in

²⁸¹ Philippe Bourdin, *La Comédie de Clermont-Ferrand, deux siècles de théâtre en province de Louis XV à la 3^e République*, p.61.

²⁸² 'Een ruime kas' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 september 1837).

²⁸³ 'Een gedeelte daarvan gaf door sissen en fluiten zijne afkeuring gedurende de voorstelling te kennen, terwijl een ander gedeelte, en verreweg het grootste, door herhaald applausissement zijne goedkeuring uitsprak' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 september 1837).

²⁸⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 september 1837.

²⁸⁵ *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 5 November 1837.

²⁸⁶ See the Program for 5 October 1837.

honour of the late queen, and was praised as Isabelle in Hérold's *Le pré aux clercs*. Annette Lebrun appeared once more on 28 October, where she sang a *Tombeau* in Queen Wilhelmina's memory. This was visibly her fourth and last performance. Despite her rather short tenure, Annette Lebrun won the hearts of *Amsterdammers* with her 'youthful, graceful appearance, casual acting style, and soft melodious alto voice'.²⁸⁷ But given she was not a soprano and could not give the audience everything it would expect from a *première chanteuse*, she was unsuited to replace Lestage. She left Amsterdam to perform in other cities and, by March 1838, had returned to Paris.²⁸⁸ The *abonnés* were forced to wait two more weeks before Lestage's definite replacement joined the French troupe.

During those two weeks, Cœuriot put on an almost exclusive *comédie-vaudeville* repertoire, with the exception of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (on 31 October), where a strong soprano was not required. *Guillaume Tell*, last performed on 21 October, had received a favourable reception in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, praising the singers, costumes and scenery.²⁸⁹ Rossini's *grand opéra* premiered in Amsterdam on 2 June 1835 with scenery by A. Waldorp and W.J.J. Nuyen from The Hague.²⁹⁰ Although the *Handelsblad* had announced 'new costume and scenery', Waldorp and Nuyen were still credited on the playbill.²⁹¹ Since it is unlikely Cœuriot would have ordered new scenery for a reprise, the sets used in 1837 were probably the same as in 1835. Credits of the *mise en scène* went to Jean Marie Baudot, an actor in Cœuriot's troupe (and later director of the French Theatre in Amsterdam). The playbill opposite gives a good idea of the state of the troupe after Alceste Lestage's departure, in anticipation of its new first soprano: L. Marie Clara-Morgueron.

Aside from Madame Clara-Margueron, the playbill also indicated the impending arrival of the tenor Monsieur Damoreau. Multiple factors considerably delayed both of their arrivals in Amsterdam, including a bad weather front over Dunkirk, where the steamer outbound for Rotterdam was forced to remain in the port. In a letter dated 1 November 1837, Madame Clara-Damoreau assured Cœuriot that 'all of [their] luggage was on board,

²⁸⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 October 1837.

²⁸⁸ *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 25 March 1838.

²⁸⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 October 1837.

²⁹⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 June 1835.

²⁹¹ See the Program for 31 October 1837.

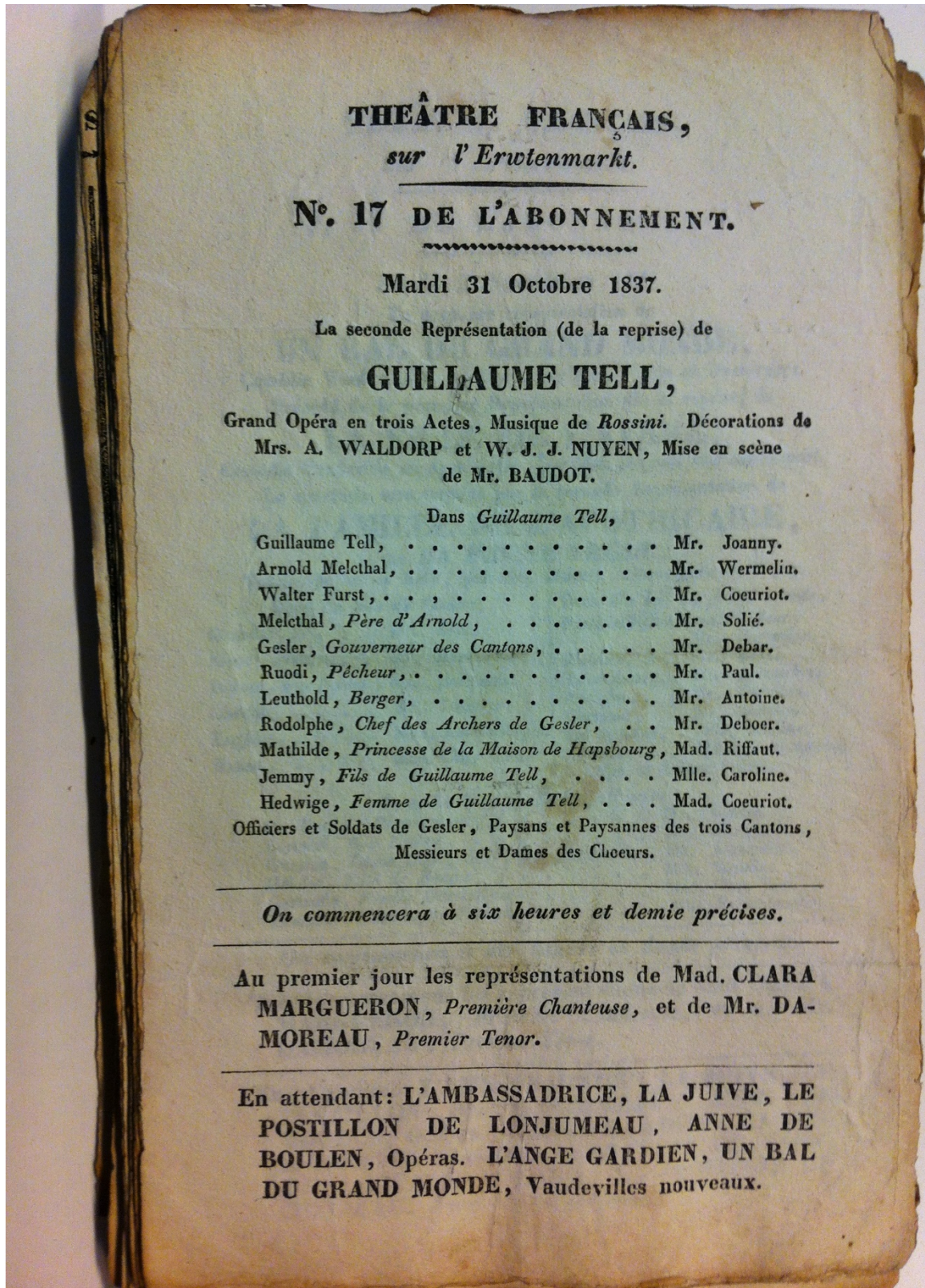


Figure 15: Playbill of the Amsterdam French Theatre, 31 October 1837.
Source: Specials Collections Library, Amsterdam.

[but they] could only leave Dunkirk once the weather had changed'.²⁹² Ten days later, they made their debut on the stage of the Amsterdam French Theatre. Madame Clara-Margueron possessed a 'lovely figure and a gentle and flexible voice'.²⁹³ By 1832, she had débuted at the Opéra-Comique in Paris after having made a name for herself in the provinces (primarily in Marseilles and Bordeaux).²⁹⁴ Although her Amsterdam début on 14 November was somewhat overshadowed by Madame Riffaut, it was not without recognition:

[Madame Clara-Mangueron] lacks neither strength nor firmness, nor [a] melodious voice, and her recitation and acting [skills] are likewise adequate. Yet, with [her] less youthful voice, and fewer opportunities [offered by] her humble, simple role to excel in acting and recitation [...], she was eclipsed by Madame Riffaut's Marguerite.²⁹⁵

At the French Theatre, Madame Clara-Mangueron brought many opera roles to life: she was Zerline in *Fra Diavolo*, Anna in *La dame blanche*, Rachel in Halévy's *La juive*, Henriette in both Halévy's *L'éclair* and Auber's *L'ambassadrice*, not to mention Isabelle in *Robert le Diable* and Elvire in *La muette de Portici*. Although her début performance did not bring all of the expected acclaim, her following performances showed that she was 'well suited to the staging of some new French operas', and the public quickly greeted her as 'a member of the theatre company'.²⁹⁶ However, she only remained with the French troupe of Amsterdam for one season.²⁹⁷ Regarding Charles Vincent Damoreau (1793-1863), the French Theatre had made the acquisition of a 'meticulous singer and actor'²⁹⁸ who, like Madame Clara-Mangueron, had débuted at the Opéra-Comique and later made a brilliant

²⁹² 'Tous nos colis sont embarqués, nous ne pouvons quitter Dunkerque que lorsque le temps aura changé'. Letter to P. Coeuïot from L. Marie Clara-Damoreau, 11 November 1837.

²⁹³ Eugène Ronteix, *La rampe et les coulisses: esquisses biographiques des directeurs, acteurs et actrices de tous les théâtres* (Paris: [s.n.], 1832), p. 108.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

²⁹⁵ 'Het ontbreekt haar noch aan kracht noch aan vastheid noch aan welluidendheid van stem, en ook hare voordragt en spel waren gepast. Maar minder jeugdig stemgeluid en in hare bescheidene, eenvoudige rol minder gelegenheid tot uitblinken in actie en voordragt hebbende, dan Madame Riffaut als Marguerite, werd zij door deze geeclipseerd' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 November 1837).

²⁹⁶ 'Zij zeer geschikt is om de opvoering van eenige nieuwe Fransche opera's [...] als een lid van het tooneelgezelschap' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 November 1837).

²⁹⁷ The press places her at the Theatre of Nîmes in September of 1838 where she debuted as Rosine in Rossini's *barbier de Séville* (*Gazette du Languedoc*, 9 September 1838).

²⁹⁸ *Le Ménestrel*, 18 October 1863.

career in the provinces. In the review of his début performance, the *Handelsblad* pointed out that Damoreau, 44 years old, was no longer in the prime of youth and that age has its irremediable bearings on a tenor voice :

The chest voice of Monsieur Damoreau is no longer firm, sonorous and pleasant, which is evident in the prelude of tranquil passages; meanwhile, in the reverberation of violent emotions, it gains much in tone and firmness. In contrast, his *false* *setto* is strong and pleasant in the first case, but loses again in the second, becoming thin and weak.²⁹⁹

Nevertheless, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* significantly praised Damoreau's 'enthusiasm, life and fire [...] readily supported by his hefty stature and masculine strength', which were more than enough to compensate for the shortcomings mentioned above.³⁰⁰ Indeed, he brought to life Eléazar in *La Juive*, Lionel in *L'éclair*, Georges in *La dame blanche*, Arnold in *Guillaume Tell* and the title roles of *Le postillon de Lonjumeau*, *Le Comte Ory*, *Gustave III*, *Fra Diavolo*, Carafa's *Masaniello* and *Robert le Diable*. Like Madame Clara-Mangueron, it would appear that his stay in Amsterdam was limited to a single season, as the Dutch press makes no further mention of him after April of 1838.

Cœuriot did not secure the punctual visits of itinerant French artists as Vautrin and his predecessors had, but rather concentrated on exploiting the existing talents of his troupe in a genre that was popular across many Dutch theatres: the *Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert* (*Groot Vocaal en Instrumentaal Concerts*). These recitals began taking place at the French Theatre in January of 1838, as shown table 27. The participation of the French troupe in these concerts held at the French Theatre seemed to have been limited to 3 January and 20 April 1838. The first called for Joanny and Madame Ruffaut to sing with Madame Fink-Lohr, and musicians van Gelder and Stoll to perform instrumental pieces. The last concert, organised by Monsieur Cuvreau (Pierre Moulin-Neuf's replacement as conductor of the French Theatre), featured Joanny, Damoreau, Paul and Cœuriot with

²⁹⁹ 'de borststem van den Heer Damoreau niet meer vast sonoor en aangenaam, hetgeen bijzonder, in de voordragt van bedaarde passagien blijkbaar is; bij het uitgalmen van hevige gemoeds-aandoeningen wint zij intusschen veel in toon en vastheid. Daarentegen is zijn fausset in het eerste geval krachtig en aangenaam, maar verliest weder in het tweede, en wordt dun en zwak' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 November 1837).

³⁰⁰ 'geestdrift, leven en vuur [...] hetwelk van zijne forsche gestalte en mannelijke kracht gereedelijke ondersteuning erlangt'. *Ibidem*.

Grand Concert Vocal et Instrumental	Concert Giver	Troupe members of the Ams. French Theatre	External singers and musicians
Wed. 3 January 1838	Madame Fink-Lohr	M. Joanny, Madame Riffaut	M. van Gelder, F. Stoll
Wed. 10 January 1838	J. W. T. Stumpff	[not specified]	[not specified]
Wed. 17 January 1838	Madame Fink-Lohr	[none]	C. Fischer, F. Stoll, Spindler
Wed. 24 January 1838	P. Christiani	[none]	Madame Fink-Lohr, C. Fischer, J. J. France, Kreis, F. Stoll
Wed. 31 January 1838	C. C. Fischer	[none]	N. J. Potdevin, Mw. C. S. de Vries Carels, J. G. Merlen, P. Christiani, L. Embach, L. Rocourt
Wed. 14 February 1838	A. Luder	[not specified]	[not specified]
Wed. 28 March 1838	W. P. de C. Vrugt	[none]	Madame Fink-Lohr, Defiennes, J. J. R? Koning, P. Christiani
Fri. 20 April 1838	Ch. Cuvreau	Joanny, Damoreau, Riffaut, Paul, Cœuriot	P. Christiani

Table 13: Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concerts given at the French Theatre in the first half of 1838.

Madame Riffaut, along with the clarinettist Philippe Christiani. Although the concerts called for musicians from different theatres (here the French Theatre and the German Theatre) there was no inter-collaboration within the individual numbers. Of the two pieces sung from *Les Huguenots*, Cœuriot sung in the ‘blessing of the daggers’ scene from Act IV. Though a tenor, Cœuriot probably sang either Nevers or St. Bris (both *Basse chantante* roles), leaving the part of De Tavannes to the tenor Paul. Cœuriot had a difficult time singing certain tenor roles since his return to Amsterdam on 20 October 1836. As mentioned previously, his rendition of Tony (Max) in the French adaptation of Weber’s *Der Freischütz* left the audience dissatisfied.³⁰¹ The playbills of the 1837-1838 season show him taking on several lead tenor roles (Adolphe in Dalayrac’s *Adolphe et Clara*, the Prince in Auber’s *Le concert à la cour*, the Duc in Auber’s *L’ambassadrice*,³⁰² the title role in Auber’s *L’estocq*³⁰³) as well as roles of a slightly lower register (Walter Furst in Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell*,³⁰⁴ Figaro in *Le barbier de Séville*,³⁰⁵ Dehorn in Auber’s *Gustave III*³⁰⁶ and Ruggiero in *La Juive*³⁰⁷).

³⁰¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 October 1836.

³⁰² See playbill for 16 December 1837.

³⁰³ See playbill for 3 February 1838.

³⁰⁴ See playbills for 21 & 31 October 1837.

³⁰⁵ See playbill for 24 October 1837.

³⁰⁶ See playbill for 24 February 1838.

³⁰⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 April 1838.

In April, as the season drew to an end, The *Algemeen Handelsblad* published an affirmation of Cœuriot's directorship of the French Theatre in Amsterdam. Although the troupe had a difficult start in September with Lestage and Wermelin, Cœuriot received considerable support from the rest of his troupe, especially from Madame Riffaut and Joanny who, more often than not, won the acclaim of the public. The talented players of the *comédie* and *comédie-vaudeville* compensated for the vulnerability of the *opéra* troupe sufficiently until the arrival of the new first tenor and soprano (Damoreau and Madame Clara-Margueron). The success of Scribe and Halévy's *grand opéra La juive* – which had premiered in Amsterdam on 11 January 1838 – was deemed a 'significant asset'³⁰⁸ to the company, despite the great expense incurred in 'costumes and scenery [...] modelled after those in Paris'.³⁰⁹ Damoreau and Margueron sung the roles of Eléazar and Rachel, while Cœuriot took the part of Ruggiero. By 25 April, the opera had been performed 18 times, including an additional performance for Cœuriot's benefit on 23 April.

On 14 April, Cœuriot sent a *circulaire* to the *abonnés* and *habitués* of the French Theatre, detailing how the maintaining of a French *opéra* and *comédie-vaudeville* troupe next season would require a budget of approximately 87,000 florins.³¹⁰ Furthermore, if Cœuriot were to continue as director, there would have to be significant increases in both subscriptions and entrance fees, as well as a guaranteed number of subscribers. Given the difficult season the *abonnés* had endured, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* was unsure whether they would accept Cœuriot's demands. As a result, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* proposed its own alternative solution by keeping only the opera troupe, 'since the most beautiful and best performed vaudevilles and comedies do not draw an extraordinary crowd'.³¹¹ In addition, the French Playhouse could drop to only two performances per week (Tuesdays and Saturdays) to avoid both tiring the singers and imposing the same works too often on the audience.³¹² As Cœuriot 'unexpectedly' left Amsterdam in late May,³¹³ it can be surmised that the *abonnés* did not accept his proposal. Moreover, the *Algemeen Handelsblad*'s plan failed to win over Jean Marie Baudot, the *régisser* and newly

³⁰⁸ 'aanzienlijk hulpMiddel' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 Avril 1838).

³⁰⁹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 January 1838.

³¹⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 Avril 1838.

³¹¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 Avril 1838.

³¹² *Ibidem*.

³¹³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 May 1838.

THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS,
sur l'Erwtenmarkt.

*Abonnement, Diplômes et Entrées de Faveur
généralement suspendus.*

Lundi 23 Avril 1838.

Au Bénéfice de Mr. COEURLOT.

LA JUIVE,

Grand Opéra en cinq Actes, Paroles de Mr. Scribe,
Musique de Halevy.

Orné de Décors et de Costumes nouveaux.

Suivi de la seconde et dernière Représentation de

**LE MUET DE SAINT MALO,
ou LES GRANDES ÉMOTIONS,**

Parodie-Vaudeville en un Acte, par Mrs. Varin et Lubize.

Dans *La Juive*,

Le Juif Eléazar,	Mr. Damoreau.
Le Cardinal Brogni, <i>Président du Concile</i> , . . .	Mr. Joanny.
Léopold, <i>Prince de l'Empire</i> ,	Mr. Paul.
Ruggiero, <i>Grand-Prévôt de la Ville de Constance</i> ,	Mr. Coeuriot.
Albert, <i>Sergent d'armes des archers de l'Empereur</i> ,	Mr. Debar.
L'Empereur,	Mr. Poizard.
1 ^{er} Buveur,	Mr. Antoine.
2 ^{ème} Buveur,	Mr. Hartmann.
La Princesse Eudoxie, <i>Nièce de l'Empereur</i> , . .	Mad. Riffaut.
Rachel,	Mad. Clara-Margueron.

Suite de l'Empereur, Cardinaux, Hérauts d'Armes, Pages, Officiers,
Seigneurs, Gardes, Dames de la Cour, Pénitents, Peuple etc.
Toute la Troupe paraît dans cet ouvrage.

Dans *Le Muet de St. Malo*,

Riboulard, <i>Ancien Vétérinaire</i> ,	Mr. Solié.
Bourdon, <i>Chantre</i> ,	Mr. Hartmann.
Pompée, <i>Neveu de Riboulard, Sergent dans les Garde-Côtes</i> ,	Mr. Alexandre.
Tronquette, <i>Domestique de Riboulard</i> ,	Mlle. Contremoulin.
Hyacinthe, <i>Jeune Muette</i> ,	Mlle. Emma.

On commencera à six heures et un quart précises.

Messieurs les Abonnés qui désireraient conserver leurs places, sont priés
de s'adresser au Bureau du Théâtre, avant dix heures du matin.

Mercredi 25 Courant. **Au Bénéfice de Mr. HARTMANN. LE CHEVAL
DE BRONZE**, Opéra Féerie en trois Actes, dans lequel Mlle.
LÉONIE MANTEAU, *Premier Sujet du Théâtre de La Haye*,
remplira le rôle de *Stella*, et Mr. JUSTAMANT, *Premier Danseur*
et Mlle. CÉCILE DELAMOTTE, *Première Danseuse*, danseront
Un pas Chinois.

Le second Acte de **ROBERT LE DIABLE**. Mlle. LÉONIE MANTEAU
remplira le rôle d'*Isabelle*. Mr. JUSTAMANT et Mlle. CÉCILE
DELAMOTTE danseront *Un pas noble*.

LE CORNET A PISTON, Vaudeville nouveau en un Acte.
Ces ouvrages ne seront joués que pour cette représentation.

Figure 16: Playbill of the Amsterdam French Theatre, 23 April 1838.

Source: Specials Collections Library, Amsterdam.

appointed director of the French Theatre. Baudot stated that Cœurriot had left before securing an opera quartet for the upcoming season, making it impossible to go on with the intended operatic repertoire. He more realistically believed the satisfaction of the public and the earning of profits for the theatre could only be ensured, at this point, through the assembling of a *comédie*, *drame* and *comédie-vaudeville* troupe.³¹⁴ On 13 July, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* announced that the French troupe for the coming season was now complete and included several members of the existing troupe ‘who have many times proven their talent’.³¹⁵ Baudot’s new troupe opened the season on 1 September 1838 with two *comédies* (*École de vieillards* and *La femme juge et partie*) and a *comédie-vaudeville*, Dumanoir’s *Un mari charmant*.



Figure 17: Paul Cœurriot as Mc Gregor, in the French adaptation of Rossini’s *La donna del lago*.
Source: gallica.bnf.fr

³¹⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 May 1838.

³¹⁵ ‘die bereits vele blijken van talent gegeven hebben’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 July 1838).

From Amsterdam, Cœuriot went on to seek further glory on other provincial stages of the Francosphere. He performed in theatre of Nîmes in October 1840 and then travelled to Liège in 1841,³¹⁶ in Le Havre (1841-1842; he excelled as Masaniello in *La muette de Portici*),³¹⁷ Metz (1843) and Amiens (1844). In that last city, the local press noted that Cœuriot was more appreciated in *opéra* roles rather than *opéra-comique*, but overall well regarded as an intelligent actor. The press mentioned another singer by the name of Paul Coeuriot, who married Elisabeth Stephens and left Europe for Louisiana and died in New York of a pleurisy.³¹⁸ Whether or not he is related to Amsterdam's Paul Joseph Coeuriot remains a mystery. Both men died in 1846.³¹⁹

3.6 The decade's Grand Finale: Jean Marie Baudot (1838-1840)

Of all the directors of the Amsterdam French Theatre, Jean Marie Baudot is perhaps the one who is the least remembered. There is little information to be found regarding his origins, place of birth and early career in the theatre world. The earliest account of Baudot appeared in the Dutch press between May 1822 and May 1823 where he belonged to the troupe of the *Comédiens ordinaires du Roy* at The Hague, in the *second père* roles.³²⁰ In 1835, he was a *régisseur* at the Amsterdam French Theatre under Alex Vautrin, also performing as a second and third *basse-taille* and *rôles de convenance*.³²¹ He shared the *régisseur* position with Nicolas Alexandre³²² the following year and continued in that role in 1837-1838 under Paul Cœuriot. In May of 1838, when Cœuriot resigned his commission and Alexandre set off to open another provincial French Theatre, Baudot was promoted to the director's seat.³²³ This development turned out to be a poisoned chalice for Baudot, as he was now at the head of a theatre without an *opéra* troupe for the coming season. Unable to resolve this situation, Baudot addressed the readers of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on 25

³¹⁶ Felix Delhasse, *Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique: contenant des éphémérides dramatiques et artistiques*, Volume 2 (Brussels: De Masure, 1842) p. 94.

³¹⁷ Charles-Théodore Vesque, *Histoire Des Théâtres Du Havre, 1717 à 1872*, (Paris: Labottière et Cie, 1875), p. 411-425.

³¹⁸ *Le Journal des Théâtres*, 25 Janvier 1844.

³¹⁹ Henry Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire des comédiens français (ceux d'hier): Biographie, bibliographie, iconographie*, Volume 1, (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Revue universelle internationale illustrée, 1979) p. 386.

³²⁰ *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 3 May 1822.

³²¹ *Utrechtsche Courant*, 13 février 1835.

³²² Alex Vautrin, *Théâtre Français d'Amsterdam - Prospectus*, 1836.

³²³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 July 1838.

August 1838 and declared his intentions to find artists able to play *comédies*, *dramas* and *comédies-vaudevilles*. In his opinion, a good acting troupe would allow the audience to better endure the depravation of *opéra*, a genre that was so dear to them.³²⁴

On the opening night, 1 September 1838, ‘the sizable audience of listeners [demonstrated] such evident satisfaction’, that [the editors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* saw their] expectations fulfilled [beyond] imagination’.³²⁵ They were optimistic about Baudot’s choice of foregoing opera as, not only would he ensure the theatre’s survival but also reap better financial results than those of previous seasons. In his effort to please his audience, Baudot nevertheless made an attempt to stage *La Marquise*, an *opéra-comique* in one act by Adolphe Adam:

[Despite the fact that] Monsieur Baudot only promised plays, and now already on the second evening he gives [us] a new small opera. Though the result has not been wholly favourable, as one could not reasonably have expected, [his] efforts to please the audience deserve recognition.³²⁶

Written for an opera quartet (as shown in the table below), *La Marquise* develops a simple yet significant intrigue between a Spanish Duke and a French actor who are rivals for the love of the young widowed Marquise. Table 28 shows the distribution of the different roles:

Role	Voice part	Actors of the original Paris première (28 February 1835)	Actors of the Amsterdam troupe (4 September 1838)
The Duke of Cavalcante	bass	M. Inchindi	M. Achille Petit
Clairval, a French actor	tenor	M. Thenard	M. Girardot
The Marquise d'Ofalia	soprano	Mlle Fargueil	Madame Achille Petit
Paquita, her maidservant	contralto	Mlle Annette Lebrun	Madame Hélène

Table 14: Dramatis Personae for *La Marquise* given at the French Theatre on 4 September 1838.

³²⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 August 1838.

³²⁵ ‘de vergadering van toehoorders was zoo aanzienlijk, en derzelver tevredenheid doorgaans zoo blijkbaar, dat wij onze verwachting in de verbeelding reeds vervuld zien’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 September 1838).

³²⁶ ‘De Heer Baudot heeft slechts tooneelstukken beloofd, en thans reeds bij de tweede representatie geeft hij eene nieuwe kleine opera ten beste. Al is nu de uitslag daarvan wel niet geheel en al gunstig geweest, gelijk men redelijker wijze niet verwachten kon, zoo verdienen de pogingen om het publiek genoeg te geven, toch erkend te worden’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 September 1838).

The performance did not achieve a favourable reception, as the players 'did not show much skill, flexibility and certainty of voice'.³²⁷ Nevertheless, the press acknowledged that the performance was better than some of the operas heard during prior seasons, which had been 'far worse and more out of tune'. *La Marquise* was only performed once, given the vocal insufficiencies of the members of the troupe, especially Madame Helene in the role of Paquita who 'possessed too weak a singing voice to perform in operas'.³²⁸

The troupe's third début on 9 September 1838 was marked by a new triumph with Beaumarchais's *Le mariage de Figaro*, which triggered the 'most vivid expressions of approval' from the spectators.³²⁹ In the role of the Countess, Madame Hélène displayed 'excellent face, posture, gestures and tone of voice' and was thus able to make up for her shortcomings in *La Marquise*.³³⁰ The fourth performance (8 September) included *Le gamin de Paris*, which was also given in Dutch two days later by Hoedt and Bingley's troupe, who took residency in the German Theatre from 8 to 25 September during the *Kermis*. In spite of *La Marquise*'s poor reception, Baudot put on another one-act opera: Nicolo Isouard's *Les rendez-vous bourgeois* (given thrice in the autumn of 1838 and more successful than *La Marquise*). Moreover, Baudot was able to stage two other operas in January 1839, including Adam's *Le postillon de Longjumeau* and Paer's *Le maître de chapelle* at the French Theatre thanks to the presence of Campan and Madame Calaut, *premier rôle* and *première chanteuse* of The Hague Royal Theatre (KNS).³³¹ However, the lack of *opéras* at the Amsterdam French Theatre during the 1838-1839 season did not stop audience members from visiting other theatres: the German Theatre staged translations of *La dame blanche*, *Zampa*, *La muette de Portici*, *Jean de Paris* and *La vestale*.

Throughout the season, Baudot was able to secure some of the most famous stage talents from France. His subscription for 90 performances, begun on 18 September 1838, offered a variety of performances from both the in-house troupe and travelling performers. Having previously come to Amsterdam in 1835, Marie Charlotte Thérèse Vernet, better

³²⁷ 'niet veel bedrevenheid, buigzaamheid en zekerheid van stem te bezitten' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 September 1838).

³²⁸ 'Mad. Helene intusschen bezit eene al te zwakke zangstem, om in operas te kunnen optreden' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 September 1838).

³²⁹ 'de levendigste blijken van goedkeuring' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 September 1838).

³³⁰ 'uitmuntend; gelaat, houding, gebaren, de toon der stem' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 September 1838).

³³¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 January 1839.

known as Madame Albert, arrived at the French Theatre alongside her husband on 6 October 1838 and was welcomed by theatregoers with great enthusiasm. Hired originally to give ten performances, the couple was invited to come back on 3 November due to Madame Albert's increasing popularity. On 6 October 1838, she played Marie in the vaudeville *Arthur ou seize ans après*. It was so well-received that the director arranged for Madame Albert to perform it eight more times during her stay (including on their farewell performance), making it her most performed work overall. The impressions left by Madame Albert in Amsterdam reached as far as the Dutch-speaking audience of the Municipal Theatre, where *Arthur of Zestien Jaren Later* was staged from 20 to 29 December 1838 (this version suppressed all of the couplets, except those of the chorus for which music was especially composed by F. N. Stoetz). Monsieur and Madame Albert gave a total of fourteen performances in Amsterdam: their departure on 10 November left the audience in a less enthusiastic mood for following shows.³³²

Madame Albert returned to Amsterdam for Baudot's benefit performance on 27 November, where she performed alongside Louis Barizain (1811-1883), better known by his stage name Monroe, *premier comique* of the Comédie-Française. He was the last visiting artist to perform at the French playhouse in 1838. Given the success Madame Albert obtained, Monroe would have to work twice as hard if he wished to gain the favours of the audience. Yet, his first performance on 20 November as Mascarille in Molière's *L'étourdi* was watched 'with great interest' and his acting skills 'provided ample material for comment, wonder and laughter'.³³³ During his stay, Monroe featured in twelve plays, performing Empis and Mazères's *La mère et la fille* and Scribe's *La camaraderie* which were both given twice. His tenth and final performance in Amsterdam was on 11 December 1838.

In 1839, The French Theatre in Amsterdam was visited by three exceptional artists: Charles-Emmanuel LePeintre, Elise Verneuil and Victor Lhérie. Charles LePeintre, who had already visited the French Theatre in 1832 and 1834, gave nine performances between 8 and 29 January. The *habitués* were thus well acquainted with this singular performer who had lost very little 'attitude, swiftness of movements, sharpness of tongue, in spite of his

³³² *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 November 1838.

³³³ 'Met de meeste belangstelling [...] gaf gedurig ruime stof tot opmerking, tot verwondering, tot gelach' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 November 1838).

increasing years'.³³⁴ He was 'particularly satisfying' on 26 January in Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's *L'Abbé de l'Épée*, a *comédie* in 5 acts from 1799. The performance was such a success that it was to be reprogrammed for his farewell on 29 January. In March 1839, The French Theatre secured a contract with Elise Verneuil for twelve performances. She could almost have been considered a *habituée* of the French Theatre herself, as she has performed there in 1833, 1835 and 1837. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* believed that on her previous visit, she had 'found so little support in the [theatre] company of that time [and] that her performances could [therefore] not have had the brightest of results'. However, Verneuil astounded the public from the outset of her return in 1839 with 'the delightful proofs [...] of her excellent artistry', which were to guarantee her 'an excellent career' in Amsterdam.³³⁵ In total, Verneuil appeared in thirteen different stage works, notably Dinaux's *Louise de Lignerolles* and Scribe's *Le mariage d'argent*, Étienne's *La jeune femme colère*, Ancelot's *Marie, ou Les trois époques de la vie d'une femme*, Destouches's *La fausse Agnès*, and Ducange's *Il y a seize ans*. Verneuil's last performance was on Saturday 6 April, 1839. The following Saturday was marked by the arrival of the multi-talented actor and imitator Victor Lhérie, who delivered seven of the most memorable and eclectic performances ever seen in Amsterdam.³³⁶ Additionally, by decree of King William I, an additional performance was given on 2 May, which subsequently led to further shows on 4 and 7 May, bringing a most successful season to an end on 8 May.

In May 1839, a writer from the *Avondbode* underlined the success and popularity of *comédie-vaudeville* at the Amsterdam French Theatre. *Comédie-vaudeville* attracted a broad audience, regardless of language and whether or not the music was known to the public. As rumours began to circulate of the director's intentions of setting up the programme for the next season around an *opéra-comique* troupe, Baudot decided he could not allow the genres of *comédie* and *comédie-vaudeville* to disappear completely into the background. Such a decision, he stated, would not only constitute a 'significant drawback [but] would also be considered a sin towards art'.³³⁷

³³⁴ 'Houding, vlugheid vanbewegingen, radheid van tong hebben, ten spijt zijner klimmende jaren, nog zeer weinig bij hem verloren' (*Algemmen Handelsblad*, 10 January 1839).

³³⁵ 'De heerlijke proeven [...] van hare uitstekend kunstvermogen [...] eene schitterende loopbaan geopend is' (*Algemmen Handelsblad*, 12 March 1839).

³³⁶ See Chapter 4.7

³³⁷ 'niet alleen voor zijne eigene belangen, maar ook voor de kunst zonden moeten beschouwen' (*Avondbode*, 2 May 1839).

The following season opened on 31 August 1839 with *Le pré aux clercs*, an *opéra-comique* by Hérold and Scribe's *comédie-vaudeville* *Les premières amours*, showcasing not only a new opera troupe but also a new orchestral conductor: Boverly. Early performances of the season included the débuts of Grosseth (*premier ténor fort*), Marquilly, Bellecour (*première basse*), Gourdon (*Gavaudan*), Roger (baryton), Armand Bidault and Mesdames Parain (*première soprano*) Lagrange (*première Dugazon*) and Boquet. Despite several indispositions and cancellations, the new opera troupe was able to stage in September 1839 *La dame blanche*, *Le chalet*, *Le barbier de Séville*, Auber's *La fiancée*, *Guillaume Tell* and *Robert le Diable*. On 28 September, Baudot composed a *tableau impromptu* entitled *Le double mariage* which was performed in honour of the (unhappy) wedding of the Prince of Orange and Sophie of Wurtemberg. In October, the parade of French *opéras* continued with *l'Éclair*, *Le cheval de bronze*, *Le concert à la cour* and Bochsa's *La lettre de change*. The Municipal Theatre gave eight performances of *Het sprakelooze Meisje van Portici*, which probably prompted the French troupe to give their own (French) version on Saturday 19 October, on the same day as the Municipal Theatre. On 22 October, Adam's opera *Le brasseur de Preston* enjoyed 'quite a satisfactory' first performance, despite a rather monotonous first act.³³⁸ On the same day, Baudot announced that the first soprano of the French Theatre, Madame Parain, was retiring from the stage and therefore the theatre was now actively looking for a new *forte chanteuse*. November continued to showcase many of the previously mentioned operas, with the addition of Adam's *Le postillon de Longjumeau*, Boieldieu's *Le nouveau seigneur du village* and Rossini's *L'italienne à Alger*. The first two *opéras-comiques* were met with general satisfaction; but *L'italienne à Alger* was not. As reasoned by the critics of *Algemeen Handelsblad*, the problem was with pronunciation, that the opera 'required Italian throats and Italian singing to seem pleasant. The management will therefore do [well to] omit these and similar ones [in the future]'.³³⁹ The following month, alongside reprises of *Le Chalet*, *Le brasseur de Preston* and *La muette de Portici*, the audience received Halévy's *La juive* and Donizetti's *Lucie de Lammermoor*, both of which were 'crowned with the greatest acclaim'.³⁴⁰ Thus, in the space of four months, Baudot's

³³⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 October 1839.

³³⁹ 'Deze opera vereischt Italiaansche keelen en Italiaansche zangkunst, om zich aangenaam voor te doen. De directie zal dus wel doen deze en soortgelijke achterwege te laten' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 November 1839).

³⁴⁰ 'en zijn met de meesten bijval bekroond geworden' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31 december 1839).

troupe had managed to stage seventeen different operas (42 performances in all), some with more success than others. By the end of the year, it could be said that Baudot had kept his promise of successfully returning the genre of opera, dear to the hearts of *Amsterdammers*, to the repertoire of the French Theatre.

Baudot's success could have ensured him a long tenure as theatre director if he had not died on 14 December 1840, after a prolonged illness.³⁴¹ The inheritance matters for Jean Marie Baudot (here referred to as Jean-Justin) lasted well into September of 1841.³⁴² An obituary was published on 15 December 1840 in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*³⁴³ by Monsieur Prudent, the man who had been running the French Theatre in Baudot's stead. Nicolas Alexandre had written to the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on 16 December to express his desire to succeed the late Baudot as director of the French Theatre:

He says, among other things, that it is very risky to sail an ocean that has [caused] so many shipwrecks in recent years, and that, above all, activity, good company and sufficient funds are required for such an undertaking. He asks to take over the directorship for two successive years, the first for *comédies* and *comédies-vaudevilles*, and the second for *opéras*; then he wishes the theatre hall to be improved and embellished [upon], if necessary, at his expense. As guarantee, he offers to deposit a sum of 20,000 francs with Monsieur Lepel and Labouchère; and if it be required, he will double the sum; etc. etc.³⁴⁴

Despite Alexandre's enticing proposal, Monsieur Prudent announced his intentions to carry on as director to the best of his abilities. The performances began again on 19 December 1840 and the Amsterdam French Theatre continued to operate for the next fifteen years, its stewardship passing on from one potential director to the next, until its definite closure in 1855.

³⁴¹ *De Avondbode*, 16 December 1840.

³⁴² *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 September 1841.

³⁴³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 December 1840.

³⁴⁴ 'Hij zegt onder anderen, dat het zeer gewaagd is, een water te bevaren, waar gedatende de laatste jaren, zoo dikwerf schipbreuk geleden is, en dat bovenal activiteit, een goed gezelschap en toereikende fondsen tot zulk eene onderneming vereischt worden. Hij vraagt da directie voor twee achtereenvolgende jaren, het eerste om comedies en vaudevilles, en het tweede om operas te doen uitvoeren; vervolgens wenscht hij, dat de schouwburgzaal verbeterd en verfraaid worde, zoo het zijn moet, op zijne kosten. Als waarborg biedt hij aan, eene som van 20,000 francs te deponeren, bij de Heeren de Lepel en Labouchère; en zoo het vereischt wordt, zal hij die som verdubbelen ; enz. enz.' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 December 1840).

In conclusion, the foundation of Amsterdam's 1830 French Troupe were established by Dangeville and Martin-Touring in the 1820s. Auguste Nourrit directed both the French Theatres in Amsterdam and in The Hague between 1830-1833, before relinquishing his post to Charles Fédé (1833) and Alex Vautrin (1833-1837). Vautrin's directorship can be considered the height of the Amsterdam French Theatre: he staged a variety of repertoire, invested in impressive scenery for *grand opéras* such as *La muette de Portici* and *Robert le Diable* and brought a significant number of international singers and actors to perform in Amsterdam. Had he not bitten off more than he could chew and fallen into catastrophic debt, he could have continued his tenure in the Dutch capital for many years. The interregnum was entrusted to the tenor Paul Joseph Cœuriot (1837-1838) who, despite his best intentions, was unable to find a suitable compromise between his objectives and the demands of the *abonnés* and *habitués*. The last two years of the 1830s fell under the management of the diligent Jean-Marie Baudot, who sought to bring stability to the French Theatre. His life did not permit him a very long career as director (1838-1840), but he was able to bring admirable talents from Paris. In retrospect, none of the different directors that managed the Amsterdam French Theatre throughout the 1830s were granted a happy end. Unable to manage two theatres at the same time, Auguste Nourrit chose to abandon his directorship of Amsterdam in 1832 for The Hague. Charles Fédé relinquished total control to Alex Vautrin in 1833, who made off with everything he could carry in 1837. Paul Joseph Cœuriot gave up his position after a single season while Jean-Marie Baudot faithfully died at his post in 1840. Though these events appear to be commonplace for a French regional theatre, it would seem the only way to leave the Amsterdam French Theatre was either by flight or death.

Chapter 4 Touring Parisian and foreign Artists on the Stages of Amsterdam

*Ah! de ses fils absents, la France est plus chérie;
Plus je vis d'étrangers, plus j'aimai[s] ma patrie...*

– Dormont de Belloy, *Le siège de Calais* (Act II, sc. 3), 1771

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Amsterdam was the fifth largest city in Europe – after London (948 000), Paris (550 000), Naples (430 000) and Vienna (247 000) – reaching a population of 202,175 habitants in 1830.³⁴⁵ Being a place with both a historical affection for theatre and a predominant Francophone culture, Amsterdam was an ideal destination for touring French artists. Despite the substantial distance that separated Amsterdam from Paris and the overall absence of large playhouses found in the rest of the Francosphere, the French Theatre in Amsterdam became a hub for international actors, singers and artists of every description. In this chapter, I will present the primary Parisian institutions that produced the artists who performed at the Amsterdam French Theatre in the 1830s. I have chosen to develop my account of the life and career of Victor Lhérie, a somewhat exceptional albeit forgotten performer who visited the Netherlands in 1839.

4.1 Amsterdam as a stage of the Francosphere

In the early days of the *Collège dramatique*, the actors of the French Theatre were made up of local French-speaking talents who performed for the members of the *Collège* and for French-speaking foreigners. Once the protectionist laws regulating theatre life in Amsterdam were abolished, the liberated theatre sought to hire French and French-speaking artists from abroad. Consequently, the in-house troupe for the French Theatre was made up almost entirely of foreigners, recruited by the director during the summer months when the theatre was closed. This was appealing to both the Amsterdam theatregoers, who yearned to see the latest French works produced impeccably in their

³⁴⁵ Census data from Henk A. de Gens and Frans van Poppel, *Contributions from the margins. Dutch statisticians, actuaries and medical doctors and the methods of demography in the time of Wilhelm Lexis*, https://www.demogr.mpg.de/Papers/workshops/000828_paper01.pdf (consulted on 26 March 2022).

original language, and to the French actors and singers, for whom performing in provincial theatres helped them not only to grow as singers but also to forge a prestigious reputation that could lead to a contract on a major stage. In a review of the singing talents of Madame Teisseire, the editors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* referred to Amsterdam as a *Hoogeschool* (elevated school) where talents could learn from their mistakes and grow:

It seemed to us that [Madame Teisseire] is still a novice on the stage, as she did not act at all, but stiffly sang [as if she was in a singing] lesson, in a music school or in a concert. However, what she is not, she can still become; she seems to be still young, and looks quite lovely. After all, more than one French opera actress has been trained [here] at the *Amsterdamsche Hoogeschool*.³⁴⁶

How did a person living in 1830s Amsterdam train to become an actor or music performer? Though the members of the French Theatre troupe usually received their training in France, someone born in the Netherlands into a Francophone family with a musical education and sufficient mastery of French could have been eligible for hire. If the schooling and learning options that existed in 1830s Paris are well known, what sort of institutions – whether academic or private – were available in Amsterdam at that time? The *Amsterdamsch Conservatorium* – currently the most important Music school in the Netherlands – was not founded until 1884, meaning that the closest equivalent to the *Conservatoire de Paris* would have been the *Koninklijke Muziekschool* in The Hague. Despite there being no formal conservatoires in Amsterdam prior to 1884, music schools such as the Society for the Promotion of Vocal Art (*Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst*) did provide the appropriate professional training for musicians. The *Maatschappij* was established in 1829 by some of the capital's finest musicians, such as Johannes van Bree (1801-1857) who went on to conduct the orchestra of the Municipal Theatre in 1840.³⁴⁷ The School imparted both theoretical and practical lessons aimed at preparing singers (soloists or choristers) to sight-read and offered training in a broad range of other 'usual instruments' such as organ, piano, harp and violin. Outside the traditional institutions (like the *Muziekschool* in The Hague or the *Maatschappij* in Amsterdam)

³⁴⁶ 'behalve dien kwam het ons voor, dal zij nog novice op het schouwtooneel is, daar zij volstrekt niet speelde, maar slokstijf hare les afzong, alsof het in eene zangschool of ook wel in een concert was. Dan wat zij niet is, kan zij nog worden; zij schijnt nog jong te zijn, en ziet er zeer goed uit. En op de Amsterdamsche Hoogeschool zijn wel eens meer Fransche Opera-Actrices gevormd'. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 september 1836.

³⁴⁷ *Album van de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst*, Volume 1.

training took place through private tutors and apprenticeships: Francesco Benucci and Franz Stoll both taught music in their homes. Gerd Aage Gillhoff's initial claim about stage works in nineteenth-century Netherlands being 'rarely more than mediocre'³⁴⁸ in quality might have suggested the merit of Dutch theatres was inferior to that of other countries, which would explain why establishments like the French Theatre would have spent considerable sums to secure singing and acting talents from France in the hope of raising the quality of their shows.

Although Amsterdam was an appealing destination, the capital of the Netherlands was culturally overshadowed by The Hague. Though smaller in size, The Hague was the seat of the Dutch Monarchy and the residence of foreign embassies with its own circulating French-language newspaper, *le Journal de la Haye*. It was therefore a much larger hub for French culture than the capital city. As a result, the majority of artists performing in the Netherlands would first pass through The Hague before continuing on to Amsterdam. For some French artists, The Hague was their sole destination in the Netherlands, and they omitted Amsterdam from their itinerary altogether. This made things difficult to arrange for the director of the French Theatre in Amsterdam, who knew that a large part of a season's success depended on his ability to successfully secure engagements with prestigious vocal talents from the French capital. Visiting artists brought along new works to provincial and foreign stages, playing roles they had premiered in Paris and other regions of the Francosphere. Directors of the French Theatre in Amsterdam were therefore constantly on the lookout for fashionable singers who might attract large audiences. The French and international press of the 1830s is littered with accounts of French artists performing for the delight and admiration of the eager Amsterdam audience. The contract between director and singer would ideally bring additional revenue and prestige to both.

The performances given by French artists in Amsterdam were the object of critique in Dutch music journals such as *De Noach's Ark* and, from 1832 onward, the daily newspaper *De Algemeen Handelsblad* published regular accounts on concerts and performances in Amsterdam's main Theatres. These reviews – which imitated the styles of the French music press – often indicated the number of attendees and audience reception

³⁴⁸ Gerd Aage Gillhoff, *The Royal Dutch Theatre at The Hague, 1804–1876* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1938), p.1.

and signalled the qualities and merits in a performance while calling attention to needed improvements in musical or dramatic aspects. Judgement passed on the performances varied according to circumstances, from the age of the artists, the mood of the public, or specific events surrounding a performance. Here is an excerpt from the *Nouvelles Diverses* section of the *Gazette des Théâtres* concerning the successful performances of the ballet dancer Louise Ropiquet:

Mademoiselle Louise Ropiquet, who revealed a gracious talent at her [Paris] Opéra début, has just obtained at Amsterdam's Municipal Theatre, where she has been applauded for [the past] year, a brilliant success in the new ballet entitled the *Barber of Seville*.³⁴⁹

This account can be considered an archetype for many of the reviews of French performers in Amsterdam. Negative accounts regarding artists in the press are rare and tend to be constructive, usually with some sort of encouragement or compliment at the end. On 11 January 1832, the baritone Monsieur Jules was criticised for not fully enacting the role of Bartolo in Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville*: 'he seemed far too youthful and amiable for such a [role]' but was complimented for his 'otherwise very good singing and acting'.³⁵⁰ Artists performing in a foreign country were considered ambassadors of their nation's culture on the global stage; the success of a French singer contributed to conveying a positive image of France and promoting French culture abroad. Félicité More (1800-1876), wife of Louis-Barthélémy Pradher, visited Amsterdam towards the end of her singing career and obtained much recognition as a Parisian artist with many accomplishments:

During the five months that Madame Pradher³⁵¹ spent in Amsterdam, [she] has regenerated the theatre by performing seven or eight works and obtaining as much success as if she had executed them in Paris. Additionally, she was asked to return to [the Netherlands] for the entire next season.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ 'Mademoiselle Louise Ropiquet, dont les débuts à l'Opéra avaient révélé un talent fort gracieux, vient d'obtenir au Grand-Théâtre d'Amsterdam, où elle se fait applaudir depuis un an, un brillant succès dans le nouveau ballet intitulé *Le barbier de Séville*' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 21 March 1836, p. 472). The Grand-Théâtre mentioned here is Amsterdam's Stadsschouwburg, where Mademoiselle Ropiquet became *prima ballerina* in 1835 and held the position until 1838. The *Ballet-Pantomime* was staged by the Dutch choreographer Andreas Petrus Voitus van Hamme (1796-1868).

³⁵⁰ 'scheen hij veel te jeugdig en te beminnelijk voor zulk eenen [...], anders waren zang en spel zeer goed' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 January 1832).

³⁵¹

³⁵² 'Pendant les cinq mois que Mad. Pradher vient de passer à Amsterdam, cette actrice a régénéré le théâtre. Sept ou huit pièces représentées par elle y ont obtenu autant de succès que si elle les eût jouées à Paris.'

The presence of a French artist in Amsterdam was always a topic of conversation, as theatre directors could heighten the sensation of the moment when an actress from a prestigious Paris institution paid a short sojourn to the capital. This was the case for Elise Verneuil (1804-1846), a student of Talma, who was forced to return to Paris, so the announcement of her last two performances came at short notice: '[she] will only give two performances: [today and] the last of which will take place tomorrow'.³⁵³ Both evenings sold so well that she extended her stay:

The Administration has the honour to inform the public that Mademoiselle Verneuil, touched by the kind reception she has received, has surrendered to the requests [made to her], and has agreed to give a few additional performances, the first of which will take place Thursday 28 November.³⁵⁴

The *Algemeen Handelsblad* described Mademoiselle Verneuil as an 'outstanding actress' whose figure is 'taller and fuller [than Jenny Vertpré] and therefore more suitable for higher drama'.³⁵⁵ The contributor reported that she 'delighted all viewers and the thunderous clapping of crowds convinced her that they were able to appreciate her art'.³⁵⁶ He also reminded the directors of the French Theatre of the 'usefulness of Mademoiselle Verneuil's performances' so that they would ensure that 'the representations of this excellent actress continue to the satisfaction of the public'.³⁵⁷

The triumphs of Mademoiselle Ropiquet, Madame Pradher and Mademoiselle Verneuil are but a handful of examples that demonstrate how the passage of French artists through Amsterdam not only contributes to the personal pursuit of fame and glory, it was also a means of furthering the international reputation and prestige of French art. The

Aussi, la redemande-t-on dans ce pays pour toute la saison prochaine'. E. A., 'Chronique Théâtrale de la semaine' (28 March 1837), *Le Monde dramatique: histoire des théâtres anciens; revue des spectacles modernes*, Paris, Vol. 4, 1837, pp. 223-224.

³⁵³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 November 1833.

³⁵⁴ 'L'Administration a l'honneur de prévenir le public, que Mlle. Verneuil, touchée du bon accueil qu'elle a reçu, s'est rendue à ses sollicitations, et consent à donner encore quelques représentations, dont la première aura lieu Jeudi 28 Novembre' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 November 1833).

³⁵⁵ 'Maar de gestalte van Mlle. Verneuil is rijziger en voller, en dus meer geschikt voor het hoogere drama'. (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 December 1833).

³⁵⁶ 'alle aanschouwers verrukte en het daverend handgeklap der toegestroomde menigte haar overtuigden dat men haar kunstvermogen wist te waarderen'. *Ibidem*.

³⁵⁷ 'overtuigd hebben van welk nut voor haar de voorstellingen van Mademoiselle Verneuil [...] de representatie dezer uitmuntende actrice tot genoegen van het publiek nog eenigen tijd te doen voortduren'. *Ibidem*.

dance historian Hans Uitman states that 'Amsterdam seems to have been the springboard for young international talent'.³⁵⁸ By contrast, the *Gazette des Salons* cannot help but deplore the absence of these artists who, by taking too much time away from Paris, are often replaced by 'dearly paid incompetents [while] Rouen, Amsterdam, and many other cities are enriched by our spoils'.³⁵⁹

Practically all of the artists from Paris that visited Amsterdam in the 1830s emanated from one of the 'licensed theatres' established during the French Empire. In 1795, there were 51 licensed theatres operating in Paris³⁶⁰ and Napoleon, fearing there playhouses might become centres for the proliferation of ideas (some which might threaten the stability of the Empire), reduced the number of theatres by the imperial decrees of 1807 and 1808. Only eight theatres were granted a license: the four *grands théâtres* (the Opéra, the Comédie-Française, the Théâtre-Italien, and the Opéra-Comique), along with four *théâtres secondaires* (Théâtre de la Gaîté, Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Théâtre des Variétés and Théâtre du Vaudeville), each with its own specific genre or repertoire. As this licencing system is still in effect by 1830, I have organised the Parisian artists that travelled to Amsterdam by institution of origin.

4.2 Artists from the Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra-Comique

The year 1832 was an important turning point for the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, as the periodical not only began to advertise shows in secondary theatres, but also provided some of the names of artists on the billing. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* showed that Nourrit invited renowned Parisian celebrities in order to please the *abonnés* and *habitués* of the French Theatre in Amsterdam. In early January, the tenor Louis-Antoine-Éléonor Ponchard (1787-1866) and his wife the soprano Marie Sophie Callault (1792-1873), referred to as

³⁵⁸ Hans Uitman, 'J'aurai [sic] besoin de faire quelques changements dans mon pas. Een brief van de danser isidore Carey aan de componist a.w. Berlijn' [I need to make a few changes in my step. A letter from the dancer Isidore Carey to the composer A. W. Berlijn], *Bulletin van de Vereniging voor Dansonderzoek* [Bulletin for the Association for Dance Research], 5th year N° 1 /2 summer 1996 edition (Leiden: Frits Naerebout & Onno Stokvis, 1996).

³⁵⁹ 'Des nullités chèrement payées [tandis que] Rouen, Amsterdam, et nombre d'autres villes s'enrichissent de nos dépouilles' (*Gazette des Salons*, 26 July 1837).

