

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9029942

**Theatrical activity and other popular entertainment along the
turnpikes of New York State from the end of the American
Revolution to the beginning of the Civil War**

Hrkach, John (Jack) Jerome, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

Copyright ©1990 by Hrkach, John (Jack) Jerome. All rights reserved.

U·M·I

**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

A

THEATRICAL ACTIVITY AND OTHER POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT
ALONG THE TURNPIKES OF NEW YORK STATE
FROM THE END OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

by

JACK HRKACH

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Theatre in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1990

Copyright 1990

JACK HRKACH

All rights reserved.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date Oct 27, 1990

[Signature]
Chair of Examining Committee

Date Oct 23, 1990

[Signature]
Executive Officer

[Signature]
[Signature]
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THEATRICAL ACTIVITY AND OTHER POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT ALONG THE TURNPIKES OF NEW YORK STATE FROM THE END OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

by

Jack Hrkach

Adviser: Professor Walter J. Meserve

This dissertation charts the tracks of theatrical and other traveling entertainers along the turnpikes of Upstate New York from the earliest recorded activity to the Civil War. It focuses on ten villages on an east-west route along the system of roads known collectively as the Great Western Turnpike, one of the major routes west in ante-bellum America.

As the primary transportation systems shifted from roads and towards the Erie Canal, then railroads, the traveling entertainers also shifted their routes, in order to play to larger audiences and to make greater profits. Some of the villages under discussion, which had been powerful hubs in the system of turnpikes, were weakened economically and in population when the Erie Canal and/or the railroads took routes to the north or south of them.

Traveling players had to choose the places they played based on this transportational shift, but they faced other problems based on the dichotomy between locally generated entertainment and itinerant performers, begun by a natural distrust for strangers by earlier settlers and exacerbated by

the most powerful institution of early American villages: religion. In an age when entertainment had to teach as well as delight, the theatre was the most common target for ministers of God, who frequently characterized playhouses as abodes of the devil. At the height of the temperance movement in America during the 1830s and 1840s, theatrical performers struggled against almost overwhelming odds, especially in Upstate New York, where more than a fair share of radical religious groups gathered during the years prior to the Civil War.

In spite of the difficulties made by the terrain and by human institutions, the traveling players kept coming, until, by the 1850s, the villages along the turnpikes hosted several troupes which boasted strong core companies as well as important visiting stars. Substantiated by a thorough reading of local newspapers, this study shows which theatrical companies played Central New York, what sort of theatre they presented, and how the audiences of the area received them and their plays, illuminating a neglected aspect of American theatre history and also shedding light on the early cultural life of the nation.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped in the creation of this dissertation.

First, I thank my committee, especially the chair, Walter J. Meserve, who encouraged me from the beginning, and who showed me that my insignificant offering, as I thought of it at first, had a resonance far beyond my initial concept, and who also read it with a fine toothed comb (at least!). Along with Professor Meserve, Judith Milhous read it chapter by chapter and helped in matters of form, also adding notes of excitement along the way which encouraged me to continue. Marvin Carlson's notes on the second draft (especially Appendix A) were of great help. Also, it was in a piece of Professor Carlson's that I first read Salvini's quote which concludes the dissertation and, in a sense, sums it up.

All the people at local libraries and historical societies were of great help, and will forgive me if I single out one for highest praise: Mrs. Eleanor Clise, of the Geneva Historical Society, who not only has an amazing knowledge of her subject, but goes above and beyond any call to share it.

As important as academic aid (and on some days, it seemed, far more important) was the help I received in just staying alive. I thank Donnah Welby at the Theatre Development Fund for keeping me employed on my own schedule while I researched and wrote. To the following kind and lovely people, who gave me room and board and support gratis I owe perhaps the greatest debt:

Linda Moskowitz
Al and Earla Coburn
Anne Stone
Shelley Barclay and Mona Stiles
Will and Mary Osborne
Sandy and Eugene Gannon
Pat Nesbit
Ethel Hrkach

Contents

Acknowledgements	v	
List of Maps	viii	
Introduction	1	
Purpose		1
Methods		6
Chapter One: The Route	10	
The Lay of the Land		10
The Villages		13
Chapter Two: Locally Generated Entertainment 1790-1820	22	
Chapter Three: Traveling Entertainers 1790-1820	37	
Dancing Masters and Singing Instructors		37
Animals, Variety Acts, and Museums		41
The First Theatrical Troupes		49
Chapter Four: The Canal Years 1820-1830	65	
Menageries and Museums		66
Early Theatrical Troupes		71
The Post-Canal Theatrical Boom		82
Chapter Five: Temperance and Circuses 1830-1840	102	
Lectures		106
Museum Entertainments		112
Paintings and Music		122
Circuses		127
Theatrical Companies		131
Chapter Six: Entertainment at the Beginning of the Railroad Era, 1840-1850	153	
The Coming of the Railroad		153
Lectures and Readings		160
Concerts and the Minstrel Show	167	
Museum Pieces		174
Theatrical Activity in the Early Forties		181
Temperance Drama		190
Potter's Melodeon		197
Other Theatrical Companies		204
Chapter Seven: Entertainment in the Era of The New York Central, 1850-1861	212	
Social Life in Canandaigua		217
Lectures, Concerts, and Museum Exhibitions		220
Panoramas, Minstrel Shows, and Circuses		227
Dramatic Readings		235
Theatrical Activity		238

Conclusion	281	
Transportation		281
Plays and Players		283
Audience		289
Notes	293	
Appendix A: Plays and Players	335	
Appendix B: Advertisements and Miscellaneous Material	437	
Maps	482	
Bibliography	488	

Maps

1. Topographical Map of New York State	482
2. New York State with Turnpike Villages and Other Selected Places	483
3. Central New York--Turnpikes	484
4. Central New York--Canals	485
5. Central New York--Early Railroads	486
6. Central New York--New York Central	487

Introduction

Purpose

Noah Ludlow, actor/manager of frontier theatres throughout nineteenth-century America, observed that "the pioneers of the Drama serve to mark the progress of civilization."¹ In the early days of the new nation, theatrical performers like Ludlow, and other popular entertainers, followed the settlers westward into America, searching for green fields in which to practice their craft. This dissertation will follow their tracks, uncovering and examining theatrical and allied entertainment between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the Civil War as it was presented to ten villages along one of the most vital corridors to the west: the Great Western system of turnpikes in New York State. As it studies the growth of the route, from turnpikes to canals and railroads, it will also study the growth of theatrical and paratheatrical activity in the area, significantly increasing information about the lives of the nation's pioneer performers and the circumstances of their performances. In the past, such projects have usually concentrated on the theatrical center of New York City, or a regional center like New Orleans.² This study looks away from

centers and focuses on an area which has remained almost completely untouched by scholars. In examining a cross-section of villages and burgeoning cities, which vary in size and economic growth, it sheds light not only on the plays and players, but on the reception of a wide variety of traveling entertainment by local audiences.

More than a century after Ludlow's comments on theatrical pioneers, Douglas McDermott took up the theme in a scholarly fashion, attempting to show how the movement west of the American theatre followed closely the westward movement of the American people.³ Even more recently, Arthur W. Bloom used McDermott's ideas and terminology to trace the movements of the Jefferson Company from the Eastern Seaboard to the Midwest.⁴ Ludlow's observation and the work of these two historians served as inspirations for the present study.

Although Ludlow provided spiritual leadership with his idea of the actor as "cultural pioneer," he was also of practical use, having provided the route. In 1815 Noah Ludlow was advance man and fledgling thespian in a troupe of players en route from John Bernard's theatre in Albany to a circuit of theatres in Kentucky. The company was headed by Bernard's stage manager, Samuel Drake, who decided to play in several towns along his way. Ludlow's account of the trip lists the towns the company played, all of which lay on or near the Great Western Turnpike. The first stop was Cherry Valley, some fifty miles west of Albany; then the troupe swung south to Cooperstown:

In this town, as in the preceding one [Cherry Valley], we gave six nights of performance, and the same number in each one visited by us. I do not remember exactly the order in which we took these towns, but I distinctly recollect that we visited, after leaving Cooperstown, Skaneateles, Herkimer, Onondaga Hollow, Manlius, Utica, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua: in all these towns I believe we were the first to introduce the regular Drama.⁵

These villages are the basis for this study. Ranging across the interior of New York State, they encompass over 200 miles of territory, an area rife with possibilities for settlers, and, shortly after, for performers as well.

If Ludlow provided the physical boundaries, McDermott set the framework for the study in terms of scholarship. In his work, he divided frontier theatrical troupes into three distinct types.⁶ The first, called "phase one" troupes, consisted of individual itinerant players and small family troupes with small repertoires, few costumes, and little scenery, who stopped for a night to a week in one place, played in buildings which they had to refurbish temporarily as performance spaces, and probably never returned. "Phase two" troupes were larger, used a greater variety of plays and scenery, played larger houses, sometimes even actual theatres, and tended more toward return trips, often attempting circuits of the same three or four towns. In "phase three" even larger companies were housed in permanent theatres in cities which could afford to keep them for entire seasons. The villages along the turnpikes which comprise this study never attained "phase three" status before the Civil

War; indeed only a few saw much "phase two" activity, but McDermott, in initiating this approach by sketching it in ten different frontiers of nineteenth century America, was essential as a guide. Bloom in some ways modified McDermott's approach, and he was the first to put it to practical use, following the Jefferson Company's tours, some of which included Upstate New York, from 1830 to 1845.

This dissertation focuses on the theatrical history of the area, but it would be incomplete without examining the people who paid to see that theatre. As the research progressed, it became apparent that a subtle dichotomy existed between the entertainment which was in some way tied to local institutions and the entertainment which came in from outside the community. The audiences naturally accepted the former kind and were naturally suspicious of the latter. This dichotomy will be examined throughout the study, as it manifests itself in specific instances. By way of example, a powerful such institution is discussed below.

Religion was the most permeating local institution in the villages of the era, and the one which, more actively than any other, worked to impede the movement of theatrical troupes. This obstruction had been a necessary evil for companies throughout eighteenth century America, but after the Revolution the growing cities along the eastern seaboard gradually accepted the theatre. Along the New York frontier in the early nineteenth century, however, there remained a steady opposition which helped to keep the number of traveling troupes low. The nation-wide temperance movement, which

was inspired and led by the church, exerted the strongest pressure, especially during the 1830s and 1840s. During this time, though wholesome families of singers and bell-ringers were accepted as entertainers, theatrical troupes were highly suspect. While temperance tried to establish a moral, moderate America, Upstate New York was also home to more than its fair share of radical religious groups throughout the ante-bellum years. The area even earned a nickname, the "burned-over district," perhaps because the spiritual fires lit by enthusiastic religions in the area were powerful enough to figuratively scorch the land.⁷ Such a district was often too "hot" a territory for theatrical enterprises.

Other forces operated throughout ante-bellum New York State to influence the reception of itinerant performers by the local audience. The most important was transportation. The area under study is probably the best in the nation to illustrate the transportation revolution from trails to roads to canals to rails. This study shows how theatrical troupes used these types of transportation, but it also takes into account the fact that new transportation centers became new population centers. For example, a town that had been a hub for stagecoach travel could easily lose population if the Erie Canal was dug along a different route. Therefore, a theatrical company, which will favor areas of dense population, might avoid that town in favor of the new boom town just north of it, on the Erie Canal.⁸

The above examples illustrate a few of the ways natural, social, political, and economic forces influenced itinerant entertainers and their audiences in upstate New York. This study will focus on these forces and examine not only the impact of theatre on history but also of history on theatre. In the Epilogue to War and Peace, Tolstoy argues that history is "the study of the movements of peoples and humanity, and not episodes from the lives of individual men."⁹ The study of early American theatre history has for the most part concentrated on episodes in the lives of individual stars, directors or companies. This dissertation will take another approach: it will examine one area of the country, an area whose roads were made wide by settlers moving west, in an attempt to track the theatrical troupes which followed those settlers. What sort of theatre did they present? Who performed it, how often, and under what conditions? And what effect did this theatrical activity have on the lives of the people who saw it and those who performed it? The answers to these questions will help to illuminate this neglected aspect of our theatre history, and, in the Tolstoyan sense, the history of the whole nation.

Methods

The primary research method has consisted of carefully scanning each available issue of local newspapers. These papers became one of the earliest local institutions. Nicknamed by Daniel Boorstin the "booster press," they moved westward with the first settlers, pioneering as advertisers

for "upstart" communities: "A new and sparse population must make known its presence, its needs, and its purposes; and this is best done through a public newspaper."¹⁰ The press became one of the crucial tools in building the nation: politically, in its partisan support or opposition to one party or another; commercially, in its inexpensive advertisements for local businesses; and culturally, in its announcements of local social events. Each new community had its newspaper, even if only 300 people lived there. By 1830 only 26 towns throughout the country had populations of over 8,000, yet in the same year 65 daily papers and 630 weeklies provided reading material for the communities of the nation.¹¹

The newspapers examined in this study are all quite similar in design, even when some of them shifted from weekly to daily status. In his history of American journalism, Frank Luther Mott described the set-up of these papers:

There was no standard make-up for American newspapers in this period. A typical paper, however, might fill three fourths of its first page with advertising, using the remainder for literary miscellany or a political essay; give over page two to foreign and domestic news, with a political speech or letter to the editor; place the editorial column and local items on page three, leaving room for more advertising and some miscellany; and then devote the last page wholly to advertising.¹²

Scanning through microfilm and bound copies of these newspapers the researcher sees not only the theatrical activity, but also a comprehensive picture of the community. In

this way the newspaper helps to determine the significance of entertainment within each village and becomes the single most vital tool in assessing the day-to-day life of the inhabitants. However, there are limitations to this method of research. Many issues are missing, especially in early years. In fact, whole years are missing in some instances, and many others are represented by only a few issues. Also, more issues are missing in the newspapers of smaller villages than in larger ones, creating an unintentional bias toward the latter. The researcher is also at the mercy of the editorial policy of a newspaper, which was subject to abrupt change. As early as 1807 the editor of Cooperstown's Otsego Herald was admonished by his readers "to tell less miscellany," and to concentrate on international news, and he immediately did so.¹³ A more encompassing change occurred in the early thirties, when many newspapers became organs for the cause of temperance. It was highly unlikely that a newspaper waving that banner would advertise theatrical activity.

To these problems add the further observation that not all theatrical companies could afford to advertise in the newspapers of the day, and that even those who could afford it might have chosen instead to rely on handbills, the accepted form of making oneself known in a town. A frustrating variation on this theme arises when the only words under an ad's headline "THEATRE" are "For details, see the Bills of the day," none of which are extant. Other possible sources for this sort of information-finding include posters, diaries, hotel registers, and lawsuits. There are only a few

posters from the time and area in any of the involved local historical societies, none of which shed new light on newspaper information. Several diaries from the period exist, and a few have revealed limited information. The one hotel register available was for the best hotel in Geneva, The Franklin House, too expensive for any but the highest paid itinerant players.¹⁴ The search through lawsuits in hope of finding a relevant case is a worthy one, but, as it presupposes knowing what names to look for, this sort of search is better suited to articles which might follow through on this original study.

Granting these limitations in the research for this study, much significant primary data has been gathered, and the checking of names and dates against secondary source material has revealed that many players well known in New York, Philadelphia and Boston were touring with less well known counterparts along the turnpikes in ante-bellum New York State.

In order to introduce the players and the people they entertained, the route and the towns along it will be described, followed by a chronological account of the activity across the route, divided into chapters of roughly ten years each. After the overall impression of the activity has been observed, conclusions will be drawn, which will attempt to assess the place in theatrical history of the turnpike villages and the players who visited them.

Chapter One: The Route

The Lay of the Land

Robert Frost said, "What makes a nation great in the beginning is a good piece of geography."¹ Two adjacent, low-lying stretches of land that divide the mountains of New York State, the Hudson River-Lake Champlain Lowland and the Mohawk River Lowland, provide excellent proof of Frost's statement. These lowlands, which separate the Adirondack Mountains from the Appalachians, intersect at right angles to form the vitally important corridor from New York City to the Great Lakes and the interior of the nation.² Over centuries Indians of the Six Nations pounded out an east-west trail through their great Longhouse which white settlers called the the Iroquois Trail.³ After the American Revolution this trail was broadened by the wagon tracks of New Englanders moving into and through the wilderness surrounding it in search of their own parcels of land. J.C. Furnas, in his social history of America, said that the most American thing to do in those days after the Revolution was to move into new territory.⁴ This statement is borne out by early population figures. In 1790 there were only 7,500 whites in Central and Western New York; by 1800 there were over 100,000; and by 1820, 700,000

people had settled the land in New York state made accessible by the Iroquois Trail.⁵ Though there were other gaps farther south in the Appalachians, the Iroquois Trail was the greatest of the gateways West.⁶ (See Map 1.)

The villages under discussion in this study are, from east to west, Cherry Valley, Cooperstown, Herkimer, Utica, Manlius, Onondaga Hollow, Skaneateles, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua. All lie along the Iroquois Trail, but this path had several branches, and when it was converted into roads, its various parts were known by several different names.⁷ the villages lie on three different toll-roads: the Mohawk Turnpike, which followed the Mohawk River from Albany to Utica and Rome, and included Herkimer and Utica among the villages pertinent to this study; the Cherry Valley Turnpike, which ran along a route south of the Mohawk from Albany to Manlius, and included Cherry Valley, Cooperstown (on a north-south spur of the main road) and Manlius; and the Seneca Turnpike, which began in Utica and merged with the Cherry Valley Turnpike at Manlius, then headed west to Onondaga Hollow, Skaneateles, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua.⁸ (See map 2.)

Before each of these villages is described, some explanation of their relationship to the changing transportation systems is in order. Roberta Balstad Miller's book, City and Hinterland, targets Onondaga County to show the relationship between a city, Syracuse, and its surrounding area, including three of the turnpike villages, Manlius, Onondaga Hollow, and Skaneateles.⁹ Not only does it cover the same period, 1790 to 1860, but Miller's findings about Onon-

daga County can easily be extended to cover the area between Cherry Valley and Canandaigua.

Onondaga County, she argues, was settled along existing transportation routes, the roads and turnpikes, with little modification until the construction of the Erie Canal in the 1820s. The route of the Erie Canal, somewhat north of the major turnpikes, fundamentally altered the pattern of migration and trade in the county, "and in so doing, it transformed the existing social economy."¹⁰ Local businesses left turnpike villages for canal towns, and this economic decline was accompanied by a decline in population growth. At the same time, business and population boomed in the new city of Syracuse.¹¹ By the 1830s stabilization set in, and several villages not on the canal became quite successful,¹² but always within the limits imposed by the phenomenon of the Erie Canal. The advent of the railroad tremendously increased the speed of transporting people and goods, and ultimately replaced the canal as the major form of transportation in the area, but the railroad did not significantly alter the relationships between the city and the villages because it operated within the transportational context already defined by the canal.¹³

Miller's study deals specifically with Onondaga County, but the same sort of data could have been gathered to the east or the west. The canal affected every community on or near its path, and all the villages in this study lay on or near the Erie Canal.

The Villages

At the eastern end of the route lies the village of Cherry Valley, about 50 miles west of Albany. It is among the earliest settled places on which this study focuses, predating by 50 years most of the other towns involved. When the first whites built cabins here in 1740, it was at the westernmost edge of settlement in this part of the nation. By 1743 the first church and school had been built. Later in the decade a saw mill and grist mill were added, and by the Revolution sixty families lived in this small but flourishing farm community. In 1778, however, nearly all the inhabitants of the village were massacred by Indians sympathetic to the British, and the village was destroyed.

After the Revolution, the few still-living inhabitants began to rebuild the village, but it was settled largely by the mass of New England immigrants surging westward. In a few years it had become once again the largest settlement west of Albany, and its location enabled it to grow into a thriving center in the days of stagecoaches.¹⁴ By 1815 there were fifteen taverns in Cherry Valley, but this was also the year in which the village reached its greatest relative importance.¹⁵ Though it was a center for stagecoach and wagon travel, it was not situated near navigable water, so that the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 proved, in the words of its historian "a serious blow to Cherry Valley."¹⁶ The new corridor of trade and transportation initiated by the canal was followed by the railroad. The same historian wrote:

The opening of the New York Central Railroad, in 1836, may be said to have put an end to Cherry Valley's through trade and to have commercially isolated it. The great rivers of travel had changed their course, and Cherry Valley was left forsaken, on the banks of the now useless "Great Turnpikes," while the traffic, which once surged over them, now passed through the lowlands below, by way of the great canal or still greater railroad.¹⁷

A similar situation occurred in Cooperstown, located in the same county as Cherry Valley, and of greater local importance because it was the county seat. An abortive attempt had been made to settle the location in 1761, but in 1786, when the scion of the Cooper family took possession of the property, it grew rapidly. By 1795 a court house and jail had been built, the academy incorporated, and the newspaper begun.¹⁸ Growth continued, but Cooperstown was 12 miles south of the main road west, and this kept it from attaining the prominence of Cherry Valley during the stagecoach era. When the Erie Canal was built, still farther north, Cooperstown became little more than a picturesque village on a lovely lake, quite off the beaten path. Its historian described it between 1838 and 1851: "Cooperstown witnessed comparatively few marked improvements or changes, and little, or no increase in population."¹⁹ The next decade brought several noticeable improvements to the village, but it remained up to the Civil War the same small, quiet place it has stayed to the present.

Herkimer, like Cooperstown, was a county seat, but it was settled early, primarily because of the fort bearing the

same name which served as a western outpost on the frontier. The village that grew up around the fort was on one of the main trails west, but, though it was nearer than Cherry Valley to a major water source, two nearby villages eclipsed it. Little Falls, which as its name implies, was situated at a source of water power, became the industrial center of the area, and even the village of Mohawk, which was located on the Mohawk River just south of Herkimer, became more of a locus for transportation and trade in the area.²⁰

Of the villages the Drakes played in 1815, Utica had the geographic position to insure a steady rate of growth, and it became the much larger of two "cities" in the study. Though in the 1790s there was a rivalry between Rome and Utica, both located on the Mohawk River, by 1800 it was clear that Utica was moving ahead. The first bridge over the Mohawk was built at Utica in 1792. Located south and east of Rome, Utica was on a more direct path west, and became the point from which Mohawk River traffic shifted onto the Genesee Road, which in 1800 was chartered as the Seneca Turnpike, the main avenue to the west.²¹ When the Erie Canal was built, Utica's growth continued. Not only did it become a canal town, but it also was chosen to house one of the five weighlocks along the canal, thus ensuring its importance. Its prominence as a canal center led naturally to railroad connections, and it had become so powerful before 1840 that efforts were made to move the state capital from Albany west, either to Utica or Syracuse.²²

The Seneca Turnpike began at Utica and took a southwestern path to Manlius, where it intersected the Cherry Valley Turnpike. Because of its position at the crossroads of two important roads west, the village of Manlius flourished in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1815 it had eleven or twelve stores and was the largest village in Onondaga County. Its historian noted that "Manlius Village was a driving business place when the site of Syracuse was a dreary swamp." However he also noted, ruefully, "The construction of the Erie Canal, although highly beneficial to the country in general, had a very injurious effect upon the business of this village."²³ The story repeats itself each step of the way west. Manlius, like Cherry Valley, Cooperstown and Herkimer, was bypassed by the canal and progress because of its location on the road but away from navigable water.

The only village on the Drake company itinerary to completely disappear was Onondaga Hollow. This was the site of the first settlement of Onondaga County, begun by Ephraim Webster, who traded with the Onondaga Indians, married one of them, and was given a section of land along the Iroquois Trail as early as 1786. Two years later Asa Danforth and Comfort Tyler built homes in the Hollow, and it began to be a community.²⁴ A rivalry sprang up between the earliest settlers, who chose the Hollow, and a second wave, who moved slightly west, to the top of the hill which overlooked the Hollow. In 1798 the town of Onondaga was incorporated, which included the villages of Onondaga Hollow and Onondaga Hill, but by 1805, although justice had been dispensed previously

in the Hollow, the Court House was built on the Hill.²⁵ This move eclipsed the fortunes of Onondaga Hollow, but through the teens both places flourished. The Seneca Turnpike ran through both the Hollow and the Hill, and in 1815 the Hollow had a population of 350.²⁶

The rise of Syracuse from swamp to city totally overshadowed the Hollow and the Hill. Prominent citizens of those villages began to move to Syracuse as early as 1819,²⁷ newspapers relocated to the growing community on the canal, and in 1827 the county seat was officially transferred to Syracuse.²⁸ After this time little was heard of Onondaga Hill and less of Onondaga Hollow. Today the village of Onondaga Hill still exists, the site of the first courthouse in the county commemorated by an historical marker, but Onondaga Hollow is no longer an entity. Local historians do not know what to call it, a portion of the Hill or a suburb of Syracuse. Even its name has changed to the less poetic Onondaga Valley, a place that is only an unincorporated area at the foot of the Hill, in the shadow of Syracuse.

Approximately 15 miles west of Onondaga Hollow lies the scenic village of Skaneateles, at the foot of the Finger Lake that bears the same name. A stop on the Seneca Turnpike, this was another thriving stagecoach village, fifteen coaches a day passing through in 1820.²⁹ Like several other villages on the Drake family's tour, it was far south of the Erie Canal and though a small trade and milling center,³⁰ it remained a small, quiet village throughout the era. A wooden railroad

was built to the larger community of Auburn in 1836, primarily to shuttle travelers to its Glen Haven water cure, but it was abandoned in 1850 in favor of a plank road.³¹ The difference between Skaneateles and Manlius or Cherry Valley is that it seemed never to have pretensions about wanting to grow, and so complaints that another place had passed it by were few.

Auburn, six miles west of Skaneateles, was a larger place. It was settled in 1793, and became the county seat in 1805.³² Also on the Seneca Turnpike and near the foot of another Finger Lake, named Owasco, Auburn seemed destined to share the fate of its neighbor to the east. As early as 1815, however, Auburn boasted 200 buildings, a population of 1,000, and numerous well-traveled roads. Comparing it with neighboring villages to the west, its historian claimed that while it thrived, "Geneva and Canandaigua were small, and, in point of growth, nearly stationary."³³ In the Canal Era, Auburn became part of a subsidiary canal system that connected to the Erie Canal, and was later strategically located on the southern branch of the New York Central Railroad, which swung down from Syracuse and hooked up again with the main branch in Rochester. Also a center for milling and trade, it was incorporated in 1848, the only place under discussion, besides Utica, to become a city.³⁴

At the foot of Seneca Lake, the largest Finger Lake, lies the village of Geneva, formerly Kanadesaga, the capital of the Seneca Indians.³⁵ The first whites built their cabins here in 1788, and the village became a center of operations

for land speculators and explorers. It was also a principal seat of Indian trade.³⁶ The New York State Legislature recognized the village of Geneva, and in 1812 it was incorporated.³⁷ Although it was located south of the Erie Canal, Geneva lay on the path of the Cayuga and Seneca Canal, a feeder canal to the Erie, and the community experienced less economic and population setbacks than those which plagued many of its fellow turnpike villages.³⁸ Its location on Seneca Lake added to the prosperity of Geneva. Long enough to reach the southern tier of counties in New York State, the lake furnished a path for steamboat trade which brought goods from these lower counties, via the feeder canal, to the Erie Canal. When the railroad was completed, trade increased, but, though prosperous, it remained a village and never became anything like the boom towns of Utica, Syracuse, or Rochester.

The westernmost stop on the Drake family's route was Canandaigua, another scenic village sitting on the banks of a Finger Lake with the same name, which means Chosen Spot.³⁹ For a time the name seemed particularly apt. Sixteen miles from Geneva, it was settled at the same time, and grew more quickly. By 1794 it had been established as county seat, and a court house had been completed. The next year the Canandaigua Academy was founded.⁴⁰ It was the last stagecoach stop on the Seneca Turnpike for several years early in the nineteenth century. Incorporated in 1815, visitors were quick to praise its beauty and prosperity. Timothy Dwight, in his extensive

travel record of 1822, said of Canandaigua: "The stores in this town are more numerous and the mercantile business more extensive than any west of Utica."⁴¹ By the time the Erie Canal was complete, Canandaigua was too stable to suffer major population losses, but the path of the canal ran farther away from this village than any of the others in this study. Rochester, one of the greatest boom towns of the canal era, became "the chosen spot,"⁴² and Canandaigua remained a picturesque, mildly successful village, much like its neighbor, Geneva. With that village and Auburn, Canandaigua became a stop on the southern branch of the New York Central in the 1850s, but the main line ran from Albany through Utica, Syracuse, and its rival Rochester to Buffalo.

These ten places represent a cross-section of the cities, towns and villages of New York State before the Civil War. The largest, Utica, was one of the most important travel and trade centers in the state from 1820 onward. Auburn became a thriving small city, Geneva an industrious village, while their Finger Lakes neighbor, Canandaigua, fallen from power as a center for stagecoach travel in Western New York, remained a beautiful, quiet village. Skaneateles, a village as lovely as Canandaigua, had never attained the power of the latter, and remains to the present a small haven for city-weary tourists. Its mirror, in this study, is Cooperstown. Manlius, Herkimer and Cherry Valley are similar in that they would have been more successful had they been located on navigable water, and Onondaga Hollow disappeared completely, swallowed up by the city of Syracuse. The locations of these

villages are vital in understanding the routes of the theatrical troupes that flocked to some, and avoided others.

Chapter Two: Locally Generated Entertainment 1790-1820

In the early years of settlement, from approximately 1790 to 1810, the inhabitants of the villages under discussion depended almost exclusively on their own talents and resources for entertainment. In the next decade, when traveling performers ventured into the area more frequently, locally generated entertainment still predominated. An examination of how the settlers amused themselves in those thirty years will reveal the first theatrical activity in the area, and will begin to identify the dichotomy between local amusement and itinerant performance.

The earliest entertainment in any newly settled area is likely to come from the community itself for a number of reasons. One historian has pointed out that the most prominent business in the early years of a community was chopping wood.¹ Wood-chopping at this phase was a business of necessity, not for profit. After a day of wood-chopping, trimming and hauling to build a house or fence, or to clear a field, the early settler was too exhausted to think much about an evening's entertainment. Since this business of carving a field, yard, and garden out of the wilderness was not lucrative, the farmer was probably very careful about where he

spent what little money he had. If he had to choose between spending a shilling on a traveling exhibition or on a necessity, he chose the more essential item. Also, the farmer often harbored a natural prejudice against wasting time at the idle pleasures of a menagerie or ventriloquist or exhibition, inspired either by his religion or by his own rough and tiring struggle for existence against the thick forest. This exhaustion, lack of money, and suspicion of easy entertainment and entertainers militated against a desire for outside entertainment.

Itinerant entertainers had doubts of their own about walking into a newly formed village in search of a new audience. These traveling players and exhibitors also needed to survive. The sparsely populated villages of New York State in the 1790s provided barely enough customers for performers to pay for supper, much less to make a profit. Even when the villages became large enough to make a subsistence tour seem possible, how would the players get there? The disastrous conditions of the early roads have been well chronicled,² and the roads of New York State were no better than in any other section of the country. Even when roads were improved as toll roads, the conditions remained primitive. In Auburn, the tree stumps were not removed from the Seneca Turnpike until 1812. The road was nicknamed the "mudpike" and driving it after dark was a treacherous business.³ This was not a situation which invited the traveling player, who carried in his wagon or on his back properties and costumes which had to be kept reasonably neat and clean.

In addition to the prospect of small audiences and the hazards of getting to them, exhibitors had to apply for a license to perform in each village, facing the penalty of a stiff fine for failure to comply. As soon as a village incorporated, a Board of Trustees was selected and village regulations were written. Invariably one of them read like this, from the Ordinances of the Village of Skaneateles:

And be it further ordained, That it shall not be lawful for any person to exhibit, or cause to be exhibited within said village, any show, caravan, circus, theatrical performance, or natural or artificial curiosities, for money or pay of any kind, without a written permission of a majority of the trustees. Any person offending against the provisions of this ordinance shall forfeit and pay for each and every such an offence a penalty of five dollars.⁴

More worrisome than these licenses were the bills passed in the New York State Legislature restraining "hawkers and pedlars," bills which, in the first decade of the nineteenth century were constantly revised and strengthened.⁵ The resistance of the settlers toward traveling entertainment and the difficulties imposed on the entertainers allowed few visits to the subject towns between 1790 and 1820 by strolling players, and consequently left what leisure time there was directly in the hands of the inhabitants.

What did these simple folk do with their leisure time? In the privacy of the home, the settler probably relied on books like this one, aptly titled The Farmer's Evening Entertainment: sacred music consisting of "34 new tunes, new

hymns from sacred writ."⁶ But the most common form of community entertainment came out of their own hard work, in the form of "bees" and "raisings," wherein the community banded together to help one family get a big job done quickly, in a husking bee or a barn raising. Perhaps the next week that family would join its neighbors in helping another family get through another big job. The work was accomplished in a sort of community festival in which food and drink were provided, which might even have ended in a dance in front of the new barn, especially if one of the community could fiddle. The fiddler was an important source of entertainment in the early days of settlement, according to a New York State folklorist:

A single fiddler could rouse a whole community, even in the back reaches of the the colonies...the American country fiddler could lead dances, lighten the load at work bees, delight the young, and raise conversation at the village crossroads... the fiddler was a common backdrop for North American work and play.

If much early entertainment was work-inspired and related, other such activity stemmed from important institutions of the community. Primary examples of such institutions were national holidays, the church, and the school. The celebration of the Fourth of July was regularly and fully reported in the newspapers, and was the earliest documented example of entertainment in the area, initially reported in volume one of The Otsego Herald, Cooperstown's first newspaper, in 1795.⁸ This first national holiday became the first

regular festival at which the community, or a significant part of it, came together and celebrated. There was an unofficial order to the celebration, which was followed in all the turnpike villages with only slight modifications and embellishments.⁹ The festivities began at sunrise, when the day was ushered in with the salute of a gun or guns, followed by the ringing of church bells. Later a procession formed at an appointed place, usually the most important hotel or tavern in town, and moved to one of the prominent churches or sometimes a grove, at which place a prayer was spoken, songs like "Hail, Columbia" and hymns were sung, the Declaration of Independence read, and an address on an appropriate theme delivered. After this ceremony the procession formed again and went back to the hotel or sometimes to a grove, where a dinner was served.

At this point the male and female elements of the population often split, the women to one sort of meal, the men to another, which always ended in round after round of patriotic toasts. In some communities dinner concluded the day's activities, especially in the early years of a village, but often the holiday culminated in a ball. The first in Auburn was held in 1805, at Bostwick's, the largest hotel in town. It began at 3 P.M. and, "In accordance with the simple customs of the times, the approach of night dispersed the dancers to their homes."¹⁰

This and other local celebrations were not always gatherings of the whole community; in fact, more often than not they tended towards partisanism. The first celebration

noted in the Cooperstown mentions a "Federal" dinner, implying that Republicans were probably not invited to at least this portion of the celebration.¹¹ Henry Hall in his History of Auburn discusses the fiasco that attended the very first celebration of the day in that village, in 1804. The day apparently began innocently enough, by erecting a liberty pole, "and running up to the top of it a piece of red silk, furnished by Daniel Hyde, in lieu of a banner, there being no national flag in the neighborhood." This prompted the leader of the opposing political party, a Colonel Hardenburgh (for whom the village was originally named), to order it shot down, as it looked to him and his followers like a British flag. The shooting never occurred, but, "This circumstance engendered bitter feelings and broke up the celebration."¹²

The only other holiday of national scope in the early days of the nation was George Washington's birthday. It was celebrated in Cooperstown even before he died, first noted in 1799 by the Otsego Herald, which described the toasts drunk (14) on the occasion and the festive songs which accompanied them.¹³ In all likelihood this began as a partisan celebration, for Washington was more popular among Federalists than he was with Republicans.

The Masons celebrated two days a year, the feast days of John the Baptist on 24 June and of John the Evangelist on 27 December. James Fenimore Cooper noted in his history of Cooperstown that Masons opened a lodge in that village in March, 1796 and that on 27 December they held a great relig-

ious festival in the Cooperstown Academy, where they also dined and had a ball.¹⁴ In the summer of 1797 their celebration was recorded by the Otsego Herald, perhaps because in addition to their annual gathering in praise of John the Baptist, this year the Masons set the cornerstone of their new hall. Though their ceremonies and rules were kept strictly secret, the public on such an occasion could witness a portion of the activity, which almost mirrored the order of the Fourth of July exercises: a procession to the Masonic Hall to place the cornerstone, an oration and a song (the text of which was published in the paper), and a procession back to their lodge for dinner.¹⁵ On their next major holiday in December, they again processed to the hall, which they now dedicated. The procession was public and was probably viewed with interest by the citizens of Cooperstown. The rest of the activity, which again included sermon, song and dinner, was for "brethren only."¹⁶

The churches of newly formed villages were the strongest, most pervasive forces within the community. Nineteenth century histories of such villages were almost always set up in this manner: a description of the earliest settlement, a description of each church within the community, then local government, businesses and so on. The settler worked hard all week, then rested on Sunday, but always spent a good portion of his rest in church. There he was morally entertained, because he always heard a lecture, in the form of the sermon, and he always heard and often participated in a concert, in the form of the hymns sung by choir and congre-

gation. In the beginning the music was a capella. When the Episcopalians of Auburn broke from the Congregationalists in 1805, they held their services in the long room of Mr. Bostwick's tavern. Bostwick, one of the pillars of the Episcopal Church, possessed "one of those curious, old-fashioned pitch-pipes, in use at this early day, and then the only instrument of the kind in the village."¹⁷ Consequently, he and his wife and daughters led the singing.

An early attempt to organize the singing occurred in Canandaigua by the formation of a "Musical Association." This group advertised a meeting for practice at the Court House on 14 May 1803. The organization met with relative regularity through March 1804, then disappeared from the ad columns of the Western Repository, and Genesee Advertiser.¹⁸ A new and more successful attempt was begun in the same village when the church-goers began to organize in 1817. A number of singers met on Saturday evenings at Mr. Sibley's Hall to practice Sacred Harmony.¹⁹ By January, 1819, members of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches of that village formed a Musical Society "to regularize sacred music in churches" whose united choirs sang their first concert at the Episcopal Church Tuesday, April 27, repeated at the Presbyterian Church the following Friday.²⁰ This group evolved into the Ontario Haydn Society, which frequently presented oratorios in the decades to come. The success of this group, as opposed to the 1804 attempt, was due, in part, to its linkage with that powerful local institution, the church.

Another entertainment provided by the church came in the form of the Ordination Ceremony, which occurred when a new minister was appointed to a congregation. One such was noted in Skaneateles in September 1811. Included in the activities were prayers, readings, and addresses. The editor of the Western Federalist briefly described it: "The Day was fine: the audience large and solemn; the musick excellent; and all the performances were appropriate and satisfactory."²¹

Also church-related, but less solemn in nature, was the Camp Meeting. The time around the turn of the nineteenth century was known as the "Second Awakening" or the "Great Revival."²² In 1807 this ad was placed in the Otsego Herald:

Christians, of all denominations, are informed that a Camp Meeting, for religious exercises, will be held on the 10th day of July next, near the house of Mr. Asa Harris, Innholder, in the town of Otsego, to continue four days.²³

Thousands attended these meetings. In mid-August 1816 in the northern part of Manlius, 4000 to 5000 people attended a week-long affair, at which 40 were converted and about 40 more "awakened."²⁴ The disparity between total attendance and number of conversions implies that a large portion of the gathering functioned as an audience, and in fact, these meetings, while religious in principle, were often quite theatrical in spirit. The itinerant preachers who led the camp meetings provided most of the "drama," working from a

relatively small repertoire of stock sermons which they adapted to each occasion, and performing them with gusto. Whitney Cross, in The Burned-Over District, counts "Hand clapping, wild gesticulation, and the shift of voice from shout to whisper" as some of the devices used by preachers to exploit the theatrical aspects of camp meetings.²⁵

If a theatrical ambience was often attained at the above-mentioned institutions, actual theatricals were performed at another. The school, usually in the form of a private academy, held examinations at the end of each session, part of which included an exhibition of declamation. This portion was often held after the examination proper, sometimes on the following evening, and the public was always invited. In the earliest days of such exhibitions in the villages along the turnpikes, students performed plays, which constituted the first real theatre ever seen in the area.

The first such theatre in this part of upstate New York was played at the Cherry Valley Academy on Tuesday, 19 September 1797, only a year after that school had opened its doors. At this public exhibition "a variety of interludes," several Latin and English orations and one lesson in Greek, were given, the first of its kind in this county.²⁶ The newspaper provided no more information on the "variety of interludes," but they probably consisted of scenes from comedies and tragedies that the students had been studying, including Shakespeare.

Shakespeare was the first produced playwright for whom documentation exists in academy theatricals. The information

comes from a history of Cooperstown by James Fenimore Cooper, who described the Cooperstown Academy as a woefully inadequate institution of learning. Part of Cooper's evidence for this inadequacy were the exhibitions, run by a Mr. Cory. He describes a production of Julius Caesar "in which Brutus and Cassius, figured in hats of the cuts of 1776, blue coats faced with red, of no cut at all, and matross swords, are still the subject of mirth with those who remember the prodigies."²⁷

Unfortunately, Cooper did not date the performance. The Academy opened its doors in 1795, shortly after the first session of the Cherry Valley Academy. It is tempting to date the production of Julius Caesar in 1796, on the 20th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, based on Cory's use of the Revolutionary Army's colors and uniforms for the rebels Brutus and Cassius, but there is no corroborating newspaper evidence; therefore, the production must be placed vaguely during the last years of the century.²⁸ The 1797 "variety of interludes" remains the first documented theatrical performance in the academies of the turnpike villages.

Cooper left a description not only of costumes in the production, but also of the place in which the play was performed. For a short period the academy was held in the Court House, but by 18 September 1795 the Academy itself was built. Cooper describes it disparagingly as "one of those tasteless buildings that afflict all new countries, [containing] two school rooms below, a passage and the stairs; while the upper story was in a single room."²⁹ This room was the

largest in the village, 65 1/2 feet long, 32 feet wide, and was used for religious meetings and other large assemblies as well as for academic pursuits.³⁰ The large room on the second floor of a school, court house or hotel became the most frequently used theatrical space in the turnpike villages.

There was a hiatus in documented academic theatrical activity until 17 January 1815, when the Ontario Repository announced an Exhibition by the students of the Canandaigua Academy on the 19th. A procession from the Academy to the Court House began the activities of the day at 1 pm. At the Court House the families of the students were seated first, then "non-subscribers."³¹ This gives some indication of how popular an event this exhibition was. Though the notice made clear that the best seats were for the most interested parties, it also suggested that seats were at a premium. In the next issue the editor wrote a short article on the exhibition:

In the afternoon several original and selected Orations were delivered in a style highly creditable to the speakers. In the evening, Shakespeare's celebrated play Richard III and two comedies were represented. The performances manifested a degree of intelligence and improvement in the students honorable to the Principal of this flourishing seminary--they far exceeded the expectations of all, and called forth repeated bursts of applause from a numerous and respectable auditory.³²

Several other records of plays performed at academy exhibitions exist throughout the subject towns, including one by the students of the Onondaga Academy, held at the Meeting House in Onondaga Hollow on 6 September 1815. "The Exercise

in the afternoon will consist of orations, a Comedy and Farce; and in the evening will be performed the justly celebrated Tragedy [by Henry Brooke], Gustavus Vasa."³³ Though no specifics were given, the editor of the Onondaga Register praised the exhibition in general and the Preceptor, Reverend Caleb Alexander, who was apparently in charge of the performance.³⁴

The Cherry Valley Academy Exhibition on 5 September 1817 was praised in detail by a stranger passing through on a western tour. From his letter to the editor of the Watch-tower, we find that a full bill was performed, consisting of Colman the Younger's comedy Heir at Law, John Browne's tragedy Barbarossa and J.T. Allingham's farce Fortune's Frolic, as well as "other single pieces of original composition."³⁵ The rest of the letter constituted the most lengthy and sophisticated critique of any theatrical performance in the area until decades later. It also explained as much about the acting styles in the professional theatres as it did about the students' performance. The writer said that although some think the rewards of good theatre are only available in the big city,

I could have wished for no greater triumph than to have seen them present at the performance of persons who did not know the difference between Pit, Box or Gallery, who had never heard the hiss of scenic censure or the clap of theatrical approbation.

The writer admitted that this sort of praise may have seemed extravagant,

. . . yet, in truth it could not be said, that any of the parts were overacted, which is frequently the case where acting is a mere money-making concern. But the simplicity of the manner threw additional interest on the subject, which was more attracting to my mind, than theatrical rant and fustian. It brought to my mind that period of the Stage when it was the mirror in which nature might be received.³⁶

Although no other such detailed critiques are available, the Cherry Valley Gazette reported that at the nearby Fairfield Academy's exhibition on 1 September 1819 a tragedy called The Emancipation of Switzerland was presented by the students, and that "This and all their orations were entirely original."³⁷ The Cayuga Republican reported that the Onondaga Academy held a public exhibition on 11 August of the same year:

The plays, etc. were well selected--the parts judiciously distributed, and the acting and speaking, in general good. In fact, the exercises of the day were such as to give general satisfaction to one of the largest congregations ever assembled in this place on a similar occasion.³⁸

Other academy exhibitions were noted in various papers around the area, but the above are the only documented examples of actual theatrical presentations.

Such activities as concerts by the village musical society and student theatricals at the academy were integral to the local institutions of the communities in the area, and they received an automatic stamp of approval because they were firmly locked into a useful, moral context. This Horatian marriage of instruction and delight permeated the amuse-

ments of the early settlers of western and central New York. People permitted themselves to be "delighted" while at a camp meeting, or at church, at national holidays, or at a husking bee or barn-raising, even at a play presented by students at an academy. Because these entertainments were sanctioned by the institution they could do no harm, and they actually aided and strengthened the institution because they were entertaining.

Chapter Three: Traveling Entertainers 1790-1820

Gradually, as the communities grew more settled and populous, they began to be visited by different sorts of itinerants. The first to make regular forays into the villages along the turnpikes were, perhaps naturally enough, adjuncts to community-inspired entertainment. These were instructors of vocal and instrumental music, and dancing masters. Singing and dancing were a part of community festivities. The itinerant teachers exploited this connection by advertising that they could improve the required skills. The communities seem to have responded, because throughout the period, but especially after 1810, the area was well covered with schools of singing and especially the dance.

Dancing Masters and Singing Teachers

The first teacher to nail up his handbills was L. Edson who came to Cooperstown as early as November 1795. He placed an ad in the Otsego Herald saying that he intended to open a Singing School in the village, and that there would be a meeting of anyone interested Monday 22 November in the Court House.¹ Since this was the only one of Edson's notices to

appear it may be inferred that his school was of short duration, if it was begun at all.

Five years passed before the next teacher who could afford to advertise in the local paper came to Cooperstown. In late February 1800 a D. Hickcox advertised his Dancing School, which would consist of 36 lessons.² He apparently prospered, because in July of the same year he announced another quarter term at Cooperstown. In this notice he also included his other academies, located in Middlefield, Cherry Valley, Bowman's Creek, and Schuyler's Lake, "which he attends as often as is convenient."³ The other locations are important, not only because one of them was Cherry Valley, another turnpike village, but because, together with Cooperstown they comprised the first circuit announced in the area. The circuit was a small one, each town easily reached within a few hours' horse ride, but the pattern of the itinerant player and his circuit is here established. The circuit was necessary for Mr. Hickcox's survival. Not enough money could be made in any one of these villages, but by riding to each of them once a week, he could eke out a living. Of course, since no more was heard of Mr. Hickcox in any of the villages under discussion, one must wonder whether or not he succeeded.

The next recorded activity moved from the easternmost points on the route to the western edge, the villages of Geneva and Canandaigua. In these beautiful Finger Lake villages a dancing master far more successful than Hickcox made his first appearance in 1810. Mr. T. Shepherd first adver-

tised his Dancing School on 30 May 1810 in Geneva, and he apparently went about his work with a will and a way, because in the very next issue he announced his exhibition, presumably to show the quick results of his instructions on his scholars, and possibly as an excuse for a dance.⁴ He taught through the summer exclusively in Geneva, but by October he began to advertise in the Canandaigua newspaper also. The substance of the ad shows how the teacher wooed potential students.

[They would learn] the most new and fashionable Cotillions, Figures, Fancy Dances, etc. now practiced in New-York, with appropriate steps, the greater part of which he procured last winter from the most approved teachers and musicians in that city.⁵

Though Canandaigua and Geneva are 16 miles apart, approximately the same distance as from Cooperstown to Cherry Valley, rather than try to service both places at once, like Hickcox, Shepherd concentrated first on one place, then on the other.

Two years later Mr. Shepherd widened his scope. His next announced class was in Cooperstown on 17 July 1813, and with it the announcement that he had taught successfully several times in the following places: "Utica, Whitestown, New Hartford, Geneva and Canandaigua."⁶ Having saturated the western end of the territory with his instruction, he gradually moved east. Later in the year he announced to Cooperstown that he was back and would begin another quarter in both Cooperstown and Cherry Valley, "not having met with the suc-

cess in Johnstown which he expected."⁷ Despite the admirable candor, or perhaps because of it, Cooperstown and Cherry Valley also may have treated him with less success than he had expected, because he took out no more advertisements in the Otsego Herald, and thereafter concentrated his efforts on Geneva and Canandaigua, where his ads and presumably his sessions proliferated through the 1820s.⁸

The patterns of these two dancing masters prefigured the eventual patterns of theatrical companies, and are evidence of the experimentation that went into establishing a pattern of any permanence. Both men began with a base and moved out from it. Mr. Hickcox's base was Cooperstown, and his sphere stayed quite small, four other towns a short ride away. Mr. Shepherd began differently, concentrating his efforts solely on a base town. Having saturated one area, he moved from it in an eastward direction. Whether he was able to maintain his old pattern, or whether he had to change tactics was not clear until he reached his easternmost point. Here, in Cooperstown and Cherry Valley, he adopted Hickcox's method and visited back and forth between the two. Then something, probably economics, drove him back to his original pattern, to which he adhered for more than ten years. In both patterns a sort of circular motion was produced, emanating out from a base and moving back to it. This circular flow predominated in the area's theatrical and paratheatrical activity for several decades.

The activity of itinerant teachers increased significantly in 1815 and remained busy through the teens. Other teachers of dance included a Mr. Bond in Canandaigua and Mr. Johnson in Utica, and vocal teachers included a Mr. Parsons in Canandaigua.⁹ Instrumental music was taught in several places, notably by a Mr. Curpew in Utica, and later in Geneva and Canandaigua, and by a Mr. Perry in the latter two villages. Curpew became a permanent fixture and conducted the Utica Band regularly until his retirement.¹⁰ Perry's school was so successful that he was appointed permanent conductor of the Regimental Band in the area.¹¹

Animals, Variety Acts, and Museums

Intrepid pioneer entertainers trekked into the newly settled villages on the heels of the dancing masters. The earliest of them defy classification, so diverse were their bags of tricks. They braved the terrible roads and the suspicions of simple farmers and village authorities to entertain, and in so doing, collected a few shillings before they trudged on to tack up their handbills in the next village on the turnpike. The first recorded visit was to Cooperstown in October 1796. The only evidence that remains is a reference in an editorial to a greater curiosity "than the dance of the Dwarf, and the Spanish Lady, at the subsequent exhibition at Huntington's Inn."¹² James Barriskill, author of an unpublished typescript on early theatre in Cooperstown, suggested that the Dwarf and the Spanish Lady were probably puppets,

referring to an Albany newspaper notice that a Mr. Jameson had exhibited puppets there in June.¹³

Many years passed before the next recorded instance of strolling entertainers in the area, though it is likely that the occasional menagerie, live or stuffed, and the odd museum of waxed figures passed through, not advertised by local newspapers. A secondary source indicated that for three days in 1806 "a live Elephant" was exhibited in Utica at Tisdale's Inn. It had come in from the south and, "So that none should catch a free glimpse of the marvel, it came to town before daybreak." The price of admission was 25 cents, children half price.¹⁴

In 1809, Messrs. Potter and Bishop visited Utica, setting up a "New Museum of Waxworks" at the Hotel on Whitesboro Street. The figures included heroes of America's remote and recent past, including Christopher Columbus, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and one contemporary villain, Stephen Arnold, a New York State teacher who had whipped a young student to death. The exhibitors stayed in town for ten days, then took a riverboat to the next stop on their itinerary, Rome.¹⁵ The names of these two exhibitors figured prominently in subsequent theatrical activity, Bishop teaming up with Stowell in a traveling museum, to be discussed in the next chapter, Potter possibly the same man who teamed with a Mr. Thompson in the next recorded instance.

Into the village of Canandaigua in June 1810 strolled two men named Potter and Thompson, who advertised their exhibition in the Ontario Repository. The notice is detailed

in its description of their potpourri performance:

Messrs. Potter and Thompson (from London) take the liberty to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Canandaigua and the vicinity, that they will perform at Dudley & Andrews' Coffee House, on Monday evening the 24th inst. Mathematical, Philosophical, and Curious Experiments, Many of which were never performed in America but by themselves. Theatrical performances consisting of Songs and Recitations; also Ventriloquism, which is allowed to be the greatest curiosity in nature. The first part will conclude with Dancing a Hornpipe.

In the course of the evening will be performed the 4th scene of the Review; or, the Wag of Windsor.

Capt. Bellgard	Mr. Thompson
Caleb (with Song etc.)	Mr. Potter

After which will be performed the pantomimical piece of the Agreeable Surprise; or, the Wonderful Little Giant: Giant, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Potter will sing the following songs:
The Straw Bonnet--The Cosmetic Doctor--
Giles Scruggin's Ghost, with alterations,
all of them accompanied by Mr. Lyon on the
violin. Tickets to be had at the place of performance. Front seats, well covered with green cloth, 50 cents: back seats, half price. For further particulars, see the bills of the day.¹⁶

This rather full bill of entertaining fare leads one to wonder how much more "particular" their entertainment could be. The next issue of the newspaper came out on the second day of their performances. There was another advertisement, stating that they would play every night of the week except Saturday in the same place. (Sunday was the Sabbath, an obligatory day of rest, at least from frivolous entertainment). Then they listed some additions to their first night's entertainment, including two new songs, "The Fox and the

Grapes," and "The Yorkshire Irishman, or the Adventures of a Potato Merchant." They would also introduce "The Chinese Umbrose, Which represents the View of the city of London, with a diverting dialogue between two men." The ad also assured the reader that "Each evening will afford something new and entertaining."¹⁷

Their next stop was Mr. J. Wood's Inn, Geneva, where in the Geneva Gazette, 4 July 1810, they advertised their third and last performance that same evening. On Saturday 29 June they had probably left Canandaigua; Sunday was a day of rest, Monday a day of preparation, and on Tuesday, 2 July, they opened their Geneva exhibition. The bill of fare was similar to the Canandaigua repertoire of comic songs, recitations and ventriloquism. Some new songs were added, including "The Jolly Fat Friar" and "Shelty the Piper," and some new "experiments" were featured, including

a curious dance on the table, by a figure in the character of Tom Thumb, which has never been performed by any in America but themselves. Mr. Potter will put any Lady's ring into a pistol, and fire it out of the window and cause a dove to come in, in whose bill the ring will be found. He will allow any person to draw a card from the pack, after which they may throw the pack in the air, and he will fire a gun and nail the card which was drawn, to the wall, separate from all the rest.¹⁸

The details of these three advertisements give an indication of the variety involved in Potter and Thompson's exhibitions. One wonders if some of the items "never performed by any in America but themselves" would ever be per-

formed again. Unfortunately, no editorial comment exists to explain how this bizarre olio headlined "Theatrical" was received. They were able to play for an entire week in Canandaigua and for three days in Geneva, implying an acceptance by the village audiences. Certainly they were not charlatans like Mark Twain's King and Duke, though in their notices it may have seemed that truth had met fiction. Was Potter the ventriloquist and magician the same Potter who had brought a museum of wax figures to Utica a year earlier, or was it mere coincidence that two men named Potter were among the earliest entertainers in Western and Central New York? As with many of these early strolling entertainers, Potter remains as shadowy a figure as his "Chinese Umbrose."

After their three nights in Geneva Potter and Thompson disappeared along the highway by which they had arrived. Their journey from Canandaigua to Geneva was easterly, and they could have continued in that direction. After all, they were moving along the Great Western Turnpike, the major east-west route through the state, the same route that the Grosvenor family took from Albany to Buffalo a few months later. That family's trip was recorded in Major Abel Grosvenor's diary, and provides excellent information on the most mundane aspects of travel, from the conditions of the roads (they had good weather and averaged between twenty-five and thirty miles a day in the stagecoaches that carried them west) to the hospitality of the tavern-keepers (which ranged from delightful to a "house dirty and muddy to a shameful degree"). The Grosvenors traveled the Cherry Valley Turnpike,

and their trip affirmed the importance of many of the villages under discussion in this study, mentioning Cherry Valley, Manlius, Skaneateles, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua as stops along their way.¹⁹ Perhaps Potter and Thompson played some of these other turnpike villages after they left Geneva.

Major Grosvenor's descriptions of the stagecoach rides leads one to wonder how Potter and Thompson traveled. They had four choices: they could have gone on foot, but more likely they rode, either on horseback, in their own wagon, or in one of the many stagecoaches available along the turnpikes of New York State. They had equipment, so the coach or wagon seems a feasible method of transportation. In his book on puppet theatre, however, Paul McPharlin pointed out that shadow figures were simple and compact for traveling showmen to transport, as they were only cardboard and wires and could be packed flat in a comparatively light bundle. As the only light necessary was a single lantern, the two men on horseback probably could have carried their complete show.²⁰

A year later another sort of strolling player visited the area. An advertisement taken out in 1811 in Utica by a Mr. Stewart stating that he "had been at considerable expense in erecting a circus at the lower end of Broad Street."²¹ This was the first circus to be advertised in the villages under discussion, and was also probably the smallest ever to play in Utica, consisting only of Mr. Franklin, "equestrian extraordinary," Mrs. Stewart, and her husband the manager,

who also performed "many astonishing feats of buffoonery" in the character of the clown."²²

1812 was the year of the wax museum in the towns along the turnpikes. In early spring Erastus Row opened Utica's first museum in his Utica Coffee House. The collection, according to Utica's historian, consisted of second-hand wax figures and curiosities, though Row advertised it as "The largest and most elegant collection of WAX FIGURES ever exhibited in the State of New York." Both statements could be true, but Row apparently received little encouragement, and interest waned within a few weeks.²³

Another wax museum advertised more ambitiously, documented in Cooperstown, then Auburn, indicating that Mr. Letton, its proprietor, was moving west with his wagon-load of curiosities. He arrived in Cooperstown in late June 1812 and set up in Munn's Hotel a large and varied assortment of figures, including historical (Jefferson, Hamilton, Bonaparte, and Nelson), biblical (David and Goliath, Pharoah's Daughter finding Moses, and "a Roman Catholic Priest, pardoning sins on the Road to Destruction"), dramatic (Othello and Desdemona), and freakish ("a striking likeness of Daniel Lambert, one of the wonders of the world, weighing 749 pounds, and his sister, Mary Lambert").²⁴ Though some of these figures were standard single figures, to be admired for their astonishing lifelike qualities, others were action sculptures, featuring a scene, some with built-in conflict. David and Goliath is an obvious example, and Othello might have been sculpted in the act of smothering Desdemona. Nelson

did not stand tall, but was pictured "expiring in the arms of his Officer and Sailor." Note the use of the singular "officer." Though Letton was inclined to the theatrical, there was only a limited space both in the rooms fitted up for his exhibition and in his wagon.

The descriptions in the ad are proof of dramatic tableaux. Though he did not advertise it, Letton might have further exploited the theatrical possibilities by narrating the scenes that he presented. This must remain conjectural, but it helps substantiate Ludlow's anecdote in his memoirs about the two men in Canandaigua, obviously attending their first live theatre when Ludlow and the Drakes came through in 1815. They were overheard arguing during a silence during the performance. One said to the other, "'I tell you, Bill, I'll be blowed if them's wax figures: for the one that came out of the chest had no string at his back!"²⁵ Though this was possibly just a good tall tale, it had some basis in truth. In 1954 a collection of canvases was found in a barn near Auburn, and along with it the actual spiel the exhibitor used as he "narrated" the paintings.²⁶ Mr. Letton, too, might have been an actor of sorts as well as an exhibitor.

He might also have molded the wax figures himself. At the bottom of the ad is the statement: "Mr. Letton also paints Likenesses of all descriptions, and cuts and paints Profiles, at a very reduced price--Also, Ornamental Painting and Stands of Colors executed in the neatest manner."²⁷ Of course, the fact that he was a painter is no proof that he

also sculpted the figures. His ad stated that he exhibited by day and also by night, when the room was "well Illuminated," though how many days and nights he stayed in Cooperstown is a mystery. When he arrived in Auburn in mid-August, nearly two months after his arrival in Cooperstown, he advertised that the exhibit would be shown for nine days in Mr. Bostwick's Inn.²⁸ After that he disappeared from the area newspapers. If he kept heading west, Canandaigua would have been an obvious next choice for his exhibition, but Canandaigua's newspaper did not carry his advertisement, and issues of that paper for 1812 were completely preserved.

The First Theatrical Troupes

The next year was an important one for the theatrical history of the area, because the first dramatic company might have paid two visits to Cooperstown. The first visit was noted only in Isaac Cooper's frustratingly brief diary entry for 30 March 1813: "Robin appeared today, rode on the ice. Mussel shells. Theatre."²⁹ Barriskill suggested that players from John Bernard's Green Street Theatre in Albany may have come through on a post-season summer tour. This is a plausible supposition; their season did end at this time, and a company, possibly the same one, returned to Cooperstown in late September, just before the 1814-1815 Albany season began.³⁰ More evidence, however, supported their second trip: Isaac Cooper probably attended on Friday, 24 September, when his diary entry read "Theatre this eve;"³¹ and the company advertised in The Otsego Herald this time, calling themselves

the Albany Company. The ad, placed in the Saturday, 25 September issue, listed the bill for Monday 27 September: The Jew and Doctor; or, The Orphan Protected, by Thomas Dibdin, followed by The Prize; or 2, 5, 3, 8, by Prince Hoare. Unless Mr. Cooper had seen another company on the preceding Friday, the Albany Company had already played for at least one night the week before. They could have stayed the rest of the week in Cooperstown and still made their opening in Albany, or they could have played a few days in Cherry Valley, for example, on their way back.

Had players from the Albany company taken a summer swing through New York State between seasons? There is no firm evidence that they did. They may have taken a short post season trip to Cooperstown, then having found it lucrative enough, returned just before their regular Albany season. Or, Cooper's first diary entry could have alluded to another student exhibition which would have included a play, and the professionals might merely have made a brief pre-season foray to Cooperstown in September.

This Albany Company performed at the Court-House, described by Cooper as being 56 feet long and 50 feet wide, and made of brick. There were two levels, the court room above, "capacious and convenient," the jail below "crowded and inconvenient."³² The room in the academy where the students performed their exhibitions was nearly 10 feet longer but 20 feet more narrow; consequently, the court house was probably the better of the two spaces for performances.

The only other traveling exhibitor in 1813 was a female elephant, who entered the area from the west, was first seen in Canandaigua on 9 and 10 August, and exhibited in Geneva on the 21st.³³ In Canandaigua an accident which could have meant the death of the elephant was alluded to in an Ontario Repository ad taken out by her keeper. The advertisement announced that the profits from the elephant's Geneva appearance would go to the boy "who was unfortunately wounded by this animal, by an accident at Canandaigua; but who has happily escaped danger."³⁴ The elephant continued her slow trek east, arriving in Cooperstown on 21 October, where she was displayed until the 23rd.³⁵ The elephant might have wintered somewhere in the area, because in the summer of 1814 she was being exhibited again in Utica and the surrounding area, using the same ad material.³⁶

The only other possible exhibition in 1814 was a theatrical troupe which apparently played Utica, according to the notes of the local historian. But the statement is at least partly incorrect, and uncorroborated by primary evidence: "The first theatrical performance ever presented by travelling actors west of Albany was given in 1814 in the ballroom of the old Bagg's Hotel."³⁷ Documented performances had taken place in Cooperstown a year before (see pages 50-51). Perhaps the historian mistook the date, in which case Utica could have been one of the stops on the western tour possibly undertaken by the Albany players in 1813. If he was correct in the year, the players, having met with success Cooperstown the year before, might have played Utica in 1814.

In 1815 and 1816 a comparative explosion of theatrical activity occurred in the turnpike villages. A Mr. Huntington gave a series of lectures and recitations, the Drakes toured ten villages, and the Thornton and Williams company visited at least three villages. This was an isolated explosion, and no theatrical aftershocks occurred until well into the next decade, but these years marked the first period of relatively intense theatrical activity along the turnpikes.

The first to come through was Mr. Huntington, noted in Utica and later Canandaigua, performing his "Moral Dissertations and Entertaining Recitations." His aim, says his advertisement in the Utica Patriot, is "an Intellectual Entertainment, edifying to age, instructive to youth, and amusing to all." His program was divided into two parts, the first "Moral and Sentimental," which included a lecture "on the blighting influence of infidelity" and readings from the great poets; the second "Humorous and Satirical," which included "a new way to get rid of a bad wife."³⁸ The editor recommended him to the people of Utica, saying that he had "delighted the most polished societies in the principal towns and cities of the Union, with his 'Mental Entertainments.'"³⁹

Huntington hit on a formula which the citizens and institutions of a village could understand and appreciate. He combined entertainment with instruction, and he took a vital step further. The profits from one of his evenings were donated to some worthy institution in the village, usually religious, literary or charitable. The proceeds from his entertainment of 21 March, for example, were presented to the

Female Charitable Society in Utica.⁴⁰ Whether this donation was heartfelt or Huntington's clever way of ensuring a full house, it gave him an excellent entree to towns on his route. When he moved west to Canandaigua, his performance was highly and lengthily recommended by the editor.⁴¹

If this was the same Huntington discussed in Odell, Brown, and Wemyss, he might have retreated to the hinterlands after his debut at the Park Theatre in New York City. He played Macbeth there in 1804, his first appearance in that city, his second on any stage. Odell quotes Dunlap:

When Mrs. Melmoth, as Lady Macbeth, remarked, 'the king grows worse and worse,' a killing shout was the response of the audience, and little more of the play was heard....he was the first debutant that the writer knows of who was treated harshly by an audience in America, and he was far from deserving it, though far from being equal to the part of Macbeth.⁴²

Of course, there is no proof that this was the same man, but the dates are reasonably close, and later it will be seen that several capable reciters were allowed starring stage debuts. If it was the same man, Huntington set a precedent that applied to many actors who plied the hinterlands in ante-bellum America: not having done as well as they had hoped in New York, Philadelphia, or Boston, they attempted to establish themselves in areas of less critical pressure.

Following on the heels of Huntington, the Drake company made its way through the villages along the Great Western Turnpike. This was the first company in the area whose structure and membership has been preserved; as such it will serve

as a model for the type of company that would play the villages along the turnpikes for decades to come. It fit McDermott's description of a first phase company: it was made up of nine players, one stage carpenter who sometimes acted small roles, and one "man-of-all-work," who might have been pressed into service as a supernumerary on occasion. The bulk of the *dramatis personae* consisted of the five members of the Drake family, augmented by one experienced actress and two complete novices. They functioned as a stock company of the type long established in the British theatre, brought over to the American colonies with the first professional players, and perpetuated in this country until the rise of the combination tour after the Civil War. Such a company played a full-length tragedy, comedy, or melodrama, followed by songs and dances, and concluding with shorter comic afterpieces in a rotating system whose ideal was a new play every night. In these plays the actors played "lines" of roles, also inherited from the British system, which gave all leading business to one actor, all comic old men to another, and so on.⁴³

The company played in places such as court houses and ballrooms of hotels, which had to be transformed into performance spaces. These transformations were rendered relatively simple by the small amount of scenery and properties carried by the troupe, which consisted, in the case of the Drake company

of but six scenes, a wood, a street, parlor, kitchen, palace, and garden. The wings, or side-scenes, consisted of three of a side, to be stationary in one sense, but to be so

arranged with flaps or aprons as to present, when required, an out-door view adapted to correspond with garden or street; an in-door view, to suit parlor or palace; with a third, to match the kitchen. The proscenium was a painted drapery, made so as to be expanded or contracted to suit the dimensions of the places occupied by our performances. These and a neat drop-curtain, and green baize carpet, constituted our stage facilities. The scenery could be put in place, or taken down and packed, in two or three hours.⁴⁴

The scenery and the players were transported from place to place in a road-wagon drawn by two horses, used primarily to carry the scenery, and a light spring-wagon drawn by one horse, used to carry two of the women in the company. "The other portions of the company, after leaving town, were expected to walk the greater portion of the way."⁴⁵ This description conjures up the image of players piled into a large wagon with their scenery, waving good-by to the satisfied citizens of the village they have just played; then, once out of sight, the wagon stops, and most of the company gets off and begins the fifteen mile walk to the next stop on the tour.

The Drake company tour, including the descriptions above, was covered to the best of his memory by Noah Ludlow, one of the two novices recruited by the manager, and later one of the best-known entrepreneurs on the theatrical circuits of the West and the South. His information is augmented in this study by newspaper accounts and advertisements from Cooperstown, Geneva and Canandaigua. Early in 1815 Samuel Drake, Sr., stage manager of Bernard's Green Street Theatre in Albany, had been approached by Noble Luke Usher, an itin-

erant actor from Kentucky. He and his father maintained theatrical spaces in Frankfort, Louisville, and Lexington, and he was looking for company members. Drake's troupe journeyed across New York State to Canandaigua, playing for their suppers and in preparation for their seasons in Pittsburgh and Kentucky. Ludlow claimed that they played six performances in each village under discussion in this study, from east to west: Cherry Valley, Cooperstown, Herkimer, Utica, Manlius, Onondaga Hollow, Skaneateles, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua.⁴⁶ (See Map 3.)

The Drake company began its tour in May 1815, but a more exact departure date depends on when the Albany theatre closed its spring season. Two conflicting dates exist. Phelps, in his history of the Albany stage, said that the theatre closed on 9 May 1815. The Albany Argus of Friday, 28 April contradicted Phelps: "We understand that the theatre will be opened on Saturday evening, for the benefit of Mr. Dorg, for the last time this season."⁴⁷

No newspaper existed in Cherry Valley to announce the first stop on the tour, but in Cooperstown a newspaper account and entries in the diary of Isaac Cooper provided vital information. Cooper's diary entry for Wednesday, 17 May 1815 read, "Theatre, full house."⁴⁸ The next day the editor of the Otsego Herald wrote, under the heading "Theatrical:" "A part of the Albany Theatrical Company are now in this village, on a tour to the west. Their stay will be limited to tomorrow evening, which will be the last night of their

performance."⁴⁹ Cooper apparently saw the company again that night and the next, according to his diary entries. He wasted no words, as usual, but he added one significant word on both the 18th and the 19th: "Rain."⁵⁰ Besides its literal meaning, this implied that, unlike the full house on Wednesday, Thursday's and Friday's audiences were probably small. Rain, in the days of wagon and stage transportation, meant muddy, hazardous roads. Anyone who lived more than a walk away from the theatre was taking his life in his hands on the roads, especially after dark.

Because of the conditions of the roads, and because the newspapers of the towns along the middle of the route are lost except for scattered copies, it is difficult to document the route of the Drakes until after they left Geneva. On Wednesday, 19 July, a "Communication" was printed by the editor of the Geneva Gazette. Because it pinpoints the troupe, and because it constitutes the first review of a professional theatre company in the subject area, it is worth recording in full:

Within the last fortnight the inhabitants of this Village have been highly entertained with the performance of several Theatrical pieces by a part of the Albany Company under the management of Mr. Drake. It is the first attempt of the kind in this part of the country by a regular company, and the satisfaction rendered was manifested by repeatedly crowded houses. The pieces brought forward were well chosen, and we were much gratified by the support given to the characters. It is probable the company will perform for two or three weeks in Canandaigua, and doubt not but they will meet with that encouragement their merits deserve.⁵¹

Meanwhile, in Canandaigua the first of two ads appeared in the Ontario Repository on 11 July, stating that the Albany company would begin playing on Monday, 17 July. This was followed in the next issue by another ad, which named the playing space (the Court-House), the dates (Tuesday through Friday nights this week), and this evening's bill (The Quaker; or, Benevolent Friend followed by The Midnight Hour; or, A War of Wits).⁵² The following week no ad was placed; none was necessary, given the editorial accorded the company, under the heading "Theatrical:"

The Albany Dramatic Company, under the direction of Mr. Drake, have played in this village four evenings, in a manner highly satisfactorily, and to crowded houses. We understand they will perform two nights more previous to their departure for the west, viz., on Wednesday and Thursday, of the present week.⁵³

The information from these diary and newspaper entries, combined with Ludlow's memoirs and the accounts concerning the closing of the Albany season, has made it possible to compile the following list of the Drake company's approximate touring schedule:⁵⁴

Cherry Valley	6-13 May 1815
Cooperstown	14-21 May
Herkimer	22-29 May
Utica	30 May-5 June
Manlius	6-13 June
Onondaga Hollow	14-21 June
Skaneateles	22-29 June
Auburn	30 June-6 July
Geneva	7-14 July
Canandaigua	15-22 July

The information gleaned from the newspapers also reveals something about Ludlow, the budding manager. The New York State portion of the tour west was used by Drake, in Ludlow's words, to "give him an opportunity to drill his raw recruits."⁵⁵ Ludlow, knowingly or not, used the towns along the turnpikes to hone some of his managerial abilities. For example, although no advertisements were placed in the Cooperstown paper, he had possibly learned by that early date to cultivate the editor, who announced the company's presence and even puffed it slightly.⁵⁶ And by the last stop on the tour, Ludlow the advance man had become aware of the efficacy of advertising, and placed two notices in the local paper, which helped ensure the crowded audiences mentioned by the editor.⁵⁷

More than a year passed with no theatrical activity. Then, from October 1816 through January 1817, a Mr. Thornton and H.A. Williams toured the western half of the area, making documented visits to Canandaigua, Geneva, and Auburn. The first village might have been used as a base of operations. Ads were taken out in the Ontario Repository in mid-October, mid- and late November, late December and early January, whereas only one ad survives from Geneva, in early December, and only one remains from Auburn, in mid-January. This is partly because the Ontario Repository is much more completely preserved than the papers of either Geneva or Auburn in this decade, but also because the village of Canandaigua was still the hub of western New York in the late teens. No evidence of

the players exists in either of the then tiny villages of Rochester or Syracuse.⁵⁸

This troupe is another good example of McDermott's phase one company, comprised of two couples, the Thorntons and the Williamses, and, at the beginning of the tour only one other named actor, a Mr. Denton. By late December their ranks had increased by three: Mr. Gaunt, Mr. Dwight, and Mr. Holden had joined them, making a total of eight members at the height of enrollment.⁵⁹ Nothing was listed in any of the secondary sources for the latter four mentioned, but a little more is known about the Thorntons, and still more about the Williamses.

Both families had been active at the Albany Theatre after Bernard left the management, beginning in the fall of 1815. According to Sol Smith, Mr. Thornton played comic old men in that season, and H.A. Williams was stage manager and principal actor. There was also a Joey Williams in the company, "a queer little fellow who played the eccentric comedy,"⁶⁰ but from the descriptions of roles and especially from the Irish songs he sang, Thornton's partner was surely H.A. Williams.

Thornton had had a minor career at the Park beginning in 1810. From the cast lists in Odell's Annals he played the least significant roles of any male in the company, including the Lieutenant to George Frederick Cooke's Richard III. He was cited critically only as one of three playing the "under characters" in the same play who "unmercifully butchered" their roles.⁶¹ The next season found him performing the farce

The Village Lawyer at Pepin and Breschard's Circus.⁶² He was not heard of again in New York City. Like Huntington, perhaps, he had searched out the more remote areas in which to play his part.

If Thornton and Huntington retreated from New York, Mr. and Mrs. H.A. Williams were headed toward it. They had already made a success in Boston, and in 1817 they both made debuts at the Park. Ireland said of him, "Mr. Williams was a versatile and useful actor in parts of less pretension, but was altogether unequal to the rank of first comedian;" and of her, "She was never a favorite on the Park stage, but in other theatres excited a good share of admiration, and attracted much attention by her performances of leading male players in several tragic plays."⁶³ They came back to Central New York in the mid-1820s and were divorced in 1828, after which he spent most of his time in the Southern theatres. She married an actor named Maywood and had a long and successful career "in almost every grade of character during her connection with the American Stage, and, we believe, finally played the line of 'Old Women' at one of the Western Theatres." The comers, like Williams, and the goers, like Thornton, represent the two types of actors most frequently found in the turnpike villages until the late 1840s.

It is impossible to gauge the scope of the Thornton and Williams Company's repertoire, because most of it was noted only on handbills that have long since disappeared, but it is probable that it was of phase one caliber, like the make-up

of the company. The bills performed in Canandaigua included John Kenney's Matrimony and Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald's Animal Magnetism, on 21 October; George Lillo's George Barnwell and Colman the Younger's The Waggs of Windsor, on 12 November; The Mountaineers, also by Colman, and Rival Soldiers, by O'keeffe, on 20 November; and The Honey Moon, by John Tobin, followed by Fortune's Frolic, by J.T. Allingham, on 8 January 1817.⁶⁴ While in that village they performed at B. Mills' Assembly Room. The only bill advertised in Geneva consisted of The Honey Moon and Hoare's The Prize, played in an unknown location on 4 December.⁶⁵ In Auburn the one advertised performance on 15 January 1817 at Mr. Coe's Hotel consisted of John Home's Douglas followed by Isaac Bickerstaffe's The Rump, or a Cure for the Spleen.⁶⁶

On at least two occasions the traveling players combined forces with a local painter and teacher for an addition to the evening's entertainment. Mr. J.L.D. Mathies had begun as an itinerant teacher similar to the teachers of music discussed in Chapter Two. He arrived at Canandaigua in April 1815 to open a school of drawing and to exhibit his own work. By August of that year he advertised that the classes would continue and that he might stay in the village permanently.⁶⁷ His drawing school continued well into the 1820s, and by 1817 he had become more a local institution than an itinerant. Early in January 1817 a portion of Thornton and Williams' theatrical advertisement read:

In the course of the evening's entertainment, will be exhibited an entire new SCENE representing a complete view of the village of Canandaigua, painted by J.L.D. Mathies, M.A.⁶⁸

The announcement was repeated in their ad for the performance in Auburn later in the month.⁶⁹ The painting, which could have been presented in Canandaigua merely as a sop to a popular local teacher, was carried with the company on its tour, indicating its popularity as part of the evening's entertainment. Might Mr. Mathies have continued his relationship with the theatre company, perhaps re-touching old backdrops or painting new scenes for their productions? There is no documentation for such a collaboration, but using his view of Canandaigua was a wise move on the part of Thornton and Williams. In this way they united itinerant entertainment with a local institution, and in so doing probably increased their audience and made some new friends for theatre.

After the flush of activity between 1815 and early 1817 there was almost no evidence of itinerant entertainment in the area, except for the exhibition of a lion in Canandaigua and Auburn in the summer of 1817,⁷⁰ and the exhibition of an elephant in Canandaigua the following summer.⁷¹ But the decade had been more active theatrically than any of the villages had yet experienced. The most exciting year was 1815 when, along with a spurt of itinerant theatrical activity, the Canandaigua Academy produced Richard III at its exhibition, and the Onondaga Academy performed Gustavus Vasa by Henry Brooke.⁷² The end of the War of 1812 seemed to signal permission for the entry of theatrical entertainment into the

hinterlands. The entry permit was quickly revoked, however. After 1817, traveling theatrical companies disappeared from the area until the mid-1820s.

Chapter Four: The Canal Years 1820-1830

Amateur historians have painted a fanciful picture of the theatrical scene in the villages along the turnpike in 1820. According to them, the decade began with a theatrical bang: two of the biggest stars in the firmament, Edmund Kean and Edwin Forrest, performed in Auburn and Camillus. Kean played Othello in Auburn's Bank Coffee House that year, claimed a 1948 souvenir program commemorating Auburn's Centennial celebration;¹ and Forrest produced and starred in Othello in Camillus, stated Mrs. Anna Bagg Holiday in 1896, in a series on notable events in Onondaga County. Mrs. Holiday even described the part of Lusk's Tavern where the alleged performance took place: "The platform was at one end of a large room in the tavern and was provided with a red damask drop curtain and tallow candles for footlights."²

Unfortunately, neither story has any basis in truth. Kean visited America for the first time in 1820, but arrived near the end of the year, played New York, and went immediately on to Boston, where he remained well into 1821.³ Forrest was only fourteen in 1820, and, though he did make his first appearance on stage that year, it was as Young Norval in John Home's Douglas in his native city of Philadel-

phia.⁴ Both these players acted in New York State later in the decade, but only Forrest may have played in one of the turnpike villages before the Civil War.

The 1820s began not only without Kean and Forrest, but without much theatrical activity of any kind, continuing the pattern set in the late teens: the people spent their leisure time at locally inspired entertainments, including concerts by local musical societies and annual cattle shows and fairs. They were visited sporadically, however, by two forms of itinerant exhibitions.

Menageries and Museums

Menageries were one vital ingredient of the unique recipe for the American Circus, which had its birth in Upstate New York, somewhat to the southeast of the turnpike villages under discussion.⁵ The rise of the circus can be chronicled in a neat, almost mathematical progression compared to the less orderly beginnings of theatrical activity in the area. In the teens single animals were exhibited; in the twenties menageries gradually displaced the lone lion or elephant; and in the same decade equestrian troupes began to infiltrate the area. During the thirties and forties these menageries and equestrians united in various combinations, and the phenomenon recognizable as the American circus evolved. Examples of the earliest stage of this evolution included an elephant named Columbus ("the first and only male ever in this country") at Canandaigua, and "A Living African Lion" at Cherry Valley, both exhibited in 1820.⁶

John Howison, a British tourist, added information on the second portion of this evolution in a diary entry describing a stroll he took along one of the finest streets of Utica in 1820:

I met rather an unusual character taking the air on the pavement--a majestic elephant, which the keeper was leading along, while a young cub was playfully trotting at its side, like an early lamb following its mother; with the slight difference, that in this case the pet happened to be about the size of a couple of well-fed oxen.⁷

As Howison entered a nearby coffee house he discovered the reason for his strange encounter. There the most common means of advertising exhibitions was displayed in the form of "a huge bill in the barroom which, being too long to stretch its length between the ceiling and the floor, had been separated in the middle, and the pieces placed side by side."⁸ Apparently some of these "huge bills" grew to a size as "mammoth" in proportion as the animals they described. Howison wrote of other animals drawn on this huge poster, including lions, monkeys, and tigers. Although he dubbed this bill an excellent example of "Yankee puffing," because of its size and its exaggerated descriptions of the show, it is clear that other animals besides the elephant family were exhibited that day in Utica. The menagerie had arrived in Central New York, and would return again and again to, among others, the villages of Cooperstown and Utica, where the next visits were recorded in the summer of 1822.⁹

Another huge advertisement, not so large as the one Howiston described above, but larger than most newspaper ads of that era, appeared in the Ontario Repository announcing the arrival in December 1820 of Messrs. Stowell and Bishop and their "elegant MUSEUM, consisting of Thirty-Four Wax Figures, large as life, TWO ELEGANT ORGANS...A TEMPLE OF INDUSTRY, or Grand Mechanical Panorama...[and] TWENTY ELEGANT VIEWS."¹⁰ The ad described the historical, religious, and fictional wax figures, many of which were displayed in dramatic poses. Othello murdering Desdemona represented the legitimate theatre, but equally as theatrical must have been the tableau of "Mrs. Smith, who was drowned at Albany, in December, 1813, crossing the Ferry, holding up her beautiful babes, which were saved." This waxwork section of the exhibition resembled Mr. Letton's show in 1812, but Stowell and Bishop had more to offer for the 25 cents admission fee. Their Temple of Industry consisted of "thirty-six Moving Figures, all working at their different occupations." This intriguing mechanical work was followed by views of, among others, the battle of New Orleans, a sea serpent, and the new jail in Philadelphia and the execution of General Ney, a splendid blend of the topical and the dramatic. The exhibition was accompanied by two organs, one featuring a "Chime of Bells," the other "a Drum and Triangles." Like Potter and Thompson before them, Stowell and Bishop, aware that variety is the spice of life, provided something for everyone in their elegant museum.

Little is known about Stowell and Bishop. They slowly plied their way from east to west across New York State in the early 1820s. On 17 October 1820 they appeared in Utica for two days, though they probably stayed longer. They did not arrive in Canandaigua until 4 December, where they exhibited until at least the 16th; and in early 1821 they advertised their exhibition in the Rochester paper.¹¹ Where they went next is a mystery. Possibly they followed the tracks of the Drakes farther west, into Kentucky and beyond. They surfaced in Central New York again in January 1825, presenting their wax figures and "views" to the citizens of Geneva, then disappeared from the villages along the turnpike.¹²

Another museum featured wares similar to Stowell and Bishop's, but exhibited in a different sort of space. This space was also the museum's means of transportation. In summer 1824, the Rochester Telegraph published a short piece from a newspaper in Troy which described "The Canal Museum:"

The latest "new thing" that we have seen, is the museum going by water! A strong and capacious flat-bottomed canal boat has been fitted up as a museum, and supplied with a fair collection of natural and artificial curiosities and wax-work. The establishment is bound for the west, but will remain here [Troy] a few days.

More than a month later, this water-borne cabinet of curiosities was again featured in the Rochester newspaper, this time advertised as "The New York State Canal Museum:"

This collection of Natural and Artificial Curiosities, is now lying at Child's Basin, where it may be seen for a few days. It consists of Wax Figures; European and American

Birds and Animals, Paintings, Portraits, etc., etc., and a grand Cosmorama Exhibition, accompanied with appropriate music.¹³

This unique museum probably stopped at many villages along the newly built Erie Canal, and before it docked at Rochester it certainly must have had a brief stay in Utica. This turnpike village was becoming one of the most popular stops for museums and menageries in Central and Western New York, and far and away the most important reason for Utica's popularity was its position on the Erie Canal. This "great western" waterway was not completed from Albany to Buffalo until 1825, but work had begun in 1817, and the first section was ready for travel in 1820. That section comprised the middle of the route, from Rome to Utica.¹⁴

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of the Erie Canal and the excitement generated by it. Today visitors to the Erie Canal Museum in Syracuse are shown an introductory filmstrip which claims that, had the Canal not been dug, New Orleans, with its vital position at the mouth of the Mississippi River, might have become America's principal center for trade and commerce, instead of New York City. Prior to the digging of the Canal, Philadelphia had been the commercial center of America, but it was quickly displaced by New York as goods and people flowed to and from that city via the Canal.¹⁵ While the importance of the economic factor cannot be denied, the Erie Canal was also a source of pride, not only to those along and near its towpath, but to Americans in general. It was also exciting to visitors from for-

eign tourists, for whom a ride on the Canal became almost de rigueur.¹⁶ (See Map 4.)

The economic explosion stimulated by the Erie Canal also encouraged population growth, so much so that Utica and other villages along the Canal exploded in numbers of inhabitants. In 1820 Syracuse was described by the editor of The New York Commercial Advertiser as "a few scattered and indifferent wooden houses . . . created amid the stumps . . . It would make an owl weep to fly over it."¹⁷ Had the owl flown over Syracuse regularly for the next several years, it might have dried its eyes as the village experienced a 282 percent population growth rate between 1820 and 1830. Rochester's expansion was even more astonishing at 421 percent in the same period, reason enough to dub it America's first boom town, and Utica, already an established center, experienced a 242 percent increase.¹⁸

Early Theatrical Troupes

The combined factors of commercial growth, pride, and the population boom spurred by the completion of the Erie Canal provided the impetus for itinerant performers to renew their theatrical assault on the villages of Central and Western New York State. Although its location on the Canal favored Utica over the other villages under discussion, by the mid-twenties performers frequented the villages of Cherry Valley, Cooperstown, Geneva, and Canandaigua as well. The first village to receive a theatrical troupe was probably Cooperstown; probably because, although an editorial in a

local paper announced that "a considerable portion of the Theatrical Corps" of the Albany theatre intended to visit the village in December 1822, no subsequent editorial or advertisement explained where, when, or if they played.¹⁹ In that year a company had opened the Thespian Hotel in Albany, and several of its members toured the turnpike villages in 1824, but there is no evidence of any other touring in the 1822 season to support the Cooperstown editorial.²⁰

It is more probable that a Mr. and Mrs. Walstein played Cherry Valley in August 1823. Whereas the editor of the Cooperstown paper had only vaguely indicated this visit, the Walsteins took out an advertisement in the Cherry Valley Gazette:

being with a Theatrical Party on an excursion to the west, they intend performing at the Academy for a few nights during the present week, to commence on Tuesday evening August 5th, with the celebrated Comedy, in three acts, of the

HONEYMOON
or, How to Rule a Wife

The evening to conclude with the popular Farce of the Weathercock; or Love, Law and Physic,

Tickets 25 cents, children under 12 years half price, to be had at Story's Hotel and on the evenings of performance at the Academy.²¹

No further mention of the company appeared in Cherry Valley or other village newspapers, but the announcement of a specific bill at a specific place on a specific date (and on the same day that the paper was issued), makes it very likely that Cherry Valley hosted one of the earliest theatrical troupes to visit the area in the 1820s.

Though no other company members were listed, a little is known about the Walsteins. Mrs. Walstein was the former Mrs. Charlotte Baldwin, a character actress who had made her debut at New York's Park Theatre in 1816, as the Nurse in Romeo and Juliet. Her husband, Mr. Baldwin, played Peter in the same production.²² After her husband's death in 1819 she managed her own company in New York, an insignificant group according to Odell, who mentioned that their Othello at Washington Hall in the fall of 1821 was advertised with Emilia (played by Mrs. Baldwin) as the star and Othello played by "a Gentleman" in imitation of Mr. Kean."²³ Odell pointed out that, in contrast, a really excellent company was supporting Junius Brutus Booth in the same play at the Park that fall. Mrs. Baldwin was next heard from during her 1823 visit to Cherry Valley, apparently having drifted out of the rigors of the New York theatre scene, and into a unhappy marriage with Mr. Walstein, who made his New York debut in 1826, and died in 1836. Mrs. Walstein retired, apparently because of obesity, in 1839, and died in 1856.²⁴ The Walsteins were another example of actors on the fringe of the New York theatre, who seemed to prefer life as leading actors in an itinerant company to near anonymity in the big city.

