

ROCHESTER HISTORY

Edited by BLAKE MCKELVEY, *City Historian*

VOL. XVI

JULY, 1954

No. 3

The Theater in Rochester During Its First Nine Decades

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Elder Rochesterians delight to recall the time when Rochester was a theater-loving town. It was back in the years prior to the First World War, more especially in the nineties and early 1900's, that the city welcomed serious plays, melodramas, and amusing light operas to a half-dozen stages east and west of the river. Indeed, that almost forgotten rivalry between the east and the west sides was partly responsible for the profusion of stages though not for the eagerness with which Rochesterians crowded in to see and hear their favorite stars. Of course, the theatrical delights Rochester enjoyed were not local in origin and the dramatic renaissance was nation-wide, almost world wide, in scope, but Rochester's response was enthusiastic and perhaps influenced the larger trend in some small respects.

It is a delight to page through the scrapbooks of theatergoers of a half century ago. Striking advertisements, elegant programs and extensive reviews give life and color to the stars of former years of whom the modern spectator has only read in passing. The vivid memories they recall to aging Rochesterians who still cherish one or more of these heavy tomes will soon pass. Already the origins of Rochester's theatrical tradition, have slipped beyond the earliest recollection of our oldest residents. A review of the city's theatrical history, with special emphasis on its three golden decades, seems therefore in order.

ROCHESTER HISTORY, published quarterly by the Rochester Public Library, distributed free at the Library, by mail 25 cents per year. Address correspondence to the City Historian, Rochester Public Library, 115 South Avenue, Rochester 4, N. Y.

The Slow Rise of The Theater in Rochester

Rochester's reputation as a good theater town was slow to develop for the very good reason that the city was not very hospitable to the theater for many long decades. The village saw its first stage drama in 1824 and erected a circus or theater building two years later, but patronage was so poor that the structure was soon converted into a livery stable. Other buildings with capacious lofts were occasionally pressed into service by a visiting theatrical troupe, but such visits were rare until 1835 when the Charlestown Players came to Rochester and secured a license for a brief dramatic season.¹

A Concert Hall on Exchange Street was fitted up for that occasion, and other theatrical engagements followed there. All were of short duration until 1837 when a troupe from Buffalo endeavored to establish a branch theater in Rochester. Despite much Shakespeare and some local color, that attempt failed, but a renewed effort in 1840 succeeded. It was in this year that Edwin Dean, manager of the Eagle Street Theater in Buffalo, leased and remodelled Concert Hall on Exchange Street, opening with a talented company. His wife and their daughter Julia, destined to win wide approval a few years later, J. B. Rice, soon to become influential as a theater manager in Chicago, and Mrs. Rice, daughter of William Warren, the talented comedian of the Boston Museum, comprised the leading stock characters, supporting such visiting actors as Edwin Forrest, Joseph Parker, and Mrs. McClure, who later married W. G. Noah of Rochester and made the city her home. A wide selection of plays included Shakespearean dramas, many light farces, spectacles such as "Cherry and Fair Star," and among numerous melodramas, "Nick in the Woods," the oft-repeated "Forty Thieves," and "Children of Cypress." A special performance entitled "Sam Patch in France," written and played by the popular Dan Marble, made amusing use of a locally famous character.²

Despite its auspicious beginning and creditable offerings, the Dean Theater soon encountered difficulties. The return visit of the revivalist, Charles G. Finney, in the early forties strengthened the ardor of the theater's opponents. Even the *Workingman's Advocate*, which had afforded generous advertising space for a time, became more critical. With the demise of that paper the theater was forced to rely largely upon bills posted conspicuously on Main Street Bridge. For

two or three years interested Rochesterians shared with devotees of the theater in Buffalo the occasional services of the struggling company, but the death of his wife and Dean's desire to give Julia a wider range of audiences, coupled with local hostility, finally prompted him to close the theater in 1842 or 1843.³

A new beginning was made in 1848 when a theater was established in the Enos Stone building on South St. Paul (South Avenue) just a step from Main Street. The hall was decorated by Colby Kimball, Rochester's leading artist, and 75 gas burners were installed by the recently organized gas company to light the auditorium, which was said to accommodate 1000 spectators. A theatrical company, whose support was again shared by Buffalo, traveled back and forth between the two cities, while eastern stars stopped over occasionally for brief seasons during theatrical tours which were then extending into the interior. Among them was Julia Dean who now enjoyed a national reputation but was always glad to revisit her old friends in Rochester. Meanwhile the opening of a new Concert Hall on State Street, the provision of a Turner Hall by the German societies, and finally in 1849 the construction of the large and imposing Corinthian Hall back of the Reynolds Arcade supplied Rochester with ample facilities for cultural improvement and entertainment.⁴

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Thus the Rochester theater was fairly well established in the late forties and continued to share with Buffalo the services of a stock company managed by Carr and Warren. Leading stars occasionally joined the troupe for a few performances, and Charlotte Cushman arrived for a ten-day engagement in various Shakespearean roles in February, 1852.⁵ When, the next year, a second Buffalo theater manager, Charles T. Smith, joined forces with Carr and Warren, the theater in the Stone Block was remodeled and enlarged. The new Metropolitan Theater, as it was called, opened a season in June that lasted eight months without a break.⁶ The council had somewhat modified its earlier attitude of restraint and provided short term licenses for transient players.⁷ But the opening of the new theater with a performance of "The Honeymoon, or How to Rule a Wife" prompted the Reverend J. H. McIlvain to deliver a strong sermon at First Church, in which the influences of the theater were roundly condemned.⁸ It was permissible, nevertheless, for even the most respec-

table to attend a reading of "Hamlet" at Corinthian Hall, and when "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Women's Rights in 1853" were presented at the Metropolitan, sympathetic reformers began to accept the additional task of defending the theater.⁹ After a brief respite, Smith opened a spring season which continued with success until fall, when Carr again took over, with an Italian Opera Company, followed by a Parisian ballet troupe. An exceptional fare was thus presented, though the response at the ticket office may have accounted for the frequent reorganizations which started a rumor that Rochester was too puritanical to support a theater.

Rochester remained a poor theater town for many years. As one pious critic boasted, "it required but a few months to starve out successive attempts to establish a theater."¹⁰ The Metropolitan Theater opened only intermittently for a succession of brief engagements under varied managements between 1855 and 1859. Among the stars during these uncertain years were John Drew in "The Irish Ambassador," John Boughan the comedian, Edwin Booth making his first visit at the age of twenty-four, and Miss Charlotte Cushman returning for her last visit.¹¹ "Uncle Tom's Cabin" played for a week or so on six occasions during these years when its message was still a live issue. Only the minstrel troupes rivaled it in popularity.¹²

A new dramatic era dawned in 1859 when Wellington Meech assumed control of the Metropolitan Theater. His earlier experience in Buffalo, with occasional ventures in Rochester, had prepared him to adapt his program to local tastes. The popular response to his first season proved so gratifying that the managers of Corinthian Hall were inspired to lease that rival entertainment center for a "pugilistic encounter," an innovation which scandalized many citizens who had learned to respect the cultural atmosphere of that building.¹³ Both establishments operated as theaters in 1860, catering to the taste for popular drama which paralleled in many respects the increased interest in outdoor sports. In the legitimate theater Rochester's talented actress, Mrs. W. G. Noah, with her daughters, Rachel and Victoria, contributed an air of respectability as well as charm to the local stage.¹⁴

