

Amusements In Lancaster

1750 - 1940

By FELIX REICHMANN

When I first discussed the topic of my paper with Dr. Herbert H. Beck I had in mind a very broad view of the intellectual pastime in Lancaster. But soon I realized that it was impossible to approach this problem without detailed preliminary research. Consequently I had to narrow down my subject. Instead of describing how people in Lancaster used their pastime, which still remains a challenge in my mind, I had to confine myself to one phase of this pastime, to theatre and movie.

This paper does not intend to give a complete history of the theatrical amusements in Lancaster. It is meant as a methodical outline which attempts to show the important turning points in the development of the Lancaster theatre and to find the interrelation between amusement and cultural trends in the city and country at large.¹

Social events are very complicated; they are interdependent of the various fields of human activity. Different trends which seem to lead to opposite directions are joined together. The historian who attempts to disentangle the multi-dimensional weaving of life must take care not to confuse the single thread with the whole fabric. When I mention in this paper French or German influence, the frontier spirit or the middle class attitude, I ask you to understand that I consciously over-emphasize one thread.

¹ I am indebted to many persons who helped me to clarify different issues. First of all, to the librarian of the society, Mrs. Charles M. Coldren; then to Mr. George F. K. Erisman, Mr. M. Luther Heisey and Mrs. D. B. Landis. The manuscript notes of Mr. William Frederic Worner were very helpful to check against the newspaper items. Mr. Alexander, Mr. Howell and Professor Larsen gave much valuable advice. Mr. Hackman, of the Federal Writers' Project, showed me the whole material he had collected. With regard to the movies I was assisted by Mr. Howell, the president of the Howell Theatre Corporation, and the managers of the theatres in the city, especially Mr. Forry (Colonial) and Mr. Leighton (Grand).

Theatre is a social art, it grows out of a group life, it would wither in isolation. There would be no theatre in a group of hermits. I can imagine that in a group of solitaries could live a great painter, or even that poetry could be developed, but there would never be a theatre. Most arts can be, to use a modern expression, self-sufficient. The painter can enjoy his own pictures, and the poet may be the only reader of his verses, but one simply cannot play theatre for oneself. Not only playwrights and actors, but an audience, too, is necessary to establish a theatre. And in this connection with the audience, in this relation to the community, who enjoys or rejects the play, lies the important social implication of the theatre as a dynamic social agency. Theatre always caters to the key-places of a country and not only for economic reasons. The more a town is connected with the whole life of the nation, the better the theatre will grow.

We have to ask ourselves: Why did this particular society demand this particular kind of amusement? Lord Lytton once said, "the social civilization of a people is always and infallibly indicated by the intellectual character of its amusements." Theatre and movies are a mirror or, better, a barometer of social development. We shall see how the theatre in America, even in its early stage, was used as a weapon of propaganda, and despite the hundreds of volumes which were devoted to this subject the question has not yet been settled to what degree the movies influence the moral attitude of children and adults. Although all human beings in this world react under certain conditions in a very similar way (for instance, we all search in amusement recreation, sometimes with an educational or so-called useful aim, sometimes only for blind escape) the individuality of the single community or nation becomes manifest in the fact, that a certain form has been favored.

It has been said over and over again that America is the land of freedom, the land of democracy. I do not overlook the existence of a colonial aristocracy, of the 400, of certain social cliques and class restrictions. But compared with the atmosphere over sea the prophetic words of Toqueville have stood the test of time. He said that "the public opinion in the United States will always favor the equalizing of the conditions of men and the establishing of democratic institutions." And the refugee of our times feels like his luckier brother who came over two hundred years before, that the attitude toward the rights of the neighbor is basically different from the one he was accustomed to in Europe. All you have to do is to stay five minutes in the waiting line in front of a cinema in Lancaster and in Berlin, and you have the whole difference in a nutshell. How did this variation in human approach influence the theatre?

When the first theatrical performances were offered to the white settlement along the seaboard of the Atlantic Ocean this kind of amusement in Europe was largely a domain of court and nobility. And this stigma of class amusement hampered for a long time the development of the theatre in America. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century the "Know Nothing Party" stamped the theatre as undemocratic and un-American, and popular riots before theatres are frequently reported. Nothing so unpleasant ever happened to what I would call the stepson of the theatre. It started with

barn shows of wild animals and was calculated to satisfy the curiosity of the great masses at a very cheap admission fee. The combination of these little menageries with bands of itinerant acrobats gave birth to a great institution, the first native American amusement product: the circus.

From a humble beginning it spread quickly to world-wide recognition; a name like Barnum is known over the whole world. Lancaster has historical proofs that acrobats performed here 1789, and a great circus eight years later. A little more than one hundred years were granted to this kind of amusement—we in Lancaster can visualize the development in the long way which leads from Ricketts' to Welsh Brothers—then it had to give room to another form which was destined to become the world's greatest amusement industry. The principle remained the same, all classes of people should be attracted at a moderate admission fee. Experience has shown that only mechanical manufacturing can cheapen the products. And when the creative spirit of American inventors succeeded to put the stage on the screen, the problem was solved and the movie was created. The cinema, at the time being, is America's greatest amusement institution and has gained control over the whole world. When we read the advertisement of the first movies in Lancaster in the early 1900's we realize how successful their appeal must have been. "Come when you please, go when you please, stay as long as you wish." Nobody can deny that the cinema is the great democratization of the theatre and has the key position in America's pastime.