The only other theatrical activity in this area during 1823, revealed in Barriskill's history of early theatre in Cooperstown, was recorded only because of a stolen hat. Ellery Cory, one of the auditors at the exhibition at Ira Murphy's Inn during the Cattle Fair in October, discovered at

the end of the performance that his new hat, which he had hung on a peg in the room, had been stolen and replaced by a dirty old one. Consequently, he placed a notice in the newspaper warning others against attending theatricals and ran it for six weeks. Whether the hat was returned is not known, but thanks to Ellery Cory's indignation, there is evidence that a theatrical company of some sort had the sense to play in a village during a Cattle Fair, when it was crowded with visitors who, having strolled the fair by day, were in need of entertainment at night.²⁵

Locally inspired entertainment and paratheatrical activity also increased in 1823. Along with local concerts, cotillions, and schools of dancing and singing, more of the villages were visited by menageries, and some were introduced to the exhibition of a painting. An elephant had been shown at Cooperstown in mid-May, but earlier that year an exhibitor had made a foray into the same village with an display of natural curiosities which included a whale, presumably stuffed or simulated, a "Dwarf Cow," and a "Learned Bear."²⁶ Later that summer, a "Grand Caravan" moving west visited Geneva in late June, and Canandaigua in early July. This menagerie featured both an elephant and a lion, as well as "many minor animals," and was "attended with good Music."²⁷

Beginning on 3 December 1823 the village of Canandaigua had the opportunity to view a painting called "Christ Rejected" at the courtroom for only 25 cents, or 50 cents for a pass admitting the bearer throughout the exhibition. The painting remained in Canandaigua until 13 December, when it

was removed to Rochester.²⁸ From there it apparently moved back east, because it was advertised in Cooperstown in March, 1824.²⁹ This was one of the first such exhibitions in the area, an early indication of a trend which increased throughout the ante-bellum years, until its popularity was eclipsed by exhibitions of panoramas and dioramas. The painting was the work of playwright and former Park Theatre manager William Dunlap, who also wrote the first histories of the American theatre and of American art; therefore, the exhibition of the painting took on, in a sense, a more than usually theatrical hue.

Dunlap, also known as "the American Vasari" because of his history of art, was a more successful chronicler than he was an artist. Milton Brown, in American Art to 1900, portrayed him as a mediocre painter, but one whose theatrical talents drew him particularly to the format of the public exhibition. This relatively new form, which grew out of a search by artists for new patronage, was "more adapted to American needs in its combination of spectacle, curiosity, entertainment, and enlightenment. The "Christ Rejected" tour was his first, and was successful enough that he exhibited throughout the twenties. The novelty wore off and was replaced by the more popular format of the panorama, causing Dunlap's receipts to decline until, during the 1830-1831 tour, he gave up. Brown pointed out that Dunlap, frustrated by the fact that "nothing but novelty" attracts people, concluded that "history painting has become show business rather than art."³⁰

In 1824 theatrical activity increased markedly, perhaps in anticipation of the completion of the Erie Canal the next year, possibly because a large portion of the waterway was already navigable. A Mr. Taylor, "the Dramatic Ventriloquist," was one of the first visitors, delivering a "Colloquial Divertissement" at Mead's Tavern in Canandaigua on 11 March 1824.³¹ Although this was his only documented stop in the ten turnpike villages that year, it is probable that he played other villages on his way west from Albany, where he was announced on 30 January, not at first as a ventriloquist, but as an actor from the Charleston and New Orleans theatres. His first Albany performance was as Pierre in Venice Preserved. When he took his benefit on 13 February, "he appeared not only as an actor, but as a ventriloquist."³² In the near month between this benefit and his next surfacing at Canandaigua he may well have worked his way across the state. After he left Canandaigua he displayed his skills at Rochester on 8 April.³³

A little more than a month after Taylor left Canandaigua, a company of players visited that village and Geneva. Unlike Taylor, who had toured from east to west, this company probably came from the west, having played Rochester before they arrived in Canandaigua. The managers were Messrs. Archbold, Clarendon, and Gilbert, "from the New York and Albany Theatres."³⁴ Phelps, in his reminiscences of the Albany stage, shed some light on their work. Two of the managers were listed as part of the company that opened the

.hespian Hotel, Albany, as the New Constitution Theatre in 1822. The company included: Mr. and Mrs. Talbot, Messrs. Simpson, Williamson, Richards, Lamb, Saunders, Cook, Archbold, Gilbert, Miss Odell, and Mrs. Dorion. Phelps then described how they came to be in Albany:

[This company was] substantially the same organization that had played, the July previous, in a small building at 15 Warren Street, New York, called the City Theatre, under the management of Mrs. Baldwin. They were considered as amateurs in the metropolis, and their season came to a speedy close owing to the yellow fever. They then came up the river to the more salubrious climate of Albany.³⁵

Yellow fever was certainly a valid reason to move from the afflicted area to another, but the climate in Albany was probably more salubrious theatrically to this company who had been thought of as amateurs in New York.

Note the manager of this company in New York: Mrs. Baldwin, whose probable relationship with Archbold and the others marked the beginning of more than coincidental theatrical connections which continued in the area to the Civil War. In a variety of configurations familiar names appeared with new ones on cast lists advertised in different turnpike villages. It was as if there existed a pool of players, centered at first in Albany, later shifting to Rochester or perhaps Buffalo, who could be counted on as utility players, walking ladies and gentlemen, second low comics, and so on, for each management team hearty enough to brave the small villages of New York State. Similarly, managers' names often reappeared on bills, in combination with different partners.

Mrs. Baldwin, by then Mrs. Walstein, toured "with a Theatrical Party on an excursion to the west," at least to Cherry Valley and probably several other villages during the summer of 1823. She was not mentioned by Phelps as having made the trek out of New York in 1822 with her company, who would certainly have given her billing, so she probably stayed in New York until 1823, when, at the request of members of her former company, or at her own suggestion, she and her new husband joined some of them on a tour of villages along the turnpikes and the new canal.

The personnel of the Walstein troupe was not listed in her advertisement, but it is likely, because of the earlier New York connection, that the bulk of the company that traveled with her in 1823 also traveled with Archbold, Clarendon, and Gilbert in 1824. Their first stop among the turnpike villages in this study was Canandaigua, a village which was enjoying some of its last glory days before the Erie Canal drove business northwest to Rochester. How long the company played there was not made clear in the one advertisement taken out in the Ontario Repository, on 21 April 1824:

THEATRE

A FULL COMPANY.

Messrs. ARCHBOLD, CLARENDON, & GILBERT,
Have the honor to announce to the inhabitants
of Canandaigua and its vicinity, their
intention of performing at the Court House
THIS EVENING.

The plays for the evening, How to Die for Love; or, Plot and Counterplot and The Village Lawyer by William Macready were listed, along with a detailed list of "vocal and other entertainments," followed by the next night's bill: The Review; or, Wags of Windsor by Colman the Younger, and Kenney's Turn Out; or, Politician in a Frenzy.³⁶ This was an introductory advertisement. If this were not the company's first performance, they had opened only a day or two earlier, Monday the 19th or Tuesday the 20th.

Their next stop was Geneva, where they took out three different advertisements, on 5, 12, and 19 May, much more detailed than in Canandaigua. From these the full strength of the company can be estimated. The first ad, taken out on 5 May 1824, announced that Mr. and Mrs. Talbot "of the New-York and Albany Theatres" had been engaged "at considerable expense."³⁷ The Talbots had been with Archbold and Gilbert in Mrs. Baldwin's company in New York, and had accompanied them to Albany. Now they added strength to the company, which included Archbold, who may have emerged as sole manager by this time; Gilbert; Mr. and Mrs. Clarendon; and a Mr. Harrington. The Rochester bills included Mrs. Archbold and a Mr. Cummins.³⁸ These nine players made up the core of the company, but they may have been aided by as many as three to five more, according to the editor's remarks in another column of the Geneva Palladium for 5 May:

By an advertisement in an adjoining column, it will be seen that a corps of theatrical performers are to act in this village the present week, for the amusement of our citizens. On the

authority of gentlemen, in the neighboring villages of Canandaigua and Palmyra, where they have been for some time stationed, we can state, that the company is not only respectable in point of character, but in talents; and our citizens will, before they leave this place, have an opportunity of seeing some of Shakespeare's best plays acted. The company consists of 12 or 14 actors.³⁹

As valuable as this editorial is to the historian, giving the total number of players (a significant increase from earlier troupes) and a better idea of the stops on their tour, it was also valuable at that time to the players, giving them a moral stamp of approval by encouraging audiences to visit a place frequently warned against as a den of iniquity.

Although the name of Shakespeare was used in the editorial to further approve the company's performances, there is no evidence of his plays being produced by them. In Geneva the available bills included Turn Out; or, the Politician in a Phrenzy followed by John O'Keefe's The Poor Soldier on 7 May, the first night of the Talbots' engagement; W.T. Moncrieff's The Spectre Bridegroom plus Kenney's Raising the Wind on 12 May; and Pizarro; or, the Death of Rolla, by R.B. Sheridan, concluding with The Irish Tutor; or, New Lights by R. Butler on 19 May.⁴⁰ If these titles are added to the Canandaigua bills and the plays known to have been performed in Rochester (How to Die for Love, The Village Lawyer, The Purse; or, the American Tar, Raising the Wind, Home's Douglass; or, the Noble Shepherd, Pizarro, and Garrick's The Lying Valet),⁴¹ the repertoire pursued by Archbold's company was clearly popular melodrama and farce-oriented. Shakespeare was probably performed, at least in the form of Garrick's

adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew, Catherine and Petruchio, but the Shakespearean drama does not seem to have been a staple of the repertoire.

The company played Geneva until at least Wednesday, 19 May, and probably stayed until the end of that week. On the 19th they introduced Pizarro into the repertoire. At the top of the cast list was "Ataliba, King of Quito, By a Young gentleman of this village, his first appearance on any stage."⁴² This use of a local talent was clever piece of casting, one that bonded the traveling players to the community and could have tempted otherwise reticent citizens of the village to become playgoers; no matter that it might have been a scheme to gain credibility and increase tickets sales, a desperation measure to fill out the cast of a play too large for their company, or an expedient mixture of the two. When the company returned to Rochester on 9 June, they opened with the same play.⁴³ Perhaps the young gentleman of Geneva came with them, beginning a professional career of his own.

The troupe does not seem to have ventured farther east after Geneva. Possibly they took Pizarro back to Canandaigua and Palmyra en route to Rochester, though there is no record of their activity in the Ontario Repository. Some members of the troupe, notably the Talbots and Gilbert, remained involved in Rochester and Albany theatricals into the late 1820s.⁴⁴ Gilbert also figured prominently during the rest of the decade in some of the villages along the turnpikes. Others, like the Clarendons, dropped off the theatrical map

of this region. The management of Archbold, Clarendon and Gilbert had given Canandaigua and Geneva a taste of the drama and had paved the way for three other theatre companies which in rapid succession visited those two and other turnpike villages between 1825 and 1828.

The Post-Canal Theatrical Boom

The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 generated tremendous growth in the villages on its towpath, and also caused an increase in theatrical activity, bringing to the area an influx of itinerant talent such as had not yet been seen, either in quantity or quality. The year had barely begun when Stowell and Bishop's museum visited Geneva, and by early April a dramatic lecturer appeared in Canandaigua.

His name was Mr. Pemberton, and he was introduced in the Ontario Repository on 30 March by two prominent advertisements placed one under the other. The first was an apology for the postponement of his engagement that evening, because of "the very bad state of the roads," a completely understandable excuse in those days; the next gave the particulars of the "exercise of his Poetical and Oratorical abilities" which he would demonstrate the following Friday (2 April) at Blossom's Hotel:

Mr. Pemberton requests those who are desirous of polished amusement, from which intellectual advancement may possibly be derived, will honor him by listening to his Declamatory, Sentimental, Humorous, Pathetic and Ludicrous Oratorical Variety. The subjects are original, of the speaker's own composition, and may be selected

by the auditors, or left to his choice, as they may determine.

N.B. It is probable that Mr. P. cannot remain here longer than one evening.⁴⁵

Pemberton created a unique formula for his exhibition. Other oratorical lecturers had come before, more would follow, but most relied upon some standard pieces, like Antony's oration over the dead Caesar and other Shakespearean monologues, or upon imitations of famous politicians and speakers. Here was purportedly original material, and presented in a way that invited a challenge to the audience's minds. This intellectual aspect shifted Pemberton's lectures from the realm of entertainment into the realm of the useful, a sort of educational improvement series probably chosen as much to appease the local moral authorities as to show off his writing skill. He took this formula a step further in allowing the audience to choose which subjects they would like to hear, allowing them to participate actively in the educational experience, at the same time letting them admire his quick-witted control of a variety of topics. This unique appeal to the audience's intellect was joined by a much more usual appeal in his note bene: The audience would only get one chance to hear this display of talent.

No reaction to his exhibition appeared in the local papers and, though he probably made many other stops on his tour, no available newspaper recorded his visit to other villages explored in this study. Nevertheless something is known of Mr. Pemberton. He was an actor, playing leads at

Collins and Jones's theatre in Cincinnati in 1823, supported by, among others, the fledgling Edwin Forrest.⁴⁶ Pemberton made his New York debut with Alexander Drake's company at the Chatham Garden in July 1824, but as Ireland succinctly put it, "This gentleman went through a variety of characters, both serious and comic, but failed to please, and never after appeared in New York."⁴⁷ Drake apparently brought him to Albany later that summer,⁴⁸ but by early 1825 Pemberton had taken to the turnpikes and canals as a solo act. Though there is no critical indication, he might have been one of those actors with a beautiful voice, which seemed not necessarily connected to his body; in his new act he could fully exploit his strong suit, leaving his weakness behind with his costumes and greasepaint.

In late May and early June a theatrical company visited Cherry Valley and Cooperstown. Very little can be gleaned from the advertisements. In fact the close proximity of dates is the only grounds for assuming that the same troupe played in both places. It showed up first in Cherry Valley, where on 24 May 1825 at William Story's Long Room Fortune's Frolic; or, the Ploughman Made Lord by Allingham was played, followed, after "a number of songs" by "the Musical Opera of The Purse; or, the American Tar by J.C. Cross."⁴⁹ On 6 June, at White's Assembly Room in Cooperstown, an ad announced infant prodigies, featuring Miss Archbold, in Kenney's The Blind Boy, followed by songs, and concluding with M.T. Kemble's farce, The Day After the Wedding; or, a Wife's First Lesson.⁵⁰ Tickets were 37 1/2 cents each, but two tickets

would admit one gentleman and two ladies. This was probably the same Archbold, formerly in management with Gilbert and Clarendon, whose family remained active throughout the state in the twenties, on this tour exploiting the vogue for "infant prodigies" by using a daughter in one of the evening's plays.

At the same time a company which made a more lasting impression on the theatrical affairs of upstate New York was active in Utica. The manager was H.A. Williams who, with Thornton, had managed a company in the area nearly a decade before and had returned to attempt the establishment of a circuit, now that the Erie Canal was making its environs a more welcome and potentially profitable place for a theatrical endeavor. Williams altered a building at the rear of Mr. John Welles's Canal Coffee House from a circus into a theatre. This circus had been built in 1823 by Samuel Stocking for the equestrian troupes which were beginning to tour in the area, and in spring 1825 Williams refurbished it as a theatre, with new scenery and costumes.⁵¹ Prior to this effort theatrical troupes in the area had made temporary use of a court room, long room, or a similar sort of hall to house their performances; Williams took a crucial further step, supplying the first space intended for purely theatrical pursuits in the villages along the turnpike.

The theatre opened on 25 May 1825 with John Tobin's The Honeymoon and Lovers' Quarrels, according to Sol Smith, one of the company members. This well-known actor-manager-

chronicler wrote a sketchy account of the company's activity in his Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections. Smith had contracted with the Williams troupe after an unsuccessful bid at finding acting work in New York City and was hired to tour western New York State at a salary of eight dollars a week. Actually, he joined the company in Albany, which played three nights in Schenectady and two weeks in Little Falls "with tolerable success . . . after which we took up our summer quarters at Utica, where we converted a circus into a theatre."⁵² The company played an indeterminate number of performances, the only one of which Smith named was O'Keeffe's The Poor Soldier. In this play his wife was forced to make her debut because they needed more than his salary to live on. After Utica they played Saratoga Springs for eight to ten weeks, then:

Learning on our return to Utica that the projected new theatre would not be ready for us in less than two months, we visited some of the small towns, Syracuse and Auburn among the rest.⁵³

Though the Williams troupe began its performances in Utica on 25 May, from Ludlow's account it seems probable that they played in an unspecified building which functioned as a temporary theatre. Then, after more than two months they returned to Utica, expecting the new space to be ready, only to be met with another two-month delay. Did Williams and his company ever play the new theatre in Utica? Was it ever actually completed? Could it have fallen prey to zealous anti-theatrical forces? The answers to these questions remain

shrouded by insufficient primary evidence and vague secondary references. Wherever the company played, however, it is probable that the Uticans got more for their admission fee than they had in any previous local theatrical experience. Williams and his wife had done well enough in the New York theatre; the Smiths, though still fledglings, were on their way to great success in the west; and the rest of the company was probably quite impressive by Utica standards.

Sol Smith mentioned a two week run in Little Falls and an engagement in Syracuse along with Auburn and other western villages. Both Little Falls and Syracuse are examples of places, like Utica, which gained importance because of their positions on the Erie Canal. As these and other villages increased in prestige and population, they displaced the power of nearby villages which were located on the turnpikes but away from the Canal. Thus in 1825, the year the Erie Canal was completed, a theatrical troupe chose Little Falls, and not nearby Herkimer, to perform in; and instead of playing Onondaga Hollow, the Williams company performed a few miles away in Syracuse. In both instances the county governments were located in the turnpike villages (though within three years even the Court House in Onondaga County was moved to Syracuse), but theatrical and other traveling entertainers, because of increased accessibility and population, were lured to villages along the Canal.

Not all the Williams company tour sites were on the Canal, however. Canandaigua was well off the towpath, and the subsidiary canal linking Geneva and Auburn to the Erie would

not be complete for several years. These three villages, population and economic centers before the Canal Era, were Williams's other documented tour stops along the route. The company was at Auburn on 26 October 1825, when an advertisement in the Cayuga Patriot announced the second and last night of "The Grand Asiatic Melodrama of The Forty Thieves . . .with new and splendid scenery and decorations painted expressly for the purpose." This scenery included "The Splendid Fairy Palace, decorated with Shells, pillars of Coral, etc.," and "a splendid Silver Lake." More scenic information was provided in the small bills.⁵⁴ This popular melodrama by Colman the Younger was a spectacle piece and a bold venture for a small traveling company, but the cast was good, with Williams as Ali Baba, Smith as his son Ganem, and Mrs. Smith as Cogia, and perhaps the scenery pleased as well--the piece was being repeated, the ad stated, because it had been received the night before "with universal applause." The evening concluded with Prince Hoare's farce, No Song, No Supper, featuring Mr. and Mrs. Williams as Robert and Margareta. There were three more evenings to the season, but the only program information available was that on Thursday the 27th "a favourite play and farce" would be presented.⁵⁵

The next stop to the west should have been Geneva, but instead the company played Canandaigua, at least one hard day's journey farther west. On 2 November the Ontario Repository advertised:

Mr. H.A. Williams, late Stage Manager of the Chatham Theatre, New York, and present manager of the new Utica Theatre, most respectfully informs the citizens of Canandaigua and vicinity, that he has fitted up the old Court House for a Theatre, for a few nights, with splendid Scenery, Dresses and Decorations, and with a full and complete company, will this evening perform

Lady and the Devil

and

Lovers' Quarrels⁵⁶

Tickets were advertised at 50 cents for a Box, 25 cents for the Pit, and were available at four different locations, an indication of good planning by the management. The cast was listed in the bills, but the Smiths had left the company in Auburn, so just how "full and complete" his company was must be questioned. Apparently it was complete enough to afford a second week of a season, for in the 8 November issue of the paper another ad was taken for the second performance, "by particular desire," of Kotzebue's The Stranger, followed by O'Keefe's The Poor Soldier.⁵⁷ No more is known about the season in Canandaigua. That it lasted at least two weeks and that The Stranger was repeated indicate that it was probably successful.

The company's next stop was Geneva, where, though no ads were published, the engagement was noted by a long and unique editorial plea on behalf of the players. In addition to unusually detailed praise for Mrs. Williams's performance, the editorial revealed to an extent the typical itinerants a village like Geneva might have expected, and, by implication,

the amount of opposition a "legitimate" troupe of players was up against in the villages along the turnpike:

Theatrical.--Our city friends, will perhaps smile, at the head of our article, but however just this indication of contempt may be, for village performers in general, it is not so, we humbly conceive, in the present instance. A corps of THESPIANS, has for a short time past, amused, and we may even say, instructed, those of our Citizens, who have witnessed their finished performances, As to others, who disagree with us in opinion, of their harmlessness or utility, we respect, not only their motives, but the highly respectable [2 words illegible]. And with them, we believe, that it is very improper to encourage the low set of strolling players, alike devoid of talent, character, or respectability, who haunt villages generally--carousing and frolicking when the sun shines, and fortune favours--but, when she frowns, and the appealing and formidable array of empty benches, stare them in the face--suddenly decamping and leaving their creditors in the lurch. Such players, should certainly be discouraged--and such, we admit, are most of our village performers. But, on the other hand, when we are favored with the presence of ACTORS of acknowledged merit and respectability--such as Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAMS are--not only as respects professional talent, but private character--we admit, that we are one of those, who consider their elegant representations of Shakespeare's heroes, a rich treat. And we are confident, that all who have witnessed these performances, will, with ourself, cordially award the meed of praise, to the true comic humour of Mr. WILLIAMS--and the rich, just, and feeling representations of the accomplished Mrs. WILLIAMS. As we make no pretensions to the character of critic, we confine ourselves to the mere expression of feeling--and barely add--that the recitation of "Collins' Ode on the Passions," by Mrs. WILLIAMS--her rapid and striking transitions of countenance, "from grave to gay, from lively to severe"--and the appropriate elegance of her gesture, were truly inimitable. It was in fact one of the most finished specimens of declamation, and beautiful acting, we have ever witnessed--and so elegant and tasteful as to inspire those with taste, who before were destitute of it.⁵⁸

What happened to the Williams troupe after this western tour is vague. Although the advertisement in the Canandaigua newspaper made it clear that Williams thought of Utica as a home base, there is no evidence that his company ever performed there again. In fact, the only subsequent knowledge of Williams lay just outside the area of study, in Rochester, where, in May 1826, he built his own theatre and played a short season.⁵⁹

Having already made one pass through the turnpike villages in 1824, Taylor the Ventriloquist returned late the next year on an ill-fated tour, moving in the opposite direction, from west to east. Probably by coincidence he played Canandaigua during the second week of the Williams company engagement there in early November 1825.⁶⁰ His next documented appearance was in Auburn at Mr. Hudson's Hotel on Wednesday, 16 November,⁶¹ after which he made his way slowly across the state to Cooperstown, where he was to play in early February 1826, having come to town from Utica. But he did not play Cooperstown, nor did he play Cherry Valley, whose paper announced his performance at Mr. Sanders's for Friday, 17 February. Instead, having become ill riding from one engagement to the next, perhaps in a stagecoach, in a wagon of his own, or even on horseback in the cold New York State winter, he lay in his bed for a week at Messrs. White and Kelley's Hotel in Cooperstown, before dying ca. 24 February 1826.⁶²

Mr. Taylor's death on the road, the first documented herein but certainly not the first in fact, illustrates the

rigors of the tour and the stamina and determination of the itinerant performers. It was not an easy way to make a living, even discounting the hardships of travel. The editorial just quoted described the empty benches that itinerants often faced on their one night stands in a strange village. This hand-to-mouth existence in some places that ignored the players, in others that hated them, and the downright brutal ravages of the road (the canal was frozen and closed in the winter months), leads inevitably to the question of motives. Why would anyone do this? The answer lies somewhere between the abstract poetic realm of the pioneering spirit, the grim reality of the need to make a living, and the blind foolishness of ego-driven performers.

In order to continue his career in a more satisfying manner, Sol Smith left H.A. Williams at the end of the Auburn engagement (29 October 1825), because he had been invited to Rochester by the theatre manager there. A Rochester paper corroborated this information in the following advertisement:

Mr. Davis of the firm of Gilbert, Davis, and Trowbridge announces that he has fitted up a Circus as a Theatre, and will open it for a short season with an efficient company. The most admired melodramas will be brought forward. (The manager has just closed an engagement with Mr. and Mrs. Smith late of the Utica and Saratoga theatres.)⁶³

The company played in Rochester until early December. At this point Smith and Davis seem to have split from Trowbridge and Gilbert and taken a company to Canada. The Smith and Davis company appeared again in Rochester from 7 February to 6

March 1826.⁶⁴ On 8 March an advertisement by Smith and Davis in the Auburn newspaper indicated that their company had gone on tour, and also made additions to the list of problems accompanying travellers of this era.

Theatre postponement.--In consequence of bad roads, the scenery did not arrive in time to perform on Wednesday evening, as advertised. The Theatre will positively open on Thursday (tomorrow) evening with the play of Damon and Pythias and the farce of The Lying Valet.⁶⁵

How long the company stayed in Auburn is not clear, and no other tour stops can be firmly documented, though the unidentified theatre company in Geneva during April could very well have been the Smith and Davis troupe. The following editorial, signed "P," was the only indication of their presence:

Theatre.--This evening, positively the last night.--The Ladies are respectfully invited to attend. Every effort will be made to please, and the acting is really respectable, though little encouraged.⁶⁶

This editorial did not paint the picture of a successful engagement in Geneva. The same paper, not too many months before, had published the tribute to the Williams troupe. Was the Smith and Davis company inferior, an example of the usual poor quality of itinerant players; or was it becoming more difficult to bring a theatrical troupe to town, no matter what its quality? For a partial answer it is necessary to move again a few miles away from the turnpike villages to the canal town of Rochester, where Smith and Davis had returned by 18 April to open their new theatre. The

company was respectable and included Davis's former management partners Trowbridge and Gilbert. Less than a month later H.A. Williams built and opened a rival theatre and Smith joined that company, which featured stars like Robert Campbell Maywood, a minor star in the current theatrical galaxy; Thomas Hamblin, future manager of the Bowery Theatre; and even Edmund Kean.⁶⁷ Competition from Williams might have speeded the closing of Davis's theatre in mid-June, but by early July, in spite of the array of stars he had presented, Williams was forced to close by Rochester's Board of Trustees. One of the newspapers was positively gleeful. Under the heading "Good News" it announced that Williams's theatre had died, not of disease, but by special edict of the town's trustees.⁶⁸ Though Williams fought and the theatre was reopened, the manager was now locked in a constant struggle with the Trustees and other local forces.

Among the most vocal of these forces were the churches, in which a reaction was brewing to the recent increase of theatrical activity. In Utica, for example, the Reverend Samuel C. Aiken of the Presbyterian Church denounced theatrical exhibitions in a series of sermons published in 1826. The editor of the paper praised Aiken's diatribes, and added his own condemnation:

We believe that the great mass of inhabitants in this portion of the country are convinced that any theater, whether situate in a city or village, is, in every moral point of view, to be considered as a perfect nuisance. Now what we ask is consistency. Let no motives of curiosity, amusement or popularity prevail upon

them to do violence to their consciences. Let them not, for a single instance, permit their example to be recorded among those who deliberately prefer present gratification to the best interests of society and to the great cause of morality and religion.⁶⁹

A more practical attack was delivered by the editor of the Utica Sentinel in the same year. He complained, "Surely every class in our community have presented to them daily, ways enough for ridding themselves of their time and their money without this new and catching allurements."⁷⁰

Those in Utica who feared and cursed the theatre had reason to worry, because in the mid-twenties a number of theatrical troupes invaded the rapidly growing village. The already discussed visit of H.A. Williams and company led the assault, followed by an equestrian company which presented, in December 1825, M.G. Lewis's Timour the Tartar, Colman's The Forty Thieves and "The Grand Melodramatic Equestrian Spectacle of The Secret Mine."⁷¹ In 1826 Alexander Drake brought a company from New York, and in August a Mr. Fuller brought Thomas Hamblin back to Utica in Damon and Pythias and Pizarro.⁷² In spite of sermons and editorials condemning it, the theatre in Utica managed temporarily to survive.

At the same time the network of theatre managers and actors in the area was becoming more complex and volatile. For example, Mr. Gilbert, of Archbold, Gilbert and Clarendon, joined forces with Trowbridge and Davis to perform theatricals in Rochester at mid-decade. Davis wooed Sol Smith into that company, then broke off from his former partners to form the Smith and Davis troupe. In 1826 Trowbridge and Gilbert

formed a company of their own, touring the state and beyond for well over a year, with documented stops in Geneva and Cooperstown, although very little is known about their performances in Geneva.⁷³ Only one advertisement appeared, explaining that they had taken the large room in Tillman's buildings, which they would open on Monday, 11 September 1826 "with a select PLAY & FARCE."⁷⁴

Next Trowbridge and Gilbert headed east, opening Christmas night at the Court House in Cooperstown with John Tobin's The Honeymoon, some songs sung by Gilbert, and Isaac Bickerstaffe's farce The Spoiled Child. The first week was successful enough that they stayed a second, playing each evening from Monday through Friday.⁷⁵ Their next documented visit was to Cooperstown again, on 17 September 1827, when they returned to the Court House with "great alterations and additions in company and scenery." This visit was even more successful than their first. They stayed three weeks and were praised by the editor of the Watchtower as at least equal to New York actors. Unfortunately none of this apparently illustrious company was listed. Indeed, only two evenings' entertainments were detailed in the newspaper: the troupe opened with Andrew Cherry's The Soldier's Daughter followed by Colman's farce The Review; or, the Wag of Windsor; the second week began with The Heir at Law, also by Colman, advertised as the Cooperstown premiere, with The American Tar as the afterpiece.⁷⁶

By the end of 1827 the theatrical deluge had slowed to a trickle. The three troupes with any kind of significant

touring record in the area, the Williams company, Smith and Davis, and Trowbridge and Gilbert, had either given up completely or had moved on to more fertile theatrical turf. Occasional concerts were given in the latter half of the decade, grand caravans and menageries came through on the average of once a year to several of the villages, and museums of wax figures and other oddities gave infrequent exhibitions. In 1826 another Dunlap painting, picturing Christ bearing the cross, was exhibited throughout the state, documented in Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua.⁷⁷ And of course locally inspired entertainment continued, in the form of musical society concerts, cattle shows, singing and dancing schools, exhibitions and cotillions, and lectures. Perhaps the sermons and editorials condemning the theatre had been effective, for by 1828 only sporadic theatrical activity occurred, and only in Utica and Cooperstown were actual performances documented.

In Utica, late in June 1828 a company headed by a Mr. and Mrs. Barnes and directed by a Mr. Roberts played a short season to almost empty houses. Among the plays advertised were The Heir at Law, Isabella, Mrs. Inchbald's The Midnight Hour, and The Devil's Brigade. According to Carroll T. Waldron, a local historian, the only profitable evening was due to the appearance, at the beginning of his rise to stardom, of Edwin Forrest. Waldron reported that the tragedian played Virginius to a packed house, and also claimed that the first local performance of Rip Van Winkle occurred that year.⁷⁸

Late in the decade more theatrical activity took place in Cooperstown than in any other turnpike village. In 1826 John Hanbury Dwyer appeared at White's Hotel reciting serious and comic pieces, including an oration written by himself.⁷⁹ He billed himself as a Professor of Elocution, and so he had been in New York since at least 1821, according to Odell. But previous to his "professorship" he had been a dashing leading man, specializing in elegant English comedy, and manager of the Olympic Theatre in 1812. Shortly after the tour to Cooperstown, Dwyer made a return to the New York stage, appearing in December 1826 at the Chatham Garden. Unfortunately, the come-back was a fiasco:

[Dwyer was called] now the mere remains of a great performer. His talent has been drained down to the very 'lees,' and his performance is painful from the recollection it excites, instead of pleasing from the ability it displays.⁸⁰

If Dwyer was on his way out at the time of his upstate tour, Matilda Twibill, who also played Cooperstown in 1826, was just getting started. She also appeared at White's, assisted by her father in a concert of vocal music. With her father and her brother she had made her New York debut in a musical olio in 1824. In later years she became, in Ireland's words, "a favorite of the first order" at the Chatham, Bowery, and the Old and New National Theatres. She never played the Park, that historian continued, "and to attain a metropolitan reputation beyond its walls was, in her day, a circumstance to be wondered at."⁸¹ Miss Twibill returned to

Cooperstown in 1828 in an evening of "sundry entertainments" with her new husband Thomas Flynn, an actor who had managed the Chatham Theatre in New York and who had the dubious distinction of breaking Junius Brutus Booth's nose with a poker.⁸² Though the complete program was not listed, one of the "sundries" was a piece called The Hundred Pound Note, with Flynn as Billy Black and the former Miss Twibill as Harriet Arlington.⁸³

Compared to the theatrical drought in the rest of the turnpike villages, Cooperstown was quite busy in 1828. Along with the visit of the Flynns, a Mr. Sickles appeared in April and November with a variety of entertainments including wax-works and paintings. This stroller, "formerly of New York," wandered the state for years. He was said to have visited Rochester with his wife and assistants year after year to present The Babes in the Woods, in which birds cover the dying babes with leaves.⁸⁴ Between Mr. Sickles's visits a theatrical troupe played Cooperstown. The only evidence was a "card" in the Watchtower on 18 August 1828 from a Mr. Hamilton to those who gave him a highly successful benefit.⁸⁵

In the last year of the decade a "small theatrical war" broke out in Cooperstown between two rival troupes, both on their way west. As usual in wars there was a good guy and a bad guy. The former was clearly the company of a Mr. Palmer, composed, according to the local newspaper, of talented and morally upright players, including Mrs. Isabella Preston, who had less than a year before made her debut on the New York stage as Young Norval in Home's Douglas at the Lafayette

Theatre. Within limits, Ireland was complimentary to her work:

Mrs. Preston was exceedingly pretty and personally interesting, and if she never became able to claim the highest honors of a first-class actress, fortunately kept free from glaring and offensive faults, and in the sphere wherein she moved enjoyed long-continued and more than ordinary favor.⁸⁶

Of Mr. Palmer less is known. Brown noted that Palmer was born in Boston, had his debut in Cincinnati in 1828, first played Philadelphia in 1830, and died in Charleston in 1833; he may have been the same Palmer who joined Ludlow's company in Louisville later in 1829. He took his benefit in Cooperstown on 31 August, featuring C.R. Maturin's tragedy Bertram and Colman's The Review.⁸⁷

Probably not much money was made by the Palmer troupe, but they played out their engagement and left in good grace with the community. Not so the rival company of Fuller and Hoyt! About them all that is known is a letter of warning which appeared in the newspaper for several weeks, written by a D. Darling on the same day as Palmer's benefit:

TO ALL PRINTERS.
And all others who wish to keep clear of
SWINDLERS.

There are a pair of fellows travelling (as it is thought) westward--they assume the responsibility and name of Theatrical Managers, and give out that they have several hundreds of dollars at their disposal, which they mean to appropriate to the organizing of a Theatrical Company. They commenced their campaign in this village, and contrived to get into something more than two hundred dollars debt, and then decamped in the night, leaving some behind who had been credulous enough

to believe their smooth-tongued impositions. To the Carpenter they owe nearly \$40; to the Tavern keeper, who boarded them, about \$60 or \$70; to the Storekeeper, \$33; to the Printers about \$30 or \$40; to the washerwoman \$7; and to the subscriber, whom they employed as a Musician, \$27. They persuaded him from his home and his family, and have left him, in a strange place, without a cent. The names which it appears they have chosen to be called, according to the bond given, is Fuller & Hoyt.⁸⁸

Were Fuller and Hoyt honest men who simply got in over their heads and panicked, or were they artists of deceit like Mark Twain's King and Duke? To poor D. Darling they must have seemed at least as low as the fictional pair. Could this Fuller have been the same manager who only a few years before had brought Thomas Hamblin to Utica? Whatever the truth, the stranded musician's story provided further confirmation of the low character of actors and the wickedness of the theatre to the anti-theatrical forces which, in the villages along the turnpikes, were gathering strength daily.

Chapter Five: Temperance and Circuses 1830-1840

The end of the War of 1812 had created an atmosphere alluring to itinerant entertainers in Central and Western New York, and in the mid-teens theatrical troupes had made pioneering visits to the area. For mostly economic reasons these trips could not be sustained. The economic and population booms stimulated by the completion of the Erie Canal had prompted a theatrical surge in the mid-1820s, during which several talented troupes had roamed the area. For mostly moral reasons this surge of activity slowed to a near halt by the end of the decade. In the 1830s, though local entertainments flourished and other sorts of itinerants played the villages along the turnpike, the impact of the second Great Awakening and the Temperance movement which accompanied it created a virtual vacuum for theatrical performances.

The reaction against Utica theatricals in 1826 had not been merely on account of the sermons published by Reverend Aiken. His pulpit-poundings had served as a tributary to the mainstream of moral revitalization in that burgeoning community: the revivals led by Charles G. Finney. According to Whitney H. Cross's definitive study of the area's overzealous religious fervor, The Burned Over District, Finney was one of

the most important crusaders for a moral, temperate New York State from the twenties to the Civil War.¹ After his pivotal Utica crusade in 1826, he conducted a season of even more effective and far-reaching revivals in Rochester in 1830-1831, followed by other major efforts in that boom-town in 1833, 1837, 1838, and 1839.² The Rochester awakenings were echoed frequently in many of the turnpike and canal villages, and the resultant spiritual fires apparently seared the souls of a large majority of the district's inhabitants. Small wonder, then, that the rag-tag theatrical companies were regularly defeated by the righteous forces of morality gathered against them in every place they played. The few acting companies that ventured into what had become, by the 1830s, a moral vs. theatrical war zone, were forced to begin again at square one, pioneering against conditions as difficult or worse than those of two decades earlier.

Undoubtedly the topic most addressed in the sermons of the period was intemperance, a huge problem in New York and throughout the United States. Intemperance was linked, naturally if simplistically enough, to leisure.³ Perhaps it had not occurred to the moralizers that large amounts of frustrating, hard labor were part of what drove a person to drink, and if they recognized the connection they would probably not have admitted it. Instead they argued that work was good, a staple of the Protestant ethic. How one spent one's leisure time was the problem, and if it was spent frivolously, it led more often than not to drink. Celebra-

tions on the Fourth of July ended tipsy with alcoholic toasts, numbering into the high teens and including glasses raised to Falstaff and his men as well as to heroes of the Revolution.⁴ If even this most honored national holiday ended in inebriety, what worse fate awaited those who trusted their leisure to the senseless pleasure-for-pleasure's-sake of itinerant entertainments?

The theatre, of all entertainment, bore the brunt of the moral attack, and not without some reason. After all, as James Dormon pointed out in Theatre in the Ante Bellum South "In an age of hard drinking, theatre people were notoriously hard drinkers."⁵ Since the tour to America of George Frederick Cooke, the alcoholic excesses of some of the greatest theatrical stars, including Edmund Kean and Junius Brutus Booth, were legendary, and such overindulgence was not limited to the leading lights of the profession. Dormon noted the account of British traveler Thomas Hamilton's visit to the Camp Street Theatre, New Orleans, in the mid-thirties. At the performance of Damon and Pythias he witnessed, "Damon was so drunk that he could scarcely stand, and Pythias displayed his friendship in assisting him off the stage."⁶ This sort of onstage incident, coupled with audience inebriety and rowdiness, gave the theatre of the day a somewhat justified bad reputation.

The attitude against frivolous entertainment was not only advocated publicly in sermons and editorials, but was also contemplated privately in diaries of the day, emphasizing how pervasive the new moral atmosphere had become. In

September 1829 an eighteen-year-old clerk from Geneva named Lyman Eddy described the moral and practical absurdity of attending a concert:

A concert of vocal and instrumental music was held this evening at the Hotel. I however did not attend being convinced that my money and what is far more precious my time can be spent in far better employment.

It affords me more real enjoyment to read, contemplate or discourse with a friend in solitude and retirement than to attend such nonsensical exhibitions of sensual vanity which may possibly delight and charm the ear for a short time but it is transient and momentary enjoyment and it generally leaves behind an aching void which has not been supplied. The room on such occasions are generally by the first clap well filled if it would be proper to rank the wealthy and Epicureans as such. How much more time and money than is necessary is expended on that which is not only unnecessary but foolish!

The sentiments expressed by Eddy may have been sermon-induced, but it was clear that his minister had struck home. Writing such an entry in the privacy of a diary was much different from nodding at the words of a Sunday preacher. The moral revolution had, at least for a time, entered the hearts and minds of the people. Lyman Eddy, his diary entry indicated, had a stronger will than the fictional George Barnwell: no need for the young Genevan to attend The London Merchant at Christmas. In fact, however, a contemporary preacher might have argued like this in a Sunday sermon: if Eddy had been allowed to see the play, he might have chanced upon his own Mrs. Marwood, after which all his diarizing could not have saved him from a frightening Barnwell-esque fate.

Lectures

Not all itinerant entertainments were as besieged by moral crusaders as was the theatre. Traveling performers could survive and prosper if they could prove--or at least claim--a moral and/or useful aspect to their exhibitions. One was allowed to delight, if, as in the Horatian formula, one taught as well, or better yet, if one delighted by teaching. Via this formula an astonishing variety of entertainments, including not only reasonable examples (by the moral standards of the day) such as lectures and concerts of sacred music, but also exhibitions of freaks, menageries, mechanical figures, and the early circus, made their way along the turnpikes of Upstate New York.

Although lecturers had been traveling for some years, in the decade of the thirties, the lecture came into an unprecedented prominence because of its inherent morality and usefulness. The most successful lectures, however, included more than a small share of entertainment. In the turnpike villages a popular subject for the public speaker was the lecture on chemistry, seemingly an odd choice from the entertainment aspect. But each chemistry lecturer advertised accompanying experiments, and the experiment that every village could count on was the demonstration of nitrous oxide, or as it was popularly known, "Exhilarating Gas." For example, a Dr. Mather advertised such a lecture in Auburn, March 1833, indicating that the gas would be administered by way of demonstration.⁸ S.S. Houston, lecturing in Cherry

Valley the same month and year, went so far as to advertise that the gas would be given "to any who will apply."⁹ In the first case one subject giggling under the influence would have been entertaining enough; in the second a platform full of laughers could have become almost farce-like to the rest of the audience.

This use of an entertaining gimmick to exploit a scientific subject was not unusual. Advertisements for anatomical lectures almost always featured a "Manikin" for the purpose of demonstrations, and other means of luring an audience to an educational lecture were often utilized. Not all lectures were as frivolous as those which featured exhilarating gas. Other scientific topics included geology and minerology, and philosophical talks were quite popular. The most frequent lecture subjects were those that addressed social issues, temperance leading the list, with anti-slavery gaining popularity after 1837.

This new vogue for public speakers expressed itself in the lyceum movement, by 1831 consisting of a national organization supported by 900 local branches. In the turnpike villages a lyceum had been founded in Cooperstown in 1829, and others were active in Canandaigua, Auburn, Skaneateles, and Manlius by 1831.¹⁰ Tremendously popular in the thirties, by the forties the lyceum had burgeoned into a craze, and for good reason, according to Foster Rhea Dulles:

It reflected the idealistic belief that in a democracy all citizens should be able to take an intelligent part in the conduct of govern-

ment. They should be educated to fulfil their social obligations. Self-improvement was not a selfish goal; it was a responsibility of citizenship."¹¹

If the lecture system proved a nearly perfect way to take one's dose of social responsibility in ante-bellum America, it also provided an excellent way to intermingle the itinerant with the community. Formed by local Young Men's or Mechanic's Associations,¹² the lyceum invited traveling lecturers to provide education and delight, winning as it did the support of those who thought it a sin to use leisure time solely for entertainment.

Not all lectures were supported by a local lyceum. The chemical lectures already discussed were generally given by independents. In fact, Carl Bode pointed out that speakers on the lyceum circuit were far removed from itinerant, free-lance lecturers:

All that these travelers did was to go from town to town, insert a little card in the local newspapers saying that they would arrive and give a course ("Admission \$1, first lecture free") on this or that scintillating topic, and then open their mouths. As often as not, the men were charlatans; sometimes they were mere eccentrics; occasionally they were apostles of radical causes; but at any rate they failed to fit into the lyceum pattern.

Bode also had to admit, "Nonetheless, in terms of total lectures given, the itinerants bulk large."¹³

This study is more interested in the free-lance, itinerant lecturers, some of whom were theatrical performers, exploiting still further a trend which had been established

in the teens and twenties: the lecture on oratory. In 1833 a Mr. J. McCleary provided at least two of the villages, Auburn and Cooperstown, with such entertainments. He was first noted in Auburn on 9 January as the "Celebrated Mr. McCleary" who had been lecturing "with considerable eclat" at the Auburn Museum during the last week.¹⁴ More elaborate information was given the next month in Cooperstown when McCleary advertised his version of "G.A. Stevens 'Lectures on Heads,' afterwards improved by F. Pilon."¹⁵

The Lecture on Heads had been invented in 1764 by Stevens, an actor and satirist who cleverly combined his talents in this two-hour monologue in which he stood behind each of several papier-mache busts and satirized one after the other. The form became very popular in colonial America because it was not classified as a stage play and could be performed in places which would have shunned professional actors. In using this form, McCleary displayed a shrewd understanding of the current direction of taste in entertainment, mixing a theatrical flair with a more serious, lecture-like air. The editor of the Otsego Republican was impressed enough to comment:

The audience comprised some of the most respectable class of our citizens, who seemed highly delighted with Mr. McCleary's delivery of the wit and satire, with which the lecture abounds, and we doubt not gave general satisfaction.¹⁶

McCleary's lecture ran at least two nights, possibly the whole week beginning Monday 18 February 1833. The editor

noted that Friday the 22nd had been the final performance and went on to relate that the orator was on his way to Quebec, and would be back in six weeks with a company of two men to present it again.

Apparently McCleary's tour grew more extensive than he had originally planned, for several months later he was back in Auburn, perhaps having swung west (possibly to Toronto), then south back into New York State after his visit to Quebec. Stowe and Whipple, proprietors of the Auburn Museum, announced McCleary, comic vocalist and "lecturer on heads," as the Fourth of July attraction.¹⁷ After this engagement he traveled into other territories, possibly back into the South, where Odell had noted a Mr. McCleary, "from the Augusta Theatre," at the Pavilion Theatre, Chatham Garden, as early as 1823. This could well have been the same man who lectured on heads at the American Museum, New York, in November 1832 and shortly thereafter in the villages along the turnpike.¹⁸

Later in the decade Professor Samuel N. Sweet and William D. King gave lectures on elocution in the area. Sweet's program included recitations and imitations of famous speakers including Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Davy Crockett, in Auburn (5 and 12 December 1836) and Utica (4 June 1837).¹⁹ His only other documented appearance was on 2 June 1841 in Geneva, where his program included a recitation of "Hamlet's instructions on delivery."²⁰ He was not mentioned by any of the chroniclers of theatrical personalities. Perhaps he was a regional thespian, born in the area

and unable or unwilling to break free from it. King, like Sweet, was also apparently unknown outside the area. His advertisement in Utica, August 1838, indicated a series of lectures and readings, the last of which dealt with the topic "Pure Intonation," followed by recitations and readings among which would be featured "Antony's Oration over the dead body of Caesar, preceded by an Analysis of the same."²¹ Like Sweet, King played Geneva a few years later. The editorial in the Geneva Courier discussing his program at the Geneva Hotel on Saturday, 1 August 1840, revealed that he would give an evening of readings and recitations from Shakespeare.²² He was not alone on the bill, however. That "some young men he trained" would also read and recite that night suggests that he was an area teacher, who, like masters of dance and song, occasionally gave recitals which showed off not only his own skills but those of his pupils as well.

A far more famous imitator and recitor than McCleary, Sweet, or King was the opening attraction at the new Auburn Museum in 1836. Dr. Valentine, a regular at the American Museum in New York and an itinerant who made periodic circuits of the nation for its amusement and his profit, presented his program of imitations in Auburn from 14 to 16 September 1836, the only human on a bill with the new museum's acquisitions, including 500 birds (valued at \$4000), and "a large variety of minerals, shells, wax figures, and, in short, almost everything that is rare and curious."²³ Perhaps because his list of imitations was also "rare and

curious" there was no need to advertise Dr. Valentine as a lecturer who also did imitations; perhaps he was so well-known that it really did not matter. His program was listed in the newspaper with a completeness usually reserved for the bills of the day. In the first part he presented an olio of mimicry, including imitations of three lawyers, a crusty old maid, and "Mr. Merrygrief, who "never utters a sentence that does not begin with a laugh, although he is sure to end it with a cry." Part two was devoted almost exclusively to his imitation of

Abe Kushow, a Long Islander, [who] describes a great dance on the plains, his quarrel with Captain Horner, his mysterious arrival in town, certificates of great cures he pronounced, his melancholy courtship of Jeruch Brown, his trip to Washington, his train conversation with Mr. Vinegar "a man disgusted with himself and everyone else," his talk with a lisping Lady, and his speech in the House of Representatives.²⁴

Museum Entertainments

Dr. Valentine's connection with the new Auburn Museum might have saved his act from being tagged frivolous entertainment. These museums, houses of the "rare and curious," had begun to open, not surprisingly, contemporaneously with the lyceums. Though descriptions of their collections may remind a late-twentieth century reader of a carnival sideshow, in the 1820s and 1830s they provided a visual parallel to lyceum lectures, displaying the oddities of nature so that the average man could learn more (and could, incidentally, be entertained in the process). Traveling museums like Stowell

and Bishop's had been active since 1820, but the first permanent structure in the area under discussion was built in Utica to house Peale's Museum in 1828.²⁵ In 1830 the Geneva Museum opened its doors, and in 1833 McCleary was one of the earliest attractions at the Auburn Museum.²⁶ (The building in Auburn inaugurated by Valentine in 1836 was a new, improved structure, indicating the interest in and the potential profitability of such a venture.) By the early thirties, then, some of the larger turnpike villages had museums of their own and those that did not were visited with increasing frequency by oddity-peddling strollers.

Among the most successful area museums was Utica's, first known as Peale's; then, after that management's brief stay, it was re-titled the Utica Museum by its new proprietor, Comfort Butler. He assumed the management in 1830 and ran the establishment until 1850, gaining a reputation as the man who provided Uticans with amusement longer than any one individual, before the Civil War. The Museum was described in 1834:

The collections [consisting of live and stuffed birds and animals, waxworks, paintings, and relics] are exhibited in two spacious rooms on the second and third floors. There is also a lecture room and upon the roof is a promenade which affords a pleasant view of the city and adjacent country.²⁷

The pleasant view included a stretch of the Erie Canal, near which the Museum sat. Perhaps from this proximity came the stories about Butler's running a theatre-and-museum canal

boat. By day this vessel apparently featured its natural and scientific curiosities, by night "blood-red melodrama on the little stage at the stern of the boat."²⁸ Unfortunately none of the stories are supported by primary evidence and any discussion of the first floating theatre on the Erie Canal must remain conjectural.

What strange and wonderful exhibits were included in Butler's and other museums? A scan of the villages along the turnpikes will give some indication of the variety of entertainments available to their citizens during the decade. Cooperstown was alive with exhibitions during 1830, beginning in early spring, when the roads had become barely passable after the winter snows, and well before the Erie Canal (to the north) would become navigable after the winter freeze. On 12 April a magic lantern show on the "Conflagration of Moscow," later a popular subject for the diorama, was presented at Isaac Lewis's Eagle Tavern; completing the bill were "Automaton Rope Dancers and the Original Phantasmagoria."²⁹ Two menageries also came through town, this time with the added attraction of wax figures, but the trend was clearly towards mechanically moving puppets. Next month the rope dancers were followed by a display of "puppet-show anti-masonry," a hot political topic of the day, as well as "Grand Musical Androids," puppets of human size.³⁰

Though none was advertised, dialogue almost certainly accompanied these "android" shows, turning them into the sort of life-size puppet exhibitions which Ludlow's naive frontiersmen had confused with live actors. Of course they were

not billed as theatre. The principal advertised attraction was the mechanization of the puppets, and the question of how they could be made to move the saving scientific grace of the exhibit. Whether the technical aspect actually gave these exhibitions the needed balance between education and pure entertainment must be questioned, however, since after this spring spate of automata activity no entertainment was advertised in Cooperstown until nearly two years later.

The decidedly unscientific atmosphere at the anti-Masonic exhibition presented by Colonel Witherell at Manlius in late August 1831 might help explain this absence of automata activity. Presumably this was the same Witherell who had offered "puppet-show anti-Masonry" to the citizens of Cooperstown the year before, and though nothing was written about the performance itself, a long editorial in the Manlius Repository described with glee the incident that abruptly ended it. The editor, clearly not a supporter of anti-Masonry, was on the side of the "unruly boy, who pelted the colonel [Witherell] through the window with rotten eggs . . . which gave a perfume to the atmosphere, so intolerable, that none but the Colonel were disposed to endure it." Witherell was apparently delighted that he had been persecuted for his country's sake, but pressed charges against the boy, who was acquitted.³¹ Puppetry so political might indeed have overleapt the decorous boundaries of the day.

Witherell's exhibition may have been the last of the politically charged variety, but as the decade progressed, so

did the automata shows, both in number and complexity. The most intricate was probably Ored M. Coleman's "Automaton Lady Minstrel," exhibited at Utica's Mechanics' Hall in late March 1838. Having already shown his creation in Albany and Troy, Mr. Coleman, "a very young man," defended her as "perfectly moral in every respect, representing nothing more than improvement in mechanism and fine arts." By this defense he implied that earlier automata shows had been criticized and questioned; at the same time he brought his exhibit into scientific and moral line with the times. He then described her in detail with pride:

The Lady Minstrel represents a Lady eighteen years of age, sitting on a splendid moveable pedestal, holding in her hand an Accordeon, on which she performs several of the most popular pieces of music, consisting of songs and sacred music. This figure so nearly represents life in her movements, that the motion of the chest in the act of respiration is distinctly visible to the audience. She moves her head, fingers the keys of the instrument with her right hand, and draws and presses the bellows with her left. She also beats time with her foot, to the music, with the exactness that characterizes a delicate ear for music.³²

Meanwhile to the west, Geneva hosted two entertainments of a definite educational nature: Iroquois Indian dancers and an Egyptian mummy; and one exhibition of more questionable learning value: an oracular display. An early example of the exploitation of Native Americans was evidenced by the Iroquois dancers in Geneva, 15 September 1830. Whether or not they were real Iroquois, and the dances legitimate, the evening a seemed a reasonable blend of entertainment and

education, merely because of its unusual nature.³³ The Egyptian mummy, exhibited in January 1832, was also unique to this section of the country and of genuine educational interest, although by the mid-twenties big-city appetites for the phenomenon had already been sated.³⁴ Compared to the Iroquois and the mummy, the oracular display presented in January 1831 was of dubious intellectual merit. It included an "Astonishing Invisible Lady, Acoustic Temple, Incomprehensible Crystal and Reflecting Mirror," placing it more in the class of the magic lantern and automata shows presented a few months earlier in Cooperstown, primarily attractive because of their curiosity factor.³⁵

Though no human "oracle" was featured in this oracular display, before the decade was over two magicians visited the area, beginning a trend which would increase in popularity during the next two decades. A Monsieur Adriant was expected at the Auburn Museum the week of 1 November 1837.³⁶ No subsequent ads were taken out to prove whether or not he appeared. But only a few months later, February 1838, a man with a very similar name and title, Signor Addrent, appeared at the Utica Museum for a week; and the same man was advertised as "The Celebrated Magi," exhibiting "Scientific Illusions in Mechanical Chemistry, Philosophy and Natural Magic" that summer at Mr. Butts's Tavern in Cooperstown.³⁷ At nearly the end of the decade, a Miss Hayden, billed as "the American Sibyl," informed the citizens of Utica that for six nights at Mechanics' Hall she would present "her splendid performance of Polite Illusions." In this way Miss Hayden made an invitation

to the "polite" society of Cooperstown, an audience which did not often choose to attend this sort of exhibition. More auditors might have been enlisted by the note at the end of the ad, listed just after the rather high ticket rate of fifty cents, children half price: "As impositions are frequently practiced upon the public, the manager of this exhibition would say to anyone not satisfied, that his money shall be returned to him."³⁸ Utica was Miss Hayden's only documented area appearance, but Odell noted her in New York City at the American Museum in May 1839 and again in July 1840.³⁹

At Miss Hayden's Utica evening of illusions she was accompanied by another act which would become a staple of museum entertainment in the next two decades. Mr. J.R. Smith's Dioramas were featured that night as well, and although Miss Hayden was the main attraction, Mr. Smith's exhibit received more space in the advertisement.

[He announced his] celebrated Dioramas of Cincinnati, New Orleans, Louisville, etc., etc., being ten feet high and 200 feet in length. To conclude with the far famed Conflagration of Moscow: in which are combined the arts of music, painting, mechanism, etc., etc.⁴⁰

Although it had been predated by the much simpler magic lantern presentation in Cooperstown at the beginning of the decade, the "Conflagration of Moscow," along with the views of the different cities Smith presented at Utica in 1839, was one of the earliest documented examples of what would

become, in the 1840s, a flood of -oramas: panoramas, dioramas, cosmoramas and so on.

In 1832 another sort of Museum circuit phenomenon toured at least four of the turnpike villages. The Siamese Twins visited Geneva, Auburn, Utica, and Cooperstown on an extensive tour which included many other New York State villages. The twins were among the first of a flood of unusual humans that qualified as scientific curiosities exhibited along America's highways and byways, and were one of the most popular acts on the circuit. They were educational in that, according to their Auburn ad, they had "caused great astonishment amongst scientific men both in America and Great Britain." To further one's education pamphlets containing an historical account together with a full-length picture of the twins could be had for a mere 12 1/2 cents.⁴¹ They appeared in Geneva first, "on their way to Utica and Albany," not at the Museum but at Geneva's most prestigious hotel, the Franklin House, on 25-27 June 1832. It was noted that they spoke English with some fluency, and the ladies were reassured that in their exhibition there was "nothing to cause unpleasant sensation."⁴² The citizens of Auburn saw the twins over the Fourth of July, and they reached Cooperstown in early August.⁴³ T. Allston Brown provided some biographical information on the twins. They were born in 1810 in Bangesan, were brought to America by Captain Abel Coffin in 1828, and both married mulattoes in 1842 by whom they had nine children each. They had been exhibited first in Boston, were taken to

England, then returned to America, playing New York City before taking series of tours across the United States.⁴⁴

Later in the decade the Twins appeared again at the Utica Museum,⁴⁵ but they were not the only human curiosities exhibited along the turnpikes in the 1830s. In early December 1836 Margaret and Elizabeth Rosseau, the "remarkable Canadian dwarfs" could be seen in Geneva's Franklin House for 12 1/2 cents. Margaret, 34 years old and 30 inches high, and Elizabeth, 23 years old and 20 inches high, were at the vanguard of the vogue for little people that reached its height but not its end in the exhibitions of Tom Thumb in the next decade.

At the other end of the scale, so to speak, was the American, sometimes called the Kentucky Giant, Mr. James Porter. Aged 22 and seven feet six inches tall, he appeared at the Auburn Museum on 22 and 23 September 1837 and at the Utica Museum a week later, commencing on 29 September and running until at least Tuesday, 3 October.⁴⁶ In the latter place he was not alone on the bill. In an editorial titled "The Long and the Short of the Matter" in the Utica Observer, it was revealed that accompanying the Kentucky Giant was Major Stevens, the American Dwarf. This exploitative juxtaposition might have tipped the scales dangerously away from education and towards entertainment, but also probably packed the Museum. For some reason the moral leaders did not take nearly the offence at the exhibition of freaks for profit as they did at theatrical entertainment. Perhaps they did not see the offensive aspect;⁴⁷ perhaps this sort of

attraction was too popular for them to do anything about. The decade closed in the line of human oddities with the exhibition at the Utica Museum of Miss Shore, the Albino Lady, and Mr. O'Clancy, the Irish Giant on 25 September 1838. The attraction proved so popular that it was held over for four days.⁴⁸

Possibly to make the exhibition of giants and dwarfs more palatable to the moral leaders, possibly to increase the range of the evening's entertainment, other variety entertainers sometimes accompanied these curiosities on the bill. In Utica glass-blowers padded the bill of both the Kentucky and Irish Giants. Mr. Wallace awed the audience in September 1837 and Mr. Davidson, "Fancy Glass-Blower," made articles in sight of the audience the following September which were then put up for sale.⁴⁹ These men not only fattened their own and the Museum's purses, but they added a more legitimate touch of scientific curiosity to the evening.

Also present at the exhibitions of the Kentucky Giant both in Auburn and Utica was Dr. Coombs, the phrenologist.⁵⁰ He was assuredly a welcome addition to the evening's bill because of the tremendous popularity of phrenology, a sort of popular psychology of its day, in which a subject's personality traits and mental capacity were analyzed by studying the shape of his or her skull. The brilliant stroke by the unnamed manager of either the giant or Coombs was to have the doctor perform a phrenological examination of the giant's skull, increasing the scientific credibility of the enter-

tainment and adding an unexpected, fascinating twist to the show as well.

In 1840 at Barnum's American Museum in New York City an olio of museum artists which seemed to be made up entirely of turnpike village alumni performed on the following bill: along with Miss Hayden, by now the "far-famed American Sibyl," appeared O'Clancy (the Irish giant), and Coombs (the phrenologist who, apparently having tired of examining the Kentucky Giant's head, switched to another's). And immediately after Miss Hayden and company exited Barnum's establishment, who should enter but Dr. Valentine and his imitations.⁵¹ By the end of its first decade the museum circuit was establishing a kind of pattern, in which various combinations of performers appeared together not only at the famous big-city museums like Barnum's American, but at the villages along the turnpikes of New York State and the rest of the country as well. The trend became even more established in the next decade.

Paintings and Music

Independent of the museum circuit, village audiences in the 1830s had the opportunity to view more painting exhibitions, more concerts given by traveling troubadours, and more menageries and equestrian shows than ever before. Compared to the latter two categories, relatively few displays of paintings were recorded during the decade, possibly because automata, magic lantern shows, and panoramas, which

featured moving puppets and paintings, were increasing in popularity. There was, however, activity in Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, and Utica. The emphasis was on instruction in Canandaigua, where a Mr. Wood, who advertised classes in "a new, easy and elegant system of Landscape, Flower, and Bird Painting," visited in 1837, offering money back to any unsatisfied students.⁵²

In August 1836 another Dunlap painting, "The Calvary, or the Moment before the Crucifixion," was displayed at Chedell's Buildings in Auburn for 10 days.⁵³ This religious painting certainly would have obtained instant approval by local moral authorities, in spite of the rather theatrical subtitle Dunlap had appended to its name. Although in this, as in his earlier exhibitions, this painter and dramatist provided one palatable way to get a dose of the theatrical without having to attend the theatre, the tour lost money and was Dunlap's last. Later that year the Auburn Museum hosted several more dramatic paintings by an anonymous artist for a few days. The titles listed were "The Conflagration," apparently documenting a fire in New York City, "The Battle of the Thames," and "Mazeppa." (The last subject, in the form of J.H. Payne's 1825 melodrama Mazeppa; or, the Wild Horse of Tartary, also became tremendously popular on the theatrical and equestrian circuits.)⁵⁴ In September 1837 a Mr. Jennings displayed less dramatic "Landscape, Marine and Flower paintings" in Utica, and in 1839 at Geneva, an unidentified artist exhibited "Celebrated Historical Paintings," including the

"Maid of Saragossa," the "Death of Sapphira," and "Christ Making Himself Known to His Disciples."⁵⁵

Of all the different sorts of paintings exhibited in the area between 1830 and 1840, the most unusual may well have been George Catlin's collection of Indian paintings and curiosities, which included portraits of Black Hawk and 40 landscape views. He set up his show at Utica's Washington Hall on 1 March 1837; his method of exhibition, explained in his advertisement, increased its educational value, at the same time it exploited its theatricality:

In order to render the exhibition more instructive than it could otherwise be, the paintings will be exhibited one at a time, and such explanations given of their dress, customs, traditions, etc., given by Mr. Catlin, as will enable the public to form a just idea of the customs, numbers and traditions of the savages yet in a state of nature in North America.⁵⁶

Despite diatribes against them in diaries by the likes of Lyman Eddy, local concerts were popular this decade, the Auburn Musical Association proving especially active in the first five years. Two villages about which almost no previous entertainment activity had been documented announced concerts of sacred music: Skaneateles in March 1838, and Herkimer in April of the same year. And Geneva's Sacred Music Association listed concerts in 1835 and 1836.⁵⁷ More local bands were being formed and began concertizing too, in Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, and Utica.⁵⁸

In addition to locally generated music-making, more

itinerant musicians permeated the villages along the turn-pikes in the 1830s than had ever before visited the area, though the numbers were miniscule and names little known compared with the assault of major musical figures on the territory throughout the next two decades. The first documented concert by traveling musicians during the decade, given at Franklin House in Geneva on 4 March 1830, was an instrumental evening with a W. Wright. The same year the Stage House and Tavern on Cooperstown's Main Street hosted a concert of vocal and instrumental music by Mrs. J.W. Green, "the well-known and much approved Vocalist, throughout the U. States." At her 8 November concert Mrs. Green was assisted by "several musical gentlemen" of the village. The next year a Mr. Woodruff gave the citizens of Geneva an unusual musical offering on the Irish Union Pipes, at the Museum.⁵⁹

After these early concerts, an interval of five years passed before the next advertised itinerant musical events. A Madame Walther gave two evenings of vocal and instrumental music at the Western Exchange in Auburn in spring 1836, assisted at the second by the Auburn Musical Association.⁶⁰ Then, in July 1837, Henry Russell, the most frequent well-known concertizer of the decade, made Geneva his first area visit. The editor of a local paper praised the singing of this young man, who he claimed was moving rapidly to the top of his profession. Those present at the "numerously attended" concert heard a style of singing

peculiarly chaste and beautiful. He has great compass of voice capable of expressing, alike

the sweetest emotions and the sternest passions. We think he excels in pieces of a pathetic cast--"Oh! Woodman, spare that tree," we thought truly exquisite."⁶¹

Russell appeared again in Geneva in 1839, where after his concerts he "and his lady" spent a few months in the beautiful Finger Lakes village. In the meantime he sang in Utica in 1837 and 1838, on the second visit announcing concerts in other towns to the west.⁶²

Russell was a very popular singer of "descriptive songs" on the concert circuit and would make frequent tours of Upstate New York in succeeding years. Of a more classical bent were the Canderbeecks, who made their first tour in this decade, and who would make several more in the future. Mr. Canderbeeck played the violin, his wife the harp, and their concert delighted the editor of Auburn's Cayuga Patriot, who recommended their second concert at the Western Exchange, 19 July 1837. Another traveling couple, Mr. and Mrs. Maroncelli, sang and played in Utica on 24 September 1839.⁶³

Not only couples, but entire families, took to the touring circuit in the 1840s. In the thirties, however, only one family, the Shermans, advertised a curious "Grand Musical and Scientific Exhibition" at the Auburn Museum, 25 May 1838. Unfortunately, they disappeared from the records after that, and the particulars of the evening were never described.⁶⁴

In 1839 a Mr. White presented "a course of Three Lectures on Ancient and Modern Music and Poetry" at Utica in early September. He was seen shortly thereafter in Auburn, where, on his way to Niagara, he lectured on "Thomas Moore

and the Irish Melodies," and "illustrated" the lecture, perhaps by singing or playing some of the melodies himself. In both places he was advertised to have written "Lays of a Troubadour," "Boudoir Melodies," and other works.⁶⁵

Circuses

Barriskill began his chapter on Cooperstown theatre in the 1830s by stating that menageries and circuses dominated popular entertainment during that decade. Not only in Utica, but in almost all the turnpike villages, the menagerie and the circus were the predominate forms of entertainment. One of the first to tour was the Grand Menagerie which visited Geneva on 27 and 28 May 1830. It featured a combination of several exotic animals, including a camel, tiger and leopard, and some fancy "horse-monkeyship," which featured the "semi-equestrian" monkey Captain Dick and his pony. This basic configuration, always accompanied by a band of good music usually traveling with the show, was typical in the menageries of the thirties and also presaged the combination circus of the forties and forward.⁶⁶

Other similar menageries followed, but the next of any significance was one with the names of several managers listed above the title. These names would shift over the next several decades with frequency, indicating the same kind of musical-partners game already observed in area theatrical management in the 1820s. The troupe which visited Geneva on 4 July 1831 had managers whose names would become familiar

through the next two decades. June, Titus, Angevine, & Company presented their Menagerie and Aviary, including the giraffe, eland, lion, elephant, and many others. They had a monkey rider too, Major Jack Dowling and his Shetland pony, who clearly outranked Captain Dick of the 1830 troupe; they further increased the variety of the show by adding six cosmoramic views and six living anacondas.⁶⁷

Later that same summer another menagerie, that of Purdy, Carley, and Bailey, also visited Geneva, and the next summer Purdy returned with new partners Welch, Finch, and Wright, traveling from the west to Geneva, Auburn, Cooperstown, and Cherry Valley. Purdy and Company's 1832 show featured, along with other exotic animals, the "Shipwrecked Elephant," near victim of a wreck which had occurred the previous December in Delaware Bay. Sailors on the sinking ship lowered the elephant into the water, and she swam to the nearest landing.⁶⁸ Because of the elements of surprise and emotion this incident conjured up, curiosity and ticket sales increased, and the management used the elephant as the center of its publicity campaign.

Other companies joined the slow-moving tour in this section of the country. After all, the circus could move only as quickly as its slowest member, and an elephant did not make great time. The managements of Gregory, Cane, and Company, Howe's Menagerie, and Buckley, Weeks, and Company Arena and Amphitheatre joined the earlier managements in making trips to the area, stimulating a competitive atmosphere. As the competition grew, so did the size of the shows. In 1834

June, Titus, and Angevine advertised a caravan of "Twenty-nine Spacious Carriages, Waggon, etc . . . drawn by sixty-four horses, besides two elephants, male and female, that travel on foot."⁶⁹ Later that summer an even larger menagerie visited Cooperstown, this one featuring a "new pavilion, 170 feet long by 85' wide, and 30' high" with 1,000 seats. On the same day Buckley, Weeks and Company brought their company of thirty equestrians to the same village. This confluence of troupes led Barriskill to hope that crowds had come in from the hinterlands, because "two caravans in one day was a large order for a village under 1500 to absorb."⁷⁰ Perhaps the crowds came; villages always swelled in size on circus days. But perhaps an accidental meeting like this one of an equestrian troupe and menagerie was one reason many companies merged in the next decade.

An exhibition of particular theatrical interest visited Cooperstown in 1835. Turner, June, and Company brought its New York Zoological Exhibition and Columbia Circus to Cooperstown on 2 and 3 October, and featured not only a menagerie and equestrian troupe, but also Joe Pentland's feats of juggling and balance, and at the end, a farce. In search of variety and something special to distinguish them from their competition, Turner and June had risked the addition of an actual play, The Hunted Tailor; or, Billy Button's Unfortunate Journey to Brentford. The cast included a Mr. Deer in the title role, a Mr. Huntington as the Clown, and N.S. Turner (the manager?) as the Postmaster.⁷¹

Other menageries and arenas passed through the area later in the decade, including Delavan's Eagle Amphitheatre, the Victory Arena Circus, and the equestrians from the Bowery Amphitheatre. By 1835 some had started to call themselves "Mammoth," a favorite competitive ad-word in those days.⁷² There were attacks on the morality of these mammoth shows, of course, but the diatribes do not seem to have been as vehement as those on the theatre, perhaps because the exhibits had a vaguely scientific, museum-like connection. Managements exploited this connection, using technical names for animals and featuring titles like "NATURAL HISTORY" in the increasingly complex and ornate woodcuts used to advertise the shows. They often exploited a religious connection as well. In a blurb on its feature animal, the one horned rhinoceros, June, Titus, and Angevine suggested that here was the animal "Theological Commentators" described as "the Unicorn of Holy Writ."⁷³

Although managements bowed to moral pressure in their advertisements, circuses were so popular it would probably not have made any difference whether they were attacked or not. Barriskill cited the diary of an upstanding, somewhat priggish citizen of Cooperstown, Levi Crosby Turner, who wrote that a circus he had just seen was less vulgar than usual. Crosby admitted that it was not the circus itself which offended him so much as the huge crowds which mobbed the village whenever one came to town, crowds that could temporarily increase the population from 1500 up to 4000.

Although Turner's nose was somewhat upturned at the vulgarity of the show, and angled even more acutely at the rabble which thronged to see it, his diary entry showed that he forced himself to see it twice, once with his children, and once in the company of two women.⁷⁴

Theatrical Companies

The circus seems to have been a fact of life in the 1830's, no matter how it may have ruffled moral feathers. The theatre, having no built-in audience and no museum-like connection, had a much more difficult time staying alive during this decade. Not only was the theatre railed against from the pulpit, it was also a frequent topic in lyceum debates. Although local papers did not always list debate topics in their editorial recommendations of lyceum and similar meetings, the people in several villages, including those who had seldom, if ever, seen a play, saw notices of theatrical debates in their local papers. Examples throughout the decade follow:

Cooperstown, 20 December 1830:	Theatres--are they productive of more good than evil?
Manlius, 30 May 1832:	Ought the theatres in the United States to be patronized?
Utica, 19 September 1837:	Are Theatres deserving the encouragement of a moral and enlightened community? ⁷⁵

Theatre joined the list of prominent issues for public

debate, including capital punishment, temperance, and slavery. It thus became identified more as social issue than entertainment, especially to villagers who almost never had the opportunity to witness a theatrical performance.

Skaneateles was such a village, one of those along the turnpike in which entertainment consisted primarily of meetings, lectures, and debates to solve social ills or to improve the mind, and occasional sacred music concerts. The more frivolous brand of entertainment included the annual regatta on its lovely lake, the annual village fair, ladies' fairs for charity, donation parties for local preachers, and fireworks on the Fourth of July.⁷⁶ All these entertainments were locally instigated; all were moral and upright. In the 1830s, not only did no itinerant theatrical troupes visit Skaneateles, but no traveling musicians were advertised, and no independent lecturers spoke except for Solomon Southwick (future Governor of the state, whose topic was the Bible), and no circus put up its pavilion.

This seemed to be the way the citizens preferred it. Certainly the editor of the Skaneateles Columbian did, as was evidenced by his attack on a theatrical troupe visiting Syracuse in 1838. His editorial blast was prompted by a brief editorial "puff" of the company by his fellow editor of a Syracuse paper, which said: "The Albany Theatrical Corps continues to 'mend the manners and improve the heart,' at Fillin's Rooms, Franklin Buildings." The Skaneateles editor replied:

Indeed! We have heard something, before, of this method of "mending the manners and improving the the heart." The Standard would do well to notice the most striking instances of improvement in this "school of morals," for the sake of those who may not be fully convinced of its salutary tendency. No important auxiliary to virtue and good order should be neglected in these degenerate times. Give us tangible evidence, Mr. Standard--show us conclusively the truth of your quotation above--and we will immediately petition the corporation of our village to secure the services of the "theatrical corps" you so highly commend, when they get through "mending the manners and improving the minds" of the Syracusans.⁷⁷

This atmosphere permeated not only villages like Skaneateles, but the thriving boom town of Rochester where devil's playgrounds like the theatre were much more likely to be built. Here a newspaper article in 1838 rejoiced that though the two buildings for theatre and circus still stood in that place, they had been turned into a livery stable and a chandler's shop. Likewise, one of the first buildings in Utica to be built for theatrical purposes was converted into a knitting mill.⁷⁸

Little wonder, then, that by 1837 only four theatrical troupes had visited any of the villages along the turnpikes, two of which had been seen in the area before. Of these, Sickles visited Cooperstown in 1830 with his Babes in the the Wood, probably a puppet show.⁷⁹ The other, Trowbridge and Gilbert's company, had played several villages in the twenties and had gained great respect in Cooperstown. To that village and Auburn the company ventured again in 1833. Cooperstown saw them in January in an impromptu theatre set up in the court house for what was probably a week's engagement.

Specifically, only their 12 January performance was announced: The Man of Fortitude; or, The Forest Spectre, the "much-admired drama" by Dunlap, followed by a comic song by Mr. W. Gilbert, and concluding with Lock and Key, the "popular farce" by Prince Hoare.⁸⁰ The management's name was not given, and only Gilbert's name on the bill indicated that this troupe was probably the Trowbridge and Gilbert company.

The same company appeared in Auburn in the summer of 1833, where they occupied the Western Exchange for an unspecified amount of time. The building in which they played was distinguished as the village's public meeting place. It was originally built in 1803 as Bostwick's Tavern, "the admiration of the whole township." Its long room, occupying the entire second story, was the only place for meetings, balls, exhibitions, even religious worship, for many years. It was enlarged in 1816 by a new owner, Canfield Coe, and was expanded again a few years later when Emanuel D. Hudson bought it and changed its name to the Western Exchange.⁸¹ Did the prestigious location help the company? In the twenties they had always taken out advertisements in local papers; on this later occasion they were mentioned in only one editorial. The editor's remarks were not only cryptic but, given the prevailing mood of the times, a bit ominous. His editorial noted that the company had opened and that "we have no doubt successfully endeavor to amuse such of the public as will put themselves in the way of being amused."⁸² After this comment no more was heard of Trowbridge and Gilbert in the villages along the turnpikes.

Another theatrical company that braved the area before 1837 announced itself in Cooperstown with a notice that the second floor of the court house had been

fitted up with appropriate scenery, decorations, etc., for Theatrical purposes. The managers pledge to spare neither pains nor expense, to render their entertainments both pleasing and instructive to those who are disposed to patronize this specie of refined and fashionable amusement.⁸³

The company probably played one week at the most, for they placed only one advertisement. That ad was one of the most specific to date, featuring relatively complete cast lists and detailed information on the entertainment between the main piece and the farce. They opened on 25 November 1833 with a comparatively recent work, J.S. Knowles's William Tell; or, The Hero of Switzerland (1825) which featured the following cast:

Tell	Mr. Dean
Albert	Mrs. Forrest
Gesler	Mr. Forrest
Sarnem	Mr. Waters
Erni	Mr. Potter
Verner	Mr. Clifton
Furst	Mr. Barstow
Emma	Mrs. Barstow

After the drama, Mr. Waters was featured in an early example of the minstrel genre, "his Comic Negro Extravaganza of Old Zip Coon," and Mr. Barstow provided a piece from another genre, "the Comic Yankee Story, of [sic] How to Sell a Fox Skin." The evening concluded with the farce, Secretly Married; or, Master and Man, in which the cast included:

Sir Chas. Courtall
Sharpe
La Bouche
Thomas
John
Trups
Lady Courtall
Grace

Mr. Potter
Mr. Forrest
Mr. Waters
Mr. Barstow
Mr. Hartshorn
Mr. Clifton
Mrs. Barstow
Mrs. Forrest

It was noted that in the farce Mrs. Forrest sang in "character" the "favorite ballad, 'I'd Like Very Much to Know.'" Just below the cast list ticket information was given. Tickets were not cheap, 37 1/2 cents for adults, 25 cents for children, although, as was often the case, two adult tickets would admit a gentleman and two ladies. Tickets were available not only at Mr. Hoyt's Union Hall, but also at the "Box Office." Surprisingly, this term was almost never used in reference to theatre spaces in the hinterlands at the time, only coming into play in the 1850s, when a few permanent theatres existed in the larger centers of population. It was probably used in this advertisement to increase the atmosphere of professionalism and fashion the management was striving to promote. The last note on the program contained a further promise of decorum. The front seats were reserved for the Ladies, and no smoking or disorderly conduct would be tolerated.⁸⁴

The company numbered seven men and two women, if its entire strength was accounted for in the cast lists. Nearly half the total was made up of two married couples, the Forrests and the Barstows. There were no actors in the troupe with the stature that Hamblin, Maywood, or the Williamses had

brought to the area in the twenties, but this small company included more than a fair share of talented players. Though the managers were not listed in the Cooperstown ad, the company was probably led by William S. Forrest and Edwin Dean. The latter, who was the leading man, soon entered into management at the theatre in Buffalo, and occasionally brought touring players back into the area from that base. He married Julia Drake, one of Samuel Drake's talented daughters, and they had a daughter, Julia Dean, who became one of the most popular actresses throughout the country.⁸⁵

William S. Forrest, the company's low comedian, was familiar with the area, having begun his career in the late twenties with the H.A. Williams troupe in Utica and other turnpike villages. Although he later became a popular member of the touring circuit throughout the west, he should not be confused with William L. Forrest, the famous Edwin's brother. The latter was active in Albany in management with William Duffy during roughly the same time William S. was managing with Dean the tour which included Cooperstown.⁸⁶

The troupe also included two future partners in theatrical management, John Sharp Potter and Samuel Waters. Possibly they met on this tour and began to form managerial plans of their own, because a few years later they were at the head of a company in Lexington, Kentucky. Although they stayed together for some years, Potter eventually went off on his own, to become, as James Dormon dubbed him, "the prince of strolling managers." He built theatres and envisioned

circuits (though usually prematurely), remaining in an area for a season or two, then moving on to virgin territory, which included Mississippi, Iowa, and, ultimately, California. During the 1840s he would be very active in the villages along the turnpike.⁸⁷

In less than a year Dean and Forrest were back in the area, this time at Utica, where a theatre had been fitted up for them by Henry I. Brower. This "dispenser of ginger pop and other soft beverages" transformed the upper floors of his establishment into a hall he named the Utica City Theatre. In an apparent management shuffle, a Mr. Parsons, replacing Forrest, joined Dean, according to their ad in the paper of 17 February 1834:

New Theatre. The public are respectfully informed that the new theater is now completed, and will be opened for the season on Monday evening, Feb. 24. Valuable additions have been made to the company. Neither pains nor expense have been spared to the construction of the building--its decorations, etc., etc. During the season every effort shall be made on the part of the management to render it a pleasant and fashionable resort for the lovers of the Drama.⁸⁸

Utica theatre historian John Walsh stated that the project was not very successful and lasted only a few weeks. During that time Mr. Parsons appeared in Othello and Mr. Forrest played in the farce The Rendezvous by R. Ayton.⁸⁹

In September 1835 William Duffy's Albany Company played a brief engagement in Rochester.⁹⁰ The same troupe could probably have played Utica and other turnpike or canal villages on their way west, but none of these hypothetical

visits was documented. In fact, the next definite theatrical presentations in the area did not take place until 1837. The time lapses between visits of theatrical troupes, the polite and carefully worded advertisements they placed to entice an audience, and the brevity of their engagements, serve as some indication of the difficulty of existence for touring troupes in the thirties. The Spirit of the Times, in its weekly "Things Theatrical" column, often referred to a troupe on a tour of the hinterlands as "assaulting" or "invading" a town or area. Though in general the remarks seem merely clever turns of phrase, a close examination, like this one, of a particular area, offers some proof that to visit a place a company needed to "attack" it, or at least to have prepared a strategic plan to "win" an audience. A war of sorts was being waged between moral and theatrical forces in this and other areas of the country, and such bellicose terminology would probably have seemed quite appropriate to actors who must have felt at times that they were fighting a battle, and a losing one at that.

A company managed by Messrs. Russell and Lyne fought the next brief engagement at Utica in February 1837. This company's plan of attack was aided, intentionally or not, by two letters to the editor of the Utica Observer from one who signed himself "A Friend of the Drama." The first, appearing shortly before the theatre opened, praised the private and public lives of the managers:

We understand that Messrs. Russell and Lyne, late of Albany, are about to open our Theatre. They are men of undeniable character in private life, and their talent as actors is well-known in the state of New York. We have no doubt that under such management it will prove a lucrative establishment, and be a source of amusement to many of our citizens.⁹¹

These remarks were echoed in the advertisement the managers placed on the same page of the paper. Note the similarity of theme in this and the previously quoted Parsons and Dean advertisement, differing only in that the present example is more extended and embellished:

Messrs. Russell and Lyne respectfully inform the inhabitants of Utica and vicinity, that they intend opening the theatre for a short season, when they trust that the private respectability and public talent of their Company will insure them that share of patronage ever bestowed upon worth and talent by a discerning public. Messrs. R. and L. pledge themselves that the establishment shall be conducted on such moral principles that the most fastidious shall have no cause of complaint.⁹²

The "attack" begun by the letter and reinforced by the above portion of the ad was strengthened by the next section, in which the managers introduced the players to the public more completely and intimately than was usual. This introduction implied a pride in their players, and it showed that they were all experienced thespians:

The Theatre will open on Wednesday, 15th inst., with the following powerful company:

Mr. Lyne, from the Boston and Philadelphia Theatres.

Mr. Russell, from the New York and Philadelphia Theatres.

Mr. Davis, from the Albany Theatre.
Mr. Edwin, from the Southern Theatres.
Mr. Duff, from the Albany Theatre.
Mr. Warner, from the same.
Mr. Hunter, from the Western Theatres.
Master Johnson, from the Albany Theatre,
etc., etc.
Mrs. Butler, late of this Theatre.
Miss Williams, from the Albany Theatre.
Miss L. Leavensworth.⁹³
Miss M. Leavensworth.

The final prong of their attack was saved for the final line of their ad. Again going the Parsons and Dean ad a step further, they pledged that "Constables will be employed to keep perfect order."⁹⁴

"A Friend of the Drama" wrote again in next week's paper and implied that the battle for Utica had this time been won by the theatrical corps. He had attended the theatre on Saturday evening, 18 February, and had, to his pleasant surprise, found the house "literally crowded from top to bottom." He was also "agreeably disappointed," not expecting to find such a talented company, praising the work in particular of Russell, Davis, and especially Lyne, about whose acting he wrote:

He possesses talents of no ordinary nature, which, well fostered, will place him among the highest claimants to histrionic fame. He possesses a fine figure, a rich, manly voice, and his readings are chaste and good; he has all that feeling pathos in his delineation, without that rant and tear, which is too frequently used by our young native tragedians.⁹⁵

The performance thus highly praised was Lyne's portrayal of William Tell, in Knowles's play of that name. In this piece

"Friend" provided critical opinion as well as the only information available about the company's repertoire. His compliments to Russell and Davis were for their roles as Jeremy Diddler and Sam, respectively, which places Kenney's Raising the Wind on their playlist as well.

This useful letter also made it clear that the company played a second week in Utica, another evidence of their success. The letter ended with the "Friend's" hopes for the benefits to be reaped from a season so well begun (note especially his invocation of the formula for successful entertainment):

Let the managers continue as they have commenced, and I doubt not they will receive an ample harvest, and ere the season closes, gain proselytes to the drama from among those who have been heretofore decidedly opposed to it; and prove to them that a well-conducted theatre is a source of both instruction and amusement.⁹⁶

These remarks proved a bit too optimistic. If Russell and Lyne's company had won a battle toward acceptance of the theatre, the war was far from over. "Friend" was also overly hopeful about the future of Lyne, who was probably Thomas A. Lyne. Born in Philadelphia where he made his debut in 1828, he played the line of second tragedian with Noah Ludlow's company in Mobile during the 1834-1835 season, and first appeared in New York in 1835.⁹⁷

A year passed before another theatrical troupe ventured into the area. Between 20 January and 17 March 1838 the Albany Company toured several villages throughout the state,

including Utica and Auburn, as well as Syracuse, Waterloo, and Rochester. This troupe came from the Pearl Street Theatre, currently leased by Thomas Fuller, probably the same "artful dodger," who with Hoyt had absconded from Cooperstown in the twenties, leaving debts unpaid.⁹⁸ The stage manager for the tour was Mr. John Greene, and the company included his wife and a portion of the Jefferson family, including Joseph III, who had made his Albany debut in December 1837 at the age of eight.⁹⁹

The company apparently played Utica in late January or early February, but the visit went unheralded by ad, editor, or any "Friend of the Drama." An advertisement, however, was placed for their Auburn engagement, which began on 12 February 1838, in which Greene was announced as stage manager of a succession of "the most approved Tragedies, Comedies, Operas, Farces, etc." The playing space would be the Town Hall, by permission of the Board of Trustees. The use of the phrase "most approved" to describe the plays, and acknowledgement of the village Board's assent were examples of the kowtowing considered essential to gain local support for a theatrical enterprise, but all in all the tone of the ad was quite different from Russell and Lyne's a year before in Utica. Instead of listing each company member and promising moral propriety from each, as had the earlier troupe, the Albany ad took a more confident approach:

It is not deemed necessary to say anything as to the merits of the performers, they being well known to the public. The mere

announcement of their names, they trust,
fully explains their character.¹⁰⁰

This confident tone could also have been the result of an earlier, successful engagement at Auburn by a portion of the same company, though no evidence exists to support it. Joseph Jefferson I was not with the company, having passed away in 1832, but his name, carried by both his son and grandson, would have been familiar, at least to the theatrically astute.