³⁶⁰ Hippolyte Hostein, *La liberté des théâtres*, (Paris: Librairie des Auteurs, 1867), p. 51–52.

Madame Ponchard, arrived in Amsterdam to perform with the local French troupe. Their début on 7 January 1832 included Rossini's *Le barbier de Seville* with Madame Ponchard as Rosine and Dalayrac's *Picaros et Diego* with Monsieur Ponchard as Diego. Despite the talent and reputation of Madame Ponchard, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported that the audience did not find her entirely suited to play Rosine:

People have seen and heard better [interpretations of] Rosine both in the distant and recent past. Madame Ponchard no longer possesses the freshness of her voice, the vividness of movement [and] the youthful charm of the figure which one demands in Rosine. Her acting [and] singing methods are excellent, but cannot make up for [her] lack of youth. Additionally, her dress was stiff, and too old for [Rosine]; and her voice seemed to have suffered because of the Dutch air.³⁶¹

The reviewers later admitted that their initial opinion of the soprano was formed prematurely: after having heard her in the duet 'Comment voulez-vous que je chante?' from Paer's *Le maître de chapelle*, they found she had 'reaped more than half of the well-deserved acclaim for this duet [and had] in general sung and acted superbly'.³⁶² By the time Madame Ponchard had given her seventh show on 21 January, the critics were won over by the soprano's talent and charm. That evening, Madame Ponchard sang in Rossini's *La pie voleuse* and the audience was able to see the soprano in one of her most multifaceted roles:

Madame Ponchard, as Ninette, deserves the first and highest praise; she was all truth; she certainly was that simple, guiltless, guileless, cheerful and faithful maidservant; she was that tender mistress; she was that brave daughter who sacrificed herself for her unfortunate father; she was that innocent [woman] falsely accused of such a heinous crime [...] But at the same time she was also that proud virtuous virgin, who struck the

³⁶¹ 'Men had vóór lang, en ook kort geleden, betere Rosine's gezien en gehoord. Mevr. Ponchard bezit de frischheid der stem, het levendige der bewegingen, de jeugdige bekoorlijkheid der gestalte niet meer, welke men in Rosine eischt. Haar spel, hare zang-methode zijn voortreffelijk, maar kunnen het gebrek aan jeugd niet vergoeden. Daarenboven was hare kleeding stijf, en voor een meisje te oud; en ook scheen hare stem door de Hollandsche lucht te hebben geleden' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 January 1832).

³⁶² 'Mevr. Ponchard echter oogstte meer dan de helft van de wèl verdiende toejuichingen in, welke dit duet verwierf. Over het algemeen zong en speel de zij in die soubretten-rol voortreffelijk' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 January 1832).

tempter, and who would rather lose all [rather] than her innocence; in a word: acting and singing corresponded perfectly to every situation in which she was placed.³⁶³

On the other hand, Antoine Ponchard attracted considerably less attention to his performance than his wife. Yet, his *début* in *Picaros et Diego* seems to have been met with more clemency than Madame Ponchard's performance in *Le barbier*. As was the case for his spouse, Ponchard's age was also a matter of discussion regarding the role he had played:

Monsieur Ponchard [...] had the good fortune and the merit of completely captivating the audience. [...] Although devoid of youthful freshness, his voice has that eloquence, grace and flexibility which make him worthy of the rank of first comic, both in acting and singing.³⁶⁴

Like Madame Ponchard, Monsieur Ponchard's later reviews were filled with praise. In Della Maria's one-act *opéra-comique: Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance*, Ponchard 'sang and played in an exceedingly graceful manner'.³⁶⁵ Being a tenor and a soprano, and married, Monsieur and Madame Ponchard were often conveniently paired as love couples in operas. In Amsterdam, the Ponchards appeared on stage as Pierrot and Colombine in Grétry's *Le tableau parlant* (1769), Victor and Adèle in Auber's *Le concert à la cour* (1824) and Dubreuil and Elise in Halévy's *La dilettante d'Avignon* (1829). The public also loved seeing this couple together on stage, for example, in Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (1825), when they sang the roles of George and Anna and obtained 'so much praise' from the public, that the critics of

³⁶³ 'Madame Ponchard verdient als Ninette den eersten en hoogsten lof; zij was geheel waarheid; zij was volkomen die eenvoudige, schuld en arglooze, vrolijke en trouwe dienstmaagd; zij was die teedere minnares; zij was die brave, zich voor haren ongelukkigen vader opofferende dochter; zij was die wegens eene' zoo gruwzame misdaad valschelijk aangeklaagde onschuld; zij was verlegen, verplet, het jeugdige leven zoo vroeg te moeten missen; de heerlijke, schoone, blijde wereld, haren teedergeliefden minnaar, hare dierbare vrienden zoo jong en zoo geweldig le moeten verlaten. Maar, zij was ook te gelijker tijd die fiere deugdgezinde maagd, die den verleider van zich stiet, en die liever alles dan hare onschuld wilde derven; met één woord : spel en zang beantwoordden volkomen aan elke situatie, in welke zij geplaats was'. *Algemeen Handelsblad*. 27 January, 1832.

³⁶⁴ 'Ofschoon van jeugdige frischheid ontbloot, heeft zijne stem die welluidendheid, bevalligheid en buigzaamheid, welke hem den rang van eerste komiek, zoo wel in spel als zang, waardig maken'. *Algemeen Handelsblad*. 11 January, 1832.

³⁶⁵ 'op eene bij uitnemendheid bevallige wijze gezongen en gespeeld heeft' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 January 1832).

the *Algemeen Handelsblad* stated they would gladly welcome further performances of the work.³⁶⁶

Three years later, on 20 November 1835, Madame Ponchard was in Paris to meet the new director of the Amsterdam French Theatre, Alex Vautrin. Given his soprano Madame Roche had retired from the stage after prolonged illness,³⁶⁷ Vautrin asked Madame Ponchard if she would come to Amsterdam to finish the season in Madame Roche's *emploi*. Although Vautrin offered her substantially less than what she was asking (10 000 Fr. instead of 15 000 Fr.) Madame Ponchard took the offer as she remembered how enthusiastically *Amsterdammers* had welcomed her in 1832. She arrived in Brussels accompanied by her husband, and Vautrin sent his *régisseeur* (either Jean Marie Baudot or Monsieur Alexandre) on 1 December to bring her to Amsterdam. She appeared on stage eight times from 8 December to 1 January 1836. Suffering from the prolonged separation from her spouse, Madame Ponchard travelled to The Hague on Monday 11 January to 'meet a friend of [her] husband [to] discuss [her] situation and obtain some advice'.³⁶⁸ She came back the next day to perform at the French Theatre, but her strength failed her on stage. Vautrin accused her of having arrived at the theatre at three in the afternoon 'without having rehearsed for the evening's show or officially declared an indisposition'.³⁶⁹ He decided to hire a new singer within a month's time to replace her, although Madame Ponchard continued to perform until 20 February 1836.

Another couple to visit the French Theatre in 1832 was the *baryton-Martin* Jean-Baptiste Marie Chollet (1798-1892) (misspelled 'Mollet' by the *Algemeen Handelsblad*) and his mistress the soprano Geneviève-Aimé-Zoë Prévost (1802-1861). On 27 April 1832, in the presence of the King and Queen of the Netherlands, they made their Amsterdam début as Fritz and Henriette in Auber's *La fiancée*.³⁷⁰ His singing technique was compared to that of Antoine Ponchard:

³⁶⁶ 'zoo veel lofs' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 January 1832).

³⁶⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 November 1835.

³⁶⁸ 'un ami de mon mari' [...] 'parler de ma position et d'obtenir quelques conseils.' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 January 1836).

³⁶⁹ 'sans avoir répété le spectacle, ni s'être plaint officiellement d'une indisposition' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 January 1836).

³⁷⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 Avril 1832.

He seems to follow the teachings of Monsieur Ponchard, to whose falsetto [his own] most resembles; in the lower and middle tones, however, it has quite a bit more power and youthful freshness. His recitation is in any case appropriate for this kind of music.³⁷¹

Two important elements come out of this statement: the link made between Chollet and Ponchard and the remarks on his use of *falsetto* voice. In his article on comic-opera role types, Olivier Bara detailed the Chollet/Ponchard rivalry and how the former strived to differentiate himself from the latter.³⁷² Bara also pointed out that early on, the reviewers, accustomed to the lover role created in the past by Ponchard, were not won over by Chollet and criticised him 'for misusing his head voice',³⁷³ something which he overcame in the 1840s.³⁷⁴

Regarding Mademoiselle Prévost, her performance as Henriette was given a very positive review overall:

Her singing deserves a lot of praise; her good and powerful voice, her steady intonation, [her] suitably sensitive recitation, her broad and uniform tone, her good technique for this kind of music, all this should assure her the most favourable reception from our audience.³⁷⁵

On the following evenings, Chollet and Mademoiselle Prévost sang together in Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville* (Figaro and Rosine), Paer's *Le maître de chapelle* (the Chapel master and Gertrude), Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (Fra Diavolo and Zerline), Boieldieu's *Le nouveau seigneur du village* (Frontin and Babet), Boieldieu's *Les voitures versées* (Dormeuil and Madame De Vernal), Lebrun's *Le rossignol* (Bailly and Philis). *Le maître de chapelle* was their most popular opera (it was performed three times), followed by *Fra Diavolo* and *Le barbier de Séville* (two performances).

³⁷¹ 'In zijnen zang schijnt hij de school van den heer Ponchard te volgen, met wiens falset de zijne de meeste overeenkomst heeft; in de lagere en midden-toonen, echter, bezit bij vrij wat meer kracht en jeugdige frischeheid' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 May 1832).

³⁷² Olivier Bara, 'The Company at the Heart of the Operatic Institution. Chollet and the changing nature of comic-opera role types during the July Monarchy', Annegret Fauser (ed.) and Mark Everist (ed.), *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer, Paris, 1830-1914*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), p. 24.

³⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

³⁷⁵ 'Ook haar zang verdient veel lof; haar vrij goed en krachtvol stemgeluid, hare vaste intonatie, gepast gevoelige voordragt, de vrij groote omvang en gelijkvloeiendheid van haren toon, bare goede methode voor deze soort van muziek, dit alles moet haar van wege ons publiek het gunstigst onthaal verzekeren' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 May 1832).

Another important singer who arrived in Amsterdam on 2 February 1835 was Mademoiselle Amelia Masi. Throughout her stay, she sang the iconic roles of Rosine in *Le barbier de Séville*, Adèle in *Le concert à la cour*, Ninette in *Jean de Paris*, Elvire in *La muette de Portici* and Anna in *La dame blanche*. She was ‘a brilliant soprano with a range that left nothing to be desired’.³⁷⁶ Having sung in Naples before joining the Opéra-Comique, Amelia Masi performed Italian repertoire for the French Theatre, like the title role in Donizetti’s *Anna Bolena*, *Reine d’Angleterre* and several *bel canto* arias in the original Italian text. Another work she performed was a pastiche *opéra-comique* entitled *L’anglais et la cantatrice*, put together by her husband with music by Rossini, Martini, Donizetti and Gnecco.³⁷⁷ News of the performance even reached Paris by way of François-Joseph Fétis’s *Revue musicale*.³⁷⁸ Amelia Masi travelled to Utrecht along with Vautrin’s troupe and gave performances that did not go unnoticed. The editor of the *Utrechtse Courant* wrote ‘Amelia Masi deserves the highest rank’ as a singer,³⁷⁹ accusing the audience of ‘not daring to admire a singer who is unknown in The Hague and who has probably been misunderstood in Amsterdam’.³⁸⁰ Indeed, the editors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* failed to publish a review on Amelia Masi during her thirteen performances, from February to early April. In Utrecht at least, ‘Amelia Masi’s excellence [had been] undeniable’.³⁸¹

Félicité More (1800-1876) made her début at the Opéra-Comique in 1816 and took on the name Madame Pradher when she married the Louis-Barthélemy Pradher, a professor at the Paris Conservatoire. She retired from the Opéra-Comique in 1835, at which time she began to tour the provinces. In total, she completed 41 performances from 1 November 1836 to 21 February 1837 at the Amsterdam French Theatre. On her fourth evening, she played Élisabeth in Auber’s *L’estocq, ou l’intrigue et l’Amour* (four-act version), a role she had created in Paris. The reviewer of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* had nothing but praise for her:

³⁷⁶ ‘Soprano brillant et étendu qui ne laisse rien à désirer’ (La Mode: revue des modes, Volume 12, Avril à Juillet 1834, p. 321-322).

³⁷⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 March 1835.

³⁷⁸ *Revue Musicale*, 29 March 1835.

³⁷⁹ ‘Mad. Masi verdient den hoogen rang baar’, (*Utrechtse Courant*, 20 April 1835).

³⁸⁰ ‘Of durft jij eene zangeres niet openlijk bewonderen, die men in 's Hage niet gekend en in Amsterdam welligt miskend heeft?’, (*Utrechtse Courant*, 17 April 1835).

³⁸¹ ‘daar is de voortreffelijkheid van Masi onbetwistbaar’, (*Utrechtse Courant*, 20 April 1835).

Madame Pradher played the part of Élisabeth as was to be expected of her: masterfully; and also performed her singing gracefully. Her beautiful, regal demeanour, her charming acting, her fabulous and appropriate costume, all contributed much to the pleasure with which the opera in question was received by the public, and thanks to her *L'estocq*, unless we are deceived, will fill the room with spectators.³⁸²

In *Marie, ou les trois époques de la vie d'une femme, a comédie en prose* in three acts by Madame Ancelot, Madame Pradher performed all of the roles in the play. On 2 February, Madame Pradher appeared on stage in Auber's *Le cheval de bronze* as Peki, the role she had created in Paris. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* praised her in the role but gave only lukewarm appreciations of the rest of the troupe. There was little regard for the theme of the opera and, although the music was not very different from *Le Dieu et la bayadère*, Auber's cleverness as a composer managed to keep everyone interested. Great praise went to the stage sets, especially the giant pagoda in the third act, whose time-consuming confection had delayed the première of the opera by a fortnight.³⁸³ Madame Pradher was able to give a total of four performances of *Le cheval de bronze* before leaving Amsterdam, in the wake of Vautrin's abandonment of the French Theatre. Figures 22 and 23 attest to the degree of popularity Madame Pradher was able to obtain. Her portrait could be acquired in different instances; either as a stand-alone print or as part of a printed score.

4.3 Artists from the Comédie-Française

Credited as *premier comique* of the Comédie-Française, Adrien Perlet (1795-1850) performed in the provinces, including Brussels, before signing on with the Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique in 1820. In Amsterdam, Perlet gave nine performances between 20 September and 1 November 1832. His two most performed works, *L'Artiste* (three performances) and *Le comédien d'Étampes* (two performances) were roles he had created

³⁸² 'Mme. Pradher speelde de rol van Elisabeth, gelijk van haar te wachten was, meesterlijk, en ook haar zangpartij droeg eij bevallig voor. Haar schoone, vorstelijke houding, haar bekoorlijk spel, haar schuttenrend en gepast kostuum, dit alles droeg veel bij tot het genoegen, waarmende de onderhavige Opera bij het publiek werd ontvangen, en met haar zal Lestocq, zoo wij ons niet bedriegen, nog menigmaal eene zaal vol aanschouwers kunnen uitlokken' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1836).

³⁸³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 February 1837.

Nouvelles Publications 1837,
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 (18009) *Bloemmarkt, N^o. 240.*
SORTI DES PRESSES.
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 MARIE, OU LES TROIS ÉPOQUES.
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En vente Encore:
 LES PORTRAITS DES EICHORN.
 LE PIRATE.
 LA MUETTE.
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 VAN TETROODE, Kalverstraat N^o. 37; chez MM. STEMVERS,
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 l'Éditeur.
 A. J. VAN TETROODE,
Marché aux Fleurs, N^o. 240.
 SOUS PRESSE: LA JUIVE. LE CHEVAL DE BRONZE ETC.

Figure 18: Advertisement in for a portrait of Madame Pradher by Tetroode
 (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 January 1837).

THEATRE FRANCAIS. N^o. 50 de l'Abonne-
 ment. Jeudi 26 Janvier. Pour la 32eme. Représentation de
 Mme. Pradher, Artiste de l'Opéra-Comique de Paris: *L'Eclair*,
 Opéra-Comique en 3 Actes, Paroles de Planard, Musique d'Ha-
 levy. Mme. Pradher remplira le rôle de Mme. Darbel qu'elle
 a créé à Paris, précédé de: *La Vieille*, Opéra-Comique en 1 Acte,
 Paroles de G. Delavigne, Musique de Fetis, Mme. Pradher rem-
 plira le rôle de la Comtesse de Xenia, qu'elle a créé à Paris.
On commencera à 6½ heures précises.
 L'Opera L'ECLAIR orné d'un joli portait de Madame PRADHER
 se trouve chez les FRÈRES DIEDERICHs, Bloemmarkt.

Figure 19: Advertisement for a printed edition of Halévy's *L'éclair*, decorated with a 'pretty portrait' of
 Madame Pradher by the Diederichs brothers (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 January 1837).

in Paris at the Gymnase-Dramatique. Both of these *comédie-vaudevilles* were written by Scribe (*L'Artiste* was co-authored with Perlet) and also featured the actor Bertrant-Leon. In both of those plays, Perlet was said to be 'truly extraordinary'.³⁸⁴ He also gave repeat performances of two other works, *L'homme de 60 ans* from the repertoire of the Théâtre des Variétés (created by Potier) and *Le Savant*, another piece by Scribe from the Gymnase-Dramatique, created by Firmin.

In 1831, after twenty years at the Comédie-Française, J.-B. François Becquerelle, who went by the stage name Monsieur Firmin (1784-1859), retired from the stage and went to tour the provinces for two years. Considered to be 'one of the most famous French actors alive',³⁸⁵ Firmin gave no less than seventeen performances at the French Theatre. If the audience did not care for the writing style of Duval's five-act drama *Le Tasse*, Firmin was deemed of 'excellent talent'.³⁸⁶ Contrary to other artists, Firmin performed a more reduced amount of plays. *Le Tasse*, Molière's *Tartuffe* and d'Harleville's *Les Châteaux en Espagne* were each staged four times, followed by Mazères's *Le jeune mari*, Lockroy and Badon's *Un duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu* and Vial's *Le mari et l'amant* (three performances); Dieulafoy's *Défiante et malice*, Duval's *La jeunesse d'Henri V*, Bouilly's *L'Abbé de l'Épée* and Victor Hugo's *Hernani ou l'honneur castillant* each received two performances. Throughout his stay in Amsterdam (from 22 January to 23 March 1833), there were several evenings when Firmin did not perform at the French Theatre. He travelled to The Hague where he delivered eleven performances. Firmin also performed in Utrecht and Haarlem, where Nourrit's troupes played on Mondays and Wednesdays, respectively. Although he made a favourable impression with the critics of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* – not only in 'the calm play' and 'the light-hearted comedy' but primarily in 'the tragic dramas'³⁸⁷ – they were anxious for the *opéra* genre to return to the French Theatre: 'Mr. Nourrit will have to think of other means of supplying *opéra*; or are we perhaps, as is whispered, to have another comic, and therefore nothing but farces and

³⁸⁴ 'Il était vraiment extraordinaire dans l'Artiste et dans la Comédie d'Etampes', *Musée biographique. Illustrations, célébrités et notabilités du XIX. Siècle*, tome 1, livr. 1-3, (Paris: Au Bureau, 1851), p. 122.

³⁸⁵ 'een der beroemdste thans levende Fransche Akteurs' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 January 1833).

³⁸⁶ 'uitstekende begaafdheid' *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁷ 'het kalme tooneelspel [...] het luchtige blijspel [...] de tragieke drama's' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 March 1833).

comédie-vaudevilles to look forward to?'.³⁸⁸ Unfortunately for them, though the Anglo-Spanish singer Madame Garcia-Vestris gave a handful of performances after Firmin's departure, the next travelling artist to arrive at the French Theatre was the 'excellent joker' Philippe from the Théâtre-du-Palais-Royal.

In October of 1833, Elisa Verneuil (1804-1846) arrived in the Netherlands, like many artists, by way of The Hague. She made her début there on 28 October, in the wake of Adolphe Nourrit's departure. The *Journal de la Haye* hailed her as 'the best actress after Mademoiselle Mars on the French stage'.³⁸⁹ In his necrology of this actress, the public servant Alexandre Fromentin (1814-1876) described Elisa Verneuil as follows:

Mademoiselle Verneuil possessed all the charms of beauty with a transcendent intelligence. The perfect oval of her face offered a delicious set of lines of exquisite elegance, and irreproachable in their regularity. Her smile alone exerted a prestige to which one could not resist. It was as if a good fairy had presided over her birth. Nature, jealous of perfecting her work, had also endowed her with a slender waist, with a most graceful figure; Mademoiselle Verneuil, in a word, was in every respect an accomplished beauty.³⁹⁰

After only two years of training at the Conservatoire, she joined the Comédie-Française and later the Théâtre de l'Odéon. It was the actor Talma who encouraged her to go to Brussels in 1825. From there, she went to Liège in 1828 and 'also visited several other cities of the Netherlands [where] the ovations of the public followed her on all of her performances'.³⁹¹ On the eve of the Belgian Revolt, she was to marry a young comedian whose life was lost in the conflict. Heartbroken, she returned to Paris where she was hired by the Théâtre de la Gaîté and, later on, by the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique before leaving Paris with a

³⁸⁸ 'De heer Nourrit zal op andere Middellen moeten bedacht zijn, om de Opera te releveren; of zouden wij welligt, zoo als daarvan gemompeld wordt, wederom een comique, en dus niets dan farces en vaudevilles te wachten hebben?', *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁹ 'Est après Mademoiselle Mars la meilleure comédienne que possède aujourd'hui la scène française' (*Journal de la Haye*, 26 Octobre 1833).

³⁹⁰ 'Mademoiselle Verneuil réunissait, à une intelligence transcendante, tous les charmes de la beauté. L'ovale parfait de sa figure offrait un délicieux ensemble de lignes d'une élégance exquise, et irréprochables dans leur régularité. Son sourire seul exerçait un prestige auquel on ne résistait pas. On eût dit qu'une bonne fée avait présidé à sa naissance. La nature, jalouse de parfaire son œuvre, l'avait aussi douée d'une taille élancée, d'une tournure des plus gracieuses; mademoiselle Verneuil, en un mot, fut, sous tous les rapports, une beauté accomplie'. Alexandre Fromentin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁹¹ 'Elle visita aussi plusieurs autres villes des Pays Bas ; les ovations de la foule la suivirent dans toutes ses excursions'. Clovis-Alexandre Fromentin, *Élisa Verneuil (de la Comédie-Française): souvenirs de sa vie*, (Rouen, A. Péron: 1847) p. 35.

French troupe bound for Italy in 1836. If Fromentin gave a detailed account of Verneuil's stay in Brussels and Paris, he completely neglected to mention her engagements in the Northern Netherlands. Under the directorship of Auguste Nourrit, she performed at the French Royal Theatre of The Hague (and in Leyde)³⁹² between 26 October and 25 November 1833. He début in Amsterdam (Friday 22 November) forced her to returned to The Hague for her benefit performance (Monday 25 November) and shuttle back to Amsterdam in time for Tuesday's show. Throughout her six shows in Amsterdam, the 'extraordinary attendance of spectators [...] have admired and applauded this outstanding actress in the [...] theatrical performances she has given'.³⁹³ During her brief stay, Verneuil performed the works that had made her famous both in Paris and in Brussels:³⁹⁴ *Valérie, La Jeune femme colère, Il y a seize ans* (role she created in Paris), Molière's *Tartuffe*, *Chacun de son côté*, Kotzebue's *Misanthropie et repentir* and Marivaux's *Les jeux de l'amour et du hasard*.

Flattered by the benevolent welcome she has received from the audience of this city, [Elisa Verneuil] has consented to delay her departure [to Paris], and give [additional] performances.³⁹⁵

She later returned in 1835, when Vautrin 'recalled with what acclaim Mademoiselle Verneuil had given several theatre presentations'.³⁹⁶ She arrived in Amsterdam on 11 April 1835 and gave nine performances that included many of works listed above along with new pieces such as: *L'école de vieillards*, *Henri III et sa cour*, *La suite d'un bal masqué*, *La passion secrète*, *Le secret du ménage* and *La fille d'honneur*. The audience, who had not forgotten Verneuil, was not shy in showing its appreciation: 'after the curtain had fallen, [Mademoiselle Verneuil] was called back to the stage, where she reaped the tokens of approval, which her talents so amply deserve'.³⁹⁷ Mademoiselle Verneuil later returned to Amsterdam two years later, but the seven performances she gave between 18 and 29 April

³⁹² *Leydsecourant*, 6 November 1833.

³⁹³ 'De buitengewone toevloed van aanschouwers, welke deze uitmuntende actrice in de vier door haar gegeven tooneel voorstellingen als om strijd hebben bewonderd etn toegejuicht'. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 December 1833.

³⁹⁴ Clovis-Alexandre Fromentin, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³⁹⁵ '...flattée de l'accueil bienveillant qu'elle a reçu du Public de cette ville [...] a consenti à retarder son départ, pour donner quelques Représentations...'. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 november 1833.

³⁹⁶ 'herinnerde zich de Heer Vautrin, met welken bijval in het afgelopen jaar Mademoiselle Verneuil eenige tooneelvoorstellingen alhier heeft gegeven' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 April 1835).

³⁹⁷ '...na het vallen der gordijn, op het tooneel teruggeroepen, oogstte zij daar de bewijzen van goedkeuring in, welke hare talenten zoo ruimschoots verdienen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 April 1835).

1837 happened after the director had fled the city. Her fourth and final trip to Amsterdam took place from 9 March to 6 April 1839, at the request of Jean Marie Baudot.³⁹⁸ The *Algemeen Handelsblad* noted that, though she had visited Amsterdam in the past, the French troupe had not always supported her entirely.³⁹⁹ Her performance in the title role of Dinau and Legouv's five-act drama *Louise de Lignerolles*, was deemed 'truthful [...] with insight and a sense of art'.⁴⁰⁰ Given for the first time only nine months previously at the Comédie-Française, *Louise de Lignerolles* was an important novelty in her repertoire. Like many of the roles Mademoiselle Verneuil portrayed in Amsterdam that year (*Marie, ou les trois époques de la vie d'une femme*, Kotzebue's *Misanthropie et repentir* and Scribe's *Le mariage d'argent*) the role had been created by Mademoiselle Mars and were performed twice by Mademoiselle Verneuil. Two more actors from the Comédie-Française visited Amsterdam in the 1830s: Monsieur David (1836) and Monsieur Monrose (1838), with repertoire and reviews similar to the actors and actresses previously discussed.



Figure 20: Lithograph of Elisa Verneuil by Charles Motte (before 1836)
Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art - NUM OD 148.

³⁹⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 Mars 1839.

³⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰⁰ 'waarheid [...] met inzicht en kunstgevoel opgevat' (*Ibidem*).

4.4 Artists from the Théâtre du Vaudeville

Jean-Pierre Bernard, known as Bernard-Léon aîné (1785-1858), was a first comic of the Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris. He performed at the French Theatre while it was still on its summer break. This was due to other engagements that limited the time he could spend in the Netherlands.⁴⁰¹ He divided his time evenly between Amsterdam and The Hague. In Amsterdam, Bernard-Léon gave seven performances at the French Theatre, four in August and three in September 1834. His repertoire of *comédie-vaudevilles* featured several works that were performed only once, whereas certain pieces were given twice (*L'Amitié des deux frères* and *L'Education particulière, Le nouveau précepteur dans l'embarras*). *Le bureau de loterie*, for which he had created the role of Locket in Paris, was performed three times. His stay in Amsterdam was visibly too brief as to merit a review from the *Algemeen Handelsblad*. In 1837, the troupe of the French Theatre abandoned by Vautrin, corresponded with Bernard-Léon jeune (born c.1789), younger brother of the former, and convinced him to come and perform in Amsterdam. He had been part of the French troupe in 1826 under Dangeville and in 1827 under Martin-touring.⁴⁰² He gave nine performances in total, including three showings of *Le bureau de loterie*, where he played the same role as his elder brother.

Madame Albert – Marie Charlotte Thérèse Vernet – was both an opera singer and actress who had sung at the Odéon (1825-1827), the Théâtre des Nouveautés (1827-1830) and the Théâtre du Vaudeville (1830-1835). Her first trip to Amsterdam took place in September 1835 in the company of her husband. Although the performances promoted the talents of both Monsieur and Madame Albert, it was she who ‘so won the acclaim of the public that she was called out and received with cheers’.⁴⁰³ The single line, in the review of their opening night, awarded to her husband is more of a polite statement than actual praise: ‘Monsieur Albert has shown himself in the *Drama* to be a good actor’.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ *Journal de la Haye*, 28 August 1834.

⁴⁰² See the *Almanach des Spectacles* for the years 1827 and 1828.

⁴⁰³ ‘den bijval van het publiek dusdanig verworven, dat zij ten slotte uitgeroepen en met gejuich ontvangen werd’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 October 1835).

⁴⁰⁴ ‘Heer Albert heeft zich in het Drama als een goed tooneelspeler getoond’ (*Ibidem*).



Figure 21: Lithograph of Madame Albert by Clermans (1835), J. van Tetroode editor.

Every evening with the Alberts featured two different *comédie-vaudevilles*. Additionally, from 1 October onward, Madame Albert performed a *romance* between the plays. One such *romance* was *La Folle*, composed by Albert Grisar and published around 1834, which she sung five times in Amsterdam. In the ten evenings she appeared on stage, most of her works were performed twice. Carmouche's *La génie de la Clyde ou la fiancée du fleuve* and Fournier and Arnould's *La poupée* were given a third time at the public's

request.⁴⁰⁵ The most staged work was Ancelot's *L'ami Grandet* (five performances). Visibly, Vautrin's intent on 'captivating and occupying the audience' while he looked for a soprano to replace Madame Roche was going well.⁴⁰⁶ Madame Albert's last official performance in Amsterdam was on 20 October 1835 and she left the following day to perform in The Hague. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* informs us that, instead of continuing on to Antwerp as she had planned, she turned around and returned to Amsterdam to help the French Theatre on 24 October, which had to deal with the indisposition of several artists'.⁴⁰⁷ In 1838, the Albert couple returned to Amsterdam. The audience had not forgotten her talent nor 'her singing, [which] seemed so dispassionate and simple, yet so varied and full of expression and grace'.⁴⁰⁸ The novelty piece, *Arthur ou seize ans après*, was played nine times during her stay, and revived the following year sixteen times. Isouard's *Les rendez-vous bourgeois* and Varin's *Georgette* both had three showings. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* followed her performances with unseen diligence. In her first four performances, Madame Albert was able to 'develop all her dramatic art abilities to the same extent'.⁴⁰⁹ The art-loving audience of the French Theatre wished to see her in roles, both comic and tragic, so they could 'marvel at her excellent artistic ability'.⁴¹⁰ As the closing of her performances drew nearer, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported that the French Theatre became increasingly full 'and the enthusiasm of the audience was so vivid [the likes of which was only] previously experienced in the performance of the most splendid operas'.⁴¹¹ She and her husband gave five additional performances. The last one, on 10 November, 'was, like all previous ones, delicious [...] and at the end the outstanding stage artist was proclaimed, and awarded a hundredfold bravos'.⁴¹² Madame Albert's *comédie-vaudeville* performances brought a diversity of genres to the Amsterdam stage: comedy and tragedy, acting and singing, thereby satisfying the various expectations of the audience.

⁴⁰⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 and 17 October 1835.

⁴⁰⁶ 'het publiek door andere nieuwigheden te boeien en bezig' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 October 1835).

⁴⁰⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 October 1835.

⁴⁰⁸ 'haar zang in schijn zoo lusteloos en eenvoudig, maar inderdaad zoo rijkgeschakeerd, vol uitdrukking en bevalligheid' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 October 1838).

⁴⁰⁹ 'heeft zij gelegenheid gevonden al haar dramatisch kunstvermogen in denzelfs geheelen omvang te ontwikkelen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1838).

⁴¹⁰ 'haar uitstekend kunstvermogen te wonderen' (*Ibidem*).

⁴¹¹ 'en de geestdrift der toehoorders was zoo levendig, zoo als men vroeger maar enkel bij de uitvoering der schitterendste opera's ondervond' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 October 1838).

⁴¹² 'was, even als alle voorgaande, heerlijk, [...] en ten slotte werd de voortreffelijke tooneelkunstenaresse uitgeroepen, en met honderdvoudige bravo's' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 November 1838).

4.5 Artists from the Théâtre des Variétés

Charles-Gabriel Potier (1774-1838), ‘first comic of France’, arrived in Amsterdam, like many before him, via The Hague where he’d taken to the stage from 7 to 30 September 1833.⁴¹³ He made his debut in Amsterdam a week later, giving seven performances between 8 and 24 October 1833. The list below shows the diversity of roles Potier brought to the stage of the Amsterdam French Theatre, all of which were premiered by Potier in Paris.

Title of work	Genre	Librettist	Role played by Potier	Perf. 1833	Total 1830s
<i>Antoine ou les trois générations</i>	comédie	Brazier / Mélesville	Antoine, premiered at the Théâtre des Nouveautés (1829)	2	2
<i>Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillard</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Francis / Théaulon / Dartois	Le centenaire, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1825)	2	3
<i>Le ci-devant jeune homme</i>	comédie	Merle / Brazier	Boissec, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1812)	2	2
<i>Le cuisinier de Buffon</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Rougemont / Merle / Simonnin	Guénot, premiered at the Théâtre de la porte St. Martin (1823)	2	2
<i>L'Enfance de Louis XII</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Mélesville / Simonnin	Comte de Damartin, premiered at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal (1831)	2	3
<i>Les frères féroces</i>	mélodrame comique	Jouslin de Lasalle / Carmouche	Bonardin, premiered at the Théâtre de la porte St. Martin (1919)	2	2
<i>Les inconvénients de la diligence</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Francis / Théaulon / Dartois	Bonnaventure, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1826)	2	7
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	comédie	Théaulon	M. L' Essoufflé, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1825)	1	10
<i>Le chiffonnier ou le philosophe nocturne</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Théaulon / Étienne	Le Chiffonnier Richard, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1826)	1	1
<i>Le conscrit</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Merle / Simonnin / Ferdinand	Jacques, premiered at the Théâtre de la porte St. Martin (1823)	1	10
<i>Le juif ou l'auberge de Bondi</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Rousseau / Désaugiers / Mesnard	Isaac Samuel, premiered at the Théâtre de la porte St. Martin (1823)	1	1
<i>M. Pique-assiette</i>	comédie-vaudeville	Dartois / Gabriel	Pique-Assiette, premiered at the Théâtre des Variétés (1824)	1	1

Table 15: Works performed by Charles Potier at the Amsterdam French Theatre (1833).

⁴¹³ *Journal de la Haye*, 7 septembre 1833.

Potier's timing could not have been better as the singers Madame Roche and Monsieur Sambet had failed to obtain the acclaim of the public.⁴¹⁴ Since the beginning of the season, Madame Roche had been unable to properly please the audience⁴¹⁵ and, despite Charles Fédé's best efforts, Sambet was too green to adequately fill the shoes of a first tenor. Regarding his histrionic talents, Potier was praised for his ability to portray a 102-year-old man in *Le centénaire* as convincingly as the young man from *Le ci-devant jeune homme*. When an actor brought repertoire to Amsterdam that they themselves had premiered in Paris, it would sometimes never be performed again after their departure from Amsterdam. The works shown in grey in table 15 were only performed during Potier's stay in Amsterdam, while others – like *Le bénéficiaire*, *Le conscrit* and *Les inconvénients de la diligence* – became recurring pieces of the French Theatre's repertoire.

4.6 Artists from new theatres created after the licensing system

By the 1830s, a handful of new theatres had appeared in Paris and broadened the original design where only eight theatres were permitted by the imperial decrees of 1807/1808. Among these, we find the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, the Théâtre des Nouveautés, the Gymnase Dramatique and the Théâtre du Palais-Royal. The Gymnase Dramatique was originally created in 1820 to give the students of the Paris Conservatoire a stage to test their skills in front of an audience. To that end, and to protect the repertoire of other theatres, the Gymnase Dramatique was only allowed to stage one act of an opera or play or one scene from one-act works. By 1824, the Gymnase Dramatique had gained the protection of the Duchesse de Berry, allowing it to go beyond the original restrictions of its repertoire.

One of the most famous actresses from the Gymnase Dramatique to visit Amsterdam was Françoise Fanny Vausgien (1797–1865), better known by the stage name Jenny Vertpré. In Amsterdam, she made her début with Bayard's *La Reine de seize ans* and Scribe's *Les premières amours ou les souvenirs d'enfance* where 'she captivated the hearts

⁴¹⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 October 1833.

⁴¹⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 October 1833.

of all the spectators and won the loudest acclaim'.⁴¹⁶ Mademoiselle Vertpré gave twelve performances at the French Theatre between 11 October and 27 November 1832. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* described her as a 'lovely, charming woman, well made in shape and countenance', capable of portraying young girls despite the fact she was in her thirties.⁴¹⁷ By 10 October, Mademoiselle Vertpré had 'delighted the audience with her lively and natural playing [in multiple roles, in which] the audience was delighted to see her'.⁴¹⁸ Despite this positive reception, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* deplored that, in order to allow Mademoiselle Vertpré to shine in the best possible light, the programme of the French Theatre was essentially made up of *comédie-vaudevilles*, leaving no place of opera.⁴¹⁹ However, Auber's *Le concert à la cour* (16 October), *Jean de Paris* (13 October) and *Le Calife de Bagdad* (20 October) by Boileau and Carafa's *Le valet de chambre* (27 November) were all given during Mademoiselle Vertpré's stay in Amsterdam. But the *Algemeen Handelsblad* stood its ground: 'once this *comédie-vaudeville* mania will have passed [we will] rejoice in the glorious horizon of the promised *opéras*'.⁴²⁰ She later returned to Amsterdam, from 1 March to 19 April 1834, for eighteen performances. Mademoiselle Vertpré seemed to be equally convincing in both young and mature roles, for when she appeared on stage as an old woman, a man in the audience said 'Ah, how old my little Jenny has grown! I have known her so dearly, so well; now she is an aged woman of much talent. In the following piece, she took on the role of a young girl, and the same man exclaimed: 'Oh, I didn't know that Jenny already had such a grown-up daughter. How strikingly she resembles her mother!'.⁴²¹

Another master of illusion from the Théâtre Dramatique was Nicolas Marie Alexandre Vattemare (1796-1864), a comic, mime and *physionomane* (someone who is capable of imitating the psychological characteristics and facial features or body structure of an

⁴¹⁶ 'zij de harten aller aanschouwers voor zich innam, en den luidruchtigsten bijval verwierf' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 October 1832).

⁴¹⁷ 'een liefstallig bekoorlijk vrouwlje, welgemaakt van leest en gelaat' (*Ibidem*).

⁴¹⁸ 'door haar levendig en natuurlijk spel het publiek verrukte [...] schiep het publiek groot behagen in haar te zien' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 October 1832).

⁴¹⁹ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 November 1832).

⁴²⁰ 'wanneer eenmaal deze Vaudeville-manie zal hebben uitgeraasd. Reeds verblijden wij ons in het heerlijk verschiet der beloofde Opera's' (*Ibidem*).

⁴²¹ 'Ach, wat is mijne kleine Jenny oud geworden! Ik heb haar zoo lief, zoo aardig gekend; thans is zij eene bedaagde vrouw van veel talent [...] Ei, dat wist ik niet dat Jenny reeds eene zoo groote dochter had! Hoe treffend gelijkt zij op hare moeder!' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 March 1834).

individual)⁴²² who went by the name Monsieur Alexandre and could ‘change costume, manners and even his voice with marvellous rapidity, thanks to the ventriloquist disposition with which he [was] endowed’.⁴²³ Monsieur Alexandre had previously played with the French troupe in 1827 under Martin-Touring. He was in Amsterdam from 24 March to 22 April and performed the only known English-language piece ever staged at the French Theatre: *The Rogueries of Nicholas*, on 26 March, where he displayed his talents as a ventriloquist and played all five characters in the play.⁴²⁴ The reviewer of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* believed if Monsieur Alexandre had lived in the middle ages, he ‘would certainly have been burned at the stake for the wonders he produced’.⁴²⁵ In *The Rogueries*, Monsieur Alexandre not only portrayed an English officer, an old obese Alderman, his quarrelsome housewife, their young daughter and the handsome servant Nicholas – throwing his voice left and right as though the characters were outside the ‘room’ of the stage – he also created all of the special effects of wood being sawed, a fire crackling, an omelette sizzling on a pan, etc. *The Rogueries* was given five out of the seven times he took the stage in 1832. Monsieur Alexandre left Amsterdam, later returning to the French Theatre as *régisser* under Vautrin (1835-1836).

In 1787, Mademoiselle Montansier (1730-1820) had opened a theatre on the Palais-Royal which, like many theatres, was forced to close after Napoleon passed his decrees of 1807-1808. In 1830, the actor and director of the Gymnase Dramatique, known as Dormeuil (1791-1882), was able to obtain permission from King Louis-Philippe to reopen it. Two actors from the newly revived Theatre du Palais-Royal: Charles-Emmanuel Lepeintre (1782-1854) known as Lepeintre and Monsieur Philippe, visited the Amsterdam French Theatre on several occasions.

Charles-Emmanuel Lepeintre (1782-1854), referred to as Monsieur Lepeintre aîné to differentiate him from his younger and actor Emmanuel Augustin Lepeintre (1790-1847), was said to be the most renowned actor of the Paris Theatre du Palais-Royal. He began his

⁴²² Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. ‘Physiognomy’. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15 Nov. 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/physiognomy-divination> (consulted on 2 August 2021).

⁴²³ ‘M. Alexandre qui change, avec une merveilleuse rapidité, de costumes, d’habitudes et même de voix, grâce à la disposition ventriloque dont il est doué’. A. Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, Volume 2 (Paris: Allardin, 1836), p. 199.

⁴²⁴ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 26 April 1832.

⁴²⁵ ‘de wonderen die hij in de Acustica voortbrengt, op den brandstapel hebben moeten boeten’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 29 March 1832).

career at the age of twelve, at the Théâtre des Variétés in 1817 and then went on to the Théâtre du Vaudeville in 1826 where he worked alongside Charles Fédé and developed a long-lasting friendship ('a letter from you is a holiday for us').⁴²⁶ Lepeintre visited the Amsterdam French Theatre in 1832 'in order to sweeten the tedious days of a dragging unresolved war',⁴²⁷ where he gave a total of thirteen performances. On opening night, he performed works that he had created in Paris like Dartois, Lafontaine and Théaulon's *Le mariage à la hussarde* or Théophile and Valentin's *M. Botte*, which triggered 'loud and thunderous acclamations' from the large audience.⁴²⁸ In 1834, he gave eleven performances which featured the aforementioned works, plus and the recently created *Une affaire d'honneur*⁴²⁹ and *M. Duroseau, ou l'homme flexible*.⁴³⁰ He returned again in 1839 for nine performances. His appreciation of Amsterdam's art-loving public could best be summarised in the following declaration he made to the audience of the French Theatre: 'I act everywhere to get paid, HERE I would pay to act'.⁴³¹

Monsieur Philippe visited the French Theatre in Amsterdam in 1833. He was described as 'an excellent joker' that one should see 'in times of sadness, as a sure recipe against boredom'.⁴³² Aside from *Nicolas Remi ou le fermier de la Bresse*, all of the roles he created were performed at least twice. These included *Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort*, *Monsieur Sansgène* and *Monsieur Jovial. La cheminée de 1748*, a one-act *comédie-vaudeville* by Mélesville and Brazier, must have pleased the audience as it was put on four times during his stay. In *La cheminée*, Philippe plays *Richepanse* (lit. 'Rich belly'), the role of a hefty food merchant. Sadly, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* did not publish a review on any of Philippe's performances.

⁴²⁶ See Appendix O.

⁴²⁷ 'ten einde ons de vervelende dagen van eenen sleepend gehouden on beslisten oorlog te veraangenamen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 February 1832).

⁴²⁸ 'de luide en daverende toejuichingen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 February 1832).

⁴²⁹ *Une affaire d'honneur, comédie-vaudeville* in one act by Raoul Chapais.

⁴³⁰ *M. Duroseau, ou, l'Homme flexible, comédie* in one act, *mêlée de couplets*, by Nicolas Brazier.

⁴³¹ 'Ik speel overal om mij te doen betalen, HIER zoude ik willen betalen om te spelen' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 February 1834).

⁴³² 'Un excellent farceur [...] dans un moment de tristesse. Recette sure contre l'ennui' A. Beckhaus, *Petite biographie des acteurs et actrices des Théâtres de Paris*, (Paris: [s.n.], 1833), p. 92.

4.7 Victor Lhérie: The portrait of a forgotten *comédie-vaudeville* actor and writer

Léon-Victor Lévy (1808-1845), better known by his stage name Victor Lhérie, was an actor and singer who wrote and co-wrote *comédies-vaudevilles* with his brother Léon-Lévy (1805-1859) also known as Brunswick. His early attempts at playing tragic roles were not very successful: in the role of Hamlet, 'he was whistled only a hundredth of what he should have been'.⁴³³ The same could not be said for his comedic roles, where Lhérie's talents as a 'gay and amusing actor'⁴³⁴ brought him great appreciation in comic roles and *pantomime*. As the *Gazette des Théâtres* reported: 'The role [of Huskisson in *Madame Lavalette*] does not belong to any archetype; it consists only of pantomime, and in this respect Monsieur Lhérie leaves nothing to be desired. His gestures and his physiognomy skills express all he wants to say but cannot'.⁴³⁵ Physiognomy, the art of mimicking and imitating celebrities on stage, was something Lhérie excelled in. His portrayals of Niccolò Paganini never left the public indifferent: 'What shall we say of the impersonation (*charge*) of Paganini, so deliciously executed by Monsieur Lhérie? Nothing, except that it is dazzling with naturalness and truth. It is no longer Monsieur Lhérie you have in front of you, it is Paganini himself'.⁴³⁶ In a review of *Le Diable à Paris*,⁴³⁷ the critic and playwright Léon Buquet declared that the success of the piece was owed, among other things, to Lhérie's ability to portrait three very different characters. He also stated that Lhérie 'turns into anything he wants with amazing ease. I think that, if necessary, he could morph into an umbrella and shelter a friend surprised by a downpour'.⁴³⁸ Finally, Lhérie's portrait would be incomplete without referring to his predilection for travesty roles: the press made several mentions of his appearances on stage as a woman.⁴³⁹ The review in the *Gazette des Théâtres* of the

⁴³³ 'il n'a été sifflé que la centième partie de ce qu'il aurait dû l'être' (*La Semaine*, 15 July 1830).

⁴³⁴ *Annuaire Dramatique de la Belgique; Comprenant des éphémérides dramatiques et artistiques*, Vol 3, (Brussels: Le Long, 1845), p. 177.

⁴³⁵ 'Le rôle n'appartient à aucun emploi; il ne consiste que dans la pantomime, et, sous ce rapport, M. Lhérie ne laisse rien à désirer. Ses gestes et son jeu de physionomie expriment tout ce qu'il voudrait et ne peut pas dire' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 20 January 1831).

⁴³⁶ 'Que dirons-nous de la charge de Paganini, si délicieusement exécutée par M. Lhérie? Rien, sinon qu'elle est éblouissante de naturel et de vérité. Ce n'est plus M. Lhérie, c'est Paganini lui-même que vous avez sous les yeux' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 19 March 1835).

⁴³⁷ *Le diable à Paris, folie fantastique* in one act, *mêlée de couplets* by Nicolas Brazier and Gabriel De Lurieu, given for the first time at the *Gaîté* on 29 December 1836.

⁴³⁸ 'Lhérie se transforme en tout ce qu'il veut avec une étonnante facilité. Je crois qu'au besoin il pourrait se métamorphoser en parapluie et abriter un ami surpris par une averse' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 5 January 1837).

⁴³⁹ *Journal des Artistes*, 16 December 1832.

comédie-vaudeville *L'Enlèvement*, the critic complained that he was 'starting to see [Lhérie] in women's costume too often'.⁴⁴⁰ The reviewer from Amiens, however, could not get enough of Lhérie's on-stage gender fluidity:

In the same evening, Mr. Lhérie will [play] either [...] a male tragedian or a female singer, a young man or a young woman, sometimes my [dear Mister] Lhérie, sometimes my [dear Miss] Lhérie, under such diverse names, always adored as a man or as a woman. One must see Monsieur Lhérie as a female singer, with bare shoulders and exposed breasts; the illusion is complete.⁴⁴¹

Although there is little trace of a Victor Lhérie having studied at the Paris Conservatoire, it is a well-known fact that all comedians of that time knew how to sing.⁴⁴² And even without exceptional vocal talents, the *couplets* in *comédie-vaudeville* would have been within his reach. The press can help to get a sense of his musical talents: 'The Republican airs and the patriotic verses with which this play abounds have been much applauded, and [that] Lhérie sings with great vivacity and warmth'.⁴⁴³

As both a writer and performer, Lhérie wrote roles that allowed him to make use of his many proficiencies. In Vaez's *Il Signor Barilli*, Lhérie played the role of an indebted Italian singer performing music in exchange for room and board in an inn, displaying 'the double talent that he is known for as a cheerful comedian and a pleasant singer'.⁴⁴⁴ However, his stage presence and vocal prowess were not always to everyone's taste. The *Figaro's* review of *Il Signor Barilli* stated Lhérie sang 'very mediocly' and 'made his singing worse by the pretension he brought to the stage'.⁴⁴⁵ Bad reviews did little to keep Lhérie from taking on operatic repertoire. In the one-act historical comedy *Napoléon à Berlin, ou la redingote*

⁴⁴⁰ 'On commence à voir un peu trop souvent sous le costume de femme' (*Gazette des Théâtres*, 15 August 1832).

⁴⁴¹ 'Dans la même soirée, M. Lhérie sera tour à tour [...] tragédien ou chanteuse, jouvenceau ou jouvencelle, tantôt mon Lhérie, tantôt ma Lhérie, tu seras sous ces noms divers toujours adoré ou adorée. Il faut voir M. Lhérie en chanteuse, les épaules nues, la poitrine à l'air; l'illusion est complète' (*Monde Dramatique*, 3 October 1839).

⁴⁴² *La Semaine*, 9 December 1830.

⁴⁴³ 'On a beaucoup applaudi les airs républicains et les couplets patriotiques dont cette pièce abonde, et que Lhérie chante avec beaucoup de verve et de chaleur'. J. C. Yon 'Vaudeville', *Dictionnaire de la Musique en France au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 2003, p. 1259.

⁴⁴⁴ 'double talent qu'on lui connaît de gai comédien et de chanteur agréable' (*L'indépendant*, 27 October 1836).

⁴⁴⁵ 'fort médiocrement, fait trouver encore son chant plus mauvais par la prétention qu'il apporte à la scène' (*Le Figaro*, 23 October 1836).

grise (1830), Lhérie sang Napoleon's praises to the music of Rossini's 'Largo al Factotum' (scene 10). Whether Lhérie possessed the necessary skill to perform Figaro's aria cannot be derived in all certainty from the account given by *Le Sylphe*:

All of this is intermingled with singing designed to hurt the most benign of ears. Monsieur Lhérie sings Figaro's great aria from *Il barbiere*, and the *habitués* applauded him twice. Monsieur Lhérie is a spoiled child.⁴⁴⁶

By 1830, Lhérie had made quite an impression as a multi-talented artist at the Théâtre des Variétés, his name was even used to determine the *Second comique, jeune comique* in the sixth *arrondissement théâtral* alongside Vernet, Arnal, Legrand, Odry and Trial.⁴⁴⁷

The earliest mention of Lhérie's name in the Amsterdam press is on 4 November 1833, when the *Algemeen Handelsblad* announced the première of the one-act *comédie-vaudeville* *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien*, which Lhérie co-authored with Brunswick. The work had premiered three months earlier at the Variétés on 1 August 1833 and played for 20 consecutive evenings. By 9 August, the *Charivari* reported a full house every evening thanks to *Le Roi de Prusse*.⁴⁴⁸ Lhérie's role as the Comedian is described in the following manner:

At the Variétés, there are two Kings of Prussia, namely: the 1st, Daudel, the true Frederick; the 2nd, the comedian Stolback, who allows himself to parody his august master. Cazot alternately takes Lhérie for Daudel, and Daudel for Lhérie. It is a constant misunderstanding, which is quite common in the theatre; but it is a misunderstanding full of good comedy, wit and gaiety, which is much rarer. This *comédie-vaudeville* was perfectly executed.⁴⁴⁹

In just three months, *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien* was staged three times at the French Theatre in Amsterdam (5, 9 and 22 November) and was also given once in

⁴⁴⁶ 'Tout cela est mêlé de chants à faire mal aux oreilles les plus bénévoles. M. Lhérie chante le grand morceau de Figaro du *Barbier*, et messieurs les habitués applaudissent à deux fois. M. Lhérie est un enfant gâté' (*Le Sylphe: journal des salons*, 2e année, 1830).

⁴⁴⁷ *Gazette des Théâtres*, 27 May 1830.

⁴⁴⁸ *Charivari*, 9 October 1833.

⁴⁴⁹ 'Aux Variétés, il y a deux rois de Prusse, à savoir : 1° Daudel, le véritable Frédéric; 2° Lhérie, le comédien Stolback, qui se permet de parodier son auguste maître. Cazot prend tour-à-tour Lhérie pour Daudel, et Daudel pour Lhérie. C'est un quiproquo permanent, ce qui est assez commun au théâtre; mais c'est un quiproquo plein de bon comique, d'esprit et de gaieté, ce qui est beaucoup plus rare. Ce vaudeville est parfaitement joué' (*Charivari*, 2 October 1833).

Utrecht (20 November).⁴⁵⁰ The final performance given on 22 November coincided with Mademoiselle Verneuil's première at the French Theatre, though she took no part in it. The Dutch press received this *comédie-vaudeville* with considerable enthusiasm:

In this show we have again seen with pleasure Sirs Gublin and Astruc in the most beloved *comédie-vaudeville*, *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien*. Certainly the public will be grateful that we are paying attention to this nice piece. A speedy repetition of this *comédie-vaudeville* will certainly give [us once more] the opportunity to see both meritorious actors displaying their excellent talent.⁴⁵¹

Le Roi de Prusse was revived at the Amsterdam French Theatre the following year with two isolated performances (7 January and 25 March 1834).