Two hundred and fifty years ago life was less easy going, the whole community had to face real hardship and therefore depended on joint efforts. No misspense of time, to use the old Puritan term, could be tolerated. The white settlements in America were not yet American, they were still basically European. Although the passage took four to five months, was dangerous and uncomfortable, the American coast cities were spiritually nearer to Europe than today where the flying distance is twenty-four hours. The colonies were given to prolong the fiction that they were still a part of European life. They did not realize that they already had ceased to be European, that they had a new mother—the American continent. A spiritual transformation had taken place, a kind of rebirth which shaped the European immigrant to an American citizen according to the requirements of the new surroundings. The Puritans in New England, the Dutch in New York, the Quakers and plain sects in Pennsylvania, etc., did not realize that they were already Americans. They still cherished the idea of belonging to Europe. It is this attitude which we are accustomed to label as the cosmopolitan spirit in American colonial life. Almost all religious denominations preserved their connection with the old world. Ministers were called from England or from Germany, and children were sent for their education to Europe. The famous American melting pot had started to work. Eighteen languages were counted in New York a score of years before the Duke of York occupied the town. Thus seemingly it was European, but when a significant exponent of European culture—the European amusement, the theatre—was to emigrate to America, then something suddenly happened; it simply did not work, so this culture here was not so completely European after all.

The European theatre of the late 1600 was primarily the entertainment of the luxury-loving court circles. The Puritans were naturally opposed, but also among the Quakers was no love lost for this kind of amusement. Discriminations for religious reasons bolstered up the various arguments, the German sects whole heartedly tuned in. The best wedge into America apparently was the aristocracy in Virginia, but even here the first theatre performances needed some kind of excuse. Life was too hard to tolerate an amusement without a socially useful end; the theatre entered as an exercise in elocution. So the theatre in America, in 1700 as in 1941, is linked with amateur performances and especially with college life. In 1702 a pastoral colloquy was recited by the pupils of William and Mary's College, the first theatre performance recorded on this continent, fourteen years before the first theatre was built in Williamsburg, where in 1718 Alexander Spotswood saw a play. Something very closely approaching theatricals took place in the guise of public readings or moral lectures. Concerts were given frequently even in Puritan strongholds and amateur performances became more and more numerous. The College of Philadelphia had plays regularly from 1757 on, closely followed by the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. President Witherspoon and Provost William Smith eagerly promoted college plays as a part of the educational program.

The professional theatre had a hard time. "Strolling players wandered along the Atlantic coast, those who loved the theatre gave the troopers eager welcome, those who feared the snares of Satan fought them bitterly. But the actors persevered with suppliant pride, obtained—if they could—permission to play, built theatres, unpacked their meager wardrobes, distributed handbills. Three nights a week the theatre would be open. Beginning at 6 or 7 P. M. the players would give a five-act drama and a two-act farce with singing and dancing in the intermission and then work up a new bill for the next performance." The last performances in a city were generally labelled as benefits for the outstanding actors. The legislature opposed as strongly as it could. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the assembly prohibited from 1700 on, "stage plays and other rude sports." All these laws were vetoed in England and . . . the people went to the theatre in Philadelphia and probably in Lancaster, too. James Logan mentioned a play in Philadelphia in 1723, and from the next year we have the first newspaper advertisement which announced the comedian Pickle Herring, the famous hero of English farces.

The theatrical companies were formed in England, like the Hallam's Company of Comedians from London. It is characteristic for the changing conditions that the company, after the death of Mr. Hallam, under the management of the famous actor Douglass, called itself American Company. It slowly became a stabilized institution and we shall meet its members in Lancaster many times. Demand for group entertainment had become so urgent that legal restrictions did not hamper its evolution. In the very primitive beginning the only entertainments were church sermons and funerals; the vulgar people substituted drinking. Now we are in the middle 1700's—the change in the physical security alone would have asked for a more refined form of

amusement. Society, in the sophisticated sense of the word, brought new requirements; dancing, balls and the stage were able to fulfill them.

The structure of the colonial theatre was rather crude. Charles Biddle relates from his boyhood, Philadelphia about 1758, the following story:² "One evening pulling off my shoes I climbed up a board and got into the gallery in the theatre in Southwark through a small opening in the upper part of the building. Just before I reached the opening, one of the attendants of the house caught hold of the board and threatened to turn it over, if I did not come immediately down. Somebody interfered: 'The little rascal has run the risk of his neck, let him get in if he can.' The play was just over when I got into the gallery, all the actors were on the stage and I thought it a most grand sight." Another story—a little later—tells us of a boy who wanted to see Richard III without paying the entrance fee. He was hiding in the casket which was supposed to contain the body of Henry VI. Unfortunately he made some noise and frightened the actors so that all fled in terror, and the public roared with laughter.³ Contemporary newspaper advertisements in Philadelphia and Lancaster frequently contain the request: Do not bribe the doorkeeper.

It is characteristic for the American form of theatre that the line between professional and amateur play is not very rigid. On a Philadelphia play bill of the American Company an actor is named: A gentlemen for his amusement. By following the development of the theatre in Lancaster we shall have frequently the opportunity to see the close interrelation between amateur organizations and professional theatre. Another typical feature is the fight for and against Sunday amusements. This question had been settled in Continental Europe long ago. Even England was not so rigorous as America, since King James I in his book of sports of 1718 gave permission for some entertainments after Sunday service. Nothing of this kind was possible in America. But the increasing influx of European immigrants who were not accustomed to keep this commandment changed the American attitude. And we face the astonishing situation that the eastern seaboard which was supposed to be under European influence maintained the American habit and in the West the frontier spirit, which has been defined as the American spirit, was opposed to it. The Sabbath will never cross the Mississippi, was its war cry. The apparent result is not characteristic for an attitude; we can only understand it in its struggle and unceasing movements. The core lies in the fact, that in Lancaster, a few months ago, an issue could be fought, whether or not cinemas should be open on Sundays, that is still a problem worth a discussion.

² Biddle, Charles. Autobiography, 1745-1821. Philadelphia, 1883.

³ Murdoch relates how the final scene in "Romeo and Juliet" in the Lancaster Chestnut Street Theatre was almost disrupted. A cow has stuck her horns through the wall and frightened Juliet lying in her tomb. See Papers of the Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., X, 116.