The active program maintained by Wellington Meech at the Metropolitan Theater during the Civil War contrasted sharply with the experiences of earlier managers. Perhaps a need for escape from

the tragic war news sent many to the theater, but others were attracted there for the first time, in November 1864, by the performance of "Ten Nights in a Bar Room."¹⁵

The frequent appearance of dramatic performances on the Academy of Music stage (old Corinthian Hall) marked the decline of the city's traditional hostility to the theater. There were, in fact, three, sometimes four, halls engaged in the theatrical business during most of the decade. Washington Hall at Main and Clinton Streets accommodated free-lance showmen and entertainers who could not command a place at the better theatres. The Ely Street Theatre opened periodically with programs advertised as light opera but described by numerous critics as "leg drama."¹⁶ After that center was converted to other uses, the old concert hall on Exchange Street was opened for a season as a variety theater. A group of amateurs played together for a number of years, rehearsing once a week during the winter months at "The Grove" or other spacious mansions. Several of the new social and ethnic clubs likewise staged plays for the entertainment of their friends.¹⁷

The one truly legitimate theater was the Metropolitan, remodeled by Wellington Meech and his associates in 1865, and renamed the Rochester Opera House. The old ties with Buffalo continued as a succession of managers and stock companies were traded back and forth between the two cities, yet (except for a twenty-month gap during the rebuilding of the theater after the fire of 1869) a fairly constant dramatic program was maintained. Among the traveling stars who added strength and variety to the offerings of the currently resident stock company were the Partinton sisters, Kate Reignolds, John McCullough, Frank Mayo, Fanny Janauschek, the queen of German tragedy, and, most thrilling of all, Joseph Jefferson who in 1871, packed the newly rebuilt theater for several nights in his favorite role as "Rip Van Winkle."¹⁸ The most popular plays of the period were "The Black Crook," first presented in 1867, and of course, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," both frequently repeated though they attracted totally dissimilar audiences. The most spectacular performance was that of Buffalo Bill. Indeed, William Cody's residence in Rochester for two years during this period gave the city a special interest in his remarkable success on the stage.²⁰

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The depression of the mid-seventies dealt a severe blow to the theater in Rochester and throughout the country. The age-old conflict between those who wished to use the stage for amusement purposes and those who cherished it as a fine art was sharpened as the need to attract more popular audiences developed. A nation-wide reorganization of theatrical tours had its influence in Rochester, as elsewhere, helping to speed the downfall of local stock companies. Fortunately the growth of a new interest in the theater enabled Rochester to establish a first class theater in the late eighties which brought it into the main stream of American theatrical developments and ushered in three golden decades.

Nobody could foresee those triumphs in the mid-seventies. J. Clinton Hall, who had managed the Opera House and directed its stock company for several years, was finally compelled to surrender his lease in December, 1876, when his players refused to work without at least half pay.²¹ Leon H. Lempert, the stage designer, was invited to carry on as manager, but many actors left when their wages were cut. Almost the only successful performances of this period were by the minstrel troupes, notably those of Tony Pastor and the Kiralfy Brothers, each returning annually for several years,²² but the local favorite (not a minstrel) was Buffalo Bill. The traveling minstrels supplied a pattern which the serious actors soon adopted, forming companies of their own, and E. F. Benton, who assumed charge of the Opera House in 1878, determined a year later to dispense entirely with a stock company. Lempert, who had in the meantime transferred to the Corinthian Academy of Music, maintained a local stock company for another season, but the autumn of 1879 found the managers of both theaters in New York, booking shows, not simply stars, for the year.²³

The abler members of the earlier stock companies, together with a number of local thespians, joined one or another of the theatrical troupes on the national circuit. Rochester's most famous representative was Charles Backus, the Negro minstrel who had long since made a sure reputation. The local visit of his troupe in 1879 attracted an enthusiastic response, and his death four years later was sincerely mourned.²⁴ Another Rochester comedian, Charles E. Evans, was already winning the adjective "funny" from all commentators when in 1882 he joined James Niles in the management of a troupe that won

national success with the farce "A Parlor March."²⁵ Frank E. McNish, a graceful dancer as well as a comedian, and a number of other Rochesterians, including Amy Busby, Bertha Welby and Jessie Bonstelle, gained a host of admirers throughout the land.²⁶

Some of Rochester's stage talent remained at home. A number of amateurs participated in the dramatic readings of the Shakespeare Society or in productions of the Opera Club which specialized in Gilbert and Sullivan. One of the founders of that club later became manager of the Lyceum, while two others, Charles M. Robinson and John H. Strong, wrote and produced the comic opera, "Ye Gods and Goddesses."²⁷ The plaudits which greeted its production at the Lyceum in the spring of 1889 exceeded the city's normally enthusiastic response when a native son or daughter made a stage bow. Thus Miss Rachel Noah, who married James Powers, was generously applauded when she appeared with Edwin Booth on the latter's visit in 1877, though she could not rival her mother's talent nor match her proud boast of playing Ophelia to every Hamlet in America during her day. A reporter, visiting Mrs. Noah on her 79th birthday, learned that she had liked the part of Julia in "The Hunchback" best of all, and that she had not looked at a mirror for the last three years, preferring to live with her memories.²⁸

Traveling variety troupes dominated the American stage for some years after the breakdown of the old theatrical pattern of resident stock companies and visiting stars. Only a limited number of inland cities had theaters which dared contract for more than an overnight visit from a company of serious dramatists, and Rochester saw few first-class plays in the early eighties. Sarah Bernhardt presented "Carmille" on March 22, 1881, before a good crowd at the Opera House in which the seats had brought from one to three dollars each. Most of the other stars who visited Rochester at this time appeared there with equal brevity (if not equal returns) or at the Academy, recently remodeled by Samuel Wilder. Frank Mayo, Mary Anderson, Fanny Janauschek, Joseph Jefferson and Mrs. John Drew each favored Rochester with one or two performances, though none found the facilities entirely adequate.²⁹

Philip H. Lehnen, manager of Syracuse and Utica theaters, leased the Opera House in 1882, thus including Rochester in his upstate circuit of overnight stands. The assurance of several engagements at-

tracted companies featuring Minnie Madden, John McCullough, Emma Thursby, Helena Modjeska and Robert Mantell, all of whom visited Rochester during the next two seasons.³⁰ But of course these stars flickered but briefly in schedules dominated by less brilliant entertainers, some of whom actually besmirched the theater's reputation. On one occasion, indeed, the performance of the Victoria Loftus Novelty Company proved so "exceedingly filthy, coarse and vile" that the manager closed the theater and endorsed the mayor's ban on the performance. The thespians themselves occasionally engaged in riotous outbreaks of passion when a lovers' triangle developed within a company or a manager decamped after an especially profitable evening.³¹