In Paris, Lhérie was regularly employed at the Théâtre des Variétés from 1826 to 1834, where a benefit evening was given for him on 5 May 1834. Later that year, he was writing and acting at the Théâtre de la Gaîté. When the Gaîté caught fire during a midday rehearsal in February 1835, the actors associated with that theatre were released from their contractual obligations. This allowed Lhérie to perform in various cities outside of Paris and mention of his name appeared in several provincial theatres that year: Rouen (March), Caen (March-April) Nantes (May-June) and Bordeaux (July-August). The Gaîté reopened in November 1835 and Lhérie's activities were anchored there for the following years, save a brief stay in London from April to early June 1836. In the second quarter of 1837, Lhérie is mentioned on the southern stages of Toulon and Nîmes. He was later mentioned by the press in Antwerp, Gent and Liège between October and December 1837. In early 1838, Lhérie's name was once again heard in Amsterdam, when another of his works – *Le sauveur*, a three-act *comédie mêlée de couplets* – was performed at the French Theatre in Amsterdam. There were four performances between 18 January and 22 March 1838. No other works by Lhérie were played in Amsterdam that year. Meanwhile, Lhérie continued to bring sensation and delight to the provincial theatres. In January 1838, he played the duc de Roquelaure in the four-act *comédie-vaudeville* *Le bouffon de Louis XIV* (a

⁴⁵⁰ *Utrechtsche Courant*, 20 November 1833.

⁴⁵¹ 'In deze voorstelling hebben wij wederom de Heeren Gublin en Astruc in de allerliefste Vaudeville, *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien*, met genoeg gezien. Voorzeker zal het publiek het ons dank weten, dat wij hetzelfde op dit aardig stukje oplettend maken, eene spoedige herhaling van deze Vaudeville zal voorzeker welhaast gelegenheid geven om beide verdienstlijkr Akteurs hunne uistekende begaafdheden daarin te zien te toon spreiden' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 November 1833).

variant of *Roquelaure, ou L'homme le plus laid de France*) in Lille, which the *Revue du Théâtre* considered to be his best role.⁴⁵² The following month, he performed in Liège where the crowd packed the theatre throughout his stay.⁴⁵³ In April 1838, Lhérie made an extraordinary appearance at the Théâtre des Variétés in Paris. In June, he obtained success in Nantes with *Folbert et Polydore*, *Roquelaure* and *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde*.⁴⁵⁴ Aside from a few articles placing him in Brussels (September 1838) and in Ghent (January 1839), there is little to no mention of Lhérie's name between July 1838 and April 1839. The table on the next page summarizes Lhérie's movements from the fire at the Théâtre de la Gaîté to his Amsterdam debut.

Victor Lhérie was scheduled to give his first performance in Amsterdam on 18 April 1839. The *Avondbode* first announced Lhérie's arrival on 8 April, immediately after Mademoiselle Verneuil's final performance at the Amsterdam French Theatre.⁴⁵⁵ On Saturday 13 April, the French Theatre had planned to open the evening with the *comédie-vaudeville* *La famille de l'apothicaire*, followed by Molière's *Misanthrope* and lastly, a one-act comedy entitled *Le rêve du mari, ou Le manteau*. Before *Le rêve* could begin, the theatre director got up on stage and made a special announcement. Apparently, Lhérie had already arrived in Amsterdam and was impatient to meet his audience. To everyone's delight, the actor improvised an unscheduled performance, a sort of synopsis of the shows to come. The account given by Amsterdam's *Avondbode* summarises Lhérie's talents as a writer, actor, singer, comic, polyglot and cross-dresser:

Yesterday evening, the visitors of the French Theatre were pleasantly surprised with this message by director Baudot before the beginning of the witty *comédie-vaudeville*: *Le manteau ou le rêve d'un mari* [sic]. On stage, he declared that Mr. Lhérie – whose arrival was expected on Thursday, [but] has [come early] and [is] impatient to show himself to the public – would recite a so-called *intermède* of his own invention. This *intermède*, in which Mr Lhérie, in ladies' clothing, invoked the indulgence of the public in four different languages, was accompanied by such comical twists, and gained so much general acclaim that this artist was given the honour of an *encore*.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² *Revue du Théâtre*, 20 January 1838.

⁴⁵³ *Revue du Théâtre*, 6 February 1838.

⁴⁵⁴ *Le Figaro*, 1838-06-19.

⁴⁵⁵ Mademoiselle Verneuil had made her début at the Paris Odéon in 1825.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Gisteren avond werden de bezoekers van den Franschen schouwburg alhier aangenaam verrast met het berigt, door den directeur Baudot vóór den aanvang van de geestige vaudeville *Le Manteau ou le Rêve d'un*

Date	City	Theatre
13 – 15 March 1835	Rouen	Théâtre de Rouen
21 March – 9 April 1835	Caen	Théâtre de Caen
11 – 19 April 1835	Paris	Théâtre des Variétés
29 April 1835	Rouen	Petit Théâtre
20 May – 20 June 1835	Nantes	Grand Theatre
20 July – 6 August 1835	Bordeaux	Théâtre des Variétés
22 November 1835	Paris	Théâtre de la Gaîté
22 April – 2 June 1836	London	French Theatre
6 June 1836 – 3 March 1837	Paris	Théâtre de la Gaîté
May – June 1837	Nîmes, Toulon	(Multiple venues)
24 September – 18 October 1837	Lille	?
23 – 29 October 1837	Antwerp	Royal Theatre in Antwerp
16 – 29 November 1837	Ghent	Theatre in Ghent
4 December 1837 – 2 January 1838	Liège	Theatre in Liège
16, 19 January 1838	Lille	?
February 1838	Liège	?
26 April 1838	Paris	Théâtre des Variétés
June 1838	Nantes	?
8 September 1838	Brussels	Théâtre de la Monnaie
29 January 1839	Ghent	Theatre in Ghent
18 April – 7 May 1839	Amsterdam	French Theatre

Table 16: Victor Lhérie's reconstructed movements from March 1835 to May 1839.

Mari van het tooneel kenbaar gemaakt, dat de heer Lhérie, wiens komst eerst tegen aanstaanden Donderdag verwacht werd, op het oogenblik in deze hoofdstad was aangekomen, en ongeduldig zich aan het publiek te vertoonen, een zoogenaamd intermède van zijne vinding zoude voordragen. Dit intermède, waarbij de heer Lhérie in dames-costuum in vier verschillende talen de toegevendheid des publieks inriep, ging gepaard met zulke koddige wendingen, en verwierf zoo zeer den algemeenen bijval, dat dezen kunstenaar de eer der terugroeping te beurt viel' (*Avondbode*, 16 April 1839).

The *Algemeen Handelsblad* also sang the praise of Lhérie's multiple display of talents, even going as far as to impute Lhérie's presentations medicinal virtues:

At the French Theatre one will see the comedian Lhérie, who on (Thursday) evening made the audience laugh both by his singing and by his striking imitation of distinguished comic personalities and characters; for the hypochondriac we cannot think of a better remedy, than to go see and hear Monsieur Lhérie.⁴⁵⁷

The *Revue du Calvados* made a similar analogy after one of Lhérie's performances of *Le sauveur* at the Theatre in Caen during the winter of 1840:

This winter, our theatre had more than one battle to wage: ice, hail, snow and the rise of the water level have manifested one after the other. This poor theatre, so young, so interesting, was about to succumb to tuberculosis, when the Faculty of Medicine... (of Paris, of course!) was consulted. One of the most venerable, [...] Doctor Lhérie [...] cried out with the faith of the inspired: 'Your theatre is very ill; I will save it! Indeed, a few days later, the playbill read in large letters: The Saviour [*Le sauveur*]. The disease was tenacious; however, thanks to the comic and sometimes spiritual charges of Doctor Lhérie, a feeling of improvement was perceived.'⁴⁵⁸

Aside from this impromptu appearance at the Amsterdam French Theatre, Lhérie gave a total of 15 performances over the course of nine evenings (18 April to 7 May). Lhérie's programme for Amsterdam included the most popular works of the moment and the troupe of the French Theatre prepared accordingly. *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien* and *Le sauveur* had already been staged, while the other four works had never been seen before in Amsterdam. By looking at the structure of the roles in Lhérie's *comédie-vaudeville Folbert et Polydore*, it is possible to speculate on the amount of time it would have taken the French troupe to prepare six *comédie-vaudevilles* by the time Lhérie arrived in Amsterdam.

⁴⁵⁷ 'Op het Franse Toneel zal men den komiek Mr. Lhérie zien, die heden (Donderdag) avond het publiek zoowel door zijnen zang vermaakt als door zijne treffende nabootsing van onderscheiden koddige personaadjen en karakters hartelijk heeft doen lachen; voor den hypochondrist kunnen wij geen beter Middell verzinnen, dan Mr. Lhérie te gaan zien en hooren' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 April 1839).

⁴⁵⁸ 'Notre théâtre a eu cet hiver plus d'une lutte à soutenir : la glace, la grêle, la neige et la crétine sont venues l'assiéger tour-à-tour. Ce pauvre théâtre, si jeune, si intéressant, allait succomber à une phtisie pulmonaire, lorsque la Faculté de médecine... de Paris, bien entendu, fut consultée. L'un des plus vénérables, [...] Le docteur Lhérie [...] s'écria avec la foi de l'inspiré : ah Votre théâtre est bien malade ; je le sauverai ! Effectivement, peu de jours après, on lisait sur l'affiche en grosses lettres: *Le sauveur*. La maladie était tenace; cependant grâce aux charges bouffonnes et quelquefois spirituelles du docteur Lhérie, un mieux sensible fut constaté' (*Revue du Calvados*, year 1, 1840, p. 502).

Role	Number of lines	Number of musical interventions
Polydore (Lhérie)	87	8
Folbert	77	4
Cécile	70	6
Le Comte	33	2
Le Baron Alfred	31	3
Suzanne, la servante	13	-
La Marchande	4	-
Un Domestique	3	-
TOTAL	318	23

Table 17: Breakdown of the roles in the comédie-vaudeville *Folbert et Polydore*.

The three main roles in this one-act *comédie-vaudeville* have over 70 lines of dialogue each. Lhérie's character (Polydore) has 87 lines and eight musical interventions. In Lhérie's contract with the Théâtre des Variétés, the actor was obliged, among other things, to memorise '25 lines per day or be fined 100 francs per day late'.⁴⁵⁹ Considering that the Amsterdam French theatre, effectively a regional French theatre, would have operated under a similar regime, it would have taken at least three days for the troupe to commit the lines of *Folbert* to memory. This is an acceptable speed when considering that, in 1839, the French Theatre put on 182 different works, 93 of which were *comédie-vaudevilles*. The table below summarizes each evening, in bold the performances in which Lhérie took part:

Date	Work 1	Work 2	Work 3
18 April 1839	<i>L'enfant trouvé</i>	<i>L'art de ne pas monter sa garde</i>	<i>Folbert et Polydore</i>
20 April 1838	<i>L'enfant trouvé</i>	<i>Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien</i>	<i>L'art de ne pas monter sa garde</i>
25 April 1838	<i>Henri Hamelin</i>	<i>La jeunesse de Talma</i>	<i>Folbert et Polydore</i>
27 April 1838	<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Roquelaure, ou l'homme le plus laid de France</i>	<i>La macédoine Parisienne</i>
30 April 1839	<i>Une passion</i>	<i>Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien</i>	<i>Le sauveur</i>
2 May 1839	<i>Sans nom</i>	<i>L'art de ne pas monter sa garde</i>	<i>Folbert et Polydore</i>
4 May 1839	<i>La sonnette de nuit</i>	<i>Roquelaure, ou l'homme le plus laid de France</i>	--
7 May 1839	<i>Sans nom</i>	<i>La sonnette de nuit</i>	<i>Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien</i>

Table 18: Programme of the Amsterdam French Theatre (18 April - 7 May 1839).

⁴⁵⁹ Théâtre des Variétés, Archives et Manuscrits (N.A.1 à N.A.488 / MS-NA-220 : mélanges), Paris, BHVP.

Additionally, it would appear Lhérie also performed an *intermède* on 26 April during a benefit performance for Mademoiselle Jaspin and Monsieur Solié. However, as neither the *Algemeen Handelsblad* nor the *Avondbode* gave an account of it, it is possible this *intermède* might not have taken place. The table below describes the different roles Lhérie performed in Amsterdam.

	N° of Acts	Première (Place / date)	Lhérie's Role	Role type (<i>emploi</i>)	N° of perf.
<i>Folbert et Polydore</i>	1	Théâtre des Variétés 7 February 1832	Polydore, Cécile's brother	Comic / musical	3
<i>Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien</i>	1	Théâtre des Variétés 1 August 1833	Stolbach, actor	Comic	3
<i>L'art de ne pas monter sa garde</i>	1	Théâtre des Variétés 10 October 1832	Victor, dramatic artist	4 different roles (one transvestite role)	3
<i>La sonnette de nuit</i>	1	Théâtre de la Gaîté 27 November 1835	David, Clerc	4 different roles (two transvestite roles)	2
<i>Roquelaure, ou l'homme le plus laid de France</i>	4	Théâtre de la Gaîté 20 December 1836	Duc de Roquelaure	Tragicomic role / transvestite scene	2
<i>Le sourd-muet, ou Le sauveur</i>	3	Théâtre des Variétés 12 December 1835	Arthur, nobleman	Pantomime	1
<i>La jeunesse de Talma</i>	1	Théâtre du Vaudeville 13 April 1831	François Talma	Serious	1

Table 19: *Comédie-vaudeville* roles Lhérie performed at the French Theatre in Amsterdam (18 Apr - 7 May 1839).

For the delight of the Amsterdam public, Lhérie opened with *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde*, where he plays four distinct characters: an actor named Victor; an old army supplier; A black nursemaid and a *Savoyard*. In Act I, scene 10, Lhérie bursts out of a closet disguised as a nursemaid to hide his true identity from Symphorien, a jealous suitor (Figure. 22). The scene begins with a dialogue between Symphorien and Henriette whom the former suspects of being unfaithful. He express his jealousy (and Henriette her disdain for jealous men) on an air taken from another *comédie-vaudeville*, *Le philtre champenois*, heard in Amsterdam in October 1838.⁴⁶⁰ *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde* was the work most performed, closely followed by *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien*. The title of the piece also

⁴⁶⁰ The work was performed once during Monsieur and Madame Albert's stay in Amsterdam and, prior to that, only twice in 1831. It is therefore unlikely that the music was well known to the Amsterdam public.



SCÈNE X.

L'ART DE NE PAS MONTER SA GARDE,

VAUDEVILLE EN UN ACTE,

par MM. Barthélemy et Thérie,

REPRÉSENTÉ, POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, A PARIS, SUR LE THÉÂTRE DES VARIÉTÉS.

PERSONNAGES.	ACTEURS.	PERSONNAGES.	ACTEURS.
M. VINCENT, épicier et sergent-major dans la garde nationale. . .	M. CAZOT.	UN COMMISSAIRE DE POLICE.	M. CHARLET.
SYMPHORIEN, premier garçon épicier chez M. Vincent.	M. DUBOURJAL.	HENRIETTE, jeune modiste, cousine d'Anatole.	Mlle JOLIVET.
ANATOLE, commis en nouveautés. . .	M. ASTRUC.	DEUX GARDES MUNICIPAUX.	
VICTOR, artiste dramatique. . . .	M. LHERIE.	UN PORTIER.	
		UN RAMONEUR.	

La scène se passe à Paris, dans la maison de M. Vincent.

Le théâtre représente une mansarde ; à droite, une croisée, une malle ; à gauche, un cabinet, une petite table à ouvrage, sur laquelle on aperçoit du fil, des aiguilles, des fleurs artificielles et une tête à poupée coiffée d'un chapeau de femme. Dans le fond, à côté de la porte d'entrée, une cheminée ornée d'un miroir ; un grand portrait de famille, plusieurs chaises.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.

HENRIETTE, ANATOLE, *entrant.*

HENRIETTE, *assise auprès d'une petite table, occupée à travailler.*

Tiens ! c'est vous, mon cousin... Vous le voyez, je suis bientôt prête... Je viens de terminer le chapeau que M^{me} Vincent m'a donné à arranger.

ANATOLE.

Ouf ! je suis tout essoufflé ! comme le cœur me bat !... ça me fait toujours cet effet-là quand je

suis auprès de vous, et que j'ai monté vos cinq étages.

HENRIETTE.

Eh bien ! m'apportez-vous mon billet ?

ANATOLE.

Le voici : avec ça, vous serez placée au Champ-de-Mars, dans une tribune réservée.

HENRIETTE.

C'est gentil, une revue de la garde nationale... Comme je vais m'amuser !

ANATOLE.

Dimanche prochain vous vous amusez bien

128886 - C Digitized by Google

Figure 22: Lhérie as a nursemaid (on the left) in *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde*.
Source : Google Books.

reflects the general confusion of its theme, as it varies in form from city to city where the words ‘comedian’ and ‘king’ are inverted or announcing two kings from the start. In *La sonnette de nuit*, he played a young prankster who, in order to save his cousin from her undesired wedding night, will distract her apothecary husband by ringing the night bell and appearing as different costumers in need of medicine: a nerve-wrecked pregnant woman, an opera singer with a sore throat and an old crone who rambles on end. This short piece, originally performed for the re-opening of the Gaîté in Paris in 1835, would inspire Donizetti's comic opera *Il campanello di notte*. All three of these *comédies-vaudevilles* make Lhérie the uncontested star of the show, not only because of the pivotal role he plays but because he is given the moralising song addressed to the public at the end.

Another important success in Lhérie's repertoire is his role of Polydore in *Folbert, ou le mari de la cantatrice*, here renamed *Folbert et Polydore* so Lhérie's character would appear in the title role. Although no cross-dressing occurs in *Folbert*, Lhérie's character (Polydore, the brother of the *cantatrice* Cécile) allowed him to play the piano and secure a large singing role, not only as a soloist but also as musical commentator of the action. When Cécile receives a Kashmir from baron Folbert, Lhérie sings ‘precious talisman, which captivates beautiful [women]’⁴⁶¹ causing Céline to immediately set the gift aside. As the baron kisses Céline's hand, Lhérie sings ‘such a beautiful hand, one must have matching spouses’.⁴⁶² He even explains to his sister (and to the audience) why he is constantly signing:

What do you want? It is in [my] blood ... I take after you, my famous sister! First singer of a first lyric theatre ... I am all music, all sharps and all flats ... chromatic ... from head to toe ... once I get into it, I do not know myself anymore ... (He sings.) Do, si, la, ré, mi, fa, re, sol! listen to that motive ... it's infernal! ... and this one. (He sings.) Divine philtre! ... enchanting liquor! O melody melody! ... I will die only of a sunken [musical] scale ... or a musical apoplexy.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ ‘Talisman précieux, qui captive les belles’ (*Folbert et Polydore* - Act I, scene 1).

⁴⁶² ‘Cette main (bis) si jolie ! / Il faut des époux assortis’ (*Folbert et Polydore* - Act I, scene 5).

⁴⁶³ ‘Que veux-tu? c'est dans le sang... je tiens de toi, de toi, ma célèbre sœur! première chanteuse d'un premier théâtre lyrique...Je suis tout musique, tout dièse et tout bémol... chromatique... des pieds à la tête... une fois lancé, je ne me connais plus... (Il chante.) Ut, si, la, ré, mi, fa, ré, sol ! Ecoute-moi ce motif-là... C'est de l'infernal!... Et celui-ci. (Il chante.) Philtre divin !... Liqueur enchanteresse ! O mélodie... Mélodie!... Je ne mourrai que d'une gamme rentrée... ou d'une apoplexie musicale’ (*Folbert et Polydore* - Act I, scene 2).

In scene 6, as in *Napoléon à Berlin*, he sings an allegorical piece where he explains how his sister's marriage to Folbert will land him a profitable position as a *receveur* (tax collector). This reinforces the initial statements made regarding the important musical dimension of Lhérie's acting craft. This is clearly visible in the atypical four-act *comédie-vaudeville* *Roquelaure, ou l'homme le plus laid de France*, where Lhérie plays the misshapen title role. In scene 5, Roquelaure – ‘the ugliest man in Versailles’ – arrives from exile in Spain, singing three different tunes. His ‘happy return’ is sung on an *air connu*, he then explains he was ‘wheeled’ all the way from Madrid on the air *Le curé de Pomponne*⁴⁶⁴ and declares that he will always have a ‘pleasant disposition’ on an *Air de Contredanse*. Act I ends with Roquelaure finding out he must produce someone uglier than himself to the king in order to stay in France. The second act takes place at night, in the gardens of Versailles where a series of mistaken identities take place. In Act III, Lhérie emerges from a cabinet dressed as an old Spanish governess to avoid being recognised in Hélène's chambers, and he later appears as a masked stranger and saves Hélène from Candal's advances. The *comédie-vaudeville* concludes happily with all the mysteries revealed. For Lhérie, the portrayal of this Cyrano archetype (an extremely well-spoken ugly nobleman) must have provided a dramatic dimension that he could not obtain from the other *comédies-vaudevilles*. As Lhérie had been previously unsuccessful in dramatic roles like Hamlet,⁴⁶⁵ *Roquelaure* offered him a tragicomic compromise through extensive monologues, a complex plot involving ten characters, a transvestite scene and numerous musical numbers.

In complete opposition to *Roquelaure*, the comedy *Le sauveur, ou le sourd-muet, ou le jeune colon de l'Isle de France* presents Lhérie with a role where he cannot make use of his linguistic talents, nor sing a single note, nor cross-dress. Arthur is a deaf-mute that can only communicate via pantomime. The plot involves a young lady saved from drowning by a mysterious individual who she wishes to marry. Her entourage cannot conceive such a union and will try to discredit Arthur by exploiting his unclear relationship to another woman, who later turns out to be his mother. The appeal was in Lhérie's comic gesticulations used to express complex ideas such as the concepts of absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy and republic. Finally, of all the works Lhérie put on in Amsterdam, *La jeunesse de Talma* was the only piece he did not create in Paris. However, he co-

⁴⁶⁴ Found in *La Clé du Caveau*, 4th Edition, #745, p. 132.

⁴⁶⁵ *La Semaine*, 15 July 1830.

authored it along with Brunswick and Barthélémy, announcing in the libretto that this 'inexpensive and easy to stage' *comédie-vaudeville* would be 'a source of success for [both directors] and for the actor playing the role of Talma'.⁴⁶⁶ The role is a romanticized historical account of the début of the famous French actor François Talma at the Comédie Française. Although this title role does not have an overwhelming stage presence, nor does it carry the *carnavalesque* humour that one associates with Lhérie's persona, Talma has an impressive musical soliloquy in scene 17 and is an endearing character that is sure to win the audience over. The work's atypical nature no doubt explains why it was only put on once, yet shows once again the broad spectrum of roles Lhérie was able to undertake.

Although the theatre season officially closed on 30 April, the French Theatre gave three additional performances featuring Lhérie on the 2, 4 and 7 May. The article excerpt below tells us of Lhérie's talent both as an actor and as a writer:

Baudot intends to give a few more performances during the month of May. In addition to some of the most meritorious members of the company [...] Monsieur Lhérie will also collaborate. For many, especially those who have seen these excellent comedians in the graceful comedy *Roquelaure*, this will be a pleasant moment. Another comedian from Paris Mr. Harvey has arrived here, and will give a few presentations. The Eccentric dwarfish form of this actor, for which various pieces, also some written by Mr. Lhérie, certainly do not miss the interest of the laughing crowd.⁴⁶⁷

His last appearance on stage was a benefit performance in his honour where he displayed 'several of his favourite pieces, and all the riches of his ludicrous art'.⁴⁶⁸ The announced *Soirée d'adieu* gave the audience a final taste of Lhérie's multi-talented nature.

⁴⁶⁶ *La Jeunesse de Talma*, comédie-vaudeville en 1 acte, par MM. Barthélemy, Brunswick et Lhérie. [Paris, Vaudeville, 13 avril 1831.] (Paris) : J. Bréauté, 1833, 32 p.

⁴⁶⁷ 'Baudot voornemens gedurende de maand Mei nog eenige voorstellingen te geven. Behalve eenige der verdienstelijkste leden van het gezelschap [...] zal ook M. Lhérie daartoe medewerken. Voor velen, inzonderheid voor diegenen, welke dezen voortreffelijken komiek in het bevallige blijspel *Roquelaure* gezien hebben, zal dit een aangename tijding zijn. Nog een ander komiek van Parijse meneer Harvey is alhier gearriveerd, en zal eenige voorstelling geven. De Zonderlinge dwergachtige gedaante van deze acteur, voor welke verscheiden stukken, ook eenige door M. Lhérie, geschreven zijn, zaal voorzeker niet missen de belangstelling der lachzieke menigte gaande te maken' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 April 1839).

⁴⁶⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 07 May 1839.

Work	Genre	N° of Acts	Role
<i>La sonnette de nuit</i>	<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	1	Multiple characters (2 travesty roles)
<i>Roméo & Juliette ou les acteurs Anglais</i>	<i>Parodie</i>	1	Imitation of English actors
<i>Le roi de Prusse et le comédien</i>	<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	1	Stolbach, an actor
<i>Paganini à Amsterdam</i>	<i>Parodie</i>	1	Imitation of Paganini
<i>Sans nom</i>	<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	1	?
Tombola	<i>Jeu</i>	1	Game host

Table 20: Lhérie's farewell performance in Amsterdam.

Le roi de Prusse and *La sonnette de nuit* are both typical examples of Lhérie's collection of *comédies-vaudevilles*. *Sans nom* is an 1837 *comédie-vaudeville* from the repertoire of the Gymnase Dramatique, a theatre opened in Paris in 1820 as a theatre to train graduates of the Paris Conservatoire. The parody on the English actors is no doubt an adaptation from *L'école de natation*, one of the early works of Lhérie's career. The 20-years-old Lhérie had portrayed a waiter aspiring to become an actor who performed verses from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in English before a French-speaking audience. Lhérie's rendition of Paganini (which already had international renown) was rearranged here to fit the circumstances. Lastly, the *Tombola*, a sort of raffle where everyone in the audience has a ticket and can participate. Though there don't seem to be any surviving reports describing the tombola, an idea of its organization can be obtained by looking at the one he held in Nantes in 1835 or in Ghent on 29 November 1837. Below is the account of the tombola by the *Gazette des Théâtres*.⁴⁶⁹

THE COMIC TOMBOLA

Similar to the one Mr. LHÉRIE gave to his benefit in Paris:

Each person will receive when entering and regardless of his seat, a number that will entitle him or her to the draw that will take place on stage. There are two types of lots: happy lots and unhappy lots.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ *Gazette des Théâtres*, 21 June 1835.

⁴⁷⁰ 'LA TOMBOLA COMIQUE. Semblable à celle que Mr. LHÉRIE a donnée à son Bénéfice à Paris. Chaque personne recevra en entrant et quel que soit sa place, un numéro qui lui donnera droit au tirage qui se fera sur le Théâtre. Les Lots sont de deux espèces. Lots heureux et lots malheureux'.

HAPPY LOTS

1. A beautiful theatre spyglass.
2. A beautiful edition of the works of Molière.
3. A Lady's dressing case.
4. A pack of 100 cigars from Havana.⁴⁷¹

UNHAPPY LOTS

1. An old Canary and a *flageolet* to teach it to sing should it be talented.
2. A white cotton cap for men and women.
3. A mousetrap with an old piece of bacon to catch mice which do not let themselves be caught.
4. A board game, a pound of gingerbread and a pack of used toothpicks.⁴⁷²

The Lots will be drawn in this order: a Happy Lot, then an unhappy Lot and so on... They will be exhibited in the foyer of the theatre during the day.⁴⁷³

By 1839, Lhérie had played in over 20 different works, many of which he co-authored⁴⁷⁴ and created over half of these roles. Aside from *La sonnette de nuit* (1835) and *Roquelaure* (1836) the repertoire Lhérie brought to Amsterdam dates mostly from the early 1830s. His three most performed works (*Folbert et Polydore*, *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde* and *Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien*) are the trademark pieces that he had been putting on in the provincial theatres since the fire at the Gaîté.

Aside from the article on Lhérie's surprise début, the Dutch press says little about the performances themselves. The *Groninger Courant* wrote, in anticipation of the artist's

⁴⁷¹ 'LOTS HEUREUX

1.° Une belle Lorgnette de spectacle.
2.° Une belle Edition des œuvres de Molière.
3.° Un Nécessaire de Dame.
4.° Un paquet de 100 cigares de la Havanne'.

⁴⁷² 'LOTS MALHEUREUX

1.° Un vieux Canari en cage avec un flageolet pour lui apprendre à chanter s'il a des dispositions.
2.° Un bonnet de coton blanc pour homme et pour femme.
3.° Une Souricière avec un vieux morceau de lard pour attraper les souris qui ne se laissent pas prendre.
4.° Un jeu d'oie, une livre de pain d'Epice et un paquet de cure-dents d'occasion'.

⁴⁷³ 'Les Lots seront tirés dans cet ordre : un Lot Heureux, puis un Lot Malheureux et ainsi de suite. Ils seront exposés au Foyer du théâtre pendant la journée. *Théâtre de Gand, comptes rendus et programmes*, 1837-1838'.

⁴⁷⁴ The French National Library (BNF) has compiled a non-exhaustive list of Lhérie's works. https://data.bnf.fr/fr/atelier/14656099/victor_lherie/ (consulted on 3 March 2019).

performance, that Lhérie had 'recently given great pleasure to a large audience in Amsterdam';⁴⁷⁵ thus positive review was perhaps more aimed at generating enthusiasm and selling future tickets rather than paying homage to Lhérie. But the lack of more detailed accounts (what kind of pleasure? how large was the audience?) make it difficult to properly evaluate his time at the Amsterdam French Theatre.

The last event of the season at the French Theatre was held on 8 May: a farewell concert by the virtuoso violinist Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1812-1865). On 9 May, an advertisement was published in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* announcing the intent of the director of the provincial French Theatres of the Netherlands, Monsieur Alexandre, to take Lhérie to tour the cities of Groningen, Leeuwarden, Zwolle Deventer, Arnhem, Dordrecht, Breda and Maastricht, from 11 May to 31 May 1839.⁴⁷⁶



Figure 23: Advertisement declaring Alexandre's intentions to take Lhérie on tour (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 May 1839).

This is perhaps a strong indicator that Lhérie's performance had met with enough approval for Monsieur Alexandre to see a profit in an inland tour through the Low Countries. By using the data in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, I have attempted to reconstruct Lhérie's tour of the provinces (figure 24). Though it is not certain he effectively visited all of the cities

⁴⁷⁵ 'En nu onslag te Amsterdam weel genoeg aan een talrijk publiek verschaft heeft' (*Groninger Courant*, 07 May 1839).

⁴⁷⁶ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 09 May 1839.

mentioned by Monsieur Alexandre's advertisement, I have managed to find periodical references that place Lhérie in several of the mentioned venues (the order given by the *Algemeen Handelsblad* also suggests a logical sequence that coincides with geographical distances and the dates mentioned below):

Date	City	Venue
13 May 1839 ⁴⁷⁷	Leeuwarden	Leeuwarden French Theatre
15 May 1839 ⁴⁷⁸	Groningen	Groningen French Theatre
18 May 1839 ⁴⁷⁹	Groningen	Groningen French Theatre
21 May 1839 ⁴⁸⁰	Leeuwarden	Leeuwarden French Theatre
23 May 1839 ⁴⁸¹	Zwolle	Zwolle French Theatre
25 May 1839 ⁴⁸²	Arnhem	Arnhem French Theatre

Table 21: Dutch cities where Victor Lhérie's presence was attested.

Lhérie's passage through Groningen had been announced for quite some time,⁴⁸³ the idea was to have his performances coincide with the city's annual *Kermis*, inaugurated on 15 May and lasting about two weeks. Lhérie performed *Le roi de Prusse et le Comédien* and *La sonnette de nuit* on the inaugural day. The closing evening of the Groningen's French Theatre was 18 May, for which Lhérie put on *Le bouffon de Louis XIV*, *La chanteuse universelle* – where he sang in Italian, German and English dressed as a woman – and a tombola as he had done in Amsterdam. In Leeuwarden, he played *Falbert* [sic] *ou Le mari de la cantatrice* and *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde* on 13 May and *Les deux Rois de Prusse* and *La sonnette de nuit*, identical to the evening given in Groningen on 15 May. In Zwolle and Arnhem, the exact same programme was given: *Les deux Rois de Prusse et le comédien* and *L'art de ne pas monter sa garde*, with Scribe's *Le confident*⁴⁸⁴ as the opening number.

There is no digital trace of Lhérie's alleged performance in Deventer, which sits midway between Zwolle and Arnhem. Deventer is roughly 32 km away from Zwollen by

⁴⁷⁷ *Leeuwarder Courant*, 10 May 1839.

⁴⁷⁸ *Groningen Courant*, 14 May 1839.

⁴⁷⁹ *Groningen Courant*, 17 May 1839.

⁴⁸⁰ *Leeuwarder Courant*, 17 May 1839.

⁴⁸¹ *Overijsselsche Courant*, 21 May 1839.

⁴⁸² *Arnhemsche Courant*, 25 May 1839.

⁴⁸³ *Groninger Courant*, 07 May 1839.

⁴⁸⁴ In *Le confident*, Mademoiselle Marcilly is credited in both playbills as having held the role of Mademoiselle Céléstine. This hint opens to speculate which other artists Lhérie would have been travelling with.

stagecoach. If the average distance travelled by a stagecoach was 40-60 km per day (depending of climate and terrain), and the average speed between 3-5 km/h, then the trip to Deventer would have taken around four hours.⁴⁸⁵ It is conceivable that a performance might have taken place in Deventer on 24 May, and that Alexandre's troupe travelled the next day (25 May) – about 8-13 hours– to perform in Arnhem that evening. This left 6 days in the projected time frame to travel 250 km (over 50 hours by stagecoach) and appear on the stages of Dordrecht, Breda and Maastricht, at the southernmost tip of the Netherlands.

By looking at the repertoire Lhérie performed in Amsterdam and from the partial data available from his subsequently tour of the Low Countries, we see first and foremost Lhérie's established predilection for multifaceted and transvestite roles. Despite the positive reception of his Dutch tour, Victor Lhérie apparently never returned to Amsterdam or any Dutch city after May 1839, but he revisited many of the other cities where his stay had been a success. Distance is a factor that might explain both the one-shot tour of the Netherlands and the multiple visits to Belgium. Lhérie had been known to the Belgian public since late 1837 when he appeared on the stages of Antwerp (23-29 October), Ghent (16-29 November), Liège (4-25 December and 15 January 1838) and Brussels in early 1838. Lhérie returned to Brussels in late 1839,⁴⁸⁶ 1842,⁴⁸⁷ and 1843.⁴⁸⁸ He also returned to Antwerp and Liège in 1843. The positive reviews he received in Brussels outweigh the negative ones, and no doubt contributed to his repeated trips to Brussels; his son, the French tenor and later baritone Paul Lhérie, was born there in October 1844. His last major voyage seems to have been to London in February 1844 – he had already been there in 1836 – before definitively returning to Paris in June 1844 ‘due to serious indisposition’⁴⁸⁹ and retiring from the stage after a ‘nervous breakdown’ during a performance of *Guillaume Tell* at the Paris Opéra. It would appear Lhérie was so overwhelmed by Duprez's rendition that he got up ‘with feverish and delirious enthusiasm [and] gave a speech on Duprez's merits’⁴⁹⁰ declaring the tenor ‘would be better on the throne than the king of France’

⁴⁸⁵ See ‘stagecoach’. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. Encyclopedia .com. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/reference/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/stagecoach> (consulted on May 17, 2019).

⁴⁸⁶ *Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique pour 1939*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁷ *Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique pour 1842*, Vol. 2.

⁴⁸⁸ *Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique pour 1843*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁹ *La France Théâtrale*, 25 February 1844.

⁴⁹⁰ *Le Ménestrel*, 3 November 1844.



Figure 24: A reconstruction of Lhérie's travels throughout the Netherlands.
Blank map provided by www.freeworldmaps.net

before fainting.⁴⁹¹ His name was not mentioned again until after his death from insanity in a mental institution, on 28 March 1845. Although his last performances failed to receive the glowing reviews of the former glory days, he left the stage a wealthy patron who pledged to give 150 francs annually to the Association of Dramatic Artists and 3,000 francs upon his death.⁴⁹² Yet Lhérie did not leave behind him the legacy of Talma and his name was rarely spoken after his death. In his obituary, he was remembered for his 'eccentricities, where he was very gay. Above all, he had a particular talent for imitating, and gave marvellous renditions of great artists'⁴⁹³ and as a writer of *comédie-vaudevilles*,⁴⁹⁴ works that have guaranteed his name a place in the history of music and theatre.

Date	City	Theatre
August 1839	Dieppe	?
11 August – 8 September 1839	Brussels	Grand-Théâtre et Théâtre du Parc
September 1839	Calais	?
26 September – 3 October 1839	Amiens	?
31 October 1839	Paris	Théâtre de la Gaîté
21 November 1839	Paris	Théâtre du Palais-Royal
27 June – 18 July 1841	Paris	Théâtre du Vaudeville
7 – 22 October 1842	Brussels	Théâtre du Parc
3 – 7 February 1843	Antwerp	Théâtre Royal d'Anvers
19 March – 9 April 1843	Liège	Théâtre de Liège
7 May 1843	Paris	Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin
27 July – 10 August 1843	Nevers	?
13 September 1843	Lyon	Théâtre des Célestins
7 October 1843	Brussels	Théâtre de la Monnaie
22, 28 October 1843	Brussels	Théâtre du Parc
25 February 1844	London	?
5 May 1844	Lyon	?
June 1844 – 28 Mars 1845	Paris	?

Table 22: Victor Lhérie's movements after his performances in Amsterdam (1839-1845).

⁴⁹¹ *Le Figaro*, 1 March 1857.

⁴⁹² *La France Théâtrale*, 2 May 1844.

⁴⁹³ *Le Journal des Théâtres*, 01 April 1845.

⁴⁹⁴ *Le Journal des Théâtres*, 03 April 1845.

The international celebrities presented in this chapter emanated from half a dozen different Parisian institutions, thereby bringing great diversity to the Amsterdam French Theatre. Whether a tenor-soprano couple from the Opéra-Comique, a dramatic actress of the Comédie Française or an artist from the Théâtre du Vaudeville or Théâtre des Variétés, these performers brought sensation (and scandal at times), keeping the auditorium of the Amsterdam French Theatre full and its audience in constant demand of entertainment. Actors from the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, the Théâtre des Nouveautés, the Gymnase-Dramatique and the Theatre du Palais-Royal, like Victor Lhérie, whose charisma, uniqueness, nerve and talent gained not only the acclaim of *Amsterdammers*, but often led them to tour other cities of the Netherlands.

The interactions of the different agents within the artistic network at the French Theatre are represented in the following figure:

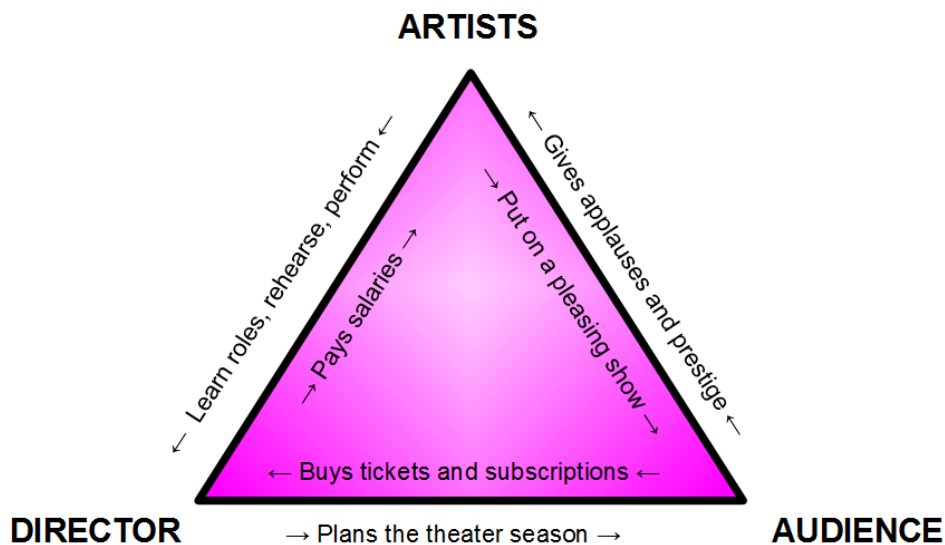


Figure 25: 'Director – Artists – Audience' interactions triangle

The proper functioning of the French Theatre depended largely on the give-and-take between these three agents. A director chose works based on the talents of his artists and the demands of his audience. On the one hand, one-act pieces were cheap and less time consuming to mount but, after the novelty wore off, they seldom held the attention of the audience for long. As we have seen in Chapter 4, 44% of the staged works in Amsterdam only received one or two performances, 42% were shown between three and nine times

and 14% of the works received ten or more performances. In this last category, we find the larger scale works that require greater amounts of time, funds and human resources to be staged. Artists in turn could influence the director on his choice of repertoire by proposing, imposing or rejecting certain pieces. The Director might consent if he thought it would please the audience, their applause and commitment to the subscription in turn encouraged the director to rehire the artists for the next season. The audience had the power criticize both artists and directors, but if they became too demanding, artists and directors abandoned the theatre, leaving the audience without a show.

As long as each vertex of the triangle is able to draw enough satisfaction from the network, then the French theatre enterprise remains in activity. If at any point the director, the audience or the artists were left dissatisfied and withdrew from the system, then the network collapsed and Amsterdam was left without a functioning French playhouse, as was the case with the German Theatre for many years. In conclusion, the success of a theatre largely depended on the degree of satisfaction felt by the agents in each of the vertices in this model.

Chapter 5 *'Qu'est-ce qu'on joue ?'* - The Question of French Repertoire in Amsterdam

Tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux.

- Voltaire

5.1 Amsterdam: theatrical and musical diversity

In the previous chapters, Amsterdam was presented as a city rich in its theatrical topography. Brick and mortar venues were regularly occupied by troupes that played the better part of the season while more occasional establishments pitched their tents on the various squares of the city at such key moments of the year as the annual *Kermis*. Theatres would rent out their halls on the days they did not perform or during the summer months to concert performers (*concert gevers*) and peripatetic troupes from other cities. It was uncommon for *Amsterdammers* to be left too long without theatrical entertainment. In this chapter, I will be discussing the type of repertoire performed in the different theatres of Amsterdam. Using performance data, I will rank works by frequency of performance and explore the historical and circumstantial elements behind the popularity of certain works and genres over others. I will also present examples of translation and transformation of French works and the adaptation of the French style to serve political interests and entertain the local audience.

Initially, the Municipal Theatre (Stadsschouwburg) was the only dramatic establishment allowed to operate in Amsterdam. Its repertoire consisted mostly of plays and tragedies by Dutch authors. When Napoleon resented this privilege, an important opportunity arose for entrepreneurs to open playhouses inside the city. The French and German *Collèges dramatiques* were allowed to become proper theatres. The French Theatre performed all sorts of French repertoire (except for *ballet-pantomime*, due to the lack of a ballet corps) alongside translated Italian and German operas. The German Theatre primarily staged German operas, but Italian and French works translated into German were commonplace. The managers of the Municipal Theatre soon realised that, in order to compete with the new playhouses in Amsterdam, they would need to broaden their repertoire to include foreign plays, *opéra*, *opéra-comique* and *comédie-vaudeville*.

translated into Dutch. A ballet corps was assembled in order to put on *ballet-pantomime*, which helped the Municipal Theatre retain a bit of its former exclusivity. Unlike Paris, theatres in Amsterdam were not bound by a licensing system and were therefore free to stage any genre they desired. The resulting broad spectrum of the repertoire left Amsterdam theatregoers spoilt for choice, a choice that was influenced by factors regarding the social *milieu* of the venue, the nature of the advertised spectacle and the language of the production.

The licensing system in Paris was directly responsible for the flourishing of so many different genres throughout the nineteenth century, since creating a 'new' genre was a means of obtaining a theatre licence, even though, as Mark Everist points out, 'there could never be enough genres to support the growth in the number of new opera houses while maintaining the balance of generic power that the 1806–7 legislation had guaranteed'.⁴⁹⁵ Throughout the 1830s, over two dozen different genres of French works were advertised in Amsterdam at one time or another, primarily in daily newspapers such as the *Avondbode* and the *Algemeen Handelsblad*. For practical purposes, I have divided these works into five generic categories: *opéra*, *opéra-comique*, *comédie-vaudeville*, *comédie* and *drame*.

Opéra traditionally refers to musical stage works where the text is sung from beginning to end, without resorting to spoken dialogue. This repertoire emanates primarily from the Paris Opéra, the *Académie royale de Musique*. The most popular genre in this category is the *grand opéra historique*, closely following the trends set by Paris. In Amsterdam, the most staged French *opéra* of the 1830s was Auber's *La muette de Portici* with 87 performances given in several theatres and performed in French, Dutch and German; followed by Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* (62 performances) and Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville*, given 48 times at the French Theatre (see table 23). Other genres in this category include but not limited to: *opéra seria*, *opéra buffa/bouffon*, *opéra héroïque*, *opéra sacré* and *opéra traduction* in the case of foreign operas translated into French.

Opéra-comique describes compositions where sung and spoken text are set to an original music score. This extends to include certain comedy genres like the *comédie mêlée d'ariettes*, where the music is new. A great number of different French *opéras-comiques*

⁴⁹⁵ Mark Everist, 'The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806–1864', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (Fall 2014), p. 701.

were produced in Amsterdam in the 1830s, the most popular being Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*, performed 72 times not only at the French Theatre, but also given at the Municipal Theatre as *Die witte Burgvrouw* and the German Theatre as *Die weisse Dame*. In second and third place of *La dame blanche*, we find Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (52 performances) and *Le concert à la cour* (45 performances).

Comédie-vaudeville alternates singing with spoken dialogue on a canvas of borrowed music, either from popular *opéras* and *opéras-comiques*, or from compendiums of songs, such as the *Clé du Caveau*. If *opéra* and *opéra-comique* received the greatest number of performances per work, *comédies-vaudevilles* were staged in much greater numbers. This is because most *comédie-vaudevilles* were one-act in length and had relatively low staging costs. *Comédie-vaudeville* could be packaged as *vaudeville*, *comédie mêlée de vaudevilles*, *comédie mêlée de chants*, *comédie mêlée d'ariettes*, *comédie mêlée de couplets*, etc. The subject matter was not always humorous, as a correspondent in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* once noted:

Vaudeville, this name – originally given only to small, comical pieces – sounds strange for such a serious subject; but it is known that all such works, which do not come from the Théâtre Français in Paris, are now labelled with the name of *vaudeville* or *comédie mêlée de chant*, even if the subject were as black as that of the darkest drama.⁴⁹⁶

Comédie includes any spoken dramatic work involving light, sometimes burlesque subjects and reflecting everyday situations rather than mythological or historical themes. When history is treated in *comédie*, it is usually as a setting for a farce, focusing less on kings and ministers and more on their officers and servants, as is the case in Charles Collé's *La partie de chasse d'Henri IV*. Music is normally reduced to the introduction, transition and conclusion or, in the case of the *mélodrame*, as a backdrop for the spoken dialogue, in prose or in verse.

Drame falls under the category of spoken theatre with a more serious subject matter than *comédie*, such as tragedy. The literary works in Dutch (from Joost van den

⁴⁹⁶ 'Vaudeville, deze naam, welke oorspronkelijk slechts aan kleine, grappige stukjes gegeven werd, klinkt vreemd voor een zoo ernstig onderwerp; maar men weet dat alle zoodanige stukken welke niet van het Théâtre Français te Parijs afkomstig zijn, thans met den naam van vaudeville of *comédie mêlée de chant* bestempeld worden, al ware het onderwerp ook zoo zwart als dat van het somberste treurspel' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 December 1838).

Vondel to Jacob van Lennep), French (Molière, Voltaire, Racine, Corneille but also Victor Hugo) German (August von Kotzebue, Friedrich von Schiller) and English (William Shakespeare) fall into this category. In addition to *drame*, there are a great number of patriotic, allegorical or historical compositions, such as the *stances héroïques*, *esquisse militaire* and the *fait historique en prose*. During the Belgian revolt, important events like the self-annihilation of Lieutenant Jan van Speijk were taken to the stage to muster patriotism and sentiments of national pride from the audience.⁴⁹⁷

#	Original Title	Dutch Title	German Title	Genre	Total
1	<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>Sprakelooze Meisje van Portici</i>	<i>Die Stumme von Portici</i>	<i>opéra</i>	87
2	<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die witte Burgvrouw</i>	<i>Die weisse Dame</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	72
3	<i>Robert le Diable</i>	--	--	<i>opéra</i>	62
4	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	--	<i>opéra-comique</i>	52
5	<i>Le barbier de Séville</i>	<i>De Barbier van Seville</i>	<i>Der Barbier von Sevilla</i>	<i>opéra</i>	48
6	<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	--	<i>opéra-comique</i>	45
7	<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	37
8	<i>Monsieur Jovial ou l'Huissier-Chansonnier</i>	<i>De Heer Lustig of de Vrolijke Deurwaarder</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	35
9	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara</i>	--	<i>opéra-comédie</i>	20
10	<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Zij is Krankzinnig</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	22
11	<i>Arthur ou seize ans après</i>	<i>Arthur of Zestien Jaren Later</i>	--	<i>comédie vaudeville</i>	25
12	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	--	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	<i>opéra-comique</i>	26
13	<i>Les premières amours, ou les souvenirs d'enfance</i>	<i>De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindsch...</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	21
14	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	<i>Wilhelm Tell</i>	--	<i>opéra</i>	28
15	<i>Le chaudronnier de St Flour</i>	<i>De Ketellapper van St Flour</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	28
16	<i>Frosine, ou La dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine of de laatst aangekomene</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	27
17	<i>Angéline ou la Champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina, of het geldersch Landmeisje</i>	--	<i>comédie-vaudeville</i>	26
18	<i>Le chalet</i>	--	--	<i>opéra-comique</i>	26
19	<i>Joseph</i>	--	<i>Joseph</i>	<i>opéra</i>	25
20	<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>	--	--	<i>opéra -comique</i>	25

Table 23: Top 20 most performed French works in Amsterdam (1830-1839)

⁴⁹⁷ see Chapter 5.6

5.2 Politics in *grand opéra*: Auber's *La muette de Portici*

La muette de Portici, an *grand opéra* based on the 1647 uprising of the fisherman Masaniello against the Spanish occupation of Naples, enjoyed great popularity in Amsterdam since its premières at the Municipal and French Theatres (respectively on 2 and 3 February 1829). Between January and April 1830, Auber's *grand opéra* was given eight times across three different theatres: sung four times at the French Theatre in its original language and four times in Dutch (twice at the Municipal Theatre and twice at the Weesperpoort Theatre). The first performance of the year took place on 3 January 1830 at the Weesperpoort theatre 'entirely redone with new scenery, such as Mount Vesuvius, the Great Marketplace at Naples, etc. etc.'⁴⁹⁸ W.G. Weddelooper, director of the Weesperpoort Theatre, understood the importance of proper stage scenery. His Dutch-language theatre catered to middle-to-low class audiences, many of whom could not afford to physically travel to see the actual Vesuvius in Italy and thus relied on the theatre for such exotic experiences.⁴⁹⁹ For that particular audience, the visual experience largely superseded auditory expectations. The most beautiful stage scenery for *La muette* in Amsterdam were seemingly those created for the Municipal Theatre, which 'yielded a lot of beauty and enriched the opera, which, [when] performed on secondary stages, [left] everything to be desired in this regard'.⁵⁰⁰ The contemporary set designs at the French Theatre tended to be generic *passe-partout* backdrops that lacked specificity: the effect of the eruption of Vesuvius consisted in removing a canvas of the dormant volcano to reveal a fiery painted mountain underneath: 'He who wants to see Vesuvius explode does not go to the French [Theatre], where all he does is take his nightcap off'.⁵⁰¹ Despite this lack of development of the stage scenery, the singing quality of the French troupe was, 'with a few exceptions, quite exquisite, and superior to what it has been in a long time'.⁵⁰² This contrast

⁴⁹⁸ 'Dit stuk is geheel op nieuw gedecorred, als: De Berg Vesuvius, de Groote Markt te Napels, enz. enz.' (*Amsterdamsche Courant*: 16 January 1830).

⁴⁹⁹ Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, p. 112-140.

⁵⁰⁰ 'De decoratien leveren veel schoon op en verrijken het zangspel, dat op secondaire tooneelen opgevoerd, dienaangaande alles te wenschen overlaat' (*De Arche Noachs* Vol. 3, 1829, p. 287).

⁵⁰¹ 'Die nu den Vesuvius wil zien braken, gaat niet au Français, waar hij slechts even zijne slaapmuts afneemt' (*Ibidem*).

⁵⁰² 'op een paar uitzonderingen na, veel voortreffelijker dan langen tijd herwaats' (*Leydse Courant*, 2 February 1829).

illustrates the different priorities that existed from one theatre to the next, where the grandeur of stage scenery was sometimes more important than the quality of the music.

The work probably would have featured on the playbills the following autumn had the Belgian Revolt not broken out during a performance of *La muette* in Brussels on 25 August. The outburst '*Aux armes!*' given by Jean-François Lafeuillade as Masaniello during the third act was echoed by the audience with cries of '*vive la liberté*' and '*mort aux hollandais*'. Masaniello's passionate exclamations – having survived the scrutiny of the Paris censor and declared harmless – were now considered dangerous and the work disappeared from Dutch stages across the Netherlands. *La muette* was given for the last time at the Amsterdam French Theatre on 24 April 1830. The next performance would not take place before 13 October 1831, while the Municipal and German theatres would have to wait until 11 January and 18 February 1837 respectively. In his article on the changes in meaning that occurred during the cultural transfer of *La muette de Portici*, the Dutch historian Jan Hein Furnée underlines the fact that the meaning of *La muette* lies not in the opera itself, but rather with the members of the audience who, according to their social status, recognized and attributed positive or negative meanings to the piece.⁵⁰³ This explains why *La muette* was able to return to the French Theatre after 'only' eighteen months of prohibition, given the audience of that theatre was considerably less proletarian than that of the German Theatre where, moreover, the linguistic proximities between German and Dutch facilitated the comprehension of the text.⁵⁰⁴ Between 1831 and 1836, *La muette* was performed exclusively at the Amsterdam French, three to five times per year. When the ban on other theatres was lifted in 1837, the number of performances rose to 31 (nineteen at the Municipal Theatre, eight at the German Theatre and four at the French Theatre). In less than three weeks, one could have attended a performance in each of the three main theatres of Amsterdam which – given the quality of the singing, beauty of the scenery and particular expectations of their respective audience – proved to be a unique experience in each case. *La muette* was the most performed work in the 1830s, with 84 recorded performances in Amsterdam, a number which would have been considerably higher had the authorities of the Northern Netherlands not forbidden its staging.