No absolute historical proof has been found so far that theatre has been played in Lancaster before the War of the Revolution. But we know facts which allow us conclusions. About 1750 our city had already developed some society life. In the first courthouse rooms had been rented to a dancing school and after four years of struggle, in 1754, public indignation closed this first centre of amusement. People were keen on entertainment; the first Lancaster newspaper of 1752 included an advertisement of the printers of the Lancaster Gazette, H. Miller and S. Holland in King Street, who announced their stock of English and German books, which were not confined to religious titles only. In 1759 the Juliana Library was founded to meet the public demand for intellectual pastime. It is reasonable to suppose that strolling players found their way to a place which was known as the biggest inland town in Colonial America. To finish my case I have to borrow four documents from a later period. In 1777 Miss Krause (later Mrs. Wolf) described performances played by English prisoners of war in the brewery of her uncle, Henry Dering. Nothing in this charming narrative indicates that it was here that the young lady saw theatre for the first time in her life. She says: Gentlemen and ladies were familiar with the plays of Shakespeare, hence it was not difficult to prepare themselves in this respect. It was certainly worth while to be mentioned in her diary, but nothing so extraordinary that she or her relatives in Lancaster had not seen before. This assumption is duplicated by the other evidence which we have about amusement in Lancaster during the Revolutionary War,—Major André, the Hessians, etc. We cannot assume that the amateurs played theatre without the booktrade furnishing the necessary copies. On the other hand, if the booktrade announces plays, we can assume that they were used for amateur performances. The Lancaster Zeitung of 1787 announced that the editors had for sale: *The Deserter*, a comic opera; and *The Poor Soldier*, an opera. Both were favorite plays at that time.

The first documentation of the theatre in Lancaster is an advertisement of the Lancaster Zeitung from November 18, 1789. The importance of this find does not lie in the fact that it antedates by two years the earliest performance known, but in the conclusions which it offers. The locality of the performance is given: *Das ehemalige Komödienhaus* (the former theatre).

The White Horse Inn is, from 1799 on, generally called the New Theatre. If we had in 1799 a new theatre, then we have had some years before an old theatre—it may have been Dering's brewery or some other place—where strolling actors played regularly. If we were judges sitting on the bench we can pass the judgment that the evidence points strongly to the assumption that Lancaster had a theatre in colonial times.

With these documents we have already entered the second chapter in the development of the American theatre—or let us call it an interlude, a military interlude. An old Latin proverb says that the arms keep the muses quiet, but this does not hold true for the war of American revolution. Both armies had a great weakness for the stage and officers and privates played theatre whenever they could. Despite the terrible hardship Washington's army suffered at Valley Forge, the Americans played theatre. And when after

Howe's retreat the army finally reentered Philadelphia, they gave theatre performances as benefits for the victims of the war. The Library of Congress preserves a copy of the famous comedy, "The Lying Valet," printed in Philadelphia, 1778, with this interesting dedication: Printed at the desire of some of the officers of the American army, who intend to exhibit at the playhouse for the benefit of families who have suffered in the war for American liberty.

The legislative body remained strongly opposed to this kind of entertainment, and October 16, 1778, Congress resolved that no person holding an office under the United States shall promote, encourage or attend plays. But this severe measure had only the result that people opposed the tyranny of Congress and went right ahead to the theatre. Even George Washington accompanied the French Minister, 1782, to see Beaumarchais' "Eugenie." Lieutenant Reeves records that his company performed "The Lying Valet" in Reading, 1781.⁴ Amateur play remained a favorite pastime in the American army. The Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania preserves the notes of Thomas J. Baird⁵ on the theatre performances of one of our frontier posts, 1816. The visitor emphasizes the enthusiasm of officer and men, the excellent performance and the good military band.

The Americans liked the theatre, but the English were more than enthusiastic about it. Quite a number of the famous English generals had a gift and a liking for theatrical management. General Clinton was director of the John Street Theatre in New York, called Theatre Royal and did an excellent job. His bottleneck was only a shortage of copies for his players. General Bourgoyne combined theatrical management with poetical laurels; he is author of a play "Blockade of Boston." During Howe's occupation of Philadelphia a group of his enthusiastic officers, generally called Howe's Thespians, played regularly at the Southwark Theatre, the home of the American Company. One of the leading positions there was held by Major André. He and Captain Delancey were the directors of the famous Mischianza, May 18, 1778, a spectacular and theatrical pageant as a farewell tribute to General Howe. Even if captured the English did not abandon their hobby. Mankind had not yet reached the high standard of barbed wire culture and still believed in the old-fashioned conceptions of chivalry and honor. Burgoyne's captured army, influenced by the histrionic talent of its leader opened a theatre in Charlottesville, 1779.

I have just mentioned Miss Krause's tale about Shakespeare played by English officers in Lancaster, 1777. Prisoners of war were in Lancaster from the beginning; they came mostly from the campaign in Canada. One of them was the famous Major André.⁶ We know that this gifted, unfortunate gentleman was a great theatre enthusiast; two years after his Lancaster captivity he was the centre of those activities in Philadelphia. We know that the

⁴ Buttorff, T. Theatre in Reading until 1851. Hist. Review of Berks County, 1940, 9.

⁵ Gardener Collection, Box 17.

⁶ Hensel, W. U. Major André's Residence in Lancaster. Papers of the Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. VIII, 142.

English officers played theatre in Lancaster; Major André lived in town. We can conclude therefore, that he played theatre in Lancaster; maybe he organized the whole amusement.

We do not know much about theatre talents among the Hessians. Quite a number of them lived in our city and the barracks grew larger and larger. From a report of John Hubley to the Council of Safety we learn⁷ that at this moment the barracks already had crossed Duke Street and were considerably enlarged to the east. To the south they had reached Walnut Street. But if the Hessians had not many actors, it is sure that they were able to form a good military band. Christoph Marshall reports under the 6th of February, 1778: "It is said that the people who keep the ball in Lancaster allow the Hessian band of music £15 for each night attendance." If our diarist did not make a mistake we must admit that the band was well paid. Further, we learn that amusement had ceased to be recorded as an outstanding event; it had become a matter of everyday life.