Yet the popular response was so hearty that a number of new variety theaters appeared in the mid-eighties. A summer theater, opened in the bicycle pavilion on Falls Field in 1883, proved successful and its renewal for a second season was planned, though a new interest in roller-skating quickly displaced it.³² The popular prices at the summer theater developed a new clientele, and in the fall of 1884 two dime theaters appeared, the Dime Museum in old Washington Hall, and the Casino on North St. Paul Street. Cheap novelty companies, featuring damsels dressed in flesh-colored tights who posed as nude paintings, supplied a chief attraction. Both the Academy and the Opera House soon cut their prices to twenty and thirty cents and added burlesque interludes to their programs. The popularity of the newly improved musical comedies, starting with "Pinafore," proved a great boon to the larger halls. The dime theaters disappeared when the right to sell liquor was denied them. The low prices likewise came to an end, but many of the newly-won patrons remained.³³ In fact one reporter, possibly advanced in years, was provoked in 1887 to cry out against Rochester's plentiful supply of senseless young men who aped metropolitan dudes and fops by showering foolish notes and attentions on the chorus members of comic opera troupes, to the great merriment of the ladies.³⁴

Three Golden Decades

Much could be said in disparagement of Rochester's theatrical fare during the city's first half century, but a new and happier era was soon to open. Moreover an interested and eager public had been developed, including a number of patrons of discriminating taste. Even the lusty

performances of melodramas and variety shows had a contribution to make to popular entertainment, and steps were now taken to provide a worthy center for legitimate drama.

It was early in 1887 that a group of substantial patrons of the stage determined to build a real theater in Rochester. After a protracted debate between the advocates of rival east and west side sites,³⁵ a company was formed with such business leaders as W. S. Kimball, H. H. Warner and Hiram W. Sibley—all widely interested in the arts—as its chief financial backers. The new theater, known as the Lyceum, was erected on South Clinton, just off Main—definitely an east-side victory. It was built in the Moorish style and was said to resemble the Alhambra in appearance. Leon Lempert supervised the interior decorations and designed 36 complete sets of scenery for the 83-foot stage. Seats were provided for 2000 and the total cost was estimated at \$125,000.³⁶ Abraham E. Wolff, long a devoted student of the drama, was installed as manager, and a full program was scheduled. Belasco's play, "The Wife," a Broadway hit of the previous year, attracted a full house on the opening night, October 8, 1888, Rochester's biggest social event since the dedication of the Powers Gallery. The first season featured Joseph Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," Thomas Keene and several other stars, including Edwin Booth, whose collapse during the first act of "Othello," when a paralytic stroke temporarily interrupted his career, provided the year's most dramatic event.³⁷

Both the Academy and the Opera House had made improvements in their programs as early as 1886, and first-class offerings continued into the Lyceum's first season when the Academy began to resort to variety shows at reduced prices. Manager Lehnen of the Opera House had meanwhile extended his chain of theaters into the midwest, and when, in the spring of 1889, it became apparent that he could no longer hold the leading place in Rochester, he determined to withdraw. His successor soon announced that the Opera House would in the future specialize in light comedy at popular prices. Indeed there was much speculation as to whether the Lyceum would be able to sustain a program of serious drama in such a poor show town as Rochester was widely reputed to be.³⁸

Local skeptics were destined to be agreeably surprised. The Lyceum's management successfully covered operating expenses the first

year and determined the next year to engage the best talent available. As the season advanced Rochester slowly awoke to the fact that it was experiencing a renaissance in the drama. Joseph Jefferson, William J. Florence and Mrs. John Drew, playing together in "The Rivals," the Bostonians in "Mignon," Edwin Booth and Helena Modjeska, supported by the youthful Otis Skinner, in "The Merchant of Venice" and "The Rivals," Robert Mantell in "Othello," and excellent companies starring Rosina Vokes, Richard Mansfield, Helen Barry, among others, provided some of the high points in one of the Flower City's most notable dramatic seasons.³⁹

New plays off Broadway frequently visited Rochester, and the Lyceum regularly brought several of the outstanding companies to town during their road tours. James O'Neill returned frequently as "Monte Cristo," Robert Mantell with plays by Dumas and others, Mrs. Georgiana Drew Barrymore in comedy and tragedy, Madame Modjeska in Shakespearian roles and Julian Marlowe with a different interpretation of his plays, Joseph Jefferson as "Rip Van Winkle," and others of similar merit crowded the Lyceum schedule. New plays that attracted popular interest were the Broadway hit, "Shenandoah" by Brennen Howard, acclaimed the foremost American playwright, and the equally popular but more vulgar "The White Squadron," which one local critic hoped would be the last of its kind to appear at the Lyceum.⁴⁰ Sardou's "Cleopatra" was described as the most spectacular production ever seen in Rochester though excelled by many as a play.⁴¹

Rochester critics were eager to welcome Tennyson's "Foresters." They were convinced that Rochester had a sufficient number of literary and cultured residents to appreciate the play's lyrical and poetic qualities, yet they themselves found the performance deficient both as drama and as theatrical entertainment.⁴² That the Rochester press did have discerning critics and the city a capacity to appreciate good drama were facts recognized by several leading managers who occasionally brought a new play to the Lyceum for a tryout. Thus Charles Coghlan's "Lady Baxter" was brought there for its American tryout, in January 1891, by the Rose Coghlan company which returned a year later with "Dorothy's Dilemma." J. W. Summers tried out a realistic play about a tramp "Jerry" at Rochester in 1892, receiving more praise for his acting than for his "vehicle."⁴³

Local theatergoers were generously appreciative of local talent. They applauded warmly (and with the approval of the critics) at the opening of "Josephine" by Albert R. Havens, a Rochester newspaperman. They displayed home-town pride when local sons and daughters returned as members of visiting theatrical troupes, notably the Busby sisters, Amy and Georgia, Miss Rachel Booth, Frank French, George Heath and several others.⁴⁴

Drama critics were sometimes provoked by the hasty exit of a few theatergoers during the last act of a play or by signs of boorishness in the balconies. They were chagrined by the discourtesy shown Miss Marie Wainwright, the talented actress whose performance in Clyde Fitch's "Social Swain" was interrupted by a shout from the gallery, "Hit him with an axe."⁴⁵ Yet the Lyceum audience was able in 1893 to give its undivided attention to Mrs. Potter and Mr. Bellow in "Therese Raquin," the first Zola play to reach Rochester. The "gripping intensity" of the tragic drama and the "flawless" performance were praised by auditors and critics, impressed alike by the realism and the sensitive artistry of the play.⁴⁶ If Zola was not as evil as they had supposed, possibly his indictment of contemporary morals and manners deserved a more respectful hearing—at least the attention given to three other plays based on French sources in the spring of 1893 suggests such a tentative attitude.⁴⁷

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The Lyceum Theater continued throughout Abraham E. Wolff's long-term management to present a rich selection of the best plays produced in America. Wolff's association, after 1898, with the theatrical trust in New York, limited his choice to its repertory, but the independents who battled the trust in New York and elsewhere never lacked opportunities to play in other Rochester theaters. These were the happy days, as Glenn Hughes has characterized the new century's first decade,⁴⁸ and while controversy frequently developed over questions of dramatic taste and moral influence, the ceaseless demand for entertainment produced a progressive expansion of facilities and presented the public with a wide choice of theatrical fare.