Accompanying the ad, the editor of the Auburn paper inserted a favorable notice from the Onondaga Standard of Syracuse, where the company had just completed a successful week's run. The puff sent the best possible message to moral and upright potential audience members, including praise for the performances, admiration for the deportment and character of the players, and acknowledgement of the necessary blend of the "amusing and instructive." This combination had paid off in Syracuse, because the company had previously played there to "crowded and delighted audiences."¹⁰¹

How the company fared at Auburn was not recorded, but an editorial in the next issue of the Cayuga Patriot indicated that there had been a last minute change of performance space, from the Town Hall to Chedell's Exhibition Room. The company might have found that Chedell's, the site of the museum which had been built only two years before, was a space more conducive to theatrical entertainment. Since it had been inaugurated by Valentine's performance, the museum had housed most of the exhibitions which entered town,

whereas the Town Hall had only held a few lectures. It had also at least temporarily eclipsed the Western Exchange as an entertainment center.¹⁰²

The bill at Chedell's for the 14th was also listed in the ad: Three Eras in a Woman's Life and the farce, The Rendezvous. No cast list was provided, but the Greenes were no doubt prominently featured. John Greene was an Irish comic whose characterizations rivalled Tyrone Power's. Also an excellent stage manager, Greene headed many itinerant companies, being especially successful in Nashville in the early 1850s, where he lifted the Adelphi Theatre into national prominence. He and his wife had played many seasons at the Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, and both were highly respected, especially along the touring circuits of the nation.¹⁰³

The Jeffersons spent only the 1837-1838 season in Albany, having already been invited to join the company in Chicago. At the end of their Albany engagement they formed a small company of their own, singing for their suppers as they journeyed west. Its personnel included Joseph Jefferson II and his wife Cornelia; their children Joseph III and Cornelia; Joe II's niece Jane Anderson and her husband, G.C. Germon; his stepson Charles Burke; and his first cousin William Warren.¹⁰⁴ This family company traveled the Erie Canal from Albany through Schenectady, Utica, and Syracuse to Buffalo, playing in each place. Joseph Jefferson III in his autobiography described the situation in an account which was

probably partially anecdotal and embellished. He claimed his father had contracted with the captain of the canal boat to give him the receipts of the one night stands in Utica and Syracuse as payment for the company's fares. The receipts in Utica were good, but in Syracuse it rained, making the attendance too small to pay the captain's fee. In order to make things even, the future Rip Van Winkle gave a private performance for the captain in his cabin, singing a long and "dismal comic song called 'The Devil and Little Mike.'"105

In spite of the tremendous financial burdens imposed on the entire country by the Panic of 1837, people in the villages along the turnpikes were becoming more disposed to spend money and time at the theatre, and Auburn became the most popular stop in the area. Already in early 1838 the Albany company had played the village, and it came back in late spring, under different organization. Tom "the artful dodger" Fuller was still the lessee, but his stage manager was no longer John Greene. Cornelius Logan was announced in that position, and under his direction the company played a three week run (actually two weeks, a third added because of excellent business), unprecedented in any of the villages presently under scrutiny. Auburn had acquired a daily newspaper only two weeks before, and Logan and company could afford to advertise, so an extensive record of repertoire has survived (see Appendix A).106

The manner of Logan's advertising differed significantly from the apologetic tone of the notices discussed earlier. Brief and to the point, Logan's ads listed the evening's bill

and one or two significant players, treating the morality issue as if it did not exist. He advertised sporadically throughout the run. There was no need to do more, because the editor of the new daily was sufficiently enthusiastic in his praise for the troupe that he listed each evening's bill daily, sometimes adding a compliment. After the opening night, for example, he noted that a "'thunder drum' of applause" had greeted the actors. A few nights later he admitted that

We had a great mind to puff them; but on reflection, concluded that as everyone who has been there, appeared satisfied, we would not thrust our opinion in just now, when we can't find any fault.¹⁰⁷

Later in the run he began to be witty about the company, with blurbs like this: "Give the company a full house--they like to be seen in a crowd." The next day he attempted an entire anecdote:

The reason why.--A small lad asked permission to go to the theatre. His mother told him it was a bad place for little boys. "Why mother didn't you and father used to go to theatres when you were young?" "Yes, but we have seen the folly of it," answered the mother. "Well mother," exclaimed the son, "I want to see the folly of it too!"¹⁰⁸

That the editor was able to publish an anecdote like this without apparent fear or even care was an indication that a slight thaw had occurred in the moral climate, or that the conservative viewpoint was no longer widely held.

Logan's company played at the Western Exchange, not the museum, during its stay. The repertoire was typical of the era, mostly melodramas and light comedy, an occasional Shakespeare, and always a farce. Some of the highlights included Kotzebue's The Stranger, which opened the season on 28 May, and was repeated on 5 June. In both cases a Mrs. Harrison played Mrs. Haller. Shakespeare was represented by Othello (1 June) and Romeo and Juliet (7 June), with Mrs. Harrison as Juliet and a Mr. Gann as her Romeo. It seemed to be Mrs. Harrison's season, for she was also featured in Douglas as Young Norval (6 June) and as the title character in Nicholas Rowe's Jane Shore, which was also repeated (8, 12 June). Mr. Blaike, the company's singer, found a way to include the community on 1 June when he sang his extravaganza of "Billy Barlow," "in which he will expatiate on several local occurrences." Other company members included Logan and his wife, their daughter Eliza, and Mme. Trust, the danseuse.¹⁰⁹

The stage manager was Cornelius A. Logan, who achieved some fame as an interpreter of Yankee roles, especially along the rivers of the Mississippi Valley, and who wrote Yankee Land, a mainstay of Dan Marble's repertoire, as well as a number of other plays. Both his daughters, Olive and Eliza, who was mentioned in his Auburn engagement, had successful stage careers.¹¹⁰ About the other members of the company not much has been documented.

Before leaving the area of upstate New York, Logan made two more trips to Auburn in 1839, but not nearly as much information accompanied announcements of these visits. By

This time he had joined in management with Jacob Thoman, an actor from the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, and together they opened an unspecified space in Auburn on 14 January.¹¹¹ Their advertisement announced new scenery painted by Duke White of the Bowery Theatre.¹¹² How long they planned to stay in Auburn was not discussed in the first ad, and no others were placed until March. Competition arrived on 21 January in the form of an equestrian troupe, but it played only two nights at the museum, not enough time to hurt the theatre's business if business was good.¹¹³

Logan and Thoman could possibly have stayed in Auburn throughout the spring. They might have hired a Mrs. Chipp, who took her benefit on 27 March, playing in The Iron Chest and Blue Beard. On 3 April the editor announced the last week of the season. Could it really have lasted from January into April? More likely the managers had used Auburn as a base of operations, making short trips to other Finger Lakes villages. This theory is strengthened by the notice in the Spirit of the Times of their efforts:

Logan and Thoman have erected a beautiful little theatre at Auburn in this state, that will hold about \$300; the business is capital. Small theatres are in progress in several towns adjacent, and the spirited managers trust to establish an important and profitable circuit.¹¹⁴

Notice of as small a village as Auburn in the Spirit of the Times was unusual and exciting, but talk of a circuit was somewhat premature. While it is probable that the company visited several other villages during their stay, there is no

evidence to support the assertion that other theatres were in progress, except in the minds of the enthusiastic managers, who provided, as well as entertaining theatricals for Auburn, the documented consideration of a circuit of theatres in the villages along the turnpikes.

Fresh from the success of their spring season, Logan and Thoman returned to Auburn in the summer, with guest stars Mrs. Sefton and Messrs. Balls and Williams. On July 17 Williams, who could well have been H.A. Williams, popular in the area in the 1820s, played his benefit and last performance. Mr. Balls, advertised from the London theatres, and Mrs. Sefton also closed their engagement on the 17th.¹¹⁵ After that, the Logan and Thoman company disappeared from the villages along the turnpikes.

Auburn's theatrical late-thirties was rounded out in a grand style. For two nights only, 30 and 31 October 1839, the "first juvenile actress of the age, Miss Davenport (from the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane and Hay Market) appeared as Richard III and in E. Lancaster's Manager's Daughter. Odell discussed Miss Jean M. Davenport, who, at 11 years of age, played the Park in 1837-1838. She acted "with success (for those who liked that sort of thing) a great variety of characters," including Shylock to her mother's Portia, of which piece of casting Odell said, "I hardly restrain my scorn as I write."¹¹⁶

The last troupe to entertain the turnpike villages during the thirties called themselves the Syracuse Company of

Comedians. On 17 December 1839, they began an engagement in Utica. Their "Card" in the Utica Observer represented a return, after Logan's straightforward announcements, to the apologetic tone of Dean and Forrest and Russell and Lyne, only more obsequious:

[The] Syracuse Company of Comedians (having obtained the permission of the Mayor and Aldermen of the city) will make their first appearance at the York House on Tuesday evening the 17th, where every arrangement has been made for the comfort and convenience of the audience, and also a provision for the preservation of good order, which will, it is hoped, be found to merit their attention, and to ensure that patronage from residents generally, which is most respectfully solicited.

Isaac Merrit, Mgr.¹¹⁷

Did Mr. Merrit's performers merit a good audience? With no plays or players announced it is anyone's guess. The key to theatrical advertising in the thirties, with the happy exception of Logan's first tour in Auburn, was to avoid the mention of theatre as much as possible, concentrating on the moral aspect. Mr. Merrit's ad did not even make use of the formula "to teach and delight." Partly because of the passive voice chosen as the style of the ad, and phrases like "preservation of quiet," it seemed as if an audience was being summoned, not to be instructed or entertained, but to witness the dropping of a pin.

This unfortunate style was not completely Mr. Merrit's fault, however. The moral atmosphere of the thirties had forced this tone among managers of theatrical companies. Whereas lectures and circuses flourished during this decade,

and even exhibitions of freaks were approved as containing the proper mixture of education and entertainment, the theatre could not gain a foothold. Religious and temperance forces banded together to reject theatrical performances, which were at very best a frivolous waste of time, and, played in the house of Satan, could become steps on the road to damnation. Thus, excepting the activity in Auburn, at the end of the 1830s it was quiet enough theatrically in the villages along the turnpikes to hear a pin drop.

Chapter Six: Entertainment at the Beginning
of the Railroad Era
1840-1850

The moral entertainment so dominant throughout the thirties even more completely saturated the villages along the turnpikes between 1840 and 1850. The lecture and concert circuits grew much busier and more diverse during the decade, providing village audiences with an almost constant stream of proper evening and weekend diversion. Museum attractions continued to be very popular, and circuses practically clogged the turnpikes, as many as three per summer season visiting even the smaller villages. While circuses triumphed, theatrical companies struggled heroically in Auburn and Utica at the beginning of the decade; then, after an almost complete absence of three years, reasserted themselves primarily in Utica towards the end of it. During the period of near disappearance, however, a few companies introduced into the area a form of theatre which proved that the stage could be as powerful a forum for instructive entertainment as the lecture platform: the temperance drama.

The Coming of the Railroad

Only a few villages had the chance to view this moral drama during the decade, the most common form of itinerant

entertainment still consisting of lectures organized by their local lyceums. This situation existed for several reasons, but most important was the revolution brewing in the transportation industry, illustrated in the following story of one actor's vacation trip.

In the summer of 1834 Tyrone Power, a famous delineator of Irish characters, took a pleasure trip across New York State to visit Niagara Falls. He traveled by stagecoach on his way to the Falls, passing through Cherry Valley, a "neat little village," stayed in Cooperstown "three wet, cold days," then went on to Utica. On this leg of the trip the coach made six miles an hour at best, bogging down frequently because of rain, which caused the roads to be "cut into gullies broad and deep." It took the coach over 12 hours to get from Utica to Syracuse, and after only a brief stop it drove through the night to Auburn, arriving at six in the morning and leaving two hours later. It then stopped at Geneva and Canandaigua before passing farther west to Niagara. On his return trip, Power took the Erie Canal from Buffalo to Utica, a three-day ride made miserable by intense heat and "moschetoos." Back in a coach from Utica to Schenectady, Power observed that the turnpike

frequently ran along the line of cuttings for the railroad now in progress between Utica and Schenectady, The rocky nature of the ridge whose line they pursue, offers formidable impediments, but the work was proceeding with great rapidity notwithstanding. This railway when complete, together with the canal by whose side it runs, will afford a facility of communication between

New York and Utica, which, for speed and convenience, can have no rival.¹

On this trip Power had discovered the range of transportation modes that would be available in America throughout the nineteenth century. He had also prophesied that the railroad and the canal were the wave of the future, and he was partly right. Actually the railroad quickly outstripped both the turnpikes and the canal in the race for fast, efficient transportation of goods and people across New York State and the rest of the country. (See Map 5.)

In New York railroad fever had begun shortly after the Canal had opened its locks, and hit a high pitch by the early thirties. By 1842 nearly all of the ten independent lines which would soon unite to form the New York Central were complete. Beginning in 1836 trains took passengers from Albany to Utica, and by 1839 connections were available to Syracuse and Auburn. Passengers could travel the entire length of the area under discussion as early as 1841, when the Auburn and Rochester Railroad, with stops in Geneva and Canandaigua, began regular runs.² Not only was passage across the state available, it also ran year-round, although with some modifications in the winter months, while the canal was frozen closed for nearly half the year and the roads nearly impassable for at least that long. And the railroad was fast. In 1843 the average train travelled from Albany to Buffalo at a rate of thirteen miles per hour. A turtle's pace by twentieth century standards, it more than doubled the six miles

an hour of Power's coach trip, and was even more impressive in relation to canal travel, which, while more comfortable than the coach (except, perhaps, during mosquito-breeding heat waves), was usually slower.³

The advent of fast, reliable, and economic transportation in the area allowed traveling entertainers to choose, to an extent greater than ever before, their itinerary. There were some exceptions. It was difficult for circuses to travel by rail. They were doomed, before post-Civil War improvements, to the slow pace set by their elephants. This pace, and even the somewhat speedier travel by stagecoach, had been the norm before the railroad era, making it necessary for overnight stops to be relatively close together. This meant more frequent performances, and less discrimination in terms of where to perform. For example, if a troupe wanted to get from Auburn to Rochester, a distance of 78 miles, it would have had to travel more than 12 hours (at six miles per hour, an optimistic rate) of grueling travel, not including stops, which were frequent and lengthy. Between the two points lay Geneva and Canandaigua, smaller villages indeed, but the first sometimes a dinner stop, the second often an overnight layover. If a troupe was stopping at a place either for dinner or overnight, why not play it? The audiences might not be as large, and could possibly be more hostile, but there was a chance that money could be made. In contrast, the railroad trip in 1843 from Auburn to Rochester could be made in six hours, with fewer stops and somewhat more comfort, eliminating the need to play any village in between.⁴ Whereas

the completion of the Erie Canal had begun a discrimination against villages off its path, the completion of the railroads had even more far-reaching consequences for the villages on the turnpikes.⁵

This latest development in the transportation revolution made things worse for some villages than for others. The only two which really benefited from the situation were Utica and, to a lesser extent, Auburn. By 1840 Utica could no longer be called a village. With a population of 12,782 it had become quite a large city, more than twice the size of the other places under discussion.⁶ Already an important canal center and directly on the east-west path from Albany to Buffalo, it became a natural locus for the railroad as well. Auburn, while not on the Erie Canal, enjoyed a strategic position on one of its feeders. Business was good enough that in 1836 a railroad was chartered between it and Rochester. By 1839 rail transportation was available between Auburn and Syracuse, and the completion in 1841 of the Auburn and Rochester Railroad proved even more helpful to its economy, which, like that of all the turnpike villages, had suffered greatly from the Panic of 1837.⁷

Canandaigua and Geneva were also located on the path of the Auburn and Rochester Railroad, and Geneva had the additional advantage of being on the same feeder canal as Auburn. While location aided their economic situation, these two villages did not achieve the kind of growth that their sister village on the Finger Lakes enjoyed. The populations of

Geneva and Canandaigua increased modestly between 1840 and 1850, but Auburn's population during the same period nearly doubled.⁸

The other turnpike villages did not experience anything like the growth of Utica or Auburn; even the modest advances of Canandaigua and Geneva eluded them. Some, like Skaneateles and Manlius, attempted to charter railroads. Skaneateles actually built a bed of wooden rails which linked it to Auburn, but this proved unprofitable and was replaced by a plank road, which also eventually failed.⁹ The village historian commented that, although Skaneateles had been recovering nicely from the Panic, the coming of the railroad, so near and yet so far from the village, had a powerful effect: "Unfortunately it [the railroad] passed just north of the north line of the town, about five miles north of Skaneateles village, and in a measure, in later years, this thrifty center of population suffered from the withdrawal of trade."¹⁰

Manlius, which in the days before the canal had been a thriving commercial center, had attempted to charter a feeder canal, and was now attempting to draw the railroad to it. This try, like the one before it, failed. The town of Manlius consisted of several villages, one of which, the village of Manlius, had been the pre-canal center. The Erie Canal passed a few miles north of it, through the village of Manlius Center, which then grew in importance, taking trade away from Manlius. Ironically a feeder canal was built, but it extended only a mile south of the main route, to the village of Fay-

etteville, which lay between Manlius and Manlius Center. The railroad passed even farther north, through a village called Minoa, which became the new commercial center in the immediate area.¹¹ In this way Manlius, like Skaneateles, became a sort of victim of the railroads.

The villages of Herkimer, Cooperstown, and Cherry Valley also sat well off the path of the "Iron Horse" and suffered the consequences. In 1840 Herkimer, the county seat, still had a population of less than 1,000, while its more populous neighbor Little Falls received nearly all the traveling entertainers who entered the area.¹² Cooperstown, well off the path of either canal or railroad, "witnessed comparatively few marked improvements or changes, and little, or no increase in population" in this era.¹³ The historian of Cherry Valley acknowledged that the railroad put an end to any through trade in that village and "commercially isolated it."¹⁴

The last of the turnpike villages, Onondaga Hollow, had some time since been swallowed up by the new city of Syracuse. Its courthouse, even its newspapers, had moved there by the late twenties. By the end of the forties Syracuse had outgrown Utica in population and was surpassed only by Rochester. These three cities had boomed because of the canal, and grew even larger and more prosperous when they became railroad centers. Now that itinerant performers had access to better modes of transportation, it was to these three places that they were drawn more frequently than to the villages

along the turnpike. The once mighty village of Canandaigua found itself envious of Rochester's ability to attract performers. The editor of the Ontario Repository wrote in November 1844:

The Hutchinsons [a popular family of vocalists] sing at Rochester tomorrow evening. Will not some of our Rochester neighbors take pity upon the music-loving people of this neglected village, and induce these charming minstrels to make us a visit?¹⁵

The grass might have seemed greener to the Canandaigua editor, but it was all a matter of degree. Although Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester were the largest centers of population in the middle of New York State, they did not always attract the greatest talent themselves. Witness the disdain of the editor of the Utica Observer at the tremendously popular Fanny Ellsler when she bypassed his city:

Fanny Ellsler, the great danseur [sic], passed through this city on Friday last, on her way to Buffalo, and western cities. She was told she could not get a \$500 house here, and so she wisely concluded she would not dance in Utica. We do not believe she would get a \$50 house here.¹⁶

Lectures and Readings

The rest of the turnpike villages were snubbed with far greater frequency than was Utica, but throughout the decade some of them, especially Auburn, Geneva, and Cooperstown, were visited by an assortment of traveling entertainers. Lecturers became even more popular and lecture circuits more organized and extensive than in the thirties. If they had no

other outside entertainment, even the smallest turnpike villages afforded a lecture series. Although speakers appeared year-round, the average lecture series occurred between November and March and consisted of weekly or bi-weekly gatherings. Most were organized by local civic groups and were often interspersed with debates.

The most popular lecture topic of the 1840s remained temperance, and other topics popular in the thirties remained so during this decade. The chemistry lecture and its ubiquitous exhilarating gas, the phrenology lecture and demonstration, the lecture on anatomy with examples on a manikin, and the oratorical lecture were some of those most frequently found advertised in area newspapers, but in the forties they tended to become more embellished. For instance Mr. William B. Lighton visited Utica in May 1845, bringing with him a "Magnificent Entertainment combining Temperance with an Exhibition of splendid Illuminated Paintings." These visual aids were magic lantern views, and while Lighton claimed they illustrated intemperance, in his advertisement he stressed the following miscellaneous olio:

Niagara Falls, Destruction of the French Fleet,
Burning of the U.S. Missouri, Eruption of
Vesuvius, to conclude with the beautiful Pyric
Fires! in imitation of the celebrated Greek Fires,
in which will be displayed Patriotic and National
Emblems.¹⁷

Lighton did not describe his lecture topic, and his concentration on phantasmagoria which had nothing to do with temperance suggests that he might have been exploiting tem-

perance to drum up an audience for his exhibition.

New lecture topics vied for popularity with old. Among the most often introduced were lectures on animal magnetism and lectures on electromagnetism. The subjects were quite different, the first dealing with hypnotism, the second with the great invention of the age, the telegraph. Animal magnetism was a subject which could easily be combined with phrenology, as in Auburn in early 1843, when O.S. Fowler offered a lecture series which included both subjects.¹⁸ In May 1842 the editor of the Utica Daily Gazette noted that phrenology was becoming outdated, and that animal magnetism was displacing it. He called for lectures on the subject in Utica, admitting that "It is somewhat singular that Mesmer fever has not yet reached our city."¹⁹ The fever began later that summer, when the first of many lectures on the subject was given. One of these was given at Utica in February 1844 by Dr. J.B. Dods, who in the course of his lecture Mesmerized "the distinguished Mr. Tarbox, who is admitted to be the best subject in the United States."²⁰ The hypnosis of one or several subjects during the course of a lecture on animal magnetism became almost de rigeur.

The telegraph had been invented in 1840 and was rapidly coming into use throughout the country by mid-decade. In January 1846, for example, lines were completed between Utica and Auburn. Yet even before this event the audiences at both places were treated to lectures with accompanying demonstrations by Dr. Boynton. His lectures covered nitrous oxide as

well, and the demonstration portion of the evening included not only "a splendid Telegraph machine in full operation," but 50 gallons of laughing gas to be administered to the audience.²¹

Lectures on elocution remained popular, and the names of William King and Samuel Sweet, who had introduced their work during the previous decade, were advertised in several turnpike villages during the 1840s. These two were primarily regional attractions compared to the nation-wide traveler Professor Bronson, who appeared in Geneva and Utica in 1841, in Auburn and even Skaneateles in 1842. Though he advertised as a lecturer, his Utica program for 3 May 1841 placed the major emphasis on recitations. Fourteen were announced, including pieces from plays and poetry and recent orations by such personalities as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. His selections offered nearly the same variety as had Sweet's, but he also offered "a German vocalist," Mr. Christian.²² This variety added spice to his program and probably enticed a larger audience than one which would have gathered for oratory alone. His announced objective was to introduce a new system for vocal training, and he offered practical instruction in the daytime, but he made his money at night, and it was considerable, according to the editor of the Utica Observer:

Prof. Bronson has delivered his lectures and departed--having received it is said in about 30 days, the sum of \$400 dollars or more in this city alone; but during the same time he has been lecturing at Rome, Little Falls and Herkimer. Who is any the wiser from his lectures?

Assuming Bronson earned similar amounts in the other villages he played, he could have totalled \$1600 in thirty days, a not inconsiderable sum.²⁴ The way he earned it was similar to the way the early dancing and singing masters had: he found a center to work from, played there two nights a week, and traveled to the others during the rest of the week.

The next year Bronson acquired a new partner, F.H. Nash, and a manikin, on which he explained the principles of ventriloquism. No doubt he demonstrated this as well in both Auburn and Skaneateles.²⁵ Then he disappeared, probably traveling farther west. In Utica, however, he was followed by an oratorical lecturer, George Le Row, who was not as successful as his predecessor. His first lecture had the misfortune of falling on 16 January 1843, the same night that Mr. Miller and his associates, the Seventh Day Adventists, were packing the 2nd Presbyterian Church. Whether or not as a direct result, only 20 people heard Le Row's "Elocutionary and Ventriloquial Ollos." After what was probably an unsuccessful week, Le Row reduced his price from 25 cents to 12 1/2, but did not advertise again.²⁶

Although Le Row did not pack Mechanics' Hall, two other so-called dramatic lecturers did. James Henry Hackett, on his way to a western tour, stopped in the town in which he had made a small fortune in his grocery business nearly twenty years before. This acknowledged star of the American stage gave Uticans, for one night only, "an Entertainment, consisting of Serious and Comic Readings, Sketches of Charac-

ters, Remarks and Anecdotes, etc., etc." Another star with a program similar to Hackett's toured the area, but when George Handel "Yankee" Hill appeared in Canandaigua and Utica in 1840 he did not advertise as a lecturer. There was no need, as was proved by "the convulsion of the large audience with laughter" at his performance.²⁷

The popularity of men like Hackett and Yankee Hill was one indication that the morally imposed need to call a dramatic reading an oratorical lecture was passing. The format of the reading was similar to its euphemistically named predecessor, usually consisting of a series of short pieces, often bound thematically. The reading of an entire play also became quite popular, especially when the play was written by Shakespeare and read by an accomplished actor or, more often, actress.

A Miss Clarendon was among the first to read a series of short pieces in the area. One of the mainstays of a theatrical company which played both Utica and Cooperstown in early 1842, at the end of their season she took out a large advertisement in Utica's Gazette headed "Dramatic Readings and Celebrated Imitations." She announced herself as from the Park Theatre, New York, and listed her program for the night of 7 March 1842 at Mechanics' Hall. Among her selections she included monologues from Thomas Otway, Shakespeare, and Sheridan Knowles, and interpretive scenes from Othello, in which she read Othello, Desdemona, and Iago, and Romeo and Juliet, in which she played both lovers. The end of her evening was

the most interesting, for she concluded with "Celebrated Imitations of the principal and original characters, as sustained at the Park Theatre, New York, in the new and popular comedy of LONDON ASSURANCE!"²⁸ Miss Clarendon had played Grace Harkaway in the Park production, which had ended its run only a few months past. Her contract had ended before the show did, and she had not been asked to stay. The Spirit of the Times had disliked only Miss Clarendon in the play, and Ireland concurred, relating most of her New York career as follows:

Miss Clarendon made her first appearance on the stage as Mariana, in The Wife on the 17th [April 1841], and as far as an interesting personal appearance was concerned, afforded great satisfaction; but as an actress, her ambition overleaped itself . . . The next season, when cast for Grace Harkaway, in the first performance of 'London Assurance,' the audience so loudly demanded a change that she was withdrawn after a few nights' performance, and another lady substituted.²⁹

Although New Yorkers could not believe her popularity on the road (the Spirit of the Times agreed with the man who had said of her, "Her beauty is beyond praise, her acting beneath criticism."), within two years Miss Clarendon became sole manager of the Pittsburgh theatre.³⁰

Not until the end of the decade did another dramatic reader play the turnpike villages, when in May 1849 Geneva and Utica were honored with the performance of the most famous of this unique species, Fanny Kemble Butler. On a tour to the west, she appeared first in Utica at Mechanics' Hall, where on 2 May she read Antony and Cleopatra to "one of the

largest and altogether the best audience we have ever seen gathered at a public entertainment in this city." On the 18th she read at Geneva's Medical College Lecture Room and on the 21st she was back in Utica reading Hamlet, "much better calculated to please than Anthony and Cleopatra [sic]." ³¹ This editorial comment suggested that though the audience might have been enthralled by the idea of Mrs. Butler, it might have got more Shakespeare than it had bargained for in her first performance. Central New York would see more of Mrs. Butler and of other dramatic readers during the next decade.

Concerts and the Minstrel Show

Concerts were nearly as popular a form of entertainment as lectures. Before the forties, locally generated music dominated the turnpike villages, but in this decade a vast influx of itinerant musicians provided the citizenry with a steady flow of a variety of musical treats, from operatic arias to sentimental ballads to minstrel burlesques, from classical instrumental virtuosi to circus brass bands to Swiss bell ringers.

The most frequent musical itinerants came to town in the form of a family, real or concocted. Upstate New Yorkers saw families named Hutchinson, Baker, and Peake, as well as the Alleghanians, Orpheans, and Apolloneons, and several different Campanologesons. One of the most popular families on the touring circuit were the Hutchinsons, from a farm in

Milford, New Hampshire. They sang ballads of many kinds, but were so popular and respected because they used their songs to further social causes like temperance and abolition. This adherence to the successful formula of a mixture of instruction and entertainment helped them pack the houses of their first New York State tour, in 1844, which took them to Auburn and Utica.³²

Among the -eon and -ian species the Apolloneons held a special interest for audiences in Utica, where they had been trained by James Best, a local music teacher. They were made up in part by the Masters Bullock, George on the violin, Henry on the piano, about whom the editor of the Utica Daily Gazette wrote, "You will never have an Ole Bull [one of the most famous violinists of the day] if you do not foster the Young Bullocks." They were joined by the children of another family, the Masters and Miss Cole, and began giving local concerts in 1845. Of the Coles, sister Annie and brother Delos joined the young Bullocks in late 1846 to become the Apolloneons, by which time they had already appeared in Albany, New York and Boston. By the late forties they were making tours of the nation.³³

Campanology is the study of the casting or ringing of bells. By the mid-forties most Americans who were interested could have heard the tintinnabulation of several different families called Campanologians, or Bell Ringers. So many groups of that name visited the turnpike villages, most claiming to be the "original" Swiss Bell Ringers, that it was difficult to tell them apart. One group, consisting of seven

brothers ringing 42 bells, visited Utica, Auburn, and Canandaigua in May 1845. Apparently they were not the real item and were denounced by the "genuine" group, which was performing at the same time in Cleveland. The Utica paper called their concert extraordinary, but "not good music, and no practice can make it so, unless their instruments were better in tune than they were last evening." The Canandaigua paper was not so kind. After spoofing the group in a parody of their advertisement, titled "Tinpanologian Minstrels," the editor called their whole performance "a gross and palpable humbug."³⁴ This poor first impression did not stop many other bell ringing brothers and sisters from visiting the area even more frequently in the 1850s. By 1849 another group, the Germania Campanologians, wisely chose to intersperse the bell ringing, "which, like other sweets, cloy by too long continuance," with instrumental music.³⁵

Individual vocalists and instrumentalists, including some at the very top of their profession, visited the area villages in increasing numbers during the decade. A Mr. Dempster was a phenomenally successful balladeer. His best known piece was his own musical adaptation of Tennyson's "The May Queen," which he sang at each of the stops on his first tour of Central New York in late 1845. Dempster visited Utica, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua that year and returned at least yearly throughout the decade.³⁶ More frequent were visits by operatic or instrumental virtuosos, like the already mentioned Ole Bull, Carl Reisinger, another violinist, and

Madame Anna Bishop, one of the most famous vocalists of the day. Among the most frequent visitors in the late forties were Mr. Manvers, tenor from the "first" London theatres, and Miss Eliza Brienti. They traveled as a team performing "Operatic Soirees," introducing selections from Donizetti's The Child of the Regiment [sic] at a Utica concert on 1 August 1849. Although most of their area concerts were held in Utica, they traveled well off the railroad bed, playing Cooperstown and Cherry Valley later that summer.³⁷

Though concerts proliferated and were almost universally accepted as a form of entertainment by civic and moral authorities, they did not completely escape legal realities and moral censure. Auburn's Board of Trustees imposed a license on concerts in late 1844. Costing between \$10 and \$25, the license placed itinerant concerts in the same category as exhibitions and theatricals which had long been taxed. The ordinance imposing it attempted to close up any gaps in types of entertainment subject to the fee by including "feats or acts of Ventriloquism for pay or money" with musicals.³⁸

Along with legal sanctions there was some moral criticism of concerts, but it was not much more effective than Lyman Eddy's diary entry in the 1820s. In fact the lack of printed aspersions cast upon the itinerant musicians clearly showed the disparity of treatment between concerts and theatricals. Sacred music concerts were certainly encouraged in the press, and one audience at the end of such an entertainment actually made a resolution that concerts of

sacred music "had much stronger claims upon the patronage of a Christian community than that of a purely secular character."³⁹ In spite of measures like this one to encourage sacred over secular, the hordes of musical itinerants continued to stream steadily into the villages along the turnpike.

One reason for attempts at legal and moral regulation of music was the advent of the minstrel show. White men in blackface had been playing Negro characters since before the American Revolution, and songs like "Zip Coon" and "jumping Jim Crow" had been popular since 1827, but it was in the mid-1840s that the minstrel show acquired a form and swept the nation.⁴⁰ One of the earliest troupes of minstrels to visit the villages along the turnpikes came as part of Rockwell and Stone's Circus in 1843, but they were hardly the major attraction, being billed under Mynheer Leyden, the strong man.⁴¹ Burtis's Virginia Minstrels, on the other hand, were a major hit, crowding Utica's Mechanics' Hall for a week in June 1844. Later that summer a group of apparently political minstrels were the entertainment for the mass Whig Rally held in Utica to help Henry Clay's election to the presidency. In October 1844 they played Utica again, this time at Mechanics' Hall in a program "consisting of Whig and Sentimental songs."⁴² Winslow's Plantation Warblers came next, playing both Cooperstown and Utica in December 1844 and January 1845. They were a huge success in Cooperstown, holding forth in that small village for 13 nights, but when it was discovered

they had left without paying a \$5.00 printing bill, they were denounced as "worthless scamps." The unpaid bill did not affect their New Year performances in Utica;⁴³ indeed, it seemed that nothing could have stopped the steady flow of minstrelsy into Central New York.

Though they were usually billed as concerts, more than just music was performed at minstrel shows. Usually divided into two sections, the first part of the entertainment featured a line-up of minstrels with Mr. Tambo at one end, Mr. Bones at the other, in a collection of songs. The second part of the evening featured olio performances--songs, dances, jokes and skits--each of which "strived to be a highlight of the show."⁴⁴ During the olio, short, comic playlets and burlesques of plays, operas, and other entertainment were often introduced. Burtis's Minstrels had advertised the "laughable afterpiece" of The German Barber as part of their program, and the Sable Minstrels, performing in Utica in 1848, announced "the amusing Ethiopian tragedy, Hamlet's Black Ghost."⁴⁵

Like the minstrel show, other announced "concerts" were actually evenings of variety entertainment. The Polish Brothers fell into this category, as did the unique evening with the Shaker Family. The Polish Brothers advertised comic songs written by H.P. Grattan, also known as Harry Plunkett, who had a very successful stage career which included star turns and management in a few turnpike villages. His partner, Sam Lathrop, was announced to appear as a clown and to tell Yankee stories, and a Mrs. Thrift appeared as "the Highland

Lassie" before giving "a lecture and philosophical experiments in natural magic." Other acts on their bill at Utica in 1845 included Mr. S. Miller, late of Welch's Circus, and Chang Fong, Chinese Juggler.⁴⁶

The concert given by the Shakers at Utica's Mechanics' Hall, 21 December 1846, consisted of singing, dancing, and gyrations. The four people involved were actually ex-Shakers, having seceded from the religious sect in Gloucester, Maine, and the highlight of the evening was surely not the singing, but:

MISS L.A. PALMER

AS THE MIRACULOUS SHAKER TETOTUM

This young lady, whose grace and beauty are of uncommon fascination, and whose long experience as a Shaker, united with unheard of bodily powers, renders her a general wonder, will execute

ASTOUNDING SHAKER GYRATIONS

Eclipsing in agility, grace, muscular ability, and wonder, the divine Fanny herself. Through the force of long habit, and being peculiarly endowed, she can, without dizziness or cessation, like a top

Whirl Round 1,500 Times!!!

Nothing in this performance can offend the taste of refinement or the eye of modesty.

The Shakers were so successful they were held over until 2 January 1847 and came back in October of that year for another run.⁴⁷

Museum Pieces

With oddities like the Shakers available for exhibit it was little wonder that museum entertainment thrived between 1840 and 1850. As in the last decade, top entertainers seen in New York at places like Barnum's American and Peale's Museums toured the turnpike villages in an incredible variety of amusements. Magicians and ventriloquists; giants, midgets, and other human oddities; panorama and other picture shows all played to crowded village halls. Utica, positioned strategically on both rail and canal routes, hosted the widest variety and largest numbers of attractions at Colonel Comfort Butler's Utica Museum or Mechanics' Hall. The other villages saw much less of this kind of activity.

There were very few surprises in types of museum entertainments during the 1840s. New names merely replaced some of the older ones in the same lines of entertainment. Valentine was still very popular, but joining him in the line of droll humor was a Mr. Winchell, who appeared at Utica throughout the decade, but made only one advertised appearance in the other villages, visiting Geneva in 1847.⁴⁸ Magicians crowded Utica including, with the already mentioned Adrien (or Adrient, or Addrent) and Signor Blitz, Mr. Harrington, ventriloquist and magician, Monsieur Bird, "Wizzard of the East," Leopold and Alberti's Magic Show, Wyman, wizard and ventriloquist, and Young Alexander.⁴⁹ Natural curiosities, both animal (including dog exhibitions, a "mammoth"

horse, a "mammoth" crocodile, and a "mammoth" hog) and human (the Wild Boy of the Woods, a "mammoth" youth, a giant boy, a giant girl, and at the other end of the scale, the first appearances of Tom Thumb) continued to be very popular on the circuit.⁵⁰

The most popular of the human oddities was certainly Tom Thumb, who visited Utica throughout the decade. Also visiting Auburn once and Geneva twice, he was one of the attractions who definitely came by rail, arriving or departing "in the cars."⁵¹ Another unique human to visit the area was neither too large nor too small, only different. Affong Moy came from the Orient, and although she sang Chinese songs, people came to her levees to see her native costume, to hear her speak in Chinese, and to watch her eat with chopsticks.⁵²

Painting exhibitions, panoramas and dioramas increased on the tour circuit. The most famous single painting exhibited in the area was Titian's "Venus," displayed in Utica in 1846. Benjamin West's "Christ Healing the Sick" and Rembrandt Peale's "The Court of Death" were shown in Utica as well; the West was also advertised in Auburn, the Peale in Geneva. Unfortunately the Geneva editor confused his Rembrandts, mistaking Peale for van Rijn.⁵³ A less famous painting was displayed at the Utica Museum in 1841, but it was quite popular because of its timeliness. It depicted McCleod, a famous criminal of the day, in prison, and was hung at the museum even before the end of his trial, which was currently taking place in Utica.⁵⁴

Relatively few paintings were displayed compared to the number of panoramas and dioramas which were shown almost exclusively in Utica. The dioramas exhibited in Mechanics' Hall in 1842 were state of the art, "representing the double effects of day and night" in such scenes as the crumbling of a mountain, a midnight mass, and Venice, with its carnival after dark. The editor of the Utica Daily Gazette explained the method by which this phenomenon occurred: "By modifying the lights that stream upon the picture, we have two entirely distinct representations upon the same canvass." Despite this accurate description of the process, the mass of visitors surely found the dioramas as they were advertised: "Magical Pictures."⁵⁵ And the visitor to such an exhibit usually got more than dissolving views for his 25 cents. An editor's comments on a diorama display at Utica in 1841 included criticism of the musical elements of the exhibition: "Mr. Hubbard certainly plays the violin well, and he ought to play more. If Master Hooten would throw more activity into his songs they would have a much better effect."⁵⁶

Other popular themes for panoramas and diorams included biblical subjects, famous battles, and exotic places. "The Conflagration of Moscow" was exhibited in 1849, along with a magic show, and the most popular panoramas of the decade were Parker's representations of Milton's Paradise Lost, shown in Utica in both 1844 and 1845.⁵⁷ Part of the reason for the immense popularity of these moving picture shows was that they combined entertainment with two kinds of

instruction: not only did they depict educational subjects, but they presented them using state of the art methods.

At the primitive end of the panoramic scale was the exhibition of George Mastin, a man from near Auburn who had 14 paintings on historical, biblical, and topical themes done by a good sign painter, and toured the rural areas using only handbills as advertisements. He displayed the paintings, placing one behind the other, and unrolling each one as he gave his spiel about it. This technique made for a sort of crude panoramic effect, or at least sufficed for one in the eyes of his audiences, most of whom had only vaguely heard about the magical qualities of a diorama. Mastin's display was probably especially effective in a series of several paintings depicting the murder, in 1846 at Auburn, of a white family by a black man. Not only did Mastin's technique work well as he unveiled one piece of the suspenseful story after another, but, like the painting of the criminal in the Utica Museum, the dramatization of a recent actual event increased the interest. If that was not enough, Mastin also provided music and a phrenology lecture in his program, which might have been as exciting to his rural audiences as the most sophisticated dioramas of the day were to Utica viewers.⁵⁸

The circus, which was as yet usually unable to use the railroads, was most democratic form of itinerant entertainment in the 1840s, visiting each of the smaller villages with the same frequency that it visited Utica. In several years during the decade at least three circuses each summer passed

through the villages of Geneva, Auburn, and Cooperstown as well as Utica. The shows vied with each other, each setting out to prove it was bigger and better than the others. Some continued to exploit the moral issue, Raymond and Waring's "Immense Menagerie" devoting four long paragraphs to this theme, an excerpt from which follows:

In the beginning of the world, as we are taught by the Holy Scriptures, God said unto man--"And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I surrender to thee control."

The reason for the circus, this advertisement argued, was to acquaint man with those animal subjects over which he had dominion, and to remind him of his moral responsibility. The ad ended by warning that any nation without its "Natural Historical Institute . . . is regarded as on that backward course that leads, in the end, to semi-barbaric ignorance and folly."⁵⁹

This lengthy use of the Bible to defend the need for the circus was not the first moral tack taken by Raymond and Waring during the forties. The year before, in their advertisement for their Auburn engagement, a lengthy paragraph was included which explained that **NO FEMALES** would be connected in any way with their exhibition. Why? "It was never ordained by nature that woman should degrade the reputation of her sex by a display of gymnastic feats, which are not calculated for any other than the stalwart man."⁶⁰

Although most of the other circus advertisements

included a brief clause about the morality of the entertainment, none were nearly as unctious or paranoid as Raymond and Waring. Most concentrated instead on the extent of their pavilions, the size of their corps, or the muscles of their strongman. Rockwell, Stone & Turner, in an advertisement for their 1842 Utica engagement, actually issued a challenge to any other company in America to match their Monsieur Paul in strength and skill, or their equestrian Mr. Stone in feats of horsemanship, and even their Bugle Band in musical magnificence.⁶¹ In the 29 May 1847 issue of the Geneva Gazette, three different circus ads were placed side by side. Their competitive advertising yielded information on their pavilions. Welch and Delevan boasted:

The great water proof pavillion is entirely new, and appropriately decorated and furnished, with carpeted seats for the accomodation of three thousand spectators.

Spaulding's North American Circus ad was more economical:

The Leviathon
DOUBLE WATER PROOF PAVILION
Seating 4000 Persons with unparalleled Comfort.

Howe and Company concentrated on its ability to light the pavilion by a special wagon,

on which is fitted up a Furnace and Gasometer pipes, and other apparatus, (at an enormous expense) for lighting this extensive establishment, which will be lighted more brilliantly than the mid-summer sun, by the best of Gas, flowing from two hundred burners. This novel sight can only be seen at Howe's & Co.'s United States Circus.⁶²

The circus most interesting to the theatrical historian was S.H. Nichols's Victory Arena and Great Western Circus. In 1840 it had been primarily an equestrian show, also featuring variety acts. By 1842 Nichols had changed his advertisement:

In addition to his former Equestrian Company, it is now united with the Stage Department, which will enable him to produce a new entertainment which surpasses in splendor and magnificence any thing ever attempted, either by himself or others in this country.⁶³

Nichols announced no specific plays or farces, and included no names of the dramatis personae in his advertisements, but this attempt at innovation in a traveling circus was a bold step, especially in part of the country which had never been overly fond of theatrical entertainment. Perhaps it did not succeed. Nichols's circus next appeared in 1844 at Utica, where its advertisement read more like his 1840 tour, before he had attempted a theatrical entertainment.⁶⁴

Although many circuses capitalized on the popularity of the minstrel show by featuring variations on the Ethiopian Opera theme, only one other circus advertised dramatic entertainment as part of its show. This was Welch, Delavan, and Nathan's Circus, which visited Utica and Geneva in 1849. Included in the events of performance were farces, comic burlettas, and interludes, but which pieces they were, or who performed them was not specified.⁶⁵

Theatrical Activity

In spite of moral strictures against it, the theatre had a prolific, if topsy-turvy, history in the region between 1840 and 1850. As with almost every other entertainment form except the circus, most of the activity was centered in Utica, with a few companies also noted in Auburn, Geneva, and Cooperstown. There were three distinct phases to the activity. In the first few years of the decade Auburn was at least busy as Utica, perhaps as a carryover from its success as a theatrical town at the end of the thirties. In the middle years of the decade nearly all the troupes that attempted to play Central New York were temperance drama companies, which performed exclusively instructive melodramas on the evils of strong drink. By 1847, however, theatre of a more entertaining character began to exhibit again in Utica, and continued well into the fifties.

Throughout the 1840s the moral battle against theatre was still at full pitch, but a few intrepid managers brought theatrical companies to several turnpike villages and managed relatively long engagements in Auburn and Utica. In May 1840 the theatrical corps of Messrs. J.H. Powell and G. Hoffman visited Auburn, announcing the first night of an engagement at the theatre there. The site was probably not a new building built specifically for the purpose; instead, the Auburn Museum, or more likely the Western Exchange, each of which had halls which had already been used for the purpose, served

as the company's "theatre." The company opened on 6 May with the "splendid Melo-Drama" of The White Phantom; or, La Sombambula, followed by Kenney's Raising the Wind. The company's make-up was similar to earlier touring troupes, including the managers, their wives, and three supporting players, Messrs. Hastings, Clifford, and Freeland.⁶⁶ Their stay was probably short, the only other indication of their engagement the editorial in the next week's Cayuga Patriot reminding the citizens of Auburn to see "Yankee" Hill at the theatre. He had apparently consented to play for a few nights with the troupe, about which was said, "There are also several good performers in the regular company."⁶⁷

Some time after the Auburn engagement the managers split, each forming a company of his own and reappearing in the area in 1841. Both companies played Cooperstown early that year, Hoffman in January, Powell in March; Hoffman appeared there again in December, then played Utica in February 1842. Two different Cooperstown papers commented on Hoffman's stay at the Eagle Tavern in that village, which began on 25 January 1841 and apparently lasted two weeks--successful for the company, satisfactory for the audience. He was next noted on 5 March, playing Little Falls.⁶⁸

Powell's company entered Cooperstown in late March, playing from 22 March to 3 April with a company that included the manager and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Rice, Messrs. Warren, Lathrop, and other unnamed supporting players. The only portion of their repertoire listed was their performance on Saturday 27 March, when they gave The Hunter of the Alps by

William Dimond, The Two Gregories by T.J. Dibdin, and The Haunted House.⁶⁹ The company had friends in the editors of the Otsego Republican and the Castigator, both of whom were highly complimentary to their work, the latter journal calling them without hesitation "the best company that has ever appeared in this place." The editor of the Republican wrote a brief essay on the hardships of the tour, showing an unusual appreciation of one of the major problems confronting any ante-bellum itinerant theatrical manager: the difficulty of collecting a group of

good Actors who have acquired a practical knowledge of the profession, because the patronage bestowed will not warrant the offering of inducements sufficient for such actors to leave the large Theatres, yet all the difficulties seem to have been surmounted by the manager, and consequently our citizens have an opportunity to witness the performance of first rate actors from the different cities.⁷⁰

Though the editor assumed that Powell had overcome his difficulties, the troupe disappeared until 1848, when it surfaced in Rochester with several changes in personnel. Before his tours to the area, Powell acted in New York City from 1836 to 1838, during which time he played Jeremy Diddler in Raising the Wind at the National; he was also in the company at the New Olympic.⁷¹

Hoffman, though unmentioned by any of the theatrical chroniclers of the day, seemed the more tenacious of the two men, returning to Cooperstown's Otsego Hotel for two weeks in December 1841. During his engagement the helpful editor of

the Otsego Republican called the company a great favorite, and added, "although their houses have not been uniformly so full this year as last, the acting has been decidedly superior."⁷² That comment was as indicative of the problems of the tour as the same editor's earlier remarks on the subject. Hoffman had improved the quality of his company in hopes of bigger houses and more income. He was rewarded for his pains by smaller houses and smaller profits. Cooperstown audiences had apparently become saturated with theatre earlier in the year; they would not have another chance to see it until 1847. Hoffman himself did not return, moving instead to potentially larger houses and ticket sales in Utica.

Hoffman's troupe was not heralded in Utica. He was ignored by the Observer altogether, and the Daily Gazette made no mention of his arrival, nor did he did advertise his presence at the Museum Saloon until he offered the profits on 19 February 1842 to benefit the Washington Temperance Society. In the late twenties a similar organization had turned down a similar offer by manager H.A. Williams; perhaps the moral atmosphere had lightened slightly. Three pieces were on the evening's bill: Seven Clerks; or, the Innocent Condemned, followed by The Alpine Maid, and concluding with The Bandit Chief, written by the manager himself. The featured players were Miss Clarendon, introduced earlier in the chapter in her dramatic imitations from London Assurance, and a Mr. Fenner. Aside from Hoffman and his wife, only a few other company members were noted: a Mr. Bowman, a Mr. Ballard, a Mr. Signourney; a Mr. Newton, who sang as well as acted; and a Mr.

Chesebrough, who would frequently re-appear in the area. The only other advertisement was for Hoffman's benefit, Friday 25 February. On that occasion, at which "four Gentlemen of this city" as well as Miss Clarendon and Fenner had volunteered to appear, Hoffman offered The Dumb Girl of Genoa, T. Knight's The Turnpike Gate, and J.R. Planche's Loan of a Lover.⁷³ After this the company disappeared from the records of the villages along the turnpikes.

The company which had preceded Hoffman into Utica was managed by Edwin Dean, already familiar in the area from his efforts in the 1830s. He had managed the Buffalo theatre in the interim, then returned to Central New York in 1841, playing Auburn in January and February with a short trip to Syracuse in between; heading next to Seneca Falls and possibly other villages before spending nearly a month in Utica early that summer; coming back again to Auburn immediately for a short run before playing a brief engagement in Syracuse; then performing a full fall and winter season in Rochester.⁷⁴ This itinerary showed that the troupe was popular and relatively successful, able as it was to play exclusively in the area for well over a year. It also indicated that Dean was serious about setting up a permanent home in the area, perhaps using Rochester as a base, with regular tours to the cities and villages mentioned above. The timing was not right, however, and Dean left Rochester in spring 1842 returning only as a guest star, never again as a manager.⁷⁵

Dean's first advertisement in Auburn was a postpone-

ment, but his tone was confident, not apologetic. The extensive preparation of the Auburn Theatre was the reason for the delay, and on 6 January 1841 the audience would see the results, including

a superior company, entire new and splendid scenery, painted during the past season, expressly for this establishment, by the late Scenic artist of the National Theatre, New York. Artists and Mechanics, have been for some time employed in clearing and thoroughly decorating the interior, which for elegance and comfort, will not be found surpassed by any Theatre in the State. In addition to the entire new stock of scenery, the wardrobe and stage appointments, will be found complete in every department, and no effort wanting on the part of the Manager, to render the Auburn Theatre, an entertaining and intellectual source of Winter Amusement.⁷⁶

Dean's season opened ambitiously, with Othello; or, the Noble Moor followed by The Two Gregories; or, John Bull in France, by T.J. Dibdin, and his fare remained impressive, with at least two other Shakespeares, Macbeth and Hamlet, and a three night run of The Jewess; or, the Council of Constance, adapted from Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe, with new sets and costumes. The editor of the Cayuga Patriot was impressed enough to call Dean's players "decidedly the best company that has ever visited our village." However he added on what might have been a slightly ominous note, "and we hope its patronage may equal its merits."⁷⁷ No other indications of audience size were made during the run, but the tone taken here implied that there might be room for a few more in the newly redecorated theatre.

Dean and company left for Syracuse about 20 January, and

on 10 February they were back in Auburn, where they gave their audience another scenic treat, The Flying Dutchman; or, the Phantom Ship, complete with "New and Magnificent Scenery and Machines." This ran for two nights, preceded each evening by a "Laughable Burletta." A lengthy list of company members showed up in the program in the form of the cast list for the new spectacle. They included Messrs. Ellis, Clarke, Nichols, Dougherty, and Beebe in supporting roles. The mainstays of the troupe were the manager and his wife, the former Julia Drake; the W.S. Forrests, who had also appeared in the area with the Deans in the thirties; Mrs. Kore, the leading lady; and Mr. Harrison, leading man, and, as a letter to the editor from "Thespis" indicated, "the presiding genius of the company."⁷⁸

The Dean season ended on 20 February, and the manager toured Seneca Falls and probably other villages before arriving in Utica in late May. A communication in the Utica Observer on 1 June 1841, signed by "P.," carefully complimented the company as "certainly equal to what I have often seen in the theatres of our large cities," and recommended it to "those who patronize such amusements and consider them instructive."⁷⁹ The following week's paper announced that Mr. Dean's company had succeeded in crowding Mechanics' Hall with fashionable audiences for the past week, partially because he had engaged "the most brilliant stars in the theatrical firmament."

Dean had apparently lost the services of Harrison, but replaced him with Charles Kemble Mason, and whereas Mrs. Kore

was still with the company the star roles were taken by a Mrs. McClure. While their stars shone not as bright as the writer might have believed, both Mrs. McClure and Mr. Mason had considerable careers in New York, she having played Lady Macbeth to J.R. Scott's Scottish King at the Bowery, he best known for his portrayal of and physical resemblance to Napoleon in The Battle of Waterloo at the Bowery Circus. Both had been in the company at the National Theatre just prior to their Utica engagement. Odell characterized Mason as a capable actor, but one who never shone: "some Kembles, I suppose, had to be a little less than first rate. This one never attained the popularity of his brother, the handsome, gentlemanly John."⁸⁰

The company played until 22 June in Utica, then went back to Auburn for nine days, and on to Syracuse again before settling in Rochester for the entire 1841-1842 season. Unfortunately for Dean it was too early for such a lengthy stay, especially when in the last months he had to deal with another huge revival conducted by Charles G. Finney in Rochester. Support for his theatre buckled, and he was forced to leave the area he had so carefully cultivated.⁸¹

More than a year passed before another theatrical company ventured into Utica, but when it came, it entered in style. Mr. A.J. Scott offered Uticans a season of dramas in the "neat, elegant and comfortable" Mechanics' Hall, played by "a well-disciplined and talented Company of Performers from the New York and Philadelphia Theatres." He took a few

paragraphs to introduce the scenic artist (P. Grain of the Park Theatre), the act-drop curtain (which depicted a fountain in the park of New York City), the costumer (unnamed, but "excellent"), and the stage manager (George Goodenow from the Chatham theatre, soon replaced by J.M. Brandon). He advertised every day, and provided a complete cast list for each program, as well as the following statement: "Disorderly persons will not be permitted to remain in the house on any pretense.--Perfect order may be relied on."⁸²

Scott was not an actor, at least he was listed in none of the bills. Leads were played by C.J. Smith and a Miss Harrison. Others in the acting company included Messrs. Brandon, Ollier, Conover, Goodenow, Mathews, Williams, Marsh, and Drew; and Mrs. Monell, and Miss Delshire. In addition to the regular company Scott brought in Josh Silsbee who played Yankee roles for two nights, and Mrs. Anderson of the Bowery Theatre, who played only the penultimate night of the season. The first four nights consisted of serious melodramas like The Stranger and Damon and Pythias, followed, of course, by farces; Silsbee took over next in an assortment of Yankee plays including Yankee Land and The Wool Pedlar; In the second week more serious plays were presented, among which were featured Othello and Luke the Laborer, and Mrs. Anderson appeared in The Iron Chest.⁸³

The editor of the Utica Daily Gazette gave the company a rather cold welcome: "Our readers are referred to the advertisement of a Theatrical Company from the Eastern and Southern Theatres, who commence their performances at Mecha-

nics' Hall this evening." His next notice was somewhat warmer: "The company have thus far acquitted themselves with great credit. The scenery, dresses, etc., are appropriate and in the first style." Miss Harrison's performances impressed him, and he grew even more enthusiastic at the engagement of Silsbee. By the advent of the second week he admitted that the company "have made quite a sensation in town; even the Mechanics' Hall, though the largest room in the city, was found inadequate to hold the numbers who gathered to witness the beautiful Miss Harrison." By Smith's benefit he began to exclaim. "He deserves a bumper!" And on the occasion of the last night and Scott's benefit he called it "the greatest bill ever offered in Utica."⁸⁴

Temperance Drama

In spite of the crowded houses and the editor's favorable response to the Scott troupe, for the next few years the companies that played Utica offered a specialized, highly moral sort of drama, of which even Charles Finney would have approved: temperance drama. Much as the medieval Catholic Church, which had condemned the secular drama, used liturgical plays to educate the masses of Europe in the Christian faith, so had the forces of temperance found in the theatre, which they had roundly chastised as one of Satan's houses, an excellent forum from which to spread the word about the excesses of alcohol. Arguably the most famous temperance melodrama of the era was The Drunkard; or, the Fal-

len Saved, written in 1844 by W.H. Smith for production in his Boston Museum, where it enjoyed a spectacular 100 performances.⁸⁵

Whereas Massachusetts could claim the most popular of the temperance plays, its neighbor New Hampshire had beaten it to the punch. Dr. D.G. Robinson and his associates from that state were touring their "Moral and Attractive Exhibition of The Reformed Drunkard," written by Robinson, at least a year before, and as early as September 1843 they presented it at Utica's Mechanics' Hall. An outline of the exhibition was printed in the Utica Daily Gazette of 19 September 1843, revealing a play in eleven scenes broken into three acts, depicting the downward course of Charles Freeman after he takes to drink, and, in the last scene, his reformation as he lectures at a Temperance meeting. It was a success morally and artistically, according to the editor: "Aside from the strong and beneficial impression it leaves upon the mind, there is much talent displayed in the composition and the acting."⁸⁶

More light was shed on the company in a long communication to the Gazette of 26 September by "X.," who seemed to be the closest thing to a drama correspondent for the paper. In a letter entitled "The Moral Drama," intended primarily to praise a worthy effort, the writer also revealed the nature of the audience, the structure of the evening, the company's size, and some of its problems. Of the audience, "X." wrote "It [the play] has been attended for seven or eight successive evenings by an increasing number of respectable and

attentive audiences; composed principally of the middle order and the younger classes of our citizens." Apparently each evening was begun by an address from Dr. Robinson, "in a forcible, clear and correct style of chaste oratory;" the play followed. Robinson played the lead, but no other actors' names were listed, possibly not even in the handbills, as was implied in the correspondent's praise for Robinson's acting, as well as for the character of "Tom, the very clever wag, by ____." Apparently there were funny scenes, but all mirth was at the expense of the drunkard and was outweighed by the many scenes of "heartbreaking sorrow." The writing seemed entirely natural to the writer; in fact, it was apparent to him that the author of the piece had "in other days 'been there himself to see."⁸⁷

In spite of the morality and popularity of the piece, the troupe, consisting of six men and two women, had fallen on hard times. Whereas Dean and Hoffman had both sold tickets for as much as 50 cents, Robinson's exhibition cost only 12 1/2 cents, with this result:

so large have been their expenses for board, room rent, scenery etc. that the amount received on the small entrance fee of one shilling, has been but barely sufficient to defray their current expenses, and although we are well assured that their object is not to make money by this business, yet they ought certainly to receive enough, not only to defray their actual expenses, but to pay them something for their time and labor which has been for some time exclusively devoted to it.⁸⁸

The correspondent suggested that somehow they should be given

more, perhaps via collection by concerned citizens. Whether or not they were given extra money was never recorded, but they extended their run, which was to have ended 23 September, until at least the 28th, and one of their extra performances was to benefit the local Temperance society.

The Robinson troupe was active for two years in the area, although they did not stay in Central New York exclusively during that time. Their next recorded performances were in Rochester in January and February 1844, and they returned to Utica that summer. Their first performance was 29 August 1844, at which they played a new Temperance drama called Fashion and Folly, presumably also written by Robinson. They featured "a new and splendid set of scenery," and still charged only 12 1/2 cents for admission.⁸⁹ Robinson was back at Utica in July 1845 and moved from there to Syracuse. For his last recorded engagement in Central New York he presented in rotating repertory The Victim and The First Glass, at a place where he could reach vast numbers of people: the State Fair, held in September 1845 at Utica.⁹⁰

At their engagement in Utica during July 1845 the company presented Dr. Robinson's latest effort, The Victim; or, the Cup of Woe to "large and fashionable houses." Again they featured new and splendid scenery "so much admired in Boston and the eastern cities" (an indication of the scope of their tours), and they finally raised their price to 25 cents. This might have been at the insistence of Colonel Butler, at whose museum they were performing, and who always charged that fee as standard admission to all the features of

his house; but they might finally have succumbed to the pressures of their expense account. During their visit they premiered Robinson's most recent work, The First Glass; or, the Gambler's Drama, a play in five acts, "performed for the first time on any stage" for the entire week beginning Monday, 4 August.⁹¹

Another "first" for the citizens of Utica during the summer of 1845, and for Dr. Robinson, at least in any of the turnpike villages, was the appearance of another Temperance drama company at the same time the Robinson troupe was performing. Actually, the other company, W.J. Whitney's New York State Temperance Dramatic Company, had preceded Robinson into town, having played the Museum from 30 June through 4 July. Whitney offered a series of plays, including what seemed to be a version of the famous Smith piece, according to his advertisement: "the Drama of Edward Middleton from The Drunkard by Prof. Ingran, [sic] dramatised by Wm. Scoville and performed at the Boston Museum more than 100 nights." Other pieces advertised were The Drunkard's Warning; or, the Fallen Saved and George Middleton; or, the Test of Affection.⁹² Whitney might have stayed in Utica, but it is more likely that he played other villages and came back with a new partner named Strong, either just before or just after Dr. Robinson's first performance on 22 July. That day's Gazette announced

Messrs. Strong and Whitney at Mechanics' Hall and Dr. Robinson at the Museum Saloon, with their respective dramatic corps, will on this

and several succeeding evenings, perform pieces illustrative of the baneful effects of intemperance, and the blessings of temperance.⁹³

Although the next advertisement from Whitney came on 24 July, announcing his last performance in Utica that evening, his company might have stayed in Utica as long as 4 August, when Dr. Robinson's ad for the premiere of The First Glass included this reminder: "As some have the impression that this [his new play] is to be represented at Mechanics' Hall, Dr. R. would inform the public that such is not the fact." Robinson also found it necessary to advertise his company as the "Original Temperance Dramatists" to further differentiate himself from the rival troupe.⁹⁴

Although the simultaneous appearance of two temperance theatrical troupes in one city might have marked the high water point for this unique genre in the villages along the turnpike, other temperance companies toured the area between 1846 and 1848. The next to visit Utica was Allen and Bridges' Temperance Dramatic Company, at the recently enlarged Museum from 4 to 11 July 1846. They too billed themselves as the "original" temperance company, claiming to have been in operation "for four years, during which period it [the company] has visited fourteen States in the Union." Apparently they were most popular during their stay. They played Syracuse later that summer and Geneva that November, where they billed themselves as the Western Temperance Company and played Edward Middleton; or, the Husband's Return for at least two nights. They advertised this piece as the one, written by

J.H. Ingraham, Esq., that had played Boston for over 100 successive nights.⁹⁵

Another troupe billing themselves as the Western Temperance Dramatic Company arrived in Utica shortly after Allen and Bridges left in the summer of 1846. This company offered temperance with a twist, presenting not only the usual dramas of the repentant drunkard, but also "Comedy, Farce and Burletta." They opened at the Museum on 26 August, but their first advertised bill was announced on Saturday the 29th: Ghost Story, David Garrick's The Country Girl, and The Yankee Duellist. On 31 August they announced that they would play three more nights. This pleased the editor who wrote not a word about temperance in his comments, only about "the opportunity of witnessing some very good acting." He went on carefully to reveal the aim of the company:

It may not be amiss to state that this company do not confine themselves to Temperance plays, but by the introduction of comedies afford an attraction to all who are fond of theatrical entertainment.⁹⁶

The bill that night consisted of The Wile, "a Temperance Drama, and a comic afterpiece." The company extended for a second time to capitalize on the crowds which would be attending Wise's balloon ascent on 3 September. Their bill for that day was played before and after the ascent, and consisted of Planché's Loan of a Lover, The Yankee Duellist, The Country Girl, and Mr. and Mrs. Jones.⁹⁷

The Western Temperance company was the first in the area

to advertise its players, who included Mr. and Mrs. Whitney, Messrs. Myers, Griffiths, Dinneford, and the Houghs, (Mr., Mrs., and Master). Hough was the manager, presumably one of the brothers Hough who would manage companies in the area in the early fifties. The editor called this company "superior" and singled out the acting of Mr. and Mrs. Hough, who "would do credit to any stage."⁹⁸

After the tour of Hough's company very little temperance drama was seen in the turnpike villages during the rest of the decade. Allen and Bridges made one more tour, visiting Utica in March 1847, and in 1848 J.B. Strong's company billed themselves as the "Temperance Dramatic Company" for the first night of their Utica engagement, then changed the title to "Moral Dramatic Company."⁹⁹

Potter's Melodeon

The climate appeared to be changing by 1847, when legitimate theatrical companies began to play longer seasons and to bring bigger stars to the area. Utica was the primary target of the larger companies which began to move into the area in the late forties. In fact, a virtual theatrical explosion occurred there in 1847, when for the first time nearly an entire year of theatre was presented under the management of one man, named John Sharp Potter. He now came back to the area he had played in the mid-thirties, this time as manager of his own company, having acquired a reputation as an inveterate itinerant manager and builder of theatres.

By the time he entered Utica, in February 1847, he had played engagements in Rochester, Syracuse, and Auburn.¹⁰⁰ He seemed to find a better working atmosphere in Utica, settling in for a stay that lasted, excepting one side trip, until mid-April. This amounted to a full spring season in the city, and it was successful enough that he came back in the fall and played from late September to early January. He then disappeared from the area, heading eventually to the new audiences of gold-rush California.

His entry into Utica was confident, friendly to the moral opposition, though never apologetic, and professional. He transformed Mechanics' Hall into a "Melodeon," at which his company of "Harmonians" would apparently make beautiful music together. The term Melodeon was most familiar as an early version of the American organ, but it also meant "music hall."¹⁰¹ Perhaps the manager was attempting to give an aura of class to Mechanics' Hall, implying that the company was a well-tuned instrument, ready to play for the pleasure of Utican audiences. At the same time, he offered a sop to local moralists, defining his hall as a place for variety, including "talented and scientific musicians," and also offering, as on its opening night, "a sound and beautiful Moral Lecture in Five Parts, entitled The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and Repentance."¹⁰²

Of course, it was not a lecture; it was a play, and one with which Uticans were familiar. In using the term "Moral Lecture" instead of "Play," Potter might seem to have taken a giant step backward to the days when America's early acting

troupes, such as David Douglass's American Company, were often forced to disguise their performances, or at least the handbills and newspaper ads which announced them, in the form of lectures on moral issues. Othello, for example, had been presented in mid-eighteenth century Boston as a lecture in five parts on the subject of jealousy.¹⁰³ It is more likely that the manager, who had gained great experience in the travels and managements since his last visit to the turnpike villages, had acquired a good idea of how best to introduce his company to villages often filled with those forces which feared and opposed the theatre. His use of the term "Moral Lecture," which he only resorted to only in his first advertisement, was a polite bow to such forces, by which he eased his way into acceptance by a larger cross-section of the community.

Potter's company of "Harmonians" was large and talented, numbering, he said in his ad, "20 Ladies and Gentlemen of acknowledged talent and respectability." Potter and W.S. Forrest, his erstwhile manager from their tour in the mid-thirties, played the comic leads, and the dramatic mainstay of the company was Mr. Thompson.¹⁰⁴ Mrs. Potter and Mrs. Forrest were the prominent females. Other members included Messrs. Donovan, McKibbin, Phillimore, and Mehen; Mrs. Mehen, Miss Matilda, and Miss Rosamund. They opened on 6 February and played to 27 February before taking a brief tour out of town. During the first three weeks they presented a varied and interesting season, offering more Shakespeare than the

citizens of Utica had ever witnessed in such a short period: Macbeth, Hamlet, King Lear, and Richard III. Dramas included Pizarro, Rob Roy, and Virginus; a variety of farces and burlettas rounded out the entertainment.¹⁰⁵

Before their brief tour to Little Falls, Potter's regular company had been the focus of attention. When they returned to Utica in mid-March, Potter began to bring out the stars, including E.S. Conner and C.J. Smith. The latter had already played the area, but Conner was new to it. This actor was familiar in New York, having played the Park in the late thirties. In 1850 he would manage the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia.¹⁰⁶ Conner and Smith were both engaged at the same time, and probably supplied the audiences with some exciting evenings. For example, the Macbeth staged on 5 April featured a strong cast, including Conner as the Scottish King, Smith as Macduff, and Thompson as Banquo, with Mrs. Potter in the role of Lady Macbeth. That the company was appreciated was borne out in several editorials which commented on the crowded houses at Potter's Melodeon.¹⁰⁷

Before his company left Utica for the summer, Potter did one of the things he was famous for. Having given Utica audiences an excellent and successful season of drama, he offered to build them a theatre. Taking out space in the Gazette beginning on 2 April 1847, Potter addressed "Capitalists and Builders," suggesting that together they build a Melodeon, "say 60 by 120 feet . . . suitable for Concerts, Public Lectures, Balls, Theatrical and other exhibitions." He continued in some detail, concluding with a lure: "I have a

building in course of erection at Rochester and at Syracuse, and wish one here to complete my circuit."¹⁰⁸ The lure was a wise one; a circuit of those three towns seemed quite reasonable, in view of their size and proximity. But it was probably not as substantial as Potter made it sound. There was a notice placed in the Rochester Democrat only the day before that a new theatre, 75 by 175 feet, was to be erected beginning the next week, but no further information was found. In Syracuse there was no indication of such a building. Potter might have been playing an old psychological game with the three cities, but, successful as he was as a manager, and successful as he had been with similar schemes in other parts of the country, it did not work for him here. In spite of this setback, Potter remained in the area, playing a summer tour of the smaller villages, including Geneva;¹⁰⁹ he returned to Utica in the fall.

Utica did not have to rely solely on Potter for theatricals in 1847. He had been gone not much more than a month when a Vaudeville Company played the Museum, managed by Charles Mestayer, one of a large family involved in the entertainment business. This low comedian brought his wife, J. Littell, and a Mr. Johnson to Utica from 22 to 25 May. The editor of the Gazette was complimentary, calling them a company of ability: "On Saturday eve they gave two comedies which, with dances and comic song, made a rich entertainment." They were back in July, this time playing Mechanics' Hall, but only for one evening. The editor noted that their

performance was not a success and that the company "probably is a poor concern for they slipped off at 9:00 on Tuesday morning, leaving us minus their printing bill."¹¹⁰

The second Mestayer visit was cut short because of competition from another company trying its luck in Utica. George Western brought an olio entertainment to the Museum for the profitable days of 1-3 July (the Fourth fell on Sunday, when entertainment was forbidden), and was extended from 5-7 July. Mestayer's company played Mechanics' Hall on Monday the 5th, while the apparently more popular Western troupe was playing the Museum. Mestayer's early departure left the field clear for the Western Olio Company to enjoy even better profits. Western, later known as "The Great Western," imitated Negroes and locomotives; he was another delineator of Yankee roles, and plays like The Stage-Struck Yankee and Jonathon Slick dominated the entertainment, though he brought along Billy Whitlock, the famous banjo player, and Miss Whitlock, the dancer, as well as the actress Mrs. Emmet. Western would return to Central New York in the fifties, and while in the area in 1847 he also appeared at Cooperstown.¹¹¹

Potter's Histrionic Company, as he now labelled them, returned, not to Mechanics' Hall, but to the Museum, on 28 September 1847, with an even stronger company than on his previous visit. The season opened with a star, the former Miss Mary Duff, now Mrs. Gilbert, who was apparently a hit. The Gazette editor wrote on 2 October that she was drawing crowded houses and that "The Museum presents the greatest entertainment for the money that has ever been offered here."

The key words were "for the money"; the company opened at a 50 cent ticket rate, the amount that had been charged at the Melodeon. On 1 October tickets were reduced to 25 cents, the usual Museum fare.¹¹² This change certainly helped pack houses which might not have been as crowded as Potter would have wished after the first few nights of his return. The reduction must have worked, however, because the Museum, which had originally advertised the company "for a few nights only," engaged Potter's troupe for the entire fall.

Thompson was a strong leading man, esteemed by many, said the Gazette, "the best that has ever appeared in the city." Potter provided him with three leading ladies, including, after Mrs. Gilbert, Mrs. E. Thompson (his wife), and in early November Mrs. Potter, who had been otherwise engaged until then. Other stars included Irish comedian Barney Williams (who would become one of the most popular actors in America during the 1850s) for a week, J.B. Strong (who would soon bring his own company to Utica) and his wife; and W.S. Forrest (who re-joined the company in mid-November). Of these, though all probably deserved billing in this company, only Barney Williams became a household name. Beginning in mid-November, however, Potter offered in succession Augustus A. Addams, a tragedian ranking just below Edwin Forrest; Julia Dean, former manager Edwin Dean's daughter, supported in her appearances by her father, who had struggled to bring good theatre to the area earlier in the decade; and Wyzeman Marshall, who had starred at the Bowery. This was an array of

talent such as had never been seen in Utica, and the stars were supported by a strong stock company.¹¹³

1847 was certainly the most impressive year to date for Utica theatricals, and it was due to the clever management of John Sharp Potter. The season closed after Christmas, and for some reason, Potter left and never returned. Had he been disappointed in not being able to build his own theatre and to develop a circuit, or had he succumbed to the wanderlust which seemed inherent to him, eventually carrying him to California? Whatever his reasons, he left after imposing theatre on Uticans for an entire year, a feat which would be accomplished only sporadically between 1847 and the Civil War.

Other Theatrical Companies

Not too far into 1848 the next company of players visited Utica, led by J.B. Strong, one of Potter's lesser known stars of the previous fall. This company was the last company in the turnpike villages before the Civil War which advertised itself as a Temperance Dramatic Company, although it did so only for a day. A smaller company than Potter's with no visiting stars, it must have been somewhat of a let-down for Utica audiences, although the Gazette noted that it had been well-patronized and a complete success. Perhaps Strong would have extended his run, but he was due in Rome, and his company played only from 15-19 February in Utica.¹¹⁴

No theatricals were seen in Utica from mid-February to

mid-August, when the familiar W.S. Forrest and the newcomer L.D. Ross brought a Vaudeville Company to the Museum. This troupe managed to perform throughout the fall, but the confidence and control exhibited by Potter were missing in this vaudeville company, which frequently shifted management during the autumn of 1848. Forrest and Ross's company, numbering 12, was larger than Strong's, but not nearly the size of Potter's. From their opening on 19 August for the next few weeks, however, size did not seem to matter. Crowded houses attended, primarily to see Mr. and Mrs. Forrest, and on 29 August Uticans had their first chance to see Benjamin Baker's recent New York hit, A Glance at New York, with Ross starring as Mose. It was a hit in Utica too, chalking up a four-night run. In the meantime, Forrest had left the company, taking his farewell benefit on 1 September, and Ross acquired a new partner, A.B. Sutherland. They remained staples of a company which also included Mr. and Mrs. Chesebrough, Mrs. Vennua, Mr. Martine, and Mr. Tozer.¹¹⁵ The new management team brought in a Yankee comedian named R.W. McDougal, then a dancer called La Belle Oceana. As she was brought in, Ross and Sutherland were on their way out. From 18-25 September seemed a sort of interim period, during which three members of Barnum's traveling exhibition were temporarily lured to entertain at the Museum, from 21-23 September. Then, on the 25th, a new arrangement was announced, La Belle Oceana to be "presiding queen . . . and the company selected are highly talented and respectable."¹¹⁶

The paper was silent regarding the theatre for several days, but something was rotten in Utica, perhaps a crisis between Ross and Sutherland, on one side, and Colonel Butler, owner of the Museum, on the other. The former managers had apparently gone on tour, taking the company to Little Falls for a week, from 25 to 29 September. Then on the following Monday, 2 October, the opening of the fall season at the Museum was announced, under the management of a W.H. Bennie. Plays were presented, The Volunteer's Return and The Dumb Belle by W.B. Bernard, but the feature attractions were La Belle Oceana, billed as "The Fanny Ellsler of America," and manager Bennie, who had a unique act of his own: "Mr. B. will appear in the Venitian statue [sic], representing a number of ancient statues."¹¹⁷

This arrangement continued for a week. The statuary was apparently a hit, but Mr. Sutherland was brought back to the Museum as co-manager, and, in the words of the Gazette's editor,

With varied success, but unvarying exertions, the managers of the Museum continue their nightly entertainments. The bill for this evening is attractive. Two plays of merit, La Belle Oceana and the Statues are enough to draw lovers of the Drama, of beauty and the arts.¹¹⁸

That the Museum had exchanged its strong theatrical company and visiting stars of 1847 for constantly shifting managements and evenings of farces, dance and statuary in 1848 was not so much the point as the editor's words, "with

varied success." The Museum was scrambling to keep making money, trying any variation on the entertainment theme to succeed. On 18 October the plays were replaced by the Misses Tyrrell, the Glass Bell Ringers. La Belle Oceana and the Statues remained part of the bill, but by 24 October they too had been deposed, leaving the Tyrrell Sisters and their 40 glass globes as the Museum attraction.¹¹⁹

After the Tyrrell sisters departed, William Scoville, another Yankee comedian, brought his company to the Museum on 8 November 1848 for a brief season of Vaudeville, featuring players from the Albany and Troy Museums which included Mr. Bridges, formerly of the Allen and Bridges Temperance Company. They played for one week, apparently with some success, then continued their tour.¹²⁰

On 18 November A.B. Sutherland returned, opening "The People's Theatre," an unusual title, utilized perhaps in the sense of "giving the people what they want." Sutherland's choice of name was not nearly as novel as his choice of performance space. He transformed the Old Baptist Church into his theatre, surely shocking that large part of the community which was more used to praising the reverse transformation: theatre into church. Even his opening play was an odd choice in that it was a relatively recent work by an American author, Tortosa the Usurer, written in 1839 by Nathaniel Parker Willis.¹²¹ Despite the unusual nature of his effort, or perhaps because of it, Sutherland and his company apparently impressed many Uticans, including the editor of the Gazette, who consistently praised the troupe and commented,

early in the engagement: "The attempt to sustain theatrical performances has never proved a successful one in Utica, but Mr. S. is the first who has displayed much energy in the prosecution of the work."¹²² In reward for his work, Sutherland apparently drew houses full enough that he was able to run the venture through the end of the year.

The People's Theatre featured a company which was probably smaller and less talented than Potter's. Of the few company members' names listed a Mr. De Angelis seems to have been prominent, and J.B. Tozer, a member of previous touring companies and a manager in the 1850s, was singled out for praise. The manager's appeal seemed to come from the effort he made to make himself a part of the community. According to the Gazette he himself took hammer in hand to transform his playing space, and he was aided by important citizens of Utica, including "a late candidate for the Presidency!" Perhaps Sutherland's application of the work ethic (whereas Potter had offered a business deal to build a theatre, Sutherland rolled up his sleeves and built one himself) and his attempt at moral responsibility (exemplified in his Saloon, which "will be conducted on strictly temperance principles"), combined with a strong company and repertoire (the Gazette wrote: "A greater variety and choicer selections . . . were never presented to an audience in Utica, while the style of acting keeps constantly at the high water mark) represented an acceptable formula for theatre at Utica in 1849.¹²³ In spite of this format for success, how-

ever, The People's Theatre did not last long.

Early in 1849 Sutherland and company toured to Rome, then attempted to re-open at Utica. Sutherland featured Julia Turnbull, a dancer/actress who was gaining an excellent reputation in New York and on tour. It was a troubled engagement, accompanied by no critical praise of the danseuse, which would have seemed de rigueur from the supportive Gazette. The editor implied that audiences were small, then on 12 January announced that "a difficulty in procuring an orchestra" had interfered with the theatre's arrangements. On 13 and 18 January more apologetic announcements appeared, and on the 19th the dancer herself took out this ad: "Mr. Sutherland having closed the Theatre, Miss Turnbull, the elegant danseuse, has rented the Museum where she will appear tonight, assisted by the dramatic corps of the People's Theatre." She announced appearances on 19 and 20 January, but no critical comments confirmed that she actually performed.¹²⁴ The next theatrical announcement appeared on 5 March 1849, when Barney Williams was announced at The People's Theatre, by the editor, who also noted, "A.B. Sutherland is still manager."¹²⁵ That editorial was the last reference to The People's Theatre.

On 31 March, Julia Turnbull announced that her own theatrical company would appear at the Museum for a week. Advertisements were taken out in which names of company members and types of entertainment appeared, but on 3 April a brief notice stated: "In consequence of the failure of a part of the dramatic corps to fulfil their engagement with Miss Turnbull, the performance at the Museum has been post-

poned."¹²⁶ Although only a month later Fanny Kemble Butler provided a theatrical ambience in the form of her dramatic readings, the summer and fall went by without the performance of any theatrical company, and it seemed that the dramatic bang provided by Potter and company in 1847 had by 1849 ended in a whimper.

On 5 December, a dramatic troupe finally appeared in Utica. Managed by J.H. Hall, this company had enjoyed nearly a month's engagement in Syracuse, long enough, presumably, to dub itself the Syracuse Vaudeville Company, and it played a full month in Utica, leaving after the manager's benefit on 5 January 1850. The company, again not as large as Potter's, was nevertheless substantial, and brought back a few of Potter's stars, Mr. and Mrs. E.S. Conner and Josh Silsbee. There was almost no editorial support for this troupe, probably because of all the confusion during the past year, but on 15 December the Gazette the editor complimented a performance of The Lady of Lyons, "performed last evening with great excellence and power."¹²⁷

The 1840s had begun with troupes such as Edwin Dean's struggling unsuccessfully against moral opponents unwilling to accept the theatre. Throughout the middle of the decade temperance drama seemed the only form able to succeed, though in increasingly exploited form. John Sharp Potter made 1847 the strongest theatrical year of the decade and, despite the confusion that governed Utica's theatrical activity since Potter left, J.H. Hall's company, featuring respectable per-

formances and repertoire, ushered out the old decade and rung in the new.

Chapter Seven: Entertainment
in the Era of the New York Central
1850-1861

In 1843 it had taken 25 hours to ride the ten different railroads that connected Albany and Buffalo. In 1849 a passenger express between the two cities took only 15 hours, and by 1851, when a new, nearly straight path from Syracuse to Rochester superceded the more circuitous route via Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua, a passenger could travel by rail from the state capital to Buffalo on Lake Erie in 12 1/2 hours, for a fare of \$9.00. That same year the state government lifted the restrictions on the transport of freight by railroad, and in 1853 the separate companies that linked this route together merged into the New York Central Railroad.¹ The consolidation ended the struggle for supremacy between Clinton's Ditch and the Iron Horse. Although for decades to come the Erie Canal would continue to carry freight from the Great Lakes to the Eastern Seaboard, the New York Central took over the bulk of freight shipping and nearly all the passenger travel from east to west. (See Map 6.)

In terms of entertainment, what this consolidation of tracks did for the cities and villages along the turnpikes, canals, and railroads of Upstate New York was to stratify

them further. The first stratum consisted of Albany and Buffalo. These were the cities that the biggest stars played with some regularity, although even they were sometimes bypassed for the growing cities farther west. Edwin Forrest and Charlotte Cushman almost never played any smaller towns before the Civil War, and if either one of them played the second stratum cities, Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester, they never played more than one per tour. As has already been shown in the case of Fanny Ellsler and Utica, the biggest stars generally played the biggest potential houses.

Utica's position in the second stratum further removed the rate and quality of its entertainment activity from that of the other villages under discussion. This was more true of theatrical activity than museum entertainments and the circus. The rate decreased in all types of entertainment between Utica and the other villages, but top singers, comics, and magicians, as well as the most "mammoth" circuses, still played the smaller places. Theatre companies which played Utica for a month or a season, however, usually spent only a week in those few smaller villages they deigned to visit. While these places saw the permanent company, they seldom saw any of the stars who visited, usually for a week at a time, in the larger place.

In the lesser villages, stratification also increased, and some changes occurred in terms of hierarchy. The three villages on the southern branch of the New York Central tracks, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua, saw more activity than those off the railroad but on the canal or turnpikes,

placing them in a third stratum with Auburn easily at the top and Canandaigua definitely at the bottom of its bounds. Because of its distance from the railroad, Cooperstown, which through 1849 had enjoyed at least a steady trickle of itinerants, grew more and more dependent on local entertainment in the 1850s. Skaneateles, which was also off the rails but not by as many miles, and was joined by wooden railroad and later plank road to the more traveled route, began to see a steadier flow of itinerants than it had yet experienced. If those two villages formed a sort of fourth stratum, Manlius, Herkimer, and Cherry Valley made a fifth, remaining almost completely off the entertainment map, from which Onondaga Hollow had disappeared years before.

These strata remained in place until shortly after the Civil War, when patterns of entertainment were mightily affected by improvements in railroad transportation the replacement of the stock system by the combination tour. The trends in itinerant entertainment throughout the rest of the ante-bellum period were ruled by this stratification, and were also influenced by two other phenomena, which very likely worked symbiotically on each other.

The first was the decline of the second Great Revival and the accompanying temperance movement. Whitney Cross suggested that one of the primary reasons for the decline was the growth of the canal cities and their increasing supremacy over rural influences, where the religious fervor was centered. In conjunction with this growth, the waves of immigra-

tion had brought Europeans into the cities; these new Americans were seldom impressed with the -isms which had so excited earlier area residents.² Utica, the largest city under discussion and therefore most prone to such urban and foreign influences, had these reasons as well as size and strategic location to become the center of theatrical and related activity in the villages under discussion. But the number of itinerants who visited the more rural villages grew as well, indicating a greater acceptance of outside entertainment, or at least a bow to its inevitability, in those places, too.

Intermeshed with the decline of revivalism was the rise of pleasure. Foster Rhea Dulles subtitled his study of recreation in this country, America Learns to Play.³ Indeed, it seemed that Americans, having had to work constantly building living spaces out of wilderness, and having been lectured constantly that work was good and leisure the devil's time, had literally to learn to how to deal with their free time. By the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the citizens of the villages along the turnpikes began to see the fruits of their great efforts at expansion after the War of 1812, and at last began to enjoy them. Perhaps it was this spirit, prompted in part by economic recovery from the Panic of 1837, in part by settling in to the communities they had built, that helped cool down the fervor of the temperance movement.⁴ Perhaps temperance and other radical -isms, especially rife in this burned over district, began to irritate even religious and moral folk, and in burning themselves out made way

for room in which to play.

Whatever the cause, the 1850s brought more traveling entertainers to area villages, and it also increased locally generated activity, not merely in the areas of music and even amateur theatre, but in less artistic forms of recreation. Villages on lakes began to sponsor annual regattas, as well as frequent picnics and excursions; other spectator sports, especially pedestrianism, became very popular, and even the staid village of Skaneateles became excited by ladies' riding matches; and local mechanics and young men's associations, previously responsible for local lecture and debate series, now began to sponsor fairs as well.⁵

If the general attitude became more light of spirit, even festive, it remained moral. The temperance cause had declined from its fervent height in the thirties and forties, but meetings were held regularly in every turnpike village throughout the fifties; and the spirit of revivalism was still strong, especially evident in frequent and well-attended camp meetings. Weekly lectures throughout the winter months were still the most frequent form of cold weather entertainment, and concerts by local bands and glee clubs remained popular. Love of things local and distrust of strangers continued as basic community attitudes. But in spite of this continuity, there entered into village life in the fifties an air of openness that had not been apparent before.

Social Life in Canandaigua

A feel for this openness and an excellent look at the life of moral villagers in the fifties was preserved in the diary of Caroline Cowles Richards.⁶ In 1852 she was ten years old and lived in Canandaigua with her sister and her grandparents. Because her grandfather was an elder of the local Presbyterian church and related by marriage to Lyman Beecher, Caroline's youthful notations depicted a more staid life than the average village girl enjoyed; yet, there was a sense of humor and a joie de vivre in her entries that had been completely lacking in the diary of Lyman Eddy a few decades earlier. For example, on the cover of Gulliver's Travels that her grandfather gave her to read was a picture of the hero standing astride a group of amazed Lilliputians. Caroline's grandmother covered the illustration from Gulliver's waist down with a cloth of pink calico, hiding from sight the possibility of immoral thoughts along with the entire group of Lilliputians. She and her sister were not allowed to go on sleigh rides with the other boys and girls, and at a party where most of the girls' dresses were low cut and short-sleeved the sisters wore long sleeves and high collars, and had to turn down offers to dance, but her descriptions of the events always conveyed a sense of play and enjoyment. As she described what she could and could not do she painted a reasonably accurate picture of what life in that village must have been like.

When she spoke about local and itinerant entertainment, she offered details and a point of view seldom described in the newspapers of the day. One of the local events popular beginning in the mid-fifties was the Festival of Beauty. The Geneva festival of August 1855 was described in the Geneva Gazette as "100 young Ladies and Misses uniformly dressed" in concert.⁷ Caroline's sister Anna was a participant in the first Festival held at Canandaigua in 1854, and the diary related that the local music teacher, Mr. Packer, conducted these evenings, and that his staging included a "pyramid of beauty" with Anna on the top row of about 100 children:

She ought to have worn a white dress as the others did, but Grandmother said her new pink barege would do. I curled her hair all around in about thirty curls and she looked very nice. She waved the flag in the shape of the letter S and sang "The Star Spangled Banner," and all the others joined in the chorus. It was perfectly grand.⁸

Caroline was allowed to see the Siamese Twins when they visited in 1856 and Tom Thumb in 1857, but when Barnum's circus came to town the same year her grandmother refused permission. Caroline explained why:

If my Grandmother had not seen the pictures on the hand-bills I think she would have let us go. She said it was all right to look at the creatures God had made but she did not think he ever intended that women should go half dressed and stand up and ride on horses bare-back, or jump through hoops in the air. So we could not go.

Perhaps the circus which in the forties based its ad campaign on NO WOMEN in the show had known its territory well. Caro-

line was not entirely disappointed, however:

We saw the street parade though and heard the band play and saw the men and women in a chariot, all dressed so fine, and we saw a big elephant and a little one and a camel with an awful hump on his back, and we could hear the lion roar in the cage, as they went by. It must have been nice to see them close to and probably we will some day.⁹

Other outings approved for the young Canandaigua girl included lectures, local singing groups, and meetings of young ladies' social circles. She noted that a man came to the house to ask her grandfather's permission for some deaf and dumb itinerant performers to give an exhibition in the village. This was probably not a necessary request, but in view of her grandfather's standing in the church it proved a politic one, for not only did he approve, he even brought the girls to attend the event. At Christmas 1860 they attended the tableaux at the local lunatic asylum, and often, as part of their good deeds, distributed tracts among "the neglected classes," one of which warned against the social evils of dancing, card playing and attending the theatre.¹⁰

The range of Caroline Richards' activities suggested the range available to the inhabitants of many of the turnpike villages in the fifties, an assortment not much different from the last decade's fare. Along with local entertainment, the traveling museum shows and circuses came through, and many of these even the the most proper young ladies like Caroline were allowed to see. Theatre was only mentioned in the context of social evils of the day, but even so, more

theatrical activity was becoming apparent during this decade in the villages along the turnpikes.

Lectures, Concerts, and Museum Exhibitions

During the 1850s the lecture and concert circuit continued to provide a steady flow of touring exhibitors to the villages. Human and animal oddities continued to be popular, magicians, ventriloquists, and drollerists visited regularly, and manned balloon ascensions swelled village populations more than any other form of entertainment. But the most representative forms of itinerant entertainment were the panoramic exhibition, the minstrel show, and the circus, which inundated the area even more completely than they had in the forties.