Theatre firmly incorporated into American life, but under foreign influence, the plays from over sea and the actors mostly foreign born; that is the third chapter of history which roughly extends from the end of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. In the first half of this period the centre is Philadelphia, in the second half it has shifted to New York. The legal restrictions were broken in 1789 by the Dramatic Association. This was a non-political organization, called the voice of the best liberal elements, interested in arts and political rights. Their argument was: "If a mere difference of opinion shall be thought a sufficient foundation to curtail our rights, the boasted liberty of the present age will be eclipsed . . . and the same authority which prescribes our amusements may with equal justice dictate the shape and texture of our dress or the modes and ceremonies of our worship."

It was a period of difficult transitions. The political and economic difficulties are well known, but also the cultural ones were very serious. A changing society has to change its amusements, but the plays imported from Europe, the foreign-born actors, remained alien; they did not fit into the new surroundings. True, America had accepted the theatre in its every day life, but it did not yet succeed to turn both into a homogeneous entity. Although this country had after a mere statistical calculation as many amusement facilities as the countries over sea, no foreign visitor who came to these shores seemed to realize it. And so the general verdict was America does not have any amusement; people here are only interested in dollars. To quote only one voice out of hundreds of similar ones, Cuming in his Sketches of a Tour to the Western Countries, 1810, concludes his generally very appreciative description of Lancaster: "There is no theatre, no assemblies, no

⁷ Report of January 10, 1780, in the Manuscript Dept. of the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc., Gratz Coll., Case 1, Box 15.

literary society, nor any other public entertainment, except an itinerant exhibition of wax works or a puppet show, but there are taverns without number." It is easy to prove that Lancaster had much better public entertainments than wax works, but our visitor simply overlooked this fact.

Despite all the snobbish scorn about America's shortcomings the development of the theatre went right ahead. The American Company had to cede the leading position to the Theatrical Commonwealth, founded in Philadelphia, 1813. Its headquarters were the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia known as the Old Drury, reputed to have the most able troupe in the country and for more than a decade acknowledged as America's greatest theatrical center. The name itself taken from the famous Drury Lane Theatre in London shows the intellectual dependence on England. We shall meet this company in Lancaster.

The 1820's brought a new stream of wealth to America; it was the famous Era of Good Feeling. And the city which profited most of all was New York. In 1823 it had installed gas for street lighting, fifteen years before Philadelphia, and its custom duties exceeded the combined total from Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Savannah. It has become the commercial metropolis of the United States and gained theatrical supremacy. A number of new theatre buildings proves this fact. The Chatham Garden Theatre of 1824, described as the most beautiful in the Union; the Bowery, no doubt the most famous theatre in America; the Italian Opera House of 1833, the first opera house in the country; the Olympic Theatre of 1839, especially devoted to musical travesties and light entertainment, with very cheap entrance fees. The American drama came slowly into its own, gained a foothold on the stage, and native actors were successful competitors against their English colleagues. It is sufficient to quote Edwin Forrest from Philadelphia or the Jefferson Family—very important for Lancaster—who in the second generation were native born, and many others.

Two opposite intellectual trends dominate this period. One has become known since Turner's famous book⁸ as the frontier spirit. I am following here the younger generation of American historians by using the broader definition of the term. From this point of view the mentality is not confined to the West but includes the whole isolationist movement. A good example is the address given by James Buchanan at the 4th of July ceremonies before the Washington Society of Lancaster in 1815. He said: "Foreign influence has been in every age the curse of the Republics . . . we are separated from the nations of Europe by an immense ocean . . . we are disconnected from them by a different form of government." It is this attitude which induced Toqueville, like many others, to speak of the irritating patriotism of the Americans, and led to the Astor Place Riot, New York, 1849, where the competition between the American actor, Edwin Forrest, and the English Macready was abused for the political slogan: "Workingmen, shall England or America rule this city. Washington, forever."

⁸ Turner, F. J. *The Frontier in American History*, 1923. Pierson, G. H. *The Frontier of Turner's Essays*. *Penna. Magazine*, 1940, 449.

The members of this "American Committee" who signed this proclamation did not realize, that it was not England but France who had basically influenced American culture. France had been the deadly enemy of the English colonies in America, but was accepted as the good friend of the Republic. Public opinion in America had never forgotten the importance of French help in the War of the Revolution, and, despite the horrors of the French revolution and the aggressive politics of Napoleon, good feeling towards France dominated in America. French custom influenced the whole life of the nation. The country at large changed from the English tea to French coffee; we learned to eat ice cream and to use tomatoes. French influence in cooking was so strong, that Patrick Henry denounced Jefferson as having abjured his native victuals. French language had the position which afterwards German had as a key to scientific information.⁹

French dancing masters poured into the country. The *Lancaster Journal* of September 16, 1797, announced that the dancing school of M. Baccornais would be continued for another quarter. The location was probably Matthias Slough's tavern. In 1810 M. Colonne, "professeur of the Academy at Paris and Madrid," was willing to teach the most fashionable steps and figures as taught in Paris. He gave his lessons in Mr. Rohrer's tavern. At the same time his colleague, M. Boudet, had another dancing school. In 1812 M. Cezeron gave dancing lessons and instructions in the French language. He charged \$10 a quarter, three times a week, two hours each, "without any extra charge for firewood and candle light." In 1818 M. Bonnafon's dancing school was most fashionable. He charged \$1 for a lady's ticket at his cotillon parties and balls. Four years afterwards M. Guigon tried to teach Lancaster youngsters how to speak and how to move according to French fashion. And from 1827, till at least 1831, M. August, dancing master from Paris, had his school at Mr. Hubley's City Hotel, where one could learn all modern dances in eighteen lessons for only \$5. French influence in ladies' fashion is well known. We learn from the *Ladies Repository* for August, 1843, that it is the mark of the greatest vulgarity for a lady to wear anything but a Parisian slipper. Mrs. Trollope remarked in 1832: The dress is entirely French on pain on being stigmatized as out of fashion. . . . And she is much astonished to see that not only the upper classes, but also the lower classes, are dressed in the same way.