Of course Rochester's numerous theaters were not the product of cultural interests alone. The popularity of the varied forms of entertainment they offered assured handsome returns to managers able to keep their booking schedules full, thus stimulating new ventures for

commercial reasons, and the same incentive prompted west-side business leaders to erect theaters to match those which attracted crowds past the store fronts of their east-side competitors. The Baker Theater, opened on North Fitzhugh Street in 1899, was the joint product of the newly-formed Shubert theatrical chain and west-side business interests; the National Theater erected nearby on West Main Street three years later was similarly backed. Despite periods of rivalry, the Baker and the National served to counterbalance the pull of the Lyceum, the Opera House and lesser theaters on the east side.⁴⁹ It was only after 1910, when the rage for vaudeville and motion pictures developed, that the city's theaters were over-built, but a keen commercial rivalry was operative throughout the period and greatly influenced the selection of plays and other entertainments offered.

If commercialism was stifling the American theater in these years, as many critics charged, it was doing so by showering the creative artists and their more subservient fellow entertainers with princely rewards and popular acclaim such as no other cultural field afforded. Numerous Rochesterians enjoyed a modest share of the success of this national, in some respects international, calling, and while the growth of large-scale theatrical organizations often frustrated the expression of individual artists, the theater's contribution to the enrichment of human life was enormous, as many in Rochester and elsewhere testified. Claude Bragdon was not the only one to recall years later the new realms of feeling and the new insights he had acquired while watching Mrs. Fiske play the lead in Ibsen's "A Doll's House" or James A. Herne in his own play, "The Reverend Griffith Davenport."⁵² That was in the nineties, and Bragdon's creative efforts in this field were to come later, but already a vital force was operative.

The plight Rochester would have suffered if its theater managers had not been able to make ends meet was illustrated during the depression of the mid-nineties when the Lyceum as well as the Opera House had many dark nights. Their pleas for a reduction in the license fee were disregarded, and the Opera House changed hands twice within two years as one management after another gave up the struggle.⁵¹ The Lyceum, with its greater social prestige, was able to present "Lady Windemere's Fan" by Oscar Wilde, Modjeska and Otis Skinner in "The Merchant of Venice," Joseph Jefferson in his traditional role as "Rip Van Winkle" and other sure attractions, but when a new play

was offered, even with Rochester's favorite daughter, Amy Busby, as star, the response was discouraging.⁵² The Academy of Music as well as the Opera House abandoned all efforts to produce serious drama and resorted to light opera and variety shows, only to encounter stiffer competition from the cheaper prices and more gusty fare offered by James H. Moore of Detroit at the Musee, remodeled as the Wonderland in 1894.⁵³ Moore was experimenting cautiously with the new medium, vaudeville, which seemed to supply the diversion so many craved in these troubled times. Only the gaiety of light opera at the beach rivalled it in appeal, and even the Lyceum resorted to such fare in the summer months. Thus the popular Wilbur Opera Company presented thirteen light operas for a total of fifty-six performances in August 1896, attracting near-capacity audiences at prices of fifteen and twenty-five cents.⁵⁴

Fortunately the depression was beginning to lift in the show business that year, and the Lyceum presented William Gillette's intensely dramatic "Secret Service" to an enthusiastic audience in September, a week before its debut in New York. Perhaps Miss Busby's role as the feminine star helped to assure Rochester's approval, but the response was the most gratifying she ever received in her hometown and followed her to New York and Boston, providing a fitting climax to her career.⁵⁵ The "Mandarin," another Rochester tryout of that season, was warmly received, too, though it met little success in New York.⁵⁶ Many theatrical companies still made a two-night-and-one-matinee stop in Rochester that year, presenting two or three plays, but the next year brought the Lyceum into the one night schedule developed by the newly organized trust of Charles Frohman and his associates in New York. The new scheme proved financially rewarding and brought a greater variety of shows and stars including some which, in the opinion of George Warren of the *Democrat*, should not be invited back, notably the "Great Diamond Robbery." Yet the sixty-six performances at the Lyceum had included a "thrilling presentation" of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" by Mrs. Fiske, several fine Shakesperian performances, and an excellent production of "Princess and the Butterfly" by Pinero.⁵⁷

That the hold of the trust was not at first a strangling one is evident from the fact that Mrs. Carter gave an effective performance in Belasco's "Heart of Maryland" at the Lyceum in January 1898.⁵⁸

Mrs. Fiske, another independent, played there twice that year; but in 1900, when she returned in "Becky Sharp," only the Opera House was available. It was not a great handicap, fortunately, for that old house had recently been remodeled and greeted her with a capacity crowd of 2100 who enjoyed what was pronounced by the *Herald* the best performance of the season.⁵⁹ Yet a new situation had developed, partly as a result of the organization of the theatrical monopoly in New York, and partly because of increased competition in Rochester. The Shubert brothers, owners of a theater in Syracuse and one or two elsewhere, had leased the new Baker Theater with the promise of a Frohman stock company for the opening week. That threat had forced Wolff of the Lyceum to accede to Frohman's demand for exclusive bookings, which in turn drove the Shuberts into the camp of the independents. But if Rochester's east-west rivalry helped to strengthen the trust's control of the road in New York state, it likewise, by forcing some of the talented independents into association with the Shuberts and other vaudeville circuit managers, strengthened the quality of the opposition.⁶⁰

The new advantages which accrued to the Lyceum and to Rochester as a result of its closer ties to the trust became evident in 1900-01 when Frohman sent twelve of his twenty-four New York successes that year to Rochester, including Augustus Thomas's "Arizona," a strong drama which made a great hit in January and was brought back for two days in April.⁶¹ Although the proportion of New York plays coming to Rochester within a year was seldom again so large, partly because of the great increase in New York openings after 1902, the Lyceum continued to receive a half dozen or so each season, while the independents likewise made early visits to the Opera House, the Baker Theater or, after 1902, the National Theater.

Thus, of the better New York plays of 1903-04, Rochester saw the dramatization of Tolstoy's "Resurrection" and that of Kipling's "The Light That Failed," as well as Barrie's play, "The Admirable Crichton," and Shaw's "Candida," all within a year of their New York opening. That was a "star-studded" season in which Maude Adams, John Drew, Richard Mansfield, Robert Mantell, Henry Irving, Ethel Barrymore, E. H. Sothorn, Mrs. Leslie Carter, Annie Russell, Julia Marlowe and Nat C. Goodwin, among several others, delighted Rochester audiences. Four of Shakespeare's plays by different companies

(including the Ben Greet Players who presented "Twelfth Night" as it was produced at London in 1601) and notable performances of Ibsen's "Ghosts," Pinero's "The Second Mrs. Tangueray" and the Medieval morality play "Everyman" provided the season's triumphs.⁶² These were foreign plays, several of them presented by British companies, but the same season brought numerous American plays too, including four new ones, though none of the latter was distinguished. The season was atypical in that respect, for the previous one had been dominated by American plays, and almost every succeeding year brought American premieres of merit.⁶³