The local lyceums continued to provide winter lecture series to all the turnpike villages. The most frequent subjects remained social issues: although temperance was still very popular, the slavery question and preservation of the Union became increasingly prominent topics after the Compromise of 1850. Frederick Douglass swept through the area on four tours from mid-decade, appearing most frequently in Skaneateles, and also in Canandaigua and Geneva.¹¹ Spiritualism, begun by the Fox sisters in this same burned over district, replaced animal magnetism as the hot topic of its kind. From 1856 to 1859 lectures for and against were given in Utica, Skaneateles, and Canandaigua. In many of the lectures defending spiritualism, mysterious "spirit rappings" could be heard; the object of the lectures which derided this

latest -ism was to show that the "rappings" came not from the other side, but from a theatrical bag of tricks. (Investigators discovered that the Fox sisters produced the "knocks" with their toe joints!)¹² Even this lively subject was eclipsed in popularity by the old stand-by, phrenology, which continued to be a frequent topic, espoused in Central New York by the brothers O.S. and L.N. Fowler. Theirs and other lecture/demonstrations on this popular theme were heard by eager auditors in Utica, Skaneateles, Auburn, and Geneva throughout the decade.¹³ The term "Lecture on Oratory" was almost never seen in advertisements, the form having been superceded by the dramatic reading, evenings of which were announced frequently throughout the decade, only C.L. Whitney still insisted on calling his entertainment a lecture.¹⁴

The music scene was dominated by minstrel troupes, but other varieties were available, in the familiar forms of family singing groups like the Hutchinsons, Bakers, and Peaks; bell ringers from Lancashire and the Tyrol; ballad singers like Mr. Dempster; and classical combinations, both vocal and instrumental. The last category increased its visits to the area substantially this decade, names like Ole Bull, the Canderbecks, Thalberg, and Parodi adorning the bills of the day throughout the area. Paul Julien and the very young Adelina Patti, who would become one of the great divas in the latter half of the century, toured the area, along with English and American opera troupes, which usually preferred to give evenings of selections from operas rather than entire works.¹⁵

Fewer musical performers played the smaller villages like Cooperstown. The editor of the Freeman's Journal in that village announced that his favorite concerts were given by the birds, which sang music most pure, and free to boot. In the spring of 1854 he wrote that the only concerts that season were given by the robins, and that he did not complain. His experience with traveling entertainers he summed up in his article on a Monsieur Moreau, pupil of Paganini, who gave a concert in Cooperstown in December 1850:

We have been so often humbugged by itinerant musicians who "crack the voice of Melody, and break the legs of Time," that we hardly dare recommend this gentleman; but from what we have heard of him, we think that he will be worth the hearing.¹⁶

In spite of this attitude, the editor expressed enthusiasm for some concerts advertised in his paper, but a village so far off the railroad track attracted fewer musicians, and those who did come were apparently more often charlatan than legitimate. Frequent disappointment bred this result: that on most of those scattered occasions in the fifties when a non-minstrel musical exhibition came to the village, the editor had to apologize for rows of empty seats.

There were no seats to be had for Jenny Lind's concerts at Utica and Auburn in July 1851. The editor of the Utica Daily Gazette complained that she was giving a concert in Utica only because she wanted to spend some vacation time at nearby Trenton Falls, but his animosity did not stop Uticans from filling the Bleecker Street Baptist Church, which seated

approximately 1,000, even at the unheard-of ticket prices of two, three, and four dollars. In fact, those prices were inflated when tickets went on sale, and the neighbor next to the church was able to sell seats in his yard for one dollar each. Of the nearly two thousand people who stood by outside, the editor of the Oneida Morning Herald said, "Only once or twice did they become noisy, and then but for a moment." Of the legendary singer he claimed, "We have now learned in some degree, why people go into ecstasies at the singing of the Nightingale."¹⁷

The editor of the Skaneateles Democrat, who saw her concert in Auburn a few days later, was equally excited at the idea of Jenny Lind, but not quite as enthusiastic about the reality: "We have heard singing that interested us as much as any we heard on the evening in question." However, the editor and his party were glad that they went. Lind's Auburn performance was also held in a church, which seated between 1,000 and 1,200, with ticket rates the same as at Utica.¹⁸

In his exploitation of Jenny Lind, Barnum did not plunge into one of the biggest campaigns of his life for a mere singer. She had a beautiful voice, but she had become that most salable of exhibition subjects, the human curiosity. Other curiosities, most of them lacking the Swedish Nightingale's other attributes, were exhibited frequently in the fifties. Though tall and short were still often paired for an evening's entertainment, the little people were far more popular this decade than the giants. Tom Thumb continued to

be one of the most widely-attended acts on the touring circuits of Upstate New York, America, and the world.¹⁹

Two other acts in the same vein were the Aztec Lilliputians and Little Dollie Dutton. The Aztec Lilliputians were two "living Aztec children," Maximo and Bartola, the male 33 inches high, weighing 20 pounds; the female 29 1/2 inches high, weighing 17 pounds. They were a hit in New York City as well as the turnpike villages which they toured in the summer of 1851.²⁰ Dollie Dutton, also known as the Little Fairy, gave levees in the area in 1860 and early 1861 in Utica, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua, as well as Little Falls. At nine years old, she was even tinier than the Lilliputians, weighing 13 pounds and standing only 26 inches high. Her advertisements, which pictured her standing demurely in her father's hand, included references from the Albany press, where over 10,000 people had seen her in one week.²¹

The fashionable levees held by Dollie Dutton and Tom Thumb were an attempt to disguise the side-show atmosphere in the exhibition of human oddities. The advertisements read more frankly at an exhibition in Geneva, 1854, of "Freaks of Nature in three of the weaker sex." The show, visited by "hundreds," consisted of a bearded lady, a twenty-year-old lady of 564 pounds, and a 19 year old "fairy tiny as Tom Thumb."²² These human curiosities were announced in the same manner as animal oddities, which included the mammoth hog aptly named Napoleon, a live alligator, and even a live moose, on its way to join Barnum's Museum in New York.²³

The curiosities of ventriloquism and magic remained popular in the fifties, as did the art of the drollerist. Sometimes these specialties were combined in the talents of one man; for example, a Wyman and a Harrigan advertised themselves as able to perform magic and ventriloquism. Sometimes they adopted magical names to entice their audiences. In 1850 Professor Anderson, the "Wizzard" of the North, visited Utica, and in 1854 Professor Lowe, the Wizard of the East, played and impressed the editor of the Daily Advertiser with his "shawl feat," which was "unique, and altogether beyond our comprehension." In 1853 a Robert Heller, combining a multitude of talents, billed himself as "celebrated pianist, composer, wizard, etc, from New York." Monsieur Adrien came back to the area with magic and dissolving views, and at mid-decade a program of Chinese arts and magic was presented at Auburn and Geneva.²⁴ The veteran drollerist Valentine made only one tour to the area in April 1852, but Winchell, nationally famous for his "droll, quizzical, mirth-provoking impersonations," became one of the most ubiquitous performers on the New York State circuit, making at least six different tours of some of the turnpike villages.²⁵

Winchell and Valentine made artistic use of "hot air"; another kind was used to inflate balloons, which became tremendously popular in the fifties. Actually, mid-air events had intrigued spectators in the area for decades, either in the form of aerial ascents on a wire or unmanned balloon launchings. The latter had been common in conjunction with fireworks displays at city gardens since the thirties. The

former were popular ways to entice a crowd into a circus tent. A wire was usually tightened between the ground and the top of the circus pavilion and before the afternoon performance an aerialist ascended free of charge for all to see. Equally exciting feats were promised inside.²⁶

Not until the mid-forties, however, did the region witness its first manned balloon ascent. The aeronaut, a Mr. Wise, was quite experienced in his endeavors, having already made 54 ascents, but for the citizens of Utica and the surrounding countryside this was a strange and wonderful first. In the words of the Gazette's editor: "This spectacle has never been witnessed in this part of the country, and its novelty and the celebrity of the aeronaut must attend spectators from far and wide." The paper's coverage of the event was extensive and excited, and the Museum, where Hough's theatrical company was currently employed, advertised its roof as one of the best vantage points from which to view the ascension. Wise sailed aloft ("up from this mundane sphere," emoted the editor) from the City Garden in the late afternoon of 3 September. The audience was everywhere: "During the afternoon all other business but watching the ascent was suspended in the city. The roofs and windows of the buildings looking Garden-ward, for half a mile were crowded with spectators, and presented an animated experience." Wise made other ascents in the area in the late forties, and in the 1850s he and at least three others gave area audiences a thrill which must have been the mid-nineteenth century equiv-

alent to those who followed the Lindbergh flight, or to the live witnesses at a spacecraft launch.²⁷

Panoramas, Minstrel Shows, and Circuses

Three of the most popular and frequent forms of itinerant activity during the fifties were panoramas, minstrel shows, and circuses. These three entertainments played with such regularity in six of the places under discussion (Cooperstown, Utica, Skaneateles, Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua), that the patterns of their movements east and west began to emerge more comprehensively than in any previous decade. Complete touring patterns were difficult to track, however. Not every exhibit visited every village, for economic reasons. Also, most of the exhibitions visited other area villages, and with connecting plank roads and railroads running north and south between major rail and turnpike routes, these shows could easily have turned off the Cherry Valley and Seneca Turnpikes or the New York Central Railroad, dipping, for example, down into the southern tier of counties in New York State or even into Pennsylvania before swinging back north into the area under discussion.

New York State was, after all, only a small piece of the touring pie, a circle which often began in New York City, moved west across the state, then still farther west, to the Mississippi River. From there the route turned south, all the way to New Orleans, then back north and east through the southern states, and lastly up the eastern seaboard to New York. As often as this route was taken, so was its reverse.

Yet even this small piece of pie reveals that in 1860, shortly after Yankee Robinson's Double Show had moved from east to west (Utica, 4 August; Skaneateles, 14 August; Geneva, 1 September), G.F. Bailey's Double Mammoth Circus and Menagerie was heading from west to east (Skaneateles, 5 September; Cooperstown, 21 September).²⁸

Panoramas and dioramas had been toured in the forties, but they were much more common in the region between 1851 and 1854. These two -oramas, though similar in concept, differed in execution. The panorama was one long canvas on rollers. As the canvas was cranked across a playing space and the pictures were revealed, the story was told (often actually narrated). Because the canvas was actually moving, the scenes painted on it also gave the feeling of movement. A panorama of the Mississippi River, for example, gave the viewer the relatively crude impression that he or she was on a steamboat watching the actual sites as they passed by. The diorama differed in that it depended on light thrown strategically on a partially transparent picture painted by a special process on both sides of a cloth. Such an exhibition could show (using a popular example of the day) the city of Moscow gradually catching fire until it was consumed by flames.²⁹

The dominant subjects for these forms of entertainment were three: religious, historical, and geographical. The first category included scenes of Adam and Eve in Eden, other Bible stories, and one of the most popular and ubiquitous exhibits on the circuit, scenes from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Prog-

ress. The historical category was made up almost entirely in this decade of the Conflagration of Moscow, described above, the fire presenting an excellent opportunity for the dioramist.³⁰ The largest category of the three was geographical, which included panoramic views of Cuba, Niagara Falls, the Mississippi River, and the very popular New York City.³¹ Many other panoramas were shown, eight different exhibitions touring the area in 1854 alone, but not all of them fit neatly into the major categories. Social issues were addressed, as in "The Unlearned Blacksmith's Panorama of Intemperance," 1,000 feet of canvas exhibited at Skaneateles in 1854 for only 12 1/2 cents. A few topical subjects were treated, such as the panorama of the Crystal Palace, shown in Utica late in 1852, and the California gold mines, also unrolled in Utica as early as 11 June 1850.³²

The most interesting and curious theatrically was the panorama, exhibited in Utica in 1853 and in Geneva in 1854, of Uncle Tom's Cabin. This was a large panorama, painted by a Mr. Leslie on 10,000 feet of canvas. Along with scenes from Mrs. Stowe's novel, there were also views of the United States, Canada, Africa, as well as a painting of Jerusalem in the time of Christ. This show covered an array of subjects, combining the topicality of a tremendously popular novel and play with the social issue they had stirred up; added to this were geographical views, and an historical-religious painting all in one exhibition. It was narrated in Utica by Mr. Malone Redmond, an Irish singer who had given an entertainment in Utica the previous decade. Although the Geneva advertisement

did not mention Mr. Redmond, he probably traveled with the show, for most of these exhibitions depended on narration and musical accompaniment. Unlike the narrator, musicians probably did not travel with the exhibit. Rather, the advance man probably engaged some sort of accompaniment at each tour stop. In Geneva, for example, it was proudly announced that the Geneva Brass Band would be in attendance.

The elements of pictures, narration, and music melded together to create an almost theatrical presentation. Although a theatrical company had announced a production in Utica only a month before the panorama appeared, it does not seem to have been presented, which makes the panoramic Uncle Tom the first "performed" version of the piece the residents of Utica witnessed. The panorama was also the first opportunity for Genevans to "view" anything like the dramatic version.³³

Whereas the panoramas reached the height of their popularity in the early years of the decade, the minstrels, frequent visitors since the mid-forties, inundated the area between 1858 and the Civil War. Early in the decade the major groups were the Nightingales, the Campbells, and the Luca family. By the end of the decade the Nightingales had disappeared, the Lucas were still slightly active, and the Campbells seemed to explode into several versions of themselves, including Rumsey and Newcomb's Campbells, Matt Peel's (and after his death, Mrs. Peel's) Campbells, Pierce's Campbells, Hooley and Campbell's, even the juvenile Campbells. This

explosion occurred not only in the Campbell organization, but throughout the entire new minstrel industry. Beginning in 1858 along with the Campbells these new names appeared along this section of the circuit: Buckley's, Pell and Trowbridge's, Wood's, the New Orleans Serenaders, Christy's (which would also break into various subdivisions), the Euterpians, Dan Bryant's, Budworth's, and more. The city of Auburn was visited by one or two troupes through 1855, but in 1856 and 1857 as many as six troupes a year appeared there. In 1860 that number more than doubled, and Auburn received 14 sets of minstrels.³⁴ Although in the forties the turnpike villages had seen a fair share of minstrel entertainments, it was not until the late fifties that the minstrel show became, in this area at least, an institution.

One of the elements which many minstrels included in their exhibitions was a drama, usually in the form of a one act farce or burlesque opera. For example, the Buckley Serenaders announced a burlesque of the opera Lucrezia Borgia in their Utica performances in 1859, and on the same tour they burlesqued Bellini's La Somnambula at Canandaigua. An advertisement in the Herkimer County Journal for Mrs. Peel's Campbell minstrels advertised five different "Laughable Extravanzas" in their performances at nearby Little Falls: "a burlesque scene from The Lady of Lyons, "The Supreme Party," "Rip, Taring Johnny is Gone Away," [sic] "Essence of Old Virginny," and "He Would be an Artist." For their engagement at Utica in 1860 Wood's Minstrels listed detailed information in their advertisement for two burlesques, Miss Bloomer's

Reception and Peter Piper Pepper Podge. In the latter one actor played five roles (a popular technique of the day), including Claude Melnotte, Virginius, and Metamora. And in the Ontario Republican Times, 3 July 1856, Canandaiguans were offered both the Christy Minstrels' playlet The Railroad Explosion and the Campbell Minstrels' rendition of The Great Railroad Smash-up. The first was acted on 3 and 4 July, the second on 7 July.³⁵ These announcements revealed something of the competition which existed between the rival minstrel troupes.

A similar competitive spirit was apparent in the various circus companies traveling the circuit which included the turnpike villages. One of the most common ways for these exhibitions to outdo each other in the 1850s was to add a dramatic spectacle to their exhibitions. The addition of something theatrical was not in itself new. Circuses had included comic afterpieces since their earliest days in America. The novelty came in making the dramatic aspect of the show one of their major points of advertisement. One circus went so far as to include the theatrical element in its title. One organization called itself the Rivers and Derious Circus in 1853. By 1856, however, it had become the Rivers and Derious Dramatic Establishment and Circus, and in 1858 it proclaimed itself the Rivers and Derious Grand Dramatic Equestrian Company and Ballet Troupe.³⁶

None of the other circuses found this sort of identification necessary, but nearly all presented theat-

ricals from the earliest days of the decade. In 1850 Spaulding's North American Circus announced the

Patriotic National Drama, The Spirit of '76, introducing several Thrilling Scenes from the Lives of the Immortal Revolutionary Heroes Old Put!--General Washington!--Mad Anthony Wayne! The whole to conclude with a Grand Living Tableau, in which the Father of His Country, Mounted on his Charger, is Borne aloft in triumphal procession, on a platform, ON THE SHOULDERS OF HIS BRAVE CONTINENTALS!

This theme was picked up again in 1859 when Yankee Robinson's Double Show presented the patriotic drama, Days of '76, which featured Yankee Miller as Darius Dutton. The next year Robinson added another piece to his show: The Battle of Buena Vista, also featuring Miller, who must have been as adept at horsemanship as he was at Yankee portrayals.³⁷

Though the patriotic theme was popular, it was overshadowed in the fifties by one of the most exciting of equestrian spectacles, Mazeppa; or, the Wild Horse of Tartary. This drama was presented by both Sands and Company and Rivers and Derious, the latter using the full force of their company in the production. Rivers and Derious discarded Mazeppa in 1858 in order to capitalize on current events in India, when they announced the new equestrian spectacle of Mutiny in India; or, the Siege of Lucknow. Sands dropped the wild horse for the mutiny as well, advertising the spectacle Havelock in India as its dramatic offering for 1858. Welch and Lent presented the "Grand Magic Pantomime" called The Miser of Bagdad in 1856, and Lent produced St. George and

the Dragon; or, the Seven Champions of Christendom in his Mammoth Circus of 1858.³⁸

Even Uncle Tom's Cabin was equestrianized, when the entire company of Wesley Barmore's Grand Adriatic Circus appeared in it at both Utica and Geneva during the summer of 1854. Both places had already seen the panoramic version, and Utica had already witnessed some form of the play, but the mania inspired by Mrs. Stowe's novel was intense enough to include this mounted production, which presumably featured the chase of Eliza and her baby. In the Geneva exhibition a "laughable afterpiece" called The Shepherd and the Shepherdess was also given during the course of the evening.³⁹

In the same year, even before the arrival of Barmore's Circus, Genevans were treated to another equestrian drama at Myers and Madigan's Circus. Mr. W. O'Dell was featured "in his Dramatic, Tragic, Pantomimic act of Horsemanship, with all the changes, entitled Don Juan." Two years later the troupe offered "The Fairy Pageant of Cinderella, in which perform twenty-five beautiful children," at Little Falls. This company was interesting for its mode of transportation as well as for its dramatic aspect. Its full title was Myers and Madigan's Railroad Circus and Amphitheatre; as such it was one of the first to use the New York Central and other railroad lines to hop from one place to another on its tour. Another circus whose title implied rail travel was Whitby's Railroad Circus, which visited both Auburn and Geneva in 1859.⁴⁰ Neither of these names was as familiar as its competitors, and each advertised comparatively infrequently.

Perhaps they were smaller organizations, traveling without elephants, and so more able to take advantage of the tracks. Whether they traveled by rail or by wagon, however, the circuses which passed through Central New York in the 1850s not only played dramatic pieces, they exploited them in their advertising.

Dramatic Readings

Perhaps because Fanny Kemble had set the pace and legitimized the form in the late forties, in the 1850s dramatic readings became frequent and popular along the touring circuits. Some readers toured the nation, on their way towards, or having retired from, an acting career. But the qualities peculiar to the reading also seemed to encourage and inspire local amateurs, such as professors of elocution at schools, or even private citizens with a penchant for performance.

The earliest readings of the decade were given, appropriately enough, by the most famous of dramatic readers, Miss Fanny Kemble. She brought in the new year with a feast of Shakespeare, reading Measure for Measure at Utica's Mechanics' Hall and As You Like It at Geneva's Medical College Lecture Room.⁴¹ She did not appear in the area again, leaving the field open for lesser practitioners of the genre, one of whom visited Geneva later the same year. Emily P. Lesdernier, who had given her first readings in Brooklyn in 1849, read at the Society Library in New York in the spring of 1850. At the

same time that Fanny Kemble, having recently returned from her tour, was reading at the Tabernacle. By October Mrs. Lesdernier was on the tour circuit herself, visiting Geneva in October 1850. Odell ranked Mrs. Lesdernier just below Miss Kemble and George Vandenhoff in her reading skills, but though she began as a reader, she premiered as an actress at New York's Metropolitan Theatre in 1854 and was a member of Laura Keene's company in 1856.⁴²

After hearing Mrs. Macready's first New York readings in December 1854, the correspondent from the Spirit of the Times wrote, "The success is so great, that we should not be surprised if it enticed her in a great measure from the boards." The prediction proved correct. This actress, having made great successes in the West and South, had begun playing leads at the Bowery in the summer of 1854. After a successful series of readings in New York, she immediately took to the roads as a reader, playing very successfully in the turnpike villages in 1855, 1860 and 1861. Of all the readers, with the exception of Fanny Kemble, Mrs. Macready was the most popular in the area, in part because she volunteered to read during the day while she worked for pay at night. At Utica in 1855 she read for the pupils of the Advanced Public School, as well as at the lunatic asylum, and gave two benefits for the poor. When she returned in 1860, she read at the asylum again, and gave another performance for its benefit.⁴³

Mrs. Macready was surely very talented, but the sort of private public works program she engaged in at Utica made her the darling of the press and the people. Editors called her

no mere imitator of the great Kemble. Whereas that actress read whole plays, Mrs. Macready read selections from a number of varied works, sometimes appearing for part of the evening in costume, as when she did her "celebrated and intensely humorous representation of Widow Bedott."⁴⁴

Less popular and talented readers flocked to the area, particularly to some of the smaller villages. Geneva received a range of talent, from Fanny Kemble and Emily Lesdernier through Mrs. Macready to such lesser readers from New York as Professor J.W. Taverner, who read selections from Henry V and Poe's "The Bells." W.H. Davis read Longfellow's "Hiawatha," C.L. Whitney passed through again, and a local man named A.A. Holly, who had been giving readings to "our suburban friends," was persuaded to read Shakespeare to his home town of Geneva as well.⁴⁵

More readers than these gave varied programs throughout the area in the fifties. For those residents who still could not bring themselves into the proximity of a theatre, the dramatic reading provided a pleasant moral version of such an entertainment. One reader who came specifically to raise one of the great moral questions of the day was William Wells Brown. Brown, who later became recognized as the nation's first black dramatist, visited the area's most socially conscious village, Skaneateles, on two occasions in 1857. His first advertisement, in the Skaneateles Democrat, 1 January 1857, read:

William Wells Brown will give a recitation of the recitation of the new, laughable, and highly interesting moral anti-Slavery drama, written by himself, entitled Experience, or How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone.

This "colored gentleman, and formerly a slave," had given a reading in Little Falls only a few days before, of a "Moral Drama, written by himself," and when he returned from the west in late March he read The Escape; or, a Leap to Freedom at the villages of Marcellus and Elbridge, neighbors of Skaneateles.⁴⁶

Theatrical Activity

While Brown moved through the villages reading his work about the plight of slaves, dramatic versions of a white woman's novel dealing with the same subject became the most produced theatrical pieces in America before the Civil War. Although Uncle Tom's Cabin was frequently played in the villages along the turnpike, it was only one aspect of the intermittently very active theatre scene there during the decade before the Civil War.

Utica saw the lion's share of theatrical activity, but Auburn, Geneva, and Canandaigua also attracted the interest of some companies which had already played longer seasons at Utica, as well as a few smaller companies which would probably not have been successful in the larger city. Skaneateles and Cooperstown, which had been relatively active recipients of circuses, panoramas, and minstrel shows, each hosted few theatrical troupes in the fifties.

Six major managements dominated the theatrical scene at different times throughout the decade. The brothers G.A. and W.H. Hough came first, operating in four different turn-pike villages between 1850 and 1852. They were followed by John Nickinson's company, which provided Utica with two long, star-studded seasons before it moved into other environs. A mixture of managers which included at different times Robert Marsh, John Ellsler, and George Arnold, were at their most active between 1854 and 1855, during which time Marie Duret conducted a successful fall season in Utica. Harry Plunkett and company brought quality theatricals back to Utica in 1858, and provided Auburn its most successful season to date in 1860, and C.N. Lewis re-established a strong theatrical presence in Utica just as the Civil War began.

As the decade opened, J.H. Hall was wrapping up a month-long stay at Utica, ending with his benefit on Friday, 5 January 1850.⁴⁷ Then, between late May and early June, R.J. Miller and a Mr. Langrische leased the Museum for a week of theatre which went completely unmentioned in the press, except on the advertisement pages. The only announced players were Mr. and Mrs. Miller, who played dramatic leads, and Mr. and Mrs. Langrische, who dealt primarily with comedy.⁴⁸

In early September W.H. Hough presented his first season in Utica, at the Museum Saloon. His company, too, played without notice by the press for a week, but the silence was broken on 16 September by an editorial which stated, "This company is, without exception, the very best that has visited Utica." This and the fact that he was doing

well at the box office encouraged Hough to stay an extra week. Only play titles (see Appendix A) were listed in the advertisements until the last night of his season, 21 September 1850, when two company members, a Mr. and Mrs. Jones, were announced in Hamlet.⁴⁹

Hough next surfaced in Cooperstown in early February of 1851, when the editor of the Freeman's Journal announced:

Hough's Dramatic Company has been performing during the week at the Eagle, to crowded houses. They have brought out a succession of the most admired Tragedies, Comedies, Farces, etc., with great eclat. We understand they are to remain a few nights longer.⁵⁰

In spite of the fact that the Eagle Tavern had been packed, no other companies played Cooperstown again prior to the Civil War. Perhaps the Eagle seated too few spectators to make an engagement financially feasible; perhaps the advent of quick travel on the railroads had weakened the pioneer spirit of the itinerant players, who faced a long, uncomfortable stagecoach ride in making the trek to Cooperstown.

From Cooperstown Hough played along the southern tier of counties in New York State. He might have taken the Erie Railroad and journeyed westward on its tracks until he reached Seneca Lake. From here he and his troupe could have taken a steamer to Geneva, where they packed the Concert Hall for a week. More members of the company were revealed by the editor of the Geneva Gazette, who praised Hough and also listed his wife, a Mr. Phelps, and Miss Newton, "the beautiful danseuse."⁵¹

By the time of Hough's next appearance in Utica, beginning on 21 April 1851, he had named his company Hough's Excelsior Dramatic Company and called it "the largest and most powerful Theatrical company west of the city of New York." He had some reason to make this claim. Though Hough himself was not mentioned by Odell, Wemyss, or Brown, many of his company had reasonably good careers in New York or on the various touring circuits. Thomas Lyne had managed a company in the area during the forties. Mrs. Muzzy, the leading lady, had played extensively in Boston and Philadelphia from the mid-thirties and had been in New York during the 1849-1850 season at the National Theatre, from which Hough recruited several players. Miss Hathaway had made her debut at the National only a few months before Hough spirited her off on tour, and was a member of that company in 1857 and 1858; Mrs. Muzzy was hired at the National to replace an actress named Mrs. Melinda Jones, who could well have been one of the Joneses with Hough in the fall of 1850.⁵²

This company was well received by Utica audiences and press. After opening night the editor of the Gazette marveled at the size of the audience, which consisted of "a house such as has seldom greeted a theatrical company. Between 100 and 200 were obliged to turn back, unable to obtain a seat." A week later the editor praised Hough, but issued this gentle admonition:

We think he concludes wisely that the passion of our audiences is with amusement, and he intends to bring out lighter and more popular pieces . . .

Mr. Hough will have good audiences, so long as the performances amuse, and nothing is permitted which can offend the most fastidious.⁵³

Apparently Hough obliged, because his run continued successfully, featuring some good dramatic roles for Lyne like Rolla in Pizarro, but remaining more intent on producing comedies like The French Spy by J.T. Haines, which starred Miss Hathaway in three roles and was repeated several times. The company was expected in Syracuse on Monday 12 May 1851, but remained in Utica until the 17th, and returned again on the 26th after a brief engagement in Syracuse.⁵⁴

By 29 May Hough abandoned the management to Mr. G.R. Furber, who was soon joined by a Mr. Wyland. The company remained, and was reinforced by the likes of Mr. Dolman, a native Utican who had been with Mitchell's Olympic beginning in 1849; and C.J. Smith, who had been in the Bowery company in the forties.⁵⁵ Why had Hough left? The Gazette shed some light on the subject: In late April the editor praised the company, but noted that "nothing but the lack of room prevents the engagement from being a very lucrative one;" and after Hough's departure he noted: "To Mr. Hough are our citizens indebted for this most excellent company, and we understand the present arrangement has been effected on terms perfectly satisfactory to him." The company continued successfully without Hough through June. On 28 June the paper announced that Hough would give performances with a new company at the American Hotel in Rome, and on 1 July Hough began to advertize his Rome performances in the Utica paper,

directly under Furber and Wyland's daily advertisements. Rome was less than twenty miles distant from Utica, but in those days the journey would have been too arduous for a mere evening at the theatre. Perhaps because of the small house Hough and the Museum's owner had fallen out over profits. The sudden departure and the placement of his ads indicate that he might not have been as satisfied with the new "arrangement" as the editor had presumed.⁵⁶

Hough stayed away from Utica for the rest of 1851, but played throughout the fall in Auburn and Geneva. By the Auburn engagement in October, he had gone into partnership with his brother G.A. Hough, comic actor and successful manager for three years of the Troy Museum. Beginning on 22 June 1850 G.A. Hough had put his Troy operation up for lease, and within a year he joined his brother, a combination which worked, at least for a while. The editor of the Auburn Daily Advertiser praised the profitable season, which lasted most of October 1851: "This is the first and only company that has visited Auburn for years that has so managed as to secure the patronage of all classes, and it is a compliment to the gentlemanly managers from our citizens, and well merited by them." After playing short stays in Geneva and other villages, the brothers Hough returned in mid-December to Auburn's City Hall, which had been remodelled: "The seats have been repainted, and cushioned, the galleries improved, gas lights introduced, etc., etc., so that besides the inducement offered for large audiences by the Managers, the Hall presents its attractions." Houses were slim at first,

but by Christmas night the hall was filled, and attendance remained good to the end of the year.⁵⁷

The company played during the spring of 1852 at Syracuse, then, from 6 to 21 May it was back in Utica, managed solely by W.H. Hough. During this successful engagement the manager re-introduced Mrs. John S. Potter to the Utica audiences with whom she had been such a favorite in the late forties. Hough returned again to Utica in January 1853, but following on the heels of the successful Nickinson company, lasted only a week. After that, Hough dropped out of sight in New York State, resurfacing at Lexington, Kentucky in 1857, where his company played for over a month but was left in the lurch by manager Hough, who "absconded without paying his company" and never returned.⁵⁸

His brother remained in the area longer, bringing an unusual exhibition to Geneva in May 1853. The editor of the Geneva Gazette described it:

G.A. Hough, who has for many years catered to the dramatic tastes of the people in the "rural districts," has embarked in a novel and attractive exhibition. It consists of dramatic performances, singing, dancing, etc., under a pavilion capable of holding 1500 persons. His company numbers some 40 persons, and they make a grand entre into each town they visit, with a band of music, in real circus fashion.

Perhaps G.A. Hough had had enough of rural halls which could only bring in small receipts and decided that, since he could not beat the circus, he might as well join it. No critical reaction was offered in Geneva, and though he announced his

pavilion in Utica, it was not clear if he ever set it up. He was next heard from later in the decade when the resourceful manager Charles Plunkett brought him back to the area as a very popular guest star.⁵⁹

Despite the ups and downs of the brothers Hough, between them they provided some of the best theatre in the area until John Nickinson brought his company to Utica in September 1851. This man of the theatre combined a successful itinerant career with stays at Burton's and Mitchell's in New York City, from whence he came to the turnpike villages. As early as 1841 he had managed a theatre in Montreal. In 1847 he put a company together at Newark, New Jersey, and after his excellent seasons in Upstate New York during the early fifties, he would go back to Canada, managing theatres in Quebec and Toronto until 1858.⁶⁰ Whereas the Houghs had branched out all over Central New York, Nickinson concentrated his powers in Utica, to which he brought the first full fall and winter season from 6 September 1851 to 6 March 1852. Six months later he was back, giving Uticans plays and stars from 14 August 1852 to 3 January 1853.

Nickinson brought his company to a new playing space. In 1850 Comfort Butler had sold his Utica Museum to Nelson Roth, a local jeweler who made improvements on the old structure and collection and, in the summer of 1851, built a theatre adjoining the museum proper. Roth began work on the edifice immediately after the very successful engagement of Furber and Wyland, probably because he saw the economic advantages of a larger performance space for Uticans who were

beginning to feel less squeamish about attending the theatre. The building was completed by 31 July, with dimensions 115 feet long, 38 feet wide and 28 feet high, with a seating capacity of 1200.⁶¹ John Nickinson and a company of 25 opened it on 8 September, with a flourish of trumpets; an address written and delivered by popular poet/lecturer Park Benjamin; a poem written by H.W. Rockwell and recited by the manager's talented daughter, Charlotte; and a program consisting of Napoleon's Old Guard and Rough Diamond. The editor of the Gazette was exuberant in his praise of the performances, especially of the manager and his daughter, but also of Mr. Dolman, who had been a member of Furber and Wyland's troupe, and F.A. Vincent, who would later become a member of Laura Keene's company. The editor was also impressed that the audience was "highly respectable, and seem to relish the improvement of the drama in this latitude."⁶²

Thus began Utica's first full year of theatricals, and the auspicious introduction signalled a similar reception throughout the season, which can be divided into two parts. Until late January Nickinson displayed the strength of his permanent company. He opened with one of his specialties at Burton's, Napoleon's Old Guard, and soon placed David Copperfield, in which he had often played Micawber, into the repertoire. He introduced recent dramas and farces, one of the most popular being The Conscript's Bride, which was repeated several times throughout the fall. On a few occasions the manager set up "theme" evenings, as in his Dickens

evening, in which both David Copperfield and Dombey and Son were performed; for Miss Nickinson's benefit the theme was late eighteenth-century high comedy, a double bill of She Stoops to Conquer and the screen scene from The School for Scandal.⁶³

At this benefit something of the audience's enthusiasm for the company, and particularly for Miss Nickinson, was apparent, when at the crowded performance

a number of gentlemen expressed their admiration of the fair Actress by throwing upon the stage a purse of \$100 in gold, and we learn another gift to the value of \$40, has been presented by some others.

Lest this be seen merely as a method for romantic gentlemen to worship the beauty of an actress, at Mr. Vincent's benefit in early December, he was thrown a purse of \$150.⁶⁴

If the performances glittered, so did the sets and costumes, which for the first time in Utica received critical praise on more than one occasion. In the production of London Assurance, for example, "The scenery, the dresses and the furniture are all in the rich style of the fashionable circles in which the scenes of the comedy are laid." And The Conscript's Bride "was brought out in fine style, with new dresses, scenery, etc."⁶⁵

After he had thoroughly exploited his regular company's talents, Nickinson brought out the stars. His first was one of the most popular tragedians of the day, John R. Scott of the Bowery, disciple and at times rival of Edwin Forrest. It was his first visit to Utica and the Gazette was suitably

impressed: "Never before has tragedy been produced here under circumstances so favorable to correct and lively representation."⁶⁶ Scott gave the audiences Othello, Macbeth, and Richard III, as well as Bulwer-Lytton's Richelieu, Knowles's Virginus, and other recent melodramas. He was re-engaged for a week, after which the Denin sisters, Susan and Kate, played an engagement with their step-father, John Winans. These two had capitalized on the craze for child stars like the Bate-mans, and though not quite as successful as that pair, had become quite popular, especially on the tour. Now in their mid-teens, they played New York State frequently throughout the decade, and Uticans watched them blossom into mature actresses with relatively successful careers. After the Denins' engagement Scott was again re-engaged, and the season closed on 8 March 1852 with a complimentary benefit to the Museum's owner, Mr. Roth.⁶⁷

The Nickinson venture had been a tremendous success, financially and artistically. However, to put the season in some perspective, Nickinson, even with his large, packed houses, could not quite woo the greatest talent in the area. Charlotte Cushman played Syracuse that year; in fact, Scott left to support her there.⁶⁸ He accepted the second re-engage-ment at Utica in part because it was on his way back to New York City. All in all, however, the fall and winter season of 1851-1852 was a landmark in Utica's theatre history.

Following the engagement of W.H. Hough's company, J.W. Crocker and a Mr. Chesebrough presented a three-week season during August of 1852, which featured the dramatic acting of Crocker, who had played at the Park in the forties, and the pantomimes of W.A. and W.F. Wood. The managers also brought in for one week Mr. and Mrs. F. Conway, who had made their first American appearances at the Broadway Theatre in 1850. Crocker and Chesebrough's regular company was strong as well, featuring Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drew, who had both been acting since childhood in New York and provincial theatres; George W. Griffiths, a member of the Bowery company during much of the fifties; and acting manager Chesebrough, who had also played throughout the tour circuit.⁶⁹

Nickinson returned in early September 1852, and announced that he would open Roth's Museum, which had been adorned with frescoes and gold leaf. His second season offered "a rapid succession of novelties in Tragedy, Comedy, Vaudeville, Ballet, Burlesque, Extravaganza, Farce, Burletta, and the latest novelties of the day, constantly presented with the entire strength of the company." He began his rapid succession almost immediately, presenting two performances a day during the week of the State Fair, which was held in Utica that year, and which brought huge crowds to any city lucky enough to host it. The company seemed not to have been quite as strong as it had the first season, and began shakily. The manager had lost the services of Dolman and Vincent, which might have caused the editor to complain that the female members of the company were superior to the male.

Among the first stars that Nickinson presented were dancers and variety acts, including the Rousset sisters and Donetti's comic troupe of Acting Monkeys, Dogs, and Goats.⁷⁰ Nickinson's inclusion of the performing animals might have signified that his houses had slimmed since his first visit, and that he added variety to increase receipts.

Immediately after the dogs and monkeys, however, Nickinson brought back J.R. Scott, then added Lionel Bernard, a Burton's veteran who would become a company regular and favorite; shortly after that he introduced Utica to Charles W. Couldock, another of the best-known tragedians of the day. Originally brought from England to America by Charlotte Cushman to play opposite her, Couldock's greatest success was in a melodrama called The Willow Copse, in which he made his Utica debut.⁷⁰ Couldock was joined by Andrew Jackson Neafie, like Scott a member of the Forrest school of acting. The editor of the Gazette pointed out that Couldock resembled Macready in style, and Neafie emulated Forrest, implying that auditors would see the best of both acting worlds when they played together. The editor was thrilled with their Surface brothers in The School for Scandal, and when they united in Othello, with Neafie in the title role, Couldock as Iago, and Miss Nickinson as Desdemona, his paper called it "the greatest bill ever offered in Utica."⁷²

After nearly the entire company, including John Conaughty the machinery man, were given benefits, the season closed on 3 January 1853. It was the occasion of a star-

studded complimentary benefit for Mr. Roth, featuring Couldock, Neafie, and Madame Ponisi, who had come to America in 1850 and played opposite Edwin Forrest and E.L. Davenport. Neafie, Couldock and Ponisi acted Otway's Venice Preserved, Neafie and Couldock repeated their successes in The School for Scandal, and the two Nickinsons closed the evening and the season with W. Collier's Kate Kearney.⁷³

After the Nickinsons left, confusion fell upon the theatre scene in Utica. Almost immediately Alonzo Phelps was announced as the next manager, with several stars listed to appear, but instead W.H. Hough played an unsuccessful week in spite of his star, actress-dancer Julia Turnbull. Owner Roth then took matters into his own hands and engaged the Denin sisters, who had some success during their one-week stay.⁷⁴

By early February Lionel Bernard, formerly with the Nickinsons, opened a brief season which featured a Panoramic Drama, directed by Bernard, called London and Paris, a Trip to Both Cities. This was probably a burlesque, featuring a "beautiful panorama and ludicrous effects." The Gazette related the author's description of the piece before it opened:

The dialogue we are told runs through the whole the whole of the panorama and is of a very ludicrous nature.--The incidents portrayed on the canvass are as varied as they are striking. The wild summer's day--and the stormy night--with sinking vessels--drowning crews--and a ship on fire.

This strange panoramic piece might have been written by Bernard; perhaps it was a loose adaptation of Planche's

Paris and London (1828). If he did write it, was not Bernard's first dramatic effort for Utica audiences. On the occasion of his benefit (Christmas night) during Nickinson's season it was advertised that he would perform in a play he had written. No further information was given, but possibly it had been Bernard who had penned a "Laughable Local Extravaganza" called Morphine; or, Utica in 1952, which, though it received no critical comment, was one of the most often-played pieces of the fall. Bernard's panorama also proved popular, running for a week in conjunction with various farces like A Kiss in the Dark by J.B. Buckstone and Slasher and Crasher by Thomas Morton. After this actor/playwright/director's exhibition closed on 16 February 1853, Uticans had to wait until September for more theatrical fare.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, the other turnpike villages were not completely bereft of theatrical performances. In 1852 and 1853 Geneva hosted two companies, each of which enjoyed successful engagements of at least two weeks duration. A Mr. Hull brought a company to Parodi Hall, which had just been improved by raking the rows at the back of the auditorium for better visibility. The company opened on 9 March 1852 with Othello. The editor praised the company, saying, "several actors sustained their parts well--full as well, indeed, as any company out of the cities." C.J. Smith, most recently seen in the area as manager of Syracuse's National Theatre, played the title role and was greeted by the applause of a full house. Other members of the company included Yankee

Scoville, also no stranger to the turnpike villages; the Herbert Whitneys, both of whom had recently starred at Syracuse; the Lortons, he the stage manager of the company; and Miss Wilkinson. From their successful run of nearly three weeks in Geneva, the company moved on to Seneca Falls with the commendation of the editor of the Geneva Gazette, then disappeared from the villages along the turnpike.⁷⁶

In time for the Christmas season of 1852, J.W. Lanergan brought his Excelsior Dramatic Company to Geneva's Concert Hall, having played Rome, Schenectady and other New York State towns en route. The company played to full houses for two weeks, during part of which time the manager, who was also the star player, was too ill to perform. On 17 January they returned and played a third week, still drawing full houses. Lanergan was another specialist in Irish characters, but was capable of a wider range, as he showed in New York City in 1854, when he was featured at the Broadway Theatre supporting Fanny Davenport in Camille and playing Lysander in A Midsummer Night's Dream.⁷⁷

Auburn, too, saw theatrical activity in 1853, three different troupes providing widely varied dramatic experiences. On 7 February G.E. "Yankee" Locke brought his specialized entertainments to the Auburn Theatre, and in the summer Lewis, Almy, and Company's National Dramatic Pavilion brought performances of both Uncle Tom's Cabin and Putnam; or, the Iron Son of '76 to town under a canvas similar to G.A. Hough's. Their advertisement implied that with their tent they had become state-of-the-art:

This magnificent moving Temple of Art, capable of accommodating 2000 persons, embraces an entirely new, complete, and unprecedented combination of attraction, and is especially designed to satisfy a very general desire for a higher order of Amusements than those usually exhibited under canvass.

In their "correct and truthful version" of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 29 ladies and gentlemen were featured, and the play was interspersed with "Popular Melodies and numerous Thrilling Tableaux." W.R. Derr, the famous Bowery equestrian, starred in Putnam, as he had in New York. Rounding out the varied entertainment was Yankee Scoville, featured in The Celestial Empire; or, the Yankee Among the Chinese and Ladies' Rights in 1958; or, 100 Years Hence.⁷⁸

The theatre-goers of Auburn were treated to one of the most famous performers of the era, when Frank S. Chanfrau, better known as Mose the Bowery B'hoi, was the featured attraction with J.B. Tozer's Great Metropolitan Company, which began an engagement at the Town Hall on 18 November 1853. Chanfrau and his long-time leading lady and tour partner, Miss Albertine, played in The Toodles by W.E. Burton on their opening night.⁷⁹

Although Marie Duret's theatrical season in Utica was not heralded as had been the Nickinson engagements, the only female manager in the area under discussion managed to maintain a season at the Museum of nearly five months' duration, with a strong company and an array of more stars than the former manager had fielded. Like Nickinson, Duret allowed her

core company to exercise its strengths, this time for two months. She and Alonzo Phelps played leading dramatic roles in such works as The Lady of Lyons by Bulwer-Lytton, which opened the season, and The Wife; or, a Tale of Mantua, by J.S. Knowles. G.W. Griffiths and a Miss Carman shared comic responsibilities, and Mlle. Adeline was the company's danseuse.

By the third night of the season Duret had already introduced The Queen of the Abruzzi, which she ran for three consecutive nights, and on 13 September she played The Green Bushes, which she immediately repeated. Perhaps in introducing these short runs she was preparing the public for the week-long engagement of Alladin; or, the Wonderful Lamp, which began on 21 September. Throughout October she brought out several pieces new to Utica audiences, including Mary, Queen of Scots, Ondine, and Isabella, and ran Jack Sheppard for a full week at the end of the month.⁸⁰

On 7 November 1853 Duret offered her first star attraction when J.R. Scott, who was becoming quite well known to Uticans, was featured in Damon and Pythias. A week later she brought in Mrs. H. Lewis, a specialist in roles usually reserved for men. Not only did she play the relatively usual Romeo to Duret's Juliet, she also appeared in the title role of Richard III, and even as Rolla in Pizarro. Her more conventional appearances included Lucretia Borgia and The French Spy by J.T. Haines. Ireland praised her as "capable of assuming every variety of character--tragic, comic, melodramatic, pantomimic, male or female. She was a graceful

dancer, an accomplished swordswoman, and has occupied the post of leading lady in several prominent American theatres." The Denins appeared next, followed by G.J. Arnold, who, like the sisters, was also becoming a familiar figure in the area. Though first listed with star billing, he and his wife both became permanent members of the company, in what appeared to be a trade in the line of leading male roles, Phelps having left the company on 16 December.⁸¹

During that month Duret made one of those bows to the community which was generally appreciated. She brought out a piece called The Utica Fireman which played for three nights, and received one of the few editorial mentions of her entire season. She brought back the popular Scott, who played until the end of the year, then featured a G.K. Dickinson, who played Romeo to her Juliet and Arnold's Mercutio, among other roles. The last star of the season was George Couldock, who, like Scott, was becoming an almost obligatory part of a long season in Utica. He was featured in Richelieu, Macbeth, and The Willow Copse.⁸²

Something happened shortly after Couldock's engagement. On 11 January 1854, Duret's name was replaced as manager by Mr. Roth, owner of the Museum. She continued to play until the end of the season, the last performance of which featured Couldock as Hamlet, Arnold as Laertes, and Duret as Ophelia, but on that same day, in addition to the name of Roth on the ad, the name of G.J. Arnold was listed as stage manager. As had happened earlier in the decade, another manager had been quickly replaced without public explanation.

By 27 February 1854 Arnold, in conjunction with his non-performing partner, a Mr. Spencer, had organized an impressive company, including Miss Margaret Mitchell, John and Effie Ellsler, the Deering family (Mr., Mrs. and Miss E.), W.R. Floyd, H.L. Savage, and, in the dances, Mlle. Fanny. Maggie Mitchell had played juveniles at the Bowery under Hamblin's management, and in the mid-fifties she went on tour, making a name in whatever section of the country she played. By the later years of the decade the Spirit of the Times noted her star engagements at Boston, and even Burton's in New York. The Ellslers traveled throughout the country, he successfully managing theatres in many different cities. Odell said of him: "Ellsler bore a great part in the development of the American stage in the next quarter century." W.R. Floyd first appeared in New York at White's Varieties in 1852, and in 1854 was a member of the Metropolitan company; the Deerings had appeared in several New York theatres, including the Brooklyn Museum.⁸³

The first three weeks of the company's engagement featured a mix of melodramas and farces, but from 20 March until the end of the season on 8 April the fare was Uncle Tom's Cabin, featuring T.D. "Jim Crow" Rice in the title role, Arnold as George Harris, and Maggie Mitchell as Topsy. On 24 March an addition to the piece was featured, in the form of "a beautiful scene, painted by Mr. Almy, entitled 'An Allegory of Heaven,'" which was featured at the end of the play. O.F. Almy had been involved with the pavilion perfor-

mance of Uncle Tom the previous summer at Auburn, and painted scenes for Laura Keene's Theatre later in the decade. Although Hough had announced a performance of Uncle Tom in Utica the previous summer, during which season the panoramized Tom was also presented, the Utica Daily Gazette heralded Arnold and Spencer's effort as the legitimate local premiere: "Uncle Tom dramatized, was presented at the Museum for the first time, last evening." It enjoyed, in its three-week run, the longest continuous performance record in Utica's theatrical history, after which the management immediately took it to Syracuse for another extended run.⁸⁴

By 22 April the troupe, with a few additions and a new title, the Utica Company, was on its way back for a month's engagement. Arnold and Spencer were still at the helm, but they had been joined by John Ellsler, who functioned as acting manager. They opened with a Utica premiere, Bulwer-Lytton's Money, and on the next night they introduced a new star, J.B. Roberts, to Utica. This American tragedian, who appeared in an unusually large number of Shakespearean plays including Richard III, Othello, Macbeth, and Hamlet during his one-week stay, did not attract crowds at Utica. Towards the end of his run the Gazette complained,

The performances of the dramatic company have been thinly attended for the past two or three evenings, in consequence of the inclement weather. A number of legitimate pieces have been produced and were well worth the liberal patronage of the public.

Shakespeare, at least as portrayed by Roberts and company,

had fared poorly in Utica, and the management offered Uncle Tom's Cabin again, this time for only three nights. Couldock then returned, featured in Hamlet and Robert Macaire on the same evening, and was "loudly applauded" by "a very respectable auditory." After Couldock's engagement Roberts was brought back, and the season closed on 23 May with a complimentary benefit to Mr. Spencer, who received praise from the Gazette as one who "has made great exertions to please the patrons of the drama."⁸⁵

Almost immediately on the heels of Ellsler, Arnold, and Spencer the Marsh troupe entered Utica, opening with their version of Uncle Tom's Cabin on 29 May 1854, which featured Robert G. Marsh, the manager, as St. Clair and his daughter, Little Mary Marsh, as Eva. Two nights later the program shifted to W.H. Smith's famous temperance drama, The Drunkard; or, the Fallen Saved, followed the next night by the recent hit, Hot Corn! or, Life Scenes in New York, with Little Mary Marsh as Little Katy. After a repetition of this piece, the company departed, leaving the Museum in the hands of freaks and magicians for nearly a month.⁸⁶

Spencer and Ellsler returned to Utica on 1 July 1854. Their names alone appeared as management this time, and they had adopted the pragmatic stance of introducing Coney and Taylor and their trained dogs as part of the show. In fact the dogs were the most advertised part of each bill, during which no particulars were offered until the last night, when Pixérécourt's The Forest of Bondy; or, the Dog of Montargis, probably the most famous dog drama of the day, was performed.

It seemed that the fortunes of the management were declining in the shift from guest stars like Couldock to performing dogs. Possible further proof existed in the management's offer of a splendid silver cup which would be presented to the author of the best original conundrum, apparently in order to entice more of an audience into the theatre.⁸⁷

At some point during the summer a merger occurred between Ellsler and Marsh, for by 18 August the two were linked in management at Syracuse, with the services of G.J. Arnold as leading man. From Syracuse they moved to Auburn, where they billed themselves as Marsh & Ellsler's Star Museum Company when they set up their stage in Stanford Hall beginning on 2 September 1854. Their merger had not only combined several good players from their former troupes, but had also enticed new players of some talent and reputation. This they proudly touted in their advertisement, listing names and experience for every member of their company (see Appendix A). The new faces included George F. Boniface and G.F. Browne, both of whom had played in several New York theatres, and Miss Cordelia Cappell, who would play New York in the near future.⁸⁸

The editor explained, as he introduced the troupe to the citizens of Auburn:

The gentlemen are furnished with letters of introduction to several of our citizens, all of which speak of them and their company as being quiet, orderly, and civil in their demeanor, and correct in their habits...The fact that the company have been able to secure Stanford Hall for their performances is good evidence that they will be of a creditable character.

And in a notice at the bottom of their introductory advertisement, the managers pledged: "The strictest order and decorum will be observed. Gentlemen will readily comply with this request; Ladies are never at fault."⁸⁹ They played only a week in Auburn, used no stars, and offered a repertoire of standard melodramas and comic afterpieces. Marsh and Ellsler seemed to be making every attempt to get their new company off on the right foot.

Shortly after the company left Auburn, they presented themselves in Utica, where they played a month's season at the Museum. Though Marsh and Ellsler were still at the head of the troupe, another shift had taken place in their titles. Whereas in Auburn they had been joint lessees, now Marsh was sole lessee, and Ellsler was stage manager. The company remained nearly the same as it had been at Auburn, except that W.H. Meeker became one of the leading actors, probably taking over roles that had been assigned to Boniface in Auburn. They opened on 23 September and played to "large and appreciative audiences," according to the Gazette, which had touted the troupe as "the best corps of actors in the state, out of the city of New York." They had been open less than a week when they brought out the reliable Couldock as their first and only star.⁹⁰

After Couldock's engagement, which included a play written expressly for him, called Charles XI, the company acted the new play Beauty and the Beast for an entire week. This piece featured, along with the regular company, "a number of young

ladies and little misses, who have been engaged expressly for the purpose," to play living Roses and Lilies. Eight ladies and thirteen children had been collected, probably from the community, for this task, which probably increased the popularity of the piece. Immediately following the successful fairy tale play the company turned to the dramatized version of a recent fictional work by Mrs. Ann S. Stephens called Fashion and Famine. For this expensive undertaking, presented "unabridged and in the best manner," the Gazette claimed that the management was rewarded by the "unusually large and fashionable audience." Marsh was given a complimentary benefit on 23 October, but the last night of the season belonged to Little Mary Marsh, who repeated her performance as Julia Warren, the Strawberry Girl, in Fashion and Famine for her benefit.⁹¹

Shortly after the Marsh and Ellsler troupe left Utica for Rochester, Lewis and Company's Dramatic Troupe, minus Almy and pavilion, visited both Geneva and Canandaigua. They played Geneva first, opening at Concert Hall on 9 November 1854 "to a good house and with a good bill," according to the editor of the Geneva Gazette. C.N. Lewis, the manager, announced his company as "the ORIGINAL 'Uncle Tom' troupe," because, he claimed, Miss Mathews was the original personifier of Little Eva. They were in Geneva at least three nights, and although they probably included Uncle Tom's Cabin in their engagement, the only announced performances were for 10 November, when the bill consisted of The Sleeping Robber; or, Lust of Gold and The Lord and Cobler. The company

had a longer run at Canandaigua, where they played Uncle Tom's Cabin at Atwater Hall for five straight evenings, then varied their entertainments, while waiting for a larger hall to open up in which they could continue to play Uncle Tom's Cabin. Whether or not they remained in Canandaigua until Bemis Hall was renovated is unclear, but they presented an exhibition there on 19 December for the benefit of the Hall's owners.⁹²

Only a week later a new company opened in Utica, for a one week run. Advertised as a company from Boston, managed by J. Berby Strong with W.H. Curtiss as stage manager, they had problems opening at the Museum because an accident had detained several company members. Perhaps because of the accident the management changed somewhat. Strong remained in charge, but Mr. Savage, formerly in Utica with Arnold and Spencer's company, became stage manager. The company was not puffed by the press, and the only significant event during their week in Utica was their production of a new play "by a gentleman of this city," entitled Foreign Ains and Native Graces, on 29 December.⁹³

Strong closed his engagement on New Year's Day, and a week later the Marsh and Ellsler troupe was back in Utica with most of its old company, for a run of nearly two months, during which it introduced Utica to its first concentrated dose of opera, and also to two famous American stars new to the city. The Italian Opera Company opened only a few nights after the company had arrived. They offered two complete

works, Donizetti's The Child of the Regiment [sic] and Lucia di Lammermoor, on bills with afterpieces performed by the regular company, then extended a night, after delighting "a large and appreciative audience," offering, at reduced prices, scenes from Norma and Hernani. Also on the bill was the temperance drama, Another Glass, which was repeated on 15 January, "positively the last night" of the opera company, which sang a melange from a number of operas.⁹⁴

The next night Utica first witnessed the talents of McKean Buchanan, who had just returned from three years in Europe. He played four Shakespeares in six nights, after which the regular company took over with The Forty Thieves, which they ran for an entire week, accompanied by a new farce or comedy each night. Next came Joseph Proctor, another American tragedian, who had gained great acclaim for his performance in Nick of the Woods by Louise Medina, and who played it for Uticans twice during his week-long stay.⁹⁵

Marsh and Ellsler next brought out one of Utica's former favorites, Miss Charlotte Nickinson, who also played a week, including in her repertoire London Assurance and a piece never before announced in the villages under discussion, Much Ado About Nothing. The last star was, once again, Charles Couldock, who gave his usual Hamlet and The Willow Copse, among others, closing his engagement and the season with King Lear on 27 February and Charles XI on the 28th.⁹⁶

On 23 April 1855, the editor of the Utica Daily Gazette announced that a new drop curtain had just been completed for the Museum by Mr. Hart, a New York scene painter. He took his

subject from a series of paintings on "The Voyage of Life," by Thomas Cole, one of the most famous members of the Hudson River School. Unfortunately the curtain was displayed only a week for Utica theatre-goers, during performances by the company of Messrs. Brunton and Grierson. These managers seemed to have wanted to stay longer, and had brought with them the tragedian George Jamison and Miss Louisa Reeder, along with the promise to engage "some of the distinguished members of the profession." The second week of their run was to have introduced the rising talent of Miss Kimberley to local audiences, but the company disappeared somewhere between Saturday 12 May and Monday 14 May 1855.⁹⁷

Hart's curtain might have been illuminated again a month and a half later when, according to the editor of the Gazette, "The Utica Museum will be opened by G.W. Johnson of the Boston Theatre, who is accompanied by nearly the entire Dramatic company of that establishment." An opening bill was announced, consisting of The Hunchback by Knowles and The Good for Nothing by Buckstone, but no more was heard from the company through 30 June 1855. After that date a two-and-a-half year lapse in available issues of the Utica Daily Gazette obscures any concrete knowledge of Johnson and company's engagement.⁹⁸

Very little other documented theatrical activity occurred in the turnpike villages between summer 1855 and early 1858. Yankee Scoville played Geneva's Concert Hall on 19 November 1855, with Miss Adele, danseuse, Miss Clara, and

a "Melange Company" in an evening of what was called "Scoville's Varieties." Surely this entertainment contained some dramatic material, probably in the form of Yankee one-acts, but only one announcement was given of the exhibition.⁹⁹

A year and a half passed until the next announcement of theatricals in the area. On 5 March 1857, Canandaigua was visited by a troupe calling themselves the New York Dramatic Company. They played the recently enlarged Bemis Hall in that village where the editor of the Ontario Republican Times reported that they were drawing large and respectable audiences. "They are assisted by Spanier's Canandaigua Band, and get out highly attractive bills. We hope they will be liberally patronized."¹⁰⁰ This editorial was the only evidence of this company in the area. Evidence was nearly as thin for a Mr. Mitchell's company, which might have visited Geneva in late 1857 or early 1858. The editor noted that it consisted of actors of high repute from New York and the East, that it was now in Watertown and that, after touring the Canadas, it would play a season in Geneva.¹⁰¹

There was probably no dearth of activity after mid-1855, only a dearth of currently available newspapers. Geneva and Canandaigua stayed about as active--or inactive--theatrically as they had been during the earlier part of the decade, while Auburn had only been spottily active as well. Utica remained the theatrical center and was probably visited by several troupes through this seemingly quiet period. Some information can be had by piecing together newspaper accounts from Syracuse and Rochester. For example, a series of brief

articles in the Syracuse Daily Standard in late 1855 gave interesting evidence capsulized in the following three announcements:

10 December 1855: The Utica Telegraph says that the manager of the Metropolitan Theatre in Utica, is negotiating for a lease of the Syracuse and Rochester Theatres, with a view of making a permanent season between Utica, Rochester and Syracuse.

15 December 1855: NATIONAL THEATRE.--This place of amusement [in Syracuse] which has been closed for some time past, will be opened this evening for a short season, under the direction of Mr. W.M. Foster. Mr. Foster, with his talented company has been performing for a short season at the Metropolitan Theatre, in Utica, and comes among us highly recommended by the press of that city . . .

24 December 1855: The National Theatre was closed on Saturday evening, after an unsuccessful season of one week. Mr. Foster, the manager, announced that he would be in this city again sometime in February, with a good company, and fit up Corinthian Hall in good style for a short theatrical season. Mr. F. is a clever man and a good actor, and we shall be pleased to welcome him back again to the city.¹⁰²

There is no record that Mr. Foster ever came back to the area, but in this series of articles something of the hope and excitement for a permanent theatrical season was exhibited by the editor of the Standard, along with his spirit of polite resignation when the attempt failed. Aside from this interesting news, however, the articles revealed a season of performances by Foster's dramatic company in Utica, probably from late November to mid-December 1855. They also suggested that sometime between the end of June and late November, Roth, the Museum's owner, decided to upgrade his playing

space by renaming it the Metropolitan Theatre, perhaps in anticipation of the promised circuit.

Another single newspaper reference revealed that a company probably played Auburn in early 1857. An H. Jordan leased Syracuse's National on 15 January, with a company which included Kate Ludlow the dancer and D. Myron, who would soon try his hand at management in the area. Their Syracuse bills included Mose the Fire Boy, a variation on Benjamin Baker's A Glance at New York, and in rehearsal was a dramatization of Mrs. Stowe's Dred. The company left town rather quickly after their first week, according to the editor of the Standard on 22 January:

We have not heard from the Theatrical Company for several days, and supposed the frost had shut up the establishment. From the following card we clip from the Auburn Advertiser, it seems that the company are about to try their fortunes in that city.

He then wished them better luck than they had had in Syracuse. Perhaps Auburn got the chance to see their production of Dred.¹⁰³

The fate of Jordan's company might have been influenced by the financial Panic of 1857, which, while not as serious as that of 1837, made luxuries like the theatre less likely to succeed. By 1858, however, theatricals were apparent in Geneva, Canandaigua, and Utica. A troupe headed by a Mr. Breyer visited the first two places in March and April and, according to an editorial in the Geneva Gazette, had already played Utica. Concert Hall had just been renovated in Geneva,

with improvements to both the stage and auditorium, and the visit of the Breyer troupe was the first occasion on which the raised stage, the repainting, and the addition of a gallery could be shown off. The troupe came in from an engagement in neighboring Waterloo, opening on 30 March with Boucicault's Don Caesar de Bazan and Moncrieff's The Spectre Bridegroom. Although no subsequent advertisements were taken out, and no editorial puffing added more information, they apparently played a two week run, for they opened on 15 April in Canandaigua, the next train stop west.¹⁰⁴ Mr. Breyer provided these two westernmost turnpike villages their last recorded theatrical entertainment before the Civil War.

Issues of the Utica Daily Observer recorded theatrical activity in that city from April 1858 until the Civil War broke out. An article in early June revealed information about another company that had performed locally. It concerned Mr. D. Myron, already mentioned, who was about to open a theatre in Little Falls. He had been leading man with John Ponisi's company when it was in Utica. The Syracuse papers offered some corroboration in their announcements about the Ponisi company for a week in late April 1857. Ponisi probably went from Utica to Syracuse on his way west, placing him at Utica in approximately mid-April 1857.¹⁰⁵

On 3 July 1858 Harry Grattan Plunkett opened a short season at Metropolitan Hall (the re-named Museum annex). Plunkett's two documented stays in Utica were relatively brief, but significant in the quality of dramatic talent he

brought to the area. A real man of the theatre, Plunkett had made his American debut at the Park as Hamlet in 1843, but spent much of his career as a touring actor-manager. At Burton's in the late fifties he wrote burlesques while a member of the company; he was even a sometime correspondent for the Spirit of the Times. The scope of his career in Upstate New York was noted by the editor of the Observer: "Plunkett is an enterprising man. He undertakes to supply Utica, Syracuse, Rochester and Oswego with theatricals; and he does it satisfactorily." In this statement the editor also implied that Plunkett had played Utica before. He had been active in Rochester from October 1856 all the way through 1857, and played in Syracuse in January 1858, making earlier visits to Utica plausible.¹⁰⁶

During his summer engagement in Utica Plunkett featured John Sefton, a noted comic, and Mr. and Mrs. Holman, principal vocalists at Burton's, with their troupe of "juvenile songsters." The manager's wife Ada was named as a Utica favorite by the editor of the Observer, and the entire company was lavishly praised:

Cultivated, talented, and of unblemished reputation themselves, both Mr. and Mrs. Plunkett have appeared, surrounded by actors and actresses actors and actresses against whose characters no damaging breath has been blown. The whole company are studiously devoted to their profession, and strive day and night to earn the approbation and applause of Theatregoers.¹⁰⁷

Plunkett left Utica on 13 July for Oswego, then returned on 9 August, bringing with him the Keller Troupe,

who presented the historical drama Joseph in Egypt, which featured six tableaux, and other similar plays on biblical themes. Beginning 16 August his wife and the core company were featured in Lucrezia Borgia, London Assurance, and Camille, among others, and on 23 August he brought in the popular Denin sisters.

These talented young women also proved very clever in their method of wooing a crowd. They purchased a silver trumpet, the prize of one of the local jewelry stores, and announced that they would present it to the fire company which sold the most tickets to their benefit performance on 28 August. Throughout the week theatrical advertisements included references to the silver trumpet, the tension mounted, and Metropolitan Hall was packed that night when Susan and Kate Denin presented their wise investment to the winning company. To appease the other firemen in town, Mrs. Plunkett delivered a special address to the firemen of Utica, and a rousing bill was given, including Douglas, with Susan Denin as Young Norval and sister Kate as Lady Randolph.¹⁰⁸

The next night was the last night of the season, another benefit which featured the popular Mrs. Plunkett in two pieces, and probably left the audiences looking forward to a quick return of the Plunkett company. Instead, in the following Monday's Observer the editor announced that Plunkett had ended his connection with the Metropolitan because of "difficulties with the proprietor of the Hall, which had induced him to give up the lease of five years which he held, and to determine that he would never again be the tenant of

such a man." Along with the editorial there appeared a letter of testimonial to Plunkett signed by 33 prominent Uticans. That night Plunkett and his wife gave dramatic readings at Mechanics' Hall, aided by members of the company, and the next day they were gone.¹⁰⁹

Plunkett's quarrel with Roth might have been an echo of other quarrels between the owner and earlier managers. Already during the fifties a manager's name had quickly been taken from the theatre advertisements and Roth's put in its place. Whatever the reason, these struggles between owner and manager could have been partly responsible for the lack of activity in Utica from Plunkett's departure to the eve of the Civil War. While manager Plunkett stayed quite active in the area through 1860, he never returned to Utica.

Later in the fall of 1858, Auburn was visited by a troupe which was identified only as hailing from the National Theatre in Syracuse. The opening and closing of the company were announced in the Auburn Daily Advertiser: Damon and Pythias inaugurated their brief season at Corning Hall on 11 October, and the next Saturday, 18 October, "an intensely local play dedicated to the firemen of Auburn" ended it. At that time the Syracuse theatre scene had no permanent company, and the most recent troupe to play the National was Plunkett's earlier in October, making it the most likely candidate to have entertained the audiences of Auburn. It was also the last troupe to ever play the National Theatre, which by 14 December 1858 was converted into a stable.¹¹⁰

Back in Utica another intrepid manager tried his fortunes at Metropolitan Hall, and failed. Mr. Gay, who had been a supporting player with Plunkett's company, decided to pull a company of his own together, but the first notice in the Utica Daily Observer, on 28 October, ominously observed that the would-be manager had not been able to make the proper arrangements, and would probably not open the theatre. The next notice, on 11 November, announced that Gay would open that night, but the next day's paper said that "a provoking derangement of the gas fixtures of the Hall prevented" the opening, but that the company would definitely play tonight. The editor appended the note that the company "ought to have a fair hearing." A week went by without editorial or advertisement, and on Friday, 19 November, it was announced that a Mr. Edgerton would open the Metropolitan with a good stock company. No dates were given, but presumably he opened on Monday the 22nd, for on the following Monday the editor gave his only other notice about the company, a complimentary one: "Mr. Edgerton has a really good company at Metropolitan Hall. The Hermit of the Rock and The Soldier's Return will be played tonight, and Mr. Lefler and Miss Clara LeRoy will appear."lll

The rapid flow of aborted openings and quick closings at Metropolitan Hall indicated the instability of Utica's theatrical scene, and the next announcements of local dramatic productions held a sort of absurd mirror up to current theatrical events. On Friday 3 December an editorial announcement was headed "Asylum Theatricals," and read, "The

patients of the Lunatic Asylum, we understand, are preparing to give a Theatrical Entertainment at the asylum, next Tuesday evening." Although there was no editorial reaction to the event, it was successful enough to be continued. Less than two months later, on 25 January 1859, the next asylum theatricals were announced, the bill for the night beginning with the perhaps unfortunately chosen Slasher and Crasher, and concluding with The Two Bonnycastles.¹¹²

The final absurdity came a month later. D. Myron, after having problems in his preparations, announced that he would begin a season with his dramatic company on 28 February 1859. He never got the chance, because at 4:00 a.m. the day before, fire destroyed the Metropolitan Theatre. Although Myron tried to make arrangements for another hall, it was ultimately easier to go elsewhere, and on 1 April he opened in Syracuse instead.¹¹³

After the fire Utica had to wait almost two years for its next visit by traveling players. Then in September 1860, D. Myron returned, with a troupe he called the Star Company, to the Concert Hall. On the day the company opened, the editor of the Observer made the following plea to the potential audience:

We hope Myron will have a good house on this, his opening night,--a house which will evince a disposition on the part of our citizens to sustain respectable theatrical representations in Utica. Mr. Myron has had years as a manager and can conduct a good Theatre here if our people only furnish adequate support to the enterprise.

In spite of "many imperfections in the presentation of the plays, as there always will be on an opening night," the enterprise lasted two weeks. Advertisements were sporadic, as was editorial assistance, and when Myron took his benefit on 4 October, he was forced to borrow the Denins' trick to entice an audience, this time offering a handsome hose pipe to the fire company who sold the most tickets.¹¹⁴ The company left Utica having sustained a season which was, at best, mediocre.

While the big city of Utica (population 22,169) could not seem to hold a theatrical company at the end of the decade, an unexpected spurt of theatrical activity occurred in the little village of Skaneateles (population 3,976), from itinerant players and also from local sources. On 30 June 1859 the Skaneateles Democrat described an apparently inconsequential company which had just completed a very brief run:

A travelling troupe of Comedians styling themselves the Cantidores, gave two entertainments at Lyceum Hall, one on Saturday evening and another on Monday evening. The audience was neither very large nor particularly select, but those who were there appeared to enjoy the fun hugely. Success to the Cantidores, vive la bagatelle.¹¹⁵

More interesting than the Cantidores was the inauguration of community theatrical activity at Skaneateles in March 1860. Two local groups were involved, possibly in a friendly competition, one of which seemed to have been organized relatively haphazardly from among the youth of the village, the other from the last place in the world anyone would have expected: the Sons of Temperance. The latter group appeared at Temperance Hall on 8 March in a "Grand Exhibition of . . . Decla-

mations, Dialogues, songs by the Glee Club, and many other scenes which will be amusing and instructive." This occurrence was, in its own small way, something akin to the advent of theatricals in the Medieval Catholic Church. Out of an institution which had been its prime denouncer came the drama, and not serious temperance drama, but scenes which amused as well as instructed. In their review by the Democrat, some of the Sons of Temperance were complimented on their histrionic ability: "Some of the actors exhibited powers of acting which, if cultivated, might render their names famous."

The other group announced an evening at Lyceum Hall of "Readings, Comedies, Tragedies, Tableaux," the proceeds from which probably went to defray the cost of the yearly lecture series. The Democrat noted that the hall was filled to overflowing, and that the performances were as good as could be expected from the short rehearsal period. The sets received this interesting review: "The scenery, too, was delineated with a masterly pencil. No art could imitate it."¹¹⁶

Local theatrical fever, once begun, was catching. The nearby village of Borodino announced a similar exhibition by the end of the month, and another "theatrical representation" was announced in Skaneateles again on 1 May, "to witness the debut of our village beaus and belles." By now the group had given themselves a name, the American Star Dramatic Association. Less than a year later the group got together again, this time in definite benefit for the Lyceum, announcing in

an elaborate advertisement which featured cast and scenes for their performance of Pickwick by Charles Dickens. The editor previewed the production for his readers with his tongue slightly in cheek: "[I] unhesitatingly pronounce it to be equal to what it is represented in the bills."¹¹⁷ Perhaps by the eve of the Civil War, America had finally learned to play.

The last troupe of traveling players to visit Skaneateles before the war announced itself on 3 January 1861 as Lewis and O.Harra's [sic] Dramatic Company, which played an engagement of at least one week at Lake House Hall. In the editor's comment was suggested a novel way for a theatre company to entice an audience:

An itinerant Dramatic Company are performing at Lake House Hall. We have not witnessed their performances, but [they] are favorably spoken of by those who have witnessed their acting. We hear that they are greeted nightly by good houses of ladies and gentlemen. One thing we know, that if they act in comparison as they discourse music upon the balcony of the Lake House, in our after-
noons, they are no novices in their profession.¹¹⁸

In 1860, while Skaneateles was making its first experiments in community theatre, Auburn received the last dramatic company it would see before the Civil War. Antebellum theatricals went out with a bang in that little city, when Harry Plunkett came into town on 30 April. He featured a new leading lady, Miss Rachel Denvil, who had made her debut at the Bowery in 1855 and remained popular there through the decade. The editor was enthusiastic in his praise for the company's successful two week season, which featured Miss

Denvil the first week, then added the old favorite and former manager, G.A. Hough. He played Yankee roles, and Miss Denvil was featured at least twice in the Auburn premiere of Boucicault's The Octoroon. The season was to have ended on 12 May, but because of his success Plunkett had been induced to stay for three more nights, the last of which was a grand complimentary benefit for the manager.¹¹⁹

Utica's theatrical fortunes had waned since the departure of Plunkett in 1858, but as the first shots of the war were fired, another theatrical troupe invaded the city and for the first time in three years waged a successful campaign. The manager was C.N. Lewis, the same man who had exhibited the Dramatic Pavilion in 1854 and who had recently played Skaneateles. He brought with him a familiar face from the thirties and forties, W.S. Forrest, who also functioned as stage manager. The season opened on 13 April 1861, the day after the first shots had been fired at Fort Sumter, and much more apparent than the theatrical advertisement were the headlines "WAR COMMENCED!" and "Civil War Begun." The war did not seem to adversely affect the theatre, however. In fact the editor of the Observer claimed that "This establishment draws better houses than any Theatre has attracted in a good many years," and later, "Good houses are the rule with the theatre notwithstanding the war excitement and the hard times."¹²⁰

After the first week Forrest left, but he was replaced by the most popular play of the ante-bellum period, and one

which seemed particularly apropos in the early days of the war: Uncle Tom's Cabin. The play ran for only two nights, and after a few days Lewis gave Uticans a more unique treat, in the form of Adah Isaacs Menken. She opened on 4 May with The French Spy and her famed burlesque, Lola Montes, and for the rest of her run the theatre was crowded, because, as the Observer pointed out, "Adah captivates wherever she goes."¹²¹

After she left on 10 May the manager quickly concluded his season. For his benefit and last night of the season on 13 May, one month since he had arrived, he presented one of what must have been the most quickly-penned and briefly-rehearsed plays ever exhibited in Utica, Major Anderson; or, the Hero of Fort Sumter. On the occasion of his benefit the editor wrote a lengthy paean to the manager who had saved Utica after years of theatrical doldrums, in which he touched upon some of the difficulties the theatre had to bear in the ante-bellum years:

His company ranks with the best companies that have ever been seen in Utica. We are glad to say that the season has been very far from a failure. Theatrical performances have not generally been very well patronized in Utica in the best of times, but Mr. Lewis, hard as the times have been, has been awarded a very good patronage. In addition to this patronage, we doubt not our theatre goers will be glad to unite pretty unanimously in giving Mr. Lewis a flattering token of their appreciation of his labors. Mr. Lewis is a worthy gentleman, who has endeavored to conduct his Theatre according to rules which the best class of our citizens must approve.¹²²

During the early 1850s the theatre asserted itself vigorously in many of the turnpike villages. A few large

companies featuring stars of national prominence played the area, usually concentrating on population centers such as Utica. Smaller, less well-known troupes plied the smaller villages and some attempted brief seasons in Utica as well. The moral codes that had made the profession of traveling player so difficult in the thirties and forties eased, the growth of the railroads made access easier, and the citizenry seemed more prepared to enjoy the idle pleasure that the theatre offered.

Compared to other popular exhibitions, especially the circus and the minstrel show, the theatre remained on relatively shaky ground in the decade before the Civil War. Public woes, like the Panic of 1857, helped keep theatre out of even its local stronghold, Utica, while other forms of entertainment visiting that city became more frequent and more popular. On the eve of the war, however, Auburn enjoyed the pleasures of Plunkett's troupe, Skaneateles experimented with locally generated drama, and Lewis's strong company played a highly successful season in Utica. These energetic bursts of varied theatrical activity suggested the possibility of a healthier life for theatre along the turnpikes during the conflict and after.

Conclusion

In Trouping: How the Show Came to Town, Philip Lewis wrote an undocumented, sometimes fanciful account of the movements of traveling players in America on the railroads of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹ This dissertation presents a documented look at earlier movements of itinerant performers, during the ante-bellum era, in the days before railroad lines thoroughly crisscrossed the country, when the methods and practices of touring were defined and re-defined as systems of transportation changed and grew. It focuses on several villages throughout New York State, a small but representative slice of the touring pie. The study has made certain discoveries about the relationship between transportation and traveling entertainers, about the performers who ventured into the area and the entertainment they offered, and about the villagers who received the exhibitors and their fare.

Transportation

The premise of this dissertation is that in the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War, every performer traveled, from the most famous stars, such as Edwin Forrest and Charlotte Cushman, to the lowliest, poorest-paid

players of bit parts. Because everyone traveled, the tour itself became a necessity of theatrical life, and one of the most important aspects of the profession. During this era changes in modes and patterns of vitally affected tours, becoming major determinants in defining the routes touring players traveled.

The study has noted the ways in which actors and other entertainers reached the villages along the turnpikes of New York State during this period--via road, water, or rail. It has explained the rigors associated with these modes, such as the transformation of turnpikes into "mudpikes" after a rain, and the slow, hot, "moscheto"-infested rides on the Erie Canal on a hot summer day. It has also chronicled the advances in transportation up to the Civil War, for example the cutting in half of the time it took to travel from one village to the next with the advent of the railroad.

Perhaps more significantly, the study has discovered that, as the transportation revolution developed, the advances it made for the first time allowed touring companies discrimination in terms of where they could play. As the travel time between population centers was radically cut, a company experienced the luxury of deciding that, because it could travel fifty miles a day, it did not need to perform at a stop a mere fifteen miles down the railroad track.

As the transportation centers changed, so did areas of economic opportunity. Therefore, as the inhabitants of Central New York moved away from centers along the old paths of

travel and toward places associated with the new paths, the villages involved either grew with amazing rapidity into cities, or lost population and sometimes even disappeared. This study has discovered which turnpike villages prospered in this manner, thus becoming attractive to traveling entertainers (who were naturally drawn to places which offered the most potential profit), and which failed. For example, Utica succeeded primarily because of its strategic location along turnpike, canal, and railroad. The villages of Manlius and Herkimer, on the other hand, were located off the main arteries after the age of the turnpike, and were near enough to large, better-located places (Manlius near Syracuse, Herkimer near Little Falls and Mohawk), that their neighbors received most of the visiting performers.

Underlying all these observations is the implication that theatrical and allied entertainment in ante-bellum America became totally dependent on transportation, enmeshed in a relationship with the coaches, canal boats, and trains of the era which remained unbroken until after World War II, when the electronic media substantially altered the form of this relationship.

Plays and Players

In addition to its observations about the relationship between transportation and theatre, this study has made some discoveries about the performers who traveled to the turnpike villages. These "pioneers of the Drama," as Ludlow called

them, had one aspect in common, a tremendous energy which allowed them to endure both the physical rigors of the tour and the difficulties imposed by moral authorities of the day. In other qualities they can be divided into different types.

In the years between 1810, when Potter and Thompson exhibited their "Chinese Umbrose" and magic tricks and play-lets, and the early 1830s, most of the theatrical performers fell into two classes: those who had not succeeded in larger centers, usually New York, and those who were fledglings in their careers, and who would soon try their luck in a more competitive situation. In the former category, for instance, were Mr. Huntington and Mr. Dwyer, in the latter Matilda Twibill and Sol Smith. From these two groups companies were formed, usually consisting of one or two families as a base, aided by three or four others, who usually played supporting roles (both the Drake Company and Thornton and Williams's Company are good examples).

Though small, family-based companies persisted until the Civil War, they were supplanted in the thirties by larger companies with more theatrical experience, for instance Edwin Dean's company in the early thirties and Russell and Lyne's later in the decade. The make-up of these companies was a mixture of talent weaned from stock players in some of New York's largest theatres, and players that can be identified as regional talent, consisting of names usually unmentioned in Odell's annals but continually cropping up in theatrical companies in Utica, Auburn, and other turnpike villages.

A look through Appendix A will reveal such relatively local talent, which helped form the core of supporting players in companies throughout the late forties and fifties. Perhaps more usefully, the appendix also lists touring players who traveled the entire nation, and can be used to help place these itinerant performers, adding one vital section to the not nearly completed theatrical map of nineteenth-century America.

The Logan and Thoman Company was equally as strong as any which had played the turnpike villages, and in 1838 they supplemented their stock players with stars. The make-up of the Logan and Thoman Company set the standard for most subsequent ante-bellum troupes, like that of John Sharp Potter, which featured names such as Augustus Addams and Julia Dean for week-long stays, which were sometimes extended. Along with substantial stars Potter introduced lengthy seasons, playing in Utica for most of 1847. Potter's season, company, and stars brought the finest talent the Central New York area had seen to date, but even that was eclipsed in the early fifties by the managements of John Nickinson and Marie Duret, both of which sustained long seasons with strong companies and stars nearly as famous as Edwin Forrest, for example J.R. Scott and George Couldock.

To observe that the companies grew at a steady rate is to state the situation too simply, however, because along with the increasingly impressive credentials of troupes of players in the turnpike villages came management shifts and turmoil; this instability was part of the reason that the

theatre never firmly established itself in the area. From the thirties to the late forties most managements had to wage "theatrical wars" against moral forces to gain a foothold in the villages along the turnpikes. This warfare must have affected managers like Edwin Dean, who constantly presented good plays well acted by a sober and morally upright company in villages and cities where the moral majority denounced his finest efforts. He and others after him made enthusiastic and unsuccessful attempts to establish a permanent circuit in the area, but it was not merely disappointment in a long-term goal (the circuit) that discouraged even the heartiest managements. Day-to-day receipts were often too small, especially in the thirties, to pay the players. The failure of a dream added to the more mundane lack of funds forced managers like Dean to leave the area.

Later, when there was less moral antagonism, some managements remained, for one reason or another, on shaky ground. One of the patterns this study observed in the late forties and throughout the fifties was that, after a period of strong, relatively stable management, there often followed a time of instability. A good example of this occurred after Potter's unprecedented success in Utica. The next year Forrest and Ross began a season, but the management changed to Ross alone, then to Ross and Sutherland, followed by La Belle Oceana and Mr. Bennie, and culminating in The People's Theatre, all in a shorter period of time than the tenure of Potter's company during the previous season. Perhaps local

audiences had achieved a sort of theatrical saturation point, but it is more likely that less talented companies had attempted to bask in the success of strong troupes like Potter's, and failed.

Similar examples occurred in Utica throughout the fifties, as when Hough was replaced by Furber and Wyland; when Marie Duret was replaced by Roth, the owner of the Museum; and when Plunkett left town in a huff because he could no longer work for the Museum owner. These situations all had one factor in common--Roth. Further examination of these conflicts might elaborate on another of this study's discoveries: early examples of the struggle between businessman owners of playing spaces and the artistic temperaments of those who rented them.

Although this study focuses less on the repertoire presented than on the companies which presented it, certain observations, based especially on the information in Appendix A, can be made. This information is corroborative in nature, reaffirming in a specific instance the view generally held by scholars: that the pieces presented on ante-bellum American stages were written almost exclusively by a handful of British writers. The earliest plays presented in the villages along the turnpikes were generally the work of late eighteenth century writers like Colman the Younger, John O'Keeffe, Mrs. Inchbald, and John Kenney. Though some of these authors, especially Colman the Younger and Kenney, were retained in the repertoire to the Civil War, by the late thirties they began to be replaced, not by American writers (though a few

American plays began to turn up at this time), but by a new crop of English playwrights, including Sheridan Knowles, J.R. Planché, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, W.B. Bernard, and perhaps most prolifically, Charles Selby and John Buckstone.² These relatively new pieces became the standard repertoire in the forties and fifties. By the decade before the war, American writers like Cornelius Logan, Louisa Medina, S.D. Johnson, and others were sparsely represented in the turnpike villages, but the two most produced American plays were Smith's The Drunkard and, of course, Aiken's Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Before the 1850s the standard repertoire was a potpourri of melodrama and farce, with a change of bill nearly every night. In the fifties, companies began to run single pieces, usually accompanied by a different afterpiece, for as long as a week, examples including Green Bushes, The Corsican Brothers, and Jack Sheppard, as well as the more obvious example of Uncle Tom's Cabin. These comparatively long runs signalled the beginning of the move, accomplished after the Civil War, away from the stock company system and toward the combination tour. In addition to longer runs of single pieces, by the late forties traveling stars became more apparent in the area, and more Shakespearean drama was played, primarily because it represented such a strong portion of the stars' personal repertoires. Couldock, Scott, and other guests played the same four or five Shakespearean tragedies on each return trip to Utica.

Perhaps the most peculiar form of drama noted here is the temperance drama, which flourished in the mid-1840s. More interesting than the plays themselves is the discovery that this moral, instructive drama might have been a catalyst towards a more complete acceptance of the regular drama, when Hough's Temperance Company introduced farces and burlesques into what had previously been a repertoire of anti-alcohol dramas only.

The Audience

As important as the plays and players are the people they played to. Some things have been revealed in this study about the audiences of ante-bellum Central New York and their relation to the traveling entertainers. Given Ludlow's appellation of the itinerant actors as "pioneers of the Drama," it is ironic that the theatrical pioneers had such a difficult time gaining even temporary admittance into villages which had only recently been pioneered themselves. One of the points discussed above is that a dichotomy existed between the local and the itinerant. Settlers of the area had fought natural forces to build their homesteads and had formed protective small communities which harbored suspicions of strangers until they proved themselves worthy of trust. Some of the first strangers to enter the villages were traveling entertainers, and this natural suspicion, coupled with a further distrust of leisure activity (as a result both of the settlers' own hard, laborious lives and of the sermons they

heard which attacked leisure time as the devil's time), made acceptance of the interlopers difficult.

A partial solution to moral acceptance of popular entertainment lay in the Horatian formula that such activity should teach and delight. Other types of entertainment were proven of some educational value: music and dancing had been accepted community practice; museum entertainments showed unique forms of humans and animals, appealing vaguely to the scientific; the circus used the Bible to justify its animal acts; and the chemical lecture was an instructive form, no matter how much exhilarating gas was administered during its course. This study has offered examples throughout the era of advertisements invoking this theory, and has shown how the Horatian formula was applied.

Theatre had a more difficult time proving its instructional elements than did most of its fellow entertainments, and the arguments against it grew stronger in the early 1830s with the advent of the temperance movement. It seemed for a time that the theatrical forces had been routed in what became a war between dramatic troupes and the moral forces in the communities they dared to play, especially in this "burned-over district." Ironically, out of the temperance movement came temperance drama in the mid-1840s, and from the temperance drama, this study shows, came exploitative forms (like the repertoire of Hough's temperance troupe) which were partly responsible for the resurgence of the regular drama.

By the 1850s it seemed the turnpike villages had, in Foster Rhea Dulles's term, "learned to play," and traveling entertainment, aided by the advances in transportation, flooded into the area of Central New York. The study notes that other forms of entertainment (especially the circus and the minstrel show) were much more active and successful during this decade than the theatre, which possibly bore a continuing stigma from the earlier moral resentment against dramatic entertainment. In spite of frequent attempts to endear itself to the community, as by contributions to causes like temperance; by involving local organizations as the Denin sisters did with their reward for the fire company which sold the most tickets to their benefit; and by using local actors, singly or in groups, as in the little "flowers" employed for the run of Beauty and the Beast; during the ante-bellum period the theatre never gained more than a tenuous hold in the villages along the turnpikes.

The movement into one area of America by the pioneers of the theatre and popular entertainment has been observed in this dissertation in relation to the changes in the systems of transportation, and in relation to the people who received the offerings of the traveling players. The examination of these interrelationships has resulted in a history of the era somewhat different from American histories which follow the lives of presidents and generals, and also different from

theatre histories which focus on the great stars and centers of drama in ante-bellum America. The results are similar. This study, like the others, winds inevitably to the Civil War. But it takes a different path, examining not great events, but what Carl Bode calls "everyday experience, [which] bulks large in our life"; following Tolstoy's suggestion that the study of history should consist of "the movements of peoples and humanity, and not episodes from the lives of individual men."³ In following these movements it has helped to illuminate one era of our theatrical and cultural history and looks ahead to the next phase, when, after the Civil War, railroads covered the continent; when performers traveled more quickly and extensively to entertain many more similar small towns; when, as Tommaso Salvini said: "The actor's life in North America can be summed up in three words, "Theatre, train, hotel!"⁴

Notes--Introduction

1. Noah M. Ludlow, Dramatic Life as I Found It (St. Louis: G.I. Jones and Company, 1880), 2.

2. This study, however, is certainly not the only study of its kind. Other valuable examinations of theatre away from acknowledged centers during this era include James H. Dormon Theater in the Ante Bellum South 1815-1861 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967); and West T. Hill, Jr., The Theatre in Early Kentucky, 1790-1820 (Lexington, Ky.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1971).

3. Douglas McDermott, "The Development of Theatre on the American Frontier, 1750-1890," Theatre Survey 19 (May 1978), 63-78.

4. Arthur W. Bloom, "The Jefferson Company 1830-1845," Theatre Survey 27 (May and November 1986), 89-153.

5. Ludlow, 10.

6. McDermott, 65-69.

7. Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1950).

8. Roberta Balstad Miller, City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Regional Development (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1979). This study uses Onondaga County, New York to show how powerful a force was the Erie Canal in determining growth in area villages.

9. Lev Tolstoy, War and Peace, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Modern Library, 1931) 1144.

10. Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 124-25.

11. Anthony Smith, The Newspaper: An International History (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 81, 133.

12. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism A History: 1690-1960 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), 200-01.

13. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 30 July 1807.

14. Hotel Register, The Franklin House, Geneva, New York. Located in the Geneva Historical Society, Geneva, New York. Diary references will be noted as they appear in the text.

Notes--Chapter One

1. Quoted in Ima Honaker Herron, The Small Town in American Drama (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969) xvii.

2. John Thompson, ed., Geography of New York State (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966) and Harm J. De Blij, Geography Regions and Concepts (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971) were both excellent sources for this part of the study.

3. John W. Morris, ed., World Geography, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1972) 21.

4. J.C. Furnas, The Americans: A Social History of the United States, 1587-1914 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 247.