Lancaster was no exception to this rule. In 1778 Lancaster shops had nothing but French flippery, so at least is the harsh judgment of an angry Briton, Mr. Anbury, officer of Burgoyne's army, who seemingly had a boring time in Lancaster as prisoner of war. But even in 1866 J. Loeb, New York millinery store, 31 N. Queen Street, Lancaster, offers his entire stock at cost

⁹ In 1801, for instance, the University of North Carolina did not grant any degree without the candidate having shown some knowledge of Greek or French. For the whole question of French influence see Jones, H. M. *America and French Culture*, 1927.

"as arrangements have been made for direct importation from France." Stage entertainment, especially dance, were under French control. Our artists went to Paris. Robert Fulton had an exhibition there. And with regard to architecture and city planning I only need quote the name L'Enfant. The whole museum movement, natural history collections, wax works were imported from France.

THE OLD LANDIS MUSEUM

A good example of this kind of museum, which was Natural History Museum, plus curiosity shop, plus cheap commercial amusement, was the John Landis Museum in Lancaster. Its official name was Lancaster Museum and Gallery of Wax Figures, the sign board in front of the building bore the inscription, Gallery of Arts and Sciences. John Landis was an innkeeper, his hotel, Western Hotel, Sign of the Waggon, stood at the southwest corner of West Orange and North Water Streets. He was anxious to make it known that the new Museum enterprise would not interfere with his old business. A newspaper advertisement of August 26, 1818, announces that Mr. Landis will continue to keep a house of public entertainment. The first location of the Museum was West Orange Street, most probably on the southwest corner of North Prince Street. In 1822 it was removed to the south side of Penn Square, and in 1838 to the house of John W. Gable in West Chestnut Street. On April 3, 1838, it was rented by Jacob M. Westhaeffer and soon after it became the property of Mr. Westhaeffer and Mr. Charles S. Getz. In 1842 Mr. Getz was the owner, but he sold it to Mr. Noah Smith. In 1849 the whole outfit was sold to Wood and Peale of Cincinnati. It was removed to that city, but burned down there the next year.¹⁰

The first public announcement I have found dates from 1816. Mr. Landis seemingly wanted to combine his thriving inn business with the Museum. He informed the gentlemen, who may favour him with a visit, that "in the same room in which all the curiosities were offered for inspection he would keep an excellent assortment of liquors for sale to exhilarate their spirits and brighten their eyes." This attempt has never been renewed and all further advertisements confine themselves to the collections proper. There was great variety. The historical collection displayed eight hundred medals, giving a complete chronological history of Europe. Shells from the West Indies, minerals and fossils, illustrated natural history. Much money was spent on the zoological department. On September 6, 1822, Mr. Landis announced that he had spent \$1000 within a few weeks. But as the same statement appears rather frequently in the subsequent years, I am somewhat suspicious whether Mr. Landis believed that truth should be the basis of all commercial propaganda. A number of living wild animals were kept in the yard,—two wolves, an elk, wild cats, apes, etc. The extraordinary was stressed, for instance, a mammoth turtle, four hundred pounds in weight. A big hog was widely advertised. The animal, proudly announced as having been raised by Mr. Rudolph Shenk,

¹⁰ Nevertheless the Lancaster Business Advertiser of 1851 still quotes: "Smith's Lancaster Museum," corner of North Queen and Chestnut Streets.

Conestoga Township, weighed one thousand pounds and was ten feet long. Surely an extraordinary creation of nature. Sometimes the exhibits came close to a circus performance, as when a bear was advertised "who has been taught to answer almost all questions, and may truly be styled learned."

The backbone of the whole enterprise was the wax statuary. Religious groups dominated, the birth of Christ, David and Goliath, etc. Further the usual portraits of famous historical personalities, American heroes like Washington and Jefferson, but also rather dubious characters like Baron Trenk. The German baron was the standing requisite of all wax works; he was the symbol of the terrible fate of a state prisoner, in heavy chains, a pitiful sight. Mr. Landis was also able to cope with actual politics. In 1829 he advertised a new acquisition—a full-length figure of Andrew Jackson seated in a hickory chair. To the Fine Arts belonged a transparent scene of the Hall of the Thirteenth Century in the Museum of French Monuments in Paris. From time to time temporary attractions were added to win new patrons. A balloon ascension on October 5, 1821; the Siamese twins in May, 1830; and in June of the same year animated optic balls constructed by Mr. Landis himself. Every evening in the week the Museum was illuminated. The management tried to stimulate the patrons to come regularly. Besides the tickets valid only for one day, the price was generally a quarter, in bad years 12½ cents; a season admission ticket was advertised. It was very typical of Lancaster customs that it ran from April to April. During July and August the Museum was closed.

This institution is characteristic of American pastime in this period. Every single item can be traced back to Europe. Wax works of this kind are more or less similar over the whole world; natural curiosities, tame animals, etc., have attracted the great masses for centuries and people were always eager to get instruction. Surely it was not possible to combine those different ingredients to an entity which could meet our requirements of cultural standard; it was not possible to create American amusement as long as every single part was imported from Europe, but trends were manifest which promised a brighter future. No class differentiation in the pastime, not "popular" in the European sense, where the word stands for "immature," but a place of recreation for the whole community, which was able to give entertainment and information to everybody.

The Landis Museum was not the first show of this kind offered to Lancasterians. Mr. Hackley, the owner of itinerant wax works was here in the last years of the eighteenth century. On October 14, 1796, he announced that he would soon remove his wax figures—one of the usual attempts to increase the number of visitors. Four years afterwards Moulthrop & Street arrived. They displayed their forty wax figures in a room at G. Fisher's tavern, also known under the name of "King of Prussia," in West King Street. They kept to American history and emphasized the great American heroes of their past and present. The firm was afterwards changed to Davenport & Street and displayed at the same place again in 1804. They remained faithful to their principle; the latest acquisition was the representation of the Burr-

Hamilton Duel. The standard entrance fee for this kind of amusement was a quarter dollar.