Rochester was improving its status as a tryout town. The occasional premieres of the nineties and the early years of the century had added piquancy to the theatrical schedule, though they did not average one a year and none proved to be a significant play. The situation began to change in 1905 when the premiere of Clyde Fitch's intensely emotional "The Woman in the Case" and the first American performance of Ibsen's "When We Dead Awake" stirred Lyceum audiences.⁶⁴ Noteworthy premières in succeeding years included "The Galilean's Victory" by Henry Arthur Jones, with the distinguished British playwright in the audience, and the successful melodrama, "Paid in Full" by Eugene Walters. The premieres numbered six in the 1909-10 season, including Booth Tarkington's "Your Humble Servant" and again an American premier for a play by Ibsen, "Pillars of Society."⁶⁵ Usually the American author was present on these occasions, ready to respond to a curtain call, and twice at least Charles Frohman came to Rochester to help launch a new play, both of them, as it happened, starring Maude Adams.⁶⁶ At least forty premieres occurred at Rochester in the first fifteen years of the century—a situation which gave increasing satisfaction to many residents although it did not seem so remarkable when the number of new plays of the period was considered. Yet the drama critics of the four leading dailies were sure to be present, and when a noted star was included the boxes were filled by socialites as well.⁶⁷

Of course the major theatrical events were those which combined a leading star with a great play. Rochester never tired of Shakespeare, ten of whose plays were given two or more times during the first decade, the "Merchant of Venice" seven times. Robert Mantell was the favorite interpreter, and Rochester crowded the Lyceum for

six nights in a row to hear and see him in such roles in February 1909. Fourteen Shakespearean performances in 1914 topped all seasons in this respect.⁶⁸ No other playwright could win such attention, though the Americans Clyde Fitch and Augustus Thomas each had more plays produced, some of them repeatedly. Among foreign playwrights Shaw, Ibsen and Pinero each contributed a half dozen or more plays, all of which provided memorable evenings.⁶⁹ The most popular of the three was Shaw whose "Candida" was twice repeated and whose threat in 1915 to write no more plays was deplored by the *Herald* despite its earlier criticisms.⁷⁰ Other distinguished playwrights were represented—James M. Barrie, David Belasco, Rachel Crothers, William Vaughn Moody—and plays adapted from great books were numerous, ranging from Goethe's *Faust* to Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*.⁷¹

While borrowing eagerly from Europe's rich store of dramatic literature to broaden its horizon, Rochester was at the same time nurturing its American heritage with an increasingly rich panorama of native plays. And if the artistic realism of the contemporary foreign plays that reached Rochester far exceeded that of the American social and regional plays or melodramas or the "vehicles" constructed for popular stars, the more familiar problems of the frontier as set forth in Augustus Thomas' oft-repeated "Arizona," the conflict of loyalties in the Civil War dealt with by William Gillette among others, the dilemmas produced by the intermingling of ethnic groups as depicted in Thomas's "As a Man Thinks," and the newly pressing issues of urban life seen in such plays as Edward Sheldon's "Salvation Nell" and "The Boss" often stirred Rochester audiences deeply. Yet local reviewers developed a distaste for problem plays, and if the city's preference can be gauged by the number and character of the plays most frequently presented in the latter years of the period, the popular choice was for the light and humorous works of George Ade and the more sparkling if sardonic productions of George M. Cohan.⁷²

The theater served many different purposes and dissimilar audiences. Few crowds were more excited than those which jammed the Lyceum to see "Ben Hur" on repeated visits. Its combination of "pagan melodrama" and "passion play background" attracted early morning lines a block long into Clinton Street hours before the ticket sale opened during its second five-day run.⁷³ Many non-theatergoers were swept in on such occasions, which served as "Uncle Tom's

Cabin" (performed but twice in this period) had in past decades. Spectacles such as "Ben Hur," and "Jeanne d'Arc" by Percy MacKaye, were both popular and approved, as were many of the contemporary romances, such as Belasco's "Madame Butterfly,"⁷⁴ but most drama critics as well as church-men deplored the salaciousness of current French plays and their still cruder American imitations. Even Joseph O'Connor voiced his approval when the New York police closed "Mrs. Warren's Profession" by Shaw in 1905, though he himself considered it a great play and preferred to see some others closed. Yet Rochester later saw and liked Shaw's play, as it did "Sapho" and others which dealt with unconventional domestic arrangements. Thus "Damaged Goods" by Eugene Brieux was brought back for a second visit in 1915, despite the *Democrat's* disapproval, and won the attention of Rochester's 200 nurses who attended in a body.⁷⁵

Continued approval, if not their old popularity, was shared by several old "pastorals," such as "Davy Crockett" which had first opened at Rochester in 1872 and "Rip Van Winkle," Joseph Jefferson's perennial hit.⁷⁶ These, with "The Old Homestead" and others, still made a nostalgic appeal to many Rochesterians whose rural origin or background was near the surface. The contest between the virtuous and strong countryman and the city slicker or the urban environment provided their basic theme, yet one of the significant features of this period was the decline in their hold. "Rip Van Winkle" was occasionally presented by Thomas Jefferson after his father's death but to apathetic audiences and disappeared from the boards after 1908.⁷⁷ All the others save "Old Homestead" had dropped from view (except for stock revivals) five or ten years before, and Josh Whitcomb, who retained his admirers until 1914, outlived his rustic fellows chiefly because he did not raise social issues, as for example "Shore Acres" did, on which the city public had made up its mind—against the "hayseed."⁷⁸

Vaudeville, Comic Opera and the Cinema

The declining influence of rural melodrama was less a triumph for serious drama than for the light opera—so appealing to immigrants from many lands—and for the new and more urban vaudeville entertainers. Nothing could rival the continuing popularity during these years of the comic opera troupes and the variety stock companies

except, towards the end of the period, the new cinemas. The street parades with which the variety and vaudeville troupes and some of the stock companies launched their Rochester seasons helped to catch popular attention, while their costumes, whether lavish or scanty or freakish, provided additional attractions.⁷⁹ Special theater trains were sometimes scheduled to bring visitors in from nearby villages to see popular productions, such as "The Pink Lady" at the Opera House in October 1911.

* * *

The commercialism which seemed at times to threaten dramatic developments in America likewise supplied the energies that nurtured, in Rochester at least, an increasingly varied theatrical entertainment. Thus when James H. Moore found the Wonderland inadequate for the crowds his vaudeville troupes were attracting at Rochester he leased the Opera House in 1898 and gave it a long deferred revival under the able management of William B. McCallum. The Wonderland, renamed the Empire, carried on with variety shows and an increased display of motion pictures until 1904 when the site was cleared for the new Sibley store. Across the river the Shuberts, while occasionally sheltering an independent road company, depended in the main on stock companies and frequently interspersed them with comic troupes presenting skits by Weber and Fields, George M. Cohan and others. When in 1907 the Shuberts made a temporary peace with the trust,⁸⁰ the Baker Theater was devoted almost exclusively to vaudeville. As the popularity of that free dramatic form became evident, three new vaudeville theaters were opened on the east side—the Temple Theater across from the Lyceum in 1909 and, in the next two years, the Colonial and the Victoria both nearby.⁸¹ Moreover the old Corinthian Academy of Music, destroyed by fire in 1899, was rebuilt and opened as a variety theater in 1904.⁸² Thus Rochester was equipped by 1911 with eight legitimate, vaudeville and variety theaters, prompting the organization of a Theatrical Managers Association of which Martin E. Wolff, who had succeeded his brother at the Lyceum, became president the next year.⁸³