⁵⁰³ Jan Hein Furnée, 'Rondom de vulkaan. *La muette de Portici* tussen Parijse creatie en Noord-Nederlandse receptie', *De Moderne Tijd* 1 (2017), p. 103.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 102-103.

5.3 Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* and *Les Huguenots*

Although the show season at the Amsterdam French Theatre was scheduled to begin on 30 August 1834, it got an early start with the arrival of Jean-Pierre Bernard, known as Bernard-Léon Ainé, who performed there from 16 to 23 August. In the final week before the official opening, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* announced the French Theatre would close in order to rehearse their new opera: Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*.⁵⁰⁵ The première of *Robert* took place on 13 September 1834, a few months after The Hague's première. All the while, the 100th performance of *Robert* had taken place at the Paris Opéra.⁵⁰⁶ In Amsterdam, *Robert* was performed every year until the end of the decade (as shown in the table below), even in difficult times when the French Theatre was lacking opera singers in its troupe:⁵⁰⁷

1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	TOTAL
19	18	9	9	3	4	62

Table 24: Number of performances per annum of *Robert le Diable* in Amsterdam (1834-1839).

As a result, *Robert* ranked third most performed work of the decade, exclusively performed at the Amsterdam French Theatre. On September 15, Baptiste Loisset's Cirque Royal offered a *Grand Spectacle* with marches, fights, horse parades (*carousels*), appearance of the nuns and devils. The costumes 'based on drawings from the *grand opéra* [*Robert le Diable*] from Paris'. The next day, a review was published of the première:

The first performance of [*Robert le Diable*] this evening was, on the whole, very successful, both in view of the limited resources [of the theatre, and] because of the extensiveness and difficulty of execution [for the singers].⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 August 1834.

⁵⁰⁶ 20 April 1834. Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940* [...], Third Edition, Revised and Corrected (London: John Calder, 1978) p. 736.

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter 3.5

⁵⁰⁸ 'De eerste uitvoering daarvan op heden avond is, over het geheel, zeer gelukkig te noemen, en zulks zoowel uit aanmerking van de beperkte Middelen, waarover het Fransche Tooneel hier ter stede beschikken kan, als wegens de uitgebreidheid en moeilijkheid van uitvoering, welke zich in dit kunstwerk voor de zangers opdoet' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 September 1834).

The comments on the 'limited resources' probably allude to the constricted dimensions of the French Theatre. Nevertheless, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* praised the lead singers for their individual singing, all of whom 'performed their task excellently'.⁵⁰⁹ On 20 September, the piano vocal score became available for purchase at the Brothers Diederichs, editors of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*. The public greeted this work with great interest, and even after the twelfth performance, the theatre was still more than half full.⁵¹⁰ Despite the limited means of the French playhouse, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* pointed out that the director Alex Vautrin had done everything 'to add as much lustre to the performances' as possible.⁵¹¹ Vautrin commissioned elaborate scenery from Paris depicting the cloister of the nuns (Act III) and the nave of the Palermo cathedral (Act V).⁵¹² Vautrin, like Weddelooper with *La muette*, understood the role elaborate theatrical scenery played in securing the praise of the audience.

The reception of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, was very different from that of *Robert*. On 5 March 1836, The *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported on the eleven first performances of *Les Huguenots* in Paris (premiered on 29 February 1836) which had netted over one hundred thousand francs, a sum that surpassed the first eleven performances of *Robert le Diable*.⁵¹³ On 7 May, a production of *Les Huguenots* was announced in the 1836-1837 season of the French theatre at The Hague.⁵¹⁴ Evidence of the opera's influence began to appear in Amsterdam as early as October, with the libretto of *Les Huguenots* printed and sold by Stemvers⁵¹⁵ while the Publisher D. Guido released a score entitled 'loose pieces and a quadrille from *Les Huguenots*'.⁵¹⁶ In 1837, theatregoers could discover excerpts performed in concerts. Madame Oury performed a *Grande Fantaisie* for the Piano on Luther's chorale in *Les Huguenots* in Rotterdam (18 December 1836 and 17 January 1837) and Breda (13 February 1837). In March, Guido began selling a 'Galop lire de Pair de bal' from *Les Huguenots* arranged for the piano by J. B- Tolbecque.⁵¹⁷ On 29 July, *Les Huguenots*

⁵⁰⁹ 'voortreffelijk van hunne taak gekweten' *Ibidem*.

⁵¹⁰ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1834.

⁵¹¹ 'zoo veel luister bij te zetten' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 November 1834).

⁵¹² *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 September 1834.

⁵¹³ 'De elf eerste vertooningen der Huguenots hebben aan de Opera te Parijs ongeveer honderd duizend francs opgebracht; eene recette, die der elf eerste vertooning van *Robert le diable* overtreft' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 April 1834).

⁵¹⁴ *Journal de la Haye*, 7 May 1836

⁵¹⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 October 1836.

⁵¹⁶ *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 10 October 1836.

⁵¹⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 March 1837.

was in rehearsal (*à l'étude*) at The Hague's French theatre. By 9 October, the complete score was being printed and sold in Amsterdam⁵¹⁸ while the *Journal de la Haye* made the announcement of an imminent première in The Hague:

The rehearsals of *Les Huguenots* are almost over and soon this magnificent work, staged with all the care possible, will be offered to the lively curiosity of our music lovers. Duvernoy will thus have the glory of outracing Brussels and a large number of French cities in the performance of this opera.⁵¹⁹

While The Hague première of *Les Huguenots* took place on 11 November 1837, the Amsterdam première would not take place for another six years (18 January 1844).⁵²⁰ Considering how important it was for directors of the Amsterdam French Theatre to constantly stage new works, this exceptional delay merits an explanation. With its story set during the Wars of Religion fought in France between Catholics and Protestants, *Les Huguenots* depicted events that led up to the massacre of Protestants on the night of the Saint Barthélémy (24 August 1572). While the diplomatic atmosphere at The Hague leaned more towards Catholicism, the predominantly Protestant Amsterdam would have regarded *Les Huguenots's* subject matter as sensitive. On 13 November, the *Journal de la Haye* promised a 'detailed examination on *Les Huguenots*, where the subject is shocking and the poem [by] Scribe, is as absurd in imagination as [it is] poor in thought and style'.⁵²¹ Yet, the exciting tone of the words finally published seem to suggest that the *Journal de la Haye* did not sustain a critical posture for very long:

We will talk about *Les Huguenots* in another issue, whose fifth performance will take place tomorrow and which has been cause for admiration of the many spectators hurrying to our French theatre [at The Hague] to ravish in all the wonders of art this magnificent opera deploys.⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 9 Octobre 1837.

⁵¹⁹ 'Les répétitions des Huguenots, sont presque terminées, et avant peu ce magnifique ouvrage, monté avec tout le soin possible, sera offert à la vive curiosité de nos amateurs de musique. Duvernoy aura ainsi la gloire d'avoir devancé Bruxelles et un grand nombre de villes de France, pour la représentation de cet opéra' (*Journal de La Haye*, 29 October 1837).

⁵²⁰ Loewenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

⁵²¹ 'Nous consacrerons incessamment un article développé à l'examen des Huguenots, dont le sujet est choquant et le poème, n'en déplaît à St. Eugène Scribe, est aussi absurde par l'invention que pauvre de pensées et de style' (*Journal de La Haye*, 13 November 1837).

⁵²² 'Nous remettons à un prochain numéro de parler des Huguenots, dont la cinquième représentation aura lieu demain et qui fait l'admiration des nombreux spectateurs se pressant à notre Théâtre Français, pour y jouir de toutes les merveilles de l'art que déploie ce magnifique opéra' (*Journal de La Haye*, 25 Nov. 1837).

Amsterdammers could easily travel to The Hague to see *Les Huguenots* or make do with fragments of *Les Huguenots* performed in Amsterdam concerts, like the *Fantasie* for the piano-forte on theme from the opera *Les Huguenots*, by S. Thalberg and performed by Mr. Defiennes (28 March 1838). Charles Cuvreau, who succeeded Henri Moulin-Neuf as conductor of the Amsterdam French Theatre, gave a concert at the Amsterdam French Theatre on 20 April 1838, where the military chorus and couplets from *Les Huguenots* were sung by Monsieur Paul and members of the chorus, followed by the *Grand Chœur* of the conjuration, with Joanny, Paul and Cœuriot. The outcome was not met with much approval:

Three pieces from *Les Huguenots* [...], were not well received [by the audience] – namely a military male chorus without accompaniment, and a conjuration chorus – perhaps because of the poor execution, and finally a duo, sung by Madame Riffaut and Monsieur Joanny, which was performed quite well, but is more for the stage than for a concert.⁵²³

The delay in staging *Les Huguenots* in Amsterdam was not only due to religious sensibility: Amsterdam's French troupe had been gravely rattled by Alex Vautrin's sudden decision to abandon his post as director of the French Theatre and return to Paris with as much of the Theatre's assets as he could carry. Paul Cœuriot, his successor, did his best to put an opera troupe together but certain singers, notably Alceste Lestage, did not win the favour of the audience in the autumn of 1837. Unsuccessful attempts were made to replace Mademoiselle Lestage in September. Annette Lebrun arrived in October but left after a month. During the first two weeks of November, Cœuriot had no other choice but to put on almost exclusively *comédies-vaudevilles*, before Madame Clara-Mangueron was able to join the French troupe. In such an unstable climate, a production at the Amsterdam French Theatre of *Les Huguenots* would have been unthinkable. Moreover, Cœuriot resigned as director in May 1838. Jean-Marie Baudot, his successor, stated that Cœuriot had left before securing an opera quartet, making it impossible to integrate opera into the following season. Baudot was able to assemble a new opera troupe in the fall of 1839, thus returning the genre of *opéra* to the French Theatre. However, circumstances beyond the scope of this research would continue to postpone the Amsterdam première for another four years.

⁵²³ 'Drie stukken uit *Les Huguenots* [...], vonden weinig bijval, te weten een militair-mannenkoor zonder accompagnement, en een zamenzwerings koor, misschien wegens de gebrekkige uitvoering, en eindelijk een duo, gezongen door Mad. Riffaut en den Heer Joanny, dat vrij wel uitgevoerd werd, maar hetwelk meer voor de scène dan vooreen concert berekend schijnt te zijn' (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 March 1838).

5.4 From Paris to Amsterdam: *Le gamin de Paris* and *De Straatjongen van Parijs*

Le gamin de Paris (The street urchin from Paris) is a *comédie-vaudeville* in two acts created on 30 January 1836 at the Théâtre du Gymnase in Paris. Between 1836 and 1839, *Le gamin* was not only performed in several major cities between Paris and Amsterdam but also generated translations that circulated within what could be loosely referred to as the operatic Nedersphere,⁵²⁴ extending its reach to cities regardless of whether they possessed a French-speaking theatre or not. It illustrates the dominant mechanisms that governed the selection of stage works for exportation. The transnational dimension of the *comédie-vaudeville*'s subject matter – the Parisian street boy – explains why the work was exported, not because the receiving audience might somehow identify with the piece, but rather because it was an exotic work that embodied elements of Parisian culture.

Joseph, the *gamin* of Paris, is a carefree apprentice who spends his days gambling and strolling along the Canal Saint-Martin. He and his sister Elisa were adopted by their grandmother Madame Meunier and live next door to Amédée, a painter who visits often and has a fondness for Elisa, whom he wishes to marry. Joseph struggles with having to leave his street boy days behind him to take better care of his sister and grandmother. In the second act, when Amédée abandons Elisa, Joseph decides to confront the man's father, General Morin, who happens to be a retired and wealthy soldier of the Empire. To save his sister's honour, Joseph demands Amédée keep his word and marry Elisa, a prospect that Madame de Morin, Amédée's snobbish aunt, tries to circumvent by offering money and employment to Elisa. By asking the children about their family, General Morin discovers he and their father were comrades in arms. Touched by Joseph's story and Elisa's situation, he threatens to disown Amédée should he not renounce his cavalier lifestyle and take responsibility for his actions. Amédée vows to clean up his act, join the military and – if he survives – return to Paris and marry Elisa. The play ends with General Morin and Joseph clasped in a heartfelt embrace. Despite the critiques of its literary shortcomings, coarse

⁵²⁴ The term is used here to identify the geographical space where Dutch language works are preformed, extrapolated from Michael Mann's evocation of spheres. Although Mann does not specifically mention a Nedersphere, its existence can be ascertained by the circulation of original Dutch works, foreign works translated into Dutch, actors performing in Dutch, theatres hosting Dutch productions, etc. See Michael Man, *op. cit.*, p.28.

humour and social class struggle clichés,⁵²⁵ the work enjoyed considerable success in Paris and in other cities of the Francosphere. Its popularity resulted from the endearing, nonchalant title role of Joseph, who – like the iconic Gavroche from Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* (figure 26) – embodied the archetype of the Paris street boy born in the wake of the 1830 July Revolution.

The street boy is as characteristic to nineteenth-century Paris as snails are to Burgundy or butter is to Brittany.⁵²⁶ This boy is no younger than seven and usually no older than sixteen. Past the age of eighteen, if he continues leading the life of a *gamin*, he is considered idle, lazy, a 'bad subject, awaited on the benches of the correctional police and courts'.⁵²⁷ Historically, the *gamin* was given a significant part to play in the 1830 barricade clashes between the Parisians and the armed forces of King Charles X. His courage, resourcefulness and heroic deeds would crystallize him in the imagination of Parisians for years to come, and, as the critic from the *L'indépendance belge* pointed out:

It was then that this society, hungry for strong emotions [...] found [the *gamin*] beautiful. And it is from that day that the *gamin*, the ruffian (*voyou*), appeared by name on the political scene where, for so long, he had played the laborious role of an accessory and mute character [...] from this day forth, the *gamin* had his followers, his newspapers and his poets, proof of his power [...] The element of his strength was disorder.⁵²⁸

If the word *gamin* originally stood for printer's apprentice, it later became associated with 'potential loafers and rioters in prospect'.⁵²⁹ The economic hardships of the urban lower classes forced many young boys – orphan or otherwise – into an early

⁵²⁵ *L'Indépendance Belge*, 15 March 1836.

⁵²⁶ Ernest Bourget, *Physiologie du gamin de Paris: galopin industriel*, (Paris: Jules Laisné, 1812), p.9.

⁵²⁷ 'un mauvais sujet, un homme qui tournera mal et qui est attendu sur le banc de la police correctionnelle et des assises plus tard' (*Journal de la Haye*, 3 September 1836).

⁵²⁸ 'C'est alors que cette société avide d'émotions fortes [...] trouvait cela beau. Et c'est à partir de ce jour que le gamin, le voyou, a paru nominativement sur la scène politique où il jouait depuis si longtemps le rôle laborieux de comparse et de personnage muet. [...] dès ce jour, le gamin a eu ses flatteurs, ses journaux et ses poètes, preuve de sa puissance [...] L'élément de sa force, c'était le désordre' (*L'Indépendance Belge*, 15 March 1836).

⁵²⁹ 'Des flâneurs en herbe et des émeutiers en perspective' (Ernest Bourget, *op. cit.*, p.9).



Figure 26: Illustration by Albert Bellenger for the Hugues edition of *Les Misérables* (1879).
(Courtesy of Maison Victor Hugo, Paris).

state of autonomy. These *gamins* operated as a network throughout Paris, providing a variety of miscellaneous services (messenger, delivery boy, horse handler...) to those who could pay for them.⁵³⁰ Unfortunately, they were also prone to disturbing the peace and engaging in criminal activities, ranging from petty theft to more serious offenses. The *Arnheemsche Courant* stated on 22 July 1837 that ‘the *gamin* of Paris is a small, exhausted old boy, laden with the triple curse of debauchery, of feebleness and trickery’.⁵³¹ The rendering provided by Amsterdam's *Avondbode* does little to improve this image:

The riot had barely started and the *gamin* is there; the *gamin*, who, born in the July-week, is constantly renewing himself: an eccentric race, known only in Paris. The *gamin*, like all other people, has parents; but lives as if he had none. Whether he is engaged in a profession is an unanswerable question. The true *gamin* [...] is still a child in form, but already a man by his wicked tendencies [...] He spends his life on the street, laying planks over the gutter (*ruisseaux*), opening the doors of the carriages, giving the horses a drink, in short, twenty other nameless crafts and companies without patents. The *gamin* is the most hideous fruit of the corruption of the poor classes in the capital.⁵³²

Although these and other newspaper entries indicate the *gamin*'s image outside of France was not a positive one, the success of *Le gamin de Paris* – due to both the reception of the libretto and performance of the leading actor, Hugues Bouffé⁵³³ – led to hundreds of performances in several of the French capital's theatres for over 40 years,⁵³⁴ despite ‘having become a bit old’⁵³⁵ and ‘extinguishing its vogue’⁵³⁶ in the 1840s. With this level of renown, *Le gamin* soon caught the attention of the provincial theatres. It was only a matter

⁵³⁰ Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health and Education Among the 'Classes Populaires'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.128.

⁵³¹ ‘Is de straatjongen van Parijs een klein, uitgeput oud mannetje, beladen met den drie dubbelen vloek der Liederlijkheid, der onmagten, der list’ (*Arnheemsche Courant*, 22 July 1837).

⁵³² ‘Naauwelijks is het oproer in de geboorte, of de gamin (straatjongen) bevindt zich daar; de gamin, die, in de Julij-week geboren, zich gedurig vernieuwt: een zonderling ras, dal te Parijs alleen bekend is. De gamin heeft, zoo als alle andere menschen, ouders; maar leeft, alsof hij er geene had. Of hij een beroep uitoefent, is eene onoplosbare vraag. De ware gamin [...] die, nog kind ten opzichte van de gestalte, reeds een man is door zijne kwade neigingen [...] Zijn leven brengt hij op straat door, waar hij planken over de ruisseaux legt, de portieren der rijtuigen opent, de paarden te drinken geeft, kortom zich twintig andere namelooze ambachten en bedrijven zonder patent scheidt. De gamin is de afzigtelijkste vrucht der verbastering van de arme klassen in de Hoofdstad’ (*De Avondbode*, 10 July 1839).

⁵³³ *Journal de Rouen*, 9 February 1836.

⁵³⁴ *Almanach des spectacles*, 1878, p. 48.

⁵³⁵ *Le Ménestrel*, 10 December 1843.

⁵³⁶ *Le Ménestrel*, 21 January 1844.

of time before *Le gamin* would make its way to French theatres beyond national borders, and the closest borders were to the North.

The première outside Paris of *Le gamin* seemingly took place in Brussels's Royal Theatre (Théâtre Royal du Parc), on 12 March 1836, seven weeks after the Paris première. The *Indépendance Belge*, was less than enthusiastic about the première, arguing *Le gamin* 'loses much of its merit in being transplanted to Belgium [where] few people here know the customs and the physiognomy of this original individual'.⁵³⁷ Despite this concern, *Le gamin* 'obtained the greatest of success [in its Belgian début, given the] well drawn characters, very gay scenes and very spiritual dialogue'.⁵³⁸ The second performance at the Parc took place four days later, '*Le gamin* is in vogue and a large crowd [...] had been drawn by that *comédie-vaudeville*'.⁵³⁹ Monsieur Victor – the actor playing Joseph at the Royal Theatre – was 'constantly applauded'⁵⁴⁰ throughout his performance and the work was performed another fourteen times in Brussels that year.⁵⁴¹

In the Netherlands, an announcement made on 16 May 1836 in the *Journal de La Haye* stated that *Le gamin* was being rehearsed by the troupe of The Hague's Royal Theatre: *Les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roy*.⁵⁴² This is the earliest mention in the Dutch press concerning *Le gamin*. The première at The Hague took place some three weeks later (9 June) causing an 'extraordinary effect on the spectators, as much because of the interest for the drama itself as the admirable acting'.⁵⁴³ The second performance was scheduled to take place two days later, the press expected 'a [large] crowd [to attend] the performance'.⁵⁴⁴ After the 'new triumph'⁵⁴⁵ of the third performance (18 July), *Le gamin* was given again on 28 July (a 'very brilliant success'⁵⁴⁶), 9 August and 8 September 1836.

⁵³⁷ '*Le gamin de Paris* perd bien de son mérite à être transplanté en Belgique. Peu de personnes connaissent ici les mœurs et la physionomie de cette individualité originale' (*L'Indépendance Belge*, 15 March 1836).

⁵³⁸ 'a obtenu hier soir le plus grand succès au Théâtre du Parc. Des caractères fort bien tracés, des scènes fort gaies et un dialogue très spirituel' (*Journal de la Belgique*, 14 March 1836).

⁵³⁹ 'à la vogue et la grande foule qui se trouvait la veille au théâtre du parc, avait encore été attirée par ce vaudeville' (*Le Lynx*, 21 March 1836).

⁵⁴⁰ 'constamment applaudi' (*L'Indépendance Belge*, 15 March 1836).

⁵⁴¹ 12, 15, 16, 19, 23 and 26 March; 16 and 17 April; 7 and 10 May; 2 and 15 July; 1 and 3 September; 5 November; 24 December 1836.

⁵⁴² *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 16 May 1836.

⁵⁴³ 'un effet extraordinaire sur les spectateurs, autant à cause de l'intérêt du drame en lui-même que par l'admirable jeu' (*Journal de la Haye*, 10 June 1836).

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴⁵ *Journal de la Haye*, 19 July 1836.

⁵⁴⁶ *Journal de la Haye*, 1 August 1836.

On 6 October, seven months after the Paris première, *Le gamin* made its début at the French Theatre in Amsterdam. The playhouse had begun its season on 1 September with proven works (Rossini's *Le barbier de Séville* and *Le Comte Ory*, Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*, Hérold's *Le pré aux clercs* and Adam's *Le chalet*) rather than new repertoire. In fact, aside from a discrete announcement three days before the première,⁵⁴⁷ no special attempts were made to inform or prepare the Amsterdam theatregoers for the imminent first performance of *Le gamin*. Therefore, great contrast exists between the highly documented and detailed accounts of the Brussels and The Hague premières and the little regard given by the press to *Le gamin*'s début and reception in Amsterdam. This lack of enthusiasm from the local press notwithstanding, it is safe to assume the work gathered a decent-sized crowd since it appeared multiple times on the French Theatre's bill later that season. Between October and December 1836, *Le gamin* was performed in Amsterdam on five occasions: opening night (6 October), a reprise two days later (a Saturday), another show the following Saturday, and was seen two more times with roughly a month separating each performance. The French troupe also scheduled three performances in Haarlem's French theatre,⁵⁴⁸ making it one of the most performed works that year.⁵⁴⁹ In total, six performances⁵⁵⁰ were given that season by the French Theatre, in addition to those put on by its troupe in nearby cities – such as Haarlem (24 and 30 October)⁵⁵¹ – on the 'off days' (Mondays, Wednesdays or Fridays). After the last show of season (29 April), the troupe of the French Theatre travelled to several neighbouring cities and *Le gamin* was given alternatively in Utrecht (1 May 1837),⁵⁵² Leeuwarden (3 and 6 May), Groningen (13 and 19 May), Zwolle (23 May) and Breda (21 and 23 June, 12 July).

The French Royal Theatre of The Hague regularly performed on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays and gave performances at the French Theatre in Rotterdam on Wednesdays. *Le gamin* was given by the *Comédiens Ordinaires du Roy* in Rotterdam for the

⁵⁴⁷ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 Octobre 1836.

⁵⁴⁸ 17 October (cancelled due to Mr. Rouède's indisposition), 24 and 30 October (*Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 8, 18 and 28 October 1836).

⁵⁴⁹ In 1836, only 13% of the works staged at the Théâtre Français d'Amsterdam were performed more than 4 times. A third were only performed once (Data extrapolated from the theatrical bills provided by the *Algemeen Handelsblad*).

⁵⁵⁰ 6, 8, 15 October, 17 November, 13 December and 26 January.

⁵⁵¹ *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 22 October 1836.

⁵⁵² *Utrecht Courant*, 1 May 1837.

first time on 7 December 1836.⁵⁵³ There were thus two French-speaking theatre troupes (one from Amsterdam, one from The Hague) touring the Low-Countries and performing their own version of *Le gamin de Paris*. Details known of the cast are shown below:

Characters	Royal Theatre of The Hague ⁵⁵⁴	Amsterdam French Theatre ⁵⁵⁵
GENERAL Morin	Jules Lambert ⁵⁵⁶	Monsieur Oswald
AMEDEE, his son	[?]	Monsieur Poizard
Madame de MORIN, the general's sister in law	Madame Picard ⁵⁵⁷	Madame Decourty
Madame MEUNIER, grandmother	[?]	Madame Laperrière
JOSEPH, the <i>gamin</i> of Paris	Monsieur Vernet ⁵⁵⁸	Monsieur Rouède
ELISA , his sister	Madame Duvernoy ⁵⁵⁹	Madame Rouède
Monsieur BIZOT, an old employee	[?]	Monsieur Alexandre
HILAIRE, the general's valet	[?]	Monsieur Hyppolite
Two Footmen	[?]	Monsieur Deboer

Table 25: Actors at The Hague and Amsterdam creations of *Le gamin de Paris*.

On the day following opening night at the Amsterdam French Theatre, the bookseller R. Stemvers⁵⁶⁰ announced in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* that the libretto of *Le gamin* was under print ‘in order to follow Amsterdam’s repertoire’.⁵⁶¹ This *Répertoire d'Amsterdam et autres villes de la Hollande* was a collection of French *opéra* and *comédie-vaudeville* libretti and engravings of the French Theatre's performers. It was edited by Anthonius Johannes van Tetroode (1796-1875) and ran from 1835 to 1850.⁵⁶² Below, the title page for *Le gamin de Paris* from the Amsterdam repertoire.

⁵⁵³ This seems to have been the only French-language performance to have taken place in Rotterdam.

⁵⁵⁴ *Journal de La Haye*, 26 November 1836.

⁵⁵⁵ *Le gamin de Paris*, (Amsterdam: van Tetroode, 1836).

⁵⁵⁶ *Journal de La Haye*, 8 Janvier 1836.

⁵⁵⁷ *Almanach des spectacles*, (Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1837, p. 100).

⁵⁵⁸ *Journal de La Haye*, 14 July 1837.

⁵⁵⁹ *Almanach des spectacles*, (Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1837, p. 100).

⁵⁶⁰ R. Stemvers, 13, Halvemaansteeg, *Naamregister*, p. 106.

⁵⁶¹ ‘sous presse pour faire suite au repertoire d’Amsterdam’ (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 October 1836).

⁵⁶² Ignaz Matthey, Martelaar, *Soms hemelsch gelukkig: Toon van Tetroode, een paradijsvogel uit het negentiende-eeuwse boekenvak*, (Amsterdam: Ignaz Matthey, 2014) p.17.

RÉPERTOIRE D'AMSTERDAM

et

autres Villes de la Hollande.

Amsterdam, chez A. J. VAN TETROODE. 1836.

LE GAMIN DE PARIS.

COMÉDIE-VAUDEVILLE EN DEUX ACTES,

PAR

Alm. Bayard et Vanderburch,

REPRÉSENTÉE POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, SUR LE
THÉÂTRE DU GYMNASÉ DRAMATIQUE,

le 30 Janvier 1836,

et pour la première fois.

SUR LE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS D'AMSTERDAM.

le 18 Octobre 1836.

PERSONNAGES.

ACTEURS
D'AMSTERDAM.

LE GÉNÉRAL MORIN.	MM. OSWALD.
AMEDEE, son fils	» POIZARD.
Mme. DE MORIN, belle sœur du général,	Mme. DECOURTY.
Mme. MEUNIER, grand'mère.	» LAPERRIERE.
JOSEPH, ses petits enfants,	MM. ROUEDE.
ELISA,	Mme. ROUEDE.
M. BIZOT, vieil employé	MM. ALEXANDRE.
HILAIRE, valet-de-chambre du général	» HYPOLITE.
DEUX DOMESTIQUES.	» DEBOER.
	» JACQUES.

La scène se passe à Paris, au premier acte chez Mme Meunier, au deuxième acte dans l'hôtel du général Morin.

NOTA. Les acteurs sont placés en tête de chaque scène comme ils doivent l'être sur le théâtre. Le premier inscrit tient toujours en scène la gauche du spectateur, ainsi de suite. Les changemens de position dans le courant des scènes, sont indiqués au bas des pages.

S'adresser pour la musique de cette pièce et celle de tous les ouvrages qui composent le répertoire du Gymnase-Dramatique, à M. HEYSER, bibliothécaire et copiste, au théâtre; ou à M. FERVILLE, correspondant des spectacles, rue Poissonnière, n. 33, ainsi qu'à Mr. STRELETSKI, second chef d'Orchestre du Théâtre français d'Amsterdam.

IMPRIMERIE DE A. J. VAN TETROODE.

Digitized by Google

Figure 27: Title page of the Amsterdam edition of *Le gamin de Paris*. Source: Google Books.

His printed fascicle of *Le gamin* not only reproduces the integral text by Bayard and Vanderburch – including all of the musical references from the Paris edition meant to be sung during the performance – it also gives the names of the performers who created *Le gamin* in Amsterdam (see figure 27). Note that the printed première date (18 October 1836) does not coincide with the information in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* (6 October 1836). This could be more than a typographical error: van Tetroode was in the habit of publishing his libretti a few days before the opening night of a new work.⁵⁶³ Thus, he would obtain projections on forthcoming premières of The Amsterdam French Theatre and schedule his releases accordingly. Yet the papers had made no hint of *Le gamin* being in rehearsal (*à l'étude*) or coming soon (*incessamment*). Did something force the French Theatre to showcase *Le gamin* before the originally intended date? Aside from a note in the 3 October edition of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* saying *Le gamin* would be performed three days later, no particular announcements were made regarding such a talked-about piece in Paris, Brussels and The Hague. This is as mysterious as the absence of a review of *Le gamin's* première in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*.

On 7 November 1836, The *Journal de la Haye* made a much awaited declaration: a Dutch version of *Le gamin de Paris* was 'to be expected' at the Royal Dutch Theatre in The Hague (Koninklijke Nederduitsche Schouwburg or KNS) which only gave Dutch-language performances. Prior to 1750, translations tried to remain as faithful to the original version as much possible. However, from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, it was preferable for translators to imitate or even attempt to surpass the text they were translating instead of being a slave to it.⁵⁶⁴ This explains the use of the terms *vrij gevolgd* (freely followed) or *navolging* (imitation) often found on the cover page of Dutch translations. There was greater concern on how the play would be performed by the actors and how their rendition would meet (or fail to meet) the expectations of the audience, rather than pondering the degree of fidelity to the original work. Censorship was applied mostly in the cases where a subject might ridicule religion or risk offending moral sensitivities.⁵⁶⁵ Local reprinting of French works (destined for the Francophone aristocracy and bourgeoisie) were faithfully transcribed without altering the content,⁵⁶⁶ but the Dutch

⁵⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶⁴ Marjolein Hageman, *op. cit.*, p. 91-92.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

translation (that could be understood by all social classes) had to comply with the established statutes of mores, taste and language of the people.⁵⁶⁷ The French text by Bayard and Vanderburch was first translated by J. Zijtsema (or Sytsema) as *De Straatjongen van Parijs* and premiered at the Royal Theatre in The Hague on 10 March 1837, nine months after the original French version's début.⁵⁶⁸ The outcome of this performance obtained 'a lot of success', Monsieur [J. W.] Hammecher's role as the street boy was met with applause 'throughout the performance [and] this artist was called back onto the stage and was greeted with numerous bravos'.⁵⁶⁹

If the troupe from The Hague's KNS had created the Dutch-language version of *Le gamin*, the première might not have necessarily taken place at The Hague. The *Rotterdamsche Courant* stated on 2 and 4 March 1837 that *De Straatjongen* was scheduled to be given in the Rotterdam Theatre (Rotterdamsche Schouwburg) on Monday 6 March – as a benefit performance for Hammecher, the lead actor – four days prior to The Hague début.⁵⁷⁰ Given the KNS troupe only played on Tuesdays and Fridays in The Hague, they had the rest of the week to perform in other cities, such as Leyden (Mondays) and Rotterdam (Saturdays). The Hague was, of course, the seat of the Dutch government, it had its own courts and was the official residence of Foreign Ambassadors. Hence, the decision to première *De Straatjongen* in Rotterdam rather than in The Hague raises legitimate questions. First, we can be certain that the performance on 10 March was the very first to take place at The Hague, since the announcement in *Le Journal de la Haye*, the *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage* and the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* all specified the work was 'never performed here in Dutch'.⁵⁷¹ This Rotterdam performance might have been a sort of dress rehearsal for The Hague's début. On the other hand, The Hague lacked Rotterdam's

⁵⁶⁷ Henny Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers: de Amsterdamse Schouwburg 1814-1841* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 2002), p. 47.

⁵⁶⁸ Gerd Aage Gillhoff, *The Royal Dutch Theatre at The Hague 1804-1876* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938), p. 59.

⁵⁶⁹ 'La première représentation du vaudeville *De Straatjongen van Parijs* (*Le gamin de Paris*) a obtenu vendredi dernier beaucoup de succès. M. Hammecher, qui remplit le rôle de Joseph Meunier (the *gamin*), s'en est acquitté avec bonheur, et indépendamment des applaudissemens [sic] dont il a été l'objet pendant le cours de la représentation, cet artiste s'est vu rappeler sur la scène à la fin de la pièce, et a été salué de bravos nombreux'. *Journal de la Haye*, 10 March 1837.

⁵⁷⁰ 'En op Maandag den 6den Maart 1837, ter benefice van den Heer .7. W. Hammecher: *De Straatjongen van Parijs*, Blijspel met Zang. in twee bedrijven, naar het fransch *le gamin de Paris*'. (*Rotterdamsche courant*, 4 March 1837).

⁵⁷¹ 'Nooit alhier in het Nederduitsch vertoond' (*Journal de la Haye*, 10 March 1837; *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage*, 10 March 1837; *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 10 March 1837).

defensive walls and corporations that ensured its protection and economic growth. Its political importance notwithstanding, The Hague was regarded as a village with a striking difference in population (56,000 inhabitants) as opposed to Rotterdam (72,000 inhabitants).⁵⁷² A première in Rotterdam thus had the potential of drawing a larger crowd, which meant giving preference to financial prospects rather over political importance. Regardless of where the official début took place, Zijtstema's *De Straatjongen* was later featured by the KNS troupe in various theatres throughout the Netherlands: Rotterdam (6 March), Leyde (13 March), Rotterdam (8 April) Haarlem (29 June), Utrecht (18 July), Middelburg (29 July), Rotterdam (22 August) and finally Amsterdam – in the then unoccupied German Theatre⁵⁷³ – during the annual *Kermis* (16, 20, 22, 25 and 27 September). These last showings of *De Straatjongen* came shortly after a performance of *Le gamin* on 5 September and again on 10 September – to quickly replace Hérold's *Le pré aux clercs* after the incident involving Madame Alceste – which 'was attended with pleasure'.⁵⁷⁴ Throughout September 1837, Amsterdam theatregoers could have chosen in which language they wanted to hear *Le gamin de Paris*.

Despite its popularity, it would seem Zijtsema's *De Straatjongen* was never published, according to the declarations made by J. C. Smits who, after having attended a performance in Rotterdam, tried to obtain a copy of the libretto. 'I was eager to examine it a little more by means of a further reading; then how did I feel taken aback when I learned that it was not public'.⁵⁷⁵ Indeed, the rights to the work were held by the managers of the KNS, Hoedt and Bingley, a situation that led Smits to personally translate *Le gamin* and publish it with J.B. Ulrich's editorial house in Rotterdam. Though little information has survived of Smits' career, his name appears in early nineteenth century registers as a translator of religious works.⁵⁷⁶ However, if this was not his first time translating, it was probably his first experience with a play: in the preface, he begs the reader to 'be indulgent in excusing the few mistakes and to remember that it is the first time [he has] undertaken

⁵⁷² John Murray, *A hand-book for travellers on the continent* (2nd ed.) (London: John Murray, 1838) p. 21, 25.

⁵⁷³ See Chapter 2.4

⁵⁷⁴ Anthonius van Tetroode, *La Guerre des Braques*, (Amsterdam: van Tetroode, 1837), p.10.

⁵⁷⁵ 'bekroop mij de lust, om hetzelfde door eene nadere lezing nog een weinig verder te onderzoeken, dan hoe vond ik mij te leur gesteld toen ik vernam dat het zelve niet Publiek was' J.C. Smits, *De Straatjongen van Paris*, p. I.

⁵⁷⁶ Johannes van Abkoude, *Alphabetische naamlijst van boeken: welke sedert het jaar 1790 tot en met het jaar 1832, in Noord-Nederland [...]*, (Amsterdam: gebroeders van Cleef, 1835) p. 65.

such a thing'.⁵⁷⁷ Since the translation was advertised for the first time in the *Rotterdamsche Courant* on 3 August 1837, Smits must have attended either the 6 March or 8 April performance in Rotterdam. His 'freely adapted [text] with some cuts'⁵⁷⁸ ranged from the suppression of transitional dialogue lines to the deletion of entire scenes, notably those where Napoleon and the French Empire are mentioned. Given Napoleon's incursion during the *Franse Tijd* (1806-1813) was still relatively recent in people's memories (heavy taxes, forced conscription, economic hardship and harsh repression of resistance),⁵⁷⁹ it is likely that statements made by the General, such as 'I regret Napoleon, and I am not wrong'⁵⁸⁰ would not have sat very well with the Dutch-speaking population. Understandably, Smits thought it prudent to omit references to Napoleon even if passages could still be read in van Tetroode's edition of the French libretto, which means there was a strong chance they would have been performed identically at the French Theatre in Amsterdam. In comparison to the original French piece, the Dutch versions by Smits (1837) and De Haas (1893) omit scenes 1, 2, 3 and 8 from the second act, along with the corresponding musical numbers.

It should not come as a surprise that the existence of Smits' translation might be seen by Hoedt and Bingley as unwanted competition. At that time, foreign works (such as French or German plays) were considered part of the public domain in the Netherlands and could therefore be freely translated and reprinted.⁵⁸¹ This meant that, although Hoedt and Bingley owned the rights to perform Zijtsema's *Straatjongen*, there was nothing to stop another troupe from putting on Smits' published translation. It is probably to that end that the *Arnhem Courant*, after announcing the forthcoming performance of Hoedt and Bingley's *De Straatjongen* at Arnhem's playhouse, insisted the text they were putting on was 'a masterly translation' (*meesterlijk vertaling*) that 'should not be compared to the printed work that has seen the light'.⁵⁸² Since Zijtsema's text was never published, it is difficult to get an idea of the fidelity of the text to the French original and how much of the original music was preserved. Smits' translation intentionally left out the sung passages, as

⁵⁷⁷ 'Moge men er de enkele misslagen goedgunstig in verschoonen en bedenken, dat het de eerste maal is, dat ik iets zoodanigs onderneem'. J.C. Smits, *op. cit.*, p. II.

⁵⁷⁸ *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 3 August 1837.

⁵⁷⁹ Rick Honings, Gijsbert Rutten, Ton van Kalmthout, *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), p. 14.

⁵⁸⁰ 'Je regrette Napoléon, et je n'ai pas tort'. (*Le gamin de Paris*, Act II, scene 3).

⁵⁸¹ Ignaz Matthey, *op. cit.*, p.18.

⁵⁸² 'moet niet vergeleken worden met dat, hetwelk gedrukt het licht ziet' (*Arnhemsche Courant*: 21 March 1838).

the author felt he was 'not familiar enough with the singing, [he] left out several couplets and made sense of it in prose'.⁵⁸³ In 1893, another translation of *Le gamin* was published in Rotterdam, authored by Monsieur de Haas. This text omits the same sensitive scenes as Smits, but gives seven texts printed in italics titled with the word *Zang* (sing). Five of these entries coincide with song cues given in the original. Unfortunately, since de Haas neglected to indicate the musical references, it is difficult to get a sense of whether much of the music stayed the same. Regarding the new material, De Haas added sung pleasantries to the exchange of greetings between Bizot and Madame Meunier in Act I, scene 2, while the last scene of the work gained closing verse (*slot-couplet*), which acted as a *vaudeville final* to conclude the *comédie-vaudeville*. De Haas must have seen the absence of a closing verse in *Le gamin* as an oversight on the authors' part, one that he apparently wished to rectify:

<i>Als knaap durfde ik mij vrai aan u vertoonen,</i>	As a boy I dared to show myself to you,
<i>Als man heb ik mijn zusters eer gered;</i>	As a man I saved my sister's honour;
<i>Moog' nu toegevendheid ons werk bekronen,</i>	May now indulgence crown our work,
<i>Dat niemand scherp op onze fouten let!</i>	That no one pay close attention to our faults!
<i>Uw oordeel zij toegevend, Dames, Heeren!</i>	Admit your judgment, ladies, gentlemen!
<i>Mocht handgeklap, bij het vallen der gordijn,</i>	Should clapping, when the curtain falls,
<i>Ons streven op het ppad der kunst vereeren,</i>	Honour our pursuit on the path of art,
<i>Dan wil ik vaak voor u Straatjongen zijn!</i>	Then will I often be for you a Street Boy!
<i>(bis)</i>	(twice)

Since Zijtsema's libretto was never published, examining the versions by Smits and De Haas can give the reader an idea of what was staged by the troupe of the KNS. Thankfully, both editions were printed in Rotterdam, a city where the actors of the KNS performed weekly and where *De Straatjongen* was most performed in the 1830s. Despite the 54 years that separate the editions by Smits and De Haas, as both removed the same passages on Napoleon, it is likely they were also absent from Zijtsema's version. This could also suggest that the musical cues given by De Haas were the same retained by Zijtsema, but the lack of additional evidence makes this purely speculation at this time.

Between 1836 and 1839, the famous street boy of Paris was brought to life 65 times in a dozen different cities throughout the Netherlands. The *Indépendance Belge's* desire to

⁵⁸³ 'Echter niet genoeg met de Zang bekend zijnde, liet ik er de enkele Coupletjes uit en bragt er den zin van in proza over' (J.C. Smits, *De Straatjongen van Parijs*, p. II).

see *Le gamin* excised from the stage would not happen for many years.⁵⁸⁴ Zijtsema's translation – 'repeated in most places, and especially in Amsterdam, with the most acclaim'⁵⁸⁵ – was the most performed (27 shows) followed by the French versions of Amsterdam (22 shows) and The Hague (16 shows). The *comédie-vaudeville* also inspired several spin-offs plays on a similar theme: *Le gamin de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 2 July 1837)⁵⁸⁶ and *La vieillesse du gamin de Paris* (Brussels, 15 September 1838)⁵⁸⁷ both by Auguste Jouhaud. *L'enfant du Faubourg*⁵⁸⁸ by Deslandes and Didier, translated by Zijtsema as *Nog één Jongen uit Parijs* (Another boy from Paris) was premiered in Rotterdam on 21 January 1839. The success of *Le gamin de Paris* rested largely on the actor playing the title role. As Joseph needed to appear very young, the part was given either to *jeunes premiers* or actresses of the *Déjazet* category as a travesty role.⁵⁸⁹ The *gamin's* persona continued to evolve throughout the nineteenth century, losing its political significance and gradually becoming the Montmartre *Poulbot* in the early 1900s, i.e. the type of *gamin* Yves Montant sang about in Adrien Mares and Mick Micheyl's *Un gamin de Paris*.

The journey undertaken by *Le gamin de Paris* from Paris to Amsterdam illustrates the transnational phenomenon of how a work crossing borders is subject to change. As Alex Körner put it, 'Ideas and concepts [...] rarely retain their original meaning when they travel'.⁵⁹⁰ This explains how, despite having subject matter specific to Paris culture and overall pessimistic press, *Le gamin* was met with great enthusiasm in Amsterdam and throughout the Netherlands. Upon arrival, the French adaptation was purged of any Napoleonic references, then the Dutch translations meddled with the structure and even added a *vaudeville final* at the end of the work. A foreign audience did not have to culturally connect with a theme that was alien to them (i.e. the Paris street boy), but it could be swayed by the exoticism that Paris and Parisians evoke, as well as the quality of an actor's delivery and his ability to delight. The popularity of the work also helps illustrate the

⁵⁸⁴ *L'Indépendance Belge*, 15 March 1836.

⁵⁸⁵ 'hetzelve is op de meeste plaatsen herhaaldelijk, en bijzonder te Amsterdam, met de meest toejuiching' (*Arnhems Courant*, 21 April 1838).

⁵⁸⁶ *Le gamin de Bruxelles*, comédie-vaudeville in 2 acts.

⁵⁸⁷ *La vieillesse du gamin de Paris*, comédie-vaudeville in 1 Act.

⁵⁸⁸ *L'Enfant du faubourg*, Drame populaire en trois actes, mêlé de couplets (Paris, 30 March 1836).

⁵⁸⁹ 'Joseph devant paraître très-jeune [*sic*], ce rôle peut, au besoin, être distribué à l'acteur qui joue les jeunes premiers, ou même à l'emploi des Déjazet', *Le gamin de Paris*, 1836, p. 27.

⁵⁹⁰ Alex Körner, 'Transnational History: Identities, Structures, States', Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller, eds., *International History in Theory and Practice* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), p. 266.

interconnectivity that existed between primary theatre hubs (such as Amsterdam or The Hague) and the secondary or recipient theatres of cities like Rotterdam or Haarlem. A play performed in the original French that was met with applause and praise would eventually be translated into the vernacular, making the work accessible to those who did not understand French. This led *Le gamin de Paris* to be performed in both French and Dutch in Amsterdam in September of 1837. The differences between the unaltered original and the censored translation helps to see the dividing line that separates the French-speaking population (who had access to unedited content) from the rest of the Netherlands. Though *Le gamin de Paris* in Amsterdam did not generate the euphoria seen in other cities, it was nonetheless shown seventeen times between 1836 and 1839. The Hague, which put on *Le gamin* four months before Amsterdam, only exceeded the Dutch capital by three shows. Regardless of The Hague's privileged position, Amsterdam was regarded as a theatre metropolis that impacted on the repertoire of other cities like Haarlem, where 'the works showcased [would] be composed solely of successes of the Amsterdam French Theatre'.⁵⁹¹

5.5 Quantifying the popularity of genres

By extrapolating data from the surviving newspaper advertisements and programme books, it was possible to obtain a more quantifiable idea of the reception of the different genres of French opera and stage music in Amsterdam during the 1830s. For every year examined, the genre with the highest number of works staged was *comédie-vaudeville*, as shown in Table 26. The lighter nature of the subject matter, the short one-three act format and the lack of elaborate scenery and extravagant special effects made *comédie-vaudeville* more popular and easier to stage than *opéra* or *opéra-comique*. In the course of an evening, it was possible to put on two to three *comédies-vaudevilles* as opposed to a single four-five act opera.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ '...les spectacles de la ville de Haarlem ne seront composés que des ouvrages ayant obtenu du succès sur le Théâtre d'Amsterdam' (*Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 12 October 1837).

⁵⁹² For a detailed listings of performances per annum, see Appendix N.

Genre	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839
<i>Opéra</i>	23	25	11	27	19	21	18	13	8	15
<i>Opéra-comique</i>	32	32	41	32	27	27	26	16	17	15
<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	68	74	73	60	78	48	48	60	74	93
<i>Comédie</i>	41	37	38	40	30	26	22	22	46	39
<i>Drame</i>	38	22	16	17	9	19	16	11	17	20
TOTAL	202	190	179	176	163	141	130	122	162	182

Table 26: Number of French works by genre staged in Amsterdam (1830-1839).

If instead of looking at the number of staged French works we consider the number of performances for each genre, as displayed in Table 27, we notice that the years 1835 and 1836 had more performances of *opéras* and *opéras-comiques* respectively than *comédie-vaudeville*. For *opéra* or *opéra-comique* to be cost effective, they require a greater number of performances than *drame*, *comédie* or *comédie-vaudeville*, given the time and money invested in stage scenery. This encouraged theatres to programme an *opéra* or *opéra-comique* as often as possible once it was staged, although the billing was influenced by external factors such as a travelling singer's personal repertoire or the demands, taste and mood of the audience.

Genre	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839
<i>Opéra</i>	76	58	35	59	70	90	60	77	38	57
<i>Opéra-Comique</i>	86	83	104	73	85	76	111	61	41	43
<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	163	168	135	101	133	85	98	136	171	400
<i>Comédie</i>	68	77	73	79	54	42	40	40	99	110
<i>Drame</i>	56	25	36	34	16	25	23	26	28	49
TOTAL	449	431	383	346	358	318	332	340	377	659

Table 27: Number of performances of French works by genre in Amsterdam (1831-1839).

Lastly, the number of staged French works and the sum of performances can be considered in the form of a ratio, the obtained mean for each genre is presented on Table 28. The results reveal a hidden truth: though it appears the most performed genre in Amsterdam was *comédie-vaudeville*, these were performed proportionally fewer times than *opéra* and *opéra-comique*:

Genre	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	X
<i>Opéra</i>	3.3	2.3	3.2	3.7	3.4	4.3	3.3	5.9	4.8	3.8	3.8
<i>Opéra-Comique</i>	2.7	2.6	2.5	3.2	2.9	2.8	4.3	3.8	2.4	2.9	3.0
<i>Comédie-vaudeville</i>	2.4	2.3	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.3	4.3	2.3
<i>Comédie</i>	1.7	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.8	1.8	2.2	2.8	2.0
<i>Drame</i>	1.5	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	2.4	1.7	2.5	1.9

Table 28: Number of French works divided by number of performances in Amsterdam (1831-1839).

This last table gives a much more in-depth view of the popularity of staged genres in Amsterdam, trending more towards *opéra* and *opéra-comique* rather than *comédie-vaudeville*. In 1832, *opéras* on average were performed over three times that year whereas *comédies-vaudevilles* less than twice. The most important year for *opéra* was clearly 1837 with 13 different works and 74 performances, with an average of nearly six performances per work. The far column on the right shows the global average for the 1830s. *Opéra* holds the highest work/performance ratio, with each work being performed on average three or more times, confirming its place as most appreciated genre in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s. Table 29 below organises the works by number of performances:

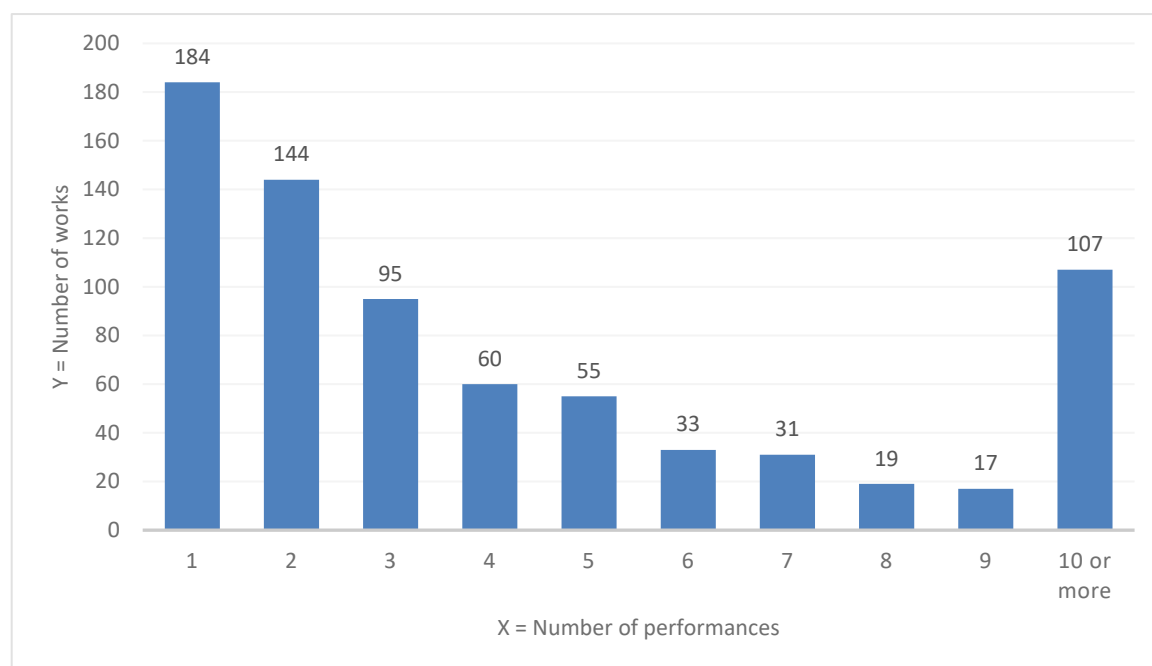


Table 29: French Works grouped by number of performances.

The first column on the left shows that 184 out of the 745 staged French works in Amsterdam were only given a single performance, which would mean that one out of every four works was never played more than once. Columns 1 and 2 account for 44% of the works whereas columns 3 to 9 represent 42% of the works. The last 14% (107 works) correspond to the column of works given ten times or more. This column represents a total of 107 of the 745 works and over half of the total performances of the decade (2017 out of 4004). Among those 107 works, we find 39 *comédies-vaudevilles* (665 performances), 28 *opéra-comiques* (599 performances), fifteen *opéras* including seven *grand opéras*⁵⁹³ (419 performances), eighteen *comédies* (242 performances) and seven *dramas* (92 performances). Although the number of works and performances for *comédie-vaudeville* and *opéra-comique* outweigh those of *opéra*, the *opéras* received more performances on average: 27 performances per *opéra* as opposed to 21 performances for *opéra-comique* and seventeen for *comédie-vaudeville*. *Comédie* and *Drame* both average at around thirteen performances per work.

5.6 Music in Times of Conflict – Dutch and French Language Tributes to Jan van Speijk

The uprising of the Southern Netherlands on 25 August 1830 had a considerable impact on the repertoire in Dutch theatres. As I mentioned earlier, works like Auber's *La muette de Portici* that dealt with social upheaval were set aside to allow the political climate time to cool.⁵⁹⁴ By late 1830, patriotic pieces began to flood Amsterdam theatres, especially the Municipal Theatre, Kunstgenoegen, Leerzaam Vermaak and Duizend Kolmen theatre. Composers produced several pro-Dutch *à propos* pieces to lift spirits and glorify soldiers fighting on the front lines. On 15 December 1830, the Municipal Theatre put on Cornelis van der Vijver's *Het Trufschip van Breda*, a historical drama narrating the recapture of the city of Breda in 1590 from Spanish forces by using a peat barge as a Trojan horse. The work was followed by a *militar-ballet-pantomime* entitled *The Fatherland Household or Breda recaptured* (*Het Vaderlansche Huisgezin, of Breda hernomen*) by Choreographer and

⁵⁹³ Auber's *La muette de Portici* and *Gustave III ou le bal masqué*; Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*; Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*; Halévy's *La juive*; Spontini's *Fernand Cortez* and *La vestale*.