The exhibition which could be seen in 1814 at Th. Wentz' tavern in North Queen Street—the famous Franklin Head tavern—bore a cosmopolitan stamp. Cosma Rama was the promising title; all distinguished monarchs of the world could be seen and in addition the most famous buildings of Rome. One can see, the demands rise; simple wax figures alone would not do any longer. Messrs. Stowel & Bradley, who displayed their treasures in the same tavern in 1818, realized this. Their main attraction was the "Temple of Industry or the great mechanical panorama," consisting of thirty-six moving figures, also twenty beautiful views.

But the established Lancaster institution—the John Landis Museum—proved a very strong competition, and the itinerant wax works no longer came to our city. Another great attraction only partly covered by Mr. Landis' activities were strange or tamed animals, the display of horsemanship, in one word the circus. The first specimen found so far is a camel from the Arabian desert shown at Jacob Stofft's inn in King Street, February 6, 1793. It is classified as the greatest natural curiosity. At the same place a lion could be seen in 1797. Next door to Mr. Stofft, Mr. Rine had a big ball room. Here a Mr. Salenka showed the tricks of a learned dog who could perform a number of mathematical experiments. One had to pay fifty cents to see it, and the only occasion was June 10, 1797. About six weeks later a big circus came, John Bell Ricketts from Philadelphia. He stayed until the middle of September, gave two performances daily, three times a week. The price was \$1 for the box seat and fifty cents for the pit. He had a large amphitheatre in South Queen Street at the south end of the town, back of Mr. Wilson's tavern. Elephants could be seen at least three times in short intervals, 1798, 1806 and 1813. The innkeepers who offered this attraction were Mr. Gross and Mr. Feree, both on King Street, and Mr. Jacob Rudesill. Although the latter emphasized that this may be the last opportunity for the present generation to see an elephant he, too, charged the usual price: a quarter for adults and the half for children.

I am really sorry that I missed the opportunity to meet the "Learned Pig." Who ever went to the house of Mr. John Whiteside, "Sign of the Lion," North Queen Street—incidentally one of the famous theatrical inns—on June 9, 1802, could see a pig "which reads printing and writing, both English and German, spells the time of the day, both hours and minutes, by any person's watch in the company; gives the date of the year and the date of the month, distinguishes colors, how many persons there are present, ladies or gentlemen; and to the astonishment of every spectator will add, subtract, multiply and divide. To conclude any gentleman may draw a card from a pack and keep it concealed and the pig without hesitation will discover the card when drawn. If the pig does not perform as above mentioned, all persons are entitled to their money again." No doubt the pig was a box office success; it came back again the next year. The advertisement used is similar to the one just given, only the last sentence about the money back is changed to the proud

but more careful statement: "The proprietor presumes a pushing advertisement as unnecessary."

THE CIRCUS BECOMES POPULAR

Exhibitions of this kind are more or less frequent. A "Horse of Knowledge" could be seen at Wittmer's tavern in 1807, and next door to Hatz' was even a small menagerie, a red lion and the "pelican of the wilderness" could be seen in 1818, and Mr. Hambright had an ostrich in 1826. I feel sorry for the ostrich as he was displayed for only half the usual entrance fee. But all this was, of course, outshone by a real circus with wild animals, horsemanship, pantomimes, ballet dances, etc. The great Philadelphia circus, Pepin and Breschard, came to Lancaster, at least from 1809-1818, almost every other year. It followed Mr. Ricketts' example where locality and price were concerned. Seemingly it had no real tent, because performances had to be postponed, when the weather was unfavorable. It was a metropolitan institution able to bring different stimuli to Lancaster society. For instance Mr. Mercier, the leader of its band, could teach playing the clarinet and flute. Mr. Mercier "most graciously considered to remain in the city for other three months in order not to deprive Lancastrians of the opportunity."

The war with England had impaired business, prices had to be cut twenty-five per cent. In reading the advertisements—for instance, for 1817—one feels the severe struggle for existence. The same cheap methods were tried again and again: The last performance, the absolute last performance, and then another three nights are added to the positively last performance. Victor Pepin came again next year. He did what he could, added new members, so M. Caussin, from the Francony Circus, Paris, offered pantomimes, melodramas and comic scenes, reduced the prices, but in the end of the season he was forced to sell tickets at a quarter. This sum remained the standard price for circus to the end of our period—a reduction of seventy-five per cent. Pepin never again returned to Lancaster, but some of his employees arrived now with their own company; Mr. Tatnall in 1823. Also in circus life the centre of attraction shifted to New York. In the fall, 1831, the New York circus came under management of Mr. Brown. The New Pavillon Circus "Company Clayton and Bartlett" was here in July, 1844, and in the fall of the same year the great circus of Mann, Wech and Delevan. Although it could put eighty men in the arena, it was not able to raise the price above the usual quarter. Most of these performances in the last decade took place in the big arena in the rear of Scholfield's Hotel.