Among the features presented by the variety theaters, besides the acrobats, freaks and "living pictures,"⁸⁴ were the comedians whose lively banter had already given birth to vaudeville, and the singers and dancers who not only gave it tone and grace but also cultivated

a taste for more aesthetic expressions in these fields. The dancers ranged from a high-kicking "Cleo" at the Academy in 1894, through successive "Trilby" dancers, rainbow dancers under changing lights, mirror dancers, flower dancers and the like, until Rochester was ready to marvel at "the artistic poses" and "rhythmic movements" of Isadora Duncan in 1908. Three years later the Imperial Russian Ballet company presented "the most remarkable terpsichorean revel that local theater patrons have been privileged to witness," as the *Union and Advertiser* critic acknowledged.⁸⁵ Meanwhile the collaboration of such stars as Lillian Russell and Marie Dressler in vaudeville performances helped to win a more respectful audience for the dramatic field in which American humor was enjoying its most creative expression. Even the National Theater on West Main Street was ready to cast its lot with vaudeville by 1914.⁸⁶

The lively competition among the Rochester theaters during the winter season often became sharper in summer months when two or three, sometimes four, stock companies vied for popular favor. Moderate prices and sprightly programs were not enough to assure success, and favorite stars were engaged to lead the rival troupes. Jessie Bonstelle of Rochester was a steady favorite at the Lyceum for six years until the Shuberts secured her for the National in 1905. The Bostonians brought light opera of high quality to Rochester annually for nearly two decades, while the Manhattan Players, who came first in 1913, returned for several successive summers.⁸⁷ Possibly the most distinguished leader of such groups was Walter Hampden who headed the stock company at the Lyceum in the summer of 1911. It was probably at this time that he met Bragdon who later designed his remarkable stage settings; meanwhile Hampden thrilled good Rochester audiences by his performance of "The Walls of Jerico," "The Great Divide," "The Glass House" and other plays.⁸⁸

In addition to summertime entertainment, these stock companies (and the variety troupes too) supplied opportunities for experience to youthful Rochesterians eager to appear behind the footlights. Amateur theatrical groups likewise developed from time to time, though most of them expired after a few performances.⁸⁹ Their most successful efforts before the turn of the century were with Gilbert and Sullivan productions, which the Flower City Opera Company and other groups occasionally presented.⁹⁰ Ten years later a Rochester Dramatic Club

was formed (renamed the Unity Club the next year) to encourage local playwrights by producing their plays and such esoteric works as "The Blue Bird" by Maurice Maeterlink, before small audiences at Gannett House or in neighboring villages. This local expression of the little theater movement was promoted by the Reverend Edwin A. Rumball on the model of the Hull House Players in Chicago and quickly enrolled in the Drama League of America, only to discover, as most similar groups learned, that the glamor and demands of the commercial stage soon absorbed any who showed talent and were ready to give the theater their full devotion.⁹¹

Rochester was always glad to greet its sons and daughters when they returned (and many did in these years) as members of visiting road or stock companies. The most prominent, after the marriage and retirement of Amy Busby,⁹² was Jessie Bonstelle who finally graduated from summer stock to full stardom in 1908 much to the delight of her friends in Rochester.⁹³ Others whose successes were followed with interest included Jennie Tierney, "Babe" Stanley, Ruth Macauley and Pearl Linda Ford⁹⁴ as well as Joe Bloom (as David Mills), David Collins and the able director of the Manhattan Players, Edgar MacGregor.⁹⁵ All but one of them made their start in variety shows and most were content with vaudeville billings—the field in which Rochester made its largest contributions.

* * *

The remarkable growth of the vaudeville theaters was supported by their hospitality to a new medium of entertainment—the motion picture film which would in the end completely supersede its host. Rochester, of course, was vitally interested in the new developments, for the Eastman Kodak Company had supplied the film with which Edison began his experiments in 1889 and continued to supply most of that used by American and European studios. Although the commercial interest was large, few grasped its potentialities, and a move was launched to force Eastman to close his plant on Court Street, where the film was made, because of the disagreeable odor. Moreover, the moving pictures themselves were not at first recognized as culturally important although their power for evil soon came to light.

Edison's kinetoscope, which was first released to the public at New York in April 1894, reached Rochester that December. It was a peep show—a curiosity—and the first local use of it was by the Sibley,

Lindsay & Curr store which installed four in the basement as an attraction to customers. Their announcement was brief; "Everyone has heard of the recent wonderful invention of Edison, but very few likely have seen it in operation. Today in the basement you may see Carmentica, the queen of dancers, Alciede Capitaine in trapeze performances, Annie Oakley the sharpshooter, the Carnival dancers." A new set of views was announced the next week (including a "Thrilling fire scene") each composed of 46 views reproduced on a one-inch film 52 feet long, which the curious could view for five cents.⁹⁶

Kinetiscopes soon found their place among the curiosities at the entrance to the Wonderland and into the amusement centers at the beach. It was another year before Edison's rivals had devised methods for projecting these motion pictures on a canvas, and Rochester saw its first life-size motion pictures the next January at the Wonderland. The eidoloscope invented by the Lathams and described as "a remarkable improvement of Edison's kinetiscope," came first, attracting crowds to see brief life-sized views of a prize fight and a horse race.⁹⁷ In spite of continuous performances, the feature had to be held over a third week. Not to be outdone, Manager Wolff of the Lyceum displayed the kineomatograph, an early model of the Edison-Armat machine, as an intermission feature at his theater that summer. Yet J. H. Moore more clearly saw the possibilities of the new medium and in November secured Lumiere's cineomatograph and announced a continuous showing of its films at the Wonderland.⁹⁸

This first showing of the French films in Rochester attracted enthusiastic crowds. Twelve short reels were shown, each comprising approximately 900 pictures on 90 feet of film, which represented about one minute of running time. None of the American films of this year equalled that length, and the management of the Wonderland was justly proud of its offering: "A seashore scene is especially wonderful; bathers are represented running, diving, swimming. . . . There are scenes showing a railroad train in motion, coming to a stop, discharging and taking on passengers." A Frenchman feeding tigers in the Paris zoo; two editors quarrelling over a news article; a French cavalry charge—were among the other views shown. The views were commonplace, but the numbers eager to see the new marvel for themselves exceeded all expectations, and the two-week run was extended and extended for four full months. And when at last the cinemato-

graph was released, a new American machine was ready to take its place and give Rochester its first showing of the Biograph films.⁹⁹

Exciting developments in the use of the new medium were occurring in many places. Several reels of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight were taken and circulated throughout the country. A kinematograph to display that scene was set up in a saloon on South Avenue in July to amuse patrons in its open-air beer garden, which was likewise provided with the music of an orchestration until the neighbors protested. A veriscope presentation of the fight was offered at the Opera House a month later, while the Wonderland adopted the policy of interspersing cinematographic views with its standard "olio" performances.¹⁰⁰ A cinematograph reproduction of the Passion Play at Omerammegau was announced at Fitzhugh Hall the next February, and the Wonderland offered a Biograph film showing the wreck of the Battleship Maine and other exciting scenes.¹⁰¹ The Opera House displayed a Biograph film of Pope Leo XIII walking in the Vatican Gardens, and even the Lyceum was ready, in February 1900, to show a film of the Sharkey-Jeffries fight.¹⁰²