⁵⁹⁴ See Chapter 5.2

Dancer Andreas Petrus Voitus van Hamme (1796-1868).⁵⁹⁵ In 1830, *Het Trufschip van Breda* was played for the first time in Amsterdam on 9 November at the Kunstgenoegen Theatre. From 15 December, it was played four consecutive times at the Municipal Theatre alongside van Hamme's *ballet*. Although works of a military nature could take over the entire evening at the Municipal Theatre, it was more commonplace to pair the patriotic work with a lighter piece, as was the case on 23 and 27 December, when *Het Trufschip van Breda* was paired with *The town on the border (Het Dorp aan de Grenzen)*, a *comédie-vaudeville* in two acts by the then 'extremely popular' novelist, poet, and leading man of letters Jacob van Lennep (1802-1868).⁵⁹⁶

But the Netherlands were first and foremost a maritime nation that placed its naval heroes on the highest of pedestals: from the victorious Admirals Michiel de Ruiter or Marteen Tromp to those who fought to their dying breath, like Rénier Clasessen or Jan van Speijk. In 1822, Jan Carel Bousquet had written *Amsterdam in 1672: oorspronkelijk vaderlandsch treurspel* (Amsterdam in 1672: an original patriotic tragedy) recalling the 'Year of Disaster' known as *Rampjaar*, when the Netherlands found themselves at war with both England and France, resulting in important loss of life and a severe economic crisis from which the Dutch never fully recovered. Bousquet's play featured the heroics of Lieutenant-Admiral de Ruiter who defeated the Anglo-French fleet at the Battle of Solebay on 7 June 1672. The piece was revived six times at the Municipal Theatre between 30 April and 10 May 1831. Johannes Casper Westerman's *De Schutters in Garnizoen* (The gunmen in garrison), published in April 1831, was the product of the author having visited to his brother's garrison. In the preface, Westerman confessed his *comédie-vaudeville* 'was regarded less as a work of art than as an outgrowth of patriotic feeling'.⁵⁹⁷ Hearing the national anthem of the Netherlands, the *Volkslied*, at the beginning, middle or end of a theatre evening had become commonplace.

⁵⁹⁵ https://theaterencyclopedie.nl/wiki/Andries_Voitus_van_Hamme (consulted on 31 July, 2021).

⁵⁹⁶ *Britannica*, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. 'Jacob van Lennep'. Encyclopedia Britannica, 20 Mar. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jacob-van-Lennep> (consulted on 31 July 2021).

⁵⁹⁷ 'dat deze eersteling minder als een kunstgewrocht, dan als een uitvloeisel van Vaderlandsch gevoel beschouwd'. Johannes Casper Westerman, *De schutters in garnizoen: blijspel met zang*, in 2 bedrijven, (Amsterdam: M. Westerman en zoon, 1831) p. i.

The French-language patriotic music heard at the Amsterdam French Theatre at that time was largely composed by French expatriate Alex Vautrin.⁵⁹⁸ On 23 November 1830, Vautrin's *Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam* was staged at the French Theatre for the first time. It tells the story of a soldier leaving his home to perform his duty for King and country. It was given five times that year. He also wrote two pieces centered on Dutch naval heroes: *Tromp à la cour de Louis Quatorze*, a comedy based on an imaginary voyage made by Admiral Marteen Tromp (1598 – 1653) to Versailles and *Jan van Speijk aux Champs Elysées*, an allegorical apotheosis raising the kamikaze sailor Jan van Speijk to immortal glory.

One of the more curious heroes in Dutch history was the sailor Jan Carel Josephus van Speijk (1802-1831). Orphaned at the age of eleven and admitted into Amsterdam's *Burgerweeshuis*, Speijk joined the Royal Dutch navy when he came of age. Initially rejected because of his height and volatile temper, he was finally accepted in 1821. Ten years later, he had ascended to the rank of Lieutenant and was given the command of a gunboat (*Gaffelkanonneer*). On 5 February 1831, in the wake of the Belgian uprising, his gunboat was blown by gales into Antwerp harbour. Immediately, officers and bystanders boarded the vessel and demanded its crew lower the Dutch flag. According to the legend, Speijk declared he'd 'rather be blown into the air' (*'dan liever de lucht in'*) than surrender, tossing either a lighter or his lit cigar into an open powder keg. The explosion vaporized Speijk along with most of his crew and an unknown number of Antwerpers. A maimed body which surfaced out of the Scheldt four days later was identified as Speijk's on account of a medal still pinned on his uniform. The alleged remains of the young lieutenant were plunged into a vat of ethanol and formaldehyde (*sterke water*) and sent to Amsterdam along with the surviving members of his crew (those who managed to leap off the ship in time) who gave an account of what had happened. Given the disastrous circumstances, the authorities had little choice but to turn an embarrassing situation into an opportunity for propaganda and patriotism. The impulsive lieutenant became a national hero and his crew were made into martyrs. A national lottery was organized to raise money for a lighthouse to be erected at Egmond aan Zee as Speijk's Monument,⁵⁹⁹ while a memorial stone was embedded in one

⁵⁹⁸ See Chapter 3.4

⁵⁹⁹ See *Ten voordele van het, voor van speijk* [Tribute to the memory of J.C.J. van Speyk], op te richten monument. Joost Berman, *Hulde aan de nagedachtenis van J.C.J. van Speyk*, (Zierikzee: J. van de Velde Olivier, 1831).

of the walls of his orphanage in Amsterdam. Commemorative coins and medals were minted to depict Speijk's profile and the explosion of his gunboat.⁶⁰⁰ Every object he had come in contact with – ranging from personal belongings to the scrap metal retrieved from the wrecked gunboat – was treated as a holy relic and sold off as memorabilia or, in the case of ship debris, fashioned into a wide range of collectable objects (some 150 are visible at the Amsterdam Museum) to be auctioned off to the highest bidder.⁶⁰¹

Jan van Speijk was immortalized in a number of literary works, including works adapted for the stage and set to music. By bringing Speijk's story to the theatre, it gained visual and auditory substance and was able to reach a much broader audience for whom literacy 'was not an essential part of life'.⁶⁰² The earliest Amsterdam account of a homage to Speijk was given on 22 February 1832 at the French Theatre (in French): Vautrin's *Jan van Speijk aux Champs Elysées - Apothéose en vers mêlée de musique*. The writer and theologian Willem de Clercq (1795-1844) who attended the première wrote that the piece had paid idolatrous honour to a man, but found it to be 'annoying'.⁶⁰³ Regardless, Vautrin's musical apotheosis on Speijk was the most performed work at the French Theatre that year (ten performances). It became available in print by A. J. Tetroode in August 1832 and was accompanied by an explanatory note on Speijk. Although I could not examine a copy of Vautrin's libretto, it may be possible to get an idea of the piece's mood by analysing Nicolas Alexandre's *Apothéose de van Speyk: tableaux emblématiques: précédés d'un poème élégiaque sur la mort du jeune héros*, written for the French Theatre at The Hague and premiered on 14 March 1831.⁶⁰⁴

An introductory poem begins by speaking on the (Belgian) rebel's behalf, where Holland is called a 'merchant nation [unworthy of its glorious history, whose] degenerate people [...] lack boldness'.⁶⁰⁵ Speijk's gunship on Antwerp's dock encountered 'this stupid

⁶⁰⁰ See Jacob Dirks, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche of op Nederland en Nederlanders penningen geslagen tusschen November 1813 en November 1863* [Description of dutch coins minted between november 1813 and november 1863].

⁶⁰¹ <https://hart.amsterdam/> (consulted on 23 April 2021).

⁶⁰² Rab Houston, 'Literacy and Society in the West, 1500-1850', *Social History*, Oct. 1983, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Oct. 1983), p. 274.

⁶⁰³ 'het stuk had afgodische eer bewezen aan een man, maar ik vond het vervelend' W. A. de Clercq, *Willem de Clercq (1795-1844)*, (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1999), page 113.

⁶⁰⁴ *Journal de la Haye*, 13 March 1831.

⁶⁰⁵ 'nation marchande [...] Peuple dégénéré! machine sans audace'. Alexandre, *Apothéose de van Speijk*, (The Hague: H.S.J. De Groot, 1831), p. 3.

people that both a fanatic and fierce clergy has turned into oath-breakers'.⁶⁰⁶ Speijk hears their demand to lower the Dutch flag. 'I cannot save [the flag] by fighting, he realized, But I can avenge it, at least, by dying'. Alexandre describes the lower decks of the gunboat as a 'homicidal mine [that exploded like a] horrible volcano [throwing] upon the water and into the air [...] wood, iron, mast and lead'.⁶⁰⁷ Thanks to Speijk's sacrifice, 'new Holland is worthy of its ancient past'.⁶⁰⁸ The action that follows the poem is set in a solitary place where saints place palm branches – the traditional attribute of martyrs – and wreaths at the base of Speijk's bust. The clouds part to reveal Elysium and the allegorical figure Renown announces the arrival of the young hero. Another allegory, Holland, announces that 'their most worthy kin has ceased to exist on Earth'.⁶⁰⁹ In the final tableau, Speijk embraces King Willem I and then turns to seek refuge in Holland's maternal bosom. Shadows withdraw to reveal the Temple of Memory, where Speijk's name glows in fiery letters. An aerial fanfare is heard as the clouds close upon characters and bring the apotheosis to an end.

Hulde aan de nagedachtenis van Hollands zeeheld J.C.J. van Speyk by Lennep was the first Dutch-language piece in Amsterdam to pay tribute to Speijk. In the piece, Greco-Roman divinities collaborate with the *Maagd* (Virgin) of Amsterdam to turn Speijk into a Christ-like figure, whose death the Virgin laments all the while acknowledging its importance and meaning. Lennep's *Hulde* premiered on 25 February 1831 at the Municipal Theatre and on 26 February at the Kunstgenoegen, alongside the French Theatre's third performance of *Jan van Speijk aux Champs Elysées*. On 2 March, *Hulde* played simultaneously at the Municipal Theatre and the Kunstgenoegen, suggesting that each theatre had its own production of the work. The seventeenth and last showing at the Municipal Theatre was on 21 April after a two-month run, although Vautrin's homage to Speijk visibly enjoyed a longer run than its Dutch counterpart. Finally, Edward Bamberg, son of the renowned illusionist David Bamberg, sang five *coupletten* on Speijk in French and a cycle of *volksliederen* entitled *De Hulde aan J.C.J. van Speyk* in Dutch, from 7 April to 7 May at the Duizen Kolommen theatre (eleven performances in total).⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ 'Cette plèbe stupide qu'un clergé fanatique et farouche à la fois a su rendre parjure'. *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁷ 'l'homicide mine [...] volcan horrible [...] sur les eaux et dans l'air [...] le bois, et le fer, et le mât et le plomb'. *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁸ 'La Hollande nouvelle est digne de l'antique'. *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Leur plus digne émule a cessé d'exister sur la terre'. Alexandre, *Apothéose de van Speijk*, (The Hague: H.S.J. De Groot, 1831), p. 14.

⁶¹⁰ *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 9 April 1831.

An odd piece of music was published in 1832 by Guido with the improbable title *Walse à la van Speyk pour le Piano-Forte par L. van Beethoven* (pages 194-195). It is a waltz and a trio in E Major of a surprisingly low level of difficulty, accessible to any amateur keyboard player. Given Beethoven's death preceded Speijk's naval suicide by nearly four years, the editor was either misinformed (which is unlikely) or has purposefully misattributed this composition as a marketing strategy.

As early as the second half of the nineteenth century, historians and writers began to distance themselves from the glorious interpretations of Speijk's gesture. It is now more widely accepted his boat drifted into Antwerp during a cease-fire, that there was never any real threat to his life or that of his crew and the hostile intentions of the Belgian mob were somewhat exaggerated. All in all, Speijk's self-annihilation, the sacrifice of nearly his entire crew and countless Belgians, not to mention the loss of a gunboat, no longer hold the heroic merit they once did. In his essay, the Dutch seventeenth-century historian Ronald Prud'homme van Reine argued that Speijk's 'self-murder attack' was not brought upon so much by the stress of the moment but rather the result of the accumulation of negative feelings.⁶¹¹ His depressed state, brought on by the disfavoured outcome of the Belgian Revolution, had left him an emotionally unbalanced individual. Prud'homme van Reine makes references to Speijk's correspondence where he states on repeated occasions that he would readily give his life for King and country. In this time of national crisis where Europe had voted in favour of an independent Belgian state, the Dutch people needed a new hero, someone who was a figure of Dutch virtues. They were all too willing to embrace Speijk as a martyr. And his fame, though short lived, generated a considerable hagiography of poems, music and stage works. His plaque in Amsterdam was inaugurated with great pomp and circumstance on 20 October 1831 as was, two years later, his lighthouse at Egmond aan Zee, where King Willem I promised there would always be a ship bearing Speijk's name in the Dutch Royal Navy. These commemorative monuments attest to the importance of Speijk's legacy in the 1830s, which led to the production of a wide range of works, which is a key part of the musical and theatrical mythology of the revolutions of 1830 and a substantial part of the repertoire in multiple Amsterdam theatres.

⁶¹¹ Ronald Prud'homme van Reine, *Liever niet de lucht in: de omstreden zelfmoordaanslag van Jan Carel van Speijk*, (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers: 2016), 288 p.

W.A.L.S.E
ALA

VAN SPEYK

Pour le
Piano-Forte

PAR
L. van Beethoven.

Prix 40^c

à Amsterdam, chez Guido, Vijzelstraat N° 132.
1832

Allegretto
WALSE

The musical score is written for piano and bass. It begins with a treble and bass clef, a key signature of two sharps (D major), and a 3/4 time signature. The first system includes the tempo marking 'Allegretto' and the title 'WALSE'. The melody is primarily in the treble clef, with the bass clef providing harmonic support. The second system continues the melody. The third system features a repeat sign and a forte (f) dynamic. The fourth system ends with a 'Fine' marking.

Figure 28: Walse à la van Speyk pour le Piano-Forte (Waltz)

TRIO

p

f

W.D.C.

Figure 29: *Walse à la van Speyk pour le Piano-Forte* (Trio)

In conclusion, Amsterdam is a place of great musical and theatrical diversity. The success of certain works, like *La muette de Portici* and *Robert le Diable* not only accounts for the appreciation *Amsterdammers* had for *opéra*, but also reveals the underlining political mechanisms operating in the background of the theatre world. Despite the broad variety of genres that were staged in Amsterdam's numerous theatres, one genre received little to no representation: parody. In her research on parodic works for the stage, Clair Rowden pointed out that 'by the nineteenth century, thousands of ephemeral operatic parodies were performed in both Paris and on regional French stages'.⁶¹² It doesn't seem to have been the case for Amsterdam, as the *Algemeen Handelsblad* only mentions one parody staged at the French Theatre in the 1830s: *Robert le Diable, parodie burlesque du grand opéra de ce nom, en 1 acte, mêlée de chants*. No further information is given regarding this work, which might have been composed locally rather than imported from Paris. The parody was premiered on 26 February 1839 and given again four days later. Although short-lived and uncommented on by the press, the presence of this parody at the French Theatre not only reaffirmed opera's legitimacy in the cultural sphere but also was instrumental in positioning *Robert le Diable* in the cultural space it occupied.⁶¹³ Outside of the French Theatre, Dutch translations of French *comédie-vaudeville* circulated freely in both the Municipal Theatre and in several secondary theatres, while French opera sung in German was common at the German Theatre. The cultural transfer went beyond the mere adaptation of French works for the stage: Vautrin, Alexandre and Lennep adopted the French style for their local compositions: by assimilating genres familiar to the public, they were able to convey national and patriotic sentiment, as was the case with the musical tributes to Speijk.

⁶¹² Clair Rowden, *Opera and Parody in Paris, 1860-1900*, (Tourhout: Brepols, 2020), p. 1.

⁶¹³ Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth Century Germany*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 15.

Conclusion

The critical fortunes of Amsterdam as a stage for French opera and musical theatre have long been overshadowed by other cities of the historical Netherlands, such as Brussels or The Hague. Contrary to popular belief, this study has shown that throughout the decade of the 1830s, the capital of the Netherlands not only boasted a dozen playhouses that performed a repertoire of French theatrical productions, but also, in the case of the French Theatre, saw a regular traffic of peripatetic troupes and artists from France with the latest *opéras*, *opéras-comiques* and *comédies-vaudevilles* in their suitcases.

The cultural and historical circumstances presented in Chapter 1 explain how the importance and high regard the Dutch had for the French language, since the fourteenth century, still emanated in the 1830s despite staggering historical events such as the Franco-Dutch war or the Napoleonic occupation. For a nation morally at odds with France, the Netherlands had French-language theatres present in many cities, with both local and itinerant troupes that created an artistic network rooted in the quintessential triangle 'Director – Artists – Audience' presented on page 158.

Theatres in Amsterdam, as described in Chapter 2, were often small, lacking the luxurious scenery and comfort found in other cities of the Francosphere, but this did not put *Amsterdammers* off from attending, usually in numbers that exceeded the capacity of the playhouse. There was an abundant variety of genres available, since no licensing system was in place to regulate theatre activity in Amsterdam. The decision on which theatre to frequent was therefore contingent on the social context of the *habitués*, the type of repertoire performed and the language spoken/sung on stage. French repertoire was very fashionable and in high demand in Amsterdam, as it was present in all three of Amsterdam's primary theatres (the Municipal Theatre, the French Theatre and the German Theatre), and also found itself on the billings of the Kunstgenoegen, the Leerzaam Vermaak, the Grand Salon and various venues in the *Plantagie*. At the end of the 1830s, the newly opened Salon des Variétés offered *comédie-vaudeville* six nights per week, securing promising prospects for the proceeding decade.

The agents responsible for locally producing and performing the vast quantity of the French theatrical repertoire were presented in Chapter 3: the lineage of directorships of the Amsterdam French Theatre and the troupes the managed. Each director brought

Conclusion

something unique to the Amsterdam French Theatre, making do with the available resources to satisfy the audience whilst sustaining their actors and singers. Auguste Nourrit ran both the French theatre in Amsterdam and the one in The Hague between 1830 and 1833. Although the reputation of both playhouses significantly increased under Nourrit's management (through the choice of repertoire and the hiring of travelling artists), the perilous double administration eventually forced Nourrit to favour The Hague and abandon Amsterdam in September 1833. Two actors of Nourrit's troupe decided to stay on as the new directors in Amsterdam: Charles Fédé and Alex Vautrin. Even though Fédé only co-directed the French Theatre to allow Vautrin to travel to Paris and chase talent, his diligent stewardship of what was left of the troupe kept the theatre running until Vautrin's return. By November 1833, when Fédé was no longer associated with the management of the French Theatre, Vautrin became its sole director. His directorship can be considered the golden age of the Amsterdam French Theatre in the 1830s: the abundance of repertoires and frequentation of the playhouse by actors and singers from abroad was unmatched. Vautrin's regime marked a definite high point in the history of the French Theatre, yet Vautrin's fame is forever blemished by his nefarious flight from the theatre in February 1837. Unable to save his sinking theatre, he ran a credit line in several local shops and fled Amsterdam with all the money and valuables he could carry. Paul Cœuriot, his successor, performed his duties admirably given the state of the financial catastrophe left behind by Vautrin. Unable to secure an opera quartet for the French Theatre during the 1837-1838 season, Cœuriot turned to staging *comédie-vaudeville*, *comédie* and *drame*. Despite an overall favourable recovery, Cœuriot relinquished his position as director to Jean-Marie Baudot, who managed the French Theatre admirably and efficiently until his death in December 1840.

As Chapter 4 showed, the French Theatre welcomed over twenty of the most renowned singers and actors from Paris during the 1830s. Vocal talents from the Opéra-Comique included Louis Ponchard, Marie Callault (Ponchard), Jean-Baptiste Chollet, Zoë Prévost, Amelia Masi and Félicité More (Pradher). There were players from the Comédie-Française such as Adrien Perlet, Elisa Verneuil and Messrs. David, Firmin and Monroe. From the Théâtre du Vaudeville came both Bernard-Léon *ainé* and *jeune*, along with Marie Vernet (Albert) and her husband. Finally, from the Théâtre des Variétés, the talents of Charles Potier, Jenny Vertpré, Nicolas Alexandre, Charles Lepeintre *ainé*, Monsieur Philippe

and Victor Lhérie graced the Amsterdam stage. A detailed study on Lhérie's stay in Amsterdam revealed not only the diversity of repertoire that travelling artists could bring to the Amsterdam stage, but also the potential of touring other Dutch cities and broadening the artistic and economic impact of a visiting actor.

Amsterdam theatres catered for a wide ranging audience while exhibiting an abundant variety of repertoires, ranging from traditional spoken dramas and tragedies to the fully sung French *grand opéras*. As shown in Chapter 5, this multitude of different genres can be quantified and analysed in clusters. By ranking the total number of works staged in terms of genre, one can conclude that there were more *comédies-vaudevilles* staged throughout the 1830s than any other genre, largely outweighing *opéra* or *opéra-comique*. Yet, the genre with the highest number of performances per work was *opéra*, which attested to the various statements in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* claiming that *opéra* was the favourite genre of Amsterdam's theatregoers. The public's constant requests to hear and revisit certain operas, drove the theatres to put on more performances in that genre and thus greatly contributed to making it Amsterdam's favourite genre.

These chapters have outlined the elements that made up Amsterdam's unique theatre panorama in the 1830s. I have stressed the presence of a historical predilection for theatre and the importance of French language and culture in the Netherlands. The existence of multiple theatres, the abundance of repertoires and the agency of directors (to assemble troupes, programmes and hire travelling artists), are all proof that a fertile French theatre culture did in fact flourish in Amsterdam throughout the 1830s. This evidence, primarily materialised from periodicals, marks the starting point of a journey to uncover a largely neglected aspect of Dutch music history, which, as more primary sources surface and further research sees the light, will change the way in which historians engage with the subject of nineteenth-century theatre in the Netherlands.

Appendix A Salomon Savery, *Jacob van Campen's Theatre on the Keizergracht*, lith. 1658.

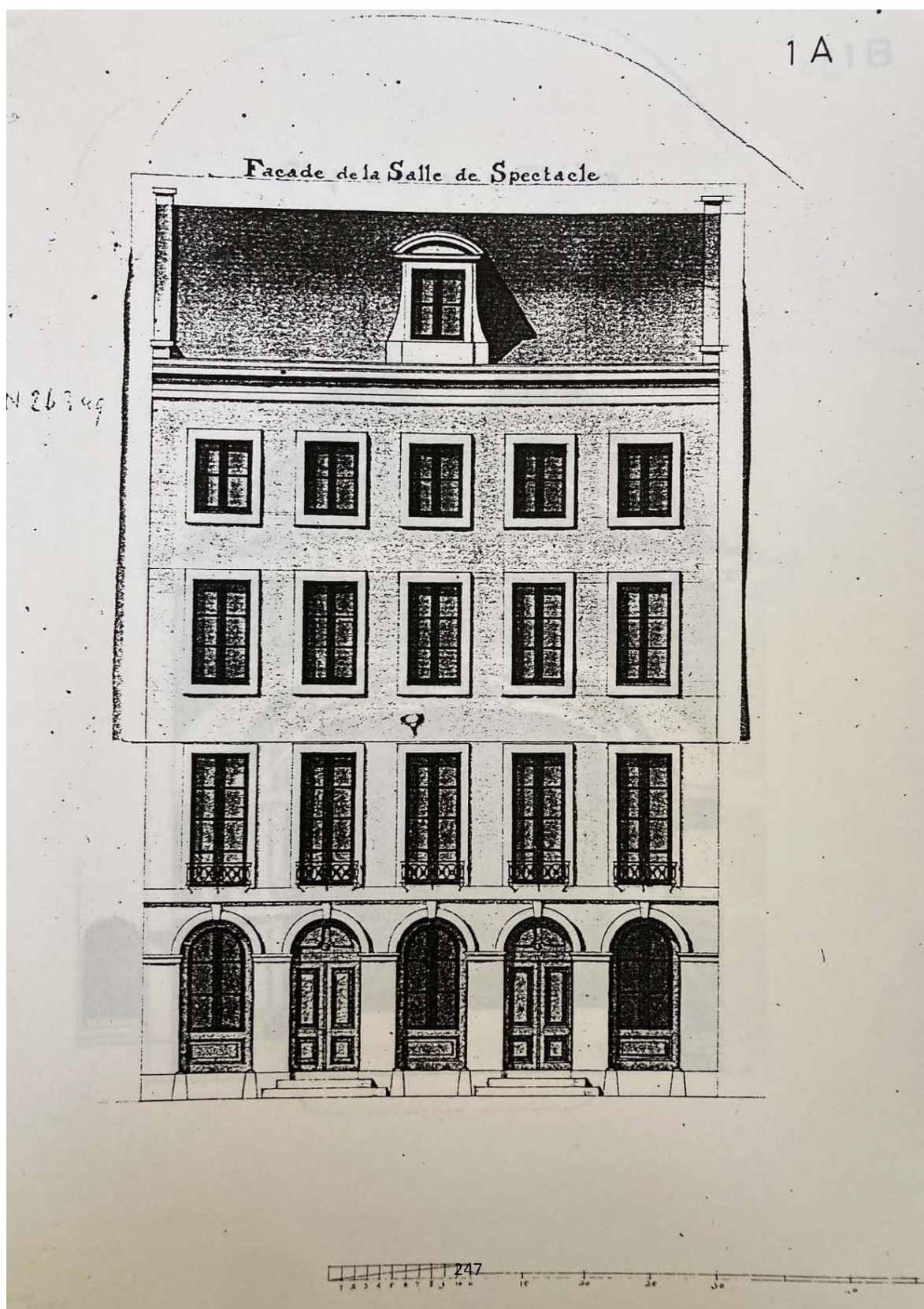


(looking towards the stage)



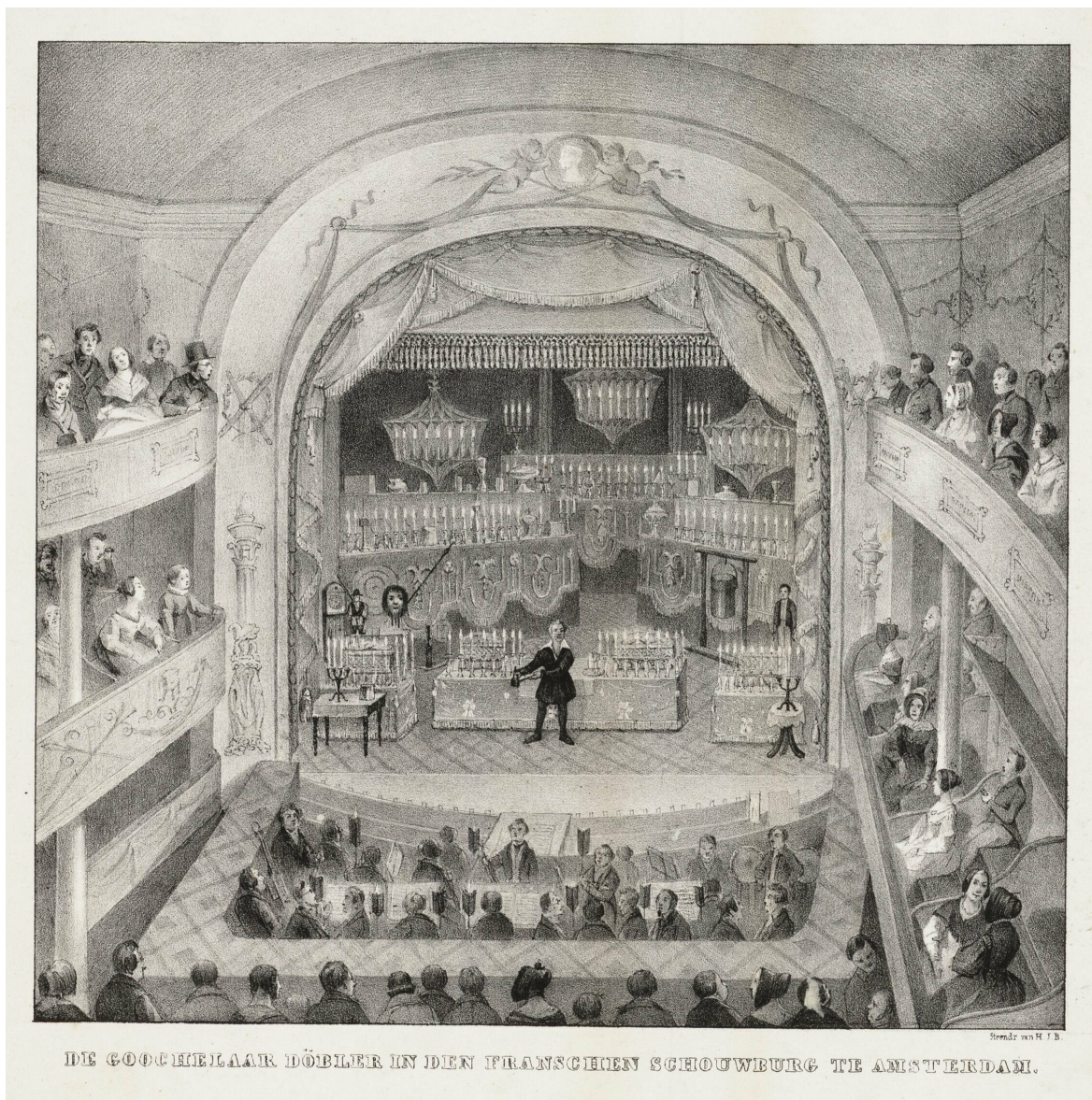
(looking towards the auditorium)

Appendix B Facade of the Amsterdam French Theatre



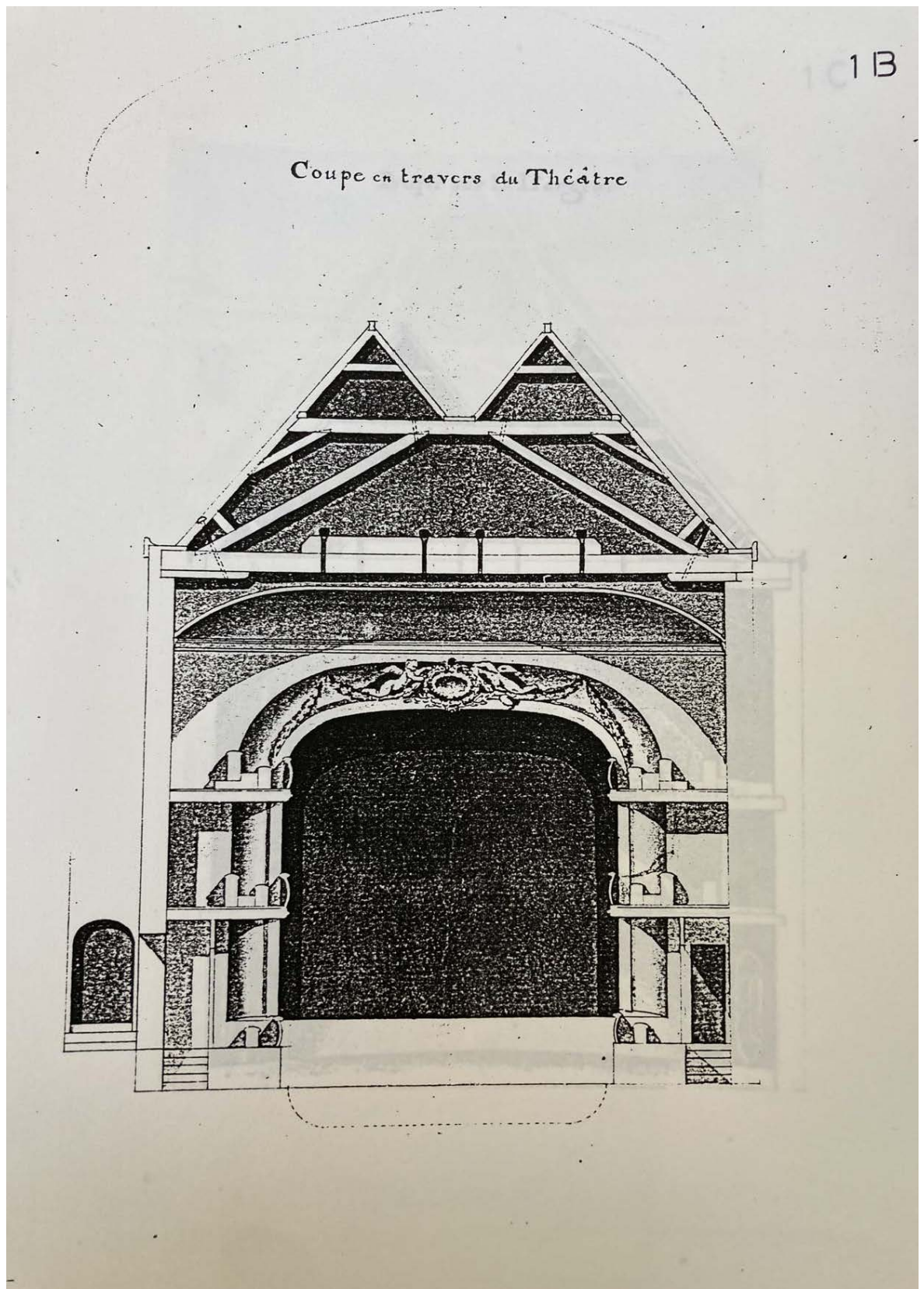
Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix C Front view of the stage of the French Theatre by H. J. Backer (1830)



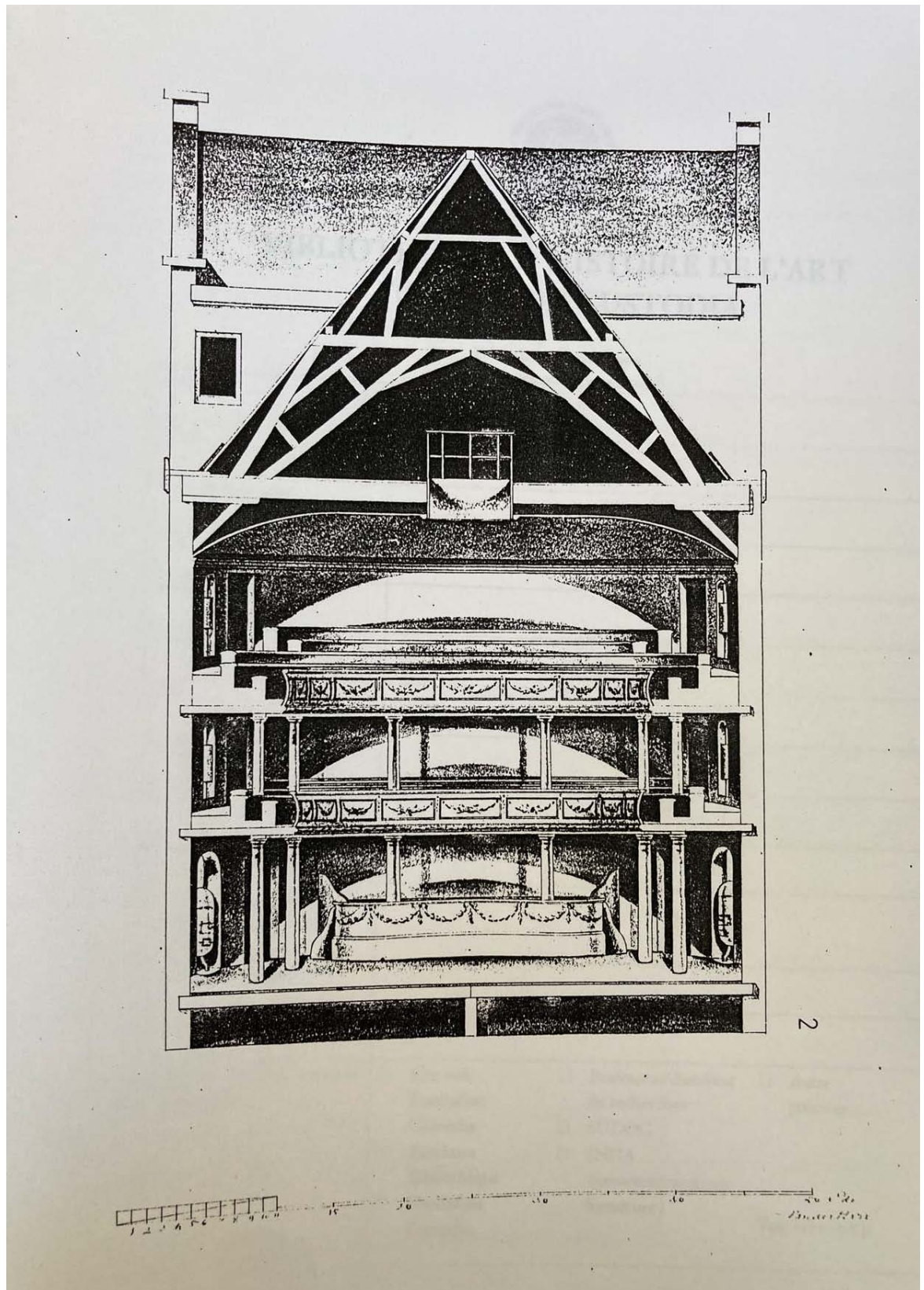
De goochelaar Döbler in den Franschen Schouwburg te Amsterdam, omstreeks 1830 [The magician Döbler in the Franschen Schouwburg in Amsterdam, about 1830], Lithograph, Atlas Dreesmann Collection, Amsterdam State Archives (<http://archief.amsterdam/archief/10094>) Registry number: 010094004755.

Appendix D Cross section of the French Theatre looking towards the stage



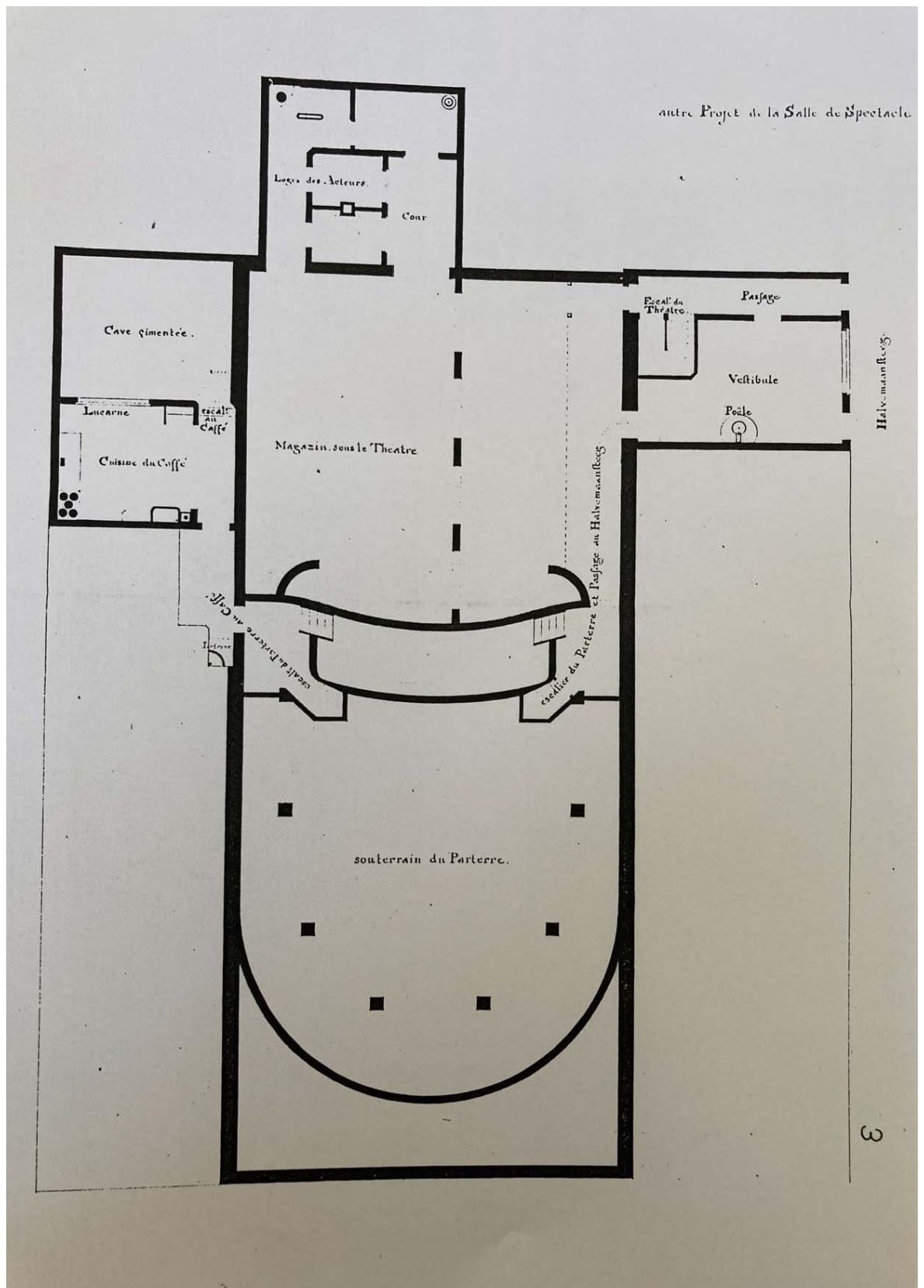
Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix E Cross section of the French Theatre looking towards the auditorium



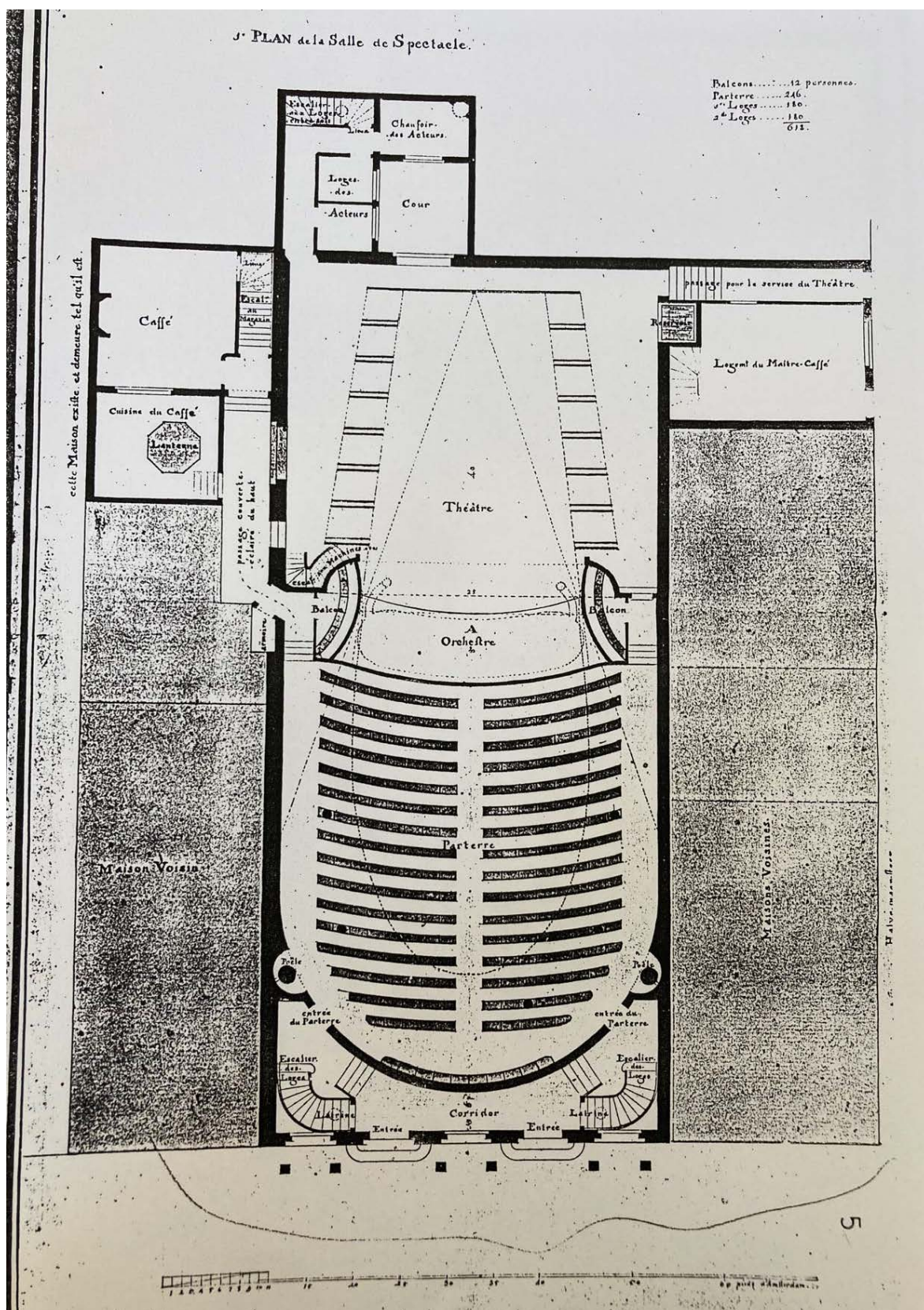
Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix F Floorplans: French Theatre (basement)



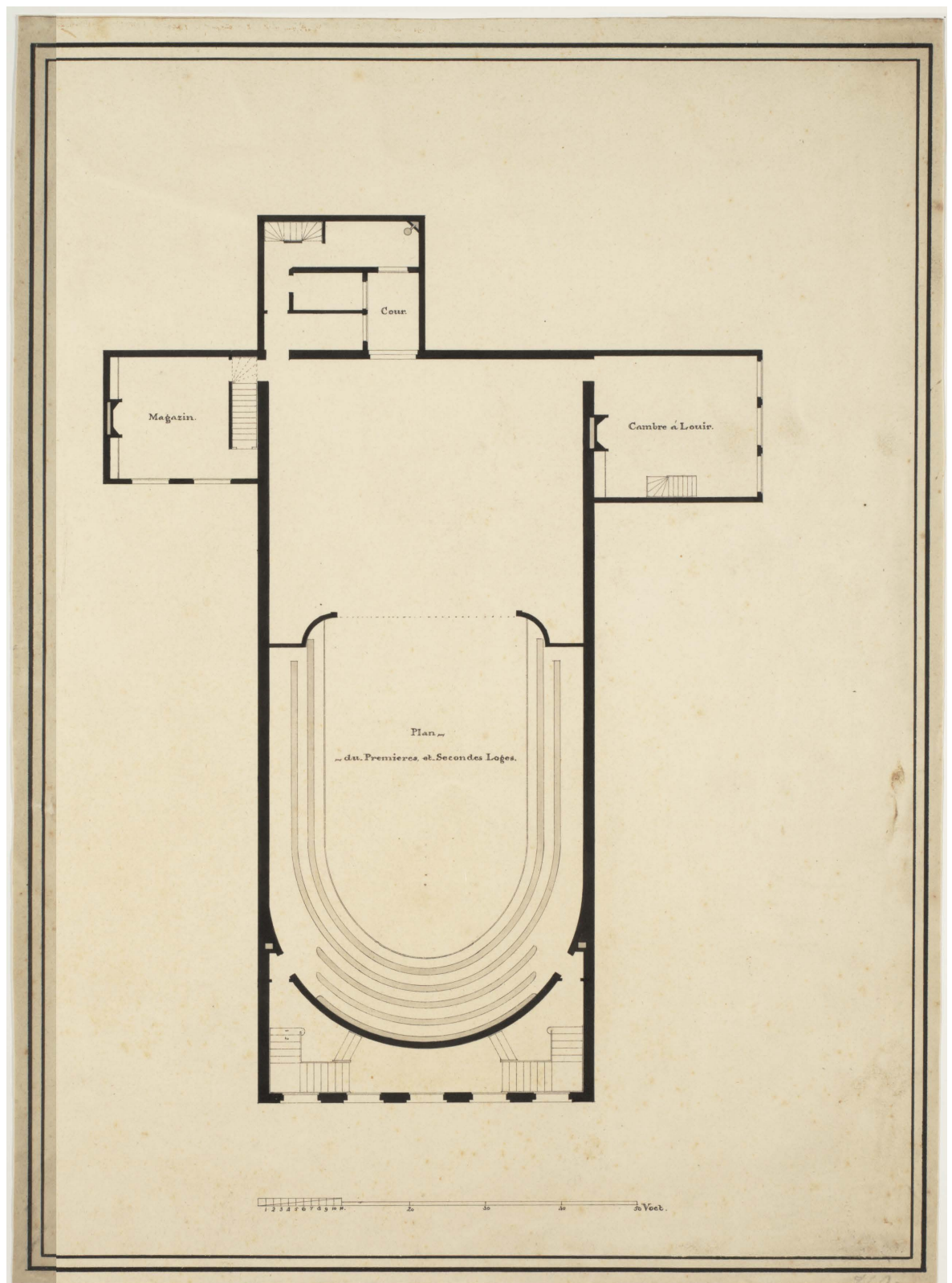
Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix G Floorplans: French Theatre (Ground Floor)

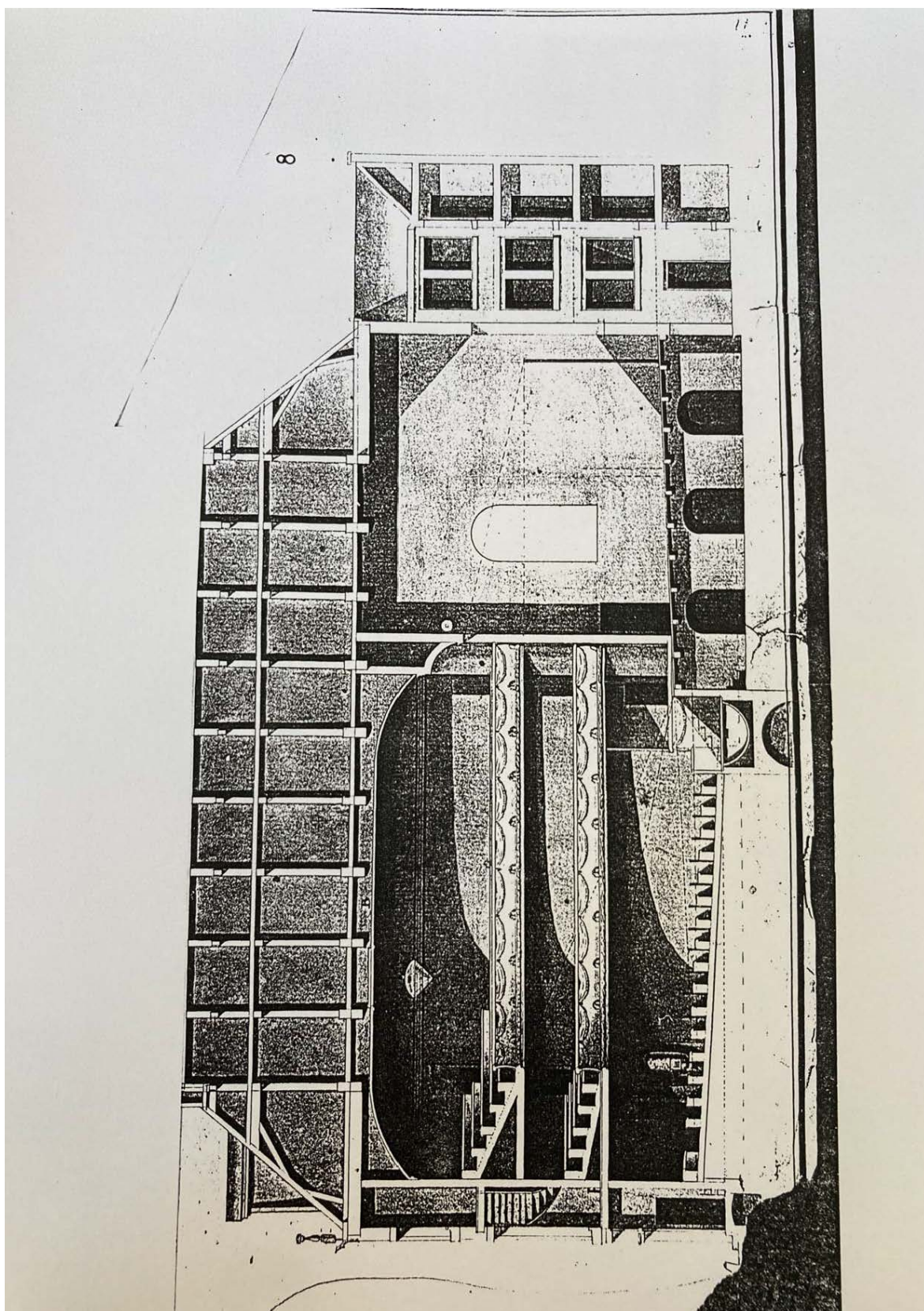


Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix H Floorplans: Fr. Theatre (1st & 2nd Balconies)

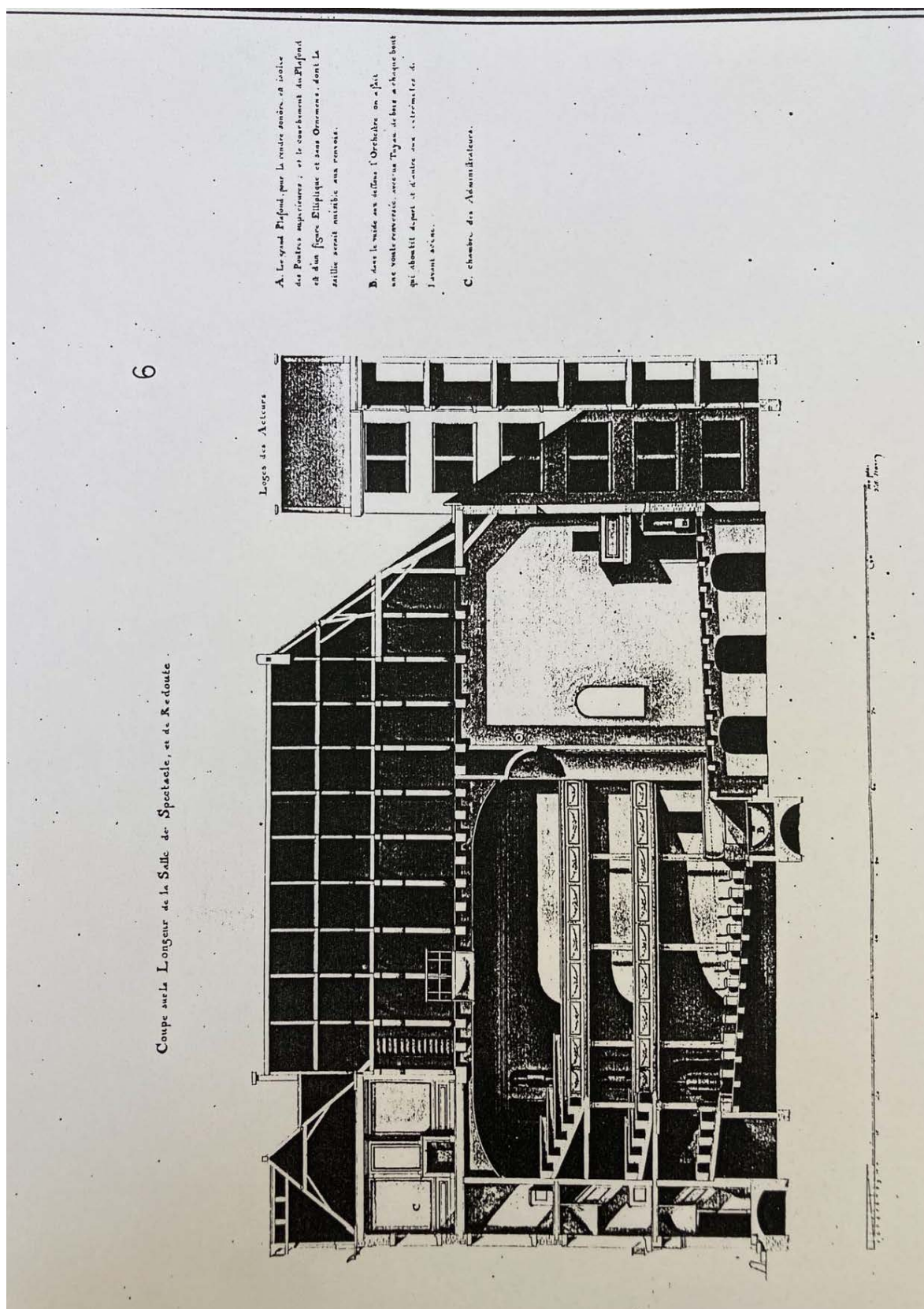


Appendix I Side cut view of the French Theatre



Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix J Side cut view of the Fr. Theatre (detailed)



Ineke van Rosum, *Groot Theatre op een klein Toneel*. 1988. University Of Amsterdam, PhD.