It has been repeatedly said that the early theatres were performed in inns. Sometimes the large ballroom of the hotel was used, sometimes a separate barn. The colonial theatre mentioned in the advertisement of 1789 most likely was such a detached barn. Several famous inns have been mentioned before, a few more names must be added. The "White Horse," property of Arch. Lanegan in East King Street, is, from 1799 on, generally called the New Theatre; at the end of our period the popular name is Olympic Gardens. Mr. Slough sold theatre tickets in his tavern but no direct connection has been found. On the theatre bills appear frequently Rohrer's "King of

Prussia" in West King Street, F. Dolle in Centre Square, Cooper's "Red Lion" in West King Street, Mr. Reigart's ball room, Eichholtz in South Queen Street, all in all I counted twenty-five different names. The great attempt of the theatrical commonwealth to erect theatre buildings in Lancaster failed in the fall of 1813, but a few years later Mr. Landis, the owner of the Western Hotel in West Orange Street and of the Landis Museum, tried to satisfy the need. In 1818 we hear for the first time about the theatre next door to Mr. Landis' tavern; the place was owned by Landis because on January 11, 1822, he offered for sale "a small lot on Orange Street with the theatre erected thereon with scenery, etc." The place was accepted as *The Lancaster Theatre* for a decade. During this period the only location given on bills and advertisements is simply Lancaster Theatre. In 1830 it had to cede supremacy to a detached barn on West Chestnut Street which had been adapted and reached almost nation-wide fame through its manager, John Jefferson. In the last decade mostly two names are quoted. Reitzel's Hall on the northeast corner of Orange and Market Streets and Locher's Military Hall in the rear of the Mechanics' Institute, 31 South Queen Street.

It was a various program which was offered to Lancaster in these different localities. Rope dancing, farces, charming old English comedies like Goldsmith's, "She Stoops to Conquer" and Sheridan's, "School for Scandal," and sometimes Shakespeare. The oldest advertisement is from November 18, 1789. The Italian master, Donegany, announces that he would appear in the former theatre to perform curious jumps, dance on the rope, play different musical instruments at the same time, etc. The fee was as usual for all theatre entertainments, 2/6 or about fifty cents. This is one of the very few advertisements in German. All theatre announcements are in English, even in German newspapers. No doubt the English population were the better customers. Except for one or two comical interludes, which may have been in German, only English was spoken on the stage.

December, 1791, the McGrath Company of Comedians came to Lancaster. The company generally played in Virginia and Maryland and was just on a tour through Pennsylvania. Before coming to Lancaster they had played in Carlisle and York. The repertoire included the "Miser" by Moliere, incidentally one of the earliest Moliere presentations in this country and Sheridan's "School for Scandal." The bill proudly announces also an American creation: "The Contrast," a celebrated comedy written by a citizen of the United States. The author is Royal Tylor; the play was first performed in New York, in 1787. In accordance with the taste of the time farces had to be added, like "The Ghost or Love and Money" and "Like Master Like Men or the Wrangling Lovers."

DURANG'S OLD AMERICAN COMPANY

The best company of the time—the Old American Company from Philadelphia—appeared the next year. A group of this company under the management of Mr. Durang returned to our city regularly every year till 1819. Mr. Durang called himself manager of the Lancaster Theatre and claimed to have the best contact with the Lancaster public as he was a native of

Lancaster. Most probably he is the first son of this city who won theatrical laurels. He really did his best to satisfy his fellow townsmen. His yearly announcements followed this pattern: "Mr. Durang respectfully informs that he will present a good theatrical company, a selection of moral and sentimental tragedy combined with genuine and legitimate comedy, operas, ballets and the most fashionable dances by corps du ballet, accompanied with scenery, machinery, brilliant and characteristic dresses with appropriate music." He kept one of his earliest promises to provide for the greatest variety of amusement that had ever been exhibited in this town.

He generally played in the "White Horse," "The King of Prussia," "The Fountain Inn" or "Franklin's Head," but had no contract binding him longer than for one season. Therefore, many of his first announcements say that the company will play as soon as a suitable place can be found. Performances took place four times a week, Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and first started at 7 P. M., after 1808 at 8:15 P. M. The standard price was fifty cents for the box seat and twenty-five cents for the pit.

Durang kept good discipline in the theatre, and from 1808 on he printed on his bills a special request, directed to the gentlemen not to smoke in the building. He tried to bring yearly some new attraction, new wardrobe, new stage paintings and he always added new members to his troupe. He brought Ricketts' from Philadelphia and Rannie the famous ventriloquist, the English actor Blisset and his wife, Miss French and Mr. Drummond, well-known names of the Philadelphia stage. The backbone of the troupe was, of course, Durang himself and his family. He was a professional dancer and had been dancing master of the New Theatre in Philadelphia before he started his own troupe. His daughters followed the same calling and had leading positions in balls and pantomimes. He was a good American patriot and always gave special performances on the 4th of July. Many patriotic dramas were included in the repertoire, e.g., "The American Heroine or the Glory of Columbia," a patriotic melodrama, the principal scenes of which were Lexington and Bunker Hill, most probably identical with the drama written by W. Dunlap. Other favorite pieces were "The Valiant Soldier" and Kemble's "Point of Honor." Of course, one could see the stage hits of that time: "No Song, No Supper or the Lawyer in the Sack," "Tobin's Honeymoon," and Kotzebue's "Stranger" in Dunlap's translation. Durang was the first to bring Goldsmith's comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," to Lancaster; the premiere was on July 19, 1811. He also presented Shakespeare's, "The Taming of the Shrew."

He brought the latest creation of the metropolitan stage to Lancaster, as for instance the comedy, "Animal Magnetisme." The season generally closed with a piece called "Harvest Frolic," a combination of pantomime, ballet and dialogue; German is mentioned twice. In 1808 a "German Story" is included in the usual "Harvest Frolic," and in 1814 the afterpiece has the name "Stoofel Rilps or the Seu-Shwam Wedding, a German Play." Durang's own performances were confined to dancing. His best pieces were the Hornpipe Dance and an Indian Scalp Dance. He was a good businessman, catered to all classes of people and was careful not to neglect anything which might

attract the public. He could not have an electric street sign, but the twelve windows of the theatre were illuminated with transparent paintings.

Durang had every reason to be on the job, that his position in Lancaster remained unchallenged. Our city was still the largest inland city in the United States, and, from the financial point of view it was surely worth while to play here. In May, 1812, Mr. Webster's Company performed in Franklin's Head Tavern the comedy, "Ways and Means or the Trip to Dover" and the farce, "Fortune's Frolic." In the next year Mr. and Mrs. Mestayer from the Baltimore Circus and Philadelphia Theatre stayed at F. Dolle's, in Centre Square, for one week. It was a second-rate amusement of balancing, songs, etc.