In the search for exciting spectacles, representatives of the Biograph Company staged a head-on crash between two steam engines at Driving Park in July 1900, and while that event fizzled, new films were arriving from all sections of the country. Soon the Wonderland, the Opera House, the Baker and the National were giving them a large place on their schedules.¹⁰³ Shortly after the Wonderland was demolished, Rochester's first motion picture theater, the Bijou Dream, made its appearance in 1906, at Main and Water Streets. Within a year three other motion picture houses had opened—the Happy Land opposite the National on West Main, the Knickerbocker next door to the Bijou Dream, and the Fairyland a few steps further east on Main Street.¹⁰⁴ By December 1907 there were nine five-cent theaters operating in Rochester, and the battle to restrain the display of indecent pictures and to keep them closed on Sunday was raging at full tilt.¹⁰⁵

The Ministerial Association and other guardians of the Sabbath won their point and secured the adoption of a censorship rule as well. The theater managers, who protested the shutdown on their most profitable day, received little sympathy since the profits they already reaped, at five or ten cents a customer for shows lasting from fifteen to thirty minutes, were sufficient to prompt the opening of seven new

cinemas by 1910 and increased the seating capacity of the fifteen motion picture houses to 7950.¹⁰⁶ But the effort to ban any showing of the Jeffries-Johnson fight pictures was frustrated,¹⁰⁷ and the local association of motion picture house managers, formed to safeguard their interests there, exacted compromise terms from the motion picture producers trust which had meanwhile made its appearance. A Rochester firm, organized in 1909 to produce films in competition with the trust, did not prosper, but as the subject matter improved some films won a showing in the public schools under the Social Center movement,¹⁰⁸ and a group of ministers who visited several theaters unannounced in 1910 found little that merited criticism "when compared to the saloon."¹⁰⁹

To enrich their entertainment, most of the movie houses added piano music, an interlude of song, a pipe organ in one case and, with the opening of the Regent Theater in 1914, a ten-piece orchestra.¹¹⁰ Improved fire regulations, state licenses for all operatives, and the organization of a union of the employees to counter that of the managers, marked the progressive organization of an industry, which achieved an investment in Rochester of over a half million dollars by 1914.¹¹¹ Several of the older theaters had been converted into motion picture houses by this date—the Opera House, the Corinthian, the Baker and the Victoria theaters—while the other vaudeville theaters regularly introduced films as a part of each program. Old Fitzhugh Hall gave place to a theater, as did two long-abandoned churches and many other establishments, and while many of the motion picture houses which opened in these early years quickly closed, the city ended the period with thirty-seven cinemas, three vaudeville houses and one legitimate theater.¹¹²

The movies captured the variety and vaudeville theater crowds by filming many of their acts, minus the dialogue (though J. H. Moore, who had first introduced life-size movies to Rochester, first combined them with a gramophone recording of the voices at his Temple Theater in February 1913), and after 1913 they began a similar assault on the legitimate theater's public. Film adaptations of "Rip Van Winkle," "Ben Hur," "Othello" and a hundred old classics, and film versions of many of the action scenes from more recent American favorites, began to appear on Rochester screens. At least a half dozen Rochesterians had minor roles and three played the lead in one or another

of these numerous productions,¹³³ but the flowers and other tokens of recognition which always greeted their stage appearances were missing. Rochester was much more excited over Charlie Chaplin whose irresistible humor won immediate favor, prompting the rival cinemas to vie with each other in frequent billings of his early comic acts.¹³⁴ The Victoria devoted a full week to Chaplin films in April 1915, and the only movie star who could rival him in popularity was Mary Pickford.¹³⁵ Yet even Miss Pickford's film as "Madame Butterfly," which packed the Regent for several consecutive nights, was but a short and flickering production compared with "The Birth of a Nation" released in New York that March and proudly announced by the Lyceum in December as its New Year's feature.¹³⁶ A new era of dramatic entertainment was dawning.

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5. *Democrat* Sept 5, 1851; Feb. 16, 1852; *Advertiser* Feb. 17, Dec. 1, 16, 1852.
6. *Union* Dec. 28, 1852; June 21, 24, 1853; Bitz, *op. cit.* pp. 108-120.
7. *Advertiser*, Dec. 21, 1851.
8. *Union*, June 28, July 5, 1853; *Advertiser*, Jan. 8, Mar. 4, 1853; *Democrat* Aug. 30, 1853.
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12. *Union*, Jan. 3, 1855; Jan. 26, June 23, July 1, 1856; *U. and A.* Sept 26, Oct. 18, 1859; Nov. 15, 1860.
13. *Democrat and American*, Nov. 1, 1860. More than \$700 was collected from the sale of tickets for this legitimate prize fight in Rochester. Earlier attempts to stage such "encounters" had met police interference; see *Democrat*, Mar. 29, 1855.
14. *Express*, Jan. 5, Feb. 9, 1861; Mar. 17, Oct. 7, Dec. 24, 27, 1862; *U. and A.*, Mar. 18, 1863.
15. *U. and A.* Nov. 10, 12, 1864.