Appendix K Auditorium of the Kleine Komédie theatre

Photo credit: William Osmond © 2019



Appendix L *Arthur ou seize ans après* - Act I sc. 11

— 20 —

mère resta deux mois entre la vie et la mort... moi je lui dis: Ne pleurez pas, nous irons un jour à la recherche de votre fils qui ne peut être qu'en Angleterre... malheureusement elle était sans argent et moi je n'avais pas le sou, et il fallait en faire des cornets de tabac pour amasser le voyage... Le fonds n'était pas à moi... pour lors, je me suis mis à calculer que pour avoir une somme un peu ronde, il fallait boire de l'eau et manger des pommes de terre pendant seize ans... Eh ben! que je me dis, vive l'amitié, et... enfin, ce qui se dit en pareil cas... et maintenant, jusqu'à ce que le dernier écu soit dépensé, nous allons parcourir toute l'Angleterre pour retrouver mon voleur d'enfants.

JOBSON.

Mais quel espoir avez-vous? Vous n'avez pas même vu ses traits, vous ne pourriez pas le reconnaître quand il serait devant vous, là comme moi, à nous regarder en face?

JÉRÔME.

Ah! mon Dieu! qu'est-ce que je vois?

JOBSON, *à part*.

Eh bien! qu'est ce qui lui prend donc?

JÉRÔME.

Attendez, attendez, que je compare l'objet. (*Il tire de sa poche un bouton enveloppé dans un papier.*) En cherchant à retenir mon homme, ce bouton m'est resté dans la main, et il est tout à fait semblable à ceux que vous portez. En voilà, un renseignement!

JOBSON.

Oh! oui, à présent vous savez que c'est un marin, et comme nous sommes quarante mille comme ça en Angleterre, vous n'avez plus qu'à choisir.

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— 21 —

JÉRÔME.

C'est parbleu vrai, je n'y avais pas pensé ; mais j'en ai un autre renseignement. Vous m'aidez, n'est-ce pas, vous qui êtes du pays ?

JOBSON.

Oui, oui, certainement.

JÉRÔME.

Je cours chercher mes effets, et je reviens auprès de ma cousine, pour lui conter le service que vous voulez nous rendre.

JOBSON.

C'est ça, je vous attends, et si je ne vous fais pas trouver votre voleur, c'est que, vraiment, je ne le voudrais pas.

JÉRÔME.

AIR: *Quel cruel mystère!* (Pierre-le-Rouge, 3^{me} acte.)

En vous j'mets ma confiance,

Oui, j'ai bonne espérance.

Et, j'en suis sûr d'avance,

Tout me réussira.

Ah! pour moi quel délire.

Lorsque je pourrai dire...

(*Il le prend par le bras.*)

En le tenant comm' ça :

Mon voleur, le voilà!

ENSEMBLE.

En vous j'mets ma confiance, etc.

JOBSON.

Ayez de la confiance,

Surtout bonne espérance,

Car, j'en suis sûr d'avance,

Tout vous réussira.

(*Jérôme sort en courant.*)

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Appendix M *Arthur of Zestien Jaren Later* - Act I sc. 11

ZESTIEN JAREN LATER.

31

Mijn he
ge al m
te gehe
een ha
de was
reijen.
redre
ijn cat
gevolg
stolen
waar!
helm.
s, dat

aardappelen moest eten, en water drinken. — Zestien jaren hield ik het vol; toen was ik er! — Victorie! Nicht! zeide ik.... en.... wat er dan zoo meer gezegd wordt. — Kortom: thans, nu wij hier zijn, zullen wij, tot de laatste centime verteerd is, 't Britsche Koninkrijk in alle deszelfs schuilhoeken en spelonken doorzoeken; tot dat wij den kleinen jongen, of den dief hebben. —

JOBSON.

Den laatsten althans zal moeilijk zijn. Ge hebt hem immers nooit in het gezigt gezien; en zoudt hem dus niet herkennen, al stond hij voor u zoo als ik? —

JEROME, *(hem aanziende.)*

Ha!... Wat zie ik? —

JOBSON.

Wat dan? *(ter zijde.)* Zou hij op stroom komen? —

JEROME.

Wacht eens vriendje! eene kleine comparatie. — *(Hij haalt een knoop uit den zak, in onderscheidene papieren gewikkeld.)* Toen ik den vlegel vastgreep, voor hij den winkel uitwas; is mij deze knoop in den vuist bestorven, — Volkomen gelijk aan dien daar van u.

JOBSON.

Ah zoo! ja een oude knoop nog van de Marine. — Nu weet gij ten minsten dat de dief één knoop aan het lijf had van onze Britsche zeemagt; en nademaal er nu hier ruim veertig duizend menschen zulke knopen dragen; hebt ge maar te kiezen.

JE-

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JEROME.

't Is waar ook: daar heb ik nooit aan gedacht. Maar ik heb nog betere herkenningsmiddelen. Wacht maar tot dat de goederen gelost zijn... Gij zult mij intusschen helpen; niet waar man van eerlijke beginse-
len! — *(Hij drukt hem de hand.)*

JOBSON.

Als ik u het kind niet terug breng; geloof mij goede
ziel! dan hangt het niet van mij af. —

JEROME.

Verkwikkelijk vooruitzigt, den kleinen jongen weer
te hebben! Geloof mij als ik den dief betrap, en hem
(Hij vat Jobson bij de schouderen.) in den kraag kan
pakken zoo als ik u doe, dan zal ik op mijne beurt
hem een snuifje toedienen; dat ook hem de tranen over
de wangen zullen loopen. —

TWAALFDE TOONEEL.

DE VORIGEN, KITTY.

KITTY.

Ik zeg maar altijd. *(Jobson ziende.)* Jobson! Lord
Melvil roept u; hij wil u alleen spreken. — *(Jobson
gaat heen: Jerome wil met drift volgen; maar wordt
door Kitty terug gehouden.)* Zacht wat man! heet gij
Jobson?

J E.

Appendix N French Works performed in Amsterdam

N.1 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1830

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant*

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TITLE OF WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die weise dame</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			9
<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>Het Sprakeloze Meisje van Portici</i>	Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	WEESPERPORT	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG		8
<i>Frosine ou l'actrice à l'épreuve</i>	<i>Frosine of de laastst aangekomene</i>	Vaudeville	1		Radet, Jean-Baptiste	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	WEESPERPORT	DEUTSCHES THEATER	STADS SCHOUWBURG	8
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der mauer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			7
<i>Angéline ou la champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina, of het geldersch landmeisje</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Léon	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG		7
<i>Les deux matelots ou le père malgré lui</i>	<i>De Zeekapiten of de twee weezen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	DEUTSCHES THEATER				7
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>	<i>De twee jonge savoyaards</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			6
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			6
<i>Marie Mignot</i>		Vaudeville historique mêlée de couplets	3		Bayard, J.F. Duport, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Louise, ou la réparation</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Jocko, ou le singe du Brésil</i>	<i>Jocko of de Aap van Brazillen</i>	Drame	2	Piccini, Alexandre	Rocheport, Edmond	DEUTSCHES THEATER				6
<i>Madame de Sainte-Agnès</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Varner, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le petit matelot</i>	<i>Het matroosje of de schipbreuk</i>	Opéra	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	STADS SCHOUWBURG	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			5
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			5
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	<i>De verijdelde zamenkomsten</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			5
<i>La seconde année, ou à qui la faute</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Théaulon, E. Anne, Th.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	SCHOUWBURG			5
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>Het kamertje van een waschmeisje</i>	Vaudeville	1		[C. Alex Van Ray]	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	WEESPERPORT		5
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam</i>		A-propos patriotique	2		Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le rossignol</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Louis-Sébastien Lebrun	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Jean ou le fruit de l'éducation</i>		Vaudeville	4		Théaulon, E. Signol, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le grand-père ou les deux âges</i>	<i>De Grootvader of de Twee levensperken</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Jadin, Louis	Favières, Edmond	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>		Opéra-buffa	4	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>Joseph und seine Brüder</i>	Opéra sacré	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas		DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			4
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Teniers</i>	<i>Teniers</i>	Comédie en prose mêlée de vaudeville	1		Bouilly, J. Pain, J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	DEUTSCHES THEATER			4
<i>Le jeune mari</i>	<i>Het ongelijke huwelijk</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Isaure</i>	<i>Isauwra</i>	Drame mêlé de chant	3		Nezel, T. Antier, B.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				4
<i>Les deux sergens</i>	<i>De twee serjanten</i>	Drame	3		d'Aubigny, Baudoin	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Le garde de nuit</i>		Vaudeville	3		Mélesville Masson, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			4

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
La nièce supposée		Comédie en vers	3		Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
Le colporteur ou l'enfant du bucheron		Opéra comique	3	Onslow, George	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La pie voleuse		Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le Calif de Bagdad	Der Kalif von Bagdad	Opéra	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	THEATRE FRANCAIS			3
Les femmes-soldats, ou la forteresse mal	De vrouwen-soldaten, of De slecht verdedigde	Folie-vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				3
Le siège de Corinthe		Grand opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
L'opéra comique	De Kluchtige Opera	Opéra-comique en prose et ariettes	1	Della Maria, Domenico	Segur, J. Dupaty, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La neige ou le nouvel Eginard	Der Schnee	Opéra-comique	4	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
Haine aux femmes	De Vrouwenhater	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Le célibataire et l'homme marié	De gehuwde en de ongehuwde Man	Comédie	5		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Les deux nuits		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe, E. Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le bandit		Pièce mêlées de chants	2		Théaulon, E. Saint Laurent	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Picaros et Diego		Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Dupaty, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Henri IV en famille	Hendrik de vierde Huisvader	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Vanderburch, E. Villeneuve, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Joseph II, ou l'inconnu au cabaret	Jozef de Tweede, of de onbekende in de herberg	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Duvert, F.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
Le coiffeur et le perruquier	De kapper en de parujkmaker	Vaudeville	1		Mazères, E. Scribe, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
La maîtresse au logis		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La vieille		Opéra comique	1	Fétis, François	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Philippe		Comédie vaudevilles	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le duel		Comédie en prose	1		Halévy, Léon	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Ma place et ma femme		Comédie	3		Wailly, G. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Monsieur Jovial		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Un an, ou le mariage d'amour		Comédie en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le dilettante d'Avignon		Opéra-comique	1	Halévy, Fromental	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le vieux mari		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement	De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J.	WEESPERPORT	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			3
Le secret	Het Geheim	Comédie en prose mêlée de musique	1	Solié, Jean-Pierre	Hoffmann, Ernst	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
Les premières amours	De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindsheid	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les trois Fanchons ou cela ne finira pas	De Drie Fanchons of dat zal nooit eindigen	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dejaure fils Bonel, P.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
Otello ou le more de Venise		Opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	Castil-Blaze	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La manie des places, ou la folie du siècle		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour	De Ketellapper van Saint-Flour	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
La prison militaire ou les trois prisonniers	Het Militair arrest of de drie gevangenen	Comédie	5		Dupaty, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Une visite à Bedlam		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le déjeuner de garçon		Comédie	1		Creuzé de Lesser, Augustin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les deux grenadiers, ou les quiproquos	De Twee Grenadiers, of het Misverstand	Comédie	3		Patrat, Joseph	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	DEUTSCHES THEATER			2
Beniowski, ou les exilés du Kamtschatka		Opéra	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Joconde, ou les coureurs d'aventures		Opéra-comique	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Calas	Jean Calas of de onschuldige gevonnisde	Drame en proses	3		Ducange, Victor	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				2
Adolphe et Clara	Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Conradin et Frédéric</i>	<i>Koenradijn en Frederik</i>	Tragédie	5		Ladières, Pierre-Chaumont	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Tony ou cinq années en deux heures</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le sourd ou l'auberge pleine</i>	<i>De doove of het Huis Volk</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
<i>Guillaume Tell (g)</i>		Drame lyrique en prose	3	Grétry, André	Sedaine, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La dame noire</i>		Folie vaudeville burlesque	2,5		Remy, Charles Honoré	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Zelmire</i>	<i>Zelmire</i>	Tragédie	5		Belloy, Auguste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les actionnaires</i>		Comédie vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le marquis de pomenars</i>	<i>De Markies de Pomenars</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Gay, Sophie	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le voyage à Dieppe</i>	<i>De reis van Gend naar Ostende</i>	Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Chacun de son côté</i>	<i>Ieder zijn weg</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Phèdre</i>	<i>Fedra</i>	Tragédie	5		Racine	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La grisette mariée</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dartois, Armand	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	<i>Tooneeldienst, of de Vertooning ten voordeele van een</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
<i>Cimarosa</i>	<i>De Kapelmeester van Venetie</i>	Opéra comique	2	POPURI	Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE				2
<i>La mansarde des artistes</i>	<i>De schoone Kunsten onder de Dakoannen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dupin, H. Scribe, E. Vamer, A.	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE				2
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Le naufrage ou les héritiers</i>	<i>De Schipbreuk of de erfgenen</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Vatel ou le petit fils d'un grand homme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mazères, É. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'ami intime</i>	<i>De Boezemvriend</i>	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A. Laloue	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>La petite maison</i>	<i>Het Englesche Landhuis</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Melesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Clémence et Waldemar, ou le peintre par amour</i>	<i>Clémence en Waldemar, of het Vermogen der</i>	Drame	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Euphrosine et Coradin, ou le tyran corrigé</i>		Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>	<i>Het Loterij Brefje</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le Cid</i>	<i>De Cid</i>	Tragi-comédie	5		Corneille	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Marie</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérolde, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le solitaire</i>		Opéra	3	Carafa, Michele		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La femme jalouse</i>	<i>De Jaloersche Vrouw</i>	Comédie	5		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>		Opéra-bouffon	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Longchamps, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le comédien d'Étampes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Sewin, Ch. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>France et Savoie</i>		Vaudeville	2		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Stratonice</i>		Grand opéra	1	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Shakespeare amoureux</i>	<i>Shakespeare Minnaar</i>	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Robin des bois</i>	<i>Der Freischutz</i>	Opéra	3	Weber, Carl Maria		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le bon garçon</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, E. Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La chercheuse d'esprit</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Dumersan, T. Favard, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Blaise et Babet, ou la suite des trois fermiers</i>	<i>Blaise en Babet</i>	Comédie	2		Boutet de Monvel, Jacques Marie	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Les voitures versées</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Édouard en Écosse ou la nuit d'un proscrit</i>	<i>Eduard in Schotland</i>	Drame-historique	3		Duval, Alexandre	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Riquet à la houppe</i>		Vaudeville-féerie	3		Sewrin, Ch. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Meropé	Meropé	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les moralistes		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les précieuses ridicules	De Belagchelijke juffers	Comédie	1		Molière	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Le protégé ou le danger de la faveur	De Schoolkameraad of de Gunsteling	Comédie anecdote	3		Dumersan, T. Duval, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La somnambule		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Héctor	Hektor	Tragédie	5		Luce de Lancival	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Zaire	Zaire	Tragédie	6		Voltaire	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le petit chaperon		Opéra	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le roman d'une heure	De Belagchelijke weddingschap, of De minnehandel	Comédie en prose	1		Hoffmann, Ernst	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Sylla	Sylla, of de Bevrijding van Rome	Tragédie	5		Étienne de Jouy	WEESPERPORT				1
La pie voleuse, ou la servante de Palaiseau	De Ekster en de Dienstmaagd	Drame	3		Caigniez, Louis-Charles	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur	De Huichelaar	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Epicharis et Néron ou conspiration pour la liberté	Epicharis en Nero	Tragédie	5		Legouvé, Ernest	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
La tête de bronze, ou le déserteur hongrois	Het borstbeeld, of De Hongaarsche deserteur	Mélodrame	3		Creuzé de Lesser, Augustin	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Malvina, ou un mariage d'inclination		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Jocrisse change de condition	Jocrisse in een nieuwe dienst	Comédie folle en prose	2		Dorvigny, Louis-François	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La jeunesse d'Henri V	de Jeugd van Hendrik den vijfden	Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Gustave en dalécarlie, ou les mineurs suédois	Gustavus, of de zweedsche mijnwerkers	Anecdote historique	5		Lamartelière, Jean-Henri	WEESPERPORT				1
Une heure de prison, ou la lettre de recommandation	Een uur achter slot, of De brief van aanbeveling	Comédie	2		Dumersan, T. Sewrin, Ch. Merle, J.	WEESPERPORT				1
Le chien de Montargis ou la forêt de Bondy	Hondentrouw, of de Moord in het Woud van Bondij	Mélodrame historique	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Pauline, ou brusque et bonne	Pauline of drift en goedhartigheid	Comédie en prose	3		Dumersan, Théophile	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La banqueroute du savetier	Het Bankroet van het Schoenlapper	A-propos de botte et en vaudeville	1		Martainville, Alphonse	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Les cuisiniers diplomates		Folie vaudeville	1		Barthélémy Rochefort, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La danse interrompue	De Verhinderde Danspartij	Vaudeville	1		Ourry, M. Barré, P.	WEESPERPORT				1
Guillaume Tell (I)	Willem Tell, Beschermder der Zwitsersche	Tragédie	5		Le Mierre, Antoine-Marin	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
La fausse Agnès ou le poète campagnard	De gewaande onnozele juffer, of de belagchelyke	Comédie en prose	3		Destouches, André Cardinal	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le brutus de m. Voltaire	Brutus van Voltaire	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le chevalier à la mode	Jonker Windbuil, of De driedubbele minnaar	Comédie	1		Destouches, André Cardinal	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Gabrielle de Vergy	Gabriela van Vergy	Tragédie	5		Belloy, Auguste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Jérôme Pointu	Jerome Pointu	Comédie en prose	1		Madame de Beaunoir	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le Hussard de Felsheim	De Hussaar van Felsheim	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Dupeuty, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Valérie, ou la jeune aveugle	Valeria of het vereffend Proces	Comédie	3	-	Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le dragon de Thionville	De Edelmoedige Dragonder	Fait historique en prose	1		Dumaniant, Antoine-Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
L'embaras du début		Prologue d'ouverture	1		Riblé, ?	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'héritière		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le tonnelier	De Kuiper	Opéra-comique	1	Gossec, Philidor, Trial	Audinot, Nicolas-Médard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
UNIDENTIFIED	Wittebroodsdagen	Vaudeville	2		[J.H. Grave]	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Charles ou les dangers de l'inconduite	Charles of de Gevaren van een slecht	Mélodrame	3	Quaisain, Adrien	Hubert, ?	WEESPERPORT				1
Les folies amoureuses		Opéra-comique	3	POPURI	Regnard, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of De vermiste diamant</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le bouffe et le tailleur</i>	<i>De Zangzieke Kleermaker</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le poète et le musicien</i>	<i>De dichter en de tooneelspeler</i>	Comédie en vers mêlée de chants	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas		STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'atelier de peinture</i>	<i>Te zijn en niet te zijn, of de schilderswinkel</i>	Tableau vaudeville	1		Léon Sewrin, Ch.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Une journée à Versailles</i>	<i>Een dag in Haarlem</i>	Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La meprise de diligence</i>	<i>De diligence op Orleans</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Caigniez, Louis-Charles	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La mélomanie</i>	<i>De Melomanie, of de Drift tot zang en dans</i>	Opéra	1	Champein, Stanislas	Grenier, Edouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'intérieur d'un bureau, ou la chanson</i>	<i>De oude kopiist, of men schikt zich naar de omstandigheden</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Imbert Scribe, E. Varner, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Sans tambour ni trompette</i>	<i>Zonder trommel of trompet, of de kleine</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Merle, J. Brazier, N. Carmouche, P.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Lully et Quinault</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le ci-devant jeune homme</i>	<i>De Jonkman van zestig jaren</i>	Comédie	1		Merle, J. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'oubli, ou la chambre nuptiale</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dupont, Paul	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La reine de seize ans</i>	<i>De Koningin van Zestien Jaren</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les rivaux d'eux-mêmes</i>	<i>De Beproeving of de jonge Echtgenooten</i>	Comédie	1		Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE	STADS SCHOUWBURG			1
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La clochette</i>		Opéra	3	Hérold, Ferdinand		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial</i>	<i>deugdzame geroeuer of de beloonde</i>	Drame	5		Fenouillot de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'épreuve villageoise</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Azemie, ou le nouveau Robinson</i>	<i>Azemie of de Wilden</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas	La Chabeaussière	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Clara, ou le malheur et la conscience</i>	<i>Clara van Montalban, of Het slagtoffer der</i>	Mélodrame	3	Quaisain, Adrien		KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Le moulin de sans-souci</i>	<i>De molenaar van Sans-Souci</i>	Fait historique en prose	1		Dieulafoy, Michel	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Le baiser au porteur</i>	<i>Het Wisselregt</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Gensoul, J. Scribe, E. Croucy, F.	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Délire</i>		Opéra	1	Berton, Henri		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Michel et Christine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Mr. Botte</i>	<i>Oom botte of luim en Goedhartigheid</i>	Vaudeville	3		Villeneuve, F. Dupeuty, Ch.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La soirée à la mode</i>		Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'italienne à Alger</i>		Opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les mines de Pologne</i>	<i>Het gevaarvol kasteel, of De woestijn in Polen</i>	Mélodrame	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Le mariage extravagant</i>		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le devoir et la nature</i>	<i>Natuur en Plikt of de Zoon Rechter over zijn Vader</i>	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN			1
<i>Les frères à l'épreuve</i>	<i>De broeders op den toets</i>	Drame	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Madame Angot ou la poissarde parvenue</i>	<i>Mevrouw Angot te Parijs of De vischvrouw van</i>	Opéra comique	2	???	Maillet, Antoine-François Ève	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Les deux Edmond</i>		Vaudeville	2		Radet, J.B. Barré, P. Desfontaines, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La fête du village voisin</i>		Opéra comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Sewrin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Thérèse ou l'orpheline de Genève</i>	<i>Theresia of het weeskind van Genève</i>	Mélodrame	3		Ducange, Victor	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Matin et soir</i>		Vaudeville	2		Eugène Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La partie de chasse de Henri IV</i>	<i>De Jagtpartij van Hendrik den Vierde</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Collé, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La cour d'assise</i>		Tableau-vaudeville	1		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Bonardin dans la lune</i>		Folie	1		Honoré, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le pèlerin blanc</i>	<i>De Witte Pelgrim of de Weezen van het Gehucht</i>	Drame	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Le songe ou la chapelle de Glenihorn</i>	<i>Slaapwandelaar of de Kapel van Glenihorn</i>	Mélodrame	3		Melesville	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Tékéli ou le siège de Montgatz</i>	<i>Tékéli of het Beleg van Montgatz</i>	Mélodrame	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>La marraine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une folie</i>	<i>Florival en Armatina</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Étienne de Jouy Bouilly, J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>L'hermite de la Sierra-Morena</i>	<i>De Rotsbewoner of de Kluisenaar in het</i>	Mélodrame	3	Quaisain, Adrien	Mlle Le Riche	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Medeminaar van zich Zelve</i>	Vaudeville	1		Carolet, Denis [?]	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Les réclamations contre l'emprunt forcé</i>	<i>De Bezwaren tegen eene Gedwongene</i>	Comédie	1		Dorvigny, Louis Francois	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	WEESPERPORT				1
<i>Le suicide de falaise</i>	<i>De Belagchelijke Zelfsmoord</i>	Comédie	1		Martainville, Alphonse,	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>La résolution inutile, ou les déguisemens</i>	<i>Het vergeefsche besluit of De vermommingen</i>	Comédie en prose mêlée de vaudeville	1		Patrat, Joseph	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
										449

N.2 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1831

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Van Speijk aux Champs Élysées</i>		Apothéose en vers mêlée de musique			Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				10
<i>Fernand Cortez</i>		Grand opéra	3	Spontini	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Le valet de chambre</i>	<i>De Kamerdienaar</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Carafa, Michele	Mélesville Scribe, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			7
<i>Les manteaux</i>		Vaudeville	2		Vamer, A. Scribe, E. Dupin, H.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>Henri IV en famille</i>	<i>Hendrik de vierde Huisvader</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Van der Burgh Villeneuve, F. Desforges, J.B.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			6
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>		Opéra-buffa	4	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Le Hussard de Felsheim</i>	<i>De Huzaar van Felsheim</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Duputy, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			6
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE	DEUTSCHES THEATER	KUNST GENOEGEN	6
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Weise Dame</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN	ZAAL van het PARK		6
<i>La bataviade</i>		Stances héroïques			Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Jocko, ou le singe du Brésil</i>	<i>Jocko of de Aap van Braziliën</i>	Drame	2	Piccini, Alexandre	Rocheport, Edmond	GRAND SALON				6
<i>Le dragon de Thionville</i>	<i>De Edelmoedige Dragonder</i>	Fait historique en prose	1		Dumaniant, Antoine-Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			5
<i>La reine de 16 ans</i>	<i>De Koningin van Zestien Jaren</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			5
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			5
<i>Le quaker et la danseuse</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duport, P. Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Une faute</i>	<i>Een Enige Misstap</i>	Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>La partie de chasse de Henri IV</i>	<i>De Jagtpartij van Hendrik den Vierde</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Collé, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK		4
<i>Bonardin dans la lune</i>		Folie	1		Honoré, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>	<i>Het Loterij Brefje</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			4
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG	NIEUW SCHOUWBURG		4
<i>Teniers</i>	<i>Teniers</i>	Comédie en prose mêlée de vaudeville			Pain, J. Bouilly, J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Les rivaux d'eux-mêmes</i>	<i>De Beproeving of de jonge Echtgenooten</i>	Comédie	1		Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Deux mots, ou la nuit dans la forêt</i>	<i>De Twee Woorden, of een Nacht in het Bosch</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas		DEUTSCHES THEATER	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			4
<i>La famille du Baron</i>		Vaudeville épisodique	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Zampa, ou la fiancé de marbre</i>	<i>Zampa oder die Marmobraut</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'amitié des femmes</i>		Comédie	1		Lafitte, Jean Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>Het Sprakeloze Meisje van Portici</i>	Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'homme au masque de fer</i>		Drame	5		Fournier, N. Arnould, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Stanislas ou la suite de Michel et Christine</i>	<i>De Hollandsche Fiankeur of het Herbergmeisje op</i>	Comédie vaudeville	1		Arago, E. Saint-Alme, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Les deux Edmond</i>		Vaudeville	2		Radet, J.B. Barré, P. Desfontaines, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les anglaises pour rire</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Duval, A. Gay, S.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam</i>		A-propos patriotique	2		Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les deux journées ou le porteur d'eau</i>	<i>Armand et Constance, of de twee</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Cherubini, Luigi	Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Joseph	Joseph und seine Brüder	Opéra sacré	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le paysan pervers, ou quinze ans de Paris		Comédie	3		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
L'auberge de Bagères		Opéra-comique	3	Catel, Charles Simon	Jalabert, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Picaros et Diego		Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Dupaty, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La fiancée		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort	De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankfurter Loterij	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Anne, Th. Théaulon, E.	KUNST GENOEGEN	STADS SCHOUWBURG	ZAAL van het PARK		3
Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour	De Ketellapper van St. Flour	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	ZAAL van het PARK		3
Les inconvénients de la diligence		Vaudeville	2		Francis Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Ma tante Aurore		Opéra-bouffon	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Longchamps, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Madame de Sainte-Agnès		Vaudeville	1		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Leicester, ou le château de Kenilworth		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La famille de l'apothicaire, ou la petite prude		Vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Duvert, F. Varin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Mr. Blaise ou les deux châteaux		Vaudeville	2	-	Ourry, M. Sewrin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le mari de ma femme		Comédie en vers	3		Rosier, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le confident	De Vertrouwde	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
Les premières amours	De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindschheid	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			3
Madame du Barry		Comédie	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La mère et la fille		Comédie	5		Mazères, E. Empis, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
L'anglais, ou, le fou raisonnable	De verbeterde dwaas	Comédie	1		Patrat, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le diner de Madelon	Het iddagmaal van Magdalena	Vaudeville	1		Désangiers, Armand	KUNST GENOEGEN	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	THEATRE FRANCAIS		3
Léontine		Drame en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Les deux petits savoyards	De Twee Jonge Savoyaards	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Les prétendus		Grand opéra	1	Lemoine, Jean-Baptiste	Rochon de Chabannes	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le bouffon du prince		Vaudeville	2		Saintine, X. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Monsieur beaufile, ou la conversation	Mijn Heer van der Pronk, of het Verkochte Blijspel	Comédie	1		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Jenny		Opéra-comique	3	Carafa, Michele	St. Georges	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le rossignol		Opéra-comique	1	Louis-Sébastien Lebrun	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La matrimonie-manie	Het Bureau van uithuwelijking	Vaudeville	1		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M. Rougemont, M.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				2
Montano et Stéphanie		Opéra	3	Berton, Henri	Dejaure, Jean-Élie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Calas		Drame en proses	3		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Irato ou l'emporté		Opéra	1	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Oedipe à Colone		Opéra	3	Sacchini	Guillard, Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le traité nul		Opéra	2	Gaveaux, Pierre	Marsollier, Benoît-Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le chaperon rouge		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le jeune mari		Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Tony ou cinq années en deux heures		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le coiffeur et le perruquier		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Mazères, E. Saint-Laurent	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La pie voleuse	La Gazza Ladra	Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le dernier jour de deuil		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Ch. Désaugiers, M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	<i>30 Jaren Tooneeldienst</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Le tonnelier</i>	<i>De Kuiper</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Gossec, Philidor, Trial	Audinot, Nicolas-Médard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>L'épreuve villageoise</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Cartouche et Mandrin</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dupin, H. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La famille Riquebourg</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La neige</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Auber, Daniel	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			2
<i>Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur</i>	<i>De Huichelaar</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>L'héritière</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La lettre de change</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Bochsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fête au village voisin</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Sewrin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Marie Mignot</i>		Comédie historique mêlée de couplets	3		Duport, P. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Gulistan ou le hulla de Samarcande</i>		Opéra	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les petites danaïdes</i>		Imitation btcdf mêlée de vaudevilles	3		Gentil, M.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux ménages</i>		Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Picard, L. Bury, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le naufrage ou les héritiers</i>	<i>De Schipbreuk of de erfgenen</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Duval, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Une journée d'un grand homme ou le baril d'olives</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Chacun de son côté</i>	<i>Ieder zijn weg</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Edouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux jaloux</i>		Opéra	1	Gail, Sophie	Vial, Jean-Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Victorine, ou la nuit porte conseil</i>		Vaudeville	5		Duputy, Ch. Dumersan, T.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La favorite</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La séparation, ou une soirée d'avoué</i>		Comédie	3		Carmouche, P. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	Tragédie	5		Duois	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Dominique, ou le possédé</i>		Comédie	3		Dupin, H. Épagny	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le dey d'Alger à Paris</i>		Comédie en prose	1		Étienne, Ch. Gaurigan Nauteuil	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La poupée</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le chevreuil, ou le fermier anglais</i>		Vaudeville	3		Jaime Leon	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le bivouac</i>		A-propos militaire	1		Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La grande duchesse</i>		Vaudeville	1		Masson, M. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le Prince d'Orange à Breda</i>		Drame-historique	3			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mari de circonstance</i>		Opéra	1	Plantade, Charles	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les femmes soldats ou la forteresse mal</i>	<i>De Vrouwen Soldaten</i>	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Théaulon, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			2
<i>Cassandre aveugle ou le concert d'Arlequin</i>	<i>De Blinde Cassander of het concert van</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Chazet	KUNST GENOEGEN				2
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermorde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG	NIEUWE SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J.	ZAAL IN HET PARK	NIEUZE SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Trente ans, ou la vie d'un joueur</i>	<i>De Dobbelaar</i>	Mélodrame	3		Dinaux, P. Ducange, V.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	KUNST GENOEGEN			2

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Tromp à la cour de Louis XIV</i>		Comédie en prose	2			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>M. Jovial en prison</i>		Vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>France et Savoie</i>		Vaudeville	2		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Vatel ou le petit fils d'un grand homme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mazère Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une folie</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Étienne, Ch. Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le mariage extravagant</i>		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'italienne à Alger</i>		Opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Tout pour le Roi</i>		Comédie en prose	1		Langre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Ninus II</i>	<i>Ninus de Tweede</i>	Tragédie	5		Brifaut	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La fausse Agnès</i>		Comédie	3		Castil Blaze Destouches, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Marie</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le duel</i>		Comédie en prose	1		Halévy, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Matin et soir</i>		Vaudeville	2		Eugène Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le célibataire et l'homme marié</i>	<i>De Gehuwde en de Ongehuwde Man</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Zoraïme et Zulnar</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La cour d'assise</i>		Tableau-vaudeville	1		Varnier, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le baiser au porteur</i>	<i>Het Wisselregt</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Gensoul, J. Scribe, E. Croucy, F.	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>L'ours et le pacha</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Jeune et vieille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le dilettante d'Avignon</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Halévy, Fromental	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'orphelin de la Chine</i>	<i>Het Weeskind van China</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Calville</i>		Opéra	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Douves et Calais</i>		Vaudeville	2		Ménissier Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le mariage de raison</i>	<i>Bertrand en Suzette, of het huwelik door</i>	Vaudeville	2		Carner Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Ma place et ma femme</i>		Comédie	3		Wailly, G. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux Philebert</i>		Comédie	3		Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le comédien d'Étampes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Sewin, Ch. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Jean</i>		Vaudeville	3		Signol, A. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le voyage à Dieppe</i>	<i>De Reis Van Gent naar Ostende</i>	Comédie	3			STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La maison en loterie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B. Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les trois quartiers</i>		Comédie	3		Mazères, E. Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Tancrède</i>	<i>Tancredi</i>	Opéra	5	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Pierre le couvreur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Robin des bois</i>	<i>Der Freischutz</i>	Opéra	3	Weber, Carl Maria	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine of de laatste aangekomene</i>	Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le nouveau Prouceaugnac</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La somnambule</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La folle ou le testament d'une anglaise</i>	<i>De Zinnelooze, of het testament</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Wailly, G.	ZAAL IN HET PARK				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Sylvain		Opéra	1	Grétry, André	Marmotel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le maçon	Der Mauer	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Zémire et azor		Opéra	4	Grétry, André	Marmotel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Shakespeare amoureux	Shakespear Minnaar	Comédie	1		Duval, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
L'aveugle clair-voyant	De Klaar-ziende Blind	Comédie	1		Legrand	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
L'amour filial	De Ouderliefde	Opéra	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Demoustier, Charles	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
L'inconnu, ou une rencontre à Scheveningen		Anecdote mêlée de couplets	1		Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Meropé	Meropé	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La lune de miel	De Eerste Huwelijksweek	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Carmouche, P. Scribe, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Pauline, ou brusque et bonne	Pauline of drift en goethartigheid	Comédie en prose	3		Dumersan, T.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Une fête en 1573		Opéra héroïque	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les deux matelots ou le père malgré lui	De Zeekapiten of de twee weezen	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Un quart d'heure au corps de garde		Esquisse militaire	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le roi lear	Koning Lear	Drame	5			STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les deux cousins		Vaudeville	3		Ferdinand St. Hilaire Lalou	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La prison militaire ou les trois prisonniers	Het Militair Arrest of de drie Gevangenen	Comédie en prose	5		Dupaty, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Lully et Quinault		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Joconde, ou les coureurs d'aventures		Opéra-comique	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Mahomet	Mahomet	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Heur et malheur		Vaudeville	1		Alexandre Duvert, F. Lausanne	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La mère au bal et la fille à la maison		Vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les deux familles		Opéra	3	Labarre	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La veille d'un jour de fête		A-propos mêlé de vaudevilles				THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La perle des maris		Vaudeville	2		Philippe D. Bayard, J.F. Julien de M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Werther		Vaudeville	1		Rocheffort-Luçay Duval	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Hariadan barberousse	Hariadan Barbarossa	Mélodrame	3		Lamarque de Saint-Victor Crosse	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Pygmalion	Pigmalion, of het Bezielde beeld	Mélodrame	1	Coignet, Horace	Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le chien de Montargis, ou la forêt de Bondy	Hondentrouw, of De moord in het woud van Bondy	Mélodrame	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
La tête de bronze ou le déserteur hongrois	Het borstbeeld, of De Hongaarsche	Mélodrame	5		Hapdé	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le mariage secret	De Huisdochter of het Geheim Huwelijk	Comédie	3		Brousse-Deslaucherets	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le devoir et la nature	Natuur en Pliet of de Zoon Rechter over zijn Vader	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Madame Angot ou la poissarde parvenue	Mevrouw Angot te Parijs of de Vischvrouw van	Opéra-comique	2		Maillot	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Les trois Fanchons ou cela ne finira pas	De Drie Fanchons of dat zal nooit eindigen	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dejaure fils Bonel, P.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Une journée à Versailles ou le discret malgré lui	Een dag in haarlem of de Geheimzinnige	Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les folles amoureuses (one act)	De Geveinsde Zotheid door liefde (one act)	Vaudeville	1		[Hilverdink] [G. Grevellink] [Pierre Boas Jr.]	ZAAL IN HET PARK				1
Marton et Frontin ou assaut de valets	Marton en Frontin of de Listige Bediende	Comédie en prose	1		Dubois, J.B.	ZAAL IN HET PARK				1
Epicharis et Néron ou conspiration pour la liberté	Epicharis en Nero	Tragédie	5		Legouvé, Ernest	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Thérèse ou l'orpheline de Genève	Theresia of het weeskind van Genève	Mélodrame	3		Victor	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
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N.3 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1832

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Weise Dame</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			10
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				8
<i>Les voitures versées</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Auber, Daniel	Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour</i>	<i>De Ketellapper van Saint Flour</i>	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	KUNST GENOEGEN			6
<i>Le rossignol</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Louis-Sébastien Lebrun	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Le philtre</i>		Grand opéra	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>La muette de Portici</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Les prétendus</i>		Comédie-lyrique	3	Lemoine, Jean-Baptiste	Rochon de Chabannes	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			5
<i>Les deux franc-maçons</i>	<i>De twee Vrijmetselaars</i>	Comédie	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	FRANSCHESCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHE THEATER			5
<i>Le paquebot ou seul pour sept</i>		Vaudeville	1		Grandville, J.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Gustave-adolphe, ou la bataille de Lutzen</i>	<i>Gustaaf Adolf, of de Veldslag bij Lutzen</i>	Tragédie	5		Arnault, L.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				5
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			5
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>		Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Les ruses de Nicolas</i>	<i>The Adventures of a Ventriloquist or The Roqueries of</i>	Vaudeville	1		Moncrieff, W. T. (Anglais)	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Clémence et Waldemar ou le peintre par amour</i>	<i>Clemence en Waldemar</i>	Drame	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Shakespeare amoureux</i>	<i>Shakespeare Minnaar</i>	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>Joseph und seine Brüder</i>	Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			4
<i>La reine de seize ans</i>	<i>De Koningin van Zestien Jaren</i>	Vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>het Kamertje van een Waschmeisje</i>	Comédie vaudeville	1		[C. Alex van Ray]	STADS SCHOUWBURG	PARK IN DE PLANTAGIE			4
<i>Le valet de chambre</i>	<i>De kamerdienaar</i>	Opéra comique	1	Carafa, Michele	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Jenny</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Carafa, Michele	St. Georges	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mari de circonstance</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Plantade, Charles	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'amitié des femmes</i>		Comédie	1		Lafitte, Jean Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mariage à la hussarde</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Armand Dartois	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Philippe</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Mélesville Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>M. Rigaud ou les deux maris</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varnier, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le Calife de Bagdad</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La carte à payer</i>		Vaudeville	1		Carmouche, P. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les cancans</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duval, A. Carmouche, P. Jouslin de la Salle	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Marie Stuart</i>	<i>Maria Stuart, Koninginne van Schotland</i>	Tragédie	5		Lebrun, Pierre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>La lettre de change</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Bochsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	Genre	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Le solliciteur ou l'art d'obtenir des places		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Les maris sans femmes ou une heure de paternité		Vaudeville	1		Gentil Désaugiers	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
M. Beaufils ou la conversation	Mijnheer van der Pronk of het Verkochte Blijspel	Comédie en prose	1		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Les deux avares	De Twee Gierigaards	Opéra-bouffon	3	Grétry, André	Fenouillot de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Le chevreuil		Vaudeville	3	Halévy, Fromental	Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Fra Diavolo		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
L'orphelin	De Amsterdamsche Burgerzees	Comédie-vaudeville	3			THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Ma tante Aurore		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
L'artiste		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Le parain	De Peetoom tegen Dank	Comédie	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			3
Le savant		Vaudeville	2		Mouvet Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Les premières amours	De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindscheit	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Zoé ou l'amant prêt		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Les deux grenadiers, ou les quiproquos	De Twee Grenadiers	Comédie	3		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
Guillaume de Nassau ou quinze ans d'histoire		Opéra historique	3	Mézeray, Louis	Durand, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
On fait ce qu'on peut, non pas ce qu'on veut	Men doet wat men kan, niet wat men wil	Proverbe à deux acteurs			D'Orvigny	STADS SCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHE THEATER			3
Van Speijk aux Champs-Élysées		Apothéose en vers mêlée de musique			Vautrin, Alex	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
La poupée		Comédie	1		Fournier, N. Arnould, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Picaros et Diego		Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Dupaty, Emmanue	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
L'anglais, ou, le fou raisonnable	De Verbeterde Dwaas	Comédie	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Le tableau parlant		Opéra-comique	1	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La pie voleuse		Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance		Opéra-comique	1	Della Maria, Domenico	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Fernand Cortez		Grand opéra	3	Spontini	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le dilettante d'Avignon		Opéra-comique	1	Halévy, Fromental	Halévy, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le Hussard de Felsheim	De Huzaar van Felsheim	Vaudeville	3		Dupeuty, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le bouffon du prince		Vaudeville	2		Saintine, X. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La famille Riquebourg		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Mr. Courtois ou le témoin		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, E. Saintine, X.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La folle intrigue	De Twee Vrienden of Verwarring en List	Comédie	3		Ducange, Victor	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Le bénéficiaire		Vaudeville	5		Étienne, Ch. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Lully et Quinault		Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les frères à l'épreuve		Drame	3		Pelletier- Volméranges, Benoit	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Vadeboncoeur ou le retour au village		Vaudeville	1		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
L'homme au masque de fer		Drame	5		Arnould, Auguste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les inconvénients de la diligence		Vaudeville	1		Francis Dartois, A. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Une faute	Een eenige misstap	Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
M. Bonardin dans la lune		Comédie folie	1	Piccini	Honoré, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le philtre champenois		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Vatel ou le petit fils d'un grand homme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mazère Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>		Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>	<i>De Twee Jonge Savoijsaards</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine, of de laetst Aangekomene</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>L'honnête criminel</i>	<i>De Deugdzaam Galeiroeijer of de Beloonde</i>	Drame	5		Fenouillot de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le comédien d'Étampes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Moreau, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le dissipateur ou l'honnête-friponne</i>	<i>De Verwister, of de Eerlijke Bedrieger</i>	Comédie	5		Destouches, André Cardinal	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le légataire universel</i>		Comédie	5		Reguard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La demoiselle à marier ou la première entrevue</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la jaitière</i>	<i>De twee jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie mêlées d'ariettes	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseume, Louis	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les medecins des dames</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Théobald ou le retour de Russie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mariage de raison</i>		Vaudeville	2		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Iphigénie</i>	<i>Ifigenia in Aulis</i>	Tragédie	5		Racine	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La vestale</i>		Grand opéra	3	Spontini	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les maris garçon</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Berton, Henri		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der Maurer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		DEUTSCHE THEATER				2
<i>Les amans Prothées</i>	<i>De Vremomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlées de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La seconde année</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mariage d'un capucin</i>	<i>Het Huwelijk van de Capucijn</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	DEUTSCHE THEATER				2
<i>Crispin médecin</i>	<i>Krispijn Medicijn</i>	Comédie	1		Hauteroche	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>L'homme de 60 ans</i>		Vaudeville	1		Simonnin, A. Dartois, A. Ferdinant	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les philosophes</i>	<i>Krispijn Filosoof</i>	Comédie en vers	3		Palissot de Montenoy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le chaperon rouge</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La grande Duchesse de Toscane</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Villeneuve, F. Saintine, X. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La maison à vendre</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Dalagère	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le quart d'heure du magnifique</i>		Comédie	3	Grétry, André	Sedaine, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'opéra comique</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Della Maria, Domenico		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'ami de la maison</i>		Comédie	3	Grétry, André	Marmontel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le confident</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Leycester</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le traité nul</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La femme jalouse</i>	<i>De Jaloersche Vrouw</i>	Comédie	5		Deforges	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>M. Botte</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	3		Dupeuty, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Maitre Jacob, ou le percepteur dans l'embarras</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux Edmon</i>		Vaudeville	2		Radet, J.B. Barré, P. Desfontain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Méropé	Méropé	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le quaker et la danseuse		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les manteaux		Vaudeville	2		Varner, A. Scribe, E. Dupin, H.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Mr. Blaise ou les deux châteaux		Vaudeville	2		Ourry, M. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les deux ménages		Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Lafortelle, A.M. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La perle des maris		Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Philippe Julien	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Une journée à Versailles	Een dag in Haarlem	Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Tony ou cinq années en deux heures		Vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Zampa ou la fiancée de marbre		Opéra-comique	3	Hérolde, Ferdinand	Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fausse magie		Opéra-comique	1	Grétry, André	Marmontel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fête du village voisin		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Sewrin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Zémire et azor		Opéra-comique	4	Grétry, André	Marmontel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le cousin de tout le monde	De Gaskonjer of de Neef van Idereen	Comédie en prose	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le roman d'une heure	ninnehandel van één uur	Comédie	1		Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Monsieur Jovial ou l'huissier-chansonnier	De heer lustig of de vrolijke	Vaudeville	2		Choquant Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Adolphe et Clara		Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La visite à bedlam		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La famille du Baron		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les deux Philibert	De Gebroeders Philibert of het Misverstand	Comédie	3		Picard, Louis-Benoît	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le landau		Vaudeville	1		Mazère Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La maison en loterie		Vaudeville	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le secrétaire et le cuisinier		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le marin, ou les deux ingénues	De Zeekapitein of de Twee Weezen	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La chatte métamorphosée en femme		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La somnambule		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort	De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Anne, Th. Théaulon, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La chercheuse d'esprit		Vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Dumersan, T.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La marraine		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Ninette à la cour		Vaudeville	2		Carmouche, P. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La folle ou le testament d'une anglaise		Comédie	3		Vailly, G.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les deux jaloux		Opéra	1	Gail, Sophie	Vial, Jean-Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Jeune et vieille		Vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Michel et Christine		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le gastronome sans argent		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le conscrit		Vaudeville	1		Merle, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le duel et le déjeuner		Vaudeville	1		Gouffé, Armand	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le plus beau jour de la vie		Vaudeville	2		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le budget d'un jeune ménage		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Fauchon la veilleuse</i>		Comédie mêlées de vaudevilles	3		Pain, J. Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux journées ou le porteur d'eau</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Cherubini, Luigi		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Zelmire</i>	<i>Zelmire</i>	Tragédie	5		Belloy, Auguste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Montano et Stéphanie</i>		Opéra	3	Berton, Henri		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le déserteur</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Monsigny	Sedaine, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une folie</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Bouilly, Jean- Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le naufrage, ou les héritiers</i>	<i>De schipbreuk of de Erfgenamen</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Angéline ou la champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina of het Geldersch Landmeisje</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Marton et Frontin ou assaut de valets</i>	<i>Marton en Frontin</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Duboir, J.B.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Le diner de Madelon</i>	<i>Het middagmaal van Magdalena</i>	Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, M.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>La prison militaire, ou les trois prisonniers</i>	<i>Het militair arrest, of De drie gevangenen</i>	Comédie en prose	5		Dupaty, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les trois maris</i>	<i>De drie getrouwde mannen, of De hedendaagsche</i>	Comédie en prose	5		Picard, Louis- Benoît	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement assés</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Marie Mignot</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	3		Duport, P. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Stanislas ou la suite de Michel et Christine</i>	<i>De Hollandsche Flankeur of het Herbergsmeisje</i>	Comédie vaudeville	1		Arago, E. Saint-Alme, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Édouard en Écosse ou la nuit d'un proscrit</i>	<i>Eduard in Schotland</i>	Drame-historique	3		Duval, Alexandre	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le conteur ou les deux postes</i>	<i>Verteller of de twee Posthuizen</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Picard, Louis- Benoît	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le sourd, ou l'auberge pleine</i>	<i>De Doove, of het Huis vol Volk</i>	Comédie en vers	3		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le mariage clandestin</i>	<i>Het Geheim Huwelijk</i>	Dramma giocoso	2	Cimarosa, Luigi	Bertati Devienne	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Silvain</i>		Opéra comique	1	Grétry, André	Marmontel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Epicharis et Néron ou conspiration pour la liberté</i>	<i>Epicharis en Neron</i>	Tragédie	5		Legouvé, Ernest	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le grand-père ou les deux âges</i>	<i>De Grootvader of de twee Levensperken</i>	Zangspel	1			STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le Cid</i>	<i>De Cid</i>	Tragédie	5		Corneille	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le souper imprévu ou le chanoine de Milan</i>	<i>De Kanonik van Milaan</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Duval, Alexandre	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Henri IV en famille</i>	<i>Hendrik den IV Huisvader of het Driekoningsfeest</i>	Comédie vaudeville	1		Villeneuve, F. Vanderburch, E..	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of de Vermiste Diamant</i>	Vaudeville	2		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Valérie, ou la jeune aveugle</i>	<i>Valeria of het vereffend Proces</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Scribe, E. Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
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N.4 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1833