5. Thompson, 143.

6. Henry Balthasar Meyer, ed., History of Transportation in the United States before 1860 (Washington: Peter Smith, 1948), 355.

7. Thompson, 152, is a good example of the confusion in road names in that place and era.

8. Emily Williams, Cherry Valley Country (Utica, N.Y.: Brodock Press, 1978), 2-3; Thompson, 156.

9. Roberta Balstad Miller, City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Regional Development (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979).

10. Ibid., 7, 43.

11. Ibid. 50-52.

12. Ibid. 70.

13. Ibid. 79.

14. Sawyer, History of Cherry Valley (1898; reprint, Cherry Valley Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 2-40.

15. Williams, 3.

16. Sawyer, 78, 87.

17. Ibid., 107.

18. A History of Cooperstown, including "The Chronicles of Cooperstown," by James Fenimore Cooper; "The History of Cooperstown, 1839-1886," by Samuel Shaw; "The History of Cooperstown, 1886-1929," by Walter R. Littell (Cooperstown, U.S.A.: The Freeman's Journal Company, 1929), 14-18.
19. Ibid., 48.
20. Interview with Jane Spellman, Director, Herkimer County Historical Society, 28 August 1990.
21. Thompson, 148-49.
22. Ronald E. Shaw, Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal 1792-1859 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), 263.
23. Henry C. Van Schaak, "History of Manlius Village" (Lecture read before the Manlius Literary Association, 1873), 11. Located in the Manlius Historical Society, Manlius, New York.
24. Marian K. Schmitz, The Hollow and the Hill (Parsons: MacLain Printing Company, 1983), 5-8; Geraldine H. Gates and Tina P. Norton, "Then Onondaga Hollow, Now Onondaga Valley" (Bound typescript, Local History File, Onondaga Public Library), 9, 32.
25. Professor W.W. Clayton, History of Onondaga County New York 1615-1878 (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1878), 41.
26. Gates and Norton, 5.
27. Joshua V.H. Clark, A.M., Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times, vol. 2 (Syracuse: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 90, 93.
28. Schmitz, 12.
29. Edmund Norman Leslie, Skaneateles: History of Its Earliest Settlement and Reminiscences of Later Times (New York: Press of Andrew Kellogg, 1902), 77.
30. Thompson, 149.
31. Sedgwick Smith, Scrapbook. (Located in the Skaneateles Historical Society, Skaneateles, New York), unpaginated.
32. Henry Hall, History of Auburn (Auburn, N.Y.: Dennis Bros. & Co., 1869), 84.
33. Ibid., 125.
34. Ibid., 272.

35. George S. Conover, Early History of Geneva (Geneva: Courier Stream Presses, 1879), 256; Thompson, 143.
36. Conover, 260.
37. Ibid., 255.
38. Ibid., 271; Thompson, 160.
39. Albert J. Granger, "The History of Canandaigua" (Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration, 4 July 1876), 3. Located in the Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, New York.
40. George S. Conover, History of Ontario County, N.Y. (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1893), 218.
41. Ibid., 219.
42. Thompson, 159.

Notes--Chapter Two

1. Henry Hall, History of Auburn (Auburn: Dennis Brothers & Co., 1969), 62.
2. See Balthasar Henry Meyer, ed., History of Transportation in the United States before 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Peter Smith, 1948), 52-53 for a good summation of the basic problems.
3. Hall, 70.
4. Notice, Skaneateles Columbian, 19 June 1833. The penalty of five dollars is one of the most lenient documented for area villages.
5. Legislative notices, Otsego Herald, 17 February 1803, 26 April 1804, 8 January 1807.
6. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 28 February 1805.
7. Simon J. Bronner, "The Anglo-American Fiddle Tradition in New York State" New York Folklore 14 (Summer-Fall 1988): 23.
8. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 15 July 1795.
9. Good early descriptions include Otsego Herald, 8 July 1802; Ontario Repository, 10 July 1810.
10. Hall, 84.

11. Ibid. For a look at the partisan aspect of parades, see Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
12. Hall, 83.
13. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 21 March 1799. George Washington died in 1800.
14. A History of Cooperstown, including "The Chronicles of Cooperstown," by James Fenimore Cooper; "The History of Cooperstown, 1839-1886," by Samuel Shaw; "The History of Cooperstown, 1886-1929," by Walter R. Littell (Cooperstown, U.S.A.: The Freeman's Journal Company, 1929), 23.
15. Advertisement, Otsego Herald 29 June 1797.
16. Advertisement, Otsego Herald 21 December 1797.
17. Hall, 99-100.
18. Advertisements, Western Repository and Genesee Advertiser, 7 June, 4 October 1803; 3 January, 28 February, 12 June 1804.
19. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 16 December 1817.
20. Advertisement. Ontario Repository, 27 April 1819. See Appendix B for a typical program of the Ontario Haydn Society.
21. Editorial, Western Federalist, 18 September 1811.
22. Whitney R. Cross, The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1950), 175.
23. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 25 June 1807.
24. Editorial, Onondaga Register, 28 August 1816.
25. Cross, 175.
26. Advertisements, Otsego Herald, 7, 21 September 1797.
27. A History of Cooperstown, 20; Barriskill, 7.
28. Pulling Julius Caesar out of either Roman or Elizabethan costumes and into those of the American Revolution may be America's first attempt at "conceptual" directing.
29. A History of Cooperstown, 20. See Appendix B for the exterior of a similar academy in Auburn.

30. Ibid.
31. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 17 January 1815.
32. Editorial, Ontario Repository, 24 January 1815.
33. Editorial, Onondaga Register, 30 August 1815.
34. Editorial, Onondaga Register, 13 September 1815.
35. Letter to the Editor, The Watch-Tower, 11 September 1817.
36. Ibid.
37. Editorial, Cherry-Valley Gazette, 21 September 1819.
38. Editorial, Cayuga Republican, 1 September 1819. After the teens, academic performances almost completely disappeared from the pages of local newspapers, although notices of declamations at the academies continued throughout the ante-bellum era. Perhaps the anti-theatrical stigma extended to academic activity as well.

Notes--Chapter Three

1. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 19 November 1795.
2. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 27 February 1800. 3. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 3 July 1800.
4. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette, 30 May, 6 June, 22 August, 26 September 1810.
5. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 2 October 1810.
6. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 17 July 1813.
7. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 11 December 1813.
8. See, for example, Ontario Repository, 24 November 1818, 15 January 1822; Geneva Gazette, 3 September 1817, 20 January 1819.
9. For some of Bond's teaching dates, see Ontario Repository, 11, 25 June, 15 October, 5 November 1816; for Parsons, see same paper, 27 December 1814, 30 May 1815; for Johnson, see Utica Patriot, 26 November 1816.

10. Curphew had been active in Utica since 1812 (see Utica Patriot, 2 June, 24 November 1812; 23 February, 23 July 1816). His longevity in that community gave him "local" status, a triumph that he was probably able to transfer to Canandaigua, the village where he retired, but remained somewhat active (see Ontario Repository, 3 March 1818).
11. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 1 April 1817.
12. James M. Barriskill, "The Cooperstown Theatre to 1850" (Unpublished typescript in Special Collections, New York State Historical Society Library, Cooperstown, New York, n.d., but circa 1950s), 2. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 13 October 1796.
13. Barriskill, 3.
14. John J. Walsh, "The Theatre and Entertainment in Utica from Early Times to the Opening of the Stanley Theatre" (Bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York, n.d., but ca. 1950s), 1.
15. Ibid., 1-2.
16. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 18 June 1810.
17. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 26 June 1810. The Chinese Umbrose is a distortion of ombres Chinoises, or Chinese Shadows, one of several names for shadow shows, described by Richard D. Altick in his comprehensive study, The Shows of London (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1978), 117-119. They are also described in Paul McPharlin, The Puppet Theatre in America: A History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 57, 60. See Appendix B for Potter and Thompson's 26 June program.
18. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 4 July 1810.
19. Major Abel M. Grosvenor, Diary (Manlius Historical Society, Manlius, New York).
20. McPharlin, 67-68.
21. Walsh, "Theater and Entertainment," 2.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid. Columbian Gazette, 31 March 1812.
24. Advertisement, Cooperstown Federalist, 20 June 1812.
25. Noah M. Ludlow, Dramatic Life as I Found It (St. Louis, 1880; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966), 12.

26. Mastin Collection, (New York State Historical Society Storage Facility, Cooperstown, New York). The collection consists of 14 canvases used by Mastin for his primitive panoramic display. These, a copy of his handbill, and his written "spiel" were found in 1954, and have been housed at Cooperstown ever since.

27. Cooperstown Federalist, 20 June 1812.

28. Advertisement, The Western Federalist, 12 August 1812.

29. Barriskill, 9.

30. H.P. Phelps, Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage (Albany, 1880; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 47. Barriskill, 9.

31. Barriskill, 10.

32. History of Cooperstown, 31.

33. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 27 July 1813. 34. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 17 August 1813.

35. Advertisement, Otsego Herald, 16 October 1816.

36. Advertisement, Utica Patriot, 23 August 1814.

37. John J. Walsh, "Vignettes of Old Utica: Persons, Places and Events" (Bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York, undated, but ca. 1950s), 94. See Appendix B for an exterior of Bagg's Tavern (or Hotel).

38. Advertisement, Utica Patriot, 21 March 1815.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ontario Repository, 20 June 1815.

42. G.C.D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 213; T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 190; Francis Courtney Wemyss, Chronology of the American Stage from 1752 to 1852 (New York: Wm. Taylor & Co., 1852), 68. Brown and Odell spell his name Huntington, Wemyss spells it Huntington, and reminds the reader that it should not be confused with another, who spelled it with a "d." Each of them dates his unfortunate performance as Macbeth differently. For more on Huntington, see T. West Hill, The Theatre in Early Kentucky, 1790-1820 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971), 82, 107. It was not unusual to allow a new actor a lead role to test his abilities. This was probably the circumstance under which Huntington played his Macbeth.

43. The information in this paragraph is taken mostly from Ludlow, 7-12. Information on stock companies and "lines" of acting is from Bernard Hewett, Theatre U.S.A. 1668 to 1957 (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1959), 15. For a brief description of acting styles and repertoire in America at the time, see Garff B. Wilson, A History of American Acting (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 8-13.

44. Ludlow, 7-8.

45. Ibid., 13.

46. Ibid., 7-12.

47. Phelps, 48; editorial, Albany Argus, 28 April 1815.

48. Barriskill, 21.

49. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 18 May 1815.

50. Barriskill, 21.

51. Editorial, Geneva Gazette, 19 July 1815.

52. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 11 July 1815, 18 July 1815. See Appendix B for Drake's second ad.

53. Editorial, Ontario Repository, 25 July 1815.

54. The list was compiled from Ludlow, 8-12; Barriskill, 21; Otsego Herald, 18 May 1815; Geneva Gazette, 19 July 1815; Ontario Repository, 11, 17 July 1815. See also appendix A.

55. Ludlow, 6.

56. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 18 May 1815. An interesting sidelight becomes apparent by adding up information from Ludlow book and from Sol Smith's two sets of memoirs, Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1847) and Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years (1868; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968). The two budding thespians might well have been "supers" together during the spring 1815 season at Albany. Unfortunately, they became such antagonistic partners that neither of them ever admitted the possibility.

57. Ontario Repository, 11, 17 July 1815.

58. Advertisements Ontario Repository, 15 October, 12 November, 19 November, 24 December 1816; 7 January 1817; advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 4 December 1816; advertisement The Advocate of the People 15 January 1817. For specific bills, see Appendix A; for program, see Appendix B.

59. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 24 December 1816.
60. Smith, Theatrical Apprenticeship, 16.
61. Odell, 2:357. For more information on the Thorntons see Hill, 85, 90-92.
62. Odell, 2:375.
63. Joseph Ireland, Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860, 2 vols. (1867; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 1:327-29. Smith, Theatrical Apprenticeship, 20.
64. See Ontario Repository entries, note 58.
65. Geneva Gazette, 4 December 1816.
66. The Advocate of the People, 15 January 1817.
67. Advertisements, Ontario Repository, 11 April, 22 August 1815.
68. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 7 January 1817.
69. Advertisement, The Advocate of the People, 15 January 1817.
70. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 15 July 1817.
71. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 21 August 1818.
72. See Chapter 2, 33-34.

Notes--Chapter Four

1. Through the Years in Auburn, Centennial Commemorative Souvenir Program (Auburn Centennial, Inc., 1948) unpaginated. Seymour Library History Room, Auburn, New York.
2. Mrs. Anna Bagg Holiday lecture, February 1896. Cutting found in General Scrapbook 18:12, Onondaga Historical Society, Syracuse, New York.
3. For Kean's itinerary in late 1820 and early 1821, see, for example, G.C.D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 2:581-89.
4. William Rounseville Alger, Life of Edwin Forrest, The American Tragedian, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877), 1:102-104.

5. John and Alice Durant, Pictorial History of the American Circus (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1957), 39.
6. Advertisements, Ontario Repository 16 May 1820; Cherry Valley Gazette, 25 April 1820. See ads in Appendix B.
7. Roger Haydon, ed., Upstate Travels: British Views of Nineteenth Century New York (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982), 149.
8. Ibid.
9. James M. Barriskill, "The Cooperstown Theatre to 1850" (bound typescript, Special Collections, New York State Historical Society Library, Cooperstown, New York) 27; John J. Walsh, "The Theatre and Entertainment in Utica from Early Times to the Opening of the Stanley Theater" (bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York), 3.
10. Advertisement, Ontario Repository 5 December 1820. All quotations in this paragraph come from this issue. See Stowell and Bishop's ad in Appendix B.
11. Walsh, "Utica Theatre", 2; Nellie Edith Bitz, "A Half Century of Theatre in Early Rochester" (M.A. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), 9.
12. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 5 January 1825.
13. Rochester Telegraph, 15 June, 27 July 1824. See Appendix B for the Canal Museum ad.
14. Noble E. Whitford, "Effects of the Erie Canal on New York History," New York History Quarterly Journal 7 (1926):89.
15. Introductory Filmstrip, Erie Canal Museum, Syracuse, New York; viewed in August 1989.
16. In addition to individual diaries of foreign travelers, including Tyrone Power, Impressions of America; during the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836), several collections exist featuring pertinent sections of diaries. One example is Roger Haydon's book (see note 7 above); another is Clayton Mau, The Development of Central and Western New York (Dansville, N.Y.: F.A. Owen Publishing Co., 1958).
17. Quoted in Whitford, 89. 18. Ibid., 91.
19. Barriskill, 28.
20. H.P. Phelps, Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage (Albany, 1880; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom,

Inc., 1972), 55. Enthusiastic editors of local papers, like other citizens eager to have the best for their villages, sometimes announced the visit of a personality merely on the basis that he or she would be in the area. Throughout the entire period an editorial announcing the imminent arrival of the players is never proof that they actually arrived.

21. Advertisement, Cherry Valley Gazette, 5 August 1823. See Appendix B for the Walsteins' ad.

22. Francis Courtney Wemyss, Chronology of the American Stage from 1752 to 1852 (New York: William Taylor & Co., 1852), 29; T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (1870; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 376.

23. Odell, Annals, 2:32. 24. T. Allston Brown, 376.

25. Barriskill, 36-38.

26. Ibid., 30, 33.

27. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette, 25 June 1823; Ontario Repository, 1 July 1823.

28. Advertisements, Ontario Repository, 3, 10 December 1823.

29. Barriskill, 37.

30. Milton W. Brown, American Art to 1900: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), 180, 203-04. Dunlap wrote a History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States (1834) as well as as well as a History of the American Theatre (1832).

31. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 10 March 1824.

32. Phelps, 58.

33. Editorials, Rochester Telegraph, 6, 13 April 1824.

34. Bitz, 6.

35. Phelps, 55.

36. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 21 Apr 1824.

37. Advertisement, Geneva Palladium, 5 May 1824.

38. Advertisement, Geneva Palladium, 5 May 1824; Bitz, 6.

39. Editorial, Geneva Palladium, 5 May 1824.

40. Advertisements, Geneva Palladium 5, 12, 19 May 1824. The Irish Tutor, (R. Butler-1822), is the earliest example in this area of so recent a play in a troupe's repertoire.

41. Bitz, 6-8.
42. Advertisement, Geneva Palladium, 19 May 1824. See the actual ad in Appendix B.
43. Bitz, 7.
44. For a complete discussion of the company's activity in Rochester, see Bitz, 6-45.
45. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 30 March 1825.
46. Sol Smith, Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years (New York, 1868; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 26.
47. Joseph Ireland, Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860 2 vols. (1866; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 1:447. Ireland got the debut year wrong, writing 1825 for 1824. Odell, 3:125 correctly dates the information.
48. Phelps, 60.
49. Advertisement, Cherry Valley Gazette, 24 May 1825. The subtitle of The Purse, here listed as The American Tar, is often titled The Benevolent Tar.
50. Barriskill, 39.
51. Walsh, "Utica Theatre" 5; Clarke T. Wood, Utica for a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 35.
52. Sol Smith, Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections (Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1847), 95.
53. Ibid., 96.
54. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 26 October 1825.
55. Ibid.
56. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 2 November 1825. See Appendix B for Williams's ad.
57. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 8 November 1825.
58. Editorial, Geneva Palladium, 23 November 1825.
59. For more information on Williams's season in Rochester, see Bitz, 15-24.
60. Advertisement, Ontario Repository, 8 November 1825.
61. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 16 November 1825.

62. Barriskill, 40-42; Advertisement, Cherry Valley Gazette, 14 February 1826.

63. Quoted in Bitz, 11.

64. Smith, Theatrical Apprenticeship, 96-101; Bitz, 12-14.

65. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 8 March 1826.

66. Editorial, Geneva Palladium, 12 April 1826.

67. Bitz, 21-24; information on Maywood from Wemyss, 93-94; information on Hamblin from T. Allston Brown, 157.

68. Geneva Gazette, 5 July 1826.

69. Quoted in Walsh, "Utica Theatre," 5-6.

70. John J. Walsh, "Vignettes of Old Utica: Persons, Places and Events" (bound typescript dated 1975, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York) 94.

71. Walsh, "Utica Theatre," 5.

72. Ibid., 6; advertisement, Oneida Observer, 1 August 1826.

73. Advertisement, Geneva Palladium, 6 September 1826; Barriskill, 53, 56-59. T. Allston Brown gives additional information about Mr. Trowbridge on pages 362-63.

74. Advertisement, Geneva Palladium, 6 September 1826.

75. Barriskill, 53-54.

76. For more information on Trowbridge and Gilbert's second visit to Cooperstown, see Barriskill, 56-58.

77. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 28 June 1826; editorials, Geneva Gazette, 19 July 1826 and Ontario Repository, 9 August 1826.

78. Carroll T. Waldron, "A Hundred Years of Amusement in Utica, 1806-1906" (undated manuscript, Oneida County Historical Society), 5; Walsh, "Utica Theater," 6-7. The information on Forrest in Utica is available only from these two Utica historians. Waldron wrote at the turn of the century and had access to more newspapers than are now available, but his documentation is sparse. Walsh basically copied and embellished Waldron's data. While it is likely that Forrest played Utica in 1828, it has not been positively documented. The version of Rip Van Winkle played at Utica was the first-known dramatization of Irving's story, which premiered in Albany on 26 May 1828. See Walter J. Meserve, An Emerging Entertainment: The Drama of the American People to 1828 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 303.

79. Barriskill, 50-51.
80. Odell, Annals, 2:282.
81. The quotation is from Ireland, 1:454-55; see also Barriskill, 42-47.
82. Barriskill, 63-66.
83. Ibid.
84. Bitz, 5, implies that Sickles's presentations were probably puppet shows.
85. Barriskill, 66-67.
86. Ireland, 1:618.
87. Benefit information is from Barriskill, 71; other information on Palmer from Brown, 270, and Ludlow, 361.
88. Quoted in Barriskill, 71-72.

Notes--Chapter Five

1. Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1950), 153-154.
2. Nellie Edith Bitz, "A Half Century of Theatre in Early Rochester" (M.A. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), 54.
3. Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), 89-91.
4. Editorial, Otsego Herald, 10 July 1806.
5. James H. Dormon, Jr., Theatre in the Ante Bellum South, 1815-1861 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 246.
6. Ibid.
7. Lyman Eddy, Diary, entry for 6 September 1829 (Geneva Historical Society Archives, Geneva, New York).
8. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot 6 March 1833.
9. Advertisement, Cherry Valley Gazette, 19 March 1833.

10. James M. Barriskill, "The Cooperstown Theatre to 1850" (bound typescript, Special Collections, New York State Historical Society Library, Cooperstown, New York, undated, but ca. 1950s), 80. For examples of specific lyceum foundings, see Ontario Repository, 6 April 1831; Cayuga Patriot, 15 June 1831; Skaneateles Columbian, 27 December 1831. The best discussion of the lyceum movement is Carl Bode, The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968).

11. Dulles, 88.

12. Bode, 3, 4, 244. Young Men's Associations and Mechanics' Associations were two of the most prominent organizations throughout the country that set up lectures, debates, and other programs for more constructive use of recreational time.

13. Bode, 214.

14. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 9 January 1833.

15. Barriskill, 88.

16. Ibid., 89-90. Gerald Kahan, George Alexander Stevens and the "Lecture on Heads" (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 1-2. As popular a form as the lecture on heads was, it is surprising that McCleary was the only documented such lecturer during the entire era, especially in the light of Kahan's comment that painted portraits could take the place of busts, facilitating relatively easy travel.

17. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 3 July 1833.

18. George C.D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 3:76, 650.

19. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 7 December 1836; Utica Observer, 30 May 1837.

20. Advertisement, Geneva Courier, 1 June 1841.

21. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 14 August 1838.

22. Editorial, Geneva Courier, 28 July 1840.

23. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 14 September 1836.

24. Ibid.

25. "Made in Utica" (Pamphlet, Utica Museum of Art, 1976, in Oneida Historical Society) 25. The inclusion of Utica in the Peales family's chain of museums was quite an honor of its kind. The only other members of the small chain were Boston, New York City, and Baltimore, therefore, the inclusion of

Utica comments on its rapid growth and great potential. That two years later the Peales pulled out suggests that they might have been hasty in their judgment.

26. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 29 September 1830; Cayuga Patriot, 9 January 1833.

27. John J. Walsh, "Vignettes of Old Utica: Persons, Places and Events," (unpublished bound typescript, Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N.Y., 1975), 81. See Appendix B for an exterior view of the Museum.

28. Philip Graham Showboats: The History of an American Institution (1951; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), 24-25. In an article by "Doctor" Judd called "The Water Days of the Drama" in Theatre Magazine 3 (August 1903), 202-04, Butler's museum and theatre boat is also discussed, but without any documentation. Although secondary sources cite a Samuel Larned of Syracuse as owning such a boat. Larned's biographical file in the Onondaga Historical Society shows only that he operated a grocery boat on the canal. (Bradley Carey remembered that "it was a 'great show,' but nothing stuck with him but two wax figures--Lady Jane Grey and Mary, Queen of Scots." Syracuse Herald American, 11 January 1976. See also Chapter Four, 68.

29. Barriskill, 73-75.

30. Ibid. Richard D. Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1978), 50-56, presents excellent descriptions of some of the predecessors of this type of exhibition.

31. Editorial, Manlius Republican, 23 August 1831.

32. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 20 March 1838. Altick, 66, discusses Jaquet-Droz's automaton harpsichord player, exhibited in the 1790s, the probable prototype for Coleman's lady minstrel.

33. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 15 September 1830.

34. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 4 January 1832. The Rochester Telegram, 13 July 1824, printed an editorial from a Boston paper which complained that if many more mummies were shipped to the United States, they would become as populous as politicians.

35. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 26 January 1831.

36. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 1 November 1837.

37. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 6 February 1838; Barriskill, 109.
38. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 13 August 1839.
39. Odell, 4:419.
40. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 13 August 1839.
41. Advertisement, Cayuga Republican, 27 June 1832.
42. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 20 June 1832. See Appendix B for an exterior of Franklin House.
43. Advertisement, Cayuga Republican, 27 June 1839. The inclusive dates of the Twins's Auburn engagement were 3-5 July 1839. For Cooperstown information, see Barriskill, 81.
44. T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (1870; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 334; Barriskill, 81.
45. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 20 June 1837.
46. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 27 September 1837; Utica Observer, 3 October 1837.
47. An excellent example of this particular version of man's inhumanity to man is documented in Ashley Montagu's The Elephant Man: A Study in Human Dignity (New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1971).
48. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 25 September 1838.
49. Advertisements, Utica Observer, 26 September 1837, 25 September 1838.
50. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 27 September 1837; Utica Observer, 26 September 1837.
51. Odell, 4:419.
52. Advertisement, Ontario Repository 5 April 1837.
53. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 10 August 1836. See Milton W. Brown American Art to 1900: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), 204.
54. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 23 November 1836.
55. Advertisements, Utica Observer, 26 September 1837; Geneva Courier, 10 September 1839.
56. Advertisement, Utica Observer 28 February 1837.

57. Auburn Musical Association concerts were advertised in the Cayuga Patriot, and included the following dates: 23 June 1830, 29 June 1831, 8 May 1833, 4 July 1833, and 5 February 1834. For concerts in other villages, see Skaneateles Columbian, 29 March 1838; Herkimer County Journal 26 April 1838; Geneva Gazette 15, 22 July 1835, and 7 September 1836.

58. Examples of band concerts include advertisements in Ontario Repository, 15 February 1837; Geneva Gazette 14 March 1834; Cayuga Patriot, 15 December 1830; and in Barriskill, 78, for a concert in Cooperstown by the Utica Band.

59. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 3 March 1830; Barriskill, 79; advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 9 March 1831.

60. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 27 April 1836.

61. Editorial, Geneva Gazette, 26 July 1837. To give some idea of Russell's importance he is the only solo singer of sentimental lyrics listed in Charles Hamm, Music in the New World (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983) 188-91. The words to "Woodman spare that tree" would be welcome at environmentalist meetings today:

Woodman spare that tree!
Touch not a single bough
In youth it sheltered me
And I'll protect it now.

62. Editorials, Geneva Gazette, 10 April 1839; Utica Observer, 19 June 1838.

63. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 19 July 1837; Advertisement, Utica Observer, 24 September 1839.

64. Advertisement. Cayuga Patriot, 24 May 1838.

65. Advertisements, Utica Observer, 3 September 1839; Cayuga Patriot, 11 September 1839.

66. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 26 May 1830; for a more specific reference to monkey-semi-equestrianism, see advertisement, Cayuga Republican, 24 October 1827, a facsimile of which is available in Appendix B.

67. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 19 June 1831. See Appendix B for a copy of the ad.

68. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser, 1 August 1832; Cayuga Patriot, 1 August 1832; Cherry Valley Gazette, 9 October 1832. For Cooperstown information, see Barriskill, 83, 84.

69. Barriskill, 92.
70. Ibid., 95-98.
71. Ibid., 102-03.
72. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 15 June 1836; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 22 May 1838; Utica Observer, 21 April 1840, give evidence of the different circuses.
73. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 14 May 1834. See ad in Appendix B.
74. Barriskill, 113-14. One of the most common discounts for tickets at this time was the two-for-three offer, in which two tickets would admit one gentleman and two ladies. the discount encouraged ladies to attend amusements like the circus and the theatre.
75. Barriskill, 80. The good news was that, with strong reservations, the question was decided in the affirmative. Manlius Repository, 22 May 1832; Utica Observer, 19 September 1837. This debate was part of the Utica Lyceum's anniversary program, which may attest to the prominence of the subject.
76. Skaneateles Columbian 27 December 1831, 15 May 1833, 26 March 1835 (meetings); 25 June 1835 (Southwick's Bible lectures; 20 August 1835, 29 March 1838 (concerts); 2 November 1838, 25 October 1839 (village fair); 26 December 1833 (ladies' fair); 20 December 1837 (donation party); 2 July 1835 (4 July fireworks).
77. Editorial, Skaneateles Columbian, 23 May 1838.
78. Bitz, 55-56; John J. Walsh, "The Theatre and Entertainment in Utica from Early Times to the Opening of the Stanley Theater" (unpublished bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica New York), 7.
79. Barriskill, 76.
80. Ibid., 87.
81. Henry Hall, History of Auburn (Auburn: Dennis Bros. & Co., 1869), 81. See Appendix B for an exterior view of the Western Exchange.
82. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 10 July 1833.
83. Barriskill, 90-91.
84. Ibid.

85. Brown, 105; Noah M. Ludlow, Dramatic Life as I Found It (St. Louis: G.I. Jones and Company, 1880), 600.

86. Francis Courtney Wemyss, Chronology of the American Stage from 1752 to 1852 (New York: William Taylor & Co., 1852), 55, 57; Brown, 133; H.P. Phelps, Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage (1880; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 128. William Tell is another of the few examples at this point of recently written plays in area companies' reps.

87. Dormon, 105, 107, 157; Brown, 294.

88. Walsh, 10.

89. Ibid.

90. Bitz, 58.

91. Letter, Utica Observer, 14 February 1837.

92. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 14 February 1837.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Letter, Utica Observer, 21 February 1837.

96. Ibid.

97. Brown, 227; Ludlow, 423. Brown, 323, lists two Russells, one a Mr. Russell of the Pearl Street Theatre, Albany, and Richard Russell, who became known as a manager in New Orleans and other Southern theatres. The latter was already managing the New Orleans theatre in 1837, (Spirit of the Times 15 April 1837), leaving the former and lesser known Russell as probable co-manager with Lyne.

98. Barriskill, 71-72.

99. Phelps, 210-12; Arthur W. Bloom, "The Jefferson Company 1830-1845," Theatre Survey 27 (May and November 1986), 122.

100. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 7 February 1838.

101. Ibid.

102. The information on the Auburn Museum's prominence is based on an examination of the Cayuga Patriot for locations of entertainments. For the change of space, see advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 14 February 1838.

103. Phelps, 134, 146-48; Wemyss, 62; Brown, 149-50; Dormon, 209; William B. Wood, Personal Recollections of the Stage (Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1855), 290, 335-36.

104. Bloom, 122.

105. Joseph Jefferson, "Rip Van Winkle:" The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson (New York:Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1890), 14-15; William C. Young, Famous Actors and Actresses on the American Stage 2 vols. (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1975), 582.

106. The first issue of the Auburn Daily Advertiser came out on 14 May 1838, and Logan's first ad was placed 28 May 1838. Unfortunately, the file skips from 12 June to 14 August 1838, so the complete Auburn repertoire is not available. See Appendix A for as complete as possible a listing of plays and casts.

107. Editorials, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 29, 31 May 1838.

108. Editorials, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 6, 7 June 1838.

109. Information taken from issues of Auburn Daily Advertiser, 28 May-12 June 1838. Mrs. Harrison came to the area from successful seasons at the Park and Bowery Theatres (Odell, 4: 2, 54, 65-66, 84, 86). Odell noted that the New York Mirror found her transformed at the Bowery. At the Park she had been allowed to play only "preposterous dowagers." whereas the Bowery gave her the opportunity to do Titania. In 1840 she showed up at the Chatham (Odell, 4:376) as Anne to J.R. Scott's Richard III.

110. Francis Hodge, Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 142-43.

111. Brown, 359. Odell, 4:97, 150, noted Thoman at the Franklin Theatre throughout the mid-1830's in supporting roles.

112. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 9 January 1839.

113. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 16 January 1839.

114. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 23 March 1839; editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 3 April 1839. Spirit of the Times, 16 March 1839.

115. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 10, 17 July 1839. Odell, 4:53, 132, 416, noted J.S. Balls, "a volatile comedian from London" at the Park between 1835 and 1837. His last appearance in America was at the Olympic Theatre in new York in the summer of 1840. Mrs. Sefton had played with Thoman at the Franklin in 1836-1837 (Odell, 4:150, 160).

116. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 30 October 1839; Odell, 4:209-10.

117. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 17 December 1839.

Notes--Chapter Six

1. Tyrone Power, Esq., Impressions of America; during the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836). To read about the entire trip, see 1:218-228, 246-250; quotation, 1:251. Comparing Power's stagecoach ride to that of the Grosvenors in 1810 (see Chapter Three, 45-46), it is evident that in 25 years not much improvement was made.

2. Frank Walker Stevens, The Beginnings of the New York Central R.R.: A History (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), x; Henry Balthasar Meyer, ed., History of Transportation in the United States before 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Peter Smith, 1948), 375.

3. Stevens, 320.

4. For the trip time, see Stevens, 320. See Appendix B for an 1843 railroad schedule, and note that, although Geneva and Canandaigua were part of the line, only Auburn is listed as one of the points passed between Syracuse and Rochester, an indication of its comparative importance on the line.

5. Roberta Balstad Miller, in City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Regional Development (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979) argues convincingly that in the region dominated by Syracuse the Canal was the innovative transportation system, and that the railroad merely followed the route the waterway had pioneered. While this is true for Onondaga County, other areas developed quite differently. The railroad did not always follow the Canal, and some villages that had been relatively powerful Canal centers were eclipsed by new railroad centers.

6. Census of the State of New York for 1855 (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1857), unpaginated, but see the table listing populations of New York towns since 1790.

7. Stevens, x; Henry Hall, History of Auburn (Auburn: Dennis Bros. & Co., 1969), 209-210.

8. Census, 1855.

9. For the information on the Skaneateles Railroad, see advertisement, Skaneateles Columbian, 29 June 1843; for more on the plank road mania, see George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860 (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1966), 29.

10. Edmund Norman Leslie, Skaneateles: History of Its Earliest Settlement and Reminiscences of Later Times (New York: Press of Andrew H. Kellogg, 1902), 224.

11. People and Places: Fayetteville, Manlius, Minoa and Neighbors (printed for the Manlius Historical Society by Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1986), 38-39.

12. Thomas C. Murray, Panorama and History of Herkimer, New York, 1725-1900 (Utica: L.C. Childs & Son, 1900), 108. Even the village of Mohawk, only a few miles closer to the river, saw much more traveling entertainment than Herkimer.

13. A History of Cooperstown, including "The Chronicles of Cooperstown," by James Fenimore Cooper; "The History of Cooperstown, 1839-1886," by Samuel Shaw; "The History of Cooperstown, 1886-1929," by Walter R. Littell (Cooperstown, U.S.A.: The Freeman's Journal Company, 1929), 48.

14. John Sawyer, History of Cherry Valley from 1740 to 1898 (Cherry Valley, NY: 1898), 107.

15. Editorial, Ontario Repository, 27 November 1844.

16. Editorial, Utica Observer, 13 October 1840. Miss Ellsler was not the only celebrity who passed Utica by in the 1840s. In May 1842 Charles Dickens was touring the country, and also skipped Utica. The editor, though disappointed, did not declare war on Dickens as he had on Ellsler. (See Utica Observer, 3, 10 May 1842.)

17. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 8 May 1845.

18. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 25 January 1843.

19. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 30 May 1842.

20. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 2 February 1844.

21. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 26 November 1845; Utica Daily Gazette, 29 November 1845. See Carl Bode, The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 214, for a description of Dr. Boynton.

22. Advertisements, Utica Observer, 4 May 1841; Geneva Courier, 1 June 1841. See Appendix B for one of Bronson's programs.

23. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 11 May 1841.
24. Though his proceeds could have totalled that much, it is more likely that Bronson made more money in the populous Utica than in any of the smaller villages. He still probably earned at least \$1,000 for a month of work.
25. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 3 August 1842; Skaneateles Columbian, 18 August 1842.
26. Utica Daily Gazette, 16, 18-20 January 1843. See Appendix B for one of Le Row's programs.
27. For Hackett, see Utica Daily Gazette, 9 May 1843. For Hill, see Ontario Repository, 20 May 1840; Utica Observer, 4 August 1840. Francis Hodge has good information on both men in Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850 (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1964). See Appendix B for the program Hackett performed.
28. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 2 March 1842. See Appendix B for Miss Clarendon's program.
29. Spirit of the Times, 16, 31 October, 6 November 1841; Joseph Ireland, Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860 2 vols. (1867; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 2:349.
30. Spirit of the Times, 21 January 1843, 2 March 1844. G.C.D. Odell, in Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 5:134, commented on her second unsuccessful assault on New York.
31. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 2, 4 May 1849; Geneva Gazette, 18 May 1849; Utica Daily Gazette, 21 May 1849. On this same tour she also made appearances in Syracuse and Rochester.
32. John Tasker and George Kent Bellows, A Short History of Music In America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957), 101-02; advertisements, Auburn Journal and Advertiser, 20 November 1844; Utica Daily Gazette, 14 November 1844. The Hutchinsons also played Rochester on this tour, but not Canandaigua, which complained as stated in the text (see Ontario Repository, 27 November 1844).
33. Advertisements and editorials in the Utica Daily Gazette, 10 January 1844; 11 March 1845; 24 February, 15 September, and 18 December 1846.
34. Utica Daily Gazette, 20 May 1845; Cayuga Patriot, 11 March 1845; Ontario Repository, 28 May, 4, 11 June 1845.
35. Utica Daily Gazette, 28 May 1849.

36. Utica Daily Gazette, 13 November 1845; Cayuga Patriot, 26 November 1845; Geneva Courier, 25 November 1845; Ontario Repository, 26 November 1845.

37. Utica Daily Gazette, 17 November 1847, 31 July 1849; James M. Barriskill, "The Cooperstown Theatre to 1850" (bound typescript, Special Collections, New York State Historical Society Library, Cooperstown, New York), 161. For a comprehensive look at opera companies which toured America before the Civil War, see Katherine K. Preston, "Traveling Opera Troupes in the U.S., 1825-1860" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1989). Specific information on Manvers and Brienti, 487, 490.

38. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 27 November 1844.

39. This unusual resolution appeared in an editorial comment on a sacred concert in the Utica Daily Gazette, 10 April 1849.

40. Robert C. Toll, Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 26-31.

41. Barriskill, 128.

42. Utica Daily Gazette, 2 July, 31 August, 14 October 1844. These Whig minstrels also played at Auburn (Cayuga Patriot, 27 November 1844).

43. Barriskill, 133; Utica Daily Gazette, 28 December 1844, 1 January 1845.

44. Toll, 34.

45. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 14 November 1848.

46. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 13 May 1845.

47. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 19, 29 December 1846, 7 October 1847. One of the Shaker Family's ads is reproduced in Appendix B.

48. Utica Daily Gazette, 8 October 1842, 19 July 1843, 13 May 1846, 18 January 1847; Geneva Gazette, 23 October 1847. For one of Winchell's ads, see Appendix B.

49. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 2 December 1846 (Blitz), 21 December 1842 (Harrington), 15 December 1846 (Bird), 14 July 1847 (Leopold & Alberti), 6 June 1848 (Young Alexander).

50. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette, 5 August 1848 (crocodile), Utica Daily Gazette, 11 July 1842 (hog), 2 May 1843 (mammoth youth), 18 July 1843 (giant girl), 14 August 1843 (wild boy), 6 November 1849 (giant boy).

51. Tom Thumb dates include Utica Daily Gazette, 27 July, August 28 1843, 30 July 1847; Geneva Courier, 22 August 1843; Cayuga Patriot, 9 August 1843; Geneva Gazette, 7 August 1847.

52. Advertisement, Oneida Morning Herald, 30 June 1848.

53. Utica Daily Gazette 11 September 1846 (Titian), 21 March 1843 (West), 11 January 1847 (Peale); Cayuga Patriot, 5 April 1843 (West in Auburn); Geneva Gazette, 10 April 1847 ("Rembrandt" Peale in Geneva). For One of Peale's ads, see Appendix B.

54. Utica Observer 21 September 1841.

55. Advertisement, Utica Observer, 14 June 1842, editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 16 June 1842.

56. Utica Observer, 7 September 1841.

57. Utica Daily Gazette, 5 March 1844, 7 March 1845, 8 August 1849.

58. Material taken from Mastin Files research folder, New York State Historical Association Storage Facility, Coopers-town, New York, and from James Paul Gold, "A Study of the Mastin Collection" (M.A. Thesis, SUNY Oneonta, 1967). See Appendix B for Mastin's handbill.

59. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 24 July 1846. For complete text of ad, see Appendix B.

60. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 6 May 1840.

61. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 19 October 1842.

62. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette, 29 May 1847.

63. Advertisements, Utica Observer, 4 August 1840, 24 May 1842.

64. Utica Daily Gazette 12 June 1844. Nichols was eventually bought out by Dr. Spaulding, of "Floating Circus" fame. See H.P. Phelps, Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972), 218-19. Phelps wrote that one of the dramatic pieces in Nichols's show was Mazeppa, but that it and other pieces soon ceased to attract. Nichols had sunk all his money into the venture and had to sell out.

65. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 14 May 1849. This was the same circus whose tent had blown down during a recent performance packed with 2500 spectators in nearby Rochester (reported in the Gazette, 3 May 1849). This sort of disaster was to the circus what fires were to the theatre.

66. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 6 May 1840.

67. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 13 May 1840.

68. Barriskill, 117; editorial, Mohawk Mirror, 5 March 1841. This paper was printed in Little Falls, the village nearby Herkimer which, because of its strategic position, lured most of the itinerant entertainers away from the county seat. Little Falls had its own amateur theatrical company as early as 1841 (see Mohawk Mirror, 10 December 1841).

69. Barriskill, 117.

70. Barriskill, 117-18.

71. Odell, 4:160; Nellie Edith Bitz, "A Half Century of Theatre in Early Rochester" (M.A. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), 91.

72. Barriskill, 122.

73. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 19, 25 February 1842.

74. Advertisements, Cayuga Patriot, 6, 13, 20 January, 10, 17 February, 23 June 1841; Utica Observer, 1, 8, 22 June 1841; Onondaga Standard, 27 January, 28 July, 4 August 1841 (for Syracuse engagements); Bitz, 63-85, has a full account of Dean's troubles in Rochester during the 1841-1842 season.

75. Bitz, 84.

76. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 6 January 1841.

77. Editorial, Cayuga Patriot, 13 January 1841.

78. Advertisement, Cayuga Patriot, 10 February 1841; see the same paper, 20 January 1841, for "Thespis" letter. The fact that the usual afterpiece preceded the spectacle indicates that the quantity of scenery and machines needed for this piece was considerably greater than usual for this company.

79. Letter, Utica Observer, 1 June 1841.

80. Odell, 4: 12, 25, 466, 473 for remarks on Mrs. McClure and Mason.

81. See Bitz, 63-85 for more on Finney.

82. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 23 October 1843.
83. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 23 October-4 November 1843. For more complete information on plays and casts see Appendix A. "Miss" Harrison was probably the "Mrs." Harrison who played Utica later in the decade.
84. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 23, 25-27, 30, 31 October, 4 November 1843.
85. Travis Bogard, Richard Moody, Walter J. Meserve, The Revels History of the Drama in English vol. 8 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1977), 90, 181. For a comprehensive list of temperance plays, see the appendix to Susan Ogden-Malouf, "American Revivalism and Temperance Drama: Evangelical Protestant Ritual and Theatre in Rochester, New York, 1830-1845 (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1981).
86. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 19 September 1843. See Appendix B for complete scenario.
87. Letter, Utica Daily Gazette, 26 September 1843.
88. Ibid.
89. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 29 August 1844; Bitz, 86-87.
90. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 22 July, 16 September 1845. For more on Robinson, see Richard Moody's introduction to The Drunkard in his collection Dramas from the American Theatre, 1762-1909 (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1966), 277-280.
91. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 22, 24 July, 4 August 1845. In the ad for 22 July there was a reminder that a new ventilator in the Museum made it more comfortable.
92. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 28 June, 4 July 1845.
93. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 24 July 1845.
94. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 24 July, 4 August 1845.
95. For Allen and Bridges's movements see Utica Daily Gazette, 3, 11 July 1846; Onondaga Standard 22 July 1846; Geneva Gazette 20 November 1846.
96. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 24, 31 August 1846 (also editorial on 31 August). The same troupe had played Little Falls shortly before, noted in both advertisement and editorial, Mohawk Courier 13 August 1846. In the adver-

tisement the company promised a "series of Moral Dramas, wholly on the subject of Temperance." They had either stretched the truth or changed their repertoire by the time they reached Utica.

97. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 3 September 1846.

98. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 24 August 1846; editorial, same paper, 31 August 1846. For more information on the Houghs see Chapter Seven. The Whitney in this troupe was probably W.J. Whitney, of the temperance company that had played Utica in 1845, but there is a chance he could have been C.L. Whitney, who was lecturing on elocution in the area (Utica Daily Gazette, 14 November 1845), and would be theatrically active in the fifties.

99. For Allen and Bridges's tour, see Utica Daily Gazette, 8, 13 March 1847. For information on Strong, see the same paper, 15-19 February 1848. This was more than likely the same Strong who was with W.J. Whitney's temperance company in 1845. See Appendix B for Strong's first ad.

100. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 6 February 1847; see also Bitz, 90.

101. Sources for the meanings of "melodeon:" The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.

102. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 6 February 1847. See Appendix B for the complete ad.

103. Barnard Hewitt, Theatre U.S.A. 1668 to 1957 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), 26-27, reprints the description of Othello as moral dialogue in 1761.

104. Potter and Thompson should not be confused with the intrepid pair who in 1810 brought farces, magic, and Chinese views to Geneva and Canandaigua. The 1847 Potter was only one year old in 1810. (T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (1870; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 294). The 1847 Thompson was described as a young talent; a cozy coincidence must be ruled out.

105. See advertisements in Utica Daily Gazette 2-27 February 1847, and Appendix A.

106. Odell, 4:211; Brown, 78.

107. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 5 April 1847.

108. Letter, Utica Daily Gazette, 2 April 1847. The entire text of the letter is located in Appendix B.

109. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 24 July 1847.

110. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 22, 24, 25 May, 7 July 1847.

111. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 1, 2, 5 July 1847. See Barriskill, 149-50 and Brown, 327, for more information on Western. During October the Museum Saloon was expanded to seat 400 people (same paper 15 October). At an entrance fee of 25 cents, the gross for a sold-out house was only \$100.

112. Advertisements and editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 28 September, 1, 20 October 1847.

113. The Addams engagement began 11 November 1847, the Dean on 29 November, and the Marshall on 16 December. See those issues of the Utica Daily Gazette. For more information on the stars, see for example Brown, 5 (Addams); Francis Courtney Wemyss, Chronology of the American Stage from 1752 to 1852 (New York: Wm Taylor & Co., 1852) 49 (Dean); Odell, 4:644 (Marshall).

114. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 15-19 February 1848. See Appendix A for cast lists and plays.

115. See issues of the Utica Daily Gazette, 28 August-18 September 1848.

116. For the interim period, see issues of the Utica Daily Gazette, 18-25 September 1848.

117. Utica Daily Gazette, 2 October 1848.

118. Utica Daily Gazette, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 October 1848. (For varied success quote see 7 October.)

119. Utica Daily Gazette, 18, 19, 24 October 1848.

120. Utica Daily Gazette, 6, 11, 14 November 1848.

121. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 18 November 1848. Walter J. Meserve, Heralds of Promise: The Drama of the American People During the Age of Jackson, 1829-1849 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 242. See Appendix B for drawings of the exterior and interior of a similar church to the one Sutherland transformed, the First Baptist Church in Syracuse. This church had undergone a similar transformation in 1848, possibly serving as a model for the Utica theatre.

122. Advertisement, Utica Daily Gazette, 27 November 1848; editorial, same paper, 23 November 1848 for Sutherland's good work.

123. Editorials, 20 December 1848 (on Tozer), 18 November 1848 (on the candidate for President and on the Saloon), 4 December 1848 (on the company and rep).

124. Utica Daily Gazette, 9-12, 18, 19 January 1849. Miss Turnbull also had an "orchestra problem" in Syracuse. J.H. Hall, manager of the Syracuse Company of Comedians who visited Utica in late 1849, took out a card in the Onondaga Reveille, 4 December 1849: "I think it is my duty to state to the public that Miss Julia Turnbull has withdrawn her services from my Theatre, in consequence (as she alleges) of my band not being able to execute her music." There were rumors that Miss Turnbull's real reason for declining her services at Hall's Atheneum was that she wanted to dance at the newly built National Theatre instead (same paper, 6 December 1849). The situation, possibly involving prima donna problems, might shed some light on the Utica confusion.

125. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 5 March 1849.

126. Utica Daily Gazette advertisement 31 March, 2 April 1849; editorial 3 April 1849.

127. Utica Daily Observer, 5 December 1849-5 January 1850; notice quoted from 15 December issue. See Appendix A for list of company and plays.

Notes--Chapter Seven

1. Frank Walker Stevens, The Beginnings of the New York Central Railroad: A History (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), 327, 329; Henry Balthasar Meyer, ed., History of Transportation in the United States before 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Peter Smith, 1948), 355, 380.

2. Whitney R. Cross, The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1950), 355; Ronald E. Shaw, Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), 234.

3. Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965).

4. Carl Bode, compiler and editor, Midcentury America: Life in the 1850s (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 51. There was another financial panic in 1857, but Bode calls it an after-shock, from which recovery was quicker and easier than the Panic of 1837.

5. The newspapers began to be filled with references to sports. Utica followed pedestrian contests (in which a contestant would walk for 100 hours without sleep, for example) avidly, see Utica Daily Observer 20 October 1860, 21 January 1861. For the titillation of ladies' riding matches, see the Skaneateles Democrat, 5, 12 October 1855. The Mechanics' Fair in Utica was held in late January and early February, and had the effect of lightening the darkest days of winter. See Utica Daily Observer, 15 February 1859, 3 February 1860.

6. Caroline Cowles Richards, Village Life in America, 1852-1872, Including the Period of the American Civil War as Told in the Diary of a School-Girl (Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1972), 28.

7. Editorials, Geneva Gazette, 31 August 1855; Ontario Republican Times, 3 September 1857.

8. Richards, 28.

9. Ibid., 65, 70, 88. On a visit to a more liberal uncle in Litchfield, Connecticut, Caroline and her sister saw not only a circus but also the Christy Minstrels.

10. Ibid., 53-54, 128-129.

11. Editorials, Skaneateles Democrat, 6 July 1855, 4 July 1856, 15 January 1857; Ontario Republican Times, 24 September 1859; Geneva Gazette, 11 July 1856.

12. See, for example, issues of Utica Daily Observer, 8 May 1858, 17 February 1859; Skaneateles Democrat, 23 April 1857, 7 January 1858; Ontario Republican Times, 16 April 1857. Cross, 345-49, offers a good, brief discussion, and for a very recent discussion, see Ann Braude, Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

13. See, for examples, Utica Daily Observer, 4 October 1858, 17 February 1861; Skaneateles Democrat, 18 June 1852, 5 May 1854; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 28 January 1853, 7 March 1861; Geneva Gazette, 31 January 1853.

14. Utica Daily Gazette, 11 May 1854.

15. For Canderbecks, see Freeman's Journal, 21 December 1850; Ontario Republican Times, 20 January 1860. (Since their first appearances in the area, the Canderbecks seem to have removed an "e" from their name, which had previously been spelled Canderbeeck.) For Thalberg and Strakosch, see Ontario Republican Times, 11 June 1857. For the English Opera Troupe, see Geneva Gazette, 19 September 1856; also Katherine K. Preston, "Traveling Opera Troupes in the U.S., 1825-1860" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1989),

especially 565-662. For Paul Julien, see Geneva Gazette, 4 August 1854, 28 September 1855; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 21 September 1855. For Ole Bull, see Auburn Daily Advertiser, 5 July 1857.

16. Editorials, Freeman's Journal, 7 December 1856; for bird concerts, see same paper, 8 April 1853, 10 March 1854, 21 September 1855.

17. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 1 July 1851; John J. Walsh, "The Theatre and Entertainment in Utica from Early Times to the Opening of the Stanley Theater" (bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York) 20-21; Spirit of the Times, 19 July 1851.

18. Skaneateles Democrat, 25 July 1851.

19. See, for example, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 9 June 1855.

20. Spirit of the Times, 20 December 1851; Utica Daily Gazette, 10 June, 22 September 1851; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 24 June 1851.

21. Advertisement, Herkimer County Journal, 16 February 1860; see also Utica Daily Gazette, 22 February 60; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 7 March, 7 April 1860, 20 February 1861; Geneva Gazette, 9 March 1860; Ontario Republican Times, 16 March 1860. See Appendix B for a Dollie Dutton ad.

22. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 25 August 1854.

23. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 10 April 1851, 9 September 1853, 19 April 1860.

24. For information on Wyman, see Utica Daily Gazette, 24 May 1851, 10, 11 April 1854; on Harrington, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 25 October 1859; on Anderson, Utica Daily Gazette, 25 April 1850; on Heller, same paper, 27 May 1853; on Lowe, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 10 April 1854; on Adrien, Ontario County Times, 2 February 1854; on the Chinese magicians, Auburn Daily Advertiser, 19 November 1855, Geneva Gazette, 23 November 1855.

25. For Valentine at Utica, Utica Daily Gazette, 28 April 1852. For Winchell's visits, see Skaneateles Democrat, 14 January 1850, 18 April 1851; Utica Daily Gazette 13 November 1854; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 19 December 1855; Geneva Gazette, 1 January 1859.

26. See Utica Daily Gazette, 1 August 1854, for an aerial ascent. For unmanned ascensions, see, for example, Utica Observer, 23 June 1840.

27. Utica Daily Gazette, 18 August, 4 September 1846. See also Geneva Gazette, 13 June 1851; Ontario Republican Times, 17 September 1859; Utica Daily Observer, 22 March 1859; Freeman's Journal, 11 September 1860.

28. For Robinson's movements, see Utica Daily Observer, 28 July 1860; Skaneateles Democrat, 9 August 1860; Geneva Gazette, 24 August 1860. For Bailey's, see Skaneateles Democrat, 30 August 1860; Freeman's Journal, 11 September 1860.

29. For Adam and Eve panorama, see, for example, Freeman's Journal, 15 November 1851. For Pilgrim's Progress panorama, see Geneva Gazette, 24 March 1854. Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1978), offers good descriptions of the different - oramas.

30. See Utica Daily Gazette, 22 March 1852; Geneva Gazette, 25 August 1854.

31. For Cuba, see Geneva Gazette, 14 February 1851; for Niagara Falls, see Ontario County Times; for Mississippi, see Auburn Daily Advertiser; for New York City, see Skaneateles Democrat, 22 August 1851. See also Llewellyn Hedgbeth, "Extant American Panoramas: Moving Entertainments of the Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1977).

32. Skaneateles Democrat, 25 February 1854; Utica Daily Gazette, 1 November 1852, 11 June 1850.

33. Utica Daily Gazette 15 August 1853; Geneva Gazette, 17 February 1854. For information on the dramatized versions, see later in this chapter.

34. For listings of minstrel troupes in Auburn, see Card File "Entertainment, Cayuga County Historian's Office.

35. Advertisements, Utica Daily Observer, 31 May 1859; Herkimer County Journal 29 March 1860; Utica Daily Observer, 11 May 1860; Ontario Republican Times, 3 July 1856. See Appendix B for a minstrel ad containing cast lists.

36. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 20 July 1853; Skaneateles Democrat, 8 August 1856; Freeman's Journal, 23 April 1858.

37. Freeman's Journal, 19 October 1850, 8 July 1859, 20 July 1860. See Appendix B for an ad which featured circus theatricals.

38. For Mazeppa, see Freeman's Journal, 24 September 1852, 6 June 1856; for Mutiny, see same paper, 23 April 1858, Geneva Gazette, 18 June 1858; for Miser, see Geneva Gazette, 30 May 1856; for St. George, see Geneva Gazette, 20 August 1858.

39. Advertisements, Utica Daily Gazette, 7 July 1854; Geneva Gazette, 23 June 1854.

40. Advertisements, Geneva Gazette, 9 June 1854; Herkimer County Journal, 29 May 1856 for Madigan's; Auburn Daily Advertiser, 8 July 1859, Geneva Gazette, 8 July 1859 for Whitby's.

41. Utica Daily Observer, 3 January 1850; Geneva Gazette, 4 January 1850.

42. Geneva Gazette, 25 October 1850; George C.D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, 15 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 5:585, 593; 6:385, 453-455.

43. Spirit of the Times, 9 December 1854; Utica Daily Gazette, 20 February, 2, 8 March, 7, 18 April 1855; Utica Daily Observer, 7 April 1860; Geneva Gazette, 3 January 1861.

44. For an example of Mrs. Macready's programs, see Appendix B.

45. Geneva Gazette, 18 August, 15 December 1854; 25 April, 30 May, 4 January 1856.

46. Editorials, Skaneateles Democrat, 1 January, 26 March 1857; Herkimer County Journal, 1 January 1857.

47. Advertisement, Utica Daily Observer, 5 January 1850.

48. Geneva Gazette, 27 May-1 June 1850.

49. Utica Daily Observer, 10, 16, 21 September 1850. For the reference to Mr. Jones as "Hamlet" Jones, see Spirit of the Times, 15 April 1837.

50. Editorial, Freeman's Journal, 15 February 1851.

51. Geneva Gazette, 28 March, 4 April 1851. For information on Mrs. Hough, see T. Allston Brown, History of the American Stage (1870; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 185; Francis Courtney Wemyss, Chronology of the New York Stage from 1752 to 1852 (New York: Wm. Taylor & Co., 1852), 75.

52. For information on Mrs. Muzzy, see Wemyss, 104; Brown, American Stage, 258; Odell, 5:543; William W. Clapp, Jr., A Record of the Boston Stage (James Monroe & Co., 1853; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 354; for Miss

Hathaway, see Odell, 6:40, 7:47, 75, 139; for Mrs. Jones, see Odell, 5:543.

53. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 23, 26 April 1851.

54. Utica Daily Gazette, 23 April 1851; 28 April, 29, 30 May 1851 for information on The French Spy; 8, 17, 26 May 1851.

55. Brown, American Stage, 102; Odell, 4:558.

56. For this shift in management, see Utica Daily Gazette, 29, 31 May, 2, 9, 28 June 1851. See Appendix B for Hough's Rome ad under Furber and Wyland's Utica ad.

57. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 6-25 October 1851 (first quotation, 25 October); 19-31 December 1851 (second quotation, 19 December). For G.A. Hough's management of the Troy Museum, see Spirit of the Times, 22 June 1850. See Appendix B for an exterior view of Auburn's City Hall.

58. Syracuse Standard, 24 January, 4 May 1852; Utica Daily Gazette, 6-21 May 1852. For Hough's quick departure from Lexington, see James H. Dormon, Jr., Theatre in the Ante Bellum South, 1815-1861 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 206.

59. Geneva Gazette, 27 May 1853; Utica Daily Gazette, 15, 25 July 1853. See Appendix B for Hough's ad.

60. Brown, American Stage, 265-66; Laurence Hutton, Plays and Players (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875), 26-27; the Spirit of the Times, 3 July 1841, 8 May 1847, 19 August 1848, 16 April, 13 August 1853.

61. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 31 July 1851; Walsh, 14-15. A more complete description of the theatre is included in Appendix B.

62. Utica Daily Gazette, 11 September 1851; Brown, American Stage, 368. For a description of Park Benjamin, see Carl Bode, The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 207.

63. Utica Daily Gazette, 17 September 1851; for The Conscript's Bride, see 25, 26 September, 6, 10 October 1851; for Miss Nickinson's benefit, see 21 October 1851; for the Dickens evening, see 13 January 1852. For typical Nickinson ads, see Appendix B.

64. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 21 October, 11 December 1851.

65. Editorials, Utica Daily Gazette, 23, 26 September 1851.

66. Garff B. Wilson, A History of American Acting (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 38; Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 31 January 1852.

67. For information on the Denins, see Brown, American Stage, 98; Odell 5:302-03; Utica Daily Gazette, 4 March 1853; 10 March 1853 for description of Roth's benefit.

68. Utica Daily Gazette, 25 February 1852.

69. Utica Daily Gazette, 1-20 July 1852. For information on Crocker and the Conways, see Joseph Ireland, Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860 (1867; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 2:406, 573; for the Drews, see Brown, American Stage, 105-106; for Griffiths, see T. Allston Brown, A History of the New York Stage from the First Performance in 1732 to 1901, 3 vols. (1903; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1964), 2:127; Odell, 6:133, 222. See ads for Crocker and Chesebrough's theatre in Appendix B.

70. Utica Daily Gazette, 1 September 1852; for double performances during the State Fair, see same paper, 8 September 1852; for the editor's preference for the females in the company, see 20 September 1852; for the dancers, see 4 4 October 1852; for the performing animals, see 19 October 1852.

71. Utica Daily Gazette, 11 October (Scott), 22 October (Bernard), 8 November 1852 (Coulstock). For more information on Coulstock, see G. Wilson, 97.

72. Utica Daily Gazette, 6, 16, 17 December 1852; see also G. Wilson, 39. For more information on Andrew Jackson Neafie, see Odell, 7:240; Clapp, 388; Dormon, 285; Wemyss, 105.

73. For information on Ponisi, see Ireland 2:574; Wemyss, 167; Brown, New York Stage, 2:138; Spirit of the Times, 20 April, 29 October 1853, 20 October 1855. For the benefit, see Utica Daily Gazette, 1 January 1853.

74. Utica Daily Gazette, 6, 11 January 1853.

75. For Bernard's season, see Utica Daily Gazette, 8-16 February 1853. For Bernard's benefit under Nickinson, see 25 December 1852. Morphine was introduced on 4 November 1852. A similar play was presented at Rochester in 1850, C.A. Logan's Chloroform, or Rochester in 1950. Morphine might have been an adaptation. See Nellie Edith Bitz, "A Half Century of Theatre in Early Rochester" (M.A. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), 112-13.

76. Geneva Gazette, 12, 19, 26 May 1852. For more on Smith, see Odell 4:588, 564; Arthur Herman Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1835 to 1855 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), 707.

77. Geneva Gazette, 17, 24, 31 December 1852. For information on Lanergan, see Hutton, 157, 177; Odell, 7:484.

78. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 7 February (Locke); 18 July 1853 (Lewis, Almy). For more information on Locke, see Francis Hodge, Yankee Theatre: the Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 214, 256. More information on Lewis is available later in this chapter; for more on Almy see also Odell, 6:540; for more on Derr, see Brown, New York Stage, 125, 131. See Appendix B for Lewis and Almy's complete advertisement.

79. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 18 November 1853. Chanfrau is better known than most of the other actors dealt with here, and references to him abound in Odell. See Brown, New York Stage, 15-16 for information on him and Miss Albertine. See Appendix B for Tozer's complete ad.

80. See advertisements in Utica Daily Gazette, 3 September 1853-10 January 1854, for Marie Duret's season. Information on Marie Duret is available in the Spirit of the Times, for example, 10 July 1852, 30 April 1853, 5 December 1857.

81. Utica Daily Gazette, 7 November 1853 for Scott's opening; for Mrs. H. Lewis's, see 14 November. For more information on Mrs. Lewis, see Ireland, 2:114. see same paper, 29 November 1853 for Denins's engagement; 5 December for Arnold's, 16 December for Phelps's farewell benefit.

82. See Utica Daily Gazette, 19 December 1853 for Scott's re-engagement; 3 January 1854 for Dickinson's stay; 10 January for Couldock's.

83. See Utica Daily Gazette, 11 January 1854 for the change of management. For information on Maggie Mitchell, see Brown, American Stage, 249, and many issues of the Spirit of the Times, including 5 January, 15 March 1856; 22 August 1857. For information on the Ellslers, see Brown, American Stage, 114, Odell, 6:35; for Floyd, see Brown, American Stage, 287; for the Deerings, see Odell, 5:214, 6:105.

84. Utica Daily Gazette, 20, 24 March, 8 April 1854. See Odell, 6:540 for information on Almy. See Walsh, 14-15 for comments by Ellsler on his seasons in Utica.

85. Utica Daily Gazette, 22, 24 April 1854. See 25 April-1 May for Roberts's engagement, 29 April for the quotation. Uncle Tom's Cabin information 3, 4, 6 May; Couldock's engagement 9-15 May (Couldock quotation 15 May); Roberts's re-engagement 16 May; benefit and Spencer quotation 22 May. See Ireland, 2:476, 684, and Spirit of the Times, 18 September 1858, for more on Roberts.

86. Utica Daily Gazette, 26 May-3 June 1854. This is not the Marsh Juvenile troupe, but, when that group was organized in 1855, Robert Marsh was its manager and Little Mary Marsh one of its stars.

87. Utica Daily Gazette, 29 June-8 July 1854.

88. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 2 September 1854. For more information on Boniface, see Odell 7:66, 240; on Browne, Odell, 6:57, 101; on Cordelia Cappell, Brown, New York Stage 2:189.

89. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 2 September 1854.

90. Utica Daily Gazette, 23 September 1854; editor's praise, 19 September; Couldock's first night, 29 September. See Marsh's ad listing his company in Appendix B.

91. Utica Daily Gazette, 9-14 October 1854 (Beauty and the Beast); 16-21, 23, 26 October (Fashion and Famine).

92. Editorial, Geneva Gazette, 10 November 1854; advertisements, Ontario County Times, 16, 23 November, 14 December 1854. The enlarged Bemis Hall was to seat between 800 and 1,000 people. Atwater Hall's capacity was probably not much over 500. For a good rundown of the different "Tom" plays and troupes, see Richard Moody's introduction to the Aiken version in his Dramas from the American Theatre 1762-1909 (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1966), 349-359.

93. Utica Daily Gazette, 18, 21-23, 25 December 1854-1 January 1855. Nicoll lists W.T. Moncrieff, an Englishman, as the author, and Meserve lists a play called Foreign and Native by J.M. Field, an American, but not a Utican.

94. Utica Daily Gazette, 8-13, 15 January 1855. See also Preston's dissertation for possibilities of which Italian opera company this might have been.

95. Utica Daily Gazette, 16-20 January 1855 (Buchanan), 22 January (Forty Thieves), 29 January-3 February (Proctor). For more information on Buchanan see G. Wilson, 39; Clapp, 401-03; Spirit of the Times, 27 January 1855 mentions his success at Utica. For more on Proctor, see G. Wilson, 38-39; Odell, 6:34.

96. Utica Daily Gazette, 6-10 February 1855 (Miss Nickinson's engagement; 19-28 February (Couldock's engagement). Miss Nickinson played London Assurance on 7 February, Much Ado on 10 February.

97. Utica Daily Gazette, 23 April 1855 (Hart's drop-curtain); information on the company and stars 5 May-12 May 1855. For more information on Miss Reeder, see Ireland 2:631.

98. Editorial, Utica Daily Gazette, 25 June 1855.
99. Advertisement, Geneva Gazette, 16 November 1855.
100. Editorial, Ontario Republican Times, 5 March 1857.
101. Editorial, Geneva Gazette, 16 October 1857.
102. Editorials, Syracuse Standard, 10, 15, 24 December 1855. These and all references to that paper were found in the Clippings File, Onondaga Historical Society, Syracuse, New York.
103. Syracuse Standard, 14, 22 January 1857.
104. Geneva Gazette, 19, 26 March 1858; Ontario Republican Times, 15 April 1858.
105. Utica Daily Observer, 11 June 1858; Syracuse Standard, 17 April 1857.
106. Utica Daily Observer, 24 June 1858; Bitz, 127-29; Syracuse Standard, 25 January 1858. For information on Plunkett, who was also known as H.P. Grattan, see Brown, New York Stage 2:60; and many issues of the Spirit of the Times, including 12 October 1844, 9 August 1845, 8 February 1854, 14 March 1857, and 18 February 1860.
107. 26 June, 1, 3, 7, 12 July 1858. Quotation 10 July 1858. For more information on Ada Plunkett, see Odell, 7:67, 121; Brown, New York Stage 2:123.
108. Utica Daily Observer, 23, 25 27 August 1858.
109. Utica Daily Observer, 28, 30 August 1855. The mention of Plunkett's five year lease is another example of an unsuccessful attempt by a manager to establish roots in the area.
110. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 11, 18 October 1858; Syracuse Standard, 2 October, 14 December 1858.
111. Utica Daily Observer, 28 October, 11, 12, 19, 29 November 1858. The quotation is from the 12 October issue.
112. Utica Daily Observer, 3 December 1858, 25 January 1859, 24 March 1860; For earlier news on asylum theatricals, see Utica Daily Gazette, 4 April 1844. Utica's asylum dramas were even noted in Spirit of the Times, 11 December 1847.
113. Utica Daily Observer, 22, 24, 28 February, 3 March, 1 April 1859. Could the fire have been caused by the "provoking derangement of the gas fixtures which had kept Myron's company from opening a few months earlier?"

114. Utica Daily Observer, 8, 12, 17, 19, 20, 27 September, 2 October 1860.
115. Editorial, Skaneateles Democrat, 30 June 1859.
116. Skaneateles Democrat, 8, 15 March 1860.
117. Skaneateles Democrat, 29 March, 26 April 1860; 28 February 1861. A similar group was formed in Mohawk (see Utica Daily Observer, 13 January 1859), a village like Little Falls in that it took most of the itinerant performers away from nearby Herkimer. See Appendix B for an ad of Pickwick.
118. Skaneateles Democrat, 3, 10 March 1861. See Appendix B for an exterior view of Lake House.
119. Auburn Daily Advertiser, 26 April, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15 May 1861. For information on Miss Denvil, see Odell, 6:369; Ireland, 2:631. See Appendix B for one of Plunkett's ads.
120. Utica Daily Observer, 13, 15, 19 April, 2 May 1861.
121. Utica Daily Observer, 26, 27 April (Uncle Tom's Cabin); 6-10 May 1861 (Adah Isaacs Menken).
122. Editorial, Utica Daily Observer, 13 May 1861.

Notes--Conclusion

1. Philip Lewis, Trouping: How the Show Came to Town (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973).
2. Walter J. Meserve, Heralds of Promise: The Drama of the American People During the Age of Jackson, 1829-1849 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 34.
3. Carl Bode, ed., American Life in the 1840s (Garden City: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1967), ix. Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace (1869; reprint; New York: Modern Library, 1931), 1144.
4. Tommaso Salvini, Leaves from the Autobiography of Tommaso Salvini (New York: The Century Co., 1893), 234.

Appendix A
Plays and Players

This appendix lists all the companies discussed in this dissertation, and all the documented plays they presented. Company management and members are listed, as are the stars who played brief engagements. Plays and afterpieces are noted in chronological order, accompanied by author and date of first production or publication. See text and notes for documentation. Sources for authors and dates are Allardyce Nicoll, A.H. Quinn, and Walter Meserve (see bibliography for complete citations).

Lack of copyright law in the era under discussion causes many problems in complete identification of pieces. Plays were often freely adapted and re-titled to suit the whims of a particular company. Because so many variants existed both in spelling and title, each play is listed exactly as it was advertised or announced in the newspaper. (For example, the subtitle of Colman the Younger's The Review is listed as The Wag, or Wagg, Wags of Windsor, depending on the particular company's choice. In the title Lucretia Borgia, the first word was often spelled Lucrezia. Both spellings are offered here, depending on company choice.)

The variant titles make it difficult at times to assign authorship. In cases where an author is unknown, where several authors are listed, or where a variant title is given, the symbol (?) appears in the entry. For further information, check Nicoll, Quinn, or Meserve.

1810

Potter and Thompson Company

Company:

Mr. Thompson

Mr. Potter

Mr. Lyon, music

Plays:

June	Canandaigua	<u>The Review; or, The Wag of Windsor</u> (George Coleman the Younger-1800)
		<u>The Agreeable Surprise; or, The Wonderful Little Giant</u> (John O'Keeffe-1781)

1813

Albany Company

Plays:

25 September	Cooperstown	<u>The Jew and Doctor; or, the Orphan Protected</u> (Thomas Dibdin-1798)
		<u>The Prize; or, 2, 5, 3, 8</u> (Prince Hoare-1793)

1815

Drake Company

Company:

Samuel Drake
Samuel Drake, Jr.
Alexander Drake
Miss Martha Drake
Master J. Drake
Mrs. Lewis
Noah Ludlow
Frances Ann Denny
Mr. Lewis, stage-carpenter
Joe Tracy, man-of-all-work

Plays:

mid-May	Cherry Valley	<u>The Prize; or, 2, 5, 3, 8</u> (Hoare-1793) <u>The Purse; or, The Benevolent Tar</u> (J.C. Cross-1794)
late May	Cooperstown	<u>The Midnight Hour</u> (Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald-1787) <u>The Prize; or, 2, 5, 3, 8</u> (Hoare-1798)
18 July	Canandaigua	<u>The Quaker; or, The Benevolent Friend</u> (C. Dibdin-1777) <u>The Midnight Hour; or, A War of Wits</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1787)
mid-July		<u>Adelgitha, or The Fruits of a Single Error</u> (M.G. Lewis-1807) <u>The Midnight Hour</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1787)

1816

Thornton and Williams Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. Thornton
Mr. and Mrs. H.A. Williams
Mr. Denton

Plays:

15 October	Canandaigua	<u>Matrimony</u> (John Kenney-1804) <u>Animal Magnetism; or, Love Triumphant</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1788)
12 November		<u>George Barnwell</u> (George Lillo-1731) <u>The Wagg of Windsor, or, Man of All Trades</u> (Colman the Younger?-1800)

1816--Thornton and Williams Company continued

20 November The Mountaineers
 (Colman the Younger-1793)
 The Rival Soldiers (O'Keeffe-1793)

4 December Geneva The Honey Moon (John Tobin-1805)
 Fortune's Frolic (Allingham-1799)

Augmented company (as of 24 Dec):
Mr. and Mrs. Thornton
Mr. and Mrs. H.A. Williams
Mr. Gaunt
Mr. Denton
Mr. Holden
Mr. Dwight

24 December Canandaigua Plays:
 The Man of Fortitude; or, The
 Female Captive
 (John Hodgkinson-1807)
 Fortune's Frolic, or The
 Ploughman Turned Lord
 (J.T. Allingham-1799)

1817

8 January The Honeymoon (Tobin-1805)
 Fortune's Frolic, or The
 Ploughman Turned Lord
 (Allingham-1799)

15 January Auburn Douglas; or, The Noble Shepherd
 (John Home-1805)
 The Rump; or, A Cure for the
 Spleen
 (Isaac Bickerstaffe-1778)

1823

Walstein Company

5 August Cherry Valley The Honeymoon; or, How to Rule
 a Wife (Tobin-1805)
 The Weathercock; or, Love, Law
 and Physic (Allingham-1805)

1824

Archbold, Clarendon, & Gilbert Co.

Company:
Mr. Archbold
Mr. Gilbert
Mr. and Mrs. Clarendon
Mr. and Mrs. Talbot
Mr. Harrington

1824--Archbold, Clarendon, and Gilbert Company continued

21 April	Canandaigua	<u>How to Die for Love; or, Plot and Counterplot</u> (? -1812) <u>The Village Lawyer</u> (William Macready-1787)
22 April	Canandaigua	<u>The Review; or, Wags of Windsor</u> (Colman the Younger-1800) <u>Turn Out; or, Politician in a Phrenzy</u> (Kenney?-1812)
7 May	Geneva	<u>Turn Out; or, Politician in a Phrenzy</u> (Kenney?-1812) <u>The Poor Soldier</u> (O'Keeffe-1783)
12 May		<u>The Spectre Bridegroom</u> (W.T. Moncrieff-1821) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1801)
13 May		<u>How to Die For Love</u> (? -1812) <u>Animal Magnetism</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1788)
19 May		<u>Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla</u> (ad lists Kotzebue) <u>The Irish Tutor; or, New Lights</u> (R. Butler-1822)
1825		
		Unnamed company
		Plays:
24 May	Cherry Valley	<u>Fortune's Frolic; or, The Ploughman Made Lord</u> (Allingham-1799) <u>The Purse; or, The American Tar</u> (Cross-1794)
		The Infant Prodigies, featuring Miss Archbold
6 June	Cooperstown	<u>The Blind Boy</u> (Kenney-1807) <u>The Day After the Wedding; or, a Wife's First Lesson</u> (M.T. Kemble-1808)
		H.A. Williams Company
25 May	Utica	<u>The Honeymoon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>Lovers' Quarrels</u> (T. King-1790)
late May		<u>The Poor Soldier</u> (O'Keeffe-1783)

1825--H.A. Williams Company continued

26 October	Auburn	<u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806) <u>No Song, No Supper</u> (Hoare-1790)
2 November	Canandaigua	<u>The Lady and the Devil</u> (W. Dimond-1820) <u>Lovers' Quarrels</u> (T. King-1790)
8 November	Canandaigua	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>The Poor Soldier</u> (O'Keeffe-1783)
ca. 23 November	Geneva	Unidentified plays and farces. Unidentified Equestrian Company
December	Utica	<u>Timour the Tartar</u> (M.G. Lewis-1811) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806) <u>The Secret Mine</u> (T.J. Dibdin & J. Fawcett-1812)
1826		
		Smith and Davis Company
9 March	Auburn	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (John Banim & R.L. Shiel-1821) <u>The Lying Valet</u> (David Garrick-1741)
12 April	Geneva	Unidentified play and farce. Fuller Company
August	Utica	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) Trowbridge and Gilbert Company
11 September	Geneva	Unidentified play and farce.

1827--Trowbridge and Gilbert Company continued

25 December Cooperstown The Honeymoon (Tobin-1805)
The Spoiled Child
(Bickerstaffe-1790)

17 September Cooperstown The Soldier's Daughter
(Andrew Cherry-1804)
The Review; or, The Wag of Windsor
(Colman the Younger-1800)

24 September Cooperstown The Heir at Law
(Colman the Younger-1797)
The American Tar (Cross-1794)

1828

Barnes Company

late June Utica The Heir at Law
(No specified (Colman the Younger-1797)
dates for performances)

Isabella
(Garrick?-1757)

The Devil's Brigade (possible
misprint of The Devil's
Bridge, S.J. Arnold-1812)

Virginus (Knowles-1820)

Rip Van Winkle (? -1828)

Flynn and Twibill

28 July Cooperstown "sundry entertainments," including
The Hundred Pound Note
(R.B. Peake-1827)

18 August Cooperstown Unnamed company
w/Mr. Hamilton

1829

August Cooperstown Palmer's Company, with Mrs.
Isabella Preston

August Fuller & Hoyt Co.

1833

Unnamed company

12 January Cooperstown

Plays:

The Man of Fortitude; or,
The Forest Spectre
(Hodgkinson-1807)
Lock and Key (Hoare-1796)

Trowbridge & Gilbert Company

10 July Auburn

Unidentified play and farce

Dean & Forrest Company

Company:

Edwin Dean
Mr. & Mrs. W.S. Forrest
Mr. Waters
Mr. John S. Potter
Mr. Clifton
Mr. & Mrs. Barstow
Mr. Hartshorn

25 November Cooperstown

Plays:

William Tell; or, The Hero of
Switzerland (Knowles-1825)
Secretly Married; or Master and
Man (?)

1837

Russell & Lyne Company

Company:

Thomas Lyne (Boston and
PhiladelphiaTheatres)
Mr. Russell (New York and
Philadelphia Theatres)
Mr. Davis (Albany Theatre)
Mr. Edwin (Southern Theatres)
Mr. Duff (Albany Theatre)
Mr. Warner (Albany Theatre)
Mr. Hunter (Western Theatre
Master Johnson (Albany Theatre,
etc.)
Mrs. Butler (late of this Theatre)
Miss Williams (Albany Theatre)
Miss L. Leavensworth
Miss M. Leavensworth

1838--Russell and Lyne Company in Utica continued

17 February	Plays: <u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)
21 February	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825)
	Albany Company--John Greene, Mgr.
14 February Auburn	Plays: <u>Three Eras in a Woman's Life</u> (?) <u>The Rendezvous</u> (R. Ayton-1818)
28 May-12 June	Albany Company, Mr. Fuller, Lessee Mr. C.A. Logan, Mgr. Company: Mr. C.A. Logan Mrs. Eliza Logan Mr. Gann Mr. Blaike, singer Mme. Trust, dancer Mrs. Harrison
28 May Auburn	Plays: <u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>The Young Widow</u> (J.T.G. Rodwell-1824)
29 May	<u>Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch</u> (J.H. Payne-1824) <u>The Lottery Ticket</u> (S. Beazley, Jr.-1826) <u>The Spoiled Child</u> (Bickerstaffe-1790)
30 May	<u>Perfection; or, A Hole in the Wall</u> (T.H. Bayly-1830) <u>Touch and Take; or, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning</u> (? -1829)
31 May	<u>The Castle Spectre</u> (Lewis-1797) <u>The Rendezvous</u> (Ayton-1818)
1 June	<u>Othello</u> <u>Family Jars</u> (J. Lunn-1822)
2 June	<u>Sweethearts and Wives</u> (Kenney-1823) <u>Touch and Take</u> (? -1829)

1838--Logan Company in Auburn continued

4 June	<u>John Jones (J.B. Buckstone-1831)</u> <u>Why Don't She Marry; or, The Swiss</u> <u>Cottage (Bayly-1835)</u> <u>The Mummy; or, The Liquor of Life</u> <u>W.B. Bernard-1833)</u>
5 June	<u>The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-</u> <u>1798)</u> <u>Animal Magnetism</u> <u>(Mrs. Inchbald-1788)</u>
6 June	<u>Douglas (Home-1756)</u> <u>The Spectre Bridegroom</u> <u>(Moncrieff-1821)</u>
7 June	<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> <u>The Swiss Cottage (Bayly-1835)</u>
8 June (Mrs. Harrison's benefit)	<u>Jane Shore (Nicholas Rowe-1714)</u> <u>Animal Magnetism</u> <u>(Mrs. Inchbald-1788)</u>
9 June (Logan's benefit)	<u>The Will (F. Reynolds-1797)</u> <u>Mr. and Mrs. P.W.</u> <u>(J. Lunn-1829)</u>
12 June (Mme. Trust's benefit)	<u>Jane Shore (Rowe-1714)</u> <u>Mischief Making (Buckstone-1828)</u>

1839

Logan & Thoman Company play Auburn
beginning 9 January, but perhaps
not exclusively through the
spring.

27 March (Mrs. Chipp's benefit)	No bill listed.

10 July	Logan & Thoman Company returns to Auburn. No bills listed.

Company:
C.A. Logan
Jacob Thoman

Stars:
Mr. Williams
Mr. Balls
Mrs. Sefton

1839 continued

Miss Jean Davenport

30 October Auburn

Plays:
Richard III
The Manager's Daughter
(E. Lancaster-1837)

17 December Utica

Syracuse Company of Comedians
Isaac Merritt, Mgr.

1840

Powell & Hoffman Company

Company:
Mr. & Mrs. J.H. Powell
Mr. & Mrs. G. Hoffman
Mr. & Mrs. Hastings
Mr. Clifford
Mr. Freeland

Stars:
George Handel "Yankee" Hill
Miss Reynolds

6 May Auburn

Plays:
The White Phantom; or, La
Somnambula (Beazley?-1833)
Raising the Wind (Kenney-1803)

1841

Edwin Dean Company

Company:
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin Dean
Mr. Harrison, stage mgr.
W.S. Forrest
Mrs. Kore
Mr. Daniels, Negro impersonator
Mr. Nichols, scene painter
Mr. Frazer, machinist
Mr. Roe, orchestra leader

6 January Auburn

Plays:
Othello; or, The Noble Moor
The Two Gregories; or, John Bull
in France (T. Dibdin-1821)

13-15 January

The Jewess; or, the Council of
Constance (J.R. Planche?-1835)
"and a new farce each evening"

1841--Edwin Dean company in Auburn continued

Undated Plays:
Charles the Twelfth
(Planche-1828)
Macbeth
Hamlet

G. Hoffman Company played Coopers-
town ca. 2 February, but listed no
bills or company.

Edwin Dean Company

Additional company members (see
January 1841):

Mr. Ellis
Mr. Clarke
Mr. Dougherty
Mr. Beebe

8 February Auburn

Plays:
The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798)

10-11 February

The Flying Dutchman; or, the Phantom
Ship (Jerrold?-1839) "preceded
each evening by a burletta"

17 February (Harrison's
benefit)

Macbeth (Act II)
King Lear (principal portions)
Hamlet (Act III)
All the World's a Stage
(Isaac Jackman-1777)

J.H. Powell Company

Company:
Mr. & Mrs. Powell
Mr. & Mrs. Rice
Mr. Lathrop
Mr. Warren

27 March Cooperstown

Plays:
The Hunter of the Alps
(W. Dimond-1804)
The Two Gregories (Dibdin-1821)
The Haunted House
(Joseph Addison?-1716)

1841--Edwin Dean Company in Utica continued

Edwin Dean Company

Company:

Mr. & Mrs. Edwin Dean
Mr. & Mrs. W.S. Forrest
Mrs. Kore
Mr. Douglass
Mr. Dougherty
Mr. Beebe
Mr. Dale
Mr. Clarke
Mr. Potter

Stars:

Charles Kemble Mason
Mrs. McClure

Plays:

1 June Utica

The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-
1798)
The Pleasant Neighbor; or, Content-
ment vs. Riches
(Mrs. J.R. Planche-1836)

"in preparation:"

The Lady of the Lake
(T.J. Dibdin-1810)
The Brigand (D.W. Obaldistone-
1830)

8 June

Pizarro (Sheridan-1799)

22 June

The Last Days of Pompeii
(Louisa Medina-1836)
The Poor Soldier (O'Keefe-1783)

25 June Auburn

The Lady of Lyons
(Henry Bulwer-Lytton-1838)

G. Hoffman Company played Coopers-
town from ca. 15 December 1841-
1 January 1842. No bills or
company were listed.

1842

G. Hoffman Company

Company:

Mr. & Mrs. G. Hoffman
Mr. Bowman
Mr. Ballard
Mr. Newton, singer

1842--Hoffman Company in Utica continued

Mr. Chesebrough
Mr. Sigourney

Stars:
Mr. Fenner
Miss Clarendon

19 February Utica
(Benefit for Washington
Temperance Society)

Plays:
The Seven Clerks; or, The Innocent
Condemned (T.E. Wilks-1834)
The Alpine Maid (?)
The Bandit Chief (G. Hoffman- ?)

25 February
(Hoffman's benefit)

Dumb Girl of Genoa
(J. Farrell-1820)
The Turnpike Gate (T. Knight-1799)
Loan of a Lover (Planche-1834)

1843

Dr. D.G. Robinson Temperance Drama
Company

18-23 September Utica

Plays:
The Reformed Drunkard
(Dr. Robinson- ?)

A.J. Scott Company

Company:
C.J. Smith (New York and Southern
Theatres)
J.M. Brandon, stage manager
Mr. Goodenow (Chatham Theatre)
Mr. Ollier (National Theatre,
Boston)
Mr. Nathans (Bowery Theatre)
Mr. Reed (Philadelphia Theatres)
Mr. (Robert?) Marsh (Southern
Theatres)
Mr. Matthews
Mr. Williams
Mr. Rae
Mr. Conover
Miss Harrison
Miss A. Harrison
Mrs. Monell
Miss Delsmore
Master Edney
Mr. Drew, dancer

1843--A.J. Scott Company in Utica continued

	Stars:
	J.S. Silsbee
	Mrs. Anderson (Bowery Theatre)
	Plays:
23 October Utica	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798)
	<u>The Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835)
24 October	<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)
	<u>The Two Gregories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
25 October	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (J. Banim & R. Shiel-1821)
	<u>The Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824)
26 October (Miss Harrison's benefit)	<u>William Tell</u> Knowles-1825)
	<u>Merchant of Venice</u> (Act IV)
	<u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planché-1834)
27 October	<u>Yankee Land; or, The Foundling of an Apple Orchard</u> (C.A. Logan-1842)
	<u>The Swiss Cottage; or, Why Don't She Marry?</u> (Bayly-1835)
	<u>The Yankee Farmer</u> (?)
28 October (Silsbee's benefit)	<u>The Wool Pedlar</u> (compilation of <u>The Yankee Pedlar</u> and <u>The Vermont Wool Dealer</u>)
	<u>Jonathan in England</u> (Charles Mathews & R.B. Peake-1824)
	<u>The Yankee Farmer</u> (one act only)
	<u>Bumps; or, Yankee Magnetism</u> (anon.)
30 October (season extended)	<u>Othello; or, the Moor of Venice</u>
	<u>The Spectre Bridegroom; or, a Ghost in Spite of Himself</u> (W.T. Moncrieff-1821)
31 October (Smith's benefit)	<u>Virginus; or, the Liberation of Rome</u> (Knowles-1820)
	<u>The Adopted Child</u> (S. Birch-1795)
1 November	<u>The Stranger; or, the Misanthrope</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798)
	<u>The Young Widow; or, a Lesson to Lovers</u> (Rodwell-1824)

2 November

3 November

4 November (Scott's benefit)

1844

29-31 August Utica

1846

30 June Utica

4 July

early July

22, 24 July

4 August

349

1846--Dr. Robinson's Temperance Company continued

week of 16 September

The Victim and The First
Glass alternate

Allen & Bridges Temperance Drama-
tic Company played Utica 4-11
July. No bills or company listed.

Western Temperance Company
Hough, mgr.

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. Hough
Master Hough
Mr. and Mrs. Whitney

Others in Company:
Mr. Myers
Mr. Griffiths
Mr. Dinneford

29 August Utica

Plays:
Ghost Story (T.J. Serle-1836)
The Country Girl (D. Garrick-1766)
The Yankee Duellist
(N.H. Bannister-1838)

31 August

The Wile (possible misprint for
The Wife, Knowles-1833)

3 September
(two performances)

Loan of a Lover (Planché-1834)
Yankee Duellist (Bannister-1838)
The Country Girl (Garrick-1766)
Sam Slick (anon.)
Mr. and Mrs. Jones (?)

1847

John S. Potter Company "Melodeon"

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. John S. Potter
Mr. Thompson
Mr. Donovan
Mr. McKibbin
Mr. Phillimore
Mr. and Mrs. Mehen
Mr. and Mrs. W.S. Forrest
Miss Matilda

1847--Potter Company in Utica continued

8 February	Utica	Plays: <u>The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and Repentance</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>The Two Gregories; or, John Bull in France</u> (Dibdin-1821)
10 February		<u>The Maid of Croissy</u> (Mrs. G.C.F. Gore-1835) <u>Asmodeus</u> (T. Archer-1843)
12 February		<u>Virginus</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
13 February		<u>Macbeth</u> <u>All the World's a Stage</u> (Jackman-1777)
15 February		<u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (D. Jerrold-1829) <u>Paul Pry</u> (Jerrold?-1827)
16 February		<u>Richard III</u> <u>The Pleasant Neighbor</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
17 February		<u>The Windmill</u> (T. Morton, Jr.-1842) <u>Lucille</u> (Bernard-1836) <u>Love in Masquerade</u> (?)
18 February		<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Lend Me Five Shillings</u> (J.M. Morton-1846)
19 February		<u>Hamlet</u> <u>The Rendezvous</u> (Ayton-1818)
20 February		<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>The Forest Rose</u> (Samuel Woodworth-1825)
22 February	(Mrs. Potter's benefit)	<u>The Dumb Girl of Genoa</u> (Farrell-1820) <u>Asmodeus</u> (Archer-1843)
23 February	(Forrest's benefit)	<u>Rob Roy</u> (Isaac Pocock?-1818) <u>The Mexican War</u> (?)
24 February	(Thompson's benefit)	<u>King Lear</u> <u>The Jealous Wife</u> (Colman-1761)

1847--Potter's Melodeon in Utica continued

25 February (Osceola Hose Co. #1 benefit) Therese, the Orphan of Geneva
(Payne-1821)
The Soldier's Daughter
(Andrew Cherry-1804)

26 February The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798)
A Kiss in the Dark
(Buckstone-1840)

27 February (Potter's benefit) The Gambler's Fate
(H.M. Milner-1828)
Our Mary Ann (Buckstone-1838)
Turn Out (Kenney?-1812)

Allen and Bridges' Western
Temperance Company

8, 9 March Utica Plays:
The Contrast; or, The Husband's
Return (?)