16. *Chronicle*, Oct. 25, 26, Nov. 20, 30, 1869; Mar. 7, July 16, 1870; *Democrat and Chronicle*, Dec. 9, 1870; *U. and A.*, Mar. 11, 1870.
17. *Chronicle*, Dec. 17, 1869, Mar. 4, 1870; *D. and C.*, Nov. 23, 1874.
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19. *Chronicle*, Sept. 22, 29, Oct. 1, 19, 23, 1869; *Express*, Nov. 16, 1871; *D. & C.*, July 1, 1874; *U. & A.*, May 24, 1868; Nov. 23, 1874.
20. Fenyvessy, *op. cit.*; *D. & C.*, July 1, 9, 1874; Feb. 10, 1875.
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22. *D. & C.*, Feb. 10, 1875; Feb. 1, 1876; Fenyvessy, *op. cit.*, transcribes a "Record of Business, Aug. 1875-June, 1876," which lists 43 bookings, Buffalo Bill's two separate appearances during the period are marked "crowded and overflowing."
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29. Fenyvessy, *op. cit.*; *D. & C.*, Sept. 7, 1879; *U. & A.*, Feb. 21, 1879; Oct. 3, 19, 1881.
30. Fenyvessy, *op. cit.*
31. *D. & C.*, June 4, 1881; Sept. 1, 2, 1882.
32. *D. & C.*, July 25, 30, Aug. 12, 20, 21, 1883; Apr. 28, June 3, July 31, 1884.
33. *D. & C.*, Nov. 23, Dec. 16, 21, 24, 1884; Jan. 4, Mar. 15, April 19, Sept. 6, 1885; Feb. 14, 21, Mar. 4, 17, 1886; Jan. 16, 1888.
34. *D. & C.*, Dec. 11, 1887.
35. *D. & C.*, Mar. 13, April 20, 1883; Mar. 18, 19, April 1, 5, 8, 1884.
36. *D. & C.*, Dec. 16, 1886; Jan. 5, 1887; Mar. 13, April 5, June 25, Oct. 12, 1888.
37. *D. & C.*, Sept. 3, Oct. 9, Nov. 17, 1888; Jan. 11, 12, Apr. 4, 5, 1889; Edward R. Foreman, "Edwin Booth in Rochester," *R. H. S. Publ. V*: 113-119.
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39. *D. & C.*, Oct. 6, Dec. 1, 4, 6, 14, 15, 1889; Jan. 31, April 18, May 11, 1890.
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41. *U. & A.*, Dec. 27 (6-2) 1892.
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43. *D. & C.*, Jan. 12 (6-6) 1891, Jan. 22, Sept. 5, 6, 1892.
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45. *Herald*, Feb. 7 (7-1), Feb. 8 (7-1) 1893.
46. *Herald*, Mar. 28 (7-1), Mar. 29 (7-1) 1893; *U. & A.*, Mar. 28 (6-1) 1893; *P. E.*, April 1 (16-1) 1893.
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61. This and later generalizations concerning the appearance of current New York plays in Rochester are based on a careful comparison of the lists in Glenn Hughes *A History of the American Theater*, and Pearl L. Kheel "A Survey of the Rochester Theater," Master's Thesis, U. of R., 1947.
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66. *P. E.*, Oct. 17 (8-1) 1903; Dec. 14 (8-4), Dec. 15 (5-1) 1908.
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82. *Herald*, Dec. 2 (8-3) 1898; *D. & C.*, Feb. 21, 1928.
83. *Herald*, Dec. 3 (9-1) 1898; *U. & A.*, Nov. 5 (8-4) 1910; *D. & C.*, *Jl.* 2 (23-1) 1911.
84. *P. E.*, May 29 (10-3) 1896; *U. & A.* Nov. 1 (10-1), Nov. 6 (7-3) 1911.
85. *Herald*, Feb. 7 (7-4) 1894; *D. & C.*, *Jl.* 17 (7-5) 1895; *P. E.*, Sept. 24 (4-6) 1896; *U. & A.* Ap. 13 (7-6) 1909; Dec. 14 (12-1) 1911.
86. *U. & A.*, Nov. 20 (11-2) 1911; *P. E.*, Mar. 15 (5-1) 1912; *Herald*, Jan. 13 (9-4) 1914; see also Henry W. Clune, *Main Street Beat* (N. Y., 1947), pp. 70-80.
87. *Herald*, *Jl.* 1 (11-1), Sept. 20 (2-3) 1899; *P. E.*, Ap. 25 (5-2), *Je.* 10 (5-1) 1905; Manhattan Players, Scrapbook (1914) R. P. L.; Wm. B. McCallum's articles on "The Summer Theater in Rochester" (*D. & C.* Mar. 11, 18, 25, 1934) R. V. F. #4.
88. Wm. R. Corris (*D. & C.*, Ap. 1, 1934) R. V. F., *Roch.-Hist.-Theater* #4.
89. *Herald*, *Je.* 9 (8-2) 1894; *D. & C.*, May 26 (14-4) 1910; *Herald*, Jan. 21 (11-3) 1914.
90. *U. & A.*, Feb. 18 (9-1) 1898; Jan. 6 (8-6) 1899; *Herald*, May 9 (8-5) 1899.
91. *D. & C.*, *Je.* 14 (16-7) 1910; Sept. 3 (19-4), Sept. 7 (11-3), Oct. 6 (11-2) Oct. 18 (15-1) 1911; *U. & A.*, Nov. 10 (7-4) 1911.
92. *Herald*, Mar. 17 (6-3), Mar. 20 (6-1) 1897.
93. *Herald*, Aug. 7 (6-4) 1897; Sept. 24 (7-2), Sept. 25 (12-3) 1908; April 27 (6-7) 1910.
94. *Herald*, Aug. 28 (7-5) 1896; Jan. 27 (6-5), Jan. 28 (6-3), May 25 (6-6) 1899; *U. & A.*, Aug. 8 (3-5) 1903.
95. *D. & C.*, Oct. 12 (9-2) 1911; *U. & A.*, Nov. 2 (10-3) 1911; Ap. 27 (11-3) 1915.
96. *Herald*, Dec. 29 (6-6) 1894; Jan. 4 (8-1), Jan. 12 (6-6), Jan. 19 (7-3) 1895.
97. *P. E.*, Jan. 18 (20-3), Jan. 25 (20-3), Jan. 30 (11-1) 1896.
98. *P. E.*, Nov. 3, 1896; *U. & A.*, Nov. 7, 28, Dec. 26, 1896.
99. *D. & C.*, Dec. 6 (11-1), Dec. 27 (11-1) 1896; *Herald*, Feb. 27 (12-3), Mar. 2 (8-3) 1897.
100. *P. E.*, *Jl.* 13 (9-5) 1897; *Herald*, Aug. 7 (8-4), Aug. 10 (8-5), Dec. 7 (10-2) 1897.
101. *P. E.*, Feb. 22 (7-3), Mar. 5 (13-7), Mar. 26 (13-3) 1898.
102. *P. E.*, Oct. 28 (15-5), Nov. 10 (10-4) 1899; *D. & C.*, Feb. 20 (12-6) 1900.
103. *D. & C.*, *Jl.* 5 (8-5) 1900; April 26 (16-2) 1903; Jan. 14 (18-2) 1905; *P. E.*, Oct. 21 (9-1) 1905.
104. *Herald*, Aug. 25 (7-2) 1906; Mar. 31 (7-2), Ap. 28 (7-4) 1907; *R. Directory* (1907), p. 1127.
105. *Herald*, Sept. 4 (4-1) 1906; Jan. 7 (6-5), Nov. 26 (9-3), Dec. 5 (6-2, 8-2), 1907.
106. *Herald*, Nov. 26 (9-3), Dec. 5 (6-2) 1907; June 5 (25-1) 1910; *D. & C.*, *Je.* 5 (25—) 1910; *The Common Good*, Feb. 1912, pp 14-16.
107. *Herald*, Jan. 15 (8-6) 1909; *P. E.*, *Jl.* 6 (6-6), Aug. 24 (6-3), Aug. 26 (6-1) 1910.
108. *Herald*, Jan. 30 (8-3) 1909; *D. & C.*, *Je.* 12 (25-2), *Je.* 19 (22-5) 1910.
109. *D. & C.*, Oct. 4, 1910.

110. *P. E.*, Nov. 11 (6-3) 1914; L. Grace Drew "The Early Flickers" *D & C.*, July 17, 24, 1949.
111. *Times*, Aug. 8, 1911; Oct. 17, 1912; *Herald*, Aug. 2 (14-1) 1912; Jan. 11, 1914.
112. *P. E.*, Aug. 31 (11-1), Sept. 4 (8-4) 1912; *U. & A.*, Dec. 19 (15-1) 1913; *Rochester Directory* (1915) p.
113. *P. E.*, Feb. 20 (8-3) 1913; *D. & C.*, Oct. 18 (23-7) 1914; *P. E.*, Nov. 12 (5-1), Dec. 18 (11-4) 1915.
114. *D. & C.*, Mar. 11 (9-4), Mar. 28 (31-7), Mar. 30 (9-2), April 11 (31-7), April 25 (31-7); *Herald*, Jl. 13 (12-2) 1915.
115. *U. & A.*, May 29 (11-2), Je. 15 (10-5) 1915; *Herald*, Jl. 16 (5-4) 1915; *P. E.*, Nov. 30 (5-3) 1915.
116. *P. E.*, Dec. 18 (11-3) 1915.