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La Dame Blanche</i>	<i>De Witte Burgvrouw</i>	Grand opéra	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		DEUTSCHE THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG		12
<i>Cendrillon</i>	<i>Aschenbrödel</i>	Opéra-féerie	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne de Jouy Perrault	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			7
<i>Les vieux péchés</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Marguerite d'anjou</i>		Opéra	3	Meyerbeer	Sauvage, Thomas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le rossignol</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Lebrun, Louis-Sébastien	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Valérie</i>	<i>Valeria</i>	Comédie	3		Scribe, E. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			5
<i>Le bouffe et le tailleur</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le tasse</i>		Drame historique	5		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Un duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu</i>		Drame	3		Lockroy, J. Badon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Tartuffe</i>		Comédie	5		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Les châteaux en espagne</i>		Comédie	5		D'Harleville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La pie voleuse</i>	<i>La Gazza Ladra</i>	Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La cheminée de 1748</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	<i>De Twee Jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie	1	Duny, Egidio	Ansemaume, Louis	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN			4
<i>La neige</i>	<i>Der Schnee</i>	Opéra-comique	4	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHE THEATER				4
<i>Ludovic</i>		Drame lyrique	2	Hérold / Halévy		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les folies amoureuses</i>	-	Opéra-comique	3	POPURI	Regnard, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mari et l'amant</i>		Comédie	1		Vial	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Le jeune mari</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La gageure des trois commères</i>		Vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'opéra comique</i>	<i>De Kluchtige Opera</i>	Opéra-comique	1		Segur, J. Dupaty, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Les premières amours</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les enfants d'Édouard</i>		Drame	3		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'émigré ou les deux époques</i>		Comédie mêlée de couplets	3		Brazier, N. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mari de la veuve</i>		Comédie	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>		Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Euphrosine et Coradin ou le tyran corrigé</i>	<i>Eufrosine en Konradyn</i>	Opéra	5	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Pourquoi?</i>		Vaudeville	1		Anicet Lockroy, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le dragon de Thionville</i>	<i>De Edelhoedige Dragonder</i>	Fait historique	1		Dumaniant, Antoine-Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La muette de Portici</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le roi de prusse et le comédien</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lhérie, V. Brunswick	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le sourd ou l'auberge pleine</i>	<i>De Doove of het Huis vol Volk</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Théaulon, E. Anne, Th.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			3
<i>Le parain</i>	<i>De Peetoom tegen Dank</i>	Comédie	1		Scribe, E. Mélesville	DEUTSCHE THEATER				3
<i>Les petits auvergnats</i>	<i>De Twee Kleine Auvergnaten</i>	Comédie en prose, mêlée d'ariettes	1	Morange, L.	Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Monsieur Deschalseaux</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La femme jalouse</i>	<i>De Jaloersche Vrouw</i>	Comédie	5		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La vestale</i>		Grand opéra	3	Spontini, Gaspard	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le tableau parlant</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der Maurer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		DEUTSCHE THEATER				2
<i>Shakespeare amoureux</i>	<i>Shakespear Minnaar</i>	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Défiance et malice</i>		Comédie	1		Dieulafoy, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La jeunesse d'Henri V</i>		Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Hernani ou l'honneur castillan</i>		Drame	5		Victor Hugo	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La lettre de change</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Bochsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le valet de chambre</i>	<i>De Kamerdienaar</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Carafa, Michele	Scribe, E. Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le danger des castilles</i>		Parodie	5		Courcy Carmouche, P. Dupont, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Otello ou le more de Venise</i>		Opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	Castil-Blaze	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Monsieur Jovial</i>		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le revenant ou l'héritage</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dupin, H. Pain, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Gaspard l'avisé</i>		Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B. Barré, P. Desfontaines, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le marquis malgré lui</i>		Vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le jour des noces ou la lettre initiale</i>		Vaudeville	1	Duvert, Felix	Nicole	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La maison isolée</i>		Comédie en prose	2	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Vivetières	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le petit matelot</i>		Opéra	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le serrurier</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux jaloux</i>		Opéra	1	Gail, Sophie	Vial, Jean-Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillards</i>		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Francis Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le ci-devant jeune homme</i>		Comédie	1		Merle, J. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le cuisinier de buffon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Merle, J. Rougemont, M. Simonnin, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les frères féroces</i>		Mélodrame comique	1		Rougemont, Michel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Antoine ou les 3 générations</i>		Comédie	3		Mélesville Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'enfance de Louis XIII</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Jeanot et Colin		Opéra-comique	3	Isouard, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La lettre de change		Opéra-comique	1	Bochsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les jeux de l'amour et du hazard		Comédie	3		Marivaux	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Je fais mes farces		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Joseph	Joseph und seine Brüder	Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Duval, Alexandre	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
Le bal d'ouvrier		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La belle mère et le gendre		Comédie	3		Samson	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La nouvelle femme à deux maris		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Philippe	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le vieux pensionnaire	-	Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Le Roux	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les deux grenadiers, ou les quinquans	De Twee Grenadiers	Comédie	3		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
M. Sansgène		Vaudeville	1		Désangiers, Armand	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Amboise ou voilà ma journée	De Weldadigheid Beloon of De getrouwe	Comédie en prose	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
Le bénéficiaire	Dertig Jaren Tooneeldienst of de voorstelling ten	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			2
Frosine, ou la dernière venue	Frosine, of de laatste Aankomene	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
M. Beaufils ou la conversation	Mijnheer van der Pronk of het Verkochte Blijspel	Comédie en prose	1		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
UNIDENTIFIED	De Loods, de Scheepstimmersman en het	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			2
Les deux sergents	De Twee Serjanten	Mélodrame	3		d'Aubigny, Baudouin	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Le Hussard de Felsheim	De Huzaar van Felsheim	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Dupeuty, Ch. Villeneuve, F. Saint Hilaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Mr. Blaise ou les deux châteaux	-	Vaudeville	2		Sewrin, Ch. Oury, M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
École de vieillards	-	Comédie	5		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Une faute	-	Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les visitadines		Comédie en prose	2	Devienne, François	Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Jérôme Pointu	Jérôme Pointu	Comédie en prose	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Jean de Paris		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'homme gris	De Grijze Man of de Rondborstige	Comédie en prose	3		Poujol, A. d'Aubigny, B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Léontine		Drame en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le philtre		Grand opéra	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les sybarites de Florence		Opéra	3	Aïmon, Barbereau, Meyerbeer, Rossini.	Lafitte, Jean Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le menuisier de Livonie		Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le chevreuil, ou le fermier anglais		Vaudeville	3		Jaime Leon	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Fernand Cortez		Grand opéra	3	Spontini	Étienne de Jouy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le Calife de Bagdad		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les inconvénients de la diligence		Vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Tony ou cinq années en deux heures		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Fiorella		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les ouvriers		Vaudeville	1		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le habitants des Landes		Vaudeville	1		Bassompierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'oncle rival		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Oedipe		Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Nicolas Remi ou le fermier de la Bresse		Vaudeville	2		Sevrin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le champenois ou les mystifications		Vaudeville	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les dames Martin		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les roses de mr. Malesherbes		Vaudeville	1		M. Phillipe	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Blaise et Babet, ou la suite des trois fermiers		Comédie	2		Boutet de Monvel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
M. Jovial en prison		Vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le Comte Ory		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les maris garçons		Opéra	1		Berton, Henri	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le Diable à quatre ou la femme acariâtre		Opéra	3	Sollié, Jean-Pierre	Sedaine, M. Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'épreuve villageoise		Opéra	2	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Ketty ou le retour en Suisse		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, Felix	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fiancée		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les rendez-vous bourgeois		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Ma tante Aurore		Opéra -bouffon	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Longchamps, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le tonnelier		Opéra	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les inconvénients de la diligence		Vaudeville	1		Francis Dartois, A. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'homme de 60 ans		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Francis	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le chiffonnier ou le philosophe nocturne		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Étienne de Jouy Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
M. Pique-assiette		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'héritière		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les mémoires d'un colonel de hussards		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le déserteur		Opéra-comique	3	Monsigny		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le conscrit		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Francis	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le chaperon rouge		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le mariage de raison		Vaudeville	2		Carner Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La vieille		Opéra	1	Fétis, François	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les voitures versées		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fête au village voisin		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le dernier chapitre		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Raoul, sire de créqué		Comédie mêlée d'ariettes	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Boutet de Monvel, Jacques-Marie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Chacun de son côté		Comédie	3		Mazère	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Misanthropie et repentir		Drame	5		Kotzebue	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Gulistan ou le hulla de Samarcande		Opéra	3	Dalayrac, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fausse Agnès		Comédie	3		Castil Blaze Destouches, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Montano et Stéphanie		Opéra	3	Berton, Henri		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le confident		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Paul et Virginie		Opéra-comique	3	Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Favières, Edmond	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Béniowski ou les exilés du Kamitchatka		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Henri III et sa cour		Drame-historique	5		Dumas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le prince de soubise ou sait-on qui gouverne</i>	<i>Pauline, ou Sait-on qui gouverne?</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	2		Carmouche, P. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour</i>	<i>De Ketellapper van Saint Flour</i>	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Du courrier voyageur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le juif ou l'auberge de Bondi</i>		Vaudeville	2		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La neige ou l'égarement de campagne</i>		Tableau villageois	1		Duveyrier, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Je fais mes farces</i>		Folie mêlée de couplet	1		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Angéline ou la champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina of het Geldersch Landmeisje</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Les rivaux d'eux-mêmes</i>	<i>De beproeving, of De jonge echtgenooten</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J.	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Le mariage du capucin</i>	<i>Het Huwelijk van den Capucijn</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le monstre et le magicien</i>	<i>Het Monster of Gestrafte Tooverij</i>	Mélodrame-féerie	3	Alexandre	Merle, J. d'Edmond Crosnier	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>La matrimonio-manie</i>	<i>Het Bureau van Uithuwelijking</i>	Comédie mêlée de couplets	1		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J. Rougemont, M.	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Pauline ou brusque et bonne</i>	<i>Pauline of Drift en Goedhartigheid</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Dumersan, Théophile	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le suicide de la faise</i>	<i>De belagchelijke Zelfmoord</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Martainville, Alphonse	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le pèlerin blanc</i>	<i>Witte Pelgrim of de Weezen van het Gehucht</i>	Drame en prose et a grand spectacle	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Marton et Frontin ou assaut de valets</i>	<i>Marton en Frontin</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Dubois	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Isaure</i>	<i>Isaure of de Krankzinnige</i>	Drame	3		Benjamin Nezel Francis	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Zee-Kapitein of de twee Weezen</i>	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
<i>Le forgeron</i>	<i>De Hoefsmit</i>	Opéra bouffon, meslé d'ariettes	1		Quétant Delautel	DEUTSCHE THEATER				1
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Kamerdienaar</i>		1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le dissipateur ou l'honnête friponne</i>	<i>De Verkwister of de Eerlijke Bedriegster</i>	Comédie en vers	5		Destouches, André Cardinal	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Ninus II</i>	<i>Ninus de Tweede</i>	Tragédie	5		Briffaut	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Nina ou la folle par amour</i>	<i>Nina, of de Zinloze door Liefde</i>	Comédie en prose, mêlée d'ariettes	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Vivetières	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les inconvénients de la diligence</i>	<i>De stoommouwen of Gevaren der Diligence</i>	Vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>La danse interrompue</i>	<i>De Verhinderde Danspartij of het Orchest onder de</i>	Vaudeville	1		Ourry, M. Barré, P.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>M. Musard, ou comme le temps passe</i>	<i>De Beuzelaar of waar blijft de Tijd</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Gustave-adolphe, ou la bataille de Lutzen</i>	<i>Gustaaf Adolf of de Veldslag bij Lutzen</i>	Tragédie	5		Arnault, L.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
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N.5 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1834

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5	Meyerbeer	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				19
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>De Witte Burgvrouw</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		DEUTSCHE THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG		10
<i>Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Lafortelle, A.M. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			8
<i>Bertrand et Raton ou l'art de consoler</i>	<i>Bertrand en Raton of de Kunst van Zamenzwagen</i>	Comédie	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				8
<i>Guillaume Tell (r)</i>	<i>Wilhelm Tell</i>	Grand opéra	4	Rossini, Gioachino	Étienne de Jouy Bis, H.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				8
<i>La prison d'Edimbourg</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Carafa, Michele	Planard, E. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			7
<i>Le prince de soubise ou sait-on qui gouverne</i>	<i>Pauline, ou Sait-on qui gouverne?</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	2		Carmouche, P. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Les deux journées ou le porteur d'eau</i>	<i>Der Wasserträger oder die zwei gefahrvollen Tage</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Cherubini, Luigi	Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	DEUTSCHES THEATER				5
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le lorgnon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>La muette de Portici</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>La femme de l'avoué</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Carmouche, P. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Yelva, ou l'orpheline russe</i>	<i>Yelva, of het Russische Weesmeisje</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Villeneuve, F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der Maurer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		DEUTSCHE THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			4
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérolde, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Les duels, ou la famille d'Harcourt</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le devoir et la nature</i>	<i>Natuur en Pligt, of de Zoon Rechter over zijn Vader</i>	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volmèranges, Benoit	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Le bal d'ouvrier</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mariage à la hussarde</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			3
<i>Les vieux péchés</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La demoiselle à marier</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le secret</i>	<i>Das Geheimniss</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Solié, Jean-Pierre	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHE THEATER			3
<i>Le bouffe et le tailleur</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'oncle Philibert</i>	<i>Oom Philibert</i>	Comédie	1		Wailly, G. Bayard, J.F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>L'orphelin de la Chine</i>	<i>Het Weeskind van China</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Le philtre</i>		Grand opéra	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les maris garçons</i>		Opéra	1		Berton, Henri	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'héritière</i>	<i>Het Testament</i>	Vaudeville	1		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Michel Perrin</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvryrier, Ch. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le bureau de loterie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Romieu, A. Mazères, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Tékéli ou le siège de Montgatz</i>	<i>Tekeli, of het Beleg van Montgatz</i>	Mélodrame historique	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le comédien et le roi de prusse</i>		Vaudeville	1		Brunswick Lhérie, V.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>On fait ce qu'on peut, non pas ce qu'on veut</i>	<i>Men doet wat men kan, niet wat men wil</i>	Comédie	1		Dorvigny, Louis Francois	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le Diable couleur de rose</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le petit matelot</i>		Opéra	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean- Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Une affaire d'honneur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Mr. Botte</i>		Vaudeville	3		Villeneuve, F. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Philippe</i>		Comédie vaudevilles	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Mr. Duroseau, ou l'homme flexible</i>		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les cancans</i>		Vaudeville	1		Carmouche, P. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les visitadines</i>		Comédie en prose	2	Devienne, François	Picard, Louis- Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les maris sans femmes, ou une heure de</i>		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc- Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux francs maçons</i>	<i>De twee Vrijmetselaars</i>	Comédie	3		Pelletier- Volméranges, Benoit	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Pourquoi?</i>		Vaudeville	1		Anicet Lockroy, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La lune de miel</i>		Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Carmouche, P. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La chanoinesse</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le duel et le déjeuner</i>		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mariage de raison</i>	<i>Bertrand en Suzette, of het huwelijk door</i>	Vaudeville	2		Carner Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fausse Agnès</i>		Comédie	3		Castil Blaze Destouches, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Le rossignol</i>	-	Opéra-comique	1	Louis-Sébastien Lebrun	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	<i>De Twee Jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseume, Louis	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La comédie à l'impromptu, ou les dupes</i>	<i>De comedie bij geval, of de geïopten</i>	Comédie	2		Dorvigny, Louis Francois	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Monsieur Jovial ou l'huissier-chansonnier</i>	<i>De heer lustig of de vrolijke deurwaarder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Le chaperon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le bon papa</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le chaperon rouge</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Fanfan et Colas</i>	<i>Fanfan en Klaas, of de 2 zoogbroeders</i>	Comédie	1		Madame de Beaunoir	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Emma, ou la promesse imprudente</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'amitié des deux frères</i>	<i>Le Polétais</i>	Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Saintine, X. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'éducation particulière, le nouveau</i>		Vaudeville	1		Langé, Rocheffort-Luçay	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La mansarde des artistes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of de Vermiste Diamant</i>	Vaudeville	2		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La femme jalouse</i>	<i>De Jaloersche Vrouw</i>	Comédie	5	-	Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Salvoisy, ou l'amoureux de la reine		Comédie-vaudeville historique	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Un jeu de fortune ou les marionnettes		Comédie	5		Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Fioriella		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
La lectrice, ou une folie de jeune homme		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Le morceau d'ensemble		Opéra-comique	1	Adam, Adolphe	Carmouche, P. Decourey	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Les deux nuits		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
Jocrisse changé de condition	Jocrisse in zijn Nieuwe Dienst	Comédie folie en prose	2		Dorvigny, Louis François	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
La neige	Der Schnee	Opéra-comique	4	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHE THEATER				2
Les petits auvergnats	De Twee Kleine Auvergnaten	Comédie en prose, mêlée d'ariettes	1		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	STADS SCHOUWBURG	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
Les amans Prothée	De Vermonde Gelieven	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Joseph	Joseph und seine Brüder	Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Duval, Alexandre	DEUTSCHE THEATER				2
Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur	De Huichelaar	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Le vieux comédien	De Oude Tooneelspeler	Comédie	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
Vatel ou le petit fils d'un grand homme		Vaudeville	1		Mazère Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'auberge du grand Frédéric		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Lafontaine, W.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Henri III et sa cour		Drame-historique	5		Dumas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Béniowski ou les exilés du Kamtchatka		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le gardieu		Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	2		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Prima donna		Vaudeville	1		Jules Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les caneans ou le débitant de tabac		Vaudeville	1		Duval, A. Carmouche, P. Lasalle	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le mari de la veuve		Comédie	1		Dumas, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Job ou le precepteur dans l'embarras		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Mr. Pottrin, ou le voisin		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le serrurier		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La carte à payer		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La leçon de botanique ou les deux pères		Vaudeville	2		Dupaty, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le bénéficiaire		Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Mr. Guillaume, ou le voyageur inconnu		Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B. Barré, P. Desfontaines, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Mr. Rigaud, ou les deux maris		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le mariage extravagant		Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Eliska, ou l'habitante de Madagascar		Opéra	3	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'émigré ou les deux époques		Comédie mêlée de couplets	3		Brazier, N. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La prima donna		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Jales	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La maison isolée		Comédie en prose	2	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Vivetières	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Zoé, ou l'amant prêté et rendu		Vaudeville	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'épreuve villageoise		Opéra	2	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La belle mère et le gendre		Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
Théobald, ou le retour en Russie		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Sans tambour ni trompette		Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Carmouche, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Jeune et vieille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux jaloux</i>		Opéra	1	Gail, Sophie	Vial, Jean-Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le plus beau jour de la vie</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>		Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le medecin des dames</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La reine de 16 ans</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Amboise ou voilà ma journée</i>		Comédie en prose	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le jeune et la vieille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène Cornu	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La fiancée du fleuve</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le budget d'un jeune ménage</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La pie voleuse, ou la servante de Palaiseau</i>		Drame	3		Caignez	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Ninette à la cour, ou la nouvelle fille d'honneur</i>		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La somnambule</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'artiste et le soldat</i>		Comédie	3		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Meropé</i>	<i>Meropé</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Une folie</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La pie voleuse</i>	<i>La Gazza Ladra</i>	Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les prétendus</i>		Grand opéra	1	Lemoine, Jean-Baptiste		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les voitures versées</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les prêtres artisans</i>		Vaudeville	1		Moreau, Ch. Francis	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Michel et Christine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Tony ou cinq années en deux heures</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Ludovic</i>		Drame lyrique	2	Hérold / Halévy		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La puritaine, ou la cour d'Angleterre en</i>		Comédie-historique	2		Paul-Dupont	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le parisien à Londres, ou un thé anglais</i>	<i>Le Parisien à Londres, ou une loi Anglaise</i>	Vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Vive le divorce</i>		Vaudeville	1		Desnoyers Derville Laurencin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les femmes d'emprunt</i>		Vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Varin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Partie et revanche</i>	<i>Les Aveugles Mendians, ou Partie et</i>	Vaudeville	1		Léger, F.P.A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'intérieur d'un bureau, ou les chansons</i>		Vaudeville	1		Imbert Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La maison du faubourg</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La demoiselle et la dame, ou avant et après</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le garçon à trois visages</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Riche et pauvre</i>		Comédie	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le coiffeur et le perruquier</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Mazères, E. Saint-Laurent	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Shakespeare amoureux</i>	<i>Shakespear Minnaar</i>	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La vestale</i>	<i>Die Vestalin</i>	Grand opéra	3	Spontini, Gaspard	Étienne de Jouy	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine, of de laatste Aangekomene</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Teniers</i>	<i>Teniers</i>	Comédie en prose mêlée de vaudeville	1		Pain, J. Bouilly, J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La togne bleue</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Dupin, H.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>M. Beaufils ou la conversation</i>	<i>Mijnheer van der Pronk of het Verkochte Blijspel</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Henri IV en famille</i>	<i>Hendrik de vierde Huisvader</i>	Comédie- vaudeville	1		Vanderburch, E. Villeneuve, F. Desforges, J.B.	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>La caverne ou les voleurs</i>		Comédie en prose, mêlée d'ariettes	3		Dercy, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Laurence et Orzano</i>	<i>De Inspraak van het Bloed</i>	Tragédie	5		Legouvé, Ernest	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Jocko, ou le singe du Brésil</i>	<i>Joco der brasiliaanische Affe</i>	Drame à grand spectacle, mêlé de musique, de	2	Piccini, Alexandre	Rocheport, Edmond	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Monsieur Musard ou comme le tems passe</i>	<i>De beuzelaar, of Waar blyft de tyd!</i>	Comédie	2		Picard, Louis- Benoît	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La mélomanie</i>	<i>Melomanie of drift tot Zang en Dans</i>	Opéra-comique en vers	1	Champein, Stanislas	Grenier, Edouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Berquin ou l'ami des enfans</i>	<i>Berquin of de Vriend der Kinderen</i>	Comédie en prose, mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Pain, J. Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Cendrillon</i>	<i>Aschenbrödel</i>	Opéra-féerie	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne, Ch. Perrault	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
										358

N.6 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1835

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				18
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			14
<i>Guillaume Tell (r)</i>	<i>Wilhelm Tell</i>	Grand opéra	4	Rossini, Gioachino	Étienne de Jouy Bis, H.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			11
<i>Gustave III, ou le bal masqué</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				11
<i>Le chalet</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				8
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			7
<i>Estelle ou le père et la fille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>La muette de Portici</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le barbiere de Seville (r)</i>	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			6
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>L'ami Grandet</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	3		Alexis Ancelot, Marie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Fanfan et Colas</i>	<i>Fanfan en Klaas, of de 2 zoogbroeders</i>	Comédie	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				5
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>Joseph und seine Brüder</i>	Opéra sacré	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Prosper et Vincent</i>		Vaudeville	2		Lanzanne Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Laforestelle, A.M. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Weisse Dame</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le bandit (ams)</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Van Brée	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Bertrand et Raton ou l'art de conspirer</i>	<i>Bertrand en Ralon of de Kunst van Zamenzweren</i>	Comédie	5		Scribe, Eugène	KUNST GENOEGEN	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS		5
<i>La passion secrète</i>		Comédie	3		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Salvoisy, ou l'amoureux de la reine</i>		Comédie-vaudeville historique	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mariage clandestin</i>	<i>Het Geheim Huwelijk</i>	Dramma giocoso	2	Cimarosa, Luigi	Bertati Devienne	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Les voitures versées</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les prétendus</i>		Grand opéra	1	Semoyne		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La demoiselle à marier ou la première</i>	<i>De huwbare dochter of de Eerste</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Tancredi</i>	<i>Tancredi</i>	Opéra	5	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La prison d'Édimbourg</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Carafa, Michele	Planard, E. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La genie de la Clyde ou la fiancée du fleuve</i>		Vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La poupée, ou l'écolier en bonne fortune</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le Caleb de Walter Scott</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lugène Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>La bohémienne ou l'amérique en 1775</i>	<i>De Helden in Noord- Amerika</i>	Drame historique en prose	5		Mélesville Scribe, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le morceau d'ensemble</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Adam, Adolphe	Carmouche, P. Decourey	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les maris garçons</i>		Opéra	1		Berton, Henri	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>frosine of de laastst aangekomene</i>	Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La mansarde des artistes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une folie</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La demoiselle et la dame, ou avant et après</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le rossignol</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Louis-Sébastien Lebrun	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Euphrosine et Coradin, ou le tyran corrigé</i>		Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le polétais ou l'amitié des deux frères</i>		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Saintine, X. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'anglais et la cantatrice</i>		Opéra-bouffe	1	POPURI	Masi	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les duels, ou la famille d'Harcourt</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le vieux comédien</i>	<i>De Oude Tooneelspeler</i>	Comédie	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La fille de l'avare</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dupont Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Zampa, ou la fiancé de marbre</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Elle est folle</i>		Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>		Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La suite d'un bal masqué</i>		Comédie	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le secret du ménage</i>		Comédie	3			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fille d'honneur</i>		Comédie	5		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les folies amoureuses</i>	-	Opéra-comique	3	POPURI	Regnard, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Madame du Barry</i>		Comédie	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le filtre champenois</i>		Vaudeville	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Julien, ou 35 ans d'entracte</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Saintine, X. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Valentine, ou la chute des feuilles</i>		Drame	2	Adam, Adolphe	Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Mademoiselle marguerite</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, F. Saintine, X.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Della Maria, Domenico	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le devoir et la nature</i>	<i>Natuur en Pligt, of de Zoon Rechters over zijn Vader</i>	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Haine aux femmes</i>	<i>De Vrouwenhater</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>La carte à payer, ou l'aubergiste bourgmestre</i>	<i>Het Dorps-Pleidooi of de Herbergier</i>	Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J. Carmouche, P.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Inès de castro</i>	<i>Inès de Castro</i>	Tragédie	5		de La Motte,	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les folies amoureuses (one act)</i>	<i>De Geveinsde Zotheid door liefde (one act)</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Hilverdink] [G. Grevelink] [Pierre Boas, Jr.]	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	KUNST GENOEGEN			2
<i>La toque bleue</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Dupin, H.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La vestale</i>	<i>Die Vestalin</i>	Grand opéra	3	Spontini, Gaspard	Étienne de Jouy	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le bal d'ouvrier</i>		Vaudeville	1	Varin, Charles		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der Maurer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Deux mots, ou la nuit dans la forêt</i>	<i>Zwei Worte, oder die Nacht im Walde</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas		DEUTSCHES THEATER				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Michel et Christine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les chevilles de maître Adam</i>		Vaudeville	1		Moreau, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les prolétaires</i>		Vaudeville	2		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Shakespeare amoureux</i>	<i>Shakespear Minnaar</i>	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Cendrillon</i>	<i>(Aschenbrödel)</i>	Opéra-féerie	3	Isouard, Nicolas	Étienne, Ch. Perrault	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La pie voleuse</i>	<i>La Gazza Ladra</i>	Opéra-traduction	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le bouffe et le tailleur</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La lectrice, ou une folie de jeune homme</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Tony ou cinq années en deux heures</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Tromp et de ruyter, ou les deux amiraux</i>		Chronique historique	1		Fédé	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le lorgnon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les deux nuits</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Scribe, Eugène Bouilly, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Otello ou le more de Venise</i>		Opéra-tragique	3	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>École de vieillards</i>		Comédie	5		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Henri III et sa cour</i>		Drame-historique	5		Dumas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La servante d'Amsterdam</i>		Vaudeville	1		Vanderburch, E. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Misanthropie et repentir</i>		Drame	5		Barssy Kotzebue	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les jeux de l'amour et du hazard</i>		Comédie	3		Marivaux	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Valerie</i>	-	Comédie	3		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les visitadines</i>		Comédie en prose	2	Deviene, François	Picard, Louis-Benoît	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Marguerite d'Anjou</i>	-	Opéra	3	Meyerbeer	Sauvage, Thomas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Fiorella</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le tableau parlant</i>	<i>De Spreke, de Schilderij</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Grétry, André		STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Un duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu</i>		Drame	3		Badon, E. Lockroy, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le futur de la grand-maman</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Madame gregoire, ou le cabaret</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duputy, Ch. Rochefort, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Léontine</i>		Drame en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le dissipateur</i>	<i>De Verkwister of de Eerlijke Bedriegster</i>	Comédie	5		Destouches, André Cardinal	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le confident</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Angéline ou la champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina, of het geldersch landmeisje</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le mari à bonnes fortunes</i>		Comédie	5		Casimir Bonjour	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le nouveau seigneur du village</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le bon papa</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Pauvre Jacques</i>		Vaudeville	1		Gogniard Frères	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Clémence et Waldemar ou le peintre par amour	Clémence en Waldemar	Drame en prose	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Valsain et Florville	Florville en Valsain	Comédie en vers	3		Bruyère, Louis	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Montoni ou Le château d'Adolphe	Montoni of het Kasteel van Udolfo	Drame	5		Duval, Alexandre	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Jocko, ou le singe du Brésil	Jocko de brasiliaansche Aap	Drame à grand spectacle, mêlé de music de danses	2	Piccini, Alexandre	Rochefort, Edmond	GRAND SALON				1
Phèdre	Fedra	Tragédie	5		Racine	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Inès de Castro	Inès de Castro	Tragédie	5		Motte	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les amans Prothée	De Vermomde Gelieven	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le bouffe et le tailleur	De Zangzieke Kleermaker	Opéra-comique	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Gouffé, A. Villiers, P.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le quaker et la danseuse	De Kwaker en de Danseres	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Duport, P. Scribe, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le menteur veridique	De Waarheidspreken de Loognaar	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillards	De Honderdjarige Man of de Familie Gaillard	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Francis Dartois, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
La prison militaire ou les trois prisonniers	Het Militair arrest of de drie gevangenen	Comédie	5		Dupaty, Emmanuel	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le vieux garçon et la petite fille	De Oude Vrijer en het Jonge Meisje	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Berquin, ou l'ami des enfants	Berquin of de Vriend der Kinderen	Comédie	1		Pain Bouilly, J.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le comédien d'Étampes	De Reizenden Tooneelspeler	Vaudeville	1		Moreau, Ch. Sewin, Ch.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Pierre le cruel	Pedro de Wreede	Tragédie	5		Belloy, Auguste	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Rataplan ou le petit tambour	Rataplan of de Kleine Trommeslager	Vaudeville-anecdote	1		Sewrin, Ch. Vizontini, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
La marraine	De Peet-Tante of het Huwelijk tegen Wilen	Vaudeville	1		Lockroy, J. Scribe, E. Chabot, J.B.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Calas	Jean Calas of de onschuldige gevonnisde	Drame en proses	3		Ducange, Victor	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le conscrit	De Loteling	Vaudeville	1		Merle, J.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Joseph II., ou l'inconnu au cabaret	Keizer Josef de Tweede	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Duvert, F. Lafontaine, W. Le Roy, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Un matelot	De Matroos	Comédie mêlée de chants	1		Lurieu, J. Sauvage, T.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
La mélomanie	Melomanie of drift tot Zang en Dans	Opéra-comique en vers	1	Champein, Stanislas	Grenier, Edouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Iphigénie en Aulide	Ifigenia in Aulis	Tragédie	5		Racine	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
L'homme à sentimens, ou le tartuffe de moeurs	Fierville en Valsain of de Zedelijke Tartuffe	Comédie en vers	5		Bruyère, Louis	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur	De Huichelaar	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le chalet	De hut in het gebergte	Comédie mêlée de couplets	1		Dumersan T. Brazier, N.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu	Meester Vink of De vermiste diamant	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Zelmire	Zelmire	Tragédie	5		Belloy, Auguste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
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N.7 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1836

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le dieu et la bayadère</i>	<i>Brama en Zoloé, of de verliefde Bayadère</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				21
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Witte Burgvrouw</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER	STADS SCHOUWBURG		12
<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Zij is Krankzinnig</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				11
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Le chalet</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			8
<i>La muette de Portici</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Zampa, ou la fiancée de marbre</i>	<i>Zampa oder die Marmobraut</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>L'estocq, ou l'intrigue et l'amour</i>		Opéra-comique	3 (4)	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				6
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			5
<i>Le gamin de Paris</i>		Vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le bandit [van Bree]</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Van Brée	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>	<i>De Barbier van Sevilien</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHES THEATER		4
<i>Les premières amours</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La fête du village voisin</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Sewrin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Un premier amour</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	3		Vanderburch, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La seconde année, ou à qui la faute</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Oud-Oom en zijn Nichte of de Kindervriend</i>	Comédie	1			STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Deux mots, ou la nuit dans la forêt</i>	<i>De Twee Woorden, of een Nacht in het</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas		DEUTSCHES THEATER	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La vieille</i>		Opéra	1	Fétis, François	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La tirelire</i>		Vaudeville	1		Gogniard Frères James, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'éclair</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Halévy, Fromental	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le prisonnier ou la ressemblance</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Della Maria, Domenico	Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Gustave III, ou le bal masqué</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Pauvre Jacques</i>		Vaudeville	1		Gogniard Frères	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le chaperon rouge</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les deux jaloux</i>		Opéra	1	Gail, Sophie	Vial, Jean-Baptiste	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Fiorella</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			3
<i>Henri IV en Famille</i>	<i>Hendrik de vierde huisvader</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Vanderburch, E. Villeneuve, F. Desforges, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Tot middennacht of list tegen list</i>	<i>Guerre ouverte, ou ruse contre ruse</i>	Comédie	3		Dumaniant, Antoine-Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Tékéli ou le siège de Montgatz</i>	<i>Tekeli of Het Beleg van Montgatz</i>	Mélodrame historique	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>	<i>Zestien jaren geleden of Moederliefde en</i>	Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Les jeux de l'amour et du hasard</i>	<i>Het Spel der Liefde en het Geval</i>	Comédie	3		Marivaux	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Eduard en ecosse, ou, la nuit d'un proscrit</i>	<i>Eduard in Schotland</i>	Drame historique en prose	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Anne, Th. Théaulon, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Toujours</i>		Vaudeville	2		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le poltron</i>		Vaudeville	1		Alphonse Bayard, J.F. Regnault	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La marraine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>On fait ce qu'on peut, non pas ce qu'on veut</i>	<i>Men doet wat men kan, niet wat men wil</i>	Comédie	1		Dorvigny, Louis Francois	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le serment, ou les faux-monnayeurs</i>		Grand opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Ketty ou le retour en Suisse</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Adolphe et Oara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'homme qui bat sa femme</i>		Tableau populaire	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Dumailau	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Théobald, ou le retour en Russie</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La nouvelle Clary</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux ménages</i>		Comédie	3		Bury, F. Wafflard, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le Hussard de Felsheim</i>	<i>De Huzaar van Felsheim</i>	Vaudeville	3		Duputy, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>Riquet à la houppe</i>		Vaudeville-féerie	3		Serrui Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>Joseph und seine Brüder</i>	Opéra sacré	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas		THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			2
<i>Les deux grenadiers, ou les équiproquos</i>	<i>De Twee Grenadiers, of het Misverstand</i>	Comédie	3		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHES THEATER			2
<i>Le pirate</i>		Drame lyrique	3	Bellini	Duprez, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les comédiens</i>		Comédie	5		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les rivaux d'eux-mêmes</i>		Comédie	1		Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La jeunesse d'Henri V</i>		Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mari à bonnes fortunes</i>		Comédie	5		Casimir Bonjour	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur</i>		Comédie	5		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le mariage de Figaro</i>		Comédie	5		Beaumarchais	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Etre aimé ou mourir</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les malheurs d'un amant heureux</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux Figaro's</i>	<i>Twee Figaro's</i>	Comédie	5		Martelly	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Moiroud et compagnie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Devorme Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Michel Perrin</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvryrier, Ch. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Robin des bois</i>	<i>Der Freischutz</i>	Opéra	3	Weber, Carl Maria	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Marie</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Aline, reine de golconde</i>		Opéra	3	Berton, Henri		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une position délicate</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Bernard Léonce	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le prisonnier d'une femme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Carnon Lanou	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement passe</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Brazier, N. Merle, J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Le conscrit	De Loteling	Vaudeville	1		Merle, J.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
Frosine ou l'actrice à l'épreuve	Frosine of de laastst aangekomene	Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	KUNST GENOEGEN	THEATRE FRANCAIS			2
Fanfan et Colas	Fanfan en Klaas, of de 2 zoogbroeders	Comédie	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les rendez-vous bourgeois		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le polétais ou l'amitié des deux frères		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Saintine, X. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le Calif de Bagdad	Der Kalif von Bagdad	Opéra	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Lafortelle, A.M. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le bon papa		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le nouveau seigneur du village		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le maçon	Der Maurer	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le confident		Comédie-vaudeville	1	?	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Ma femme et mon parapluie		Vaudeville	1		Laurencin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La lettre de change		Opéra-comique	1	Bohsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Prosper et Vincent		Vaudeville	2		Lanzanne Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'enfance de Louis XIII		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Ph. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les duels, ou la famille d'Harcourt		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La grande duchesse		Vaudeville	1		Masson, M. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Guillaume Tell (r)	Wilhelm Tell	Grand opéra	4	Rossini, Gioachino	Étienne de Jouy Bis, H.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			1
Le voyage à Dieppe		Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Un moment d'imprudence		Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La chercheuse d'esprit		Vaudeville	1		Favard, Charles Simon	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Estelle ou le père et la fille		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les malheurs d'un joli garçon		Vaudeville	1		Arago, E. Varnier Desvergers, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La croix d'or		Vaudeville	2		Dupeuty, Ch. Rongemont	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La fiancée		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Un procès criminel		Comédie	3		Rosier, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Zoé, ou l'amant prêt et rendu		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La jeune femme colère	De Jonge Driftige Vrouw	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Ch. Didier	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Étienne et Robert		Drame populaire	1		Deslandes, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le testament et les billets doux	Het Testament	Comédie mêlée de chants	1		Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Une journée à Versailles	Een dag in Haarlem	Comédie	3	-	Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les deux reines		Opéra-comique	1	Mompou, Federico	Soulié, Frédéric	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les trois Fanchons ou cela ne finira pas	De Drie Fanchons of dat zal nooit eindigen	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dejaure fils Bonel, P.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Les frères à l'épreuve	De Broeders op den toets	Drame en prose	3		Pelletier de Volméranges, Benoit	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Les voitures versées		Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'hydrophobe de Marcoussis	De Twee Vlakken of het dorp in Opschudding	Folie-vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Varin, Ch. Leuven, A.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
L'avare	De Vrek	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Calas	Jean Calas of de onschuldige gevonnisde	Drame en proses	3		Ducange, Victor	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Le château dangereux ou le désert en Pologne	Het Gevaarvol Kasteel of de Weestijn in Polen	Drame romantique	3			LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Les prétendus	Medeminnars	Comédie-lyrique	1	Lemoine, Jean-Baptiste		STADS SCHOUWBURG				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Coelina ou l'enfant du mystère</i>	<i>Célina of het Kind des Geheims</i>	Drame à grand spectacle	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlé de vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Clémence et Waldemar ou le peintre par amour</i>	<i>Clémence en Waldemar</i>	Drame en prose	3		Pelletier-Volmeranges, Benoit,	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial</i>	<i>Deugdzame goteroeger of de beloonde</i>	Drame	5		Fenouillot de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Zaire</i>	<i>Zaire</i>	Tragédie	6		Voltaire	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of De vermiste diamant</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Bertrand et Raton ou l'art de conspirer</i>	<i>Bertrand en Ralon of de Kunst van Zamenzweren</i>	Comédie	5		Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La marraine</i>	<i>De Peet-Tante of het Huwelijk tegen Wil en Dank</i>	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Lockroy, J. Chabot, J.B.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La carte à payer ou l'aubergiste bourgmestre</i>	<i>Het dorps-pleidooi of de herbergier burgemeester</i>	Vaudeville	1		Brazier, N.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Les femmes soldats, ou la forteresse mal</i>	<i>De vrouwen-soldaten, of De slecht verdedigde</i>	Folie-vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillards</i>	<i>De Honderdjarige Man of de Familie Gaillard</i>	Vaudeville	1		Francis Théaulon, E. Dartois, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Rataplan ou le petit tambour</i>	<i>Rataplan of de Kleine Trommeslager</i>	Vaudeville-anecdote	1		Sewrin, Ch. Vizentini, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Othello</i>	<i>Othello</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Conradin et Frédéric</i>	<i>Koenradyn en Frederik</i>	Tragédie	5		Liadières, Pierre-Chaumont	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le devoir et la nature</i>	<i>Natuur en Pligt, of de Zoon Rechter over zijn Vader</i>	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volmeranges, Benoit	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Le fanatisme ou mahomet le prophète</i>	<i>Mahomet</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
										333

N.8 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1837

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>De Sprakeloze Meisje van Portici</i>	Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS		32
<i>Le gamin de Paris</i>	<i>De Straatjongen van Parijs</i>	Vaudeville	2		Vanderburch, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			9
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			9
<i>Le cheval de bronze</i>		Opéra-féerie	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				9
<i>Marie, ou les trois époques de la vie d'une femme</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Ancelot, Marie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				8
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			8
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>Les premiers amours</i>	<i>De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindscheit</i>	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				7
<i>La fiancée de lammermoor</i>	<i>De Bruid van Lammermoor</i>	Mélodrame	3		Ducange, Victor	STADS SCHOUWBURG				6
<i>Le mari de la veuve</i>	<i>De weduwe en haar Echtgenoot</i>	Comédie	1		Dumas, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			6
<i>L'eclair</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Halévy, Fromental	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le chalet</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le démon de la nuit</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Arago, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Les gants jaunes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le marié de la dame de choeur</i>		Vaudeville	2		Cogniard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Un bal du grand monde</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Varin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>L'estocq, ou l'intrigue et l'amour</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La vieille</i>		Opéra	1	Fétis, François	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>		Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le cadet de gascogne</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Buquet, L. Arago, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Vouloir c'est pouvoir</i>		Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Ancelot, F. Comberouse, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Guillaume Tell (r)</i>		Grand opéra	3	Rossini, Gioachino	Étienne de Jouy Bis, H.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Sylla</i>	<i>Sylla, of de Bevrijding van Rome</i>	Tragédie	5		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>Joseph und seine Brüder</i>	Opéra	3	Méhul, Étienne Nicolas		DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>	<i>Het Loterij Brefje</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Monsieur Jovial</i>		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'ambassadeur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La grande aventure</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Darues	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le bureau de loterie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mazères, E. Romieu, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le philtre</i>		Grand opéra	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le coiffeur et le perruquier</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Mazères, E. Saint-Laurent	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le dieu et la bayadère</i>	<i>Brama en Zoloe, of de verliefde Bavadere</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Napoléon ou schoenbrunn et sainte hélène</i>		Drame historique	2		Dupeuty, Ch. Regnier	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La vestale</i>	<i>Die Vestalin</i>	Grand opéra	3	Spontini, Gaspard	Étienne de Jouy	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Gustave III, ou le bal masqué</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	<i>30 Jaren Tooneeldienst</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			3
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>	<i>Zestien Jaren Geleden</i>	Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
<i>Méropé</i>	<i>Méropé</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le mari et l'amant</i>		Comédie	1		Vial	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La famille de l'apothicaire, ou la petite prude</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, Félix	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Une heure de mariage</i>	<i>Het gewaarde Huwelijk</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	1		Étienne, Charles Guillaume	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>La fille de l'avare</i>		Vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Dupont	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
<i>La pensionnaire mariée</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die weise Dame</i>	Grand opéra	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
<i>L'ambassatrice</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	<i>Dertig Jaren Tooneeldienst of de voorstelling ten</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, E. [Alex van Ray]	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			3
<i>Le baiser au porteur</i>	<i>Het Wisselregt, of de kus aan Toonder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Gensoul, J. Scribe, E. Croucy, F.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	NIEUW SCHOUWBURG			3
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De vrouw is de Baas</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Alex van Ray]	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Les deux reines</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Mompou, Federico	Soulié, Frédéric	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une position délicate</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Bernard Léonce	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le prisonnier d'une femme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Carnon Lanou	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La mansarde des artistes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankfurter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Théaulon, E. Anne, Th.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Valerie, ou la jeune aveugle</i>	<i>Valleria of het vereffend Proces</i>	Comédie	3		Mélesville Scribe, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			2
<i>Le landow ou l'hospitalité</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Mazère Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Zampa, ou la fiancée de marbre</i>	<i>Zampa oder die Marmobraut</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Mélesville	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Zij is Krankzinnig</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>L'intérieur d'un bureau, ou les chansons</i>		Vaudeville	1		Imbert Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>M. Sansgène</i>		Vaudeville	1		Désangiers, Armand	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les jeux de l'amour et du hazard</i>		Comédie	3		Marivaux	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le rêve du mari ou le manteau</i>		Comédie	1		Andrieux, François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Louise, ou la réparation</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La chanoinesse</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Mina, ou la fille du bourgmestre</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2			THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux anglais</i>		Comédie	3		Merville, C.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Moreau, Ch. Lafortelle, A.M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Estelle ou le père et la fille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Laurence et Orzano</i>	<i>De Inspraak van het Bloet</i>	Tragédie	5		Legouvé, E. Edouard	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>	<i>De Twee Jonge Savoyards</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	PARK IN THE PLANTAGIE				2
<i>La famille improvisée</i>		Scène pisodique	1		Monnier	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>La fille de Dominique</i>	<i>De Dochter van Dominique</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Villeneuve, Ferdinand	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le château de mon oncle ou le mari par hasard</i>	<i>het kasteel van mijn oom of de echtgenoot bij</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Désangiers, Armand	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Le gardien</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La tirelire</i>		Vaudeville	1		Cogniard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La seconde année, ou à qui la faute</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Robin des bois</i>	<i>Der Freischutz</i>	Opéra	3	Weber, Carl Maria	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Michel Perrin</i>		Vaudeville	2		Mélesville Duvryrier, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La cheminée de 1748</i>		Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Vatel ou le petit fils d'un grand homme</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène Mazère	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le bal d'ouvrier</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Charles	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'heureuse erreur</i>	<i>De delukkige misvatting</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Vingt ans plus tard</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Laurencin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le voyage à Dieppe</i>	<i>De reis van Gend naar Ostende</i>	Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur</i>		Comédie	5		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La suite d'un bal masqué</i>		Comédie	1		Madame de Bawr	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Monsieur beaux-fils, ou la conversation</i>	<i>Mijn Heer van der Pronk, of het Verkochte Blijspel</i>	Comédie	1		Étienne de Jouy	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial</i>	<i>L'honnête deugdzame goteroeger of de beloonde</i>	Drame	5		Fenouillet de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Michel et Christine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Moroud et compagnie</i>		Vaudeville	1		Bayard, J.F. Devorme	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'ange gardien</i>		Comédie	3		Dupaty, E. Deslandes, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une journée à Versailles</i>	<i>Een dag in Haarlem</i>	Comédie	3	-	Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Les malheurs d'un joli garçon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Vainr Arago, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Renaudin de Caen</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvert, F. Lauzanne	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le capitaine Roland</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Ch. Desvergiers, Ch. Edouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les poletais, ou l'amitié des 2 frères</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Saintine, X. Villeneuve, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le jeune mari</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La comtesse du tonneau ou les 2 cousines</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, E., Decomberousse Chazet	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La juive</i>		Grand opéra	5	Halévy, Fromental	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La croix d'or</i>		Vaudeville	2		Rongemont Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Étienne et Robert</i>		Drame populaire	1		Deslandes, P. Didier	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Ketty ou le retour en Suisse</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, Félix	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Etre aimé ou mourir</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Dumanoir, Ph.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux grenadiers, ou les qui-pro-quo</i>	<i>De Twee Grenadiers, of het Misverstand</i>	Comédie	3		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	<i>Jérôme Pointu</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le landau, ou l'hospitalité</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Picard, L. Mazère	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le chien de Montargis ou la forêt de Bondy</i>	<i>Hondentrouw, of De moord in het woud van Bondy</i>	Mélodrame	3		Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Merle, J. Brazier, N.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Le cousin de l'héritière</i>		Scène épisodique	1		Monnier, Herni	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Prima donna</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Jules	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Une camarade de pension</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Ancelot, F. Duport, P.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Les deux divorcés</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Cogniard, T. Cogniard	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le malade imaginaire</i>		Comédie	3		Molière	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Madame Favart</i>		Comédie mêlée de chant	3		Saintine, X. Masson, M.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	<i>De Twee Jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseaume, Louis	PARK IN THE PLANTAGIE				1
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La berline de l'émigré</i>	<i>de Reiswaagen van een emigrant</i>	Drame	5		Mélesville Hestiene	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le baril d'olives</i>	<i>Frederick II te Rutwen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1			DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of de Vermiste Diamant</i>	Vaudeville	2		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Zaire</i>	<i>Zaire</i>	Tragédie	6		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
										346

N.9 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1838

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La juive</i>		Grand opéra	5	Halévy, Fromental	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				19
<i>Arthur ou seize ans après</i>	<i>Arthur of Zestien Jaren Later</i>	Vaudeville	2		Fontan, L.M. Davigny, Ch. Dumeutv. Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			9
<i>Une passion</i>		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>Bruno le fileur</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Cogniard, Théodore	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>Le postillon de Longjumeau</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Leuven, A. Brunswick	THEATRE FRANCAIS				7
<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>Het Sprakeloze Meisje van Portici</i>	Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	DEUTSCHES THEATER	KUNSTGENOEG		6
<i>La comtesse du tonneau ou les 2 cousines</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2			THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le mari de la veuve</i>	<i>De Weduwe en haar Echtgenoot</i>	Comédie	1		Dumas, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			5
<i>Renaudin de Caen</i>		Vaudeville	2		Lauzanne Duvert, Félix	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Édouard en Écosse ou la nuit d'un proscrit</i>	<i>Eduard in Schotland</i>	Drame-historique	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				5
<i>La fiancée de lammermoor</i>	<i>De Bruid van Lammermoor</i>	Mélodrame	3		Ducange, Victor	STADS SCHOUWBURG				5
<i>La marquise de Senneterre</i>		Comédie	3		Mélesville Duveyviev	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Rataplan, ou le petit tambour</i>	<i>Rataplan, der Muntere Tambour</i>	Vaudeville	1		Sewrin, Charles	DEUTSCHES THEATER				5
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	<i>De Twee Jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseaume	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.			5
<i>Le baiser au porteur</i>	<i>Het Wisselregt, of de kus aan Toonder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Gensoul, J. Scribe, E. Croucy, F.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	DEUTSCHES THEATER			5
<i>Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur</i>	<i>De Huichelaar</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			5
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Geveinsde Zotheid door liefde</i>	Vaudeville	1		[G. Grevelink] [Hilverdink]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				5
<i>Le sauveur</i>		Comédie mêlée de couplets	3		Halévy, L. Lhérie, V.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Le maçon</i>	<i>Der Mauer</i>	Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel		DEUTSCHES THEATER				4
<i>Sans nom ou drames et romans</i>		Mystère-foile vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Biéville, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Soliman II, ou les trois sultanes</i>	<i>Soliman de Tweede, of de drie Sultanes</i>	Comédie en vers	3		Favard, Charles Simon	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>La femme juge et partie</i>		Comédie en vers	3			THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La camaraderie</i>		Comédie en prose	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>La bonne mère</i>	<i>De Beste Moeder</i>	Comédie	1		Florain	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				4
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>	<i>De Twee Jonge Savoyaards</i>	Opéra	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	DEUTSCHES THEATER			4
<i>Léon</i>	<i>Léon, of Trotscheid en eerzucht</i>	Drame en prose	5		Rougemont, Michel	DEUTSCHES THEATER				4
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>Het Kamertje Van Een Waschmeisje</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Alex van Ray]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				4
<i>L'ambassadrice</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Weise Dame</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
<i>Gustave III, ou le bal masqué</i>		Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel		THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>De l'or ou le rêve d'un savant</i>		Comédie	1		Biéville, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La femme jalouse</i>	<i>De Jaloesche Vrouw</i>	Comédie	5		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Fiore de cagliostro</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Philippe	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Un mari charmant</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le mariage de Figaro</i>		Comédie	5		Beaumarchais	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Je serais comédien</i>		Comédie	1		Desnoyer	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		Opéra	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le roman d'une heure</i>		Comédie	1		Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La chanoinesse</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Georgette</i>		Vaudeville	1		Varin, Ch. Desvergers, Ch. Laurencin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Un chef-d'oeuvre inconnu</i>		Drame	1		Lafont, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'hotel garni</i>		Comédie en vers	1		Désaugiers, M. Gentil, M.J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Clermont</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La danse interrompue</i>	<i>De Verhinderde Danspartij of het Orchest onder de</i>	Vaudeville	1		Ourry, M. Barré, P	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				3
<i>La banqueroute du savetier</i>	<i>Het Bankroet van het Schoenlapper</i>	A-propos de botte en vaudeville	1		Martainville, Alphonse	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.			3
<i>Le bouffon du prince</i>	<i>De Hofnar van het Prins</i>	Comédie vaudeville	2		Melesville Saintine, X.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Les jeux de l'amour et du hasard</i>	<i>Het Spel der Liefde en van het Geval</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Marivaux	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			3
<i>Les premières amours</i>	<i>De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindschheid</i>	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le démon de la nuit</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Arago, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La première cause ou le jeune avocat</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Dupont, Paul Edouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Arriver-à-propos</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fille d'un militaire</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Lancerin Meyer	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Zampa, ou la fiancé de marbre</i>	<i>Zampa oder die Marmobraut</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Hérold, Ferdinand	Melesville	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Le mari de la dame de chœur</i>		Vaudeville	2		Cogniard, Théodore	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Un bal du grand monde</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Varin, Ch. Dewergen	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	DEUTSCHES THEATER	THEATRE FRANCAIS			2
<i>Le muet d'ingouville</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Davesne Bouffe	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le muet de st. Malo</i>		Parodie vaudeville	1		Varin, Ch. Lubize	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La savonnette impériale</i>		Vaudeville	2		Anicet Dumanoir, Ph.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le gamin de Paris</i>	<i>De Straatjongen van Parijs</i>	Vaudeville	2		Bayard, J.F. Vanderburch, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			2
<i>Prosper et Vincent</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvert, F. Lanzanne	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Mathilde ou la jalousie</i>		Vaudeville	3		Bayard, J.F. Sauvenein	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fille d'honneur</i>		Comédie	5		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Don juan ou le festin de pierre</i>		Comédie	5		Cornelle	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La poupée, ou l'écolier en bonne fortune</i>		Vaudeville	1		Fournier, N. Arnould, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'ami Grandet</i>		Vaudeville	3		Ancelot, F. Alexis	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le philtre champenois</i>	<i>De Minnedrank uit Champagne</i>	Vaudeville	1		Melesville Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			2
<i>Les fausses infidélités</i>		Comédie en vers	1		Barthe, Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fiancée du fleuve</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le diplomate</i>	<i>De Staatsman bij Toeval</i>	Comédie	2		Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le futur de grand maman</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Edouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une dame de l'empire</i>		Vaudeville	1		Ancelot, F. Paulin	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Madame du Barry</i>		Comédie	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une nuit d'attente</i>		Scène dramatique mêlée de chants	1		Leroux, Hippolyte	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Madeline la sabotière</i>		Comédie vaudeville	2		Lafitte, J.B. Bayard, J.F. Desnoyer	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le chaperon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La mère et la fille</i>		Comédie	5		Empis, A. Mazères, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le joueur</i>		Comédie en vers	5		Regnard, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La mère coupable</i>		Drame	5		Beaumarchais	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les originaux</i>		Comédie	1		Fagan, B.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Henri Hamelin</i>		Comédie	3		Souvestre, Emile	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'avare</i>	<i>De Vrek</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Le savetier et le financier, ou contentement</i>	<i>De schoenlapper en de rentenier, of Het vergenoegen</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Merle, J. Brazier, N.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Une heure de prison, ou la lettre de recommandation</i>	<i>Een uur achter het slot, of De brief van aanbevelin</i>	Comédie	2		Dumersan, T. Sewrin, Ch. Merle, J.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.			2
<i>Le coiffeur et le perruquier</i>	<i>De kapper en de parijkemaker</i>	Vaudeville	1		Mazères, E. Scribe, E. St Laurent	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Le devoir et la nature</i>	<i>Natuur en Pligt, of de Zoon Rechter over zijn Vader</i>	Drame	5		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	DEUTSCHES THEATER	LEERZAAM VERMAAK			2
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of de Vermiste Diamant</i>	Vaudeville	2		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour</i>	<i>De Ketellapper van Saint-Flour</i>	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.			2
<i>Le fifre du roi de prusse ou les prisonniers de</i>	<i>De Pijper des Konings van Pruisen</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Revel, Adolphe	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Une heure de mariage</i>	<i>Het gewaande Huwelijk</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	1		Étienne, Charles Guillaume	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De loods de scheepstimmerman en het</i>	Vaudeville	2		[Alex van Ray]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine of de laatste aangekomene</i>	Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.			2
<i>Vouloir c'est pouvoir</i>		Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Ancelot, F. Comberouse, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le capitaine Roland</i>		Vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Varin, Ch. Edouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le voyage à Dieppe</i>	<i>De reis van Gend naar Ostende</i>	Comédie	3		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'estocq, ou l'intrigue et l'amour</i>		Opéra-comique	3 or 4	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une matinée de grand seigneur en 1760</i>		Comédie en vers	1		D. de Longpré	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Masaniello ou le pêcheur napolitain</i>		Opéra-comique	4	Carafa, Michele	Moreau, Ch. Lafortelle, A.M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>	<i>De Barbier van Seville (R)</i>	Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le jeune mari</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Mazères, Édouard	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La pensionnaire mariée</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Varner, A. Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La famille de l'apothicaire, ou la petite prude</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, Felix	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'eclair</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Halévy, Fromental	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le chalet</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Estelle ou le père et la fille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Valerie, ou la jeune aveugle</i>	<i>Valleria of het verreffend Proces</i>	Comédie	3		Scribe, E. Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le turc</i>		Intermèrre comique	1			THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les deux journées, ou le porteur d'eau</i>	<i>Der Wasserträger, oer die Zwei Gefährvollen Tage</i>	Opéra-comique	3	Cherubini, Luigi	Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'étudiant et la grande dame</i>		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, E. Melesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Une journée à Versailles</i>	<i>Een dag in Haarlem</i>	Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le cheval de bronze</i>		Opéra-féerie	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le cornet-à-pistons</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dupin, H. Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le mariage clandestin</i>	<i>Het Geheim Huwelijk</i>	Dramma giocoso	2	Cimarosa, Luigi	Devienne Bertati	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>École de vieillards</i>	-	Comédie	5		Delavigne, G.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le sourd, ou l'auberge pleine</i>	<i>De doove of het Huis Volk</i>	Comédie en vers	3		Desforges, Pierre Jean-Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>La marquise</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Adam, Adolphe	St. Georges Leuven, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le budget d'un jeune ménage</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Scribe, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les comédiens</i>		Comédie	5		Delavigne, G. Casimir	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le célibataire et l'homme marié</i>		Comédie	5		Wafflard, A. Bury, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les impressions de voyage</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvert, F. Saintine, X. Lauzanne	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>A trente ans ou une femme raisonnable</i>		Vaudeville	3		Rosier, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Un duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu</i>		Drame	3		Badon, E. Lockroy, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'ange gardien</i>		Comédie	3		Dupaty, E. Deslandes, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le Caleb de Walter Scott</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillards</i>	<i>De Honderdjarige Man of de Familie Gaillard</i>	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Dartois, A. Francis	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Léontine</i>		Drame en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Une rivale</i>		Drame mêlé de chant	2		Fouché, J. Ancelot, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les enfants d'Édouard</i>		Drame	3		Delavigne, Casimir	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'étourdi</i>		Comédie en vers	5		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le dépit amoureux</i>		Comédie	2		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La jeunesse d'Henri V</i>		Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankfurter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Anne, Th. Théaulon, E.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Dominique le possédé</i>		Comédie	3		Epagny, Jean	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>L'honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial</i>	<i>deugdzame goteroeger of de beloonde</i>	Drame	5		Fenouillot de Falbaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Zaire</i>	<i>Zaire</i>	Tragédie	6		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Monsieur Jovial ou l'huissier-chansonnier</i>	<i>De Heer Lustig of de Vrolijke Deurwaarder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Clémence et Waldemar, ou le peintre par amour</i>	<i>Clémence en Waldemar, of het Vermogen der</i>	Drame	3		Pelletier-Volméranges, Benoit	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Zij is Krankzinnig</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Melesville	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Crispin médecin</i>	<i>Krispijn medecijn</i>	Comédie	3		Hauteroche, Noël	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>Blaise et Babet, ou la suite des trois fermiers</i>	<i>Blaise en Babet</i>	Comédie	2		Boutet de Monvel	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
<i>La laitière et les deux chasseurs, ou l'ours, le</i>		Folie parade	1		Lauzanne Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Gustave-Adolphe, ou, la bataille de Lutzen</i>	<i>Gustaaf Adolf of de Velslag bij Lutzen</i>	Tragédie	5		Arnault, L.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Phèdre</i>	<i>Fedra</i>	Tragédie	5		Racine	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le comédien d'Étampes</i>		Vaudeville	1		Sewin, Ch. Moreau, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Napoleon ou schoenbrunn et sainte hélène</i>	<i>Napoleon op Sint Helena</i>	Drame historique	2		Regnier Dupeuty, Ch.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Le diner de Madelon</i>	<i>Het middagmaal van Magdalena</i>	Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, M.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				1