10, 11 March The Goblet of Death (?)

12 March Phillip Howard; or, The American
Sailor (?)

13 March The Broken Merchant; or, The Fruits
of Woe (?)

Potter's Melodeon

Additions to company;

Mr. Parker
Mr. Pemberton
Mr. Carr
Mr. Andrews
Miss Staines

Stars:

E.S. Conner
Kate Walters & Mr. Goodwin
(dancers)
C.J. Smith

15 March Utica Plays:
The Hunchback (Knowles-1832)
All the World's a Stage; or, the
Mad Actor (Jackman-1777)

1847--Potter's Melodeon in Utica continued

16 March	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Family Jars; or, the Mistaken</u> <u>Fathers</u> (J. Lunn-1822)
17 March	<u>Othello</u> <u>Deeds of Dreadful Note</u> (Dubois-1841)
18 March	<u>The Wife; A Tale of Mantua</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)
19 March	<u>Bertram; or, The Castle of St.</u> <u>Aldobrand</u> (C. Maturin-1816) <u>The King's Gardener; or, Nipped in</u> <u>the Bud</u> (C. Selby-1839)
20 March	<u>Taming the Shrew; or, How to Rule</u> <u>a Wife</u> <u>The Golden Farmer; or, The Last</u> <u>Crime</u> (J.C. Cross-1802)
22 March	<u>Therese, The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>All the World's a Stage</u> (Jackman-1777)
23 March	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>The Illustrious Stranger</u> (Kenney & J. Millingen-1827)
24 March	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan; or, The Bold</u> <u>Cavalier</u> (D. Boucicault?-1844) <u>State Secrets</u> (T.E. Wilks-1836)
25 March	<u>The Wife</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>A Man Without a Head</u> (J.P. Wooler-1845)
26 March	<u>Ben the Boatswain</u> (T.E. Wilks-1839) <u>The Promissory Note</u> (S. Beazley-1820)
29 March (Mrs. Potter's benefit)	<u>The Blind Boy; or, The Rightful</u> <u>Heir of Samartia</u> (Kenney-1807) <u>Victorine; or, I'll Sleep On't</u> (Buckstone?-1831)
30 March	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Frank Fox Phelps, Esq.</u> (Selby-1834)

1847--Potter's Melodeon in Utica continued

31 March (Walters & Goodwin benefit)	<u>The Dream at Sea</u> (Buckstone-1835) <u>Mr. and Mrs. P.W.; or, The Widow Bewitched</u> (Lunn-1829)
1 April	<u>The Vagrant, His Wife and Family</u> (?-1845) <u>Ben the Boatswain</u> (Wilks-1839)
2 April	<u>Wealth a Curse; or, The Festival of St. Michael</u> (Mr. Thompson of this company-1847) <u>Rent Day</u> (Jerrold-1832)
3 April	<u>Carpenter of Rouen; or, The Confrerie of St. Bartholemew</u> (Joseph S. Jones-1844) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone-1840)
5 April	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Jack's the Lad</u> (C. Ferrars-1839)
6 April	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822) <u>Our Mary Ann</u> (Buckstone-1838)
7 April	<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>
8 April	<u>Othello</u> <u>Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844)
10 April	<u>Tour de Nesle</u> (Dumas Pere-1832) <u>Fortune's Frolic; or, The True Use of Riches</u> (Allingham-1799)
12 April (Conner's benefit)	<u>Lady of Lyons; or, Love, Pride and Ambition</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839)
13 April (Mr. & Mrs. Forrest's benefit)	<u>The Iron Chest; or, the Mysterious Murder</u> (Colman-1796) <u>Margaret Catchpole; or, the Heroine of Humble Life; or, the Female Horse Thief</u> (Stirling-1845) <u>Cape Cod Muster; or, Yankee Militia Muster</u> (?)

1847 continued

Western's Olio Company

Company:

The Great Western

Mrs. Emmet

Billy Whitlock, banjo

Miss Whitlock, dancer

Plays:

2 July Utica

The Yankee Quilting (?)

The Stage Struck Yankee

(O.E. Durivage-1840)

Yankee Story (?)

5 July

Smikes in Search of a Wife (?)

Jonathan Slick (?)

Charles Mestayer Vaudeville
Company played Utica ca. 7 July,
but listed no bills or company.

Melodeons (J.S. Potter Company)
played Geneva ca. 24 July, but
listed no bills or company.

Potter's Histrionic Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. John S. Potter

Mr. Thompson

Mr. Pemberton

Mr. Gilbert

Mr. Jones

Mr. and Mrs. Mehen

Mr. and Mrs. Donovan

Mr. Taylor

Mlle. Amilie, dancer

Mr. and Mrs. J.B. Strong

W.S. Forrest

Stars:

Mary Ann Duff

Mrs. E. Thompson

Barney Williams

Augustus Addams

Ben de Bar

Miss H. Vallee

Julia Dean, assisted by her
father, Edwin Dean

Wyzeman Marshall

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

	Plays:
28 September	Utica <u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Lady and Devil</u> (Dimond-1820)
29 September	<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The Dumb Belle</u> (W.B. Bernard-1831)
30 September	<u>Fazio</u> (H.H. Milman-1816) <u>The Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)
1 October	<u>Therese</u> (J.H. Payne-1821) <u>The Queen's Own</u> (Bernard?-1831)
2 October	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Hunting a Turtle</u> (C. Selby-1835)
4 October	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault-1844) <u>Lady and Devil</u> (Dimond-1820)
5 October	<u>The Wife; or, A Father's Grave</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>Love's Disguise; or, A Day in Paris</u> (Knowles-1838)
6 October	<u>Victorine; or, I'll Sleep On't</u> (Buckstone-1831) <u>A Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)
7 October	<u>The Soldier's Daughter; or, The Benevolent Widow</u> (Cherry-1804) <u>The Widow's Victim; or, the Stage Struck Chambermaid</u> (Selby-1835)
8 October	<u>Taming the Shrew</u> <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822)
9 October	<u>The Blue Devils</u> (Colman-1798) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
10 October	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Mountain Devil</u> (?) <u>Turn Out; or, The Enraged Politician</u> (Kenney?-1812)
11 October	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

12 October	<u>Othello</u> <u>Which is the Man</u> (Mrs. H. Cowley-1782)
13 October	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Fortune's Frolics</u> (Allingham-1799)
14 October	<u>Bertram</u> (Maturin-1816) <u>Pleasant Neighbors</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
16 October	<u>Richard III</u> <u>His Own Ghost</u> (Moncrieff?-1821)
18 October	<u>Napoleon's Guard; or, The Horrors</u> <u>of War</u> (Boucicault?-1843) <u>The Golden Farmer; or, Vell! Vot</u> <u>of It!</u> (J.C. Cross-1802)
19 October	<u>The Iron Chest</u> (Colman-1796) <u>The Irish Lion</u> (Buckstone-1838)
21 October	<u>Macbeth</u> (Act II) <u>The Monomaniac</u> (?) <u>Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835) <u>Adam and Eve</u> (?)
22 October	<u>The Vagrant, His Wife and Family</u> (?-1845) <u>Julius Caesar "a portion"</u> <u>The Merry Cobbler; or, Contentment</u> <u>vs. Riches</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
23 October	<u>The Murderer of Marseilles; or,</u> <u>The Seven Clerks and Three</u> <u>Thieves</u> (Wilks-1834) <u>Virginus; or, The Roman Father</u> (Act IV) (Knowles-1820) <u>The Rendezvous; or, All in the</u> <u>Dark</u> (Ayton-1818)
24 October	<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)) <u>The Two Greggories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
25 October	<u>The Limerick Boy; or, Paddy's</u> <u>Mischief</u> (James Pilgrim-1848) <u>The Irish Schoolmaster; or, Brass</u> <u>vs. Learning</u> (Butler?-1822) <u>Love in Humble Life; or, the Clown</u> <u>and Soldier</u> (Payne-1822)

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

26 October	<u>Sprigs of Ireland; or, The Victim of Science (?)</u> <u>Get Me a Place; or, The Irish Cow Doctor (?)</u> <u>William Tell; The Hero of Switzerland (Knowles-1825)</u>
27 October	<u>The Blundering Irishman (?)</u> <u>The Irish Lion (Buckstone-1838)</u> <u>Napoleon's Guard (Boucicault?-1843)</u>
29 October	<u>Born to Good Luck; or, The Irishman's Fortune (T. Power-1832)</u> <u>The Irish Schoolmaster; or, New Lights (Butler?-1822)</u> <u>The Golden Farmer; or, Vell, Vot of It (Cross-1802)</u>
1 November	<u>The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and Repentance (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798)</u> <u>Perfection; or, The Maid of Munster (Bayly-1830)</u>
2 November	<u>The Hunchback (Knowles-1832))</u> <u>The Swiss Cottage; or, Why Don't She Marry (Bayly-1835)</u>
3 November	<u>Evadne; or, The Hall of Statues (Shiel-1819)</u> <u>Turn Out; or, The Enraged Politician (Kenney?-1812)</u>
4 November	<u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady (Planche-1839)</u> <u>Therese, The Orphan of Geneva (Payne-1821)</u>
5 November	<u>The Gamester (E. Moore/D. Garrick-1753)</u> <u>Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Frankfort? (based on Coyne?-1846)</u>
6 November	<u>Lucille; A Story of the Heart (W.B. Bernard-1836)</u> <u>The Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)</u> <u>Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Frankfort? (based on Coyne?-1846)</u>

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

8 November	<u>Evadne; or, The Hall of Statues</u> (Shiel-1819) <u>Wolf and Lamb</u> (Wilks-1832)
9 November (Thompson's benefit)	<u>The Gamester</u> (Moore/Garrick-1753) <u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault?- 1844)
10 November	<u>Virginus; or, The Roman Father</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839)
11 November	<u>Hamlet; Prince of Denmark</u> <u>Perfection; or, The Maid of</u> <u>Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
12 November	<u>Othello; The Moor of Venice</u> <u>The Irish Tutor; or, New Lights</u> (Butler-1822)
13 November	<u>Damon and Pythias; or, The Test of</u> <u>Friendship</u> (Banim & Shiel- 1821) <u>The Spectre Bridegroom; or, His</u> <u>Own Ghost</u> (Moncrieff-1821)
15 November	<u>King Lear and his Three Daughters</u> <u>The Swiss Cottage; or, Why Don't</u> <u>She Marry</u> (Bayly-1835)
16 November	<u>Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Mad as a March Hare</u> (? -1837)
17 November (Addams's benefit)	<u>Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin</u> (Payne-1818) <u>Therese; or, The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821)
18 November	<u>The Artful Dodger</u> (J.M. Field?-1843) <u>The Spirit of the Fountain</u> (J. Courtney-1843)
19 November	<u>Robert Macaire; or, Les Auberge</u> <u>des Achet</u> [sic] (C. Selby- 1834) <u>The Artful Dodger</u> (Field-1843))
22 November (Mrs. Potter's benefit)	<u>The King's Gardner</u> (Selby-1839) <u>The Brigand</u> (Obaldistone-1830) <u>The Little Devil</u> (Archer?-1843)

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

23 November	Utica	<u>The Spirit of the Fountain</u> (Courtney-1843) <u>Turning the Tables</u> (J. Poole-1830) <u>Family Jars; or, The Mistaken</u> <u>Fathers</u> (Lunn-1822)
24 November		<u>Robert Macaire; or, The Two</u> <u>Murderers</u> (Selby-1834) <u>Asmodeus; or, The Little Devil's</u> <u>Share</u> (Archer-1843) <u>State Secrets; or, The Tailor of</u> <u>Tamworth</u> (Wilks-1836)
26 November		<u>Nick of the Woods</u> (L. Medina?- 1838) <u>The Corporal & Mountain Bandit;</u> <u>or, The Dumb Orphan</u> (?) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
27 November	(De Bar's benefit)	<u>The Six Degrees of Crime</u> (F. S. Hill-1834) <u>The King's Gardner</u> (Selby-1839) <u>The Two Gregories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
29 November		<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>The Illustrious Stranger; or,</u> <u>Married and Buried</u> (Kenney & Millingen-1827)
30 November		<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone-1840)
1 December		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap- 1798) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835)
2 December		<u>Lucretia Borgia; or, The Poisoner</u> (Hugo/Trenton listed in Gazette) <u>The Hole in the Wall</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
3 December		<u>The Italian Wife's Revenge</u> (Milman?-1816) <u>John Jones</u> (Buckstone-1831)
4 December		<u>Lucretia Borgia; or, The Poisoner</u> (Hugo/Trenton) <u>His Own Ghost</u> (Moncrieff?-1821)

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

6 December (Julia Dean's benefit)	<u>The Wrecker's Daughter</u> (Knowles-1836) <u>A Wife's First Lesson</u> (M.T. Kemble?-1808)
7 December	<u>Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Charles XII; or, The Siege of Stralsand</u> (Planche-1828)
8 December	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u> (G.W. Lovell-1829) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835)
10 December	<u>Ion</u> (T.N. Talfourd-1836) <u>The Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)
11 December	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u> (Lovell-1829) <u>Lovers' Quarrels</u> (King-1790)
13 December	<u>Lucretia Borgia; or, The Poisoner</u> (Hugo/Trenton) <u>Charles XII; or, The Siege of Stralsand</u> (Planche-1828)
14 December (Julia Dean's farewell benefit)	<u>Joan of Arc</u> (Fitzball?-1822) <u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804)
15 December (Forrest's benefit)	<u>Ben the Boatswain</u> (Wilks-1839) <u>Cherry Bounce</u> (R.J. Raymond-1821) <u>Paul Pry</u> (Jerrold?-1827)
16 December	<u>Macbeth; or, The King of Scotland</u> <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
17 December	<u>Virginus; The Roman Father</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>The Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835)
18 December	<u>Richelieu; or, The Conspiracy</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Love in Masquerade</u> (?)
20 December	<u>Carpenter of Rouen; or, The</u> <u>Confrerie of St. Bartholomew</u> (J.S. Jones-1844) <u>Black Eyed Susan; or, All in the</u> <u>Downs</u> (Jerrold-1829)
21 December	<u>The Bottle</u> (T.P. Taylor-1847) <u>The Adopted Child</u> (Birch-1795)

1847--Potter's Histrionic Company in Utica continued

22 December	<u>La Tour de Nesle; or, The Chamber of Death</u> (Dumas-1832) <u>Cherry Bounce; or, The Wrong Bottle</u> (Raymond-1829)
23 December (Marshall's benefit)	<u>Richelieu; or The Conspiracy</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>A Kiss in the Dark; or, Lights and Shades</u> (Buckstone-1840)
24 December	<u>Love in Humble Life; or, The Clown and Soldier</u> (Payne-1822) <u>The Secret; or, Hole in the Wall</u> (Moncrieff-1822)
25 December (matinee)	<u>Perfection; or, The Maid of Munster</u> (Bayly-1830) <u>The Merry Cobbler; or, Contentment vs. Riches</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
(evening)	<u>The Clown and Soldier; or, Love in the Country</u> (Payne?-1822)

Western Temperance Company
Allen & Bridges, mgrs.

20 November	Geneva	Plays: <u>Edward Middleton; or, The Husband's Return</u> (?)

1848

J.B. Strong Temperance Dramatic Company (name changes to J.B. Strong Moral Dramatic Co. on 16 February)

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. Strong
Mr. Turner
Mr. Tozer
Mr. Loomis
Mr. Marshall
Mr. Dudley
Mrs. Telban
Mr. Wilson

15 February	Utica	Plays: <u>The Gamester</u> (Moore & Garrick-1753) <u>The Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835)

1848--Strong's Moral Dramatic Company in Utica continued
 16 February The Lady of Lyons; or, Love and
 Pride (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)
The Irish Lion (Buckstone-1838)

17 February The Idiot Witness; or, A Tale of
 Blood (Haines-1823)
The Hole in the Wall
 (Poole-1813)
The Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)

18 February The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and
 Repentance Kotzebue/Dunlap-
 1798)
The Irish Tutor (Butler-1822)

19 February (Mrs. Strong's Ali Pacha; or, The Signet Ring
 benefit) (Payne & Planche-1822)
The Honey Moon (Tobin-1805)

Forrest and Ross Vaudeville Company
 (name changes to Ross and
 Sutherland Company on 28 Aug.)

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Forrest
 L. D. Ross
 T. Martin
 Mr. Lee
 Mr. Copeland
 Mr. Walton
 Mr. Howes
 Mr. Collins
 Master De Mott
 Mrs. Vennua
 Miss Fay
 Mrs. Cheesebrough
 Mrs. Judah
 E. J. Herbert
 La Belle Oceana & Mr. Bennie,
 dancers
 E. Bowers, scenic artist

Stars:

R. W. McDougal, Yankee comedian
 Miss Emma Leslie, vocalist from New
 York and Philadelphia Theatres
 Mr. Hallett, mirth-making songs
 Mr. Drake, young tragedian

1848--Forrest and Ross Vaudeville Company in Utica
continued

	Plays:
19 August	Utica
	<u>Perfection; or, The Maid of</u> <u>Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
	<u>The Young Widow; or, A Lesson for</u> <u>Lovers</u> (Rodwell-1824)
21 August	
	<u>No Song, No Supper; or, The Lawyer</u> <u>in a Sack</u> (Hoare-1790)
	<u>The Swiss Swains; or, Love in the</u> <u>Mountains</u> (B.N. Webster-1831)
22 August	
	<u>The Poor Soldier</u> (O'Keeffe-1783)
	<u>Family Jars; or, The Mistaken</u> <u>Fathers</u> (Lunn-1822)
23 August	
	<u>Turn Out; or, The Enraged</u> <u>Politician</u> (Kenney?-1812)
	<u>Gentleman in Black; or, His Own</u> <u>Ghost</u> (G.W. Harby?-1839)
24 August	
	<u>The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and</u> <u>Repentance</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap- 1798)
	<u>Uncle Sam; or, Nabob for an Hour</u> <u>(J. Poole-1833)</u>
25 August	
	<u>Lucille; or, A Story of the Heart</u> <u>(Bernard-1836)</u>
	<u>The Pleasant Neighbor; or, Content-</u> <u>ment vs. Riches</u> <u>(Mrs. Planche-1836)</u>
26 August	
	<u>Trio of Lovers; or, The Dead Shot</u> <u>(Buckstone-1827)</u>
	<u>The Swiss Swains; or, Love in the</u> <u>Mountains</u> (B.N. Webster-1831)
	<u>Uncle Sam; or, A Nabob for an Hour</u> <u>(Poole-1833)</u>
28 August	
	<u>Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch</u> <u>(Payne-1824)</u>
	<u>A Glance at New York</u> <u>(Benjamin Baker-1848)</u>
29 August	
	<u>The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821)
	<u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
30 August	
	<u>The Robber's Wife</u> (Pocock?-1829)
	<u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
31 August	
	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825)
	<u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)

1848--Ross and Sutherland Company in Utica continued

- 1 September (The Forrests' farewell benefit) Rob Roy; or, Auld Lang Syne (Pocock?-1818)
Paul Pry; or, I Hope I Don't Intrude (Dibdin-1826)
- 2 September The Miser of Marseilles (Wilks?-1834)
The Married Rake (Selby-1835)
- 4 September The Two Murderers (Selby?-1834)
The Merry Monarch (Payne-1824)
- 5 September John Overy; or, The Money Worm (Jerrold-1829)
The King's Gardener (Selby-1839)
- 6 September The Lost Heir (?)
Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Whitesboro (from Coyne?-1846)
- 7 September The Coiners' Cave; or, The Robber's Wife (Pocock?-1829)
Metamora! or, The Last of the Pollywogs (John Brougham-1847)
- 8 September Matteo Falcone; or, The Brigand's Son (E. Mayhew-1834)
Metamora! or, The Last of the Pollywogs (Brougham-1847)
- 9 September (Ross's benefit) Miser of the Southwark Ferry (Jerrold-1829)
The Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)
- 11 September Gudeman of Ballangiech (W.H. Murray?-1826)
Turtle Hunting (Selby?-1835)
- 12 September The Wool Dealer (Logan-1838)
New Wife and My Old Umbrella (?)
- 13 September The Forest Rose (Woodworth-1825)
Hunting a Turtle (Selby-1835)
- 14 September The Forest Rose (Woodworth-1825)
The Wool Dealer (Logan-1838)
- 15 September Yankee in Brama (?)
A Glance at New York (Baker-1848)

1848--Ross and Sutherland Company in Utica continued

- 16 September (McDougal's benefit) Yankee King (?)
The Wool Dealer (Logan-1838)
Metamorum (Brougham?-1847)
- 18 September The Galley Slave (?)
The Merry Cobbler (Mrs. Planche-1836)
- 19 September The Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)
The Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)
- 20 September The Brigand's Son (Mayhew-1834)
The Rendezvous (Ayton-1818)
- 21 September The Denouncer; or, The Seven Clerks
(Wilks-1834)
Good! Good! Good! or, The Whims or
Oddities of Thomas (?)
- 22 September (Mrs. Ven-
nua's benefit) Virginus; or, The Roman Father
(Knowles-1820)
The Dead Shot (Buckstone-1827)
- 23 September (Mr. Tozer's benefit) Loan of a Lover (Planche-1834)
The Spectre Bridegroom
(Moncrieff-1821)
The Two Gregories (Dibdin-1821)

La Belle Oceana's Company (Utica)

Company: This group probably included some personnel from the Ross and Sutherland Company. Only announced members:

La Belle Oceana

Mr. Bennie

Mr. Sutherland (a brief engagement)

- 25 September The Volunteer's Return (Walter M. Leman?-1848)
- 2 October The Volunteer's Return
(Leman?-1848)
The Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)
- 3 October The Ladder of Love (ballet-pantomime)
The Cobblers Preside (?)
- 4 October The Two Gregories (Dibdin-1821)
The Irish Dragoon (Selby-1845)

1848--La Belle Oceana's Company in Utica continued

9 October	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Perfection</u> (Bayly-1830)
10 October	<u>The Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822) <u>The Cork Leg</u> (? -1833)
13 October (Mrs. Vennua's benefit)	<u>The Honeymoon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>The Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824)
14 October	<u>The Siege of Monterey</u> (Mr. Bennie of this company)
16 October (Sutherland's benefit)	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>A Glance at New York</u> (1 act only) (Baker-1848) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829)
17 October	<u>The Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822) <u>The Swiss Swains</u> (B.N. Webster- 1831)

The Scoville Vaudeville Company

Company:
William Scoville
Mr. Bridges

9 November	Utica	Plays: <u>The Floating Beacon</u> (Fitzball- 1824) <u>Sam Slick</u> (anon.)
11 November		<u>The Contrast; or, Two Brothers</u> (?) <u>How to Die for Love</u> (?)

The People's Theatre

Company:
A.B. Sutherland, manager
Mr. DeAngelis
Mr. Tamlyn
Mr. Clark
Mr. George Brown
Mr. Parks
Mr. Kemble
Mr. Phillips
Mr. Tozer
Mr. J. Luther
Mrs. Scoville

1848--The People's Theatre in Utica continued

Mrs. LaForrest (formerly
Mrs. Vennua)
Misses Clifford, dancers
Mr. Herbert, singer
Monsieur Bazzett, magician

Stars:
Julia Turnbull

Plays:

18 November Utica Tortesa the Usurer
(N.P. Willis-1839)
Box and Cox (J.M. Morton-1847)

19-22 November Tortesa continues, with
unidentified afterpieces.

23 November Othello
Boots at the Swan (Selby-1842)

25 November William Tell (Knowles-1825)
Spectre Bridegroom (Moncrieff-
1821)

27 November The Iron Chest
(Colman the Younger-1796)
Spectre Bridegroom (Moncrieff-
1821)

28 November Pizarro (Sheridan-1799)
Dead Shot (Buckstone-1827)

29 November The Iron Chest
(Colman the Younger-1796)
Robbers of the Heath (?)

30 November Romeo and Juliet
Boots at the Swan (Selby-1842)

1 December Romeo and Juliet
Dead Shot (Buckstone-1827)

2 December Crossing the Line (Nicol lists
G. Almar-1853?)
Matteo Falcone (Mayhew-1834)
Box and Cox (Morton-1847)

4 December The Floating Beacon (Fitzball-
1824)
State Secrets (Wilks?-1836)

5 December Black Eyed Susan (Jerrold-1829)
Tailor of Tamworth (Wilks?-1836)

1848--The People's Theatre in Utica continued

6 December	<u>The Seven Clerks</u> (Wilks-1834) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835)
7 December	<u>Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>Crossing the Line</u> (Almar-1853?)
8 December	<u>The Robber's Cave</u> (?) <u>Crossing the Line</u> (Almar-1853?)
9 December	<u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834) <u>A Ghost in Spite of Himself</u> (Moncrieff?-1821)
11 December	<u>Luke the Laborer</u> (Buckstone-1826) <u>Nipped in the Bud</u> (Selby?-1839)
12 December	<u>Othello</u> <u>The Secret</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
13 December	<u>The Merchant of Venice</u> <u>Crossing the Line</u> (Almar-1853?)
14 December (Mrs. LaFor- rest's benefit)	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Kate O'Brien</u> (?)
15 December	<u>Richard III</u> "an appropriate farce"
16 December	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planché-1834)
19 December (Kemble's benefit)	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault?-1844) <u>Boots of a Swan</u> (Selby-1842)
20 December (Tozer's benefit)	"a good bill"
22 December (Phillips's benefit)	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>The Review; or, The Wags of Wind- sor</u> (Colman the Younger-1800)
23 December (DeAngelis's benefit)	<u>The Horrors of the Inquisition</u> (?) <u>Tailor of Tamworth</u> (Wilks?-1836)
25 December (matinee)	<u>The Brigand's Fate</u> (?) <u>The Omnibus; or, Trip to Whitesboro</u> (Pocock?-1830) <u>Sylvester Daggerwood</u> (Colman the Younger-1808)

1848--The People's Theatre at Utica continued

(evening) A Glance at New York (Baker-1848)
Artful Dodger (Field-1843)

30 December A New Way to Pay Old Debts
(Massinger-1622)
Tailor of Tamworth (Wilks-1836)

1849

1 January Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp
(matinee) (see Nicoll for possibilities)
Lady and the Devil (Dimond-1820)

(evening) The Soldier's Daughter (Cherry-1804)
Ho for California (?)
The Married Rake (Selby-1835)

9 January Artful Dodger (Field-1843)
Dicky Nix the Cabman (?)

10 January "a good bill"

13 January (Julia Turnbull's benefit) Loan of a Lover (Planche-1834)

20 January (Julia Turnbull's benefit?) Jenny Lind (? -1847)

5 March Barney Williams evening--no plays listed.

Syracuse Vaudeville company

Company:

J.H. Hall, manager
Mr. Brydges
Mr. and Mrs. Chipp
Mr. Phillips
Mr. Kellogg
Miss Fanny Wheeler
Miss Walton
Mr. Yarrington, singer
Mr. Demott, singer
Master Demott? singer
Miss Richardson, dancer

Stars:

Mr. and Mrs. E.S. Conner
J.S. Silsbee

1849--Syracuse Vaudeville Company in Utica continued

5 December	Utica	Plays: <u>Dur Mary Anne</u> (Buckstone-1838) <u>My Fellow Clerk</u> (J. Oxenford-1835) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)
6 December		<u>Seven Clerks</u> (Wilks?-1834) <u>Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824) <u>Object of Interest</u> (J.H. Stocqueler-1845)
7 December		<u>Simpson and Co.</u> (J. Poole-1823) <u>The Old Guard</u> (Boucicault-1843) <u>Pleasant Neighbor</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
8 December		<u>Luke the Laborer</u> (Buckstone-1826) <u>The Day After the Wedding</u> (M.T. Kemble-1808)
10 December		<u>Two Friends</u> (T. Holcroft?-1804) <u>Family Jars</u> (J. Lunn-1822)
11 December		<u>Golden Farmer</u> (Cross-1802) <u>Lottery Tickets</u> (Beazley-1826)
12 December		<u>Charles II</u> (Payne-1824) <u>John Jones</u> (Buckstone-1831)
13 December		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Personation</u> (T.J. Dibdin-1828)
14 December		<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Lottery Ticket</u> (Beazley-1826)
15 December		<u>Fazio; or, The Italian Wife</u> (Milman-1816) <u>The Weathercock</u> (Allingham-1805)
16 December		<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> <u>Family Jars</u> (Lunn-1822)
18 December (Conner's benefit)		<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Personation</u> (Dibdin-1828)
19 December		<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845)
20 December		<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>John Jones</u> (Buckstone-1831)

1849--Syracuse Vaudeville Company in Utica continued

21 December	<u>Othello</u> <u>Our Mary Anne</u> (Buckstone-1838)
22 December	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>A Night of Expectation</u> (?)
24 December	<u>Octavia Brigaldi; or, The Confes-</u> <u>sion</u> (Charlotte Barnes Conner-1837) <u>Angel of the Attic</u> (T. Morton, Jr.-1843)
25 December	<u>Yankee Land</u> (Logan-1842)
26 December	<u>The Forest Rose</u> (Woodworth-1825) <u>The Wool Pedlar</u> (compilation of <u>The Yankee Pedlar and The</u> <u>Vermont Wool Dealer</u>)
27 December	<u>The People's Lawyer</u> (J.S. Jones-1839) <u>The Wool Dealer</u> (Logan-1838)
28 December	<u>Yankee Land</u> (Logan-1842) <u>American Farmers</u> (Woodworth-1825)
29 December	<u>Happy Results; or, The Hermit on</u> <u>the Rocks</u> (J.P. Adams-1847) <u>The People's Lawyer</u> (Jones-1839)
31 December (Silsbee's benefit)	<u>Sam Slick</u> (anon.) <u>Jonathan In England</u> (Mathews-1824) <u>The Foundling</u> (1st act only) (R.C. McClellan-1840?)

1850

3 January (Chipp's benefit)	<u>The Iron Chest; or, The Mysterious</u> <u>Murder</u> (Colman the Younger- 1796) <u>The Beacon of Death; or, The Nor-</u> <u>wegian Wrecker</u> (Fitzball?- 1824)
4 January (Brydges's benefit)	<u>George Barnwell; or, The London</u> <u>Apprentice</u> (Lillo-1731) <u>Napoleon's Old Guard</u> (Boucicault?-1843)
5 January (Hall's benefit)	<u>The Miller's Maid</u> (J.S. Faucit- 1821) <u>The Floating Beacon</u> (Fitzball- 1824)

1850 continued

Miller and Langrische Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. R.J. Miller

Mr. and Mrs. Langrische

Plays:

27 May Utica

Therese, Orphan of Geneva
(Payne-1821)

The Two Gregories (Dibdin-1821)

28 May

The Idiot Witness; or, Blood for
Blood (Haines-1823)

Lend Me Five Shillings (Morton-
1846)

30 May

Twenty Years of a Gambler's Life;
or, The Hut of the Red Moun-
tain (H.M. Milner-1827)

The Secret; or, The Hole in the
Wall (Moncrieff?-1822)

31 May

Fall of Grenada (?)

The Beacon of Death; or, The Nor-
wegian Wreckers (Fitzball-
1824)

1 June

The Last Crime (Cross?-1802)

Twenty Years of a Gambler's Life;
or, The Hut on the Red Moun-
tain (Milner-1827)

W.H. Hough Dramatic Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. Jones

Plays:

10 September Utica

The Lady of Lyons (Bulwer-
Lytton-1838)

The Omnibus (Pocock-1830)

11 September

The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-
1798)

The Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)

12 September

Don Caesar de Bazan; or, The
Spanish Cavalier (Boucicault?-
1844)

Nature and Philosophy; or, The
Youth Who Never Saw a Woman
(?)

1850--W.H. Hough Dramatic Company in Utica continued

13 September	<u>The Serious Family</u> (M. Barnett-1849) <u>Intrigue; or, Married Yesterday</u> (J. Poole-1814)
14 September	<u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849) <u>The Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822)
16 September	<u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849) <u>The Ghost Story</u> (T.J. Serles-1833)
17 September	<u>The Bandit Chief; or, The Forest Spectre</u> (Hodgkinson?-1807) <u>Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch</u> (Payne-1824)
18 September	<u>The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved</u> (Smith-1844) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
19 September	<u>Woman's Faith; or, The Momentous Question</u> (Bernard-1835) <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822) <u>The Queen's Own; or, The Dumb Belle</u> (Bernard-1831)
20 September	<u>The Rake's Progress; or, Six Degrees of Crime</u> (F.S. Hill-1834) <u>The Country Cousins; or, The Omnibus</u> (Pocock-1830)
21 September	<u>Hamlet, Prince of Denmark</u>

1851

Hough's Dramatic Company

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. Hough
Mr. Phelps
Miss Newton, "danseuse"

15 February	Cooperstown	"a succession of the most admired Tragedies, Comedies, Farces, etc." (at least one week)
28 March	Geneva	<u>Charles I (?)</u> <u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849)
4 April		<u>Charles XII; or, The Siege of Stralsund</u> (Planche-1828) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829)

1851 continued

Hough's Excelsior Dramatic Company

Company:

Mr. Lyne
Mr. and Mrs. Muzzy
Mr. Edwin
Mr. Furmore
Mr. Barry
Mr. Dolman
Mr. Griffith
Miss Hathaway
Mr. Conner, singer
Miss Wyette
Miss Smith
Mr. Tamlyn (of this city)

Plays:

21 April	Utica	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>The Lottery Ticket</u> (Beazley-1826)
22 April		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831)
23 April		<u>Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Ghost Story</u> (Serles-1836)
24 April		<u>Cross of Gold; or, Theresa's Vow</u> (Mrs. Gore?-1835) <u>A Day in Paris</u> (Selby-1832)
25 April		<u>The Idiot Witness; or, A Tale of Horror</u> (Haines-1823) <u>A Day in Paris</u> (Selby-1832)
26 April		<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>The Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822)
28 April		<u>Dumb Belle; or, The Queen's Own</u> (Bernard-1831) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
29 April		<u>Omnibus; or, A Convenient Distance</u> (Pocock?-1830) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
30 April		<u>The Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
1 May	(Lyne's benefit)	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)

1851--Hough's Excelsior Dramatic Company in Utica
continued

2 May	<u>Jack Sheppard; or, The House Breaker; or, The Progress of Crime</u> (Buckstone-1839) <u>Box and Cox; or, The Attic Room Let</u> (Morton-1847)
3 May	<u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839) <u>Dumb Belle; or, The Queen's Own</u> (Bernard-1831)
5 May	<u>Othello</u> <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planché-1834)
6 May	<u>Rosina Meadows; or, Temptations Unveiled</u> (C.H. Saunders-1843) <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822)
7 May (Miss Hathaway's benefit)	<u>Rosina Meadows</u> (Saunders-1843) <u>The Mountain Maid</u> (? -1837)
8 May	<u>French Spy</u> (Haines-1831) <u>A Day in Paris</u> (Selby-1832)
9 May	<u>The Irish Lion</u> (Buckstone-1838) <u>Sandy and Jemmy</u> (?) <u>The Siamese Twins</u> (G.A. A' Beckett-1834)
10 May	<u>Douglass; or, The Noble Shepherd</u> (Home-1756) <u>The Siamese Twins</u> (A' Beckett-1834)
12 May	<u>Lady of the Lake; or, The Outlawed Chief</u> (Dibdin-1810) <u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846)
13 May	<u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846) <u>The Irish Lion</u> (Buckstone-1838)
14 May Walker-1820)	<u>Warlock of the Glen; or, The Wizard of the Moor</u> (C.E. Walker-1820) <u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
15 May (Miss Hathaway's benefit) 1825)	<u>Mountain Sylph; or, Dew Drop</u> (T.J. Thackeray-1834) <u>Alonzo the Brave</u> (H.M. Milner-1825)
16 May	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>The Review</u> (Colman the Younger-1800)

1851--Hough's Excelsior Dramatic Company in Utica
continued

17 May		<u>Lottery Ticket</u> (Beazley-1826) <u>Omnibus</u> (Pocock-1830)
		Hough's Excelsior Dramatic Company (returned to Utica after a brief engagement in Syracuse--on 29 May company is managed by G.R. Furber, joined on 9 June by Mr. Wyland)
		Additions to Company: Mr. Turner Mr. Barry Miss H. Newton (returns)
		Stars: N. Coyle C.J. Smith George E. Locke
27 May	Utica	Plays: <u>The Merchant of Venice</u> <u>Lovers' Quarrel</u> (T. King-1790)
29 May		<u>The Child of the Regiment</u> (?) <u>The Village Lawyer</u> (Macready-1787) <u>Nature and Philosophy; or, The</u> <u>Youth who Never Saw a Woman</u> (?)
30 May		<u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>Perfection; or, The Lady with the</u> <u>Cork Leg</u> (Bayly-1830) <u>Child of the Regiment</u> (?)
31 May		<u>The Pirate's Legacy; or, The</u> <u>Wrecker's Fate</u> (C.H. Saunders- 1843) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
2 June		<u>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</u> (Lunn?- 1829) <u>The Pirate's Legacy</u> (Saunders- 1843)
3 June		<u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)
4 June		<u>Ambrose Gwynett</u> (Jerrold-1828) <u>The Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)

1851--Furber's Excelsior Dramatic Company in Utica
continued

5 June	<u>Taken in and Done For</u> (Selby-1849) <u>Family Jars</u> (Lunn-1822) <u>French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
6 June (Miss Hathaway's benefit)	<u>Lucille</u> (Bernard-1836) <u>Family Jars</u> (Lunn-1822) <u>Richard III</u> (Act V)
7 June (Turner's benefit)	<u>The Broken Merchant; or, The Fruits of the Wise Cup</u> (?) <u>Lovers' Quarrels</u> (King-1790)
9 June	<u>Richard III</u> <u>My Neighbor's Wife</u> (A. Bunn-1833)
10 June (Conner's benefit)	<u>Macbeth</u> (last act) <u>Herculus, King of Clubs</u> (?) <u>A Glance at New Orleans</u> (?) <u>The Happy Man</u> (S. Lover-1835)
11 June	<u>Taken In and Done For</u> (Selby-1849) <u>My Neighbor's Wife</u> (Bunn-1833)
12 June	<u>The Hermit of the Rock</u> (J.P. Adams-1847) <u>My Neighbor's Wife</u> (Bunn-1833)
13 June (Mrs. Muzzy's benefit)	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Rob Roy</u> (Pocock?-1818)
14 June	<u>Ambrose Gwynett</u> (Jerrold-1828) <u>The Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1839)
16 June	<u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846) <u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
17 June	<u>Hermit of the Rock</u> (Adams-1847) <u>French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)
18 June	<u>Virginius</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble- 1818)
19 June	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>A Day in Paris</u> (Selby-1832)
20 June	<u>Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844) <u>Maid of Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
21 June (Smith's benefit)	<u>Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844) <u>Valet de Sham</u> (Selby-1838)

1851--Furber and Wyland's Dramatic Company in Utica
continued

23 June	<u>Agnes de Vere</u> (Buckstone-1834) <u>Alonzo the Brave</u> (Milner-1825)
24 June	<u>Valet de Sham</u> (Selby-1838) <u>The Prairie Wolf</u> (?)
25 June	<u>Yankee Duellist</u> (Bannister-1838) <u>The Prairie Wolf</u> (?)
26 June	<u>The Prairie Wolf</u> (?) <u>Yankee Spy; or, Love, Law and</u> <u>Legacy</u> (?)
27 June	<u>The Prairie Wolf</u> (?) <u>The Stage Struck Yankee</u> (O. Durivage-1840)
28 June (Locke's benefit)	<u>Therese; or, The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>The Forest Rose; or, American</u> <u>Farmers</u> (Woodworth-1825)
30 June (Smith's benefit)	<u>Nick of the Woods; or, The</u> <u>Avenger</u> (Medina?-1838) <u>The Two Gregories; or, Who Owns</u> <u>the Money</u> (Dibdin-1821)
1 July (Dolman's benefit)	<u>Who Speaks First</u> (Dance-1849) <u>Chieftan of Churubuscs; or, The</u> <u>Indian's Revenge</u> (G.E. Locke- ?)
2 July (Miss Newton's benefit)	<u>Wreck Ashore</u> (Buckstone-1830) <u>Bombastes Furioso</u> (Rhodes-1810)
3 July (Miss Hathaway's benefit)	<u>Lady of Lyons; or, Love and Pride</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish</u> (Bernard-1831)
4 July (Furber's complimentary benefit)	<u>Hunting a Turtle</u> (Selby-1835) <u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)

G.A. and W.H. Hough Dramatic
Company

Company:
"4 Ladies and 9 Gentlemen"

Mrs. Muzzy

G.A. Hough

1851--Hough Brothers' Company in Auburn continued

	Plays:
7 October Auburn	"Three spirited pieces"
8 October	<u>Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>Uncle Sam</u> (J. Poole-1833)
9 October	<u>Siege of Stralsund; or, Iron King</u> (Planché?-1828) <u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849)
11 October	<u>Dumb Boy; or, The Broken Sword</u> (Dimond?-1816) <u>Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch</u> (Payne-1824)
13 October	<u>Othello</u> <u>The Secret</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
14 October	<u>Seven Clerks</u> (Wilks?-1834) <u>Round Heads and Flat Heads</u> (?)
15 October	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1850)
17 October	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>The Two Gregories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
20 October (Mrs Muzzy's benefit)	<u>Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804) <u>Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)
21 October	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
23 October (G.A.Hough's benefit)	<u>The Lady of the Lake</u> (Dibdin-1810) <u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805)
24 October	<u>The Denouncer</u> (Wilks-1834) <u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823) <u>Sam Slick</u> (anon.)
25 October	<u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822) <u>Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835) <u>Jenny Lind in Auburn</u> (?)

Hough Brothers Company returns to
Auburn (season continues after
31 December, but no documentation)

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. G.A. Hough
Mr. and Mrs. W.H. Hough

1851--Hough Brothers Company in Auburn continued

Mr. Ross
Mr. Turner
Mrs. Whitney
Mrs. Kendall, dancer
Mr. and Mrs. Miller

20 December	Auburn	Plays: <u>All That Glitters is not Gold</u> (J.M and T. Morton-1851) <u>Omnibus</u> (Pocock-1830)
22 December		<u>Married Life</u> (?) "most amusing afterpiece"
24 December		<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim and Shiel-1821) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton- 1850)
26 December		<u>Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>The Secret</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
27 December		<u>The Floating Beacon</u> (Fitzball- 1824) "two laughable farces"
29 December		<u>The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>The Jacobite</u> (Planche-1847)
31 December		<u>Richard III</u> "laughable farce"

Nickinson Company

Company:
John Nickinson
Charlotte Nickinson (his daughter)
F.A. Vincent
J. Dolman
Mr. Shephard
John Turner
William Griffith
C. Peters
Mrs. Sylvester
Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert, dancers
Miss Wray, dancer
Miss Herring, vocalist
Mr. Phelin, vocalist
O.F. Almy, scene painter

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

Stars:

J.R. Scott

Susan and Kate Denin (with John Winans)

8 September	Utica	Plays: <u>Napoleon's Old Guard</u> (Boucicault?-1843) <u>Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble-1808)
9 September		<u>Napoleon's Old Guard</u>)Boucicault?-1843) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
10 September		<u>Windmill</u> (T. Morton-1842) <u>The Happy Man</u> (S. Lover-1835)
12 September		<u>The Veteran of '76</u> (Milner?-1826) <u>The Happy Man</u> (Lover-1835)
15 September		<u>The School for Tigers</u> M. Lemon-1850) <u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849)
16 September		<u>Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849) <u>School for Tigers</u> (Lemon-1850)
17 September		<u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>The Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845)
18 September		<u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>Irish Widow</u> (Garrick-1772)
20 September		<u>Old Honesty</u> (J.M. Morton-1848) <u>How to Pay the Rent</u> (Power-1840)
22-24 September		<u>London Assurance</u> (Boucicault-1841) no afterpieces
25 September		<u>Val D'Andorre; or, The Conscript's Bride</u> (E. Stirling?-1848) <u>The School for Tigers</u> (Lemon-1850)
26 September		<u>Val D'Andorre; or, The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848) <u>Laughing Hyena</u> (? -1849)
29 September		<u>Charles XII</u> (Planche-1828) <u>Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

30 September	<u>Charles XII</u> (Planche-1828) <u>Cousin Cherry</u> (H. Spicer-1848) <u>Did You Ever Send Your Wife to</u> <u>Trenton Falls</u> (adapt. from Coyne?-1846)
1 October	<u>Charles XII</u> (Planche-1828) <u>Born to Good Luck</u> (Power-1832) <u>Chaos Is Come Again</u> (J.M. Morton- 1838)
2 October	<u>Lavater</u> (H.S. Coape- ?) <u>Who's Your Friend; or, Queensberry</u> <u>Fete</u> (Planche-1843)
3 October	<u>The Daughter of the Stars</u> (C.W.S. Brooks-1850) <u>Who's Your Friend; or, Queensberry</u> <u>Fete</u> (Planche-1843)
4 October	<u>White Horse of the Peppers</u> (S. Lover-1838) <u>Who's Your Friend; or, Queensberry</u> <u>Fete</u> (Planche-1843)
6 October	<u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry- 1804) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (J.M. Morton-1851)
7 October	<u>Betsey Baker</u> (J.M. Morton-1850) <u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry- 1804) <u>The King's Gardner</u> (Selby-1839)
8 October	<u>Who Speaks First</u> (Dance-1849) <u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (J.M. Morton-1851)
9 October	<u>Betsey Baker</u> (J.M. Morton-1850) <u>Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804) <u>King's Gardner</u> (Selby-1839)
10 October	<u>The Daughter of the Stars</u> (Brooks-1850) <u>Mons. Jacques</u> (Barnett-1836) <u>Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler- 1845)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

11 October	<u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823) <u>The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (1st act) (Selby-1834)
13 October	<u>The Emperor's Seal</u> (?) <u>Don Juan</u> (pantomime)
14 October	<u>The Barrack Room</u> (Bayly-1836) <u>The Happy Man</u> (Lover-1835) <u>Don Juan</u> (pantomime)
15 October	<u>Don Juan</u> (pantomime) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851) <u>The Wonderful Woman</u> (Dance-1849)
16 October	<u>The Wonderful Woman</u> (Dance-1849) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846) <u>Don Juan</u> (pantomime)
17 October	<u>Queensberry Fete</u> (Planche-1843) <u>Don Juan</u> (pantomime)
18 October	<u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834) <u>Angeline de Lis</u> (Haines-1837) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846)
21 October	<u>Born to Good Luck</u> (Power-1832) <u>Angeline de Lis</u> (Haines-1837) <u>Capt. Charlotte</u> (Stirling-1843)
22 October	<u>Naval Engagements</u> (Dance-1838) <u>Cousin Cherry</u> (Spicer-1848) <u>Did You Ever Send Your Wife to</u> <u>Trenton Falls</u> (adapt. from Coyne?-1846)
23 October	<u>She Stoops to Conquer</u> (Goldsmith-1773) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
24 October	<u>The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848) <u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851)
25 October	<u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>Alarming Sacrifice</u> (Buckstone-1849) <u>The Hen Convention</u> (?)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

27 October	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The School for Tigers</u> (Lemon-1850)
28 October	<u>Follies of a Night</u> (Planche-1842) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>The Hen Convention</u> (?)
29 October	<u>Follies of a Night</u> (Planche-1842) <u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>The Bashful Irishman</u> (Lemon-1843)
30 October	<u>A Bold Stroke for a Husband</u> (Mrs. Cowley-1783) <u>Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1848)
31 October	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>The Sketches in India</u> (? -1846) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
1 November	<u>Luke the Laborer</u> (Buckstone-1826) <u>Giralda</u> (Boucicault?-1850) <u>Love under a Lamp Post</u> (Bernard?- 1832)
3 November	<u>The Broken Sword</u> (Dimond-1816) <u>Giralda</u> (Boucicault-1850) <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
4 November	<u>Charles XII</u> (Planche-1828) <u>Giralda</u> (Boucicault?-1850) <u>The Laughing Hyena</u> (? -1849)
5 November	<u>Chaplain of the Regiment</u> (? -1849) <u>Giralda</u> (Boucicault-1850) <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
6 November	<u>Follies of a Night</u> (Planche-1842) <u>The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?- 1848) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
7 November	<u>Lavater</u> (Coape- ?) <u>Luke the Laborer; or, The Lost Son</u> (Buckstone-1826) <u>Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler- 1845)
8 November	<u>The Ladies Battle</u> (T.W. Robertson- 1851) <u>Esmeralda</u> (Fitzball?-1834)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

10 November	<u>The Old Guard</u> (Boucicault-1843) <u>Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Esmeralda</u> (Fitzball?-1834)
11 November	<u>The Old Guard</u> (Boucicault-1843) <u>Ladies Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
12 November	<u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>Esmeralda</u> (Fitzball?-1834) <u>Chaos Has Come Again</u> (Morton-1838)
13 November	<u>Wonder</u> (Mrs. Centlivre-1714) <u>Who's Your Friend; or, Queensberry Fete</u> (Planche-1843)
14 November	<u>The Emperor's Seal</u> (?) <u>Angeline de Lis</u> (Haines-1837) <u>The Wonderful Woman</u> (Dance-1849)
15 November	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>The Midnight Watch</u> (J.M. Morton- 1848)
17 November	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>The Midnight Watch</u> (Morton-1848)
18 November	<u>Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851)
19 November	<u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836) <u>Lola Montes</u> (Coyne-1848) <u>Perpetual Motion</u> (?)
20 November	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)
21 November	<u>Wonder</u> (Mrs. Centlivre-1714) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)
22 November	<u>The Grist to the Mill</u> (Planche- 1844) <u>The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844) <u>The Crown Prince</u> (Wilks-1838)
24 November	<u>Crown Prince</u> (Wilks-1838) <u>The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

25 November	<u>Naval Engagements</u> (Dance-1838) <u>Crown Prince</u> (Wilks-1838) <u>School for Tigers</u> (Lemon-1850)
26 November	<u>Grist to the Mill</u> (Planche-1844) <u>Esmeralda</u> (Fitzball?-1834)
27 November	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>Monsieur Tonson</u> (Moncrieff-1821) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)
29 November	<u>The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848) <u>Theresa's Vow; or, The Cross of Gold</u> (Mrs. Gore?-1835) <u>Country Practice; or, Sheep vs. Law</u> (?)
1 December	<u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick-1756) <u>The Old Guard</u> (Boucicault-1843) <u>The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844)
2 December	<u>The Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
3 December (Nickinson's benefit)	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault?-1844) <u>Merchant of Venice</u> <u>The Fast Coach</u> (J. Soutar, Jr. and C.J. Claridge, Jr.-1851)
4 December	<u>Monsieur Tonson</u> (Moncrieff-1821) <u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick-1756)
5 December	<u>Daughter of the Stars</u> (Brooks-1850) <u>Lavater</u> (Coape- ?)
6 December	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>The Fast Coach</u> (Soutar & Claridge-1834)
7 December	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
9 December	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Captain Charlotte</u> (Stirling-1843)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

10 December (Vincent's benefit)	<u>Paul Pry</u> (Jerrold?-1827) <u>Delicate Ground</u> (Dance-1849) <u>Wigs and Widows</u> (?)
11 December	<u>Giralda</u> (Boucicault?-1850) <u>The Wonderful Woman</u> (Dance-1849)
12 December	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault?-1844) <u>The Wonderful Woman</u> (Dance-1849)
15 December	<u>The Poor Gentleman</u> (Colman the Younger-1801) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)
16 December	<u>Laughing Hyena</u> (? -1849) <u>The Old Guard</u> (Boucicault-1843) <u>The Queensberry Fete</u> (Planche-1843)
17 December	<u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839) <u>The Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831) <u>The Spitfire</u> (J.M. Morton-1837)
18 December	<u>The Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble-1808) <u>The Windmill</u> (Morton-1842) <u>The Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831)
19 December	<u>Old Honesty</u> (Morton-1848)
20 December	<u>The Golden Farmer</u> (Cross-1802) <u>Rambles in Utica</u> ("an original local piece") <u>Teddy the Tiler</u> (Rodwell-1830)
22 December	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>Somebody Else</u> (Planche-1844)
23 December	<u>Golden Farmer</u> (Cross-1802) <u>Monsieur Jacques</u> (Barnett-1836) <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
24 December	<u>The Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Perfection; or, The Lady of Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)

1851--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

25 December	<u>Objects of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> Colman the Younger-1806)
26 December	<u>Man About Town</u> (?) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806)
27 December	<u>Rent Day</u> (Jerrold-1832) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> 9Colman the Younger-1806)
29 December	<u>The Conscript's Bride</u> (Stirling?-1848) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806)
30 December	<u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806)
31 December	<u>The Serious Family</u> (Barnett-1849) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806)

1852

1 January	<u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846) <u>Blue Beard</u> (Colman the Younger-1798)
3 January	<u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>102; or, The Veterans of '76</u> (Milner-1827)
5 January	<u>Blue Beard</u> (Colman the Younger-1798) <u>Perplexing Predicament</u> (Selby-1841)
7 January	<u>The Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Perplexing Predicament</u> (Selby-1841)
8 January	<u>Dombey and Son</u> (Brougham adapt.-1848) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

9 January	<u>Dombey and Son</u> (Brougham adapt.-1848) <u>The Happy Man</u> (Lover-1835)
10 January	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>Dombey and Son</u> (Brougham adapt.- 1848)
12 January	<u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>School for Tigers</u> (Lemon-1850)
13 January	<u>David Copperfield</u> (Brougham adapt.-1851) <u>Dombey and Son</u> (Brougham adapt.- 1848)
14 January (Miss Nickin- son's benefit)	<u>The Love Chase</u> (Knowles-1837) <u>The College Boy</u> (?) <u>Bryan O'Lyn</u> (S.D. Johnson-1851)
15 January	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>The College Boy</u> (?)
16 January	<u>The Love Chase</u> (Knowles-1837) <u>The Forty Thieves</u> (Colman the Younger-1806)
17 January	<u>Ocean of Life; or, Every Inch a Sailor</u> (Haines-1836) <u>The College Boy</u> (?)
19 January	<u>Ocean of Life; or, Every Inch a Sailor</u> (Haines-1836)
20 January	<u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick- 1756)
21 January (Dolman's benefit)	<u>Wild Oats</u> (O'Keeffe-1791) <u>I've Eaten My Friend</u> (J.V. Bridgeman-1851) <u>A Devilish Good Joke; or, A Night's Frolic</u> (T.J. Higgle- 1848)
22 January	<u>The Stricken Heart; or, Monsieur Jacques</u> (Barnett-1836) <u>I've Eaten My Friend</u> (Bridgeman-1851)
23 January	<u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839) <u>Perplexing Predicament</u> (Selby-1839)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

24 January	<u>A Devilish Good Joke; or, A Night's Frolic</u> (Higgle-1848) <u>Brian Boroihme</u> (Knowles-1811)
26 January	<u>Brian Boroihme</u> (Knowles-1811)
27 January	<u>Damon and Pythias; or, The Test of Friendship</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846)
28 January	<u>Othello; or, The Moor of Venice</u> <u>Batchelor's Buttons</u> (?)
29 January	<u>Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>The College Boy</u> (?)
30 January	<u>Virginus; or, The Roman Father</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>The Windmill</u> (Morton-1842)
31 January	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831)
2 February (Scott's benefit)	<u>Richelieu; or, The Conspiracy</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829)
3 February	<u>Virginus; or, The Roman Father</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>Gamin de Paris; or, The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844)
4 February	<u>Charles II</u> (Payne-1824) <u>Cherry and Fair Star</u> (C. Stoman?-1845)
5 February	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault-1844) <u>Cherry and Fair Star</u> (Stoman?-1845)
6 February	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Laughing Hyena</u> (? -1849)
7 February	<u>Brutus</u> (Payne-1818) <u>The Adopted Child</u> (S. Birch-1795)
9 February	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Objects of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

11 February	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Joe in London</u> (?)
12 February	<u>The Wife</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>The Wandering Boys</u> (Pocock?-1814)
13 February	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
14 February	<u>Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799)
16 February	<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> <u>Nix the Cabman</u> (?)
17 February	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>The Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
19 February	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Who Speaks First</u> (Dance-1849)
20 February	<u>Rob Roy</u> (Pocock?-1818) <u>Asmodeus</u> (Archer-1843)
21 February	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Family Jars</u> (Lunn-1822)
23 February	<u>Ingomar the Barbarian</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>The Review</u> (Colman the Younger-1800)
24 February	<u>Ingomar the Barbarian</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Family Jars</u> (Lunn-1822)
25 February	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotsebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Ladies Beware</u> (? -1847)
26 February	<u>The Rent Day</u> (Jerrold-1832) <u>Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble-1808)
27 February (Griffith's benefit)	<u>Ambrose Gwynette</u> (Jerrold-1828) <u>Merchant of Venice</u> (trial scene) <u>Charles XII</u> (Planche-1828)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

28 February	<u>Ingomar the Barbarian</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>The Two Bonnycastles</u> (J.M. Morton-1851)
1 March (Scott's farewell benefit)	<u>King Lear</u> <u>The Review</u> (Colman the Younger- 1800)
2 March	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault?- 1844) <u>The Two Bonnycastles</u> (Morton-1851)
3 March (Turner's benefit)	<u>Wallace</u> (C.E. Walker- ?) <u>Lucille; or, A Story of the</u> <u>Heart</u> (Bernard-1836) <u>The Artful Dodger</u> (Field?-1843)
4 March	<u>Ingomar the Barbarian</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>The Beacon of Death</u> (Fitzball?- 1824)
5 March (Peters's benefit)	<u>Maurice the Woodcutter</u> (C.A. Somerset-1829) <u>The Unfinished Gentleman</u> (Selby- 1834)
6 March	<u>Ladies Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Maurice the Woodcutter</u> (Somerset-1829) <u>The Two Bonnycastles</u> (Morton-1851)
8 March (Roth's benefit)	<u>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</u> (Massinger-1622) <u>The College Boy</u> (?)

Hull Company

Company:
C.J. Smith
Herbert Whitney
Mr. and Mrs. Scoville
E.H. Brink
Mr. and Mrs. Lorton
Mrs. Wilkinson
Miss Annie Clarke
Miss Romer
Miss Cook, dancer
Mr. Cook, orchestra leader

1852--Hull Company in Geneva continued

	Plays:	
10 March	Geneva	<u>Othello</u>
11 March		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>The Secret; or, Old Times in Virginia</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
12 March		<u>The Iron Chest; or, Honor's Victim</u> (Colman the Younger-1796) <u>The New York Fireman</u> (Johnson-1850)
18 March		<u>The Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844)
19 March		<u>The Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planché-1834) <u>Buena Vista</u> (?)
27 March	(Mrs. Wilkinson's benefit)	<u>Guy Mannering</u> (Scott/Terry-1816) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)

Nickinson Company returns to Utica for two nights, 1 and 2 April, with a "new and very popular" company"--no bills listed.

W.H. Hough Company spends at least one week in Geneva. 30 April is benefit for Misses E. & J. Kendall, dancers; 7 May is Hough's benefit. No bills announced.

Hough Company

Company:
Mrs. Hough
Mr. and Mrs. Phelps
Mrs. J.S. Potter
Mr. Ross
Mr. Ryan
Mr. Clute
Mr. and Mrs. Scoville

1852--Hough Company in Utica continued

10 May	Utica	Plays: <u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Uncle Sam; or, A Nabob for an Hour</u> (Poole-1833)
11 May		<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Perfection; or, The Maid of Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
12 May		<u>Rule a Wife and Have a Life</u> (Beaumont & Fletcher-1624) <u>Irish Tutor</u> (Butler-1822)
13 May		<u>Fazio</u> (Milman-1816) <u>A Wife for a Day</u> (Bernard-1839)
14 May		<u>Evadne</u> (Shiel-1819) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1804)
15 May		<u>Madeleine; or, The Foundling of the Forest</u> (? -1843) <u>The Forest Rose</u> (Woodworth-1825)
17 May	(Mrs. Potter's benefit)	<u>Lucretia Borgia; or, The Poisoner</u> (Hugo/Trenton?) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839)
18 May		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Sam Slick; or, A Day in the City</u> (anon.)
19 May		<u>Adrienne; or, The Actress</u> (?) <u>The Duellist; or, Uncle Outwitted</u> (W. Kenrick-1773)
20 May	(Phelps's benefit)	<u>The Wife; or, A Tale of Mantua</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>The Secret; or, Hole in the Wall</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
21 May	(Ross's benefit)	<u>Madeleine</u> (? -1843) <u>Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch</u> (Payne-1824)

1852 continued

Chesebrough & Crocker Theatre
Company

Company (See Appendix B for more
information on each):

W. Hield
J.W. Crocker
George M. Chesebrough
H. Mason
W.H. Meeker
F. Granger
P. Byrne
Mr. Gardner
Mr. House
Mr. Mathews
Master Wood
Mr. & Mrs. F. Drew
Mr. & Mrs. G.W. Griffiths
Mrs. Sylvester
Mrs. F. Conway
Miss Kiening
Miss Fielding
Mrs. Millington
Miss Malvina, dancer
G. Demott, singer

Stars:
F. Conway
W. Wood

Plays:

1 July	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
2 July	<u>Wild Boy of Bohemia</u> (J. Walker-1827) <u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault-1844)
3 July	<u>Dumb Man of Manchester</u> (B.F. Rayner?-1837) <u>Mr. and Mrs. White</u> (Lunn?-1829)
4 July (morning)	<u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835) <u>Mr. and Mrs. White</u> (Lunn?-1829)
(afternoon)	<u>The Secret</u> (Moncrieff?-1822) <u>Phillip Quarl</u> (?)
5 July	<u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823) <u>Dumb Girl of Genoe</u> (Farrell?-1820)

1852--Chesebrough & Crocker Company in Utica continued

7 July	<u>Dumb Man of Manchester</u> (Rayner?-1837) <u>Perfection</u> (Bayly-1830)
8 July	<u>Dumb Belle</u> (Bernard-1831) <u>Valentine and Orson</u> (Dibdin?-1804) <u>Sudden Thoughts</u> (Wilks-1837)
9 July (W.F. Wood benefit)	<u>Matteo Falcone</u> (Mayhew-1834) <u>Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835) <u>Dumb Savoyard and His Monkey</u> (C.P. Thompson-1830)
10 July	<u>Othello</u> <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
12 July	<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>P.P.; or, The Man and Tiger</u> (T. Parry-1833)
14 July	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planché-1834)
15 July	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap- 1798) <u>Valentine and Orson</u> (Dibdin-1804) <u>Limerick Boy</u> (Pilgrim-1848) <u>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</u> (Lunn-1829)
16 July	<u>Factory Girl</u> (Jerrold-1832) <u>Othello</u> <u>Dumb Girl of Genoa</u> (Farrell?-1820)
17 July (Conway's benefit)	<u>The Wife</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble- 1808)
19 July (Miss Malvina's benefit)	<u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planché-1839) <u>Spoiled Child</u> (Bickerstaffe-1790) <u>Love and Charity</u> (Lemon-1838)
20 July (Griffith's benefit)	<u>The Welch Girl</u> (Mrs. Planché- 1833) <u>Man and Tiger</u> (Parry-1833) <u>Limerick Boy</u> (Pilgrim-1848)

1852 continued

Nickinson Company

Company:

John Nickinson
Charlotte Nickinson
Mr. Thompson
J.S. Lee
Mr. Ponisi
Mr. Chandler
Lionel Bernard, low comedian
Nick Forrester, from Utica
Miss E. Taylor
Miss Phillips
Mrs. Wray
Mlle. Evaline, dancer
John Conaughty, machinery man

Stars and guests:

Professor Honey & Son,
 equilibrists
Mr. Massey
Mrs. Warner
The Mlles. Rousset, dancers
J.R. Scott
Mr. Leonard
George Couldock
Herr Cline, tightrope
A.J. Neafie
Donetti's Performing Animals

Plays:

6 September Utica

The Daughter of the Stars
 (Brooks-1850)
The Rough Diamond (Buckstone-
 1847)
The First Night (T. Parry-1834)

7 September

Dead Shot (Buckstone-1827)
Napoleon's Old Guard
 (Boucicault?-1843)

11 September

Paul Pry (Jerrold-1827)
The Gamin de Paris; or, The Young
 Scamp (Stirling-1844)

13 September

Serious Family (Barnett-1849)
The Rendezvous; or, Love in All
 Corners (Ayton-1818)

15 September

Napoleon; or, The Emperor and the
 Deserter (J. Walker?-1828)
Kill or Cure (Dance-1832)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

16 September	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>Napoleon</u> (Walker?-1828)
17 September	<u>Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824) <u>Kill or Cure</u> (Dance-1832) <u>Napoleon</u> (Walker?-1828)
18 September	<u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846) <u>State Secrets</u> (Wilks-1836)
20 September	<u>Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846)
21 September	<u>The Follies of a Night</u> (Planche-1842) <u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846)
22 September	<u>Napoleon</u> (Walker?-1828) <u>Delicate Ground</u> (Dance-1849) <u>Vermont Wool Dealer</u> (Logan-1839)
23 September	<u>Follies of a Night</u> (Planche-1842) <u>Omnibus</u> (Pocock-1830)
24 September	<u>Grist to the Mill</u> (Planche-1844) <u>How to Pay the Rent</u> (Power-1840)
25 September	<u>Catherine of Russia; or, The Child</u> <u>of the Storm</u> (? -1850) <u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel- 1821?--Lee noted as "Mr. Pythias Smith, so probably an adaptation-- <u>The Two Smiths</u> ?)
27 September	<u>Love is Blind</u> (A' Beckett-1837) <u>Catherine of Russia</u> (? -1850)
28 September	<u>Dombey and Son</u> (Brougham adapt.- 1848) <u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel- 1821?)
29 September	<u>His Last Legs</u> (Bernard-1839) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone- 1851)
30 September	<u>The Irish Lion</u> (Buckstone-1838) <u>Napoleon</u> (Walker?-1828)
1 October	<u>His Last Legs</u> (Bernard-1839) <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

2 October	<u>Village Gossip</u> (Pocock?-1833) <u>Lend Me Five Shillings</u> (Morton-1846) <u>Wandering Minstrel</u> (Mayhew-1834)
4 October	<u>Catarina</u> (grand military ballet) <u>Le Gamin de Paris</u> (Stirling-1844)
5 October	<u>Giselle</u> (ballet) <u>Lend Me Five Shillings</u> (Morton-1846)
6 October (Caroline Rousset's benefit)	<u>Le Folliès</u> (ballet) <u>Barber of Seville</u> (scene) <u>La Iota Arrognaise</u> (?) <u>The Village Gossip</u> (Pocock?-1833)
7 October	<u>Irish Attorney</u> (Bernard-1840) <u>Galway Practices in 1770</u> (?) <u>Book 3rd, Chapter 1st</u> (Webster?-1852)
8 October	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>Wandering Minstrel</u> (Mayhew-1834)
9 October	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>The Middy Ashore</u> (Bernard-1836)
11 October	<u>Ingomar the Barbarian</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Luke the Laborer</u> (Buckstone-1826)
12 October	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>Book 3rd, Chapter 1st</u> (Webster-1852) <u>Two Can Play at that Game</u> (?)
13 October	<u>Miriam, Daughter of the Stars</u> (Brooks-1850) <u>Luke the Laborer</u> (Buckstone-1826)
14 October (Miss Nickin- son's benefit)	<u>The Rivals</u> (Sheridan-1775) <u>The Morning Call</u> (Dance-1851)
15 October	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Lend Me Five Shillings</u> (Morton-1846)
16 October	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Michael Earle, the Maniac Lover</u> (Wilks-1839)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

18 October	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Loan of a Lover</u> (Planche-1834)
22 October (Nickinson's benefit)	<u>Taking by Storm</u> (G.H. Lewes-1852) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839) <u>Poor Pillicoddy</u> (J.M. Morton-1848)
23 October	<u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>The Miller and His Men</u> (Pocock- 1813)
25 October	<u>Othello</u> <u>P.P.</u> (Parry-1833)
26 October	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Taking by Storm</u> (Lewes-1852)
27 October	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>A Lady and Gentleman in a</u> <u>Peculiarly Perplexing Predica-</u> <u>ment</u> (Selby-1841)
28 October	<u>The Three Guardsmen</u> (Dumas/Wallack?-1849) <u>The Jacobite</u> (Planche-1847)
29 October	<u>Three Guardsmen</u> (Dumas/Wallack?- 1849) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851)
30 October	<u>Three Guardsmen</u> (Dumas/Wallack?- 1849) <u>The Mysterious Knockings</u> (? -1849)
1 November	<u>The Wrecker's Daughter</u> (Knowles?- 1836) <u>The Miller and His Men</u> (Pocock-1813)
3 November	<u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (? -adapt. from Logan's <u>Chloroform</u> -1849?) <u>The Jacobite</u> (Planche-1847)
4 November	<u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?) <u>Lady and Gentleman in a</u> <u>Peculiarly Perplexing Predica-</u> <u>ment</u> (Selby-1841) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

5 November (Lee's benefit)	<u>Guy Mannering</u> (Scott/Terry-1816) <u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?)
6 November	<u>The Rivals</u> (Sheridan-1775) <u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?)
8 November	<u>The Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Mysterious Knockings</u> (? -1849)
9-10 November	<u>The Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?)
11 November	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?)
12 November	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Who Stole the Pocket Book</u> (?)
13 November	<u>The Advocate; or, The Last Cause</u> (?) <u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851)
15 November	<u>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</u> (Massinger-1822) <u>Box and Cox</u> (J.M. Morton-1847)
16 November	<u>The Advocate</u> (?)
17 November (Nickinson's benefit)	<u>John Bull</u> (Colman the Younger-1803) <u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick-1756)
19 November	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Morphine; or, Utica in 1952</u> (?)
20 November (Couldock's benefit)	<u>Merchant of Venice</u> (Act 3) <u>King Henry VIII</u> (Act 4) <u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805)
23 November	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick-1756)
24 November (Mrs. Wray's benefit)	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804)
25 November	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

27 November	<u>The Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852) <u>Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827)
29 November	<u>The Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852) <u>Animal Magnetism</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1788)
30 November	<u>The Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852) <u>Hypochondriac</u> (Mathews-1821)
1 December	<u>Spectre Bridegroom</u> (Moncrieff-1821) <u>Animal Magnetism</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1788)
4 December	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852) <u>Animal Magnetism</u> (Mrs. Inchbald-1788)
6 December	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>1000 Milliners Wanted for the Gold Diggin's</u> (Coyne-1852)
7 December	<u>Othello</u> <u>1000 Milliners Wanted for the Gold Diggin's</u> (Coyne-1852)
8 December	<u>Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852)
9 December	<u>Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839)
10 December	<u>Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault-1852--"with an additional act written by Mr. Neafie") <u>1000 Milliners Wanted for the Gold Diggin's</u> (Coyne-1852)
11 December (Neafie's benefit)	<u>Mohammed the Arabian Prophet</u> (G.H. Miles-1850) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (Planche-1839)
13 December	<u>Mohammed the Arabian Prophet</u> (Miles-1850) <u>1000 Milliners Wanted for the Gold Diggin's</u> (Coyle-1852)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

14 December (Mrs. Sylvest- ter's benefit)	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel- 1821) <u>Who Speaks First</u> (Dance-1849)
15 December	<u>Corsican Brothers</u> (Boucicault- 1852) <u>Napoleon's Old Guard</u> (Boucicault?- 1843)
16 December (Miss Nickin- son's farewell benefit)	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>Married and Settled; or, Mr. and Mrs. Box and Mr. and Mrs. Cox</u> (Morton?-1847)
17 December (Mrs. Wray's benefit)	<u>Othello</u> <u>Married and Settled</u> etc. (Morton?- 1847)
18 December (Neafie's benefit)	<u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>Married and Settled</u> etc. (Morton?- 1847)
20 December (Mrs. Phillips's farewell benefit)	<u>Charles XII</u> (Planché-1828) <u>The Pride of the Market</u> (Planché-1847)
21 December	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1848)
22 December (Culdock's benefit)	<u>Money</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1840) <u>The Windmill</u> (Morton-1842)
23 December (Griffith's benefit)	<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>The Irish Patriots in 1690</u> (?)
24 December (ticket night)	<u>The Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault- 1852) <u>1000 Milliners Wanted for the Gold Diggin's</u> (Coyne-1852)
25 December (Bernard's benefit)	<u>Clari</u> (Payne-1823) <u>Laughing Hyena</u> (? -1849)
28 December (Miss Taylor's benefit)	<u>Money</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1840) <u>The Female Academy</u> (M. Cavendish- 1662)
29 December (Miss Wray's [a.k.a. Mlle. Evaline] benefit)	<u>Oddity of the First Night</u> (Parry?- 1834) <u>Therese; or, The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>Swiss Cottage</u> (Bayly-1835)

1852--Nickinson Company in Utica continued

30 December (Grand Gain Night)	<u>Iron Chest</u> (Colman the Younger-1796) <u>The Christening</u> (Buckstone-1834) <u>The Female Academy</u> (Cavendish-1662)
31 December (Conaughty's benefit)	<u>The Advocate</u> (?) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone-1851) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)

1853

1 January	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
2 January (Roth's complimentary benefit)	<u>Venice Preserved</u> (Otway-1682) <u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777) <u>Kate Kearney</u> (Collier-1836)

Lanergan's Excelsior Company

Company:
J.W. Lanergan
no others listed

late December Geneva (1852)	Plays: <u>Michael Earle; or, The Maniac Lover</u> (Wilks-1839)
17 January (1853)	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault-1844) "a favorite farce"
21 January	<u>The Maid of Croissey</u> (Mrs. Gore-1835) <u>Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Vienna</u> (From Coyle?-1846)

Hough's Company

Company:
Mr. and Mrs. A.E. Phelps
L. Bernard
Mr. Griffith
Mrs. W.H. Hough
Mr. Brink
Mrs. Sylvester

1853--Hough's Company in Utica continued

Stars:

Julia Turnbull
Marie Duret

Plays:

11 January Utica

The Brigand (Obaldistone-183)
Jenny Lind in Utica (?)
Rough Diamond (Buckstone-1847)

12 January

The Maid of Croissey
(Mrs. Gore-1835)
Lola Montes (? -1848)
Poor Pillicoddy (Morton-1848)

13 January

William Tell (Knowles-1825)
The Mountain Maid (? -1837)

14 January

Black Eyed Susan (Jerrold-1829)
Spirit of the Fountain
(Courtney-1843)
Nature and Philosophy (?)

15 January

Esmeralda (Fitzball?-1834)
Delicate Ground (Dance-1849)
Jenny Lind in Utica (?)

18 January

The Hunchback (Knowles-1832)
The French Spy (Haines-1831)

19 January

The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-
1798)

Roth (Museum owner) manages
company in Utica. This is still
Hough's company, supplemented by
the following new names:

Miss Aubry, dancer
Mr. Evain
Mr. Massey
Mr. Wallace, singer

Stars:

Susan and Kate Denin (with their
stepfather, John Winans)
T.D. Rice
Mrs. L. Bernard

Plays:

1 February Utica

Love's Sacrifice (Lovell-1829)
A Kiss in the Dark (Buckstone-
1840)

1853--Roth's management in Utica continued

2 February	<u>The Wife</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
3 February	<u>Fazio</u> (Milman-1816) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone-1840)
4 February	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>My Grandmother's Pet</u> (Stirling?-1844)
5 February	<u>Douglas</u> (Home-1756) <u>Nix the Cabman</u> (?) <u>The Wandering Boys</u> (Pocock-1814)
8 February	<u>The Foreign Prince</u> W.L. Rede?-1841) <u>The Virginny Mummy</u> (?) <u>The Barber</u> (Fitzball-1822)
9 February (Rice's benefit)	<u>Othello</u> <u>Otello; or, The Nigger of Orange</u> (?) <u>Jumbo Jim</u> (T.D. Rice- ?) <u>Jim Crow in London</u> (?)
11 February	<u>London and Paris; A Trip to Both</u> <u>Cities</u> (panoramic drama directed by L. Bernard-1853) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone-1840)
12 February	<u>London and Paris; A Trip to Both</u> <u>Cities</u> (L. Bernard?-1853) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1850)
14 February	<u>London and Paris; A Trip to Both</u> <u>Cities</u> (L. Bernard?-1853) <u>Nipped in the Bud</u> (Selby-1839) <u>Poor Pillicoddy</u> (Morton-1848)
15 February	<u>London and Paris; A Trip to Both</u> <u>Cities</u> (L. Bernard?-1853) <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831) <u>Perfection</u> (Bayly-1830)
16 February	<u>London and Paris; A Trip to Both</u> <u>Cities</u> (L. Bernard?-1853) <u>Nipped in the Bud</u> (Selby-1839) <u>Nature and Philosophy</u> (?)

1853 continued

G.E. "Yankee" Locke Company
played Auburn for a week beginning 7 February 1853. No bills were announced.

Lewis, Almy, & Company's National
Dramatic Pavilion

Company:
W.R. Derr
W.H. Scoville

19-20 July Auburn

Plays:
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Aiken-1852)
Putnam; or, The Iron Son of '76
(Bannister-1844)
The Celestial Empire; or, The
Yankee Among the Chinese
(Logan-1846)
Ladies' Rights in 1958; or,
100 Years Hence (? --the date
is probably a misprint for
1953, 100 years hence)

Hough's Dramatic Pavilion

Company:
Little Mary Marsh as Eva

25 July Utica

Plays:
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Aiken-1852)

J.B. Tozer's Great Metropolitan
Company

Company:
J.B. Tozer
T.S. Cline
R.D. Curtis
J. De Angelis, stage manager
J. Wood
C.D. Hess
Miss Chester
Mlle. Sophie, dancer

Stars:
Frank Chanfrau
Miss Albertine

1853--Tozer's Great Metropolitan Company in Auburn
continued

22 November	Auburn	Plays: <u>The Toodles</u> (Burton-1848) <u>The Merry Cobbler</u> (Mrs. Planche-1836)
Marie Duret Company		
Company: Marie Duret, manager and lessee A.R. Phelps Mr. Griffiths Mr. Allen Mr. Kemble S.D. Johnson Mr. McWilliams, singer Miss Carman Mlle. Adeline, dancer La Petite Louisa Taglioni, dancer O. Almy, scene painter		
Stars: Mr. Holmes J.R. Scott Mrs. H. Lewis Susan and Kate Denin G.J. Arnold G.K. Dickinson George Couldock		
5 September	Utica	Plays: <u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</u> (Lunn-1822)
6 September		<u>The Wife; or, A Tale of Mantua</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>Two Gregories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
7 September		<u>Queen of the Abruzzi</u> (? -1846) <u>The Jacobite</u> (Planche-1847)
9 September		<u>Queen of the Abruzzi</u> (? -1846) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1850)
10 September		<u>Zarah; or, The Gypsey's Revenge</u> (G. Soane?-1835) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835) <u>P.P.; or, The Man and Tiger</u> (Parry-1833)

1853--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

13 September	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851)
14 September	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>The Plain Cook</u> (Stirling?-1852)
15 September	<u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804) <u>The Momentous Question</u> (Fitzball-1844)
16 September	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>The Plain Cook</u> (Stirling-1852)
19 September	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>The Marriage of the Queen</u> (?)
21 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (many choices--see Nicoll) <u>The Captain is not Amiss</u> (Wilks-1836)
22 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>The Rear Admiral</u> (W.S. Emden-1839)
23 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>Shocking Events</u> (Buckstone-1838)
24 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>The Bride of Lammermoor</u> (Dibdin-1818)
26 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>Gwynette Vaughan</u> (Lemon-1840)
27 September	<u>Alladin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>The Death Token</u> (Wilks-1837)
28 September	<u>Flowers of the Forest</u> (Buckstone-1847) <u>The Rear Admiral</u> (Emden-1839)
29 September	<u>Flowers of the Forest</u> (Buckstone-1847) <u>The Plain Cook</u> (Stirling?-1852)

1853--Marie Duret Company in Utica continued

30 September	<u>Zarah; or, The Gypsey's Revenge</u> (Soane?-1835) <u>The Bottle Imp</u> (W.P. Hale & F. Talfourd-1852) <u>The Marriage of the Queen</u> (?)
1 October	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>The Bottle Imp</u> (Hale & Talfourd-1852)
3 October	<u>The Dumb Boy; or, The Torrent of</u> <u>the Valley</u> (?) <u>The Robber's Wife</u> (Pocock?-1831)
4 October	<u>Ondine</u> (Fitzball?-1843) <u>Raising the Wind</u> (Kenney-1803)
5 October	<u>Ondine; or, The Spirit of the</u> <u>Waters and Fire Fiend</u> (Fitzball?-1843) <u>Charles the II; or, The Merry</u> <u>Monarch</u> (Payne-1824)
6 October (Duret's grand complimentary benefit)	<u>Agnes de Vere; or, A Wife's</u> <u>Revenge</u> (Buckstone-1831) <u>Ondine</u> (Fitzball?-1843)
7 October	<u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>Ondine</u> (Fitzball?-1843)
8 October	<u>The Greek Slave</u> (Fitzball-1851) <u>Ondine</u> (Fitzball?-1843)
10 October	<u>Rob Roy</u> (Pocock?-1818) <u>Love in All Corners</u> (Ayton?-1818)
11 October	<u>Mary, Queen of Scots</u> (W.H. Murray?-1825) <u>Boots at the Swan</u> (Selby-1842)
12 October	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>The Captain is not Amiss</u> (Wilks-1836)
13 October	<u>Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp</u> (?) <u>The Four Sisters</u> (Bernard-1832)
14 October	<u>Isabella</u> (Garrick?-1757) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone- 1840)

1853--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

15 October	<u>George Barnwell</u> (Lillo-1731) <u>Mary, Queen of Scots</u> (Murray?-1825)
17 October	<u>London Assurance</u> (Boucicault-1841) <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822)
18 October	<u>The Bride of Lammermoor</u> (Dibdin-1818) <u>The Four Sisters</u> (Bernard-1832)
19 October	<u>Isabella</u> (Garrick?-1757) <u>The Siamese Twins</u> (A' Beckett-1834)
20 October (Phelps's benefit)	<u>Douglas</u> (Home-1756) <u>The Greek Slave</u> (Fitzball-1851)
21-22, 24-29 October	<u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839) (because of its great length, it was performed alone)
31 October	<u>George Barnwell</u> (Lillo-1731) <u>The Four Sisters</u> (Bernard-1832)
1 November	<u>The Honeymoon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>A Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble-1808)
2 November	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone-1840)
3 November	<u>Zarah; or, The Gypsy's Revenge</u> (Soane?-1835) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835) <u>The Secret</u> (Moncrieff?-1822)
4 November	<u>A Friend to Mary</u> (?) <u>The Dead Shot</u> (Buckstone-1827) <u>Is He Jealous</u> (?)
5 November	<u>The Jewess; or, The Council of Constance</u> (Planché?-1835) <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822)
7 November	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>A Day after the Wedding</u> (Kemble-1808)
8 November	<u>The Jewess; or, The Council of Constance</u> (Planché?-1835) <u>Bamboozling</u> (Wilks-1840)

1853--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

9 November	<u>The Jewess; or, The Council of</u> <u>Constance</u> (Planché?-1835) <u>Paris in 1792</u> (Dance?-1849)
10 November	<u>Othello</u> <u>Grimshaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw</u> (Morton-1851)
11 November	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u> (Lovell-1829) <u>Boots at the Swan</u> (Selby-1842)
12 November	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap- 1798) <u>The Merchant of Venice</u>
14 November	<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> <u>Love in Humble Life</u> (Payne-1822)
15 November	<u>The Italian Wife</u> (Milman-1816) <u>The Momentous Question</u> (Fitzball-1844)
16 November	<u>Lucretia Borgia</u> (Weston?-1843) <u>The Four Sisters</u> (Bernard-1832)
17 November	<u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831) <u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823)
18 November	<u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831) <u>The Crown Prince</u> (Wilks-1838)
19 November	<u>Richard III</u> <u>A Phenomenon in a Small Frock</u> (W. Brough-1852)
21 November (Mrs. Lewis's benefit)	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>The Wept of Wishton Wish</u> (Bernard-1831)
22 November	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>A Phenomenon in a Small Frock</u> (Brough-1852)
23 November	<u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
24 November	<u>The Ruby Ring</u> (Wilks-1840) <u>The Shaker Lovers</u> (S.D. Johnson-1851)
26 November	<u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> (Johnson-1851) <u>Winning a Husband</u> (G. MacFarren-1819) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)

1853--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

28 November (Duret's complimentary benefit)	<u>Love</u> (Knowles-1839) <u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> (Johnson-1851)
29 November	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u> (Lovell-1829) <u>The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844)
30 November	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The Idiot Witness</u> (Haines-1823)
1 December	<u>The Wife; A Tale of Mantua</u> (Knowles-1833) <u>The Wandering Boys</u> (Pocock?-1814)
2 December	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Nature and Philosophy</u> (?)
3 December (Denins' benefit)	<u>The Honeymoon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>Asmodeus; or, The Little Devil's Share</u> (Archer-1843)
5 December	<u>Money</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1840) <u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> (Johnson-1851)
6 December	<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>The Shaker Lovers</u> (Johnson-1851)
7 December	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap- 1798) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
8 December	<u>The Queen of the Abruzzi</u> (? -1846) <u>My Friend Jack</u> (?) <u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
9 December	<u>Green Bushes</u> (Buckstone-1845) <u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
10 December	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
12 December	<u>The Utica Fireman</u> (Johnson?-1850) "a new Local Drama" <u>The Omnibus</u> (Pocock-1830)
13 December	<u>The Utica Fireman</u> (Johnson?-1850) <u>The Savage and the Maiden</u> (J.H. Horncastle-1844)
14 December	<u>The Utica Fireman</u> (Johnson?-1850) <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)

1853--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

15 December	<u>The Golden Farmer</u> (Cross-1802) <u>Blanch Marion</u> [sic] (?) <u>A Phenomenon in a Small Frock</u> (Brough-1852)
16 December (Mr. and Mrs. Phelps farewell benefit)	<u>All that Glitters is not Gold</u> (The Mortons-1851) <u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829)
17 December	<u>The Orphan of Geneva</u> (Payne-1821) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
19 December	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> (Johnson-1851)
20 December	<u>Othello</u> <u>The Savage and the Maiden</u> (Horncastle-1844)
21 December	<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Hunting a Turtle</u> (Selby-1835)
22 December	<u>Virginus</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>My Friend Jack</u> (?)
23 December	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Charles the II</u> (Payne-1824)
24 December	<u>The Rag-Picker of Paris</u> (W.J. Lucas-1847) <u>The Utica Fireman</u> (Johnson?-1850)
26 December (matinee)	<u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835) <u>Box and Cox</u> (Morton-1847)
(evening)	<u>The Shoemaker of Toulouse</u> (F.S. Hill-1834) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
28 December	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Barney Rourke</u> (?)
29 December	<u>The Rent Day</u> (Jerrold-1832) <u>Nick of the Woods</u> (Medina?-1838)
30 December	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Box and Cox</u> (Morton-1847)
31 December	<u>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</u> (Massinger-1822) <u>The Dumb Belle</u> (Bernard-1831)

1854--Marie Duret's Company in Utica continued

2 January	<u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
4 January	<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> <u>Barney Rourke</u> (?)
5 January	<u>Othello</u> <u>Box and Cox</u> (Morton-1847)
6 January	<u>George Barnwell</u> (Lillo-1731) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)
7 January	<u>Bertram</u> (C.R. Maturin-1816) <u>Bombastes Furioso</u> (Rhodes-1810)
9 January	<u>Venice Preserved</u> (Otway-1682) <u>Used Up</u> (Boucicault & Mathews-1844)
10 January	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Bombastes Furioso</u> (Rhodes-1810)
11 January	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>A Phenomenon in a Small Frock</u> (Brough-1852)
12 January	<u>The Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> (Johnson-1851)
16 January (Coul-dock's benefit)	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Catherine and Petruchio</u> (Garrick-1756)

Arnold and Spencer Company

Company:

G.J. Arnold
John & Effie Ellsler
H.L. Savage
W.R. Floyd
Mr. Harrison
S.D. Johnson
Margaret Mitchell
Mr., Mrs., and Miss E. Deering
Mlle. Fanny, danseuse
O.F. Almy, scene painter

Stars:

T.D. Rice
Monsieur Devani, contortionist

1854--Arnold and Spencer Company in Utica continued

4 March	Utica	Plays: <u>An Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone-1851)
6 March		(same bill announced--opening delayed?)
7 March		<u>A Husband at Sight</u> (Buckstone-1830) <u>The Savage and the Maiden</u> (Horncastle-1844) <u>The Obstinate Family</u> (S. Phelps, Jr.-1853)
8 March		<u>A Husband at Sight</u> (Buckstone-1830) <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831) <u>The Limerick Boy</u> (Pilgrim-1848)
9 March		<u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847) <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831) <u>An Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845)
10 March		<u>Wandering Boys</u> (Pocock?-1814) <u>The Savage and the Maiden</u> (Horncastle-1844) <u>The Limerick Boy</u> (Pilgrim-1848)
11 March		<u>Wandering Boys</u> (Pocock?-1814) <u>Obstinate Family</u> (Phelps-1853) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone-1851)
13 March		<u>Charlotte Temple</u> (anon. adapt. of Susan Rowson's novel-1826) <u>The Youth Who Never Saw a Woman</u> (?)
14 March		<u>Charlotte Temple</u> (? -Rowson's novel-1826) <u>The Young Scamp</u> (Stirling-1844)
15 March		<u>The Obstinate Family</u> (Phelps-1853) <u>The Shaker Lovers</u> (Johnson-1851)

1854--Arnold and Spencer Company in Utica continued

16 March The Savage and the Maiden
 (Horncastle-1844)
 The Middy Ashore (Bernard-1836)
 The Youth Who Never Saw a Woman
 (?)