A very fashionable company came in November, 1814. The Charleston Company staged two nights at Mr. Cooper's inn. The main actors were Mrs. Baumont from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London; Mr. Thomas from Boston, and Mr. Pelby from New York. They played a tragedy "Isabelle or the Fatal Marriage," and a farce after Marmontel, "Roxerlana or the English Slave." The tickets were accordingly expensive \$1 for the box and 50 cents for the gallery, beginning at the fashionable time of 6:30 P. M.

Amusement of much lighter caliber were the "Chinese Shades," which Mr. Alexander presented to Lancaster in February, 1816. His "Picturesque Theatre" stayed at the Franklin's Head and promised "to give variations and scenery calculated to please the eye and amuse the mind. Excellent music will be performed . . . the Chinese shadows and transformations are highly interesting and change with wonderful effect from one representation to another and so instantaneously as not to be perceived by the eye."

The greatest danger for Durang's position in Philadelphia and in Lancaster was the new company, which united the best actors of the country, the Theatrical Commonwealth. Founded in Philadelphia in the spring of 1813, the company played in Lancaster in summer and fall of the same year. It was a long season given by America's best troupe and constitutes one of the most fascinating chapters in Lancaster's theatrical history. The company stayed at the Red Lion Hotel in West King Street, played four days a week, Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. The price of the tickets shows the superior standing. It was exactly double of the usual charge: \$1 for the box and fifty cents for the gallery. The beginning was fixed for 7:30 P. M. The repertoire, not too different from Durang's enterprise, shows American pastime in this period in a nutshell. The political situation was duly considered in a big festival on October 12, 1813. The bill ran: "Foundling of the Forest," a spectacle in honor of our recent victories. National Glory Or Love of Country, songs, dances, a general Naval Pillar exhibiting the names of the Gallant Heroes.

"Kotzebue's Birthday or the Reconciliation" was given with the comment that it had been performed in Philadelphia and New York with unbounded applause. The literary high spot, no doubt, was the "Merchant of Venice" on September 18. But even Shakespeare had to be followed by the inevitable farce; in this case it was the "Weathercock or Love Alone Can Fix Him." Comedies and comic operas were emphasized; always the same titles appear in all theatre bills of that period. Besides the plays quoted before under Mr.

Durang's repertoire we read: Sheridan's "The Rivals or a Trip to Bath," the favorite farce, "The Mock Doctor or the Dumb Lady Cured," the musical farce, "Rosine or Love in a Cottage." As in all English theatres we find the "Major of Garette" and "Three and Deuce." One of the last performances was "Wonder, a Woman Kept a Secret," and the farce, "Three Weeks After Marriage or What We All Must Come To." The season closed fittingly with the farce, "All the World a Stage."

The company seemed to like Lancaster and wanted to become a stabilized Lancaster institution. In November of the same year the manager of the company submitted a proposal for erecting a theatre in the borough of Lancaster for the use of the Theatrical Commonwealth. The necessary capital of \$8000 should be provided by eighty shares, \$100 each, payable in four installments. Seven per cent was promised as interest, and bond and mortgage upon the property would be given as security for the payment of the interest. We do not know why the plan failed. Unquestionably it was a marvellous opportunity, but it was not used and Lancaster had to wait almost twenty years till it found another company of equal rank.

THE JEFFERSON FAMILY

This was the Jefferson Company at the Chestnut Street Theatre.¹¹ On West Chestnut Street, where now stands the post office, was a large brick barn. This detached building was converted into a theatre in the summer of 1830. The first company to occupy it was Mr. Cooper's troupe. The company maintained a high standard. Mr. John Duff, whose benefit performance is mentioned in Mr. Worner's paper, was a very well-known actor. Additional documentation about his stay in Lancaster has been found in a playbill in the collections of the Lancaster County Historical Society, which announces Shakespeare's "Much Ado About Nothing" and the comic opera, "Rosina or the Reapers." Besides the manager, Cooper, the main actors were Miss Kelley and Mr. Riley from the Liverpool and Edinburgh Theatres. In the spring of the next year came the Jeffersons.

Joseph Jefferson was one of the best actors of his time and a highly esteemed member of the Philadelphia Chestnut Street Theatre. In this period, between 1825 and 1830, the Philadelphia theatre was sharply declining; Jefferson lost his audience and left the city in deep disappointment. With the members of his family, practically all of whom were actors, he formed a company. He selected Washington, D. C., as his headquarters and made different trips to surrounding cities in Maryland and Pennsylvania; one of them in May, 1831, brought the whole family to Lancaster, where they remained for about six months. The name was not unknown to Lancastrians, Joseph I had been here at least once in 1820. The company wanted to rent the Chestnut Street Theatre. We cannot decide whether the building was

¹¹ The story of this theatre has been written in detail by Mr. Worner (Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., 1933, 161). I give a short outline of his paper with minor additions.

THEATRE.

'For Auld Lang Syne!'
For Mr. Duff's
BENEFIT,
 AND
Mrs DUFF,

For One Night only.

Mr. DUFF takes leave most respectfully to inform his friends for
 our patrons and fellow citizens generally of Lancaster and vicinity,
 that his benefit and last appearance will take place

On Monday Evening, August 30,

On which occasion he is happy to say, Mrs. DUFF will have the
 honor to appear for the first time here, in the much admired *'Frag-
 ments of the*

GAMESTER.

Beverly,

Stacey,
 Leach,
 Jarvis,
 Bates,
 Dawson

Mr. DUFF.

Clarke
 Hought,
 Palmer,
 Smith,
 Duffang

Mrs. Beverly,

Charlotte,
 Lucy.

Mrs. DUFF.

Miss Hamilton,
 Mrs. Stevenson

Between the play & farce