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Miel et vinaigre</i>	<i>Honing en Azijn, of Ernst met Scherts omkleed</i>	Vaudeville	1		Laurençot, Charles	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Joseph II., ou l'inconnu au cabaret</i>	<i>Jozef de Tweede, of de onbekende in de herberg</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Duvert, F. Le Roy, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Une journée d'un grand homme ou le baril d'olives</i>	<i>Frederick II te Rutwen</i>	Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Brazier, N.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Les amans Prothée</i>	<i>De Vermomde Gelieven</i>	Proverbe mêlés De vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'homme gris</i>	<i>De Grize Man of de Rondborstige</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Poujol, A. d'Aubigny, B.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La tapisserie</i>	<i>het tapijt behangsel of de familie Darins</i>	Comédie folie	1		Duval, Alexandre	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>La vallée de barcelonnette ou le rendez-vous</i>	<i>Het Dal van Barcelonette</i>	Vaudeville	1		Gersin, N. Dieulafoy, M.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
<i>Les projets de mariage, ou les deux militaires</i>	<i>De Huwelijks Intwerpen of de Twee Militairen</i>	Vaudeville	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>L'épreuve</i>	<i>De Beproeving of de hoogmoedige boer</i>	Comédie	1		Emery, Marie [?]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				1
<i>Angéline ou la champenoise</i>	<i>Karolina of het Geldersche Landmeisie</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				1
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N.10 French Works performed in Amsterdam in 1839

Data extrapolated from the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad*

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TITLE OF WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Monsieur Jovial ou l'huissier-chansonnier	<i>De heer lustig of de vrolijke deunvaarder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			23
Arthur ou seize ans après	Arthur of Zestien jaren Later	Vaudeville	2		Fontan, L.M. Davigny, Ch. Dupeuty, Ch.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON		22
<i>Le barbier châtelain, ou la loterie de Francfort</i>	<i>De Barbier van Strasburg of de Frankforter Loterij</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	3		Anne, Th. Théaulon, E.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			19
Angéline ou la champenoise	<i>Karolina of het Geldersch Landmeisje</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Léon Dartois, A.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS	15
<i>Le chaudronnier de Saint-Flour</i>	<i>De Ketellapper van Saint Flour</i>	Vaudeville	1		Henriquez, L.M. Gouffé, A.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	KUNST GENOEGEN	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS		14
<i>Trente ans ou la vie d'un joueur</i>	<i>Dertig Jaren, of het Leven van een Dobbelaar</i>	Drame	3		Dinaux, P. Ducange, V.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	13
<i>La muette de Portici</i>	<i>Het Sprakeloze Meisje van Portici</i>	Grand opéra	5	Auber, Daniel	Delavigne, G. Scribe, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS		13
<i>Le roi de prusse et le comédien</i>	<i>De Koning van Pruisen en den Tooneelspeler</i>	Vaudeville	1		Lhérie, V. Brunswick	THEATRE FRANCAIS	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			13
<i>Les rivaux d'eux-mêmes</i>	<i>De beproeving, of De jonge echtgenooten</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Pigault-Lebrun, Charles	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			13
<i>Les femmes soldats ou la forteresse mal</i>	<i>De Vrouwen Soldaten</i>	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Théaulon, E.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS				13
<i>Elle est folle</i>	<i>Zij is Krankinnig</i>	Comédie mêlée de chants	2		Melesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG	GRAND SALON	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	12
<i>Les deux petits savoyards</i>	<i>De Twee Jonge Savoijsards</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			12
<i>Le baiser au porteur</i>	<i>Het Wisselregt, of de kus aan Toonder</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Gensoul, J. Scribe, E. Croucy, F.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			12
<i>Le bénéficiaire</i>	<i>Dertig Jaren Tooneeldienst of de voorstelling ten</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	5		Théaulon, E. [Alex van Ray]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			12
<i>La fille de Dominique</i>	<i>De Dochter van Dominique</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Villeneuve, Ferdinand	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			10
<i>Une heure de prison, ou la lettre de recommandation</i>	<i>Een uur achter het slot, of De brief van aanbeveling</i>	Comédie	2		Dumersan, T. Sewrin, Ch. Merle, J.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			10
<i>Henri Hamelin</i>	<i>Henri Hamelin</i>	Comédie	3		Souvestre, Emile	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			9
<i>Le fifre du roi de prusse ou les prisonniers de</i>	<i>De Pijper des Konings van Pruisen</i>	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Revel, Adolphe	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			9
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Adolf en Clara, of de 2 Gevangenen</i>	Opéra-comédie	1	Dalayrac, Nicolas	Marsollier, B.J.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			9
<i>Pierrot, ou le diamant perdu</i>	<i>Meester Vink of de Vermiste Diamant</i>	Vaudeville	2		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			9
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De Jager, de Huzaar en het Oestermeisje</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Alex van Ray]	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			9
<i>Un bal du grand monde</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Desvergers, Ch. Varin, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				8
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>het kamertje van een waschmeisje</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Alex van Ray]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS	LEERZAAM VERMAAK		8
<i>Les folies amoureuses (one act)</i>	<i>De Geveinsde Zotheld door liefde (one act)</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Hilverdink] [G. Grevelink] [Pierre Boas Jr.]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			8
<i>Blaise et Babet, ou la suite des trois fermiers</i>	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Comédie	2		Boutet de Monvel	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS	GRAND SALON			8
<i>Frosine, ou la dernière venue</i>	<i>Frosine of de laastst aangekomene</i>	Vaudeville	1		Radet, J.B.	STADS SCHOUWBURG	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON		7
<i>Le dîner de Madelon</i>	<i>Het middagmaal van Magdalena</i>	Vaudeville	1		Désaugiers, M.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	KUNST GENOEGEN			7
<i>Teniers</i>	<i>Teniers</i>	Comédie en prose mêlée de vaud.	1		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS				7
<i>L'amour filial</i>	<i>De Ouderliefde of de Regten der Natuur</i>	Opéra	1	Gaveaux, Pierre	Demoustier, Charles	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	GRAND SALON	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS		7
<i>La jeune femme colère</i>	<i>De Jonge Driftige Vrouw</i>	Comédie	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Étienne, Charles Guillaume	THEATRE FRANCAIS	GRAND SALON			6
<i>La danse interrompue</i>	<i>De Verhinderde Danspartij of het Orchest onder de</i>	Vaudeville	1		Ourry, M. Barré, P.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				6
<i>Le brasseur de Preston</i>		Opéra	3	Adam, Adolphe	Brunswick Leuven, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Le conscrit</i>	<i>De Loteling</i>	Vaudeville	1		Dartois, A. Francis	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS				5
<i>Le barbier de Séville (r)</i>		Opéra-buffa	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				5
<i>Guillaume Tell (g)</i>		Opéra	3	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				4

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La salamandre</i>		Vaudeville maritime	4		De Livry	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'enfant trouvé</i>		Comédie	3		Mazère Picard, L.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Les premières amours</i>	<i>De Eerste Liefde, of de Herinneringender Kindschheid</i>	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS	STADS SCHOUWBURG			4
<i>Le sourd ou l'auberge pleine</i>	<i>De doove of het Huis Volk</i>	Comédie en prose	3		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Robert le Diable</i>		Grand opéra	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Estelle ou le père et la fille</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>Mademoiselle de Belle Isle</i>		Drame	5		Dumas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				4
<i>L'épreuve</i>	<i>De Beproeving of de hoogmoedige boer</i>	Comédie	1		Emery, Marie [?]	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				4
<i>Haine aux femmes</i>	<i>De Vrouwenhater</i>	Comédie mêlée de Vaudevilles	1		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	KUNST GENOEGEN	GRAND SALON			4
<i>Charlotte Brown</i>	<i>Emma</i>	Comédie en prose	1		Bawr	STADS SCHOUWBURG				4
<i>Pongo, ou le singe persécuteur</i>	<i>Pongo, of de Aap Vervolger</i>	Folie-pantomime	1		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS	KUNST GENOEGEN			4
<i>La savonnette impériale</i>		Vaudeville	2		Anicet Dumanoir, Ph.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Les vieux péchés</i>		Vaudeville	1		Melesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Mathias l'invalidé</i>		Vaudeville	2		Picard, L. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le postillon de Longjumeau</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Brunswick Leuven, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Michel et Christine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Une affaire d'honneur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Melesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>L'Abbé de l'Épée</i>	<i>De Abt de l'Épée</i>	Comédie-historique	5		Bouilly, Jean-Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)			3
<i>Le mari de la dame de choeur</i>		Vaudeville	2		Cogniard, Théodore	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le concert à la cour</i>	<i>Het Concert aan het Hof</i>	Opéra	1	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			3
<i>Une passion</i>		Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Un dernier jour de fortune</i>		Vaudeville	1		Desforges, J.B. Scribe, E. Leuven, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le commis et la grisette</i>		Vaudeville	1		Labie De Kock	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Renaudin de Caen</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le barbier du roi d'aragon</i>		Drame en proses	3		Ader Fontan Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La vestale</i>	<i>Die Vestalin</i>	Grand opéra	3	Spontini	Étienne de Jouy	DEUTSCHES THEATER				3
<i>Le rêve du mari ou le manteau</i>		Comédie	1		Andrieux, François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Meropé</i>	<i>Meropé</i>	Tragédie	5		Voltaire	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>L'art de ne pas monter sa garde</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lhérie Bathélemy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Folbert et Polydore</i>		Vaudeville	1		Jaime Léon Jules	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Roquelaura, ou l'homme le plus laid de France</i>		Vaudeville	3		Lhérie, V. Leuven, A. De Livry	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La fiancée de Lammermoor</i>	<i>De Bruid van Lammermoor</i>	Mélodrame	3		Ducange, Victor	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Mes derniers Vingt sols</i>		Vaudeville	1		Ramond Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La dame blanche</i>	<i>Die Weise Dame</i>	Grand opéra	3	Boieldieu, François-Adrien		THEATRE FRANCAIS	DEUTSCHES THEATER			3
<i>La marraine</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le chalet</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Adam, Adolphe	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Bruno le fleur</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Cogniard, Théodore	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le confident</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1	?	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>Le sonneur de Saint Paul</i>		Drame	4		Bouchardy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>Un ange au 6ème étage</i>		Vaudeville	1		Arnoult, S. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La juive</i>		Grand opéra	5	Halévy, Fromental	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				3
<i>La banqueroute du savetier</i>	<i>Het Bankroet van het Schoenlapper</i>	A-propos de botte en Vaudeville	1		Martainville, Alphonse	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				3
<i>Les trois Fanchons ou cela ne finira pas</i>	<i>De Drie Fanchons of dat zal nooit eindigen</i>	Folie-vaudeville	1		Dejaure fils Bonel, P.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS			3
<i>Une journée d'un grand homme ou le haril d'olives</i>	<i>Frederick II te Rutwen</i>	Vaudeville	1		Mélesville Brazier, N.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				3
<i>Le mari aux neuf femmes</i>	<i>De Kaper Gast, of de Man met Negen Vrouwen</i>	Comédie anecdotique mêlée de couplets	1		Théaulon, Emmanuel	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				3
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>De vrouw is de Baas</i>	Vaudeville	1		[Alex van Ray]	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				3
<i>Le gamin de Paris</i>	<i>De Straatjongen van Parijs</i>	Vaudeville	2		Vanderburch, E. Bayard, J.F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)			2
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Johann von Paris</i>	Opéra-comique	2	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Saint-Just, Claude	DEUTSCHES THEATER				2
<i>Un mari charmant</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les cancans</i>		Vaudeville	1		Carmouche, P. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Michel Perrin</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvryrier, Ch. Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'hotel garni</i>		Comédie en vers	1		Gentil, M.J. Désaugiers, M.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les comédiens</i>		Comédie	5		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le chef-d'oeuvre inconnu</i>	<i>Rolla of het onbekende Meesterstuk</i>	Drame	1		Lafont, Joseph	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Robert le Diable (parodie)</i>		Parodie burlesque mêlée de Chants	1		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le for-l'evêque</i>		Vaudeville anecdotique	2		Cogniard Frères Rochefort, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La chanoinesse</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Louise de Lignerolles</i>		Comédie	5		Legouvé, E. Dinaux, P.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Marie, ou les trois époques de la vie d'une femme</i>		Comédie en prose	3		Ancelot, Jacques-François	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fille d'honneur</i>		Comédie	5		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La fausse Agnès</i>		Comédie	3		Castil Blaze Destouches, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Tartuffe, ou l'imposteur</i>	<i>De Huichelaar</i>	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG	THEATRE FRANCAIS			2
<i>Le mariage d'argent</i>		Comédie	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Il y a seize ans</i>	<i>Zestien Jaren Geleden</i>	Drame	5		Ducange, Victor	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Tony ou cinq années en deux heures</i>		Vaudeville	2		Dumersan, T. Brazier, N.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Une kermesse de France en 1806 ou bobèche &</i>		Folie-vaudeville	3		Cogniard, Th.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La famille de l'apothicaire, ou la petite prude</i>		Vaudeville	1		Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La marquise de Senneterre</i>		Comédie	3		Duveyrier Mélesville	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Sans nom ou drames et romans</i>		Mystère-folie Vaudeville	1		Biéville, E. Théaulon, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La sonnette de nuit</i>		Comédie vaudeville	1		Bathélemy Brunswick L'hérie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La reine des abeilles</i>		Pièce féerie mêlées de chants	3		Rochefort, Edmond	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Baboon ou la nais sauvage</i>		Vaudeville	2		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Le pré aux clercs</i>		Opéra-comique	3	Héroid, Ferdinand	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La comtesse du tonneau ou les 2 cousines</i>		Comédie-vaudeville	2		Théaulon, Emmanuel	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>L'ambassadeur</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Riquiqui</i>		Vaudeville	3		Leuven, A. St. Georges	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>La lettre de change</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Bochsa, Nicolas	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Clotilde</i>		Drame en prose	5		Bossange Soulié, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2

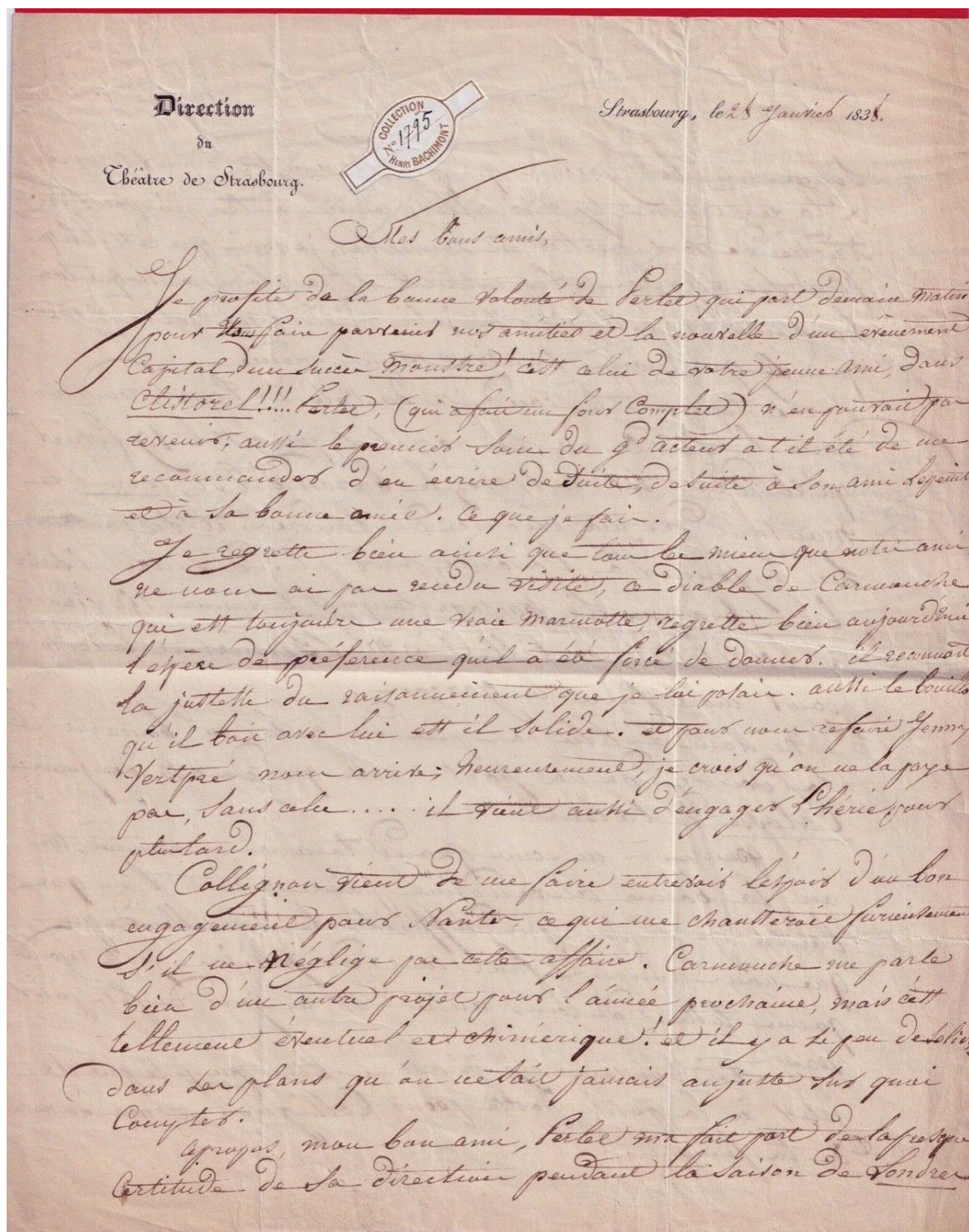
TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
<i>La demoiselle à marier</i>	<i>De huwbare dochter</i>	Comédie-vaudeville	1		Melesville Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Fiore de cagliostro</i>		Vaudeville	1		Dumanoir, Philippe	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Cosimo</i>		Opéra-comique	2	Prevost, Eugene		THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>		Opéra	4	Donizetti, Gaetano	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				2
<i>Les deux chasseurs et la laitière</i>	<i>De Twee Jagers en het Melkmeisje</i>	Comédie	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseaume, Louis	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Cassandra aveugle, ou le concert d'Arlequin</i>	<i>De blinde Cassander of Het concert van</i>	Comédie-parade mêlée De vaudevilles	1		Chazet Moreau, Ch.	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				2
<i>Le vieux comédien</i>	<i>De Oude Tooneelspeler</i>	Comédie	1		Picard, Louis-Benoît	LEERZAAM VERMAAK	STADS SCHOUWBURG			2
<i>L'enfant du faubourg</i>	<i>Nog een Jongen uit Parijs</i>	Drame populaire mêlé de couplets	3		Didier Deslandes, P.	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				2
<i>La prison militaire, ou les trois prisonniers</i>	<i>Militair Arrest of de Drie Gevangenen</i>	Comédie en prose	5		Dupaty, Emmanuel	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Alix ou les deux mères</i>	<i>Alix of de Twee Moeders</i>	Drame	5		Brot Desnoyer	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				2
UNIDENTIFIED	<i>Het Verhinderde Tweegevecht</i>	Vaudeville	1		[W. Hempel]	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				2
<i>Le bouffon du prince</i>	<i>De Hofnar</i>	Vaudeville	2		Saintine, X. Melesville	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				2
<i>Miel et vinaigre</i>	<i>Honing en Azijn, of Ernst met scherts omkleed</i>	Vaudeville	1		Laurencin	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)	THEATRE FRANCAIS			2
<i>Le bouffe et le tailleur</i>	<i>De Zangzicke Eleerenmaker</i>	Opéra-bouffon	1		P. Villiers Gaveaux, P. Gouffé	SALON DES VARIÉTÉS				2
<i>Marie Stuart</i>	<i>Maria Stuart, Koninginne van Schotland</i>	Tragédie	5		Le Brun, Pierre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				2
<i>Les enfants d'Édouard</i>		Drame	3		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les fausses infidélités</i>		Comédie en vers	1		Barthe, Nicolas	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le maître de chapelle</i>		Opéra-comique	1	Paer, Ferdinando	Gay, S. Duval, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Mr. Botte</i>		Vaudeville	3		Villeneuve, F. Dupeuty, Ch.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le chaperon</i>		Vaudeville	1		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le dépit amoureux</i>		Comédie	2		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le mariage à la hussarde</i>		Vaudeville	1		Lafontaine, W. Dartois, A.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le Hussard de Felsheim</i>		Vaudeville	3		Dupeuty, Ch. Villeneuve, F.	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Don Juan ou le festin de pierre</i>		Comédie	5		Corneille	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Jean</i>		Vaudeville	3		???	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La jeunesse d'Henri V</i>		Comédie	3		Duval, Alexandre	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Prosper et Vincent</i>		Vaudeville	2		Lanzanne Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Les impressions de voyage</i>		Vaudeville	2		Duvert, F. Saintine, X. Lauzanne	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La camaraderie</i>		Comédie en prose	5		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Mathilde ou la jalousie</i>		Vaudeville	3		Bayard, J.F. Sauvènein	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le billet de loterie</i>	<i>Het Loterij Brefje</i>	Opéra-comique	1	Isouard, Nicolas	Roger, F. Creuzé de Lesser	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>École de vieillards</i>		Comédie	5		Delavigne, Germain	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le roman d'une heure</i>		Comédie	1		Hoffmann, Ernst	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Misanthropie et repentir</i>		Drame	5		Kotzebue Barssy	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Valerie, ou la jeune aveugle</i>	<i>Valleria of het vereffend Proces</i>	Comédie	3	-	Scribe, Eugène Mélesville	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
<i>Le misantrophe</i>		Comédie	5		Molière	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La jeunesse de talma</i>		Vaudeville	1		Brunswick Lhérie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>Le sauveur</i>		Comédie mêlée de couplets	3		Halévy, L. Lhérie	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
<i>La fiancée</i>		Opéra	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1

Appendix N

TITLE of WORK	LOCAL TITLE	GENRE	N° of ACTS	COMPOSER	LIBRETTIST(S)	VENUE 1	VENUE 2	VENUE 3	VENUE 4	N° of PREF.
Ketty		Vaudeville	1		Paulin Duvert, F.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le double mariage		Tableau Impromptu			Baudot	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'eclair		Opéra-comique	3	Halévy, Fromental	Planard, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le cheval de bronze		Opéra-féerie	3	Auber, Daniel	Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Un duel sous le Cardinal de Richelieu		Drame	3		Badon, E. Lockroy, J.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
L'italienne à Alger		Opéra	2	Rossini, Gioachino	[translation]	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le tableau parlant	De Sprekende Schilderij	Opéra-comique	1	Grétry, André		THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Le nouveau seigneur du village		Opéra-comique	1	Boieldieu, François-Adrien	Creuzé de Lesser	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La petite soeur		Vaudeville	1		Duveyvier Scribe, E.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Les duels, ou la famille d'Harcourt		Vaudeville	2		Scribe, Eugène	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
La femme jalouse	De Jaloersche Vrouw	Comédie	5		Desforges, Jean Baptiste	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Hamlet	Hamlet	Tragédie	5		Ducis, Jean	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Shakespeare amoureux	Shakespeare Minnaar	Comédie	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les projets de mariage, ou les deux militaires	De Huwelijks Ontwerpen Of De Twee Militaires	Comédie en prose	1		Duval, Alexandre	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Le coiffeur et le perruquier	De Kapper En De Paruikemaker	Vaudeville	1		Scribe, E. Mazères, E. Saint-Laurent	GRAND SALON TH. DES VAR.				1
Le milicien	De Soldaat Door Dwang	Comédie Mêlée d'ariettes	1	Duny, Egidio	Anseume, Louis	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
Le pèlerin blanc	De Witte Pelgrim	Mélodrame	3	Gérardin-Lacour	Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert	KUNST GENOEGEN				1
Le paysan pervers, ou quinze ans de Paris	Jeugd En Verleiding Of De Boer Te Paris	Comédie	3		[Rosenvelt] Théaulon, E.	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Le ramoneur prince et le prince ramoneur	De Schoorsteenveger Prins En De Prins	Comédie en prose	1		Pompigny, Maurin	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
La fiancée du fleuve	De Beschermgeest Of De Rivier Bruid	Comédie-vaudeville	2		Carmouche, Pierre	DEUTSCHES THEATER				1
Calas	Jean Calas Of De Onschuldige Gevonnide	Mélodrame en prose	3		Ducange, Victor	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				1
Berquin ou l'ami des enfants	Berquin Of De Vriend Der Kinderen	Comédie mêlée de vaudevilles	1		Pain, J. Bouilly, J.	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				1
Suzanne	Susanne En Haar Voogde, Of Het Sprakeloze	Comédie en vaudevilles	2		Guinot Melesville	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				1
Léon	Leon, Of Trotsheid En Eerzucht	Drame	5		Rougemont, Michel	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				1
Le centenaire ou la famille des Gaillards	De Honderdjarige Of De Familie	Vaudeville	1		Théaulon, E. Francis Dartois, A.	SCHOUWBURG (ex DEUTSCHES)				1
L'avare	De Vrek	Comédie	5		Molière	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Les amans Prothée	De Vermomde Gelieven	Proverbe mêlé de Vaudevilles	1		Patrat, Joseph	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
Fanfan et Colas ou les frères de lait	Fanfan En Klaas, Of De 2 Zoogbroeders	Comédie	1		Madame de Beaunoir	STADS SCHOUWBURG				1
La vieille		Opéra	1	Fétis, François	Scribe, E. Delavigne, G.	THEATRE FRANCAIS				1
Jocko, ou le singe du Brésil	Joco Der Brasilianische Affe	Drame à grand spectacle, mêlé de mus, de danses	2	Piccini, Alexandre	Rochefort, Edmond	LEERZAAM VERMAAK				1
										659

Appendix O Letter from C. Fédé to C. E. Lepeintre

(28 January 1838)



Souge mon bon garçon que je veux pour ton amour propre
 & ta réputation te voir aller. ainsi je t'en prie pour toi,
 tâche de ne pas porter au Duvoyet, je crois que c'est lui qui
 fait les affaires. Les intérêts et la gloire ainsi que ton
 bonheur et celui de ta jolie maîtresse me tiennent à cœur
 que de qui nous touchent nous même.

Si tu pars te rendre du côté de Lénas, rend-moi
 dans le service de lui rappeler que c'est le 19 février
 qu'il doit toucher, chez le baron d'Est, je crois, le
 montant de ma créance de l'année, et s'il peut
 lui en fournir à l'année, pour plus de sûreté, il serait
 bien brave. Le partage toujours le même, 150 francs
 à la villette, le billet à M^r. Pernier et le reste
 pour moi, faire le garçon.

Ne nous oublie pas pour ce bon m^r Boncarut et
 la dame de nos parts ainsi que de celle des jumeaux
 Colosse de talent.

Peux-tu m'écrire quand tu auras un moment, toi
 ou la bonne alexandrine j'aime autant l'un que
 l'autre je ne suis pas difficile, la nouvelle de genre
 que nous aimons fait tant de plaisir, je te rejoins
 qu'une lettre de vous autres est un jour de fête pour
 nous. Tu trouveras ce joint une lettre que j'ai que de
 jeter à la petite poste pour Collignon et une du même
 de ta femme.

Donne bien de choses à la bonne madame Rostère qui
je l'espère est toujours en bonne santé.

Mon sans embarras tout d'un coup de bien bon cœur
et bonne nuit la vie, vos amis Désauvins.

[Signature]

— Mlle Desmays P. Mon cher ami Repentez vous de toutes
heures qui ne vous pas dans Clotorel, je vous aime tout le temps et
me laissez fuir la j'achète que cette universelle vous suis agréable,
lettre sans m'en j'embrasse de tout mon cœur et vous
l'élégance. Les amis, &c....



Appendix P Transcription of Fédé's Letter to Lepeintre

– Page 1 – Strasbourg, le 28 Janvier 1838 Direction du Théâtre de Strasbourg Mes bons amis, Je profite de la bonne volonté de Perlet qui part demain matin pour vous faire parvenir nos amitiés et la nouvelle d'un événement Capital, d'un succès MONSTRE! c'est celui de votre jeune ami, dans CLISTOREL!!! Perlet (qui a fait un four Complet) n'en pouvait pas revenir, aussi le premier Soir[?] du Gd acteur a-t-il été de [...] recommander d'en écrire de suite, de suite à son ami Lepeintre et à sa bonne amie. Ce que j'ai fais. Je regrette bien ainsi que tous les miens que notre ami ne nous ai pas rendu visite, ce diable de Carmouche qui est toujours une vraie marionnette, regrette bien aujourd'hui l'espèce de préférence qu'il a été forcée de donner. Il reconnaît[?] la justesse du raisonnement que je lui posais. Aussi le bouillon qu'il boit avec lui est il solide. Et pour nous refaire, Jenny Vertpré nous arrive. Heureusement, je crois qu'on ne la paye pas, Sans cela... il vient aussi d'engager Lhérie pour plus tard. Collignou[?] vient de me faire entre[...] [...] d'un bon engagement pour Nantes ce qui me chanterait [...] furieusement s'il ne néglige pas cette affaire. Carmouche me parle bien d'un autre projet pour l'année prochaine, mais c'est tellement éventuel et chimérique! Et il a si peu de solidité dans ses plans qu'on ne sait jamais au juste sur quoi compter. A propos, mon bon ami, Perlet m'a fait part de la [...] certitude de sa direction pendant la Saison de LONDRES.	– Page 1 – Strasbourg, January 28, 1838 Directorship of the Strasbourg Theater My good friends, I take advantage of the good will of Perlet who leaves tomorrow morning to send you our regards and news of a Capital event, of a MONSTER success! it is that of your young friend, in CLISTOREL!!! Perlet (who made a Complete flop) couldn't believe it, also the first Evening[?] of the Great actor was to [...] recommend me to write immediately, immediately to his friend Lepeintre and his good friend. Which is what I did. I regret well as well as all my loved ones that our friend could not visit us, that devil from Carmouche, who is still a big puppet, regrets today the kind of preference he was forced to give. He recognizes[?] the correctness of the reasoning that I imposed to him. Also the broth he drinks with him is solid. To remake us, Jenny Vertpré is coming to us. Luckily, I don't think she is getting paid, otherwise... he has also just hired Lhérie for later on. Collignou[?] has just made me enter[...] [...] with a good commitment for Nantes which would sit well with me [...] furiously if he does not neglect this matter. Carmouche speaks to me of another project for next year, but it is so prospective and fanciful! And there is so little solidity in his plans that you never know exactly what you can count on. By the way, my good friend, Perlet told me about the [...] certainty of his directorship during the LONDON Season.
– Page 2 – Songe mon bon garçon que je veux, pour ton amour propre et ta réputation t'y voir aller. Ainsi je t'en prie pour toi, tache de voir [...] au Duverger, je crois que c'est lui qui fait ses affaires. Tes intérêt[s] et ta gloire ainsi que ton bonheur et celui de ta jolie moitié me sont aussi chers que ce qui nous touchent nous-même.	– Page 2 – Think my good lad that I want, for your self-esteem and your reputation to see you go there. So I pray for you, stain to see [...] by Duverger, I believe that it is he who does its business. Your interest and your glory as well as your happiness and that of your better half are as dear to me as that which affects us.

<i>Si tes pas te conduise[nt] du coté de [...], rend moi dans le service de lui rappeler que c'est le 19 février qu'il doit toucher, chez le baron d'Est, JE CROIS le montant de ma créance de Londres et s'il pouvait l'en informer à l'avance pour plus de sûreté, il serait bien brave. Le partage toujours le même, 150 francs à Lavilette, le billet à Mr. Bernies[?] et le reste pour [...] faire le garçon.</i> <i>Pense à m'écrire quand tu auras un moment, toi ou la bonne Alexandrine, j'aime autant l'un que l'autre je ne suis pas difficile, les nouvelles de jour que nous aimons font tout de plaisir, je te répond[s] qu'une lettre de vous autres est un jour de fêtes pour nous.</i> <i>Tu trouveras cy[sic] joint une lettre que je te prie de jeter à la petite poste pour Collignou[?] et une du neveu de ta femme.</i> – Page 3 – <i>Du bien des choses à la bonne madame Molière[?] qui je l'espère est toujours en bonne santé.</i> <i>Nous vous embrassons tous deux de bien bon cœur et sommes pour la vie, vos amis dévoués.</i> CH. FEDE = Style [?] [?] qui ne veux pas me laisser finir la lettre sans mettre [?] éloquence ? P.S. Mon cher ami Lepeintre [?] de débiter [?] dans Clistorel, je [?] Souhaite que cette nouvelle vous soit agréable, je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur [?] Les amis, X... – Page 4 – Monsieur Lepeintre aîné, route du Ranelagh A Passy Près Paris Banlieue Pour jeter à la petite poste	If your steps lead you to the side of [...], do me the favour of reminding him that it is on 19 February that he must receive, by Baron d'Est's, I BELIEVE the amount of my claim from London and if he could inform him in advance for more security, it would be a good man. The share is always the same, 150 francs to Lavilette, the note/bill to Mr. Bernies[?] and the rest to [...] the boy. Think of writing to me when you have a moment, you or the good Alexandrine, I like both of you, I'm not picky, the daily news that we love are always pleasing, I tell you that a letter from you is a holiday for us. You will find enclosed a letter that I beg you to mail at the small post office for Collignou[?] and one from your wife 's nephew. – Page 3 – Many things to the good Madame Molière[?] who I hope he is still in good health. We kiss you both very warmly and are for life, your devoted friends. CH. FEDE = Style [?] [?] who will not let me finish the letter without putting [?] eloquence ? P.S. My dear friend Lepeintre [?] to début [?] in <i>Clistorel</i>, I [?] Wish this news is pleasant to you, I kiss you with all my heart [?] Friends, X... – Page 4 – Monsieur Lepeintre aîné, route of the Ranelagh In Passy Near Paris Suburbs To be mailed at the <i>petite poste</i>
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N. Barba, Libraire, / Palais-Royal, Grande Cour / derrière le Théâtre-Français a coté de
Chever / 1834.*

*La muette / De Portici / Opéra en cinq actes / Représenté, pour la première fois, / sur le
Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique, / le 29 Février 1828. / Pris : 2 fr. / A paris. /
Chez les éditeurs du Théâtre de M. Scribe / Bezou, Boulevard st-Martin, N°29, / André
Aimé, Quai des Augustins, N° 59. / Et chez Roullet, / Libraire de l'Académie Royal de
Musique, rue Villedot, N° 9 / 1828.*

La pie voleuse, / Opéra en trois actes / d'après le drame de MM. Caigniez et d'Aubigny, / Et l'opéra italien, / Paroles ajustées sur la Musique de Rossini ; / Par M. Castil-Blaze, / Représenté pour la première fois à Lille, par les / Comédiens sous la direction de M. Banchu, le 15 / Octobre 1822. / N° 6 du répertoire de M. Castil-Blaze / Paris / Castil-Blaze, rue Feydeau, N° 25 ; / Barba, Librairie, Palais-Royal. / 1822.

La suite / D'un bal masqué, / Comédie / En un acte et en prose, / Par *** [Madame de Bawr (Alexandrine-Sophie Goury de Champgrand)] / Représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre Français, par les Comédiens ordinaires de / S. M. l'Empereur et Roi, le 9 Avril 1813. Prix : 1 franc 50 centimes / A PARIS, / Chez Vente, libraire, boulevard des Italiens, n°. 7, / près la rue Favart. / 1813. La passion secrète, comédie in 3 acts by Scribe.

La vestale / Grand opéra en 3 actes / Par / M. Étienne Jouy : / Représenté pour la première fois à Paris, sur le / Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique / Anvers, / H. Ratinkx , Imp.-Lib.-Lithographe - éditeur. / Bruxelles, / J. A. Lelong , Imprimeur - libraire. / 1837.

L'Abbé de l'Épée / Comédie historique, / En cinq actes et en prose, / Par J*** N*** Bouilly, membre de la Société / Philotechnique. / Représentée, pour la première fois, au Théâtre Français de / la République, le 23 Frimaire an VIII / ... Et ipse / Notus in fratres animi paterni. / Hoe. L. I. / Prix 1 FR 50 c. / A Paris / Chez André, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue de la Harpe, N° 477. / Et Palais-Egalité, Galerie derrière le théâtre de la / République, N° 51. / An huitieme.

L'ami Grandet, comédie en trois actes, mêlée de couplets / par AuceLOT et Alexis de Comberousse, représentés pour la première fois sur le Théâtre du vaudeville, le 24 octobre 1834, et donnée pour la première fois au Théâtre français d'Amsterdam, le 20 janvier 1835 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1835) - *Amsterdam Stadsarchief*: 151450.

Le / Barbier de Séville, / Opéra-comique en 4 actes / Musique de Rossini / Lyon / Imprimerie d'Aimé Vingtrinier, / Quai Saint-Antoine, 36 / 1853.

Le / Bouffon du Prince [ou de Louis XIV], / Comédie-vaudeville en 2 actes, / Par MM . Mélesville et Xavier [Saintine], / Représentée pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase - Dramatique, Le 4 Mai 1831.

*Le / Cheval de bronze / Opéra-féerie en trois actes / Paroles de M. Scribe / Musique de
Auber / Prix 50 cents. / La Haye / Chez H.S.J. de Groot. / 1835.*

*Le / Confident, / Comédie-vaudeville en un acte, / Par MM. Scribe et Mélesville; /
Représentée, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre / De Madame, Duchesse de
Berry, par les comédiens ordinaires / De son Altesse Royale, le 5 Janvier 1826. / Prix : 2
fr. / Paris. / Pollet, Libraire , éditeur de pièces de théâtre, rue / Du Temple , n° 36, vis-
a-vis la rue Chapon. / 1826.*

*Le / Gamin de Paris / Comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, / Par. / MM. Bayard et E.
Vanderburch. / Publié par J. Louis. / Déssau, / Imprimerie de la Cour / 1836.*

*Le / Pré Aux Clercs, / Opéra-Comique en trois actes, / Paroles de M. E. de Planard, /
Représenté, pour la première, sur le Théâtre / Royal d'Anvers sous la direction de M.
Smyers, / Le 29 Octobre 1838. / A Anvers, / H. Ratinckx , Imp.–Lib.-Lithographe / Relieur-
éditeur. / 1839.*

*Le / Secret du ménage, / Comédie / En trois actes et en vers. / Représentée pour la première
fois / sur le Théâtre Français, / Par les comédiens ordinaires / De S. M. L'empereur et
Roi, / Le 25 mai 1809. / Que de femmes je vois qui laissent comme vous, / Perdre mille
moyens de charmer leur époux! / Leur fâcheux abandon, le vôtre m'intéresse, / Et parer
la vertu, c'est servir la sagesse. / Vers retranchés du Secret du Ménage. / PRIX 1 fr. 50c.
/ A Paris, / Chez Vente, Libraire, boulevard des Italiens, no 7, / près la rue Favart. / De
L'imprimerie de P. Didot L'Ainé. / M. DCCCIX.*

*Le / Siège De Corinthe, / Tragédie Lyrique en trois actes, / Paroles De **, / Musique De M.
Rossini, / Décorations De N. Ciceri, / Divertissemens De M. Gardel. / Représenté pour
la première fois, sur le Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique, le 9 Octobre 1826. /
Bruxelles / Laurent Frères, Imprimeurs -Editeurs, / Place de Louvain, N° 547. / 1829.*

*Le bandit / Arrangé / en / Opéra-comique, / en trois actes, / par / Margaillan / (d'après le
vaudeville en 2 actes de mm. Theaulon & c.); / Musique de / Van Bree, / Monté par /
M. Moulinneuf; / Donné pour la première fois à Amsterdam, / Le 22 Décembre 1835. /
A Amsterdam, / Chez A. J. van Tetroode , libraire -editeur. / 1835.*

Le Bouffe / Et / Le Tailleur, / Opera-Bouffon en un acte, / Par MM. P. Villiers et Armánd Gouffé; / Auteurs du Medecin Turc / Musique De M. Gaveaux; Représenté, pour la première fois, à Paris, / Sur le Théâtre Montansier, le 2 Messidor / An 12 (21 Juin 1804). / Prix, 1 franc 20 cent. (24 s.) / A Paris, / Chez Mad. Cavanagh, Libraire, sous le nouveau / Passage du Panorama, N° 5, entre le boulevard / Montmartre et la rue St.-Marc. / An Xii. (1804).

Le calif / De / Bagdad / Opera en un acte, / Représenté, sur le Théâtre Favart, / Le 29 Fructidor an VIII / Paroles De S. Just. / Musique De Boieldieu. / Seconde Edition / Prix, 1 Franc 20 Centimes, (ou 24 Sols.) / A Paris, / Chez Vente, Libraire, Boulevard des Italiens, / N° 340, près la rue Favart. / An XI.

Le Chalet, / Opéra-comique en un acte, / Paroles De MM. Scribe Et Mélesville; / Musique de M. Adolphe Adam. / Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le théâtre royal de l'Opéra-Comique, / Le 25 Septembre 1834.

Le cheval de bronze, opéra-féerie en trois actes, / paroles de Scribe, musique de Auber; représentée pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre de l'opéra-comique, le 23 mars 1835, et à Amsterdam, le janvier 1837 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1837) Amsterdam Stadsarchief – 151444.

Le départ de la Garde Nationale d'Amsterdam, à propos patriotique en deux tableaux, mêlés de couplets / par Alex Vautrin ; représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre français d'Amsterdam, le mardi 23 novembre 1830 ; suivi de La romance du vieux soldat, par le même auteur (Amsterdam, Dufour & Cie., 1830) - Amsterdam Stadsarchief: 151491.

Le gamin de Paris / Comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, / Par / MM. Bayard et E. Vanderburch, / Théâtre Français / En prose / Publié / Par / C. Schütz. / Troisième Série / XII. Livraison. / Bielefeld, / Velhagen & Klasing. / 1842.

Le gamin de Paris / Comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, / Par / MM. Bayard et E. Vanderburch, / Représentée pour la première fois, sur le / Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, / Le 30 janvier 1836. / et pour la première fois / Sur Le Théâtre Français D'amsterdam. / Le 18 Octobre 1836. / Répertoire D'amsterdam / Et / Autres Villes de la Hollande. / Amsterdam, chez A. J. Van Tetroode, 1836.

Le gamin de Paris / Comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, / Par. MM. Bayard et E. Vanderburch, / Représentée pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 30 janvier 1836. / Paris, / Marchant, éditeur / Boulevard Saint-Martin, 12, / Bruxelles. / Tarride, Libraire, Passage de la Comédie, / 1836.

Le gamin de Paris, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes / par Bayard et Vanderburch, représentés pour la première fois sur le Théâtre du gymnase dramatique, le 30 janvier 1836, et pour la première fois sur le Théâtre français d'Amsterdam, le 18 octobre 1836 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1836) *Amsterdam Stadsarchief* – 151449.

Le mariage d'argent, / Comédie en cinq actes et en prose / par / M. Eugène Scribe / De l'Académie Française, / Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre Français, par les comédiens / Ordinaires du Roi, le 3 Décembre 1827.

Le postillon de Lonjumeau / Opéra-comique en trois actes / Par MM. De Leuven et Brunswick / Musique de Adolphe Adam, / Représenté, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra-Comique, le 13 Octobre 1836.

Le Roi de Prusse et le comédien / Comédie-vaudeville en un acte, / Et / de M. Brunswick, / Représentée pour la première fois à paris, / Sur le Théâtre des Variétés, le jeudi 1^{er} Aout 1833. / Prix : 1 FR. 50 C. / PARIS. / Chez J.-N. Barba, Libraire, / Palais-Royal, Grande cour, Derrière le Théâtre Français. / 1833 / Abonnement de lecture, / Vve Delavigne, libraire.

Le rossignol / Opéra-comique / Représenté, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre / le Vendredi 8 Octobre 1751. / Ad me, Philomena, redito. Ovid. Met. 1. 6 / Le prix est de 24 sols. / A Rouen, & se trouve / A Paris, / Chez Duchesnen Libraire rue Saint Jacques / au-desous de la Fontaine S. Benoit, / au Temple du Goût. / M ; DCC. LIII. / Avec Approbation & Permission.

Le sauveur [ou le sourd-muet, ou le jeune colon de l'Isle de France] / Comédie en trois actes, / Mêlée de couplets; / par MM. Léon Halévy et Lhérie, / Représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre des Variétés, / Le 12 Décembre 1855. / Magasin Théâtral, collection a 5 s. la feuille. / Chez marchand, éditeur, boulevard st-martin, n° 12.

Le serment, opéra, en trois actes, / paroles de Scribe et Germain Delavigne, musique de Auber ; représenté pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre l'académie royale de musique, le 1 octobre 1832, et représenté, pour la première fois à Amsterdam le 9 février 1836 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1836) Amsterdam Stadsarchief – 151442.

Le Tableau / Parlant, / Comédie-Parade, / En un acte et en vers, / Mêlée D'ariettes; / Par Anseaume, Musique de GRÉTRY; / Représentée pour la première fois par les Comédiens Italiens / ordinaires du Roi, le 20 Septembre 1769 / Prix : fr. cent. / A Paris, /Chez Fages, Libraire, au Magasin de Pièces de Théâtre, / Boulevard St. Martin, n°.29, vis-à-vis la rue de Lancry. / De L'imprimerie De Cussac, Rue D'orléans-Saint-Honoré, No , 13. / 1816

L'éclair, opéra-comique en trois actes, / paroles de E. de Planard et H. de Saint-George, musique de Halevi; représentée pour la première fois sur le Théâtre royal de l'opéra-comique, le 16 décembre 1835, et sur le Théâtre français d'Amsterdam, le 6 decembre 1836 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1836) Amsterdam Stadsarchief – 151445.

L'école / des vieillards, / Comédie en cinq actes / Et en vers; / Par M. Casimir Delavigne / Représentée, le 6 décembre 1823, par les comédiens / Ordinaires du roi / A Paris / Chez les éditeurs / J.-N. Barba, Libraire, / Palais-Royal, / Ladvocat, Libraire-éditeur, / Galerie de Bois, N° 195. / MDCCCXXIII

Les jeux / De l'amour / Et / Du hasard / Comédie / En trois actes, en prose, / De Marivaux; / Représentée, pour la première fois, par les Comédiens / Italiens ordinaires du Roi, en 1730. / À Avignon, Chez Jacques Garrigan, Imprimeur - Libraire / Place Saint-Didier. / M. DCC. XC.

Les vieux péchés / Comédie-vaudeville en un acte / De MM. Melesville et Philippe Dumanoir ; / Paris / Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 5 Janvier 1833.

Lestocq / Ou / L'Intrigue et l'amour, / Opéra-comique en quatre actes, / Paroles de M. Scribe, / Musique de M. Auber. / Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra /Comique, le 24 mai 1834. / Paris, / Marchant, boulevard Saint-Martin, N° 12 / Barba, Libraire au Palais-Royal. / 1834.

Louise de Lignerolles, / Drame en cinq actes et en prose / par / MM. Prosper Diaux et Ernest Legouvé : / Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre Français, par les comédiens / Ordinaires du Roi, le 6 Juin 1838.

M. Duroseau, / *Ou / L'homme flexible*, / Comédie en un acte, mêlée de couplets, / Par MM. Brazier et Carmouche / Représentée, pour la première fois, à Paris, / Sur le Théâtre du Palais-Royal, / Le 26 Décembre 1832. / Prix : 1 franc 50 c. / Paris. / Quoy, Libraire-éditeur, / Au magasin général de pièces de Théâtre, Boulevard Saint-Martin n. 18. / 1833.

Marie ou Trois époques, comédie en trois actes / par Ancelot, représentée pour la première fois, a Paris, sur le Théâtre français, le 11 octobre 1823, et à Amsterdam, le janvier 1837 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1837) *Amsterdam Stadsarchief* – 151451.

Marie, / *ou / Trois époques* / Comédie en trois actes, en prose, / Par Mme Ancelot. / Représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre Français, le 11 Octobre 1836. / Prix : 3 Fr. 50 c. / Paris / Au magasin Théâtral, Boulevard Saint-Martin, N° 12 / 1836.

Napoléon / A Berlin, / *Ou / La redincote grise*, / Comédie historique en un acte / Mêlée de cotplets; / Par / MM. Dumersan et Dupin; / Représentée, pour la première fois, / Sur le Théâtre des Variétés, / le 15 octobre 1830. / « Il avait petit chapeau » Avec redingote grise. » / De béranger. / Souvenirs du Peuple / PRIX : 1 FR. 80 C. / Paris. / Chez les Editeurs: / Paul Banès, Correspondant des Théâtres, / Rue de l'Echiquier, n° 16; / R. Riga, Faubourg Poissonniere , N° 1. / 1830.

Robert-Le-Diable, / Opéra en cinq actes. / Paroles / De MM. Scribe Et Germain Delavigne, / Musique De M. J. Meyerbeer. / Troisième Edition. / La Haye. / Chez H. S. J. De Groot / 1833.

Roquelaure / ou l'homme le plus laid de France / Vaudeville en quatre actes / Par MM. de Leuven, de Livry et Lhérie, / Représenté pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théâtre de la Gaité, / Le 20 Décembre 1836.

Roquelaure, *ou L'homme le plus laid de France*, vaudeville en quatre actes / par De Leuven, De Livry et Lhérie, représenté pour la première fois, a Paris, sur la Théâtre de la gaité, le 20 décembre 1836, (Paris, Marchant, 1836) - Amsterdam Stadsarchief: 151570.

The / Adventures / Of a / Ventriloquist; / Or, The rogueries of Nicholas, / Containing the following entertainment, so successfully / Performed by / Mons. Alexandre / at the / Adelphi Theatre, Strand, / London; / Published by Duncombe, 19 Little Queen Street / Holborn.

Un Mari / Charmant / Comédie-vaudeville en un acte, / Représentée a paris pour la première fois, / Sur le théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique, / prix : 2 fr. / Paris / J.-N. Barba, Libraire, / Palais-Royal, Grande Cour, derrière le Théâtre- Français, / A coté de Chevet. / 1835.

Un premier amour / comédie-vaudeville en trois actes / par Bayard & Emile van der Burgh ; représenté pour la première fois, sur la Théâtre du vaudeville, le 14 mai 1834, et représenté pour la première fois, à Amsterdam, le 17 mars 1836 (Amsterdam, A.J. van Tetroode, 1836) Amsterdam Stadsarchief – 151438.

Une affaire / D'honneur, Comédie-vaudeville en un acte, / Par MM. Mélesville et Raoul, / Représentée, pour la première fois / Sur le Tréatre du Palais-Royal, / Le 19 Juillet 1832. / A Paris, / Chez J.-N. Barba, Libraire, / Palais-Royal, derrière le Tréatre Français. / 1832.

Valérie / Comédie / En trois actes et en prose / par / MM. Scribe et Melesville / (Théâtre-Français, Paris, 1822) / Bruxelles, / F. Canongette, éditeur, rue du Chène / Et chez les principaux libraires et directeurs des postes des / Provinces et de l' étranger. 1831.

Zampa, / Ou / La fiancée de marbre, / Opéra-comique en trois actes, / Paroles de Mélesville; / Musique de Hérold; / Représenté pour la première fois à Paris sur le Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, / Le 3 Mai 1831.

Zémire et Azor / Opéra-comique en quatre actes / paroles de Marmontel / Musique de Grétry / Représenté pour la première fois aux Italiens, le 16 Décembre 1771, et repris diverses époques au Théâtre / De l'Opéra-Comique.

P.5 Primary material - Printed Material

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