17 March The Middy Ashore (Bernard-1836)
 Object of Interest (Stocqueler-
 1845)
 The Limerick Boy (Pilgrim-1848)

18 March (Devani's
 benefit) The Drunkard (Smith-1844)
 The Middy Ashore (Bernard-1836)

20 March-8 April Uncle Tom's Cabin (Aiken-1852)

The Utica Company (this is
basically the same company as
Arnold and Spencer's, with S.D.
Johnson made stage manager)

Additional Stars:
J.B. Roberts, "celebrated
tragedian"
George Couldock
G.W. Howard

24 April Utica Plays:
 Money (Bulwer-Lytton-1840)
 The Married Rake (Selby-1835)

25 April Lady of Lyons (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)
 Uncle Sam (Poole-1833)

26 April Richard III
 The Limerick Boy (Pilgrim-1848)

27 April Othello
 Swiss Swains (Webster-1831)

28 April A New Way to Pay Old Debts
 (Massinger-1622)
 Nature and Philosophy (?)

29 April Macbeth
 Uncle Sam (Poole-1833)

1 May Hamlet
 The Secret; or, The Hole in the
 Wall (Moncrieff?-1822)

1854--The Utica Company in Utica continued

2 May (Roberts's benefit)	<u>The Robbers</u> (Schiller-1781) <u>The Merchant of Venice</u> (Act 4)
3 May (Miss Deering's benefit)	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
4 May	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
5 May (Johnson's benefit)	<u>Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship</u> (Jerrold-1839) <u>In Place and Out of Place</u> (Johnson- ?)
6 May	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
7 May (Miss Mitchell's benefit)	<u>Satan in Paris</u> (? -1846) <u>Ireland As It Is</u> (J.H. Amherst- ?)
9 May	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Robert Macaire</u> (Selby-1834)
10 May	<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
11 May	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>The Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler-1845)
12 May	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Uncle Sam</u> (Poole-1833)
13 May	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846)
15 May (Coudock's benefit)	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>School for Scandal</u> (Sheridan-1777)
16 May	<u>The Robbers</u> (Schiller-1781) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846)
17 May (Howard's benefit)	<u>Iron Chest</u> (Colman the Younger-1796) <u>Maurice the Woodcutter</u> (C.A. Somerset-1829) <u>The Maiden's Vow</u> (?)
18 May (Ellsler's benefit)	<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)

1854--The Utica Company in Utica continued

19 May (Savage's benefit)	<u>Bryan Glynn</u> (probable misprint for Johnson's <u>Bryan O'Lynn</u> -1851) <u>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</u> (<u>Planche</u> -1839) <u>The Virginia Mummy</u> (? -1854)
20 May (Arnold's grand complimentary benefit)	<u>The Honey Moon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>The Toodles</u> (Burton-1848)
22 May (Spencer's complimentary benefit)	<u>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</u> (<u>Massinger</u> -1622) <u>Rosina Meadows</u> (Saunders-1843)

The Marsh Troupe

Company:
Robert Marsh, manager
C. Whittle
T.B. Douglass
C.L. Allen
C. Salisbury
Little Mary Marsh
Mrs. G.C. Germon
Mrs. Lennox

29-31 May	Utica	Plays: <u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
1 June		<u>The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved</u> (<u>Smith</u> -1844) <u>Life in Alabama</u> (C.W. Taylor-1850)
2-3 June		<u>Hot Corn! or, Life Scenes in New</u> <u>York</u> (C.W. Taylor-1853) <u>Life in Alabama</u> (Taylor-1850)

Spencer and Ellsler Company

Company:
None listed, but it probably
consisted of many of the same
players as Arnold and Spencer's.
Only the last bill was listed, and
the only advertising featured the
Coneys' and Taylor's Trained
Dogs.

8 July	Utica	Plays: <u>The Forest of Bondy; or, The Dog</u> <u>of Montargis</u> (<u>Pixérécourt</u> -1814)

1854 continued

Marsh and Ellsler Star Museum
Company

Company:

Mrs. Effie Ellsler (Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia)
Miss Kate Warwick (Broadway
Theatre, New York)
Mrs. Cappell (Walnut Street,
Philadelphia)
Mrs. George G. Arnold, (Walnut
Street, Philadelphia)
Mrs. R. Marsh (Marsh Troupe)
Mrs. French
MR. G.J. ARNOLD, "the Tragedian"
George C. Boniface (Walker's,
New York)
G.F. Browne, "celebrated
comedian"
John Ellsler (Burton's Theatre)
Thomas Owens (Philadelphia
theatres)
T.P. Douglass (Metropolitan
Theatre, Buffalo)
Mr. Johnson
Mr. Cook
Mr. Robert Marsh (Marsh Troupe)
Mr. French (Baltimore Museum)
Mr. Henry
Mr. James
Mr. Meyerling

Plays:

2 September	Auburn	<u>Honeymoon</u> (Tobin-1805) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
6 September	Auburn	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>Swiss Swains</u> (Webster-1831)
7 September		<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Uncle Sam</u> (Poole-1833)
8 September		<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel- 1821) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847) <u>Uncle Sam</u> (Poole-1833)
9 September		<u>Ingomar, Son of the Wilderness</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</u> (Lunn?- 1829)

1854 continued

The Marsh Troupe

Company:

Virtually the same company as played Auburn, with the following additions:

W.H. Meeker

Louisa Pray, dancer

Stars:

George Couldock

Plays:

23 September	Utica	<u>Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844) <u>Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
25 September		<u>Iron Chest</u> (Colman the Younger-1796) <u>All's Not Gold that Glitters</u> (The Mortons-1851)
26 September		<u>London Assurance</u> (Boucicault-1841) <u>The Baton Boy</u> (?)
27 September		<u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825) <u>Slasher and Crasher</u> (Morton-1850)
28 September		<u>Hamlet</u> <u>Nature and Philosophy</u> (?)
29 September		<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Alpine Maid</u> (?)
30 September		<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>The Toodles</u> (Burton-1848)
2 October		<u>Louis XI</u> (Delavigne/Boucicault-1855) Nicoll lists 1855) <u>The Married Rake</u> (Selby-1835)
3 October		<u>Louis XI</u> (Delavigne/Boucicault-1855) <u>A Duel in the Dark</u> (Coyne-1852)
4 October		<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Turning the Tables</u> (Poole-1830)
5 October		<u>Othello</u> <u>A Morning Call</u> (Dance-1851)
6 October		<u>The Soldier's Daughter</u> (Cherry-1804) <u>The Widow's Victim</u> (Selby-1835)

1854--The Marsh Troupe in Utica continued

7 October	<u>Black Eyed Susan</u> (Jerrold-1829) <u>Michael Earle</u> (Wilks-1839)
9 October	<u>Beauty and the Beast</u> (? -see Nicoll) <u>Michael Earle</u> (Wilks-1839)
10 October	<u>Beauty and the Beast</u> (?) <u>Sweethearts and Wives</u> (Kenney- 1823)
11-13 October	<u>Beauty and the Beast</u> (?) <u>Cricket on the Hearth</u> (Smith- ?)
14 October	<u>Carpenter of Rouen</u> (Jones-1844) <u>Beauty and the Beast</u> (?)
16-21 October	<u>Fashion and Famine</u> (C.W. Taylor adapt. of Ann S. Stephens novel-1854)
23 October (Marsh's complimentary benefit)	<u>The Writing on the Wall</u> (The Mortons-1852) <u>The Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone- 1847)
24 October	<u>Writing on the Wall</u> (Mortons-1852) <u>The Eton Boy</u> (T. Morton, Jr.- 1842)
25 October	<u>Writing on the Wall</u> (Morton-1852) <u>The Maniac Lover</u> (Wilks-1839)
26 October (Mary Marsh's benefit)	<u>Fashion and Famine</u> (Taylor-1854)
Lewis and Co. Dramatic Troupe	
Company:	
The "original" Uncle Tom troupe	
T.M. Timber	
Miss Matthews	
Plays:	
10 November Geneva	<u>The Sleeping Robber; or, Lust for Gold</u> (?) <u>The Lord and Coblér</u> (Coffey?-1735)
16-22 November Canandaigua	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
23 November	"manager now varying entertain- ments"

1854 continued

J.B. Strong Company

Company:
J. Berby Strong
J.G. Sefton
C.F. Roberts
Mr. Owen
Mr. Savage
Miss Evaline
Mrs. Wray
Miss Lucy Cutler

Plays:
No bill listed

25 December

26 December

The Dead Shot (Buckstone-1847)
John Jones (Buckstone-1831)
The Artful Dodger (Field-1843)

28 December

Loan of a Lover (Planche-1834)
John Jones (Buckstone-1831)
A Kiss in the Dark (Buckstone-1840)

29 December

Foreign Airs and Native Graces
("new play by a gentleman from
this city," but Nicoll lists
Moncrieff)
Young Widow (Rodwell-1824)
Dead Shot (Buckstone-1827)

30 December

Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)
The Toodles (Burton-1848)

1855

1 January

The Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)
Irish Tutor (Butler-1822)
The Toodles (Burton-1848)

Marsh and Ellsler Company

Company:
John Ellsler
Effie Ellsler
T.E. Owens
G.F. Browne
J.B. Turner
B. Johnston "the popular American
actor"
A. Fitzgerald
Miss Cordelia Cappel
Miss Louisa Pray, dancer

1855--Marsh and Ellsler Company in Utica continued

Stars:

Italian Opera Company
McKean Buchanan
Joseph Proctor
Charlotte Nickinson
George Couldock

Plays:

8 January Utica

The Poor Gentleman (Colman the
Younger-1801)
Wandering Boys of Switzerland
(Pocock-1814)

9 January

The Serious Family (Barnett-
1849)
Wandering Boys of Switzerland
(Pocock-1814)

10 January

The Serious Family (Barnett-
1849)
Ireland As It Is (Amherst- ?)

11-15 January

Italian Opera Company--operas,
"melanges," and the following
farces by the players:

11 January

Poor Pillicoddy (Morton-1848)

12 January

A Duel in the Dark (Coyne-1852)

13, 15 January

Another Glass (Morton-1845)

16 January

Hamlet
Poor Pillicoddy (Morton-1848)

17 January

Macbeth
A Duel in the Dark (Coyne-1852)

18 January

Othello
Nan the Good for Nothing
(Buckstone-1851)

19 January

Richard III
Loan of a Lover (Planche-1834)

20 January (Buchanan's
benefit)

The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-
1798)
Lady of Lyons (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)

22-27 January

The Forty Thieves (Colman the
Younger-1806)
"with a new farce or comedy every
night"

1855--Marsh and Ellsler Company in Utica continued

29 January	<u>Virginus</u> (Knowles-1820) <u>Young America</u> (? -1774)
30 January	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>The Rival Pages</u> (Selby-1835)
31 January- 1 February	<u>Nick of the Woods</u> (Medina?-1838) <u>Young America</u> (? -1774)
2 February	<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Oua-Consta</u> ("Indian Drama"--see Meserve <u>Outallissi</u> ? -1834)
3 February	<u>Nick of the Woods</u> (Medina?-1838) <u>William Tell</u> (Knowles-1825)
5 February	<u>Six Degrees of Crime; or, Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder, Scaffold</u> (F.S. Hill-1834)
6 February	<u>Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1838) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone-1851)
7 February	<u>London Assurance</u> (Boucicault-1841) <u>The Rough Diamond</u> (Buckstone-1847)
8 February	<u>The Rival Pages</u> (Selby-1835) <u>A Morning Call</u> (Dance-1851) <u>The Maid with the Milking Pail</u> (?)
9 February (Miss Nickin- inson's benefit)	<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u> <u>The Maid with the Milking Pail</u> (?)
10 February	<u>Rival Pages</u> (Selby-1835) <u>The Ladies' Battle</u> (Robertson-1851) <u>The Maid with the Milking Pail</u> (?)
12 February	<u>Six Degrees of Crime</u> (Hill-1834)
13 February	<u>Margaret Catchpolk</u> (Stirling-1845) <u>A Glance at New York</u> (Baker-1848)
14 February (Turner's benefit)	<u>Don Caesar de Bazan</u> (Boucicault-1844)

1855--Marsh and Ellsler Company in Utica continued

16 February	<u>The Truand Chief</u> (W.H. Oxberry-1837) <u>The Veteran and His Progeny</u> (Milner-1827)
17 February (Effie Ellsler's benefit)	<u>The Robbers</u> (Schiller-1781) <u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839)
19 February	<u>Hamlet</u> <u>The Two Queens</u> (Buckstone-1835)
20, 22 February	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Young America</u> (? -1774)
23 February	<u>Willow Copse</u> (Boucicault-1849) <u>Louis XI</u> (Delavigne/Boucicault-1855)
26 February	<u>Macbeth</u> <u>Denmark and Sweden</u> (?)
27 February (Couldock's benefit)	<u>King Lear</u> <u>Denmark and Sweden</u>
28 February	<u>Louis XI</u> (Delavigne/Boucicault-1855)

Brunton and Grierson Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. W.Y. Brunton

Stars:

George Jamison, "the American tragedian"

Miss Louisa Reeder

Plays:

7 May	Utica	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (Banim & Shiel-1821) <u>Turn Out</u> (Kenney?-1812)
8 May		<u>Richelieu</u> (Bulwer-Lytton-1839) <u>Dumb Belle</u> (Bernard-1831)
9 May		<u>Ingomar</u> (Mrs. Lovell-1851) <u>Maid of Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
10 May		<u>The Stranger</u> (Kotzebue/Dunlap-1798) <u>Child of the Regiment</u> (?)

1855--Brunton and Grierson Company in Utica continued

11 May

Macbeth
Dumb Belle (Bernard-1831)

12 May (Mrs. Brunton's
benefit)

The Farmer's Curse (?)
No Song, No Supper (Hoare-1790)
Paddy Mile's Boy (Pilgrim?-
1836)

G.W. Johnson Company

Company (almost all associated
with the Boston Theatre:

Mr. and Mrs. G.W. Johnson
Mrs. H. Kirby
Miss Boyce
Mr. H.F. Daly
Mrs. Wilkins

25 June Utica

Plays:
The Hunchback (Knowles-1832)
Good for Nothing (Buckstone-1851)

Yankee Scoville's Varieties played
Geneva in November 1855. No bills
were listed.

Company:
Yankee Scoville
Miss Clara
Miss Adele, danseuse

Mr. W.M. Foster's Company played
Utica in December 1855, only noted
through the Syracuse paper.

The New York Dramatic Company
played Canandaigua in March
1857. No bills or company were
listed.

H. Jordan's Company played Auburn
in early 1857, only noted in the
Syracuse paper.

1857

The Ponisi Company played Utica in mid-April 1857, according to the Syracuse paper. No bills or company listed, except that D. Myron was leading man.

Mitchell's Company might have visited Geneva in late 1857 or early 1858. No bills or company listed.

1858

Breyer's Theatrical Company (Breyer also played Utica, according to the Geneva paper.)

Company:
J.F. Breyer
Miss Breyer
"other Artists of acknowledged ability"

30 March	Geneva	Plays: <u>Don Caesar de Bazan; or, A Match for a King</u> (Boucicault-1844) <u>The Spectre Bridegroom; or, A Ghost in Spite of Himself</u> (Moncrieff-1822)
15 April	Canandaigua	<u>The Old Sea Captain (?)</u> <u>Love and Physic; or, The Horse Doctor</u> (Kenney?-1820) <u>The Young Widow; or, A Lesson for Lovers</u> (Rodwell-1824)
16 April		<u>The Lady of the Lake; or, The Chief of the Clan Alpine</u> (T.J. Dibdin-1810) <u>Raising the Wind; or, How to Get a Breakfast without Money</u> (Kenney-1803)

Plunkett Company
According to the Utica papers this company had made at least one previous visit to Utica, three months before this brief July 1858 engagement.

1858--Plunkett Company in Utica continued

Company:

Harry Grattan Plunkett, mgr.
Mrs. Ada Plunkett
John Sefton
Miss Angela Sefton, his daughter
Mr. Lennox
J.M. Cooke
Mr. [Nick] Forrester (of Utica)

Stars:

Mr. and Mrs. Holman (of the
Seguin, Pyne, and Harrison
Opera Troupe) and their
juvenile songsters.

Plays:

3 July Utica

The Debutante (Parry-1834)
The Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)

7 July (Miss Sefton's
benefit)

Mlle. Angela (? --apparently
written expressly for Miss
Sefton)
The Golden Farmer (Cross-1802)

8 July

Dumb Boy of Manchester
(B.F. Raynor?-1837)
Jemmy Twitcher in France
(?)

9 July (Sefton's benefit)

St. George and the Dragon
(see Nicoll for possible
authors)
He's Not Amiss (Wilks-1836)
Irish Dragoon (Selby-1845)

10 July (Plunkett's
benefit)

Ireland As It Is; or, Duchess or
No Duchess (J.H. Amherst- ?)

15-17 July

Plunkett presents "Soirees
Musical and Pictorial" with
the Holmans.

Plunkett Company returns to Utica

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. Plunkett
C. Hill
W. Gay
Mr. Pennistan
W. Lennox
Mr. Stevens
Mr. Bell

1858--Plunkett Company in Utica continued

Mr. Lester
Mrs. Eliza Place
Miss Marian Watts
Miss Hughes, dancer

Stars:
Keller Troupe
Susan and Kate Denin, with
S.E. Ryan
Miss Sophia Walton, "celebrated
danseuse"

9-13 August	Utica	Plays: Keller Troupe give "Historical Dramas with tableaux"
16 August		<u>Lucrezia Borgia</u> (Weston?-1843) <u>A Kiss in the Dark</u> (Buckstone- 1840)
17 August		<u>London Assurance</u> (Boucicault-1841) <u>The Good for Nothing</u> (Buckstone- 1851)
18 August		<u>The Lottery Ticket</u> (Beazley-1826) <u>The Stage Struck Chambermaid</u> (Selby-1835) <u>The Two Gregories</u> (Dibdin-1821)
19 August		<u>Tower of Nesle</u> (Dumas-1832) <u>Mischief Making</u> (Buckstone-1828)
20 August	(Ada Plunkett's benefit)	<u>Camille; or, The Moral of a Life</u> (Dumas Fils-1852)
21 August	(Plunkett's benefit)	<u>Macbeth</u>
23 August		<u>The Hunchback</u> Knowles-1832) <u>Irish Emigrant</u> (Brougham-1849)
24 August		<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (Bulwer-Lytton- 1838) <u>Object of Interest</u> (Stocqueler- 1845)
25 August		<u>The Rose of Killarney</u> ("a new piece") <u>The Little Devil</u> (Archer?-1843)

1858--Plunkett Company in Utica continued

26 August (Ryan's benefit) Jack Sheppard (Buckstone-1839)
The Soldier's Return (T.E. Hook-1805)

27 August (Denin sisters' benefit) Douglas (Home-1756)

28 August (Lennox's benefit) Rob Roy (Pocock?-1818)

National Theatre (Syracuse)

No company listed.

12 October Auburn Plays:
Damon and Pythias (Banim & Shiel-1821)

16 October "an intensely local play, dedicated to the Firemen of Auburn."

Edgerton's Company

Company:
G.C. Edgerton, manager
Mr. Lefler
Miss Clara LeRoy

29 November Utica Plays:
The Hermit of the Rock (Adams-1847)
The Soldier's Return (Hook-1805)

1859

Metropolitan Theatre, Utica, destroyed by fire 27 February, the night before D. Myron was to have begun a brief season.

The Cantidores played Skaneateles in late June, but listed no bills or company members.

1860

Plunkett Company

Company:

Harry Plunkett, manager

Rachel Denvil

Mr. Mathews

Garry Hough

Miss Elise de Courcey

Plays:

30 April Auburn

Love's Sacrifice (Lovell-1829)

(For this engagement Plunkett
ran the same ad daily, so only
partial bills are available.)

1 May

Lucretia Borgia (Weston?-1843)

3 May

Romeo and Juliet

4 May (Miss Denvil's
benefit)

Lady of Lyons (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)

5 May

Othello

7 May

"two amusing piece"

8 May

The Octoroon (Boucicault-1859)

(This piece probably ran most
of the week, with different
afterpieces.)

11 May

Hamlet ("1st act")

The Octoroon (Boucicault-1859)

12 May (Plunkett's
benefit)

Jack Sheppard (Buckstone-1839)

The Yankee Duellist (Bannister-
1838)

Black Eyed Susan (Jerrold-1829)

15 May (Plunkett's grand
complimentary benefit)

"unusually attractive bill"

D. Myron's Star Company

Company:

Mr. and Mrs. D. Myron

J.C. Morrison

J. Flood

Plays:

19 September Utica

Opening night--no bill announced.

1860--Myron's Star Company in Utica continued

21 September Medea (Brough?-1856)
 The Happy Cobbler (Mrs. Planche-
 1836)

27 September La Tour de Nesle; or, The Chamber
 of Death (Dumas-1832)
 Gunmaker of Moscow (Brougham-1860)
 The Whites and the Browns (?)

4 October (Myron's Pizzaro (Sheridan-1799)
 benefit) Utica Fireman (Johnson?-1850)
 Jack Sheppard (Buckstone-1839)

1861

Lewis and O.Harra's [sic]
Dramatic Company played
Skaneateles for at least one week
in early January, but listed no
bills or players.

C.N. Lewis Company

Company:

C.N. Lewis, manager
W.S. Forrest, stage manager
Harry Howland
Mrs. Frank Drew
Miss Kendall, dancer
Mr. Thomas H. Knight, singer
Mrs. Kincaid, dancer

Stars:

Adah Isaacs Menken

Plays:

13 April Utica The Stranger (Kotzebue/Dunlap-
 1798)
 Family Jars (Lunn-1822)

15 April Lady of Lyons (Bulwer-Lytton-1838)
 State Secrets (Wilks-1836)

17 April Othello
 Rough Diamond (Buckstone-1847)

18 April Rob Roy (Pocock?-1818)
 The Jealous Wife (Colman-1761)

19 April Lucretia Borgia (Weston?-1843)
 Cavaliers and Roundheads
 (Pocock-1835)

1861--Lewis Company in Utica continued

20 April	<u>Dream at Sea</u> (Buckstone-1835) <u>Lottery Ticket</u> (Beazley-1826)
22 April	<u>The Hunchback</u> (Knowles-1832) <u>Contentment vs. Riches</u> (Mrs. Planche?-1836)
23 April	<u>Pizarro</u> (Sheridan-1799) <u>Sketches in India</u> (? -1846)
24 April	<u>The Drunkard</u> (Smith-1844) <u>The Young Widow</u> (Rodwell-1824)
25 April (Forrest's benefit)	<u>Rip Van Winkle</u> (many possibil- ities--most recent, J.H. Wain- wright-1855) <u>Paul Pry</u> (Jerrold-1827)
26-27 April	<u>Uncle Tom's Cabin</u> (Aiken-1852)
29 April	<u>Therese</u> (Payne-1821) <u>Factory Girl</u> (Jerrold-1832)
30 April	<u>Ambrose Gwynett</u> (Jerrold-1828) <u>Simpson and Co.</u> (Poole-1823)
1 May	<u>Richard III</u> <u>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</u> (Lunn- 1829)
2 May	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u> (Lovell-1829) <u>Paddy Miles' Boy</u> (Pilgrim-1836)
4 May	<u>French Spy</u> (Haines-1831) <u>Lola Montes</u> (Coyne-1848)
7 May	<u>Jack Sheppard</u> (Buckstone-1839) <u>The Stage-Struck Young Woman</u> (Selby?-1835)
8 May	<u>Jenny Divers; or, The Female</u> <u>Highwayman</u> (?) <u>Perfection; or, The Maid of</u> <u>Munster</u> (Bayly-1830)
9 May	<u>Dumb Girl of Genoa</u> (J.Farrell- 1820) <u>Your Life's in Danger</u> (?) <u>Acquaintance from Infancy</u> (?)
10 May	<u>The Female Brigand</u> (?) <u>The French Spy</u> (Haines-1831)

1861--Lewis Company in Utica continued

11 May (Knight's benefit) Honeymoon (Tobin-1805)
Rafaille (several possibilities,
see Nicoll)

13 May (Lewis's benefit) Major Anderson; or, The Hero of
Fort Sumpter (?)
The Norwegian Wreckers; or, The
Beacon of Death (Fitzball?-
1824)
Slasher and Crasher (Morton-1850)

Appendix B Advertisements and Miscellaneous Material

This appendix is designed as a visual aid to the text, containing advertisements of many of the theatrical companies involved, as well as drawings of some of the places they played, a handbill, and other sorts of ad material. All entries are listed in the "Notes" section, the appropriate note referring the reader to Appendix B. The appendix consists of the following:

1. Advertisement, Ontario Music Society 440
 (Ontario Repository, 15 February 1820)
2. Exterior, Auburn Academy 441
 (Seymour Library History Room File)
3. Advertisement, Potter and Thompson 442
 (Ontario Repository, 26 June 1810)
4. Exterior, Bagg's Tavern, Utica 443
 (Oneida County Historical Society Archives)
5. Advertisement, Drake Company 444
 (Ontario Repository, 18 July 1815)
6. Advertisement, Thornton and Williams Company 445
 (Ontario Repository, 15 October 1816)
7. Advertisements, African Lion 446
 (Ontario Repository, 15 July 1817)
 Male Elephant
 (Ontario Repository 16 May 1820)
8. Advertisement, Stowell and Bishop's Museum 447
 (Ontario Repository, 5 December 1820)
9. Advertisement, New York State Canal Museum 448
 (Rochester Telegraph, 27 July 1824)
10. Advertisement, Walstein Company 449
 (Cherry Valley Gazette, 5 August 1823)
11. Advertisement, Archbold, Clarendon, and Gilbert 450
 Company (Geneva Gazette, 19 May 1824)
12. Advertisement, H.A. Williams Company 451
 (Ontario Repository, 2 November 1825)
13. Exterior, Utica Museum 452
 (Oneida County Historical Society Archives)

14. Exterior, Franklin House (Geneva Historical Society Archives)	453
15. Advertisement, Caravan of Living Animals (<u>Cayuga Republican</u> , 24 October 1827)	454
16. Advertisement, Menagerie (<u>Geneva Gazette</u> , 19 June 1831)	455
17. Advertisement, Menagerie (<u>Geneva Gazette</u> , 14 May 1834)	456
18. Exterior, Western Exchange (Cayuga County Historian's Office Archives)	457
19. Rail-Road Route, 1843 (James Alan McPherson and Miller Williams, <u>Railroad: Trains and Train People in American Culture</u> (New York: Random House, 1976), 29.	458
20. Advertisements, Bronson's Lecture Series (<u>Utica Observer</u> , 4 May 1841) Le Row's Lecture Series (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 18 January 1843)	459
21. Advertisements, Hackett's Dramatic Lecture (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 12 May 1843) Miss Clarendon's Readings (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 3 March 1842)	460
22. Advertisements, Shaker Brothers and Sisters (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 21 December 1846) Winchell (<u>Geneva Gazette</u> , 23 October 1847) Peale's "Court of Death" (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 26 January 1847)	461
23. Advertisement, Raymond and Waring's Menagerie (<u>Geneva Gazette</u> , 24 July 1846)	462
24. Mastin's Handbill (New York State Historical Society Archives)	463
25. Advertisements, Dr. Robinson's Temperance Company (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 19 September 1843) J.B. Strong's Temperance Company (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 15 February 1848)	464
26. Advertisement, John S. Potter Company (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 6 February 1847)	465
27. Potter's Letter to Industrialists (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 2 April 1847)	466

28. Interior and Exterior, First Baptist Church, Syracuse (Onondaga Historical Society Archives)	467
29. Advertisement, Dollie Dutton (<u>Herkimer County Journal</u> , 16 February 1860)	468
30. Advertisements, Drama in the Circus (<u>Freeman's Journal</u> , 19 October 1850) Drama in the Minstrel Show (<u>Utica Daily Observer</u> , 11 May 1860)	469
31. Advertisement, Mrs. Macready's Readings (<u>Skaneateles Democrat</u> , 24 January 1861)	470
32. Advertisements, Furber & Wyland in Utica, Hough in Rome (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 2 July 1851)	471
33. Exterior, Auburn City Hall (Seymour Library History Room File)	472
34. Metropolitan Hall described (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 31 July 1851)	473
35. Advertisements, Nickinson's Company (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 8 October 1851, 1 January 1853)	474
36. Advertisements, Chesebrough & Crocker Company (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 30 June, 20 July 1853)	475
37. Advertisements, Lewis & Almy's Pavilion (<u>Auburn Daily Advertiser</u> , 18 July 1853 Hough's Pavilion (<u>Utica Daily Gazette</u> , 25 July 1853)	476
38. Advertisement, J.B. Tozer's Company (<u>Auburn Daily Advertiser</u> , 18 November 1853)	477
39. Marsh & Essler's Star Museum Company (<u>Auburn Daily Advertiser</u> , 2 September 1854)	478
40. Advertisement, <u>Pickwick</u> (<u>Skaneateles Democrat</u> , 7 March 1861)	479
41. Exterior, Lake House (Skaneateles Historical Society Archives)	480
42. Advertisement, Plunkett's Company (<u>Auburn Daily Advertiser</u> , 8 May 1860)	481

ORATORIO.

THE ONTARIO HAYDN SOCIETY,
give notice, that they intend to perform
on **MONDAY** evening next. (the 21st inst.)
at the Episcopal Church in Canandaigua, an
ORATORIO, consisting of selections of Sa-
cred Music, with instrumental accompani-
ments, from the works of Haydn, Handel, and
other eminent composers.

Order of Performances.

PART I.

Overture. Pleyel.
Anthem—Sing ye unto the Lord. Stephens.
Duet and Chorus—Hosanna, blessed is He that
comes. Gregor.
Solo—I know that my Redeemer liveth.
Handel.
Symphony, Recitatives & Chorus—There were
Shepherds. Handel.
Solo—But thou didst not leave. do.
Chorus—Weep not for these. Avison.
Adagio—Almighty God, when round thy
shrines. Mozart.
Anthem—Child of mortality. Bray.
Anthem—Strike the cymbal. Pacitti.
Anthem—Sound the loud tymbal. Avison.

PART II.

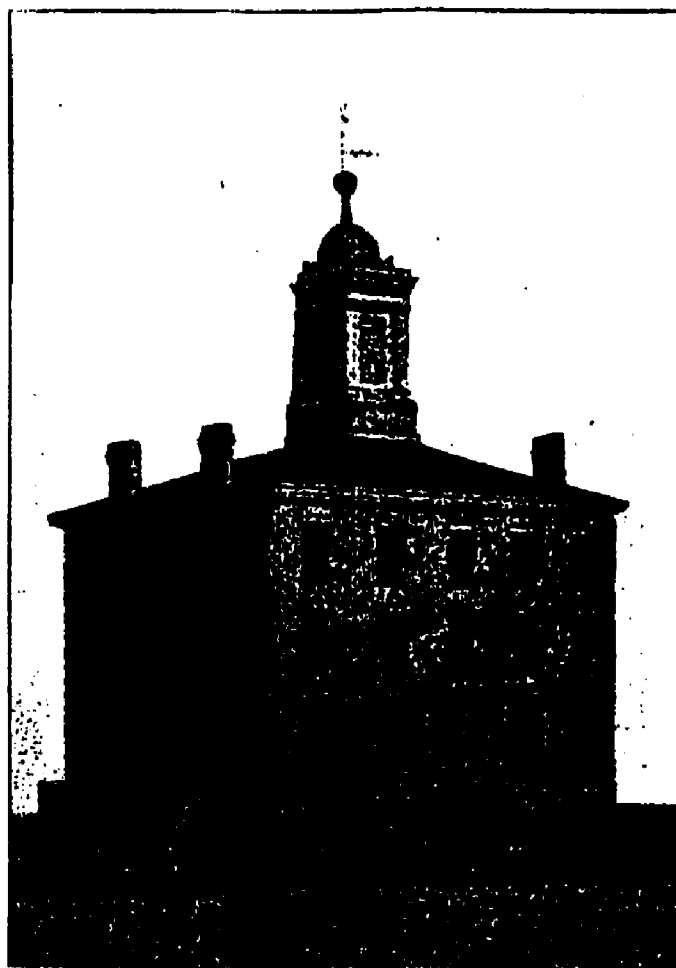
Overture. Pleyel.
Extract from the Oratorio of Creation, by
HAYDN, comprising
Recit.—In the beginning. Chorus—And the
Spirit. Recit.—And God saw. Air—Now
vanish. Chorus—Despairing. Recit.—And
God made. Air and Chorus—The marvellous
work. Recit.—And God said. Air—Rolling
in flaming billow. Recit.—And the heavenly
host. Chorus—Awake the harp. Recit.—
And God said. Recit.—With splendor bright.
Chorus—The Heavens are telling.

The door will be opened at half past 5—
performance to commence at half past 6 o'-
clock.

TICKETS, at 40 cents, may be obtained at
the Bookstore of *J. D. Bemis & Co.* and at
the *Post-Office*.

Tickets for families will be provided on lib-
eral terms. Feb. 16.

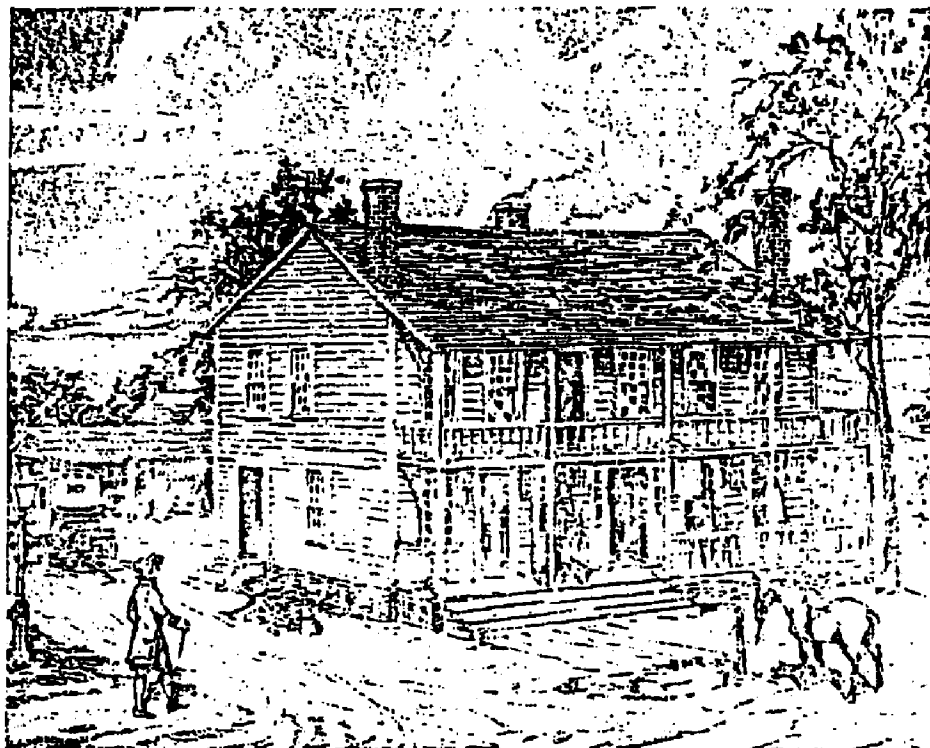
1. Advertisement, Ontario Music Society
(Ontario Repository, 15 February 1820)



2. Exterior, Auburn Academy
(Seymour Library History Room File)

THEATRICAL.
Messrs. Potter & Thompson,
 WILL again exhibit their Theatrical performances,
 THIS EVENING, and continue them each evening of
 this week except Saturday, at Dudley & Andrews' Coffee
 House.
 In addition to last evening's entertainment of
 Mathematical, Philosophical and curious
 Experiments, Ventriloquism, &c.
 Which will be repeated, there will be introduced,
The Chinese Umbrose,
 Which represents the View of the city of London, with a
 diverting dialogue between two men.
 In the course of the evening, the following Songs in ad-
 dition to those sung on Monday evening: The Fox and the
 Grapes, and the Yorkshire Irishman, or the adventures of
 a Potato Merchant. Each evening will afford some-
 thing new and entertaining. June 15

3. Advertisement, Potter and Thompson
 (Ontario Repository, 26 June 1810)



BAGG'S TAVERN, UTICA (1793)

(Courtesy The Savings Bank of Utica)

4. Exterior, Bagg's Tavern, Utica
(Oneida County Historical Society Archives)

THEATRICAL.
THE *Albany Dramatic Company* will play in
 this Village, at the Court-House, on Tues-
 day, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday Even-
 ings, of the present week.
 This evening will be performed,
THE QUAKER,
 OR
BENEVOLENT FRIEND.
 After which, a Comedy, called
THE MIDNIGHT HOUR,
 Or, A War of Wits.
 [For Characters, see bills.]
 July 18.

5. Advertisement, Drake Company
 (Ontario Repository, 18 July 1815)

THEATRE.

The lovers of the Drama are respectfully in-
formed, that on
Monday Evening, October 21st,
Will be presented, the much admired and ele-
gant comedy called
MATILDA.

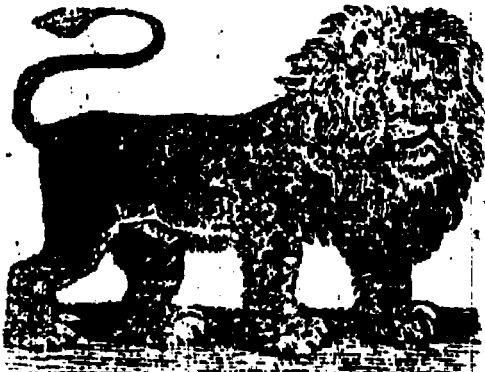
Baron de Limburg,	Mr. Thornton,
Delaval,	Williams,
O'Clagherty,	Denton,
Clara,	Mrs. Williams,
Lisette,	Thornton,

After which,
Song, "Bag of Nails," Mr. Williams.
Recitation, "Holding Wife Reclaimed," Mrs. W.
To which will be added, the favorite Farce
entitled
ANIMAL MAGNETISM;
Or, LOVE TRIUMPHANT.

Doctor Infalible,	Mr. Thornton,
Jeffy,	Williams,
LeBeur, (an intriguing valet)	Denton,
Marquis de Lancy,	
Countance,	Mrs. Williams,
Lisette,	Thornton,

For particulars, see bills of the day.
Tickets 75 Cents each, to be had at the The-
atre. Doors to be opened at half past 6 o'clock.
Curtain to rise at half past 7, precisely.
Gentlemen are requested not to smoke se-
gars in the Theatre
Canandaigua, Oct 15, 1816.

6. Advertisement, Thornton and Williams Company
(Ontario Repository, 15 October 1816)



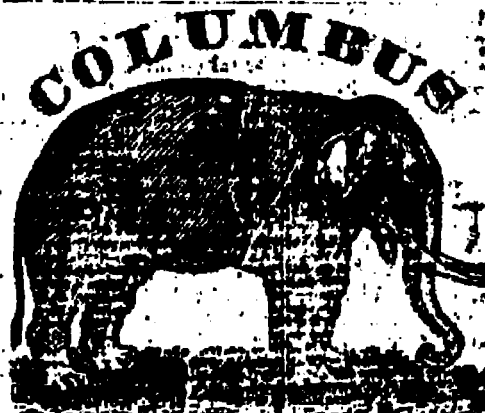
A Living African LION.

To be seen at Mr. Root's, in Phelps, on the 21st of July; at Judge Phelps', in Palmyra, the 22d and 23d; at Mr. Bristol's, in Manchester, the 24th; at E. C. Kingsley's Hotel, in Canandaigua, the 25th, 26th and 28th; at E. Hemm's, in Victor, on the 29th; at Hildreth's Hotel, in Pittsford, on the 30th—From eight o'clock in the Morning, until six o'clock in the Evening.

THE form of the LION is strikingly majestic, his figure respectable, his look determined, his gait stately, and his voice tremendous. In a word, the body of the LION is the best model of strength, joined to agility. Yet powerful and terrible as this Animal is, his anger is noble, his courage magnanimous, and his temper susceptible of grateful impressions. He has often been known to despise weak and defenceless animals thrown to be devoured by him—to spare subsistence, and even to give them a preference when the portion of food was scanty. A small dog, put in his cage to irritate him, is treated with contempt.

This Lion is the surviving one of a pair which were on board the brig *William*, from the river Senegal, bound to Liverpool, and were intended as a present to the *Prince Regent, of England*. He is perfectly docile and obedient to his keeper—will lick his keeper's hand, and permit him to handle his paws, to play with him, and often manifests a great fondness and affection for him.

Admittance 25 Cents—Children half price.



A Male Elephant,

The first and only Male ever in this country.

To be seen at Erastus Rowe's, near the Court-House, Canandaigua; to commence on Wednesday the 17th of May, and continue four days.

The Elephant is not only the largest and most sagacious animal in the known world, but the manner in which it takes its food and drink of every kind, makes it one of the greatest natural curiosities ever offered to the public. The one now offered to the curious is a Male. The Male differs materially from the Female—his looks much more formidable and majestic, with large tusks. The docility of this animal surpasses that of any one ever exhibited at this place, and the number of tricks he will perform are too numerous to particularize—among them are:—he will draw a cork from a bottle, and drink its contents, and then hand the bottle and cork to his keeper. He will perform a number of evolutions with a stick, similar to the broad sword exercise. He will take his keeper with his foot or trunk, and place him on his back, and then shake him off. But what is most curious among his manœuvres, he will dance to music, and very correctly.

He is eight feet high, his ears are two feet and two inches in length, and will weigh between four and five thousand pounds.—Hours of exhibition from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Admittance 25 cents—Children under 12 years of age, half price. May 16.

7. Advertisements, African Lion
(Ontario Repository, 15 July 1817)
Male Elephant
(Ontario Repository 16 May 1820)

STOWELL & BISHOP

RESPECTFULLY inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Canada and its vicinity, that they have opened, at the Old Jail Tavern, and will continue two weeks,

An elegant MUSEUM,

Consisting of Thirty-Four Wax Figures, large as life.

TWO ELEGANT ORGANS,

One playing a variety of Music, and accompanied by a Chime of Bells. The other a new Organ, playing a variety of Music, accompanied with a Drum and Triangles.

Among the Figures, the following claim particular notice:

A striking likeness of James Monroe, Esquire, President of the United States.—A new Group, consisting of Commodore Barron and Decatur, and their crews, Commodore Bainsbridge, and Captain Elliot; being a view of the late Duel.—Napoleon Bonaparte.—Commodore Isaac Hull and Lady.—Henry Christophe, formerly a slave, now a sovereign Prince, under the title of Henry I. King of Hayti. He married a daughter of the unfortunate Toussaint Louverture, who is now Queen of Hayti. His crown cost \$20,000.—A representation of Mrs. Smith, who was drowned at Albany, in December, 1817, crossing the Ferry, holding up her beautiful babes, which were saved.—London Dandy, quizzing Miss Green of Boston.—Othello and Desdemona, a representation from Shakspeare's Tragedy, exhibiting Othello in the act of murdering his wife Desdemona.—Jane Shore, during his wife Desdemona.—Alexander the Great, and the two great Queens Roxane and Statira: "See the conquering hero comes."—Charlotte Temple, a highly interesting group representing Miss Beaud (a Turkish Highway) in the act of attempting the murder of his wife, and Selim her lover running to her relief. Also, Irene, sister to Blue Beard's wife, in tears. This is one of the most splendid groups ever exhibited in the United States.—A Scripture group representing King Saul and the Witch of Endor, raising Samdel the Prophet from the tomb: Taken from I. Samuel xxviii, 12.—Black Street, an Indian Chief, in the act of teaching a son of Mr. Kercheval, a merchant of St. Mary's, in the state of Georgia. Also, General Jackson, in the act of shooting Black Street.—Jud, the African.

A TEMPLE OF INDUSTRY, Or Grand Mechanical Panorama,

Consisting of Thirty-Six Moving Figures, all working at their different occupations.

ALSO,

TWENTY ELEGANT VIEWS.

1. Triumphant Fountain, on the place where stood the Bastille.
2. Battle of New-Orleans.
3. View of the Battle of Iodi.
4. Garden of the Royal Palace in Paris.
5. The Place Vendome.
6. Royal Observatory at Paris.
7. Sea Serpent.
8. Royal Castle of Compeigne.
9. View of Fort Royal, Martinique.
10. View of the Inner Court of the Orphan's House, at Halle, Lower Saxony.
11. View of Richmond Bridge.
12. View of Richmond Park Gate.
13. New Jail, Walnut-Street, Philadelphia.
14. View near Cookstown, in Wicklow.
15. Custom-House, New-York.
16. Battle of Waterloo.
17. View of the Old Market, or Great Ring of Prague.
18. View of High-Street, from Ninth Street, Philadelphia.
19. View of High-Street, Philadelphia, from the Country Market-Place, with the Funeral procession of General Washington.
20. View of the Execution of Gen. Ney.

The above Collection of Figures were executed by the most eminent American Artists, and well deserve the patronage of the public. The decorations and dresses are made in a style of elegance that will ensure gratification to the observer.

Admittance 25 cents—Children half price. The Museum will be open from 9 o'clock A. M. to 9 P. M. Dec. 4, 1820.

8. Advertisement, Stowell and Bishop's Museum
(Ontario Repository, 5 December 1820)

New-York State Canal
MUSEUM.
THIS collection of Natural and Artificial **CURIOSITIES**, is now lying at Child's Basin, where it may be seen for a few days. It consists of a choice collection of
WAX FIGURES ;
European and American
BIRDS & ANIMALS, PAINTINGS,
PORTRAITS, &c. &c.
AND A GRAND
COSMORAMA EXHIBITION,
 accompanied with appropriate music.
 Open from 7 in the morning till 10 in the evening.—Admittance 25 cents, Children half price.
 Rochester, July 24, 1924. 1w17

9. Advertisement, New York State Canal Museum
 (Rochester Telegraph, 27 July 1924)

THEATRE.

MR. and Mrs. WALSTEIN, (late Mrs. Baldwin of the London and New-York Theatres') have the honor respectfully to announce to the inhabitants of Cherry-Valley and its vicinity, that being with a Theatrical party on an excursion to the west, they intend performing at the Academy for a few nights during the present week, to commence on Tuesday evening Aug. 5th, with the celebrated Comedy, in three acts, of the

HONEY MOON, or, how to rule a Wife.

The evening's performances to conclude with the popular Farce of the **WEATHER COCK**, or, **LOVE, LAW, and PHYSIC.**

* * Tickets 25 cents, children under 12 years half price, to be had at Story's Hotel, and on the evenings of performance at the Academy.

10. Advertisement, Walstein Company
(Cherry Valley Gazette, 5 August 1823)

THEATRE.

On WEDNESDAY Evening, May 10th,
will be presented at FAULKNER'S Ho-
tel, Kotzebue's celebrated Tragedy en-
titled

PIZARRO,

OR THE DEATH OF ROLLA.

ATALIBA, King of Quito,

By a Young gentleman of this village,
his first appearance on any stage.

ROLLA, } Leaders of the Pe- } Archbold.
ALONZO, } ruvian Army, } Clarendon.

PIZARRO, Leader of the Spaniards, Gilbert.

ALMACRO, Harrington.

VALVERDE, Clarendon.

OROZEMBO and } Talbot.

SENTINEL, }

ELVIRA, Mrs. Clarendon.

CORA, Mrs. Talbot.

After the Tragedy a variety of SONGS and
RECITATIONS, as expressed in the
bills of the day.

To conclude with the much admired Farce
of the

IRISH TUTOR.

Flail, Mr. Archbold.

Charles, " Clarendon.

Pillwell, " Gilbert.

Beadle, " Harrington.

Terry O'Kourke, Irish Tutor, " Talbot.

Rosa, Mrs. Clarendon.

Mary, " Talbot.

[P Tickets 50 Cents each to be had at

Faulkner's, Lynch's, and Brown's.

Two Tickets will admit a Gentleman and
two Ladies.

Doors open at half past 7, and perform-
ance to commence at 8 o'clock.

11. Advertisement, Archbold, Clarendon, and Gilbert
Company (Geneva Gazette, 19 May 1824

Theatre.

MR. H. A. WILLIAMS.

LATE Stage Manager of the Chatham Theatre, New-York, and present Manager of the new Utica Theatre, most respectfully informs the citizens of Canandaigua and vicinity, that he has fitted up the old Court House for a THEATRE, for a few nights, with splendid *Scenery, Dresses and Decorations*, and with a full and complete company, will this evening perform

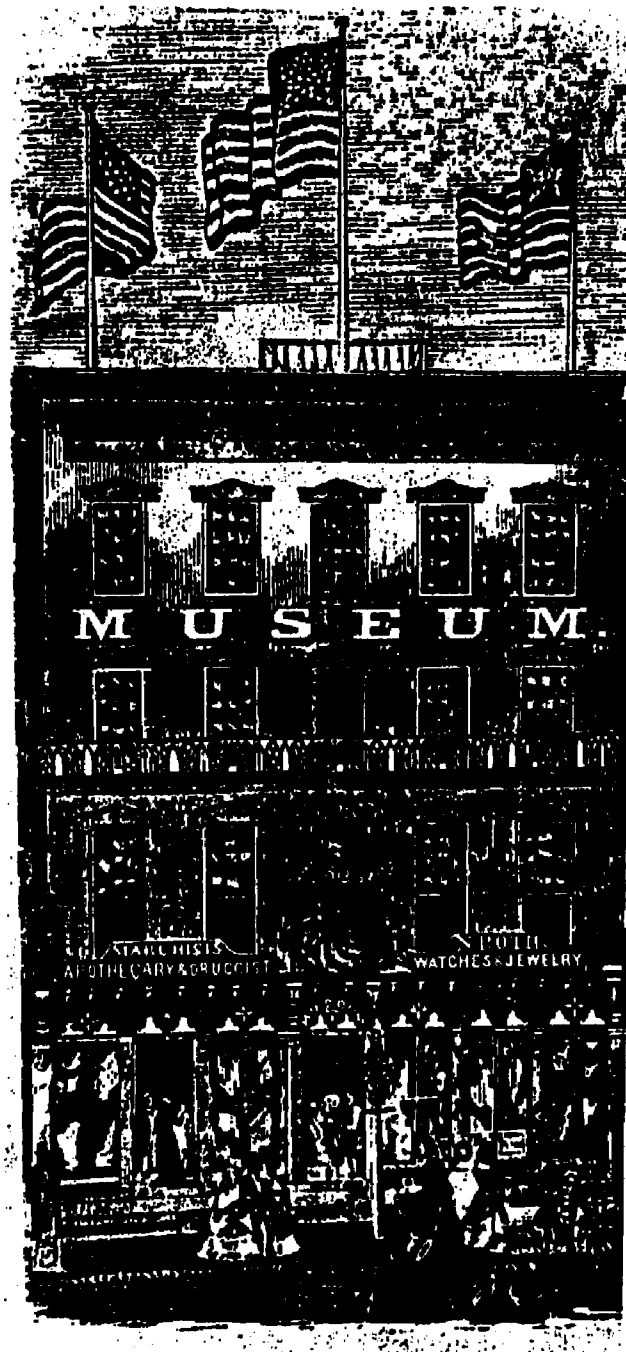
Baby and the Devil,
AND
LOVERS' QUARRELS.

(For characters, see Bills.)

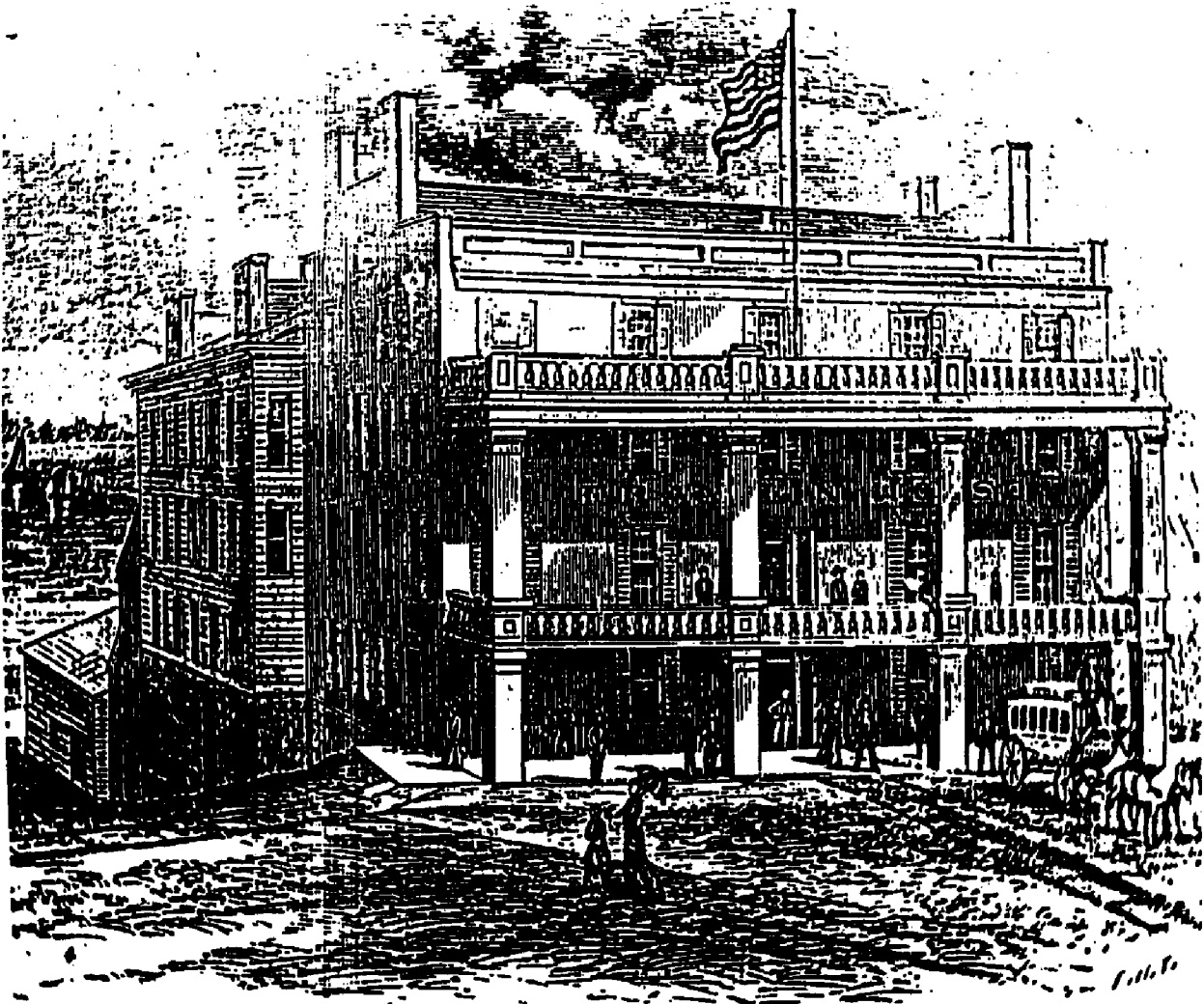
Tickets for sale at the Messenger Office, at the Bookstore, and at Blossom's and Kingsley's Hotels. Box 50 cents, Pit 25 cents.

Nov. 2, 1843.

12. Advertisement, H.A. Williams Company
(Ontario Repository, 2 November 1825)



13. Exterior, Utica Museum
(Oneida County Historical Society Archives)



14. Exterior, Franklin House
(Geneva Historical Society Archives)

GRAND CARAVAN

OF

LIVING ANIMALS.

(No part of which has ever been exhibited in this state until this fall.) consisting of, as large a collection as was ever exhibited in the United States,



WILL be exhibited at the Circus House, in Auburn, on Monday and Tuesday, (October 29th and 30th instants) and at Weedsport on Wednesday.

The caravan consists of 1st, an AFRICAN LION.—

This is not only the largest, but from his flowing mane

and superior carriage, is considered the finest of his species in America.

2. A LIONESS—The most beautiful animal that has ever been seen in captivity, yet the most courageous.— The Lioness, when she has young ones to nourish, will combat with fury even the most powerful animals that interrupt her. The Tiger or Elephant would on such an occasion in vain attempt to oppose her. When pursued by mankind, she is only to be conquered by the powerful weapons which they bring against her.

3. SOUTH AMERICAN TIGER, whose ferocity is well known to travellers.

4. Celebrated ARABIAN CAMEL.

5. The Leopard.

6. Male Catamount.

7. Female do.

8. The Oslet.

9. The Jackall, or Lion's provider.

10. Ichneumon, an Egyptian animal, famous for destroying Crocodiles' eggs, and young reptiles, and formerly worshipped by the Egyptians.

11. Black Wolf, taken at the Silver Lake, in Pennsylvania.

12. Grey Wolves, male and female.

13. Young Lama, from Peru.

14. Ribbed-nose Baboon.

15. Saucy Jack.

16. Famous Dancing Monkey, from the Island of Borneo.

17. Maumazet Monkey.

18. Monkey from Guinea.

19. Captain Bell will go through his pleasing performances on his Indian Pony, with other diverting tricks.

20. Dandy Jack, the semi-equestrian, has excited the admiration of all who have visited the Menagerie, with his unexampled feats of horse-monkeyship, on his small Shetland Pony. A ring is fitted for his performance.

21. The Sailor, who never fails to divert the audience with his pleasing performances.

22. Barbary Ape.

23. Sports of the Ring.

Also, a number of smaller Animals.

A BAND OF MUSIC accompanies the caravan.

** Doors open from 10 A. M. till 5 P. M.

Admittance 25 Cents—children half price.

15. Advertisement,
Caravan of Living
Animals
(Cayuga Republican,
24 October 1827)

Unrivalled Attraction!!

JUNE, TITUS, ANGEVINE & Co's

MENAGERIE AND AVIARY,

under the management of E. Ganung, will be exhibited in Orid on Wednesday the 30, and GENEVA, on THURSDAY, the 4th of July.

In this splendid collection of living specimens of NATURAL HISTORY, which has been secured by unmitigated toil and boundless cost, from the most remote parts of the world, may be found a greater number and variety, than was ever before exhibited in one collection in Europe or America, among which may be seen the great desideratum of Naturalists—the EGYPTIAN GIRAFFE, or CAMELEOPARD.



This animal belongs to the order Ruminantia, but is a well defined genus between the Antelope and the Stag.

The GIRAFFE is the fleetest animal known. It is fond of a wooded country, the leaves of trees being its principal food, and its conformation allows of its reaching their tops. They are found to measure from 21 to 25 feet from the top of the ears to the hump. Few contrasts are greater than that between the heavy masses of flesh and bone of the Elephant and Rhinoceros, and the light and elegant Giraffes, with their sleek, rich, dappled coats, towering swan-like necks, lofty heads and brilliant eyes, worthy of Juno herself, and full of noble expression. In this collection will also be found many rare and beautiful specimens, among which are the following:

The ELAND, from Central Africa. This animal is of the largest kind of Gazelles, being over 5 feet high over its shoulders, strongly built, but the legs are slender; the horns are about 2 feet in length. This animal has a brownish color, inclining towards blue, tipped with red. It is said to possess a fine but feeble music.

The Great African War ELEPHANT.—The small Elephant of Sum. The UNICORN, or One Horned Rhinoceros. The Great Numidian LION. Asiatic LIONS. Royal Bengal TIGERS. Leopards, Panthers, Hyenas, Jaguars, the great White or Polar Bear, Cinnamon Bear, Poonah Bear of Hindoostan, Black Bear. The Zebra, Gnu, Asiatic Zebu, Lama, Kangaroo, Birds—besides many other rare specimens.

The Performance will be enlivened by Major Jack Downing, with his Shetland Pony. A good Band of Music will be in attendance. Hours of Exhibition from 1 to 4 o'clock P. M.

Admission 25 cents—Children under ten years, 12½ cents.

There will also be exhibited a beautiful Collection of COSMOPOLITAN VIEWS, and SIX enormous Living ANACONDAS.

Admission 12½ cents. A. H. MEAD, Advertiser. June 17, 1831.

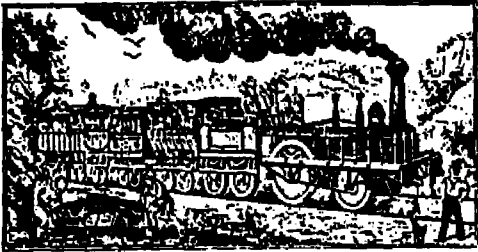
16. Advertisement,
Menagerie
(Geneva Gazette,
19 June 1831)



18. Exterior, Western Exchange
(Cayuga County Historian's Office Archives)

1843. RAIL-ROAD ROUTE 1843.
 BETWEEN

Albany & Buffalo.



FARE REDUCED--ARRANGEMENT TO COME INTO EFFECT JULY 10, 1843.

Those who pay through between Albany and Buffalo, - \$10. In the best cars,
 do. do. do. \$8. in accommodation cars,
 which have been re-arranged, cushioned and lighted.

Those who pay through between Albany & Rochester, \$8. in the best cars,
 do. do. do. \$6.50 in accommodation cars.

THREE DAILY LINES.
Through in 25 hours.

GOING WEST.

	In Train	At Train	At Train
Leave Albany,	8 A.M.	1 P.M.	7 P.M.
Pass Schenectady,	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	8 P.M.
Pass Utica,	11 P.M.	3 P.M.	4 A.M.
Pass Syracuse,	2 P.M.	5 A.M.	8 A.M.
Pass Auburn,	3 P.M.	6 A.M.	10 A.M.
Pass Rochester,	5 A.M.	10 A.M.	4 P.M.
Arrive at Buffalo,	7 A.M.	3 P.M.	5 P.M.

GOING EAST.

	At Train	At Train	At Train
Leave Buffalo,	4 A.M.	8 A.M.	4 P.M.
Pass Rochester,	5 A.M.	9 P.M.	10 P.M.
Pass Auburn,	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	4 A.M.
Pass Syracuse,	4 P.M.	11 P.M.	6 A.M.
Pass Utica,	5 P.M.	4 A.M.	10 A.M.
Pass Schenectady,	2 A.M.	10 A.M.	3 P.M.
Arrive at Albany,	3 A.M.	11 A.M.	4 P.M.

EXTRAITS WILL BE CARRIED ONLY BY SPECIAL CONTRACT.

Passengers will procure tickets at the offices at Albany, Buffalo or Rochester through, to be entitled to seats at the reduced rates.

Fare will be received at each of the above places to any other places named on the route.

19. Rail-Road Route, 1843
Railroad: Trains and Train People in
American Culture (New York: Random
 House, (1976), 29.

ORATORY AND MUSIC—LAST NIGHT.

PROF. BRONSON, will close his course of lectures at the MECHANICS HALL, Wednesday evening, May 5th, 7½ o'clock, with the following

RECITATIONS.

1. Burial of Sir John Moore, *Wells.*
 2. Eulogium on the South, (Reply to Webster.) *Hayes.*
 3. The American Flag, *Drake.*
 4. Hotspur's Account of a Dandy, *Shakespeare.*
 5. Hamlet's Instructions on Delivery, *Shakespeare.*
 6. National Glory, *H. Clay.*
 7. The Maid of MALAHIDE, who was actually Maid, Wife, and Widow, in one day! *Mrs. Crawford.*
 8. Wife, Children, and Friends, *Spencer.*
 9. Liberty AND Union, (Reply to Mr. H.) *Webster.*
 10. Address to the Ocean, *Byron.*
 11. Various extracts, from *grace to gay.*
 12. Ode on the Power of Eloquence, *Carry.*
 13. The Maniac, (a scene in a Mad House.) *Levis.*
 14. The Old Bachelor, (dedicated to [whomsoever it may concern]) *Amos.*
- N. B. Mr. CHRISTIAN, will sing several times during the evening. Single Admission 50 cents, Triple do. \$1.

ELOCUTIONARY & VENTRILOQUIAL OLIOS.

C. F. L. LeROW will give his third lecture on Elocution, at the Mechanics' Hall, on THURSDAY EVENING, Jan. 19, at half-past 7 precisely.

Subject—Connection between sound and sense; necessity of feeling the thoughts expressed; the position and tones adapted to their expression; affectation, how ridiculous, with imitations.

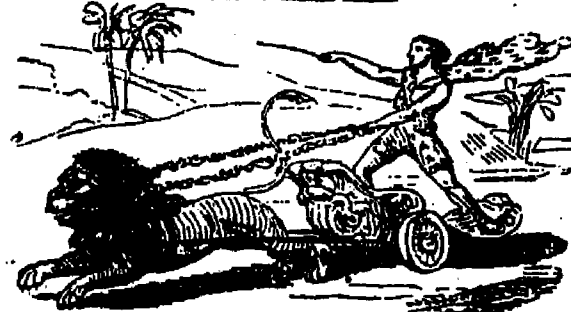
Programme.

Paul's speech before Agrippa,.....	Bible.
The sacking of Prague.....	Campbell.
The Sundry Day.....	Uryant.
Marco Bozzaris the Greek Patriot.....	Hallack.
Contrast between Canning and Brougham, New Monthly.	
Soliloquy of Richard III.....	Shakespeare.
The Judgment Scene, in the Merchant of Venice.	"
Othello's apology to the Senate.....	"
Hamlet's soliloquy on death.....	"
David's lament over Absalom.....	Willie.
The First of May—a moving scene.....	
With variations in the experiments in Ventriloquism.	

Lectures commence at ¾ past 7 precisely. Tickets for each lecture 25 cents; 4 do 75 cents. To be had at Mr. G. Tracy's Bookstore, or at the door.

20. Advertisements, Bronson's Lecture Series
 (Utica Observer, 4 May 1841)
 Le Row's Lecture Series
 (Utica Daily Gazette, 18 January 1843)

RAYMOND & WARING'S IMMENSE MENAGERIE.



WILL visit GENEVA on Tuesday, the 4th of August, for ONE DAY ONLY.--Location near the Railroad Depot.

This Establishment having recently come from the South, at New-York and Philadelphia received a new accession of splendid animals: The monster White Bear, from the Royal Gardens in Paris, together with the ferocious Lions used by the celebrated Mr. Carter in London. On their entrance into town, they will be preceded by a gorgeous Roman Chariot drawn by Elephants literally covered with gold, superior to Van Amburgh's or any thing ever constructed, both in carrying and gilding. Length of Chariot, 30 ft; height to summit of canopy, 20 ft; weight, 8000 lbs.

Mr. Pierce, the great animal tamer, will signalize himself to the exception of no other living man, with Lions, Leopards, Tigers, Grizzly Bears, &c. This establishment requires 60 men and 100 horses of the largest size.

In the beginning of the world, as we are taught by the Holy Scriptures, God said unto man-- "And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I surrender to thee control; and thou shalt have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and every thing that moveth upon the earth; shall thou have dominion."

When this power and dominion was given by the Almighty to man, it was intended, by his wisdom, that he, unto whom he had confided so much, should become acquainted and familiar with the subjects over which he should exercise his rule. Hence, it became necessary that man should study the history of animated nature, make himself master of a science on which his own happiness depended, and which, when developed, could not fail to advance the great causes of civilization and learning. So fully was all this appreciated, in the early stages of civilization, religion and light, that the early founders of Christianity in Europe and England, collected immense menageries, to which they introduced their children, and taught them that all animated nature proved the existence of that God, whose gospel they taught, and whose law was paramount to all others, and must be obeyed.

We read that St. Augustin, soon after he established himself at Canterbury, and there reared the blessed cross, collected from all the remote nations of the earth that were accessible, specimens of the animal world, and taught his monks that the study of natural history was not only essential to common intelligence, but to the propagation of Religion itself.

In more recent times, all of the enlightened states of Europe, in obedience to the commands of their sovereigns, have, at vast labor and expense, established institutes, made up of the animal world, for the purpose of aiding the propagation and advancement of science and useful knowledge. England, France, Italy, Germany, in fact, all modern Europe have, for centuries back, paid unremitting attention to this subject; and that nation of Europe, which has not its Natural Historical Institute, is regarded as on that backward course that leads, in the end, to semi-barbaric ignorance and folly.

Doors open from 1 to 4 o'clock P. M. Admittance 25 cents--children half price.

2w

23. Advertisement, Raymond and Waring's Menagerie
(Geneva Gazette, 24 July 1846)

UNPARALLELED EXHIBITION OF OIL PAINTINGS

Enlarging Landscapes, Historical Scriptural and Tragic Scenes, consisting of Twelve Paintings on Canvases, 8 by 10 feet, and two 10 by 14 feet. Four Paintings representing the

Murder of the Van Ness Family,

By the Negro Freeman, which took place in Upper County, N. Y. They may be relied upon as being true depictions of the Family and also of the Negro.

Temptation of our Savior, Christ Blessing Children, the Temptation of Adam & Eve

In the Garden of Eden, each the two bearing baskets from, in the midst, the serpent, the Tempter in the tree, and the Eve and Adam lying down together.

THE CRUCIFIXION!

The scene is set by 10 feet and 14 feet of painting, and is a true and beautiful representation of the Crucifixion. It is a scene of the most beautiful and sublime, and has been highly commended by all good judges of painting, and has been seen by all who have seen it. It is a scene of the most beautiful and sublime, and has been highly commended by all good judges of painting, and has been seen by all who have seen it.

THE RESURRECTION,

The scene is set by 10 feet and 14 feet of painting, and is a true and beautiful representation of the Resurrection. It is a scene of the most beautiful and sublime, and has been highly commended by all good judges of painting, and has been seen by all who have seen it.

THE SCENE OF THE CRUCIFIXION, AND THE SCENE OF THE RESURRECTION, AND THE SCENE OF THE BURNING OF AN AMERICAN CAPTIVE AT THE STAKE.

BURNING OF AN AMERICAN CAPTIVE AT THE STAKE.

THE MURDER OF

Jane McCrea

Scene is set by 10 feet and 14 feet of painting, and is a true and beautiful representation of the Murder of Jane McCrea. It is a scene of the most beautiful and sublime, and has been highly commended by all good judges of painting, and has been seen by all who have seen it.

NIAGARA FALLS

A Lecture on Scriptural and Historical Facts,

Will be given by G. J. MASTIN, on the following day. These paintings are presented in a superior style of art, and are highly commended by all good judges of painting, and has been seen by all who have seen it.

Sentimental and Comic Singing.

DOUBLE CLOG DANCE,

BY THE ERIN TWIN BROTHERS.

GEORGE J. MASTIN,

Proprietor of the Exhibition, and will be seen by all who have seen it.

TO BE EXHIBITED IN

AT

ON

Doors open at

ADMISSION, 25 Cents.

Children under 12, half price.

TICKETS TO BE HAD AT THE BAR.

GEO. J. MASTIN, Proprietor.

REGISTER PRINT, MORAVIA, N. Y.

MORAL & ATTRACTIVE ENTERTAINMENT
OF THE

Reformed Drunkard,

By Dr. D. G. ROBINSON and Associates from New-
Hampshire.

On MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY and
THURSDAY evenings, Sept. 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th,
at

Mechanics' Hall.

Doors open at 7 o'clock. Performance to commence
at 7:30 o'clock. Admission 12 1/2 cents. A good Band in
attendance.

PROGRAMME:

ACT I.—SCENE I.

A Roomy Scene—Charles Freeheart, Flash, Rattle and
Toss. Charles about to leave his companions to
seek his fortune.

SCENE II.

Charles meeting with Kate, his sister. Kate intimates
to Charles her discovery of his degradation.

SCENE III.

A Bar Room; Mr. Follisop, Landlord; Blowhard, a
temperate drinker; Tom, a wag; Mike, Tom's com-
panion. Charles arrives in the village of Hard Scrab-
ble; married and becomes intoxicated.

ACT II.—SCENE I.

Charles has married and becomes a hard drinker.—
Kate's solemn warning and affectionate departure;
Charles's apparent indifference; interview with Tom.

SCENE II.

An old fashioned election and railing; Charles ob-
vies—becomes intoxicated.

SCENE III.

Charles's interview with Julia, his wife; her pathetic
warning; his unfeeling refusal. Signs the mortgage and
becomes a bankrupt.

SCENE IV.

A miserable Hotel; Julia carried to the almshouse;
Charles, Tom, and Mike separate.

ACT III.—SCENE I.

Meeting of Charles, Tom and Mike, in the city of U-
-ton in a miserable Bar Room of Follisop, the former
Landlord of Hard Scrabble; a Row; they tear down
the Bar and are carried to the Watch House.

SCENE II.

Interior of the House of Correction; Charles's abuse
from Willful, the Keeper; Kate comes with a pardon;
Willful chains Tom out of revenge to Charles.

SCENE III.

Charles meeting with Julia, his wife.

SCENE IV.

A Temperance meeting; Charles a lecturer; Charles,
Tom, and Mike, sign the pledge. Song—"The drink
that's in the drunkard's bowl, etc."

MR. J. B. STRONG'S

TEMPERANCE DRAMATIC COMPANY

At TEMPERANCE HALL, on Second Street.

Tuesday Evening, February 18th, will be presented
for the first time in this city, the moral Tragedy of the

GAMSTER!

No person can witness this Tragedy and deny that
the Stage may be made the medium of conveying the
most impressive and salutary lessons.

Beverly, the Gamster,
Stuckley, his Destroyer.

Mr. Strong.

Turner.

Tezer.

Laouis.

Marshall.

Dodley.

Mrs. Strong.

Mr. Talbot.

Mrs. TELBAN.

SONG.

The evening's entertainment to conclude with the
laughable farce of

THE SWISS COTTAGE

Admission 25 Cents.

25. Advertisements, Dr. Robinson's Temperance
Company (Utica Daily Gazette, 19 September 1843)
J.B. Strong's Temperance
Company (Utica Daily Gazette, 15 February 1848)

MELODEON.

AT 'MECHANICS' HALL.

MR. JOHN S. POTTER HAS THE HON-
 or of announcing to the Ladies and Gentlemen
 of Utica, that he has leased the Mechanics' Hall, and
 is now fitting up the same in a neat and appropriate
 style, as "The Melodeon," suitable for Concerts,
 Moral Lectures, the Drama, &c.

It will be opened for the reception of the public on
MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 6,
 with Mr. Potter's Company of "Harmonians," con-
 sisting of 20 Ladies and Gentlemen; of acknowledged
 talent and respectability, whose performances in the
 principal cities of the United States, have elicited the
 warmest commendations.

The arrangements are such as he believes will meet
 with the approbation of the public, and receive a liberal
 patronage.

MONDAY EVENING FEBRUARY 6.

The entertainment will commence with
A GRAND OVERTURE BY THE ORCHESTRA,
 composed of talented and scientific musicians.

After which, a sound and beautiful Moral Lecture
 in Five Parts, entitled

THE STRANGER,

OR MISANTHROPE AND REPENTANCE;

In which the following ladies and gentlemen will take
 the respective parts allotted to them.

The Stranger	Mr. Thompson.
Reverend Bishop	Mr. Potter.
Countess	Mr. Danoran.
Old Solomon	Mr. McKibbin.
Peckham	Mr. Phillimore.
Francis	Mr. Mehen.
Fryer	Mr. Finner.
Mr. Haller	Mrs. Potter.
German Winterman	Mr. Perrot.
Christine	Miss Matilda.
William	Mr. Rosmond.

GRAND OVERTURE, by the Band.
FAVORITE DANCE, by Mr. McKibbin.
COMIC SONG, by Mr. Potter.

The whole to conclude with a longtable Baritone,
 called

THE TWO GREGORIES,

OR JOHN SELL IN FRANCE.

Mr. Gregory	Mr. Mehen.
Gregory	Mr. Patrick.
John Sell	Mr. Danoran.
La France	Mr. McKibbin.
Mrs. Gregory	Mrs. Mehen.
Frenchette	Mrs. Perrot.

Admission to the reserve seats, 50 cents. Children
 under 12, with their parents, half price. Parquet,
 25 cents. Cards of admission procured at the Bank
 Street, Utica, and at the Ticket Office.

26. Advertisement, John S, Potter Company
 (Utica Daily Gazette, 6 February 1847)

TO CAPITALISTS AND BUILDERS,

I wish to erect, or cause to be erected, in some central part of the City of Utica, a new and commodious building, say 60 by 120 feet, to be styled "THE MELODEON," suitable for Concerts, Public Lectures, Balls, Theatrical and other exhibitions. And, in order to expedite the erection of said building, I beg leave to make the following propositions:

If any person or persons will erect said building according to the plan proposed by me, I will pay a rent of twenty per cent of the actual cost of the building and an addition of seven per cent, on the cost of the loan, payable annually in advance, for the ensuing ten years.

Or, if a Stock Company can be formed with a capital of \$8,000 or \$10,000, for the erection of said building, I will take one-third of the stock myself, and warrant the balance to pay an interest of fifteen per cent--which will be paid by me after the opening of THE MELODEON, either in tickets or in cash. I will also agree to redeem the balance of the stock in five years.

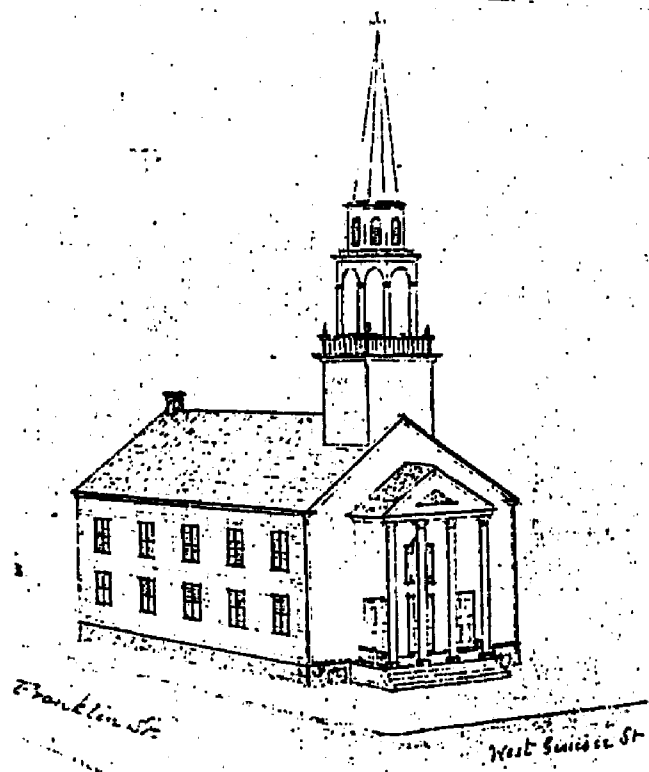
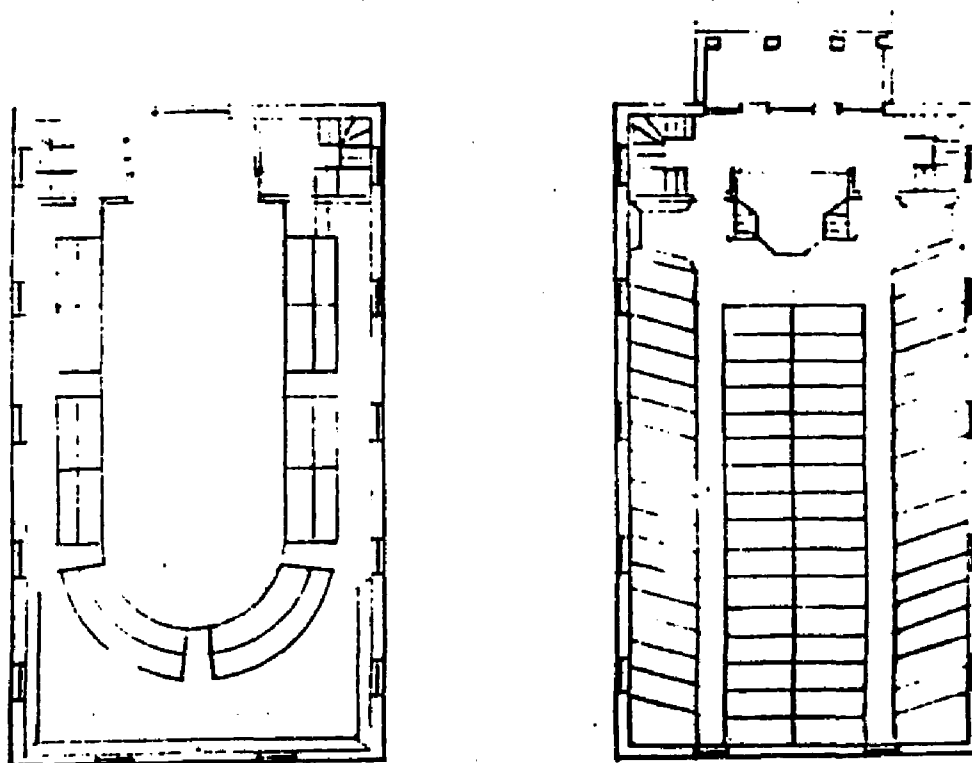
I have a building in course of erection at Rochester and at Syracuse, and wish one here to complete my circuit.

Any person wishing to consult me upon the subject will find me at the Central Hotel.

JOHN S. POTTER

Utica, April 1st, 1847

27. Potter's Letter to Industrialists
(Utica Daily Gazette, 2 April 1847)



28. Interior and Exterior, First Baptist Church,
Syracuse (Onondaga Historical Society Archives)



DOLLIE DUTTON.
The Little Fairy.
standing on her father's hand.

L E V E E S
OF THE
"Little Fairy,"

DOLLIE DUTTON,
The smallest child in the World of her Age, 8
years old, 30 inches high, and weighing only 18
pounds. She sings the following Songs, and
will at each Levee make signatures from them.
1 Gentle Annie, 2 Darling Kitty, 3 Missy,
4 Willie, 5 Bonnie the Prairie Flower, 6 Old Cabin
Home, 7 The Hardy Bell, 8 Willie we have
misled you, 9 The Mountain Maid's Invitation,
10 O. Come, Come Away, 11 Wait for the Wagon,
12 What is Home Without a Mother, 13 Mary
had a Little Lamb, 14 Grandma's Advice.
Miss Mary Lillie (six years old,) will at each
Levee sing "Kitty's Song," "Our Country
Girls," and a Scotch Horn pipe. She will give
Levees
at Little Falls, in Concert Hall,
as follows: 1 Levee, Thursday Evening, Feb.
22, at 7 1/2 o'clock. 2d Levee, Friday Afternoon,
Feb. 23, at 5 o'clock. 3d Levee, Friday Eve-
ning, at 7 1/2 o'clock.
Admission 25 Cents to 50 Persons and Children,
75 Cents to Children to the Admission 10 Cents
to each. J. H. WORTON, Manager.
J. W. LILLIE, Agent.

29. Advertisement, Dollie Dutton
(Herkimer County Journal, 16 February 1860)

CONCERT HALL.

THE CELEBRATED, ORIGINAL AND ONLY
WOOD'S MINSTRELS

FROM NEW YORK, THE CITY OF THE FUTURE.

Who are now enjoying the most successful tour ever made by any band of Minstrels, will have the honor to appear in UTICA.

FOR TWO NIGHTS ONLY.

Offering the following excellent bill, including

J. H. HUBBARD.

The greatest Ethiopian Comedian and Banjoist living.

Friday Evening, May 11th, 1860.

PROGRAMME—PART I.

Grand Introductory Overture, New.....

Opening Chorus—Away, Away, from Mac-

ullo.....

Clap your hands till daddy comes home.....

Deal with her kindly.....

Nothing to Woe.....

Shells of Green.....

Swearing Song.....

PART II.

Grand Fantasia—Viola.....

Balloo—Remember me.....

Basic Solo.....

Mill Her Dicksie Brackin.....

First appearance here of the Ethiopian Prime Deane

MME. INDIAN FARRER-CO.

Acknowledged the greatest of all the Prime Deanes

who will sing "Ah, Don't Mingle," from La Sonnambula.

Conductor.....

Amazing feat of strength.....

Baroque Song.....

CONTEST FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE

WORLD.

Send me Boy and Tom Schum.....

Records by the smallest Ethiopian Comedian in the

World.....

MISS BLOOMER'S RECEPTION.

Young Bloomer.....

Mr. Smallbones.....

Mr. Highflyer.....

Mr. Minnie Comstock.....

Goto—Bookin Clarinet.....

To conclude with J. Hubbard's adaptation of

PETER PIPER PEPPER PODGE.

Tommy Clippin.....

Claude Malotte.....

Virginia.....

Little Kiki Miss.....

Monmouth.....

Peter Piper Pepper Podge.....

Jenny Chatterbox, Fanny Comstock, Lady

Macbeth.....

EXTRA NOTICE—Notice change of Programme for

to-morrow.

Circle of Artists, Twenty-five Cases, Children

Picture Court.

Proceedings of the Union.

Down in the City of the Future.

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the

and the



Will exhibit at COOPERSTOWN on Satur-
day Oct. 19th; at Umatilla, Oct. 16th; at
Oroum Oct. 17th; at Hartwick Oct. 14th, 1850.

Doors open at 11 and 7 o'clock. Performances
commence at 2 and 7 o'clock.

Admission 25 Cts. No Half-Price.

The characteristics of this establishment consist in

THE LARGEST COLLECTION OF

Equestrian, Gymnastic and Dramatic Talent!

ever collected in one travelling company. The in-

roduction in the place of a Band of Musicians, of the

great American

APOLLONION!

The master piece of Musical Science and Mechan-
ical Skill Combined. This vast, moving Musical Pal-
ace, as built for the proprietors by HENRY ER-
BEN, Esq., of New York, at an expense of

\$10,000,

Expressly for their Travelling Exhibitions. It is a
collection of over 1000 distinct Musical Instruments,
so ingeniously and musically arranged, as to be com-
pletely under the control of one man, and under the
hands of the skillful Musical Professor,

Mr. Karl Fuhrman,

Will be found equal in power, compass, precision
and harmony, to a Band of Fifty Musicians! The

APOLLONION

WILL BE DRAWN IN PROCESSION BY

Forty Horses!—Four Abreast!!

On the day of exhibition, between the hours of 10
and 12 o'clock playing several popular Marches, Over-
tures, &c., while moving along the streets, and will
be found equivalent to a Brass, String and Reed Band
united!

Another grand feature of this Company, and never
before attempted by any other Travelling Estab-
lishment, is an addition to the Equestrian Troupe of
a complete

DRAMATIC CORPS,

By the aid of whom will be represented Every Night,
a very interesting Patriotic National Drama, called

THE SPIRIT OF '76!

Introducing several Thrilling Scenes from the Lives
of the Immortal Revolutionary Heroes,

Old Pat!— General Washington!

and Mad Anthony Wayne!

The whole concluding with a GRAND LIVING
TABLEAU, in which the

"Father of his Country!"

MOUNTED ON HIS CHARGER, is borne aloft,
in triumphal procession, on a platform, ON THE
SHOULDERS OF HIS BRAVE CONFINENT-
A L. M. G. F. CONNOR, Agent.

30. Advertisements, Drama in the Circus

(Freeman's Journal, 19 October 1850)

Drama in the Minstrel Show

(Utica Daily Observer, 11 May 1860)

Dramatic Readings.

MRS. MACREADY,

The Celebrated Impersonationist, and only Dramatic Reader or Recitationist before the public, who does entirely without the aid of Book or Prompter, will give a second Entertainment at

LAKE HOUSE HALL,

Thursday Evening, January 24th, 1861.

PROGRAMME:

Romeo and Juliet	Shakspeare
Babie Bell	T. B. Adick
The Origin of Kissing	W. W. Robinson
The Dissolution of the Union, arranged by Mrs. MACREADY, and in which will be introduced Calhoun's Dream	
Auction Extraordinary	J. Burlingame
The Charge of Balaklava	J. Smith
ZENEL—The fate of the Pirate and his Crew.	
Scene I—Zenel at her evening devotion.	
do II—Capture of Zenel by the Pirate Aizen & his men	
do III—Attempted rescue of Zenel by her father and the cottagers	
do IV—Combat between the pirate's crew and the cottagers	
do V—Zenel carried on board of the pirate's vessel insensible, and awakening to a sense of her fate.	
do VI—Interview between the pirate Aizen and his crew	
do VII—Zenel's fate, and the doom of the pirate and his crew.	
Mrs. Macready as Mrs. Candle, will give Mr. Caudle a <i>Candle Lecture</i> .	
Tickets 25 Cents. Doors Open at 7 o'clock	
To commence at 7½.	

31. Advertisement, Mrs. Macready's Readings
(Skaneateles Democrat, 24 January 1861)

MUSEUM SALOON.
FURBER & WYLAND'S
Dramatic Company.
 West of the city of New York.
 G. W. FURBER.
POSITIVELY THE LAST WEEK.
THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 24.
BENEFIT
OF
MRS. HATHAWAY.
 Ninth night of the representation of
MR. C. J. SMITH.
 Eighth appearance of the great Yankee comedian,
MR. GEO. B. LOOKE.
 The performance will commence with the play of
LADY OF LYONS.
 Or, Love and Pride.
 Claude Melnotte..... Miss HATHAWAY.
 Old Oaten..... Mr. C. J. SMITH.
 George..... Mr. G. B. LOOKE.
 William Melnotte..... Miss HATHAWAY.
 George and Susan..... Miss HATHAWAY.
 Miss Hathaway.....
 Mr. Looke.....
 Miss Hathaway.....
 Miss Hathaway.....
 To conclude with the new drama, written for Miss
 Hathaway, entitled
THE WEST OF WINDSOR.
 Characters by the Company.
 Performances every evening.
 Admission 25 cents.
 Doors open at 7 1/2 o'clock. Carfare free to B.

AMERICAN HALL - ROME.
THURSDAY EVENING, July 24 1851.
 On night of
Mough's Dramatic Company.
 W. A. Mough.....
 This evening will be presented the play of
THE STRANGER.
 In which Messrs. Cannon, Tenney, Stuart, McDougall,
 Mober, Miss Holmes, Miss Payne, Miss W. Jones, &c., will
 appear.
 To be followed by the new drama, entitled
BLOOMER BOY.
 In which the whole company will appear.
 Admission 25 cents. Doors open at 7 1/2 o'clock. Carfare free to B.

32. Advertisements, Furber & Wyland in Utica,
 Hough in Rome (Utica Daily Gazette,
 2 July 1851)



33. Exterior, Auburn City Hall
(Seymour Library History Room File)

Roth's New Building.—The great success which crowned the first endeavor of Mr. V. W. Roth to improve the department of amusement in Utica, has stimulated him to a step, which will result in providing for the accommodation of our citizens, a building, superior in size, convenience, ventilation and elegance to anything out of N. Y. City, and inferior, in the last three particulars, to none anywhere. In the rear of the Museum, and approachable through that building, he has erected an edifice 115 feet long, 38 wide and 28 high, capable of comfortably holding 1200 persons.

It is built with reference to dramatic representations, and has a lower tier of seats running back from the stage with a gradual ascent, which brings those at the rear, 18 feet above the level of the front ones, giving to every portion of what will be the pit and parquette, excellent advantages for seeing and hearing. These seats are approached through a door, opening from the 2d floor of the Museum. The boxes and galleries are reached through a door, opening out of the old saloon in the Museum, which room is to be handsomely fitted up and furnished, as a part of the Museum proper. The seats directly opposite the stage are in a gallery suitably elevated in the back part of the room, and from each side, a row of boxes supported by ornamental iron brackets set into the wall, run down to a line with the front of the stage. The boxes are to be built after the most approved style, and the painting and gilding will be executed so as to give the highest possible effect to the interior of the building. The stage, which is 36 feet square, is constructed after most approved plans, and is furnished with a profusion of machinery for the regulation of scenery, &c. This part of the furniture of the building is quite novel in this city, and is as complete as any used in New York. In the rear, are dressing rooms, &c.

In point of ventilation, the room has been constructed after plans submitted by a New York architect of experience, which ensure agreeable and pure air within, so long as there is any without.

The gas fixtures of the building, which will be expensive and elegant, will be so arranged as to bring all the light for the building within the centre of the box circles, and each burner will be covered with a ground shade, intended to soften the light agreeably. The stage will be lighted mostly from above, which is the approved style, while the front part will be provided with a row of foot lights.

The combination of white and gilt, which will be the only coverings of the various articles of furniture and ornament, will give the room a brilliant appearance.

The scenery will be painted by Mr. Oscar F. Almy, Brougham's scene painter, who has arrived and will at once commence his work. His taste and talent will produce beautiful and appropriate pieces.

The building, with all furniture, &c., will cost about \$10,000, and will be a very handsome token of the enterprise and taste of Mr. Roth, who has already given to the part of the city about the Museum an impetus that has pulled down several stores, to make way for new ones, improved and beautified one or two others, and is beginning an addition to the Central Hotel. The premises in the Museum when the store stood, then was the whole vicinity, all of which infused a spirit of enterprise into the district.

The building has been erected under the charge of Mr. A. J. Leffroy, of this city, whose fine taste has produced every thing with excellent effect and in admirable harmony.

An organ, which will cost \$1500, is under way at the factory of Mr. Andrews, of Waterville, and will be ready to exhibit at the opening of the building, the 3d day of September next. It will be placed in a niche in the wall, calculated to be seen from the stage.

34. Metropolitan Hall described (Utica Daily Gazette, 31 July 1851)

UTICA MUSEUM.
JOHN SULLIVAN.....
John Sullivan's Fight, and
THE LAST FIGHT.
 On with a contest
MR. COULDOCK
 Will appear.
 This evening, Saturday,
NICKLIN'S.
 Exhibition.....
 Dance.....
 Intermission.....
 To conclude with
ROBERT MACAUL.
 Robert Macaulay.....
 Jacques Frop.....
 Prizes of Assumption:
 Private Boxes.....
 Family Boxes.....
 Dress Circle.....
 Boxes open at 7. Curfew time at 7 1/2.
ON MONDAY EVENING
Complimentary Recital to
V. W. ROTH!
 On which occasion
Mrs. FONISI,
 The celebrated Actress from the Broadway Theatre,
MR. COULDOCK,
MR. NEAFIE,
 Will appear in the tragedy of
VENUS PRESERVED.
 Dance.....
 To be followed by
SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL.
 Charles Forbes.....
 Joseph Barlow.....
 To conclude with
KATE SCADRY.
 Kate Scadry.....
 Admission—Dress Circle and Parquet \$1.00; Boxes
 50 cents; Family Boxes 50; Small Family Boxes 25.

FOR A SHORT TIME ONLY.
THE GRAND
SACRED PANORAMA
 of
Bunyan's
Pilgrim's Progress,
 Covering 1850 square feet of canvas! Shows the life
 of John Bunyan, and the history of his journey to the
 Kingdom of Heaven. By American Artists.
 will open at
MECHANICS' HALL,
 on TUESDAY EVENING, Oct. 7,
 and every evening, and Wednesday and Saturday after-
 noons during the first stay.
 Evening—Doors open at 6 o'clock. Panorama will
 move at 7 1/2.
 Admission 25 cents. Children half price.
UTICA MUSEUM.
J. NICKINSON,.....MANAGER.
Great Attraction!
 This evening, THURSDAY, will be presented the
 comedy drama, entitled
THE SOLDIER'S DAUGHTER.
 Messrs. Mr. Nickinson
 Henry Baker, Mrs. Nickinson.
 To be followed by the Comedy of the
THE SOLDIER'S DAUGHTER.
 Governor General, Mr. Nickinson.
 Family Captain, Mr. Nickinson.
 Frank General, Mr. Nickinson.
 Widow General, Mrs. Nickinson.
 Favorite Dances, Messrs. and Mrs. Gilbert.
 The Performance to conclude with the
KING'S GARDEN.
 Coleridge, Mr. Vincent.
 Mad. Coleridge, Mrs. Nickinson.
 Prizes of Assumption.—Family Boxes, \$1.00; Private
 Boxes, 50 cents; Dress Circle, 25 cents; Grand Circle,
 10 cents; Parquet, 50 cents; Boxes, 25 cents.
 Doors open at 7 o'clock. Panorama to continue
 at 7 1/2 o'clock.

35. Advertisements, Nickinson's Company
 (Utica Daily Gazette, 8 October 1851,
 1 January 1853)

UTICA MUSEUM.

ACTING MANAGER..... Mr. CHESBROUGH.
 PRINCE MANAGER..... Mr. J. W. CROCKER.

LAST NIGHT OF THE SEASON.

Benefit of Mr. G. H. Grimke.

This evening, July 2nd, 1853, will be presented
 the beautiful Comedy entitled

THE WELSH GIRL.

By Owen Grimke Ap Grimke..... Mr. Grimke.
 Julia..... Mrs. Drew.
 Thomas.....

After which,

In Music..... Miss Malvina.
 Comic Song..... G. Demott.
 Highland Fling..... Miss Fielding.

To be followed by the

MAN AND TIGER.

Mr. Spink..... Mr. Mosker.
 Bob Buckle..... Mr. Grimke.
 Orestes..... Mrs. Drew.

After which

The Infant Dancer, La Petite Amette, only 3 year
 old, will dance with Mr. Drew a Comic Fable.

Quadrilles..... Miss Malvina.
 Song, "Independence Day,"..... Mrs. Drew.

Mr. Charles Lenson, will sing the "Swiss Song,"
 accompanying himself on the Violoncello.

To conclude with the Comedietta of

LINERICK BOY.

Faddy Mice..... Mr. Drew.
 Mrs. Fidget..... Mrs. Spitzer.

PRICES OF ADMISSION—Dress Circle, 50 cents; Par
 quette, 37 1/2 cents; Orchestra Seats, 50 cents; Balcony
 25 cents. Private Boxes, \$3 and \$5.

UTICA MUSEUM.

CHESBROUGH & CROCKER,..... Managers.

The citizens of Utica and vicinity are politely inform-
 ed that this establishment will open for a very short
 season, under the management of Messrs Chesbrough
 & Crocker, on **THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 1.**
 The Stock Company will consist of the following tal-
 ent:

Mr. W. Nield, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and
 Covent Garden, Prince-st. Oxford street, and of the
 Park Theatre, N. Y. First appearance in Utica.
 Mr. Geo. M. Chesbrough, of the London and Ameri-
 can Theatres his first appearance in Utica.
 Mr. E. Stone, of the Chestnut Street Theatre, Phila-
 delphia, his first appearance.
 Mr. G. W. Grimke, of the Bowery Theatre, N. Y.
 Mr. F. Granger, of the Chestnut Theatre.
 Master F. Wood, of the London and American Thea-
 tres.

Mr. F. Byrne, of the Baltimore Theatre.
 Mr. J. W. Crocker, of the principal American Thea-
 tres, his first appearance.
 Mr. W. Mather, of the Howard Athenaeum, Boston,
 his first appearance.
 Mr. Matthews, of the Broadway Theatre, N. Y., his
 first appearance.
 Mr. F. Drew, of the Southern Theatre.
 Mr. Gardner, of the Boston Theatre.
 Mr. Brown, of the London Theatre, his first ap-
 pearance in America.
 Mrs. F. Conway, of the Broadway Theatre, N. Y., her
 first appearance.
 Mrs. Millington, of the London Theatre.
 Mrs. F. Drew, of the Southern Theatre.
 Miss Kington, of the Philadelphia Theatre.
 Miss Fielding, of the Broadway Theatre, N. Y.
 Miss MALVINA, the celebrated Dancer, from the
 La Grèce, Paris, late of Burton's Theatre.

In the course of the season the following Stars will
 appear:

MR. W. MARSHALL.
MR. F. CONWAY.
MR. W. WOOD.
MR. T. D. BICE.
 and a **GRAND BALLET TRUPE**, from the Grand
 Imperial Theatre, Vienna.

J-25 14

36. Advertisements, Chesebrough & Crocker Company
 (Utica Daily Gazette, 30 June, 20 July 1853)

HOUGH'S ORIGINAL NATIONAL ITINERANDUM,

AND
DRAMATIC PAVILLION.

W. H. HOUGH, Manager.

THE Manager of this Establishment to be visiting the following details of his Exhibition to the Public, has endeavored to reach a point in the popular character of his Exhibitions that has never before been attained in the country. An experience of twelve years has convinced him that the Public has become tired with those Performances which furnish but a single item. The great object in arranging this establishment has been to exhibit an entire series of a COMBINATION OF INTELLECTUAL AMUSEMENT of rare assistance and work. And to this end the Manager has not spared expense in securing the highest order of Talent to be obtained in the country. Every department of this establishment will be found perfect, and the public are assured that nothing has been neglected which can possibly add to their amusement.

The Manager has, at an immense expense, caused to be constructed a

PORTABLE PROSCENIUM,

requiring for its erection and transit a large number of men and horses and the employment of extensive Apparatus, and organized in connection with it a

THEATRIAN AND ENTERTAINING COMPANY,

whose various performances are detailed in the Large Bill.

At the solicitation of some of the first Families in Utica, who have expressed a desire to visit a comfortable, but who desire to remain as long under a canopy, as this performance will necessarily detain them, the Manager has yielded to a general request, and placed the

HOUGH'S BALCONY,

for ONE night, the Performances will also have a

Monday Evening, July 18th.

An extensive range of this Establishment will be a most curious and beautiful domestic theatre, in fact the only one, of

MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWES

GREAT WORK SHOWN

Uncle Tom's Cabin,

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

In the representation of this Piece about the services of 30 Ladies and gentlemen are required, who are currently engaged in the Dramatic Department for the purpose of giving a complete and accurate representation of the thrilling incidents and scenes of profound interest with which this Picture of Southern life abounds. The Comic Characters and domestic scenes so graphically described by the great authoress, will be given with life-like effect. Numerous Popular Ballads, written upon this subject, will be introduced, adding greatly to the interest as well as interest of the Piece. During its performance will be represented the following

THRILLING TABLEAU:

- 1st. Escape of Helen.
- 2d. Separation of Uncle Tom.
- 3d. The Slave Preacher's Ministry.
- 4th. The Slave Preacher's Wife.
- 5th. Death of Uncle Tom.
- 6th. The last of Uncle Tom.

In the representation of this Great Moral Drama,

EVERY CHARACTER

introduced by Mrs. Stowes is of great worth, will be presented in the life, and that nothing shall be lacking in engagement has been offered with the

Juvenile Frolics,

BY MISS MARY MARRS,

only 6 years old, who will personate the important character of

SWA.

a performance that must be seen to be appreciated.

The entertainment will conclude with the

AMERICAN RANGFIRE,

in which the entire strength of the company will be employed.

Admission to the Dress Circle 50 cents; Boxes 75 cents; Balcony 25 cents; Private Boxes 50 and 75.

37. Advertisements,
Lewis & Almy's
Dramatic Pavilion
(Auburn Daily Advertiser
18 July 1853)

Hough's Pavilion
(Utica Daily Gazette
25 July 1853)

LEWIS, ALMY & Co's. NATIONAL DRAMATIC PAVILLION!

THIS MAGNIFICENT MOVING TEMPLE

of Art, capable of accommodating 2000 persons, embraces an entirely new, complete, and unprecedented combination of attraction, and is especially designed to satisfy a very general desire for a higher order of Amusement than those usually exhibited under canvas. In order to extend to the inhabitants of the interior an opportunity of witnessing NOVELTIES heretofore confined to cities and permanent places of Amusement, the Proprietors of the Pavilion have constructed A GRAND CANOPY, within which will be found

A Complete Theatre—Perfect in all the Details of Stage, Scenery & Properties.

In fact of all the appointments recognized in stationed establishments of a similar character. This has been arranged without regard to Expense. With much labor the Proprietors have confederated a Company formed of Ladies and Gentlemen of Talent, which has been acknowledged and admired in all parts of the United States. The whole of this vast establishment requires for its transit a large number of Men and Horses, and forming a complete THEATRIAN AND ENTERTAINING COMPANY.

Prominent among the Exhibitions of this Establishment, will be a correct and truthful version of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's celebrated work,

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;

Or, Life Among the Lowly.

In the representation of the Piece, the services of 20 LADIES AND GENTLEMEN are required, who are expressly engaged to give full effect to the stirring incidents and scenes of profound interest with which this rare work abounds. Interspersed throughout the whole will be many of the most POPULAR MELODIES AND NUMEROUS THRILLING TABLEAU.

To add extreme value to the high musical tone of their Exhibition, the Proprietors have made arrangements with

MR. W. E. DEER, THE EQUESTRIAN ACTOR,

to appear (with the Company) in a variety of his finest Dramas. Mr. DEER is well known as an Actor of more than ordinary ability, in every Town and City of the United States, and his enviable fame has even reached the British shores of the Pacific.

Among other Dramas, he represents that of

PUTNAM;

Or, The Iron Box of '76!

A Magnificent National Spectacle, in which he created an unusual sensation at the Bowery Theatre, New York, and other Temples of the Muses in various parts of the country. This piece embodies great Historical as well as Dramatic interest, and should be witnessed by all who love their Country and admire the incidents through which it became a Republic.

MR. W. H. BOOVLLE,

The only acknowledged YANKEE COMEDIAN in the United States, will open his Budget of queer, quaint and quizzical sayings and Goings of the Down Easters; Stump Speeches, Yankee Stories, and Rich Experience in Courtships, Swapping and Politics.

"HERB KEEFER'S BRASS BAND,"

whose performances are unrivalled, have been secured for this establishment, and will form a conspicuous and attractive feature of their Exhibition, by their brilliant execution of the most approved Waltzes, Marches and Overtures.

Mr. W. H. Booville will also appear in the Laughable Farce, entitled "The Olden Days, or, The Yankee Among the Quakers and Quakers Among the Yankees, or 100 Years Ago."

The Exhibition will be opened on Tuesday and Wednesday, 18th and 19th July, and will be continued for 28 days, and the admission is

ADMISSION 25 CENTS, HALF PRICE.

July 18th

THEATER:

J. B. TOZER'S GREAT METROPOLITAN COMPANY—AT THE TOWN HALL.

S. B. TOZER, Manager. W. F. BOAK, Treasurer.
M. De ANGELIS, Stage Manager.

The manager takes great pleasure in informing the public of Auburn that he has at great expense engaged the celebrated American Actor,

F. S. CHAUFFEAU,

the world renowned and original MOSE, who will appear in his great character of TOODLES, as played by him in New York over 100 nights.

Also the great New York favorite,

MISS ALBERTINE,

of the New York, California and Philadelphia Theaters, in her beautiful character of NANCY STRAP.

TUESDAY EVENING, NOV. 21

The performance will commence with the beautiful drama of

THE TOODLES.

TOODLES.....	Mr. T. S. CHAUFFEAU.
George Acorn.....	T. S. Oliver
Charles Fenton.....	E. D. Curtis.
Farmer Acorn.....	J. De Anglia.
Farmer Fenton.....	J. Wood.
1st Farmer.....	C. D. Hess.
Mrs. TOODLES.....	Miss ALBERTINE.
Mary Acorn.....	Miss Chester.
SONG—Kitty Clyde.....	C. F. Hess.
GRAND DANCE.....	Mad'le Sophie.

After which the laughable farce of

THE MERRY COBBLER.

CHRISTOPHER STRAP.....	Mr. J. B. TOZER.
Sir George Howard.....	T. S. Oliver.
Thomas.....	J. Wood.
NANCY STRAP.....	Miss ALBERTINE.
Lady Elizabeth.....	Miss Chester.

nov 18

38. Advertisement, J.B. Tozer's Company
(Auburn Daily Advertiser, 18 November 1853)

STANFORD HALL, AUBURN.
MARSH & ELLSLER'S
STAR MUSEUM COMPANY!

MARSH & ELLSLER, Lessees and Managers.
 T. L. WILCOX, Treasurer.

Messrs. Marsh & Ellsler respectfully inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Auburn and its vicinity, that they have leased the above Hall, with a view of presenting a series of

MUSEUM ENTERTAINMENTS.

Every evening this week, embracing the Legitimate and instructive productions of the Ancient and Modern Poets, consisting of Tragedy, Comedy, Vaudeville, Farce, and all the new

MORAL DRAMAS.

Of the day, in a manner hitherto unprecedented in this city, for which purpose they have carefully selected a company of Ladies and Gentlemen, inferior in point of Respectability and Dramatic Talent, to none of the New York City Company, and infinitely superior to any ever seen in this portion of the country. The entertainments will be placed upon the stage for representation, with every attention to costumes, scenery, Decoration, &c. The plots, highly suitable for public approbation and instruction, will be of a strictly moral, pleasing and instructive nature, void of anything that will grow irksome to the eye, or offend the ear of the most fastidious.

The Managers respectfully solicit the patronage of the public, and promise they will spare neither expense or labor to give them wholesome and rational amusement.

The following TALENTED and RESPECTABLE LADIES and GENTLEMEN comprise the Company:

Mrs. EVELYN EMLEN, of the Oceanus St. Theatre, Philadelphia.
 Mrs. KATE WARWICK, of the Broadway Theatre, New York.
 Mrs. CAPPELL, Mrs. GEO. J. ARNOLD, of the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia.
 Mrs. CORDLIA CAPPELL, of the Baltimore Museum.
 Mrs. R. MASON, of the Marsh Troupe.
 Mrs. FRENCH.
 Mr. G. J. ARNOLD, the Tragedian.
 Mr. GEORGE O. BONIFACE, of Walker's, New York.
 Mr. G. F. BROWNE, The Celebrated Comedian.
 Mr. JOHN ELLSLER, of Burton's Theatre, N. Y.
 Mr. THOMAS OWENS, of the Philadelphia Theatre.
 Mr. T. P. DOWNING, of the Metropolitan Theatre, New York.
 Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. COOK, Mr. ROBERT MARSH, of the Celebrated Marsh Troupe.
 Mr. FRENCH, of Baltimore Museum.
 Mr. HENRY, Mr. JAMES, Mr. MYERING, &c.

OPENING NIGHT,

September 21st, 1854, will be presented John Tobin's Beautiful Comedy of the

HONEY MOON!

DUKE ARANZA, ... Mr. J. G. ARNOLD.
 JULIANA, ... Mrs. EFFIE ELLSLER.
 ROLANDO, ... Mr. G. O. BONIFACE.
 JACQUES (the Mock Duke,) Mr. G. F. BROWNE.
 Count Monteban, ... Mr. French.
 Balthazar, ... Mr. John Ellsler.
 Lopez, ... Mr. James.
 Pedro, ... Mr. Henry.
 Volante, ... Miss Kate Warwick.
 Zamora, ... Miss Cordelia Cappell.

The Entertainment to conclude with the Humorous Farce called

ROUGH DIAMOND!

Cousin Joe, ... Mr. G. F. Browne.
 Sir Wm. Evergreen, ... Mr. G. C. Boniface.
 Lord Plato, ... Mr. James.
 Capt. Clonhelus, ... Mr. French.
 John, ... Cooke.
 Margery, ... Mrs. Effie Ellsler.
 Lady Plato, ... Miss C. Cappell.

NOTICE.—The strictest order and decorum will be observed. Gentlemen will readily comply with this request; Ladies are never at fault.

Price of admission will be 50 Cents; Children with Parents 25 Cents. Doors open at 7½ o'clock. Commence at 8. Tickets admitting Three persons, \$1.00.

39. Marsh & Ellsler's
 Star Museum Company
 (Auburn Daily Advertiser
 2 September 1854)

Lyceum Benefit Last Night of the Lyceum

Great display of Literary and Dramatic Talent, at
LAKE HOUSE HALL.
On Tuesday Evening, March 20th '61.
The Evening's Entertainment will be opened by an
Introductory Address, by
Mr Wm. M. Beauchamp, Jr.,
to be followed by

"PICKWICK"

OR THE

Trials of an Old Bachelor

by Charles Dickens.
Consisting of Five Scenes.

SCENE I

Will introduce to the public, Pickwick and Mrs. Bardell, in the interview which afterwards proved so disastrous to Pickwick for a season.

SCENE II

The famous "PICKWICK CLUB" in session.

SCENE III

The world renowned trial of
Bardell versus "Pickwick,"
in which will be introduced a great display of legal talent as witnessed at the English Bar.

SCENE IV

Will open in the Debtor's Prison, where will be enacted a most interesting domestic scene.

SCENE V

Will return Pickwick to prosperity, and bring about the happy termination of

The Trials of an Old Bachelor

Dramatic Personnel:

Pickwick	W. G. Ellery
Winkle	W. W. Raymond
Judge	
Wardle	Harrison Dodge
Dodson (Counsel for Pick)	James M. Dunn
Pecksniff (" " Debt)	F. T. Bonieta
Tupman	E. E. Foster
Snodgrass	J. A. Hays
Sam Weller Jr.	Chas. W. Wheaton
Sam Weller Sr.	F. M. Hamlin
Master Bardell	Willie Peters
Mrs. Bardell	Marlene Blonczew
Arabella Allen	Kate La Farge
Mrs. Clippins	Laura Percival
Mrs. Sedgwick	Julia Menigoff
Mary	Isabella Baldwin
Foreman of the Jury	Bertie Thorne

The Skaneateles Band,

Will be in attendance to give life and pleasure to the

The introduction of the inimitable characters of
Sam Weller and Father,

PICKWICK AND WINKLE,

will prove attraction enough for the admirers of

DICKENS.

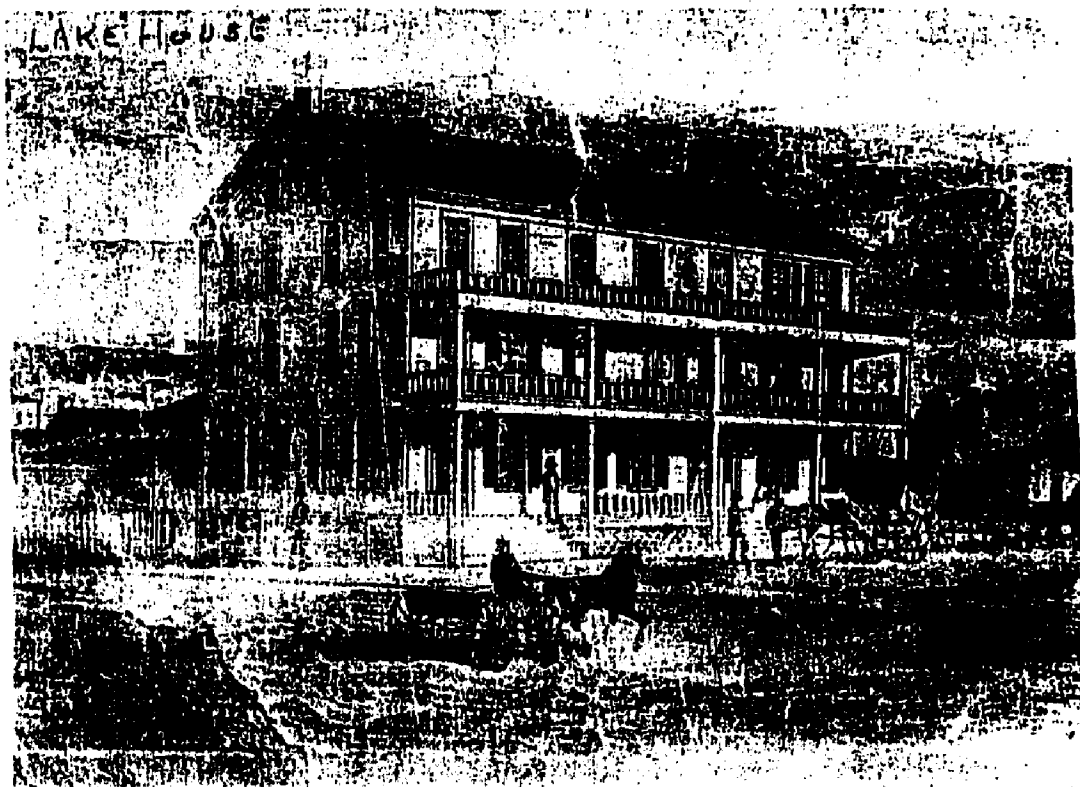
The members of the Lyceum feel that they may reasonably ask the patronage of the public on this occasion, as the proceeds of the Exhibition go to defray the expenses of the Lyceum, and to defray the expenses of the Lyceum.

PICKWICK AND WINKLE

By the Lyceum

Skaneateles, Feb. 20th, 1861.

40. Advertisement, Pickwick
(Skaneateles Democrat,
7 March 1861)



41. Exterior, Lake House
(Skaneateles Historical Society Archives)

THEATRE.

CORNING HALL, AUBURN.

MANAGER.....Mr. CHARLES PLUNKETT.

IN consequence of the success attending the performan-
ces of the company, Mr. Plunkett has been induced to
stay another week, when, in order to represent the Piece
as perfectly as possible, and sustain the talented Artists

MISS DENVIL,

In her great characters, he has succeeded in effecting an
engagement with the highly popular Actor,

MR. GARREY HOUGH,

who will appear every evening during the week.

Mr. C. P. trusts to a liberal public to support him in his
expensive undertaking to cater for their amusement.

On Tuesday, May 8th, the Great Drama,

THE OCTOBER.

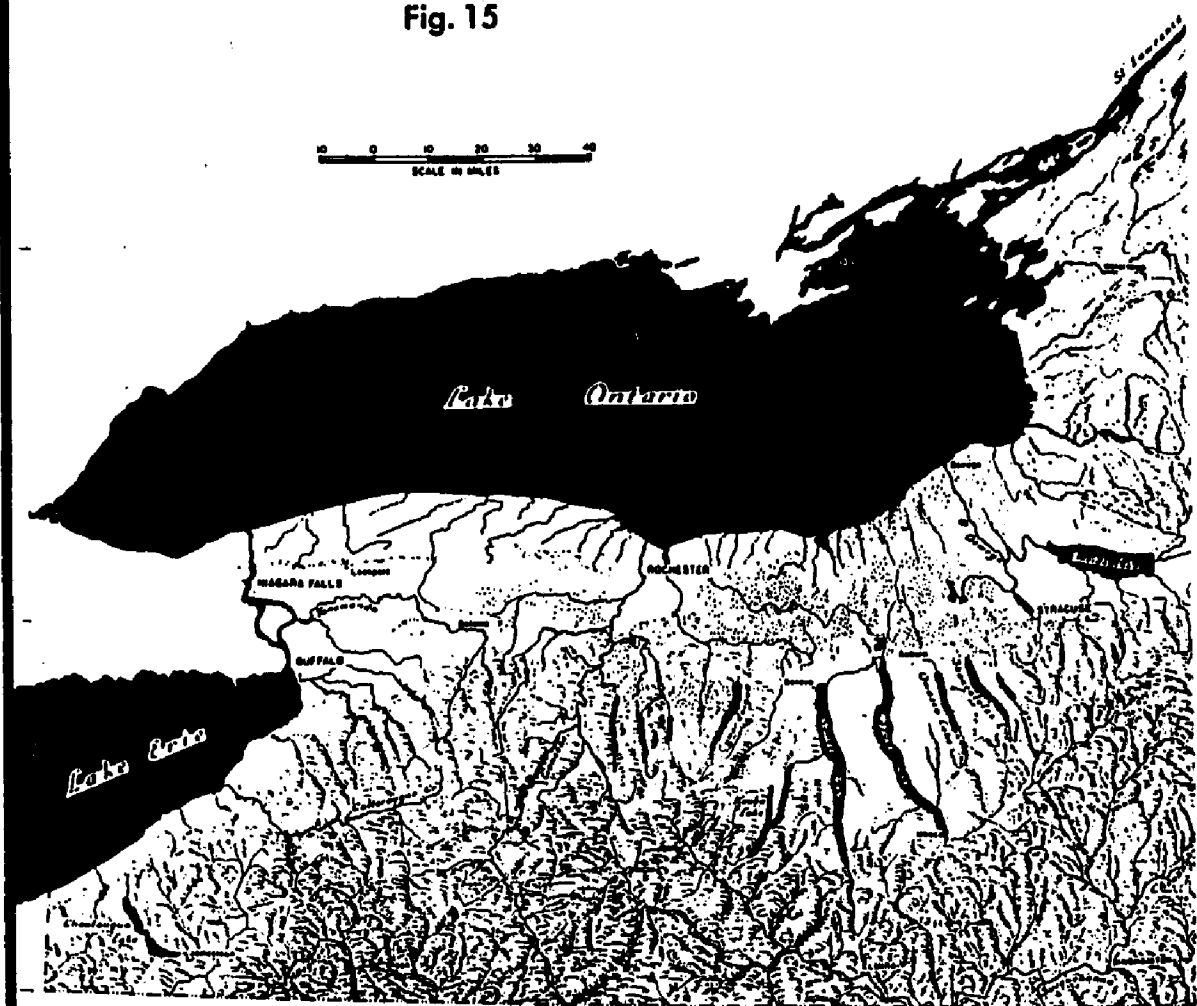
Come early.
Doors open at 7 1/2.—Curtain raises precisely at 8. Ad-
mission 25 cents.

For particulars, see Programmes. May 8.

42. Advertisement, Plunkett's Company
(Auburn Daily Advertiser, 8 May 1860)

NEW YORK STATE SURFACE CONFIGURATION

Fig. 15



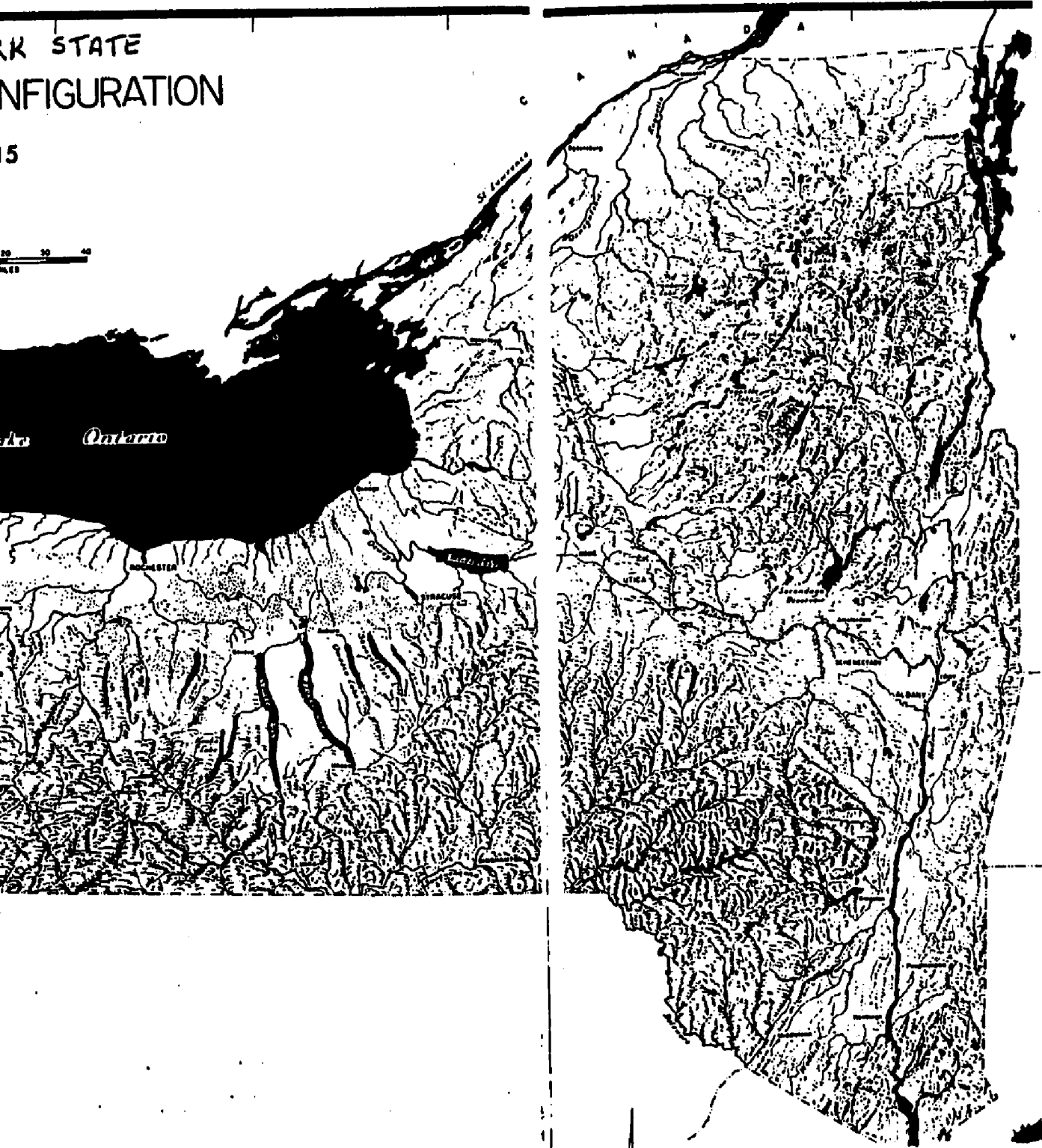
Map 1. Topographical Map of New York State

ARK STATE
NFIGURATION

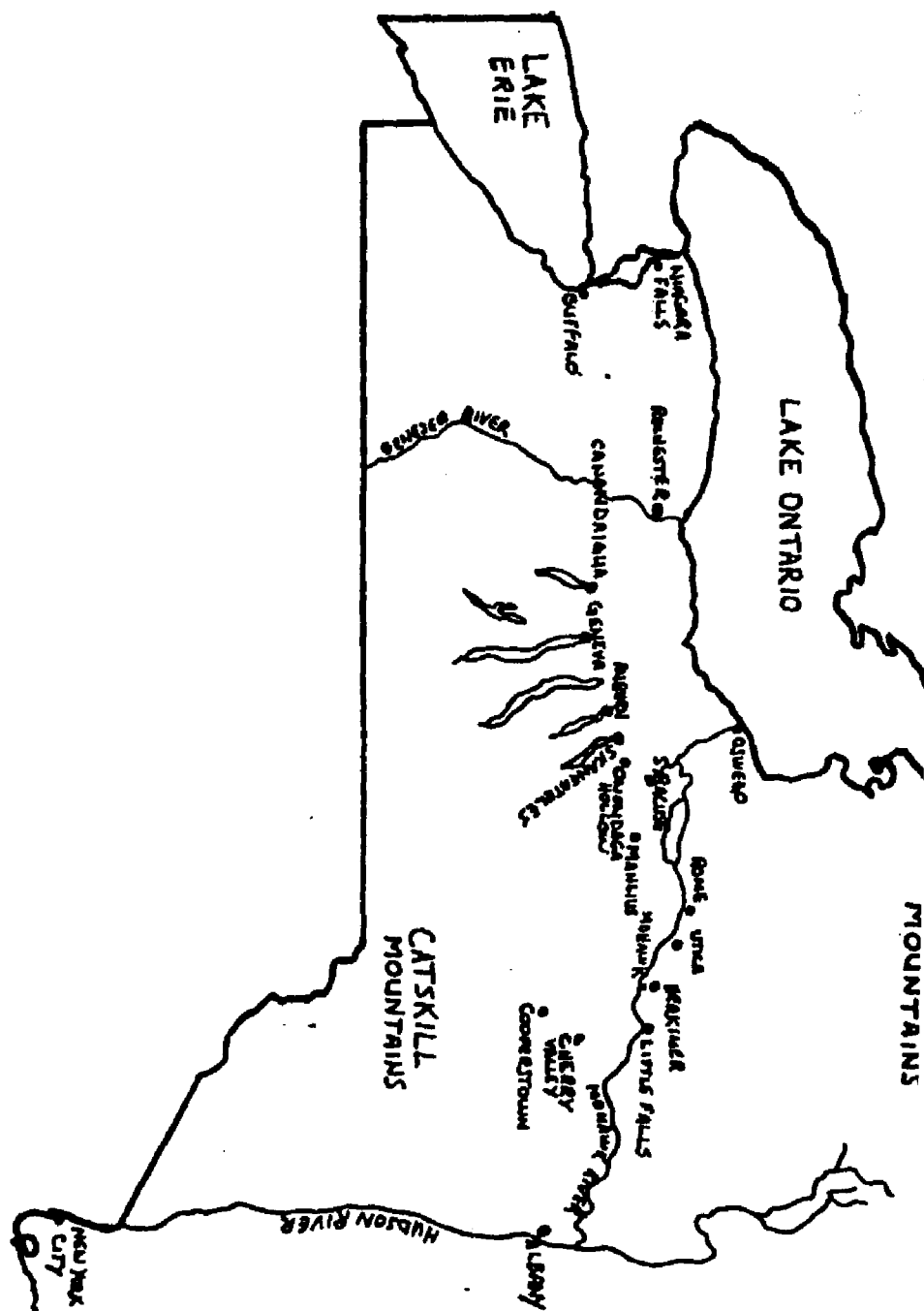
5

0 10 20 30 40
MILES

Ontario

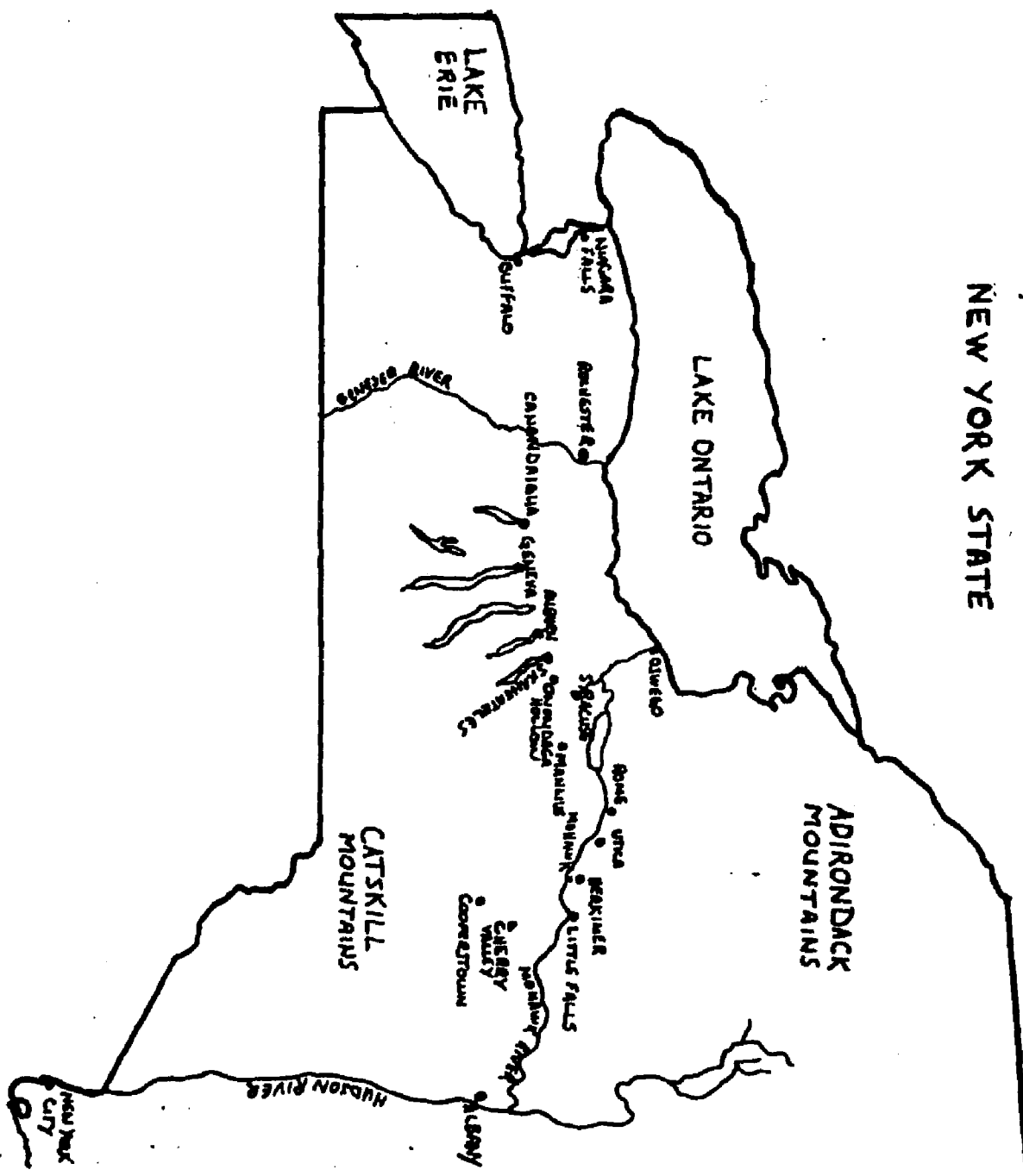


f New York State

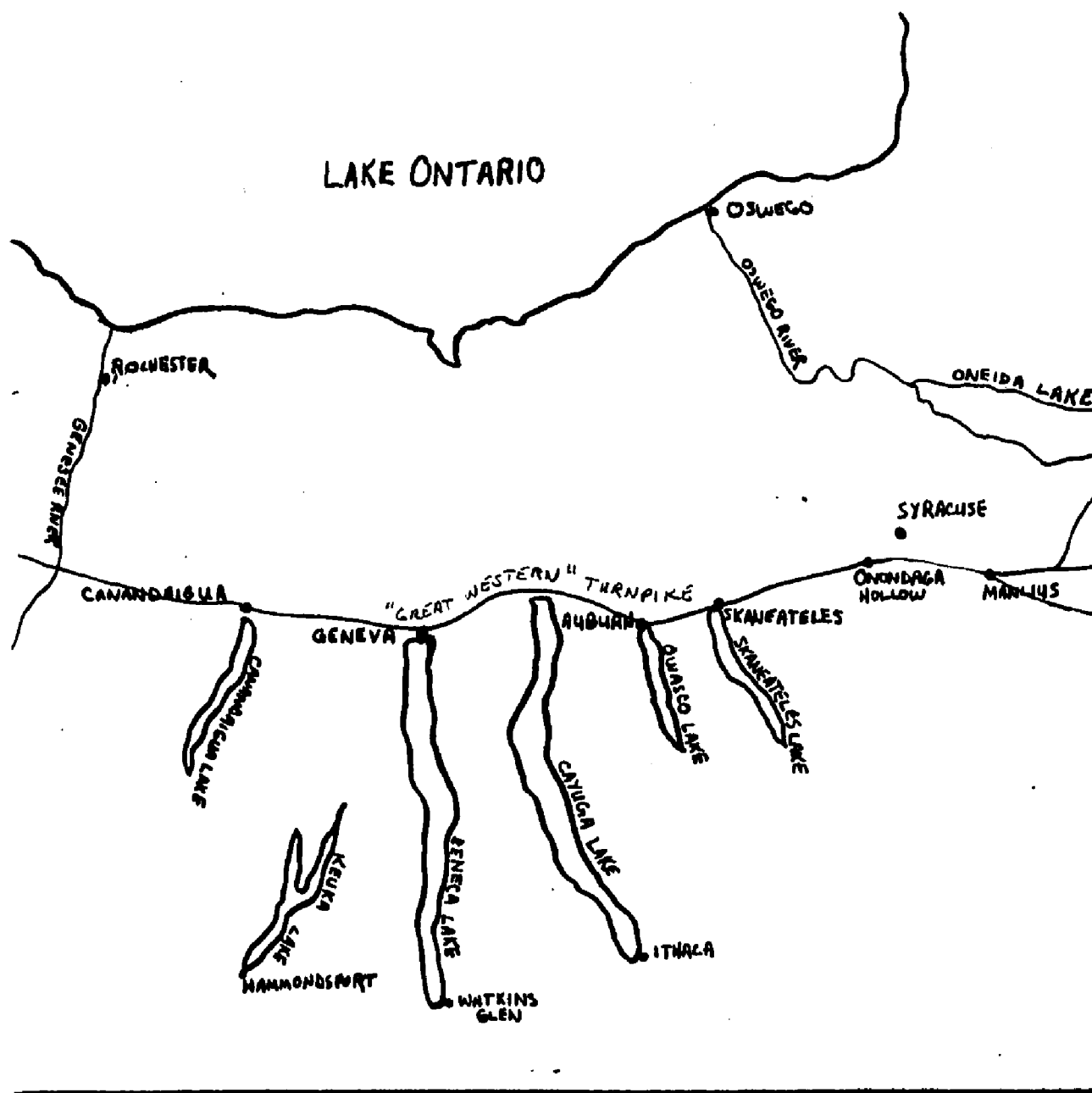


Map 2. New York State with Turnpike Villages
and Other selected Places

NEW YORK STATE

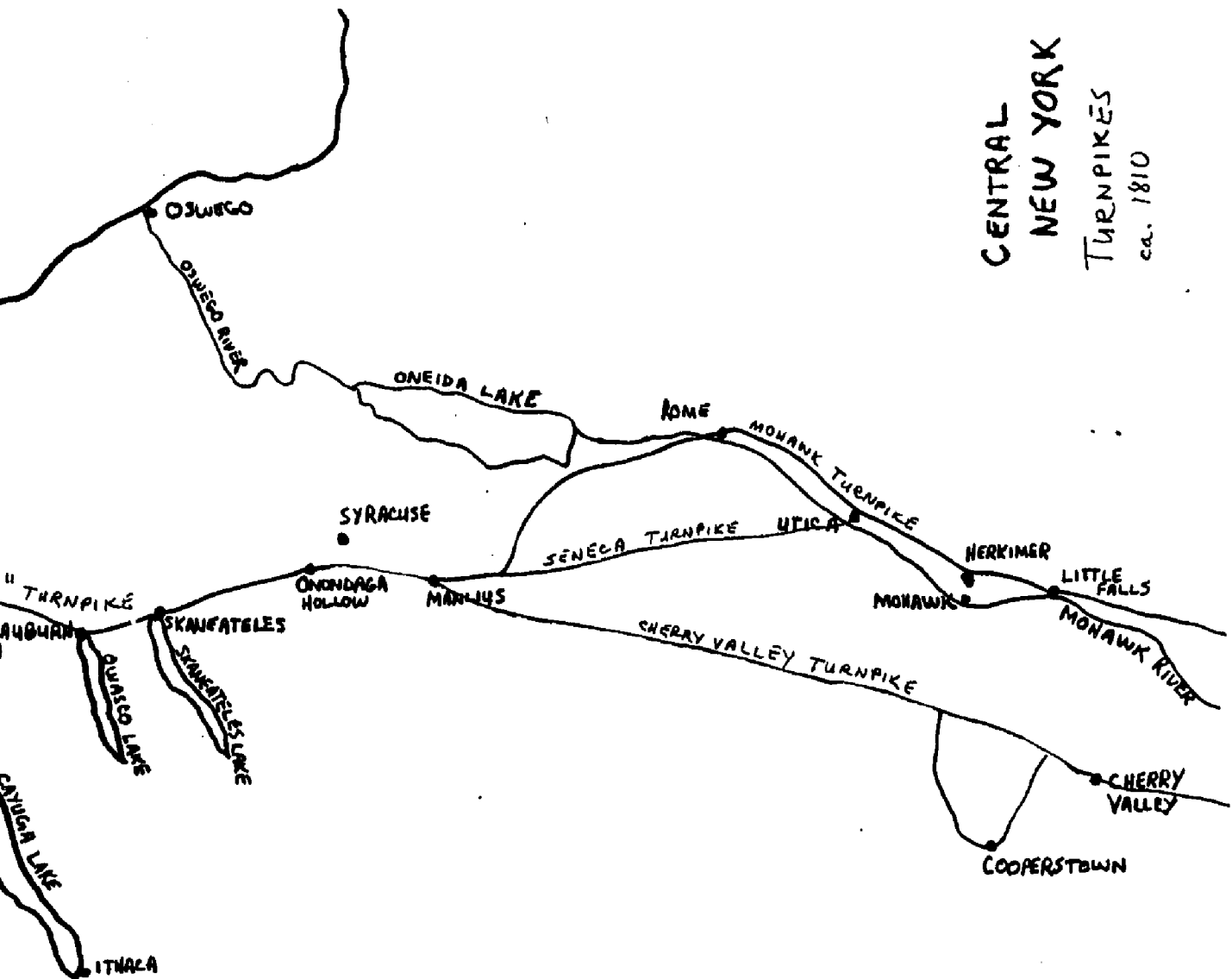


New York State with Turnpike Villages
and Other selected Places

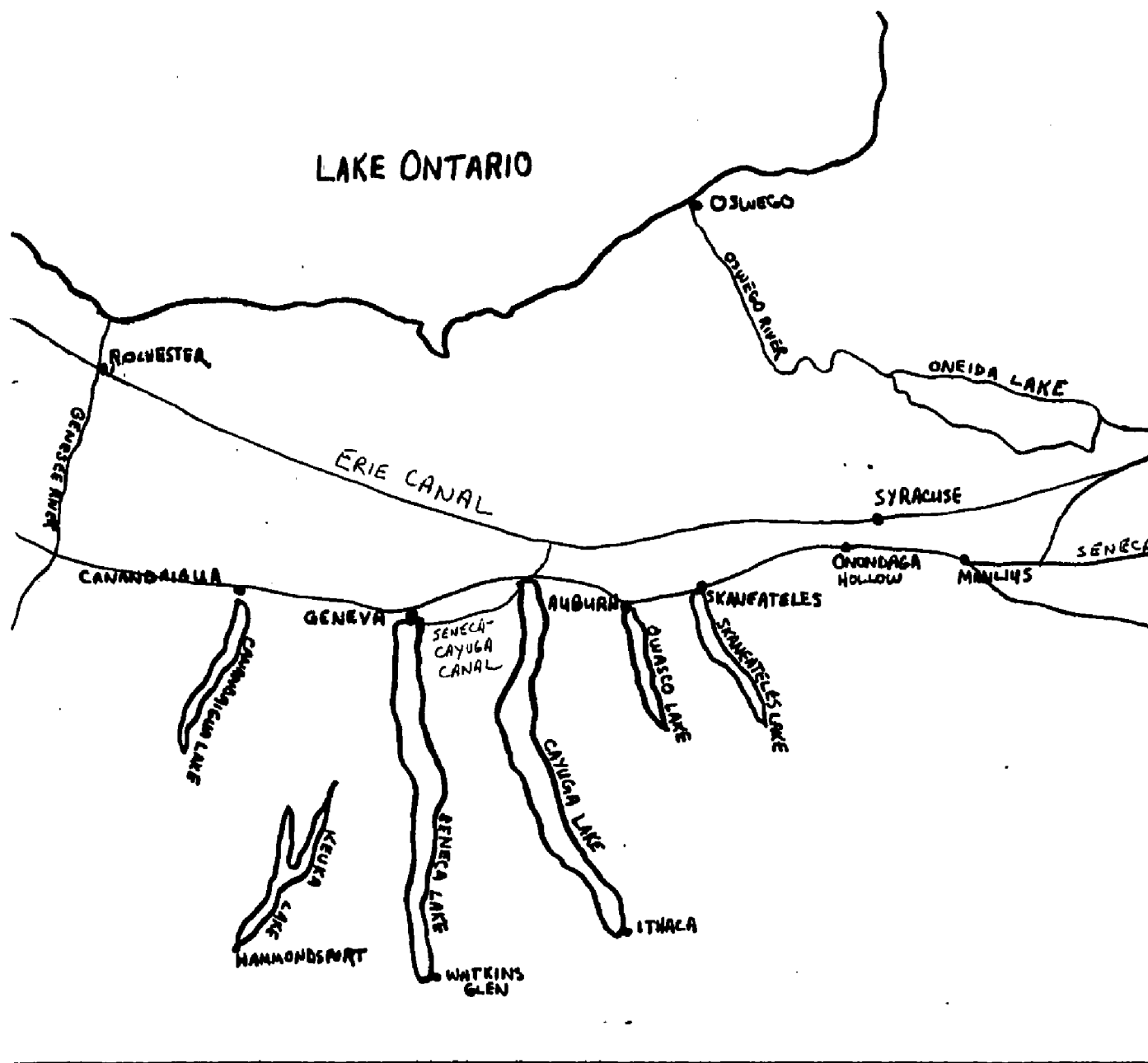


Map 3. Central New York--Turnpikes

CENTRAL
NEW YORK
TURNPIKES
ca. 1810

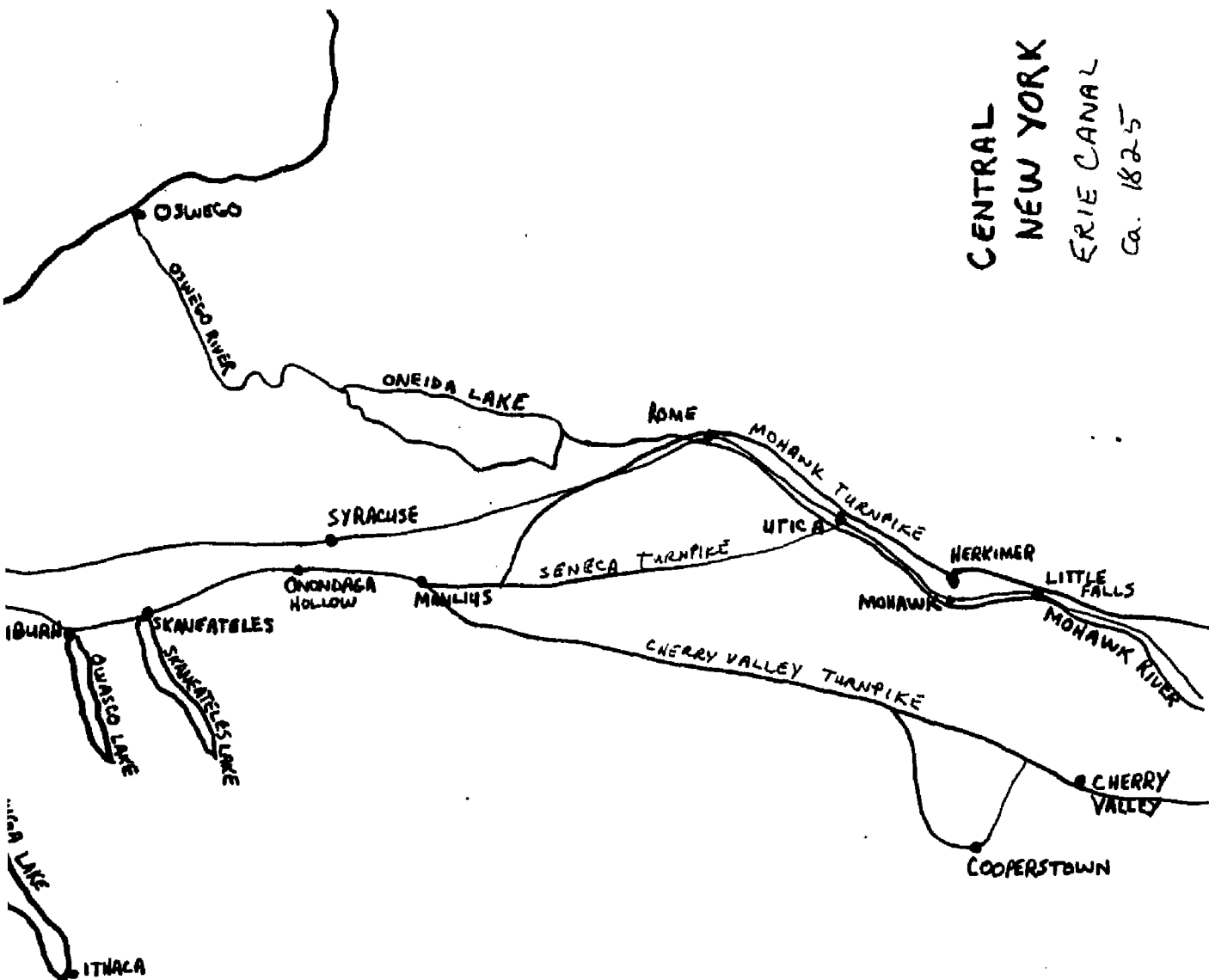


York--Turnpikes

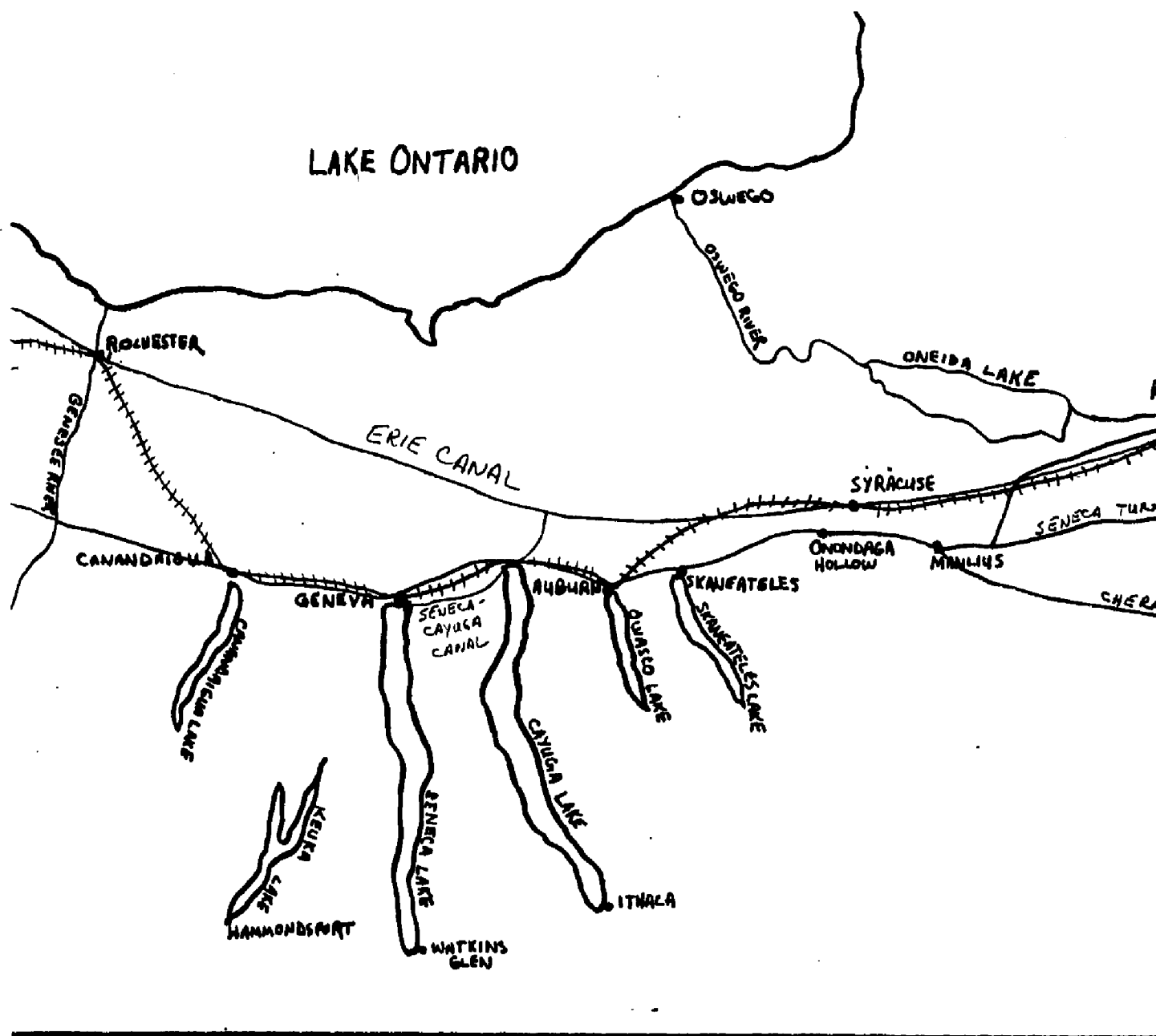


Map 4. Central New York--Canals

CENTRAL
NEW YORK
ERIE CANAL
Ca. 1825

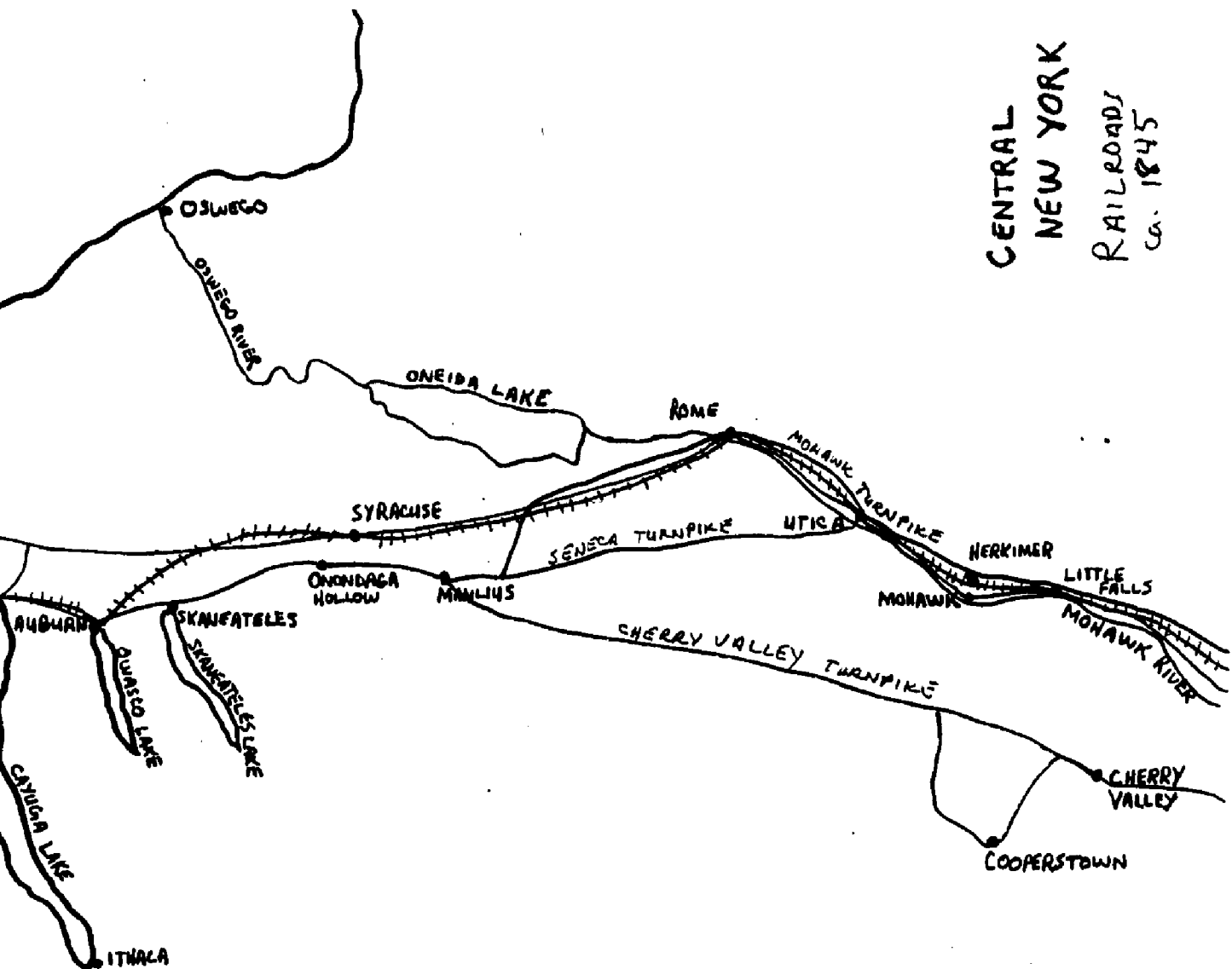


York--Canals

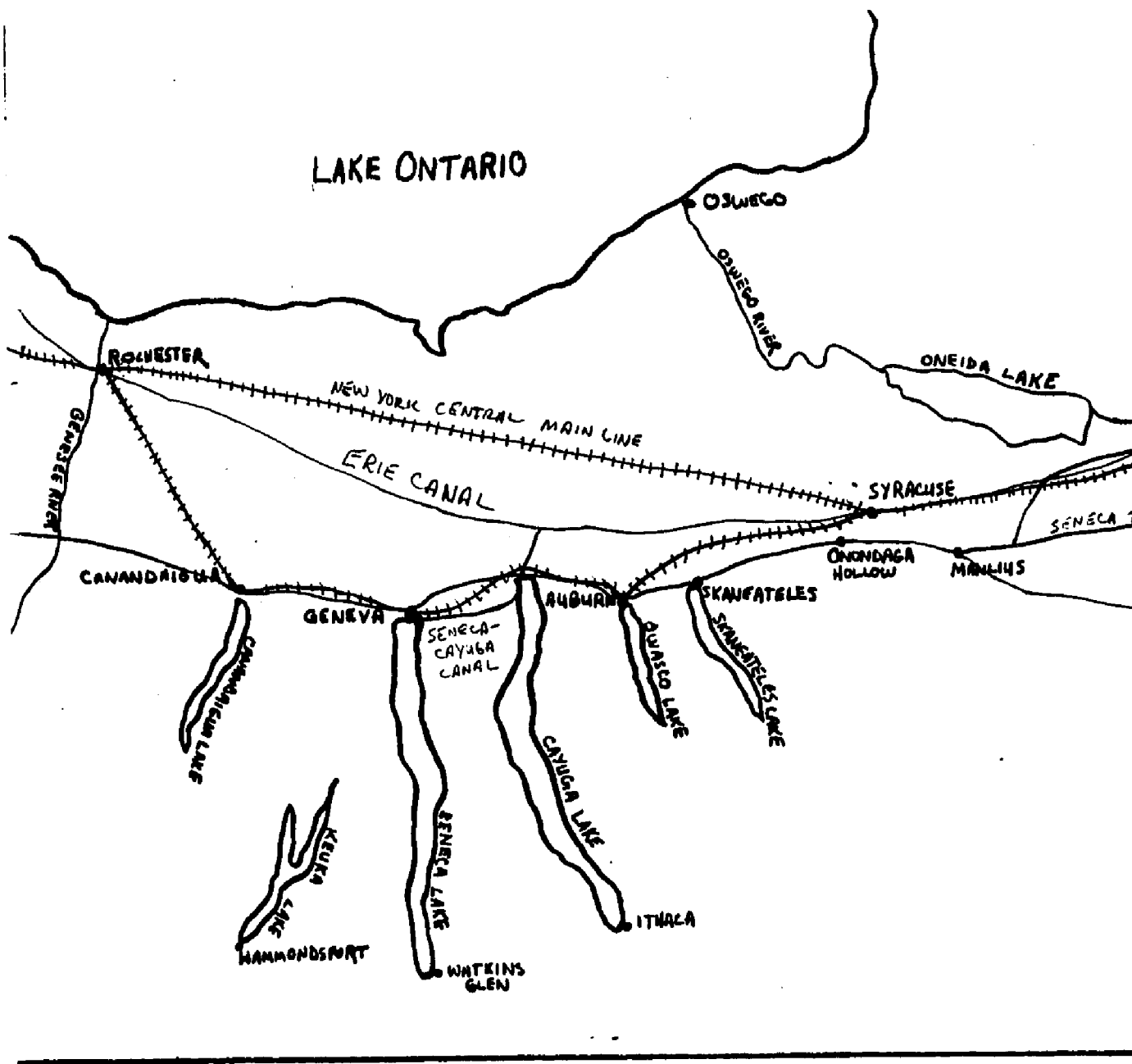


Map 5. Central New York--Early Railroads

CENTRAL NEW YORK RAILROADS ca. 1845

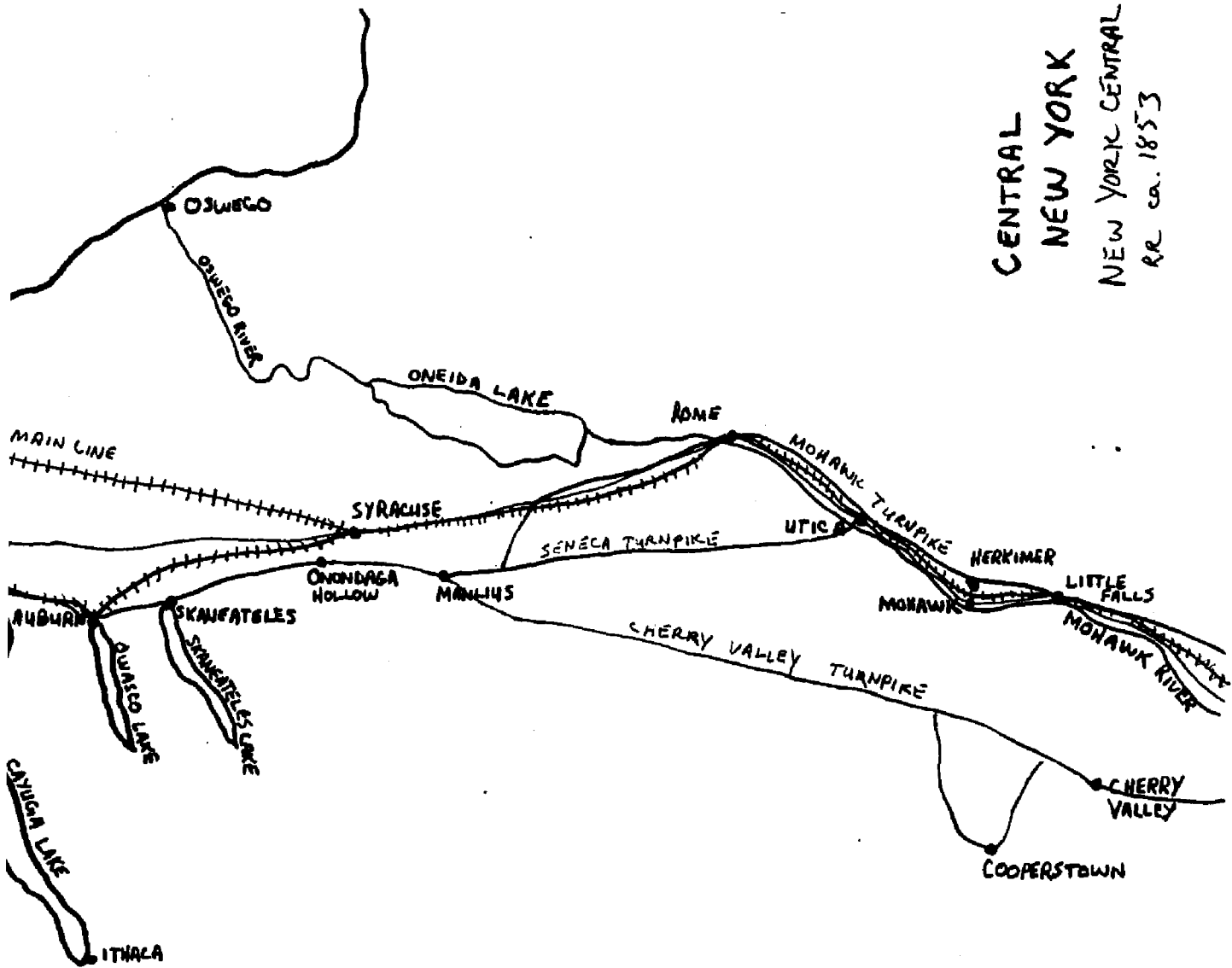


ork--Early Railroads



Map 6. Central New York--New York Central

CENTRAL
NEW YORK
NEW YORK CENTRAL
RR ca. 1853



-New York Central

Bibliography

1. Historical, Geographical, and Cultural Background

Allen, Henry M. "A Chronicle of Early Auburn (N.Y.) 1793-1860." Typescript, New York Public Library, 1953.

Bagg, M. M., ed. Memorial History of Utica N.Y. Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason & Co., 1892.

Benton, Nathaniel S. A History of Herkimer County. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856.

Billington, Ray Allen. Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier. 2d ed. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960.

Bode, Carl, ed. American Life in the 1840s. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1957.

_____. The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968.

_____, ed. Midcentury America: Life in the 1850s. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.

Boorstin, Daniel J. The Americans: The National Experience. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

"Bottoming Out." A periodical publication of the Canal Society of New York State, found in the Onondaga Historical Society Research Center, Syracuse, New York.

Bruce, Dwight H. Memorial History of Syracuse N.Y. Syracuse: H. P. Smith & Co., Publishers, 1891.

Campbell, Sue. Remember When...The Valley Revisited. N.p.: Scotsman Press, Inc., 1986.

Census of the State of New York for 1855. Albany: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1857, unpaginated. See summary of population from 1790 to 1855 near the beginning of the book.

"The Cherry Valley Turnpike." Waterville, N.Y.: The Times Print Shop, 1927. Located in the Cherry Valley Museum, Cherry Valley, New York.

Clark, Joshua V. H. Onondaga; or, Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times. 2 vols. Syracuse: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849.

Clark, T. Wood. Utica for a Century and a Half. Utica, N.Y.: The Widtman Press, 1952.

- Clayton, W. W. History of Onondaga County New York, 1615-1878. Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1878.
- Conover, George S. Early History of Geneva. Geneva, N.Y.: Courier Steam Press, 1879.
- _____. History of Ontario County N.Y. Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1893.
- Cross, Whitney R. The Burned-Over District. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.
- De Blij, Harm J. Geography Regions and Concepts. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971.
- Douglas, George William. The American Book of Days. Revised by Helen Douglas Compton. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1948.
- Drago, Harry Sinclair. Canal Days in America: The History and Romance of Old Towpaths and Waterways. New York: Bramhall House, 1972.
- Dulles, Foster Rhea. A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.
- Earle, Alice Morse. Homelife in Colonial Days. New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1898. Reprint. Stockbridge, Mass.: The Berkshire Traveller Press, 1974.
- Ellis, David Maldwin. "Rise of the Empire State 1790-1820." New York History 56 (January 1975): 5-27.
- _____, James A. Frost, Harold C. Syrett, Harry J. Carman. A History of New York State. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Eddy, Lyman. Diary. Geneva Historical Society, Geneva, New York.
- Fox, Dixon Ryan. "The Romance of the Old Road." New York History Quarterly Journal 8 (January 1932): 51-58.
- Furnas, J. C. The Americans: A Social History Of the United States 1587-1914. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969.
- Gates, Geraldine H., and Tina P. Norton. "Then Onondaga Hollow, Now Onondaga Valley." Bound typescript, Onondaga Historical Society, Syracuse, New York, n.d.
- Granger, Albert J. "The History of Canandaigua: An Address Delivered at the Centennial Celebration, July 4, 1876." Canandaigua, N.Y. Printed at the office of the Ontario Repository and Messenger, 1876. Found in the Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, New York.

- Greene, Nelson, ed. History of the Mohawk Valley: Gateway to the West 1614-1925. 2 vols. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925.
- Grosvenor, Major Abel M. Diary. Manlius Historical Society, Manlius, New York.
- Hall, Henry. History of Auburn Auburn, N.Y.: Dennis Bros. & Co., 1869.
- Hand, M. C. From a Forest to a City: Personal Reminiscences of Syracuse, N.Y. Syracuse: Masters & Stone, Printers, 1889.
- Hardin, G. A., and F. H. Willard. History of Herkimer County, New York. Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1893.
- Haydon, Roger, ed. Upstate Travels: British Views of Nineteenth Century New York. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982.
- Hijiya, James A. "Making a Railroad: The Political Economy of the Ithaca and Owego, 1828-1842." New York History 54 (April 1973): 145-73.
- A History of Cooperstown, including "The Chronicles of Cooperstown" by James Fenimore Cooper; "The History of Cooperstown, 1839-1886" by Samuel Shaw; "The History of Cooperstown, 1886-1929" by Walter R. Littell. Cooperstown, U.S.A.: The Freeman's Journal Company, 1929.
- Holmes, Oliver W., and Peter T. Rohrbach. Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Days to the Civil War. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1983.
- Hotel Register, The Franklin House. Geneva Historical Society, Geneva, New York.
- Hungerford, Edward. "Early Railroads of New York." New York History Quarterly Journal 8 (January 1932): 75-89.
- Lane, Wheaton J. "The Early Highway in America, to the Coming of the Railroad." In Highways in our National Life: A Symposium. Wheaton J. Lane and Jean Labatut, editors, 66-76. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- Lathrop, Elise. Early American Inns and Taverns. Robert M. McBride Co., 1926. Reprint. New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1946.
- Leslie, Edmund Norman. Skaneateles: History of Its Earliest Settlement and Reminiscences of Later Times. New York: Press of Andrew Kellogg, 1902.

- McKelvey, Blake. Rochester on the Genesee: The Growth of a City. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973.
- Manlius Historical Society. People and Places: Fayetteville, Manlius, Minoa and Neighbors. Interlaken, New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1986.
- Mau, Clayton. The Development of Central and Western New York. Dansville, N.Y.: F.A. Owen Publishing Co., 1958.
- Meyer, Balthasar Henry, ed. History of Transportation in the United States before 1860. Washington, D.C.: Peter Smith, 1948.
- Miller, Blandina Dudley. A Sketch of Old Utica. Utica, N.Y.: Fierstone Printing House, 1913.
- Miller, Roberta Balstad. City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Regional Development. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Milliken, Charles F. A History of Ontario County, New York and Its People. 2 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1911.
- Moody, John. The Railroad Builders: A Chronicle of the Welding of the States. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot. The Oxford History of the American People. Vol. 2, 1789 Through Reconstruction. Oxford University Press, 1965. Reprint. New York: Mentor Books, 1972.
- Morris, John W., ed. World Geography. 3d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
- Mott, Frank Luther. American Journalism A History: 1690-1969. New York: MacMillan Company, 1962. 1st ed, 1941.
- Murray, Thomas C. Panorama and History of Herkimer, N.Y., 1725-1900. Utica, N.Y.: Press of L. C. Childs & Son.
- Nye, Russell Blaine. The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963.
- Ogburn, Charlton. Railroads: The Great American Adventure. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1977.
- Power, Tyrone, Esq. Impressions of America; During the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836.

- Richards, Caroline Cowles. Village Life in America 1852-1872 including the Period of the American Civil War as Told in the Diary of a School-girl. Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1872. Original copyright 1908 by Caroline Richards Clark.
- Sawyer, John. History of Cherry Valley from 1740 to 1898. 1898. Reprint. Cherry Valley, New York: Cherry Valley Historical Association, 1976.
- Schaak, Henry C. van. History of Manlius Village. In a course of lectures read before the Manlius Literary Association. Fayetteville, N.Y., 1873.
- Shaw, Ronald E. Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966.
- Smith, Anthony. The Newspaper: An International History. London: Thames & Hudson, 1979.
- Smith, Charles Carrol. Pioneer Times in the Onondaga Country. Syracuse: C. W. Burdeen, Publisher, 1904.
- Stevens, Frank Walker. The Beginnings of the New York Central Railroad: A History. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1926.
- Strahler, Arthur N. Physical Geography. 4th ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975.
- Taylor, George Rogers. The Transportation Revolution 1815-1860. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1966.
- Thompson, John, ed. Geography of New York State. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966.
- Toqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945.
- Tolstoy, Lev. War and Peace. Translated by Constance Garnet. New York: Modern Library, 1931.
- Whitford, Noble E. "Effects of the Erie Canal on New York History." New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal 7 (1926): 84-95.
- Williams, Emily. Cherry Valley Country. Utica, N.Y.: Brodok Press, 1978.
- Wright, Richardson. Hawkers and Walkers in Early America. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927.
- Wyld, Lionel D. Low Bridge! Folklore and the Erie Canal. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962.

2. Theatre and Popular Entertainment

- Alger, William Rounseville. Life of Edwin Forrest, the American Tragedian. 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1877.
- Altick, Richard D. The Shows of London. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1978.
- Barnum, P. T. Life of P. T. Barnum. New York: Redfield, 1855.
- Bitz, Nellie Edith. "A Half Century of Theatre in Early Rochester, 1824-1869." Master's Thesis, Syracuse University, 1941.
- Bloom, Arthur W. "The Jefferson Company 1830-1845." Theatre Survey 27 (May and November 1986): 89-153.
- Bogard, Travis, Richard Moody, Walter J. Meserve. The Revels History of Drama in English. Vol. 8, American Drama. London: Methuen & Co., 1977.
- Bronner, Simon J. "The Anglo-American Fiddle Tradition in New York State." New York Folklore 14 (Summer-Fall 1988): 23-36.
- Brown, T. Allston. History of the American Stage. 1870. Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969.
- _____. A History of the New York Stage from the First Performance in 1732 to 1901. 3 vols. 1903. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1964.
- Brown, Milton W. American Art to 1900: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1977.
- Carlson, Marvin. The Italian Shakespearians: Performances by Ristori, Salvini and Rossi in England and America. Washington, D.C.: Folger Books, 1985.
- Carson, William G.B. The Theatre on the Frontier. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
- Chindahl, George L. A History of the Circus in America. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1959.
- Clapp, William W., Jr. A Record of the Boston Stage. James Monroe & Co., 1853. Reprint. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.
- Dahl, Curtis. "Panoramas of Antiquity." Archeology 12 (Winter 1959): 258-63.

- Davis, Susan G. Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Dormon, James H., Jr. Theatre in the Ante Bellum South 1815-1861. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
- Dunlap, William. History of the American Theatre. 1832. Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1963.
- Eckley, Wilton. The American Circus. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984.
- Elson, Louis C. The History of American Music. 1925. Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.
- Flint, Richard W. "The Evolution of the Circus in Nineteenth Century America." In American Popular Entertainment, edited by Myron Matlaw, 187-195. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Graham, Philip. Showboats: The History of an American Institution. 1951. Reprint. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976.
- Gold, James Paul. "A Study of the Mastin Collection." Master's Thesis, S.U.N.Y. Oneonta (at the New York State Historical Society), 1967.
- Grimsted, David. Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968. Reprint. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Hamm, Charles. Music in the New World. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983.
- Hedgbeth, Llewellyn Hubbard. "Extant American Panoramas: Moving Entertainments of the Nineteenth Century Theater." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977.
- Herron, Ima Honaker. The Small Town in American Drama. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969.
- Hewitt, Bernard. Theatre U.S.A. 1665 to 1957. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.
- Highfill, Philip H., Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, Edward Langhans. A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1987.
- Hill, West T. The Theatre in Early Kentucky 1790-1820. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

- Hodge, Francis. Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964.
- Hornblow, Arthur. A History of the Theatre in America. 2 vols. Lippincott, 1919. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965.
- Howard, John Tasker, and George Kent Bellows. A Short History of Music in America. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957.
- Hughes, Glenn. A History of the American Theatre 1700-1950. New York: Samuel French, 1951.
- Hutton, Laurence. Plays and Players. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875.
- Ireland, Joseph. Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860. 2 vols. 1867. Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968.
- James, Reese D. Old Drury of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932.
- Jefferson, Joseph. The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson. New York: The Century Company, 1890.
- Judd, "Doctor." "The Water Days of the Drama." Theatre Magazine 3 (August 1903): 202-04.
- Kahan, Gerald. George Alexander Stevens and "The Lecture on Heads". Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984.
- Kellerhouse, Muriel Arline. "The Green Street Theatre, Albany, New York Under the Management of John Bernard, 1813-1816. Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1973.
- Kendall, John S. The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952.
- Kimball, James. "Country Dancing in Central and Western New York State." New York Folklore 14 (Summer-Fall 1988): 71-88.
- King, Rolf. "Edwin Booth's First Appearances in Rochester." Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series 18 (1940): 215-18.
- Lewis, Philip C. Trouping: How the Show Came to Town. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973.
- Ludlow, Noah M. Dramatic Life as I Found It. Francis Hodge, Introduction. St. Louis: G.I. Jones & Company, 1880.

McDermott, Douglas. "The Development of Theatre on the American Frontier, 1750-1890." Theatre Survey 19 (May 1978): 63-78.

_____. "Touring Patterns on California's Theatrical Frontier, 1849-1859." Theatre Survey 15 (May 1974): 18-28.

McNamara, Brooks. Step Right Up. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1976.

McPharlin, Paul. The Puppet Theatre in America: A History. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

Mastin, George. Collection files, New York Historical Society Association Storage Facility, Cooperstown, New York.

Mathews, W. S. B., assoc. ed. A Hundred Years of Music in America. Chicago: 1889. Reprint. New York: A. M. S. Press, 1970.

Meserve, Walter J. An Emerging Entertainment: The Drama of the American People to 1828. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

_____. Heralds of Promise: The Drama of the American People During the Age of Jackson, 1829-1849. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Moody, Richard. Edwin Forrest: First Star of the American Stage. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960.

_____, ed. Dramas from the American Theatre, 1762-1909. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1966.

Nicoll, Allardyce. A History of English Drama, 1660-1900. 6 vols.

Odell, George C. D. Annals of the New York Stage. 15 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Ogden-Malouf, Susan. "American Revivalism and Temperance Drama: Evangelical Protestant Ritual and Theatre in Rochester New York, 1830-1845. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1981.

Phelps, H. P. Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage. Albany: 1880. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972.

Poggi, Jack. Theatre in America: The Impact of Economic Forces, 1870-1967. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Preston, Katherine K. "Traveling Opera Troupes in the U.S., 1825-1860." Ph.D. diss. City University of New York, 1990.

- Quinn, Arthur Hobson. A History of the American Drama From the Beginning to the Civil War. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1923.
- Ruggles, Eleanor. Prince of Players: Edwin Booth. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1953.
- Shattuck, Charles H. Shakespeare on the American Stage from the Hallams to Edwin Booth Washington, D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976.
- Shockley, Martin Staples. The Richmond Stage, 1784-1812. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977
- Smith, Sol. Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1847.
- _____. Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years. 1868. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- Smither, Nelle. A History of the English Theatre in New Orleans. 1944. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.
- Stone, Henry Dickinson. Personal Recollections of the Drama, or Theatrical Reminiscences. 1873. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969.
- Toll, Robert C. Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Tompkins, Eugene, with assistance from Quincy Kilby. The History of the Boston Theatre 1854-1901. 1908. Reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969.
- Truzzi, Marcello. "Circus and Side Shows." In American Popular Entertainment, edited by Myron Matlaw. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Waldron, Carroll T. "A Hundred Years of Amusement in Utica, 1806-1906." Ms. Ut.1 Amu.1., Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York.
- Walsh, John J. "The Theater and Entertainment in Utica From Early Times to the Opening of the Stanley Theater." Completed 1976. Bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York.
- _____. "Vignettes of Old Utica: Persons, Places and Events." 1975. Bound typescript, Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York.
- Watson, Charles S. Antebellum Charleston Dramatists. University: The University of Alabama Press, 1976.

- Wemyss, Francis Courtney. Chronology of the American Stage from 1752 to 1852. New York: Wm. Taylor & Co., 1852.
- Wilmeth, Don B. American and English Popular Entertainment. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1980.
- Wilson, Arthur Herman. A History of the Philadelphia Theatre 1835 to 1855. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.
- Wilson, Garff, B. A History of American Acting. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966.
- Winter, William. The Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1894.
- Wood, William B. Personal Recollections of the Stage. Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1855.
- Young, William C. Famous Actors and Actresses on the American Stage. 2 vols. New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1975.

3. Newspapers

Most of the following newspapers are available on microfilm or microprint at Cornell University's Olin Library. Others are located at historical societies, either on microfilm, bound, or loose.

The villages under discussion:

Auburn

Advocate of the People, 1816-1818
Auburn Daily Advertiser, 1847-1861
Auburn Daily News, 1838
Auburn Journal and Advertiser, 1844-1845
Cayuga Chief, 1849-1850
Cayuga Patriot, 1825-1826, 1830-1847
Cayuga Republican, 1819, 1827, 1831-1833
Western Federalist, 1811-1812

Canandaigua

Ontario County Times, 1852-1855
Ontario Messenger, 1812-1816
Ontario Republican Times, 1856-1860
Ontario Repository, 1809-1827, 1831, 1837, 1840-1848
Western Repository and Genesee Advertiser, 1803-1805

Cherry Valley

Otsego Republican Press, 1812-1813
Cherry Valley Gazette 1818-1820, 1822-1823, 1825-1829,
1832-1833

Cooperstown

Cooperstown Federalist, 1809-1812, 1814-1815
Freeman's Journal, 1818-1820, 1850-1861
Impartial Observer, 1808-1809
Otsego Herald, 1795-1820
Watch-Tower, 1814-1819

Geneva

Geneva Gazette, 1809-1839, 1846-1861
Geneva Courier, 1831-1836, 1839-1845, 1847

Herkimer

Herkimer County Journal, 1838-1840

Manlius

Manlius Repository, 1830-1835
Onondaga Republican, 1819, 1822, 1824, 1830, 1831

Onondaga_Hollow

Onondaga Register, 1815-1817, 1824-1826

Skaneateles

Skaneateles Columbian, 1831-1839, 1841-1849
Skaneateles Democrat, 1850-1861

Utica

Columbian Gazette, 1803-1817, 1820-1822
Oneida Observer, 1826
Utica Daily Gazette, 1842-1849, 1851-1855
Utica Daily Observer, 1850, 1858-1861
Utica Observer, 1837-1842

Other newspapers:

Albany -

Albany Argus, 1813-1815

New York City

Spirit of the Times, 1831-1861

Rochester

Rochester Telegraph, 1818-1828

Syracuse

Onondaga Register and Syracuse Gazette, 1830, 1835

Onondaga Standard, 1842-1849

Reveille, 1849

Syracuse Standard (in clippings files), 1850-1861

4. Collections

Cayuga County Historian's Office, Auburn, New York; Thomas G. Eldred, historian.

Cayuga County Museum of History and Art, Auburn, New York; Michael J. Cuddy, director.

Cherry Valley Historical Society, Cherry Valley, New York; Marian Cornelia, curator.

Erie Canal Museum, Syracuse, New York; Don Wilson, curator.

Herkimer County Historical Society, Herkimer, New York; Jane Spellman, director.

Manlius Historical Society, Manlius, New York; Connie Gannett, staff director, Rhys Roberts, researcher.

Geneva Historical Society, Geneva, New York; Eleanor Clise, archivist.

New York State Historical Society Library, Cooperstown, New York; Eileen O'Brien, archivist, Kathy Stocking, registrar.

Olin Library Newspaper Collection, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Oneida Historical Society, Utica, New York; Douglas Preston, director.

Onondaga Historical Society, Syracuse, New York; Judy Haven, researcher.

Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, New York; Linda McIlbeen, director.

Seymour Library Local History Room, Auburn, New York; Stephen Erskine, librarian.

Skaneateles Historical Society, Skaneateles, New York.

Syracuse Public Library Local History Room, Syracuse, New
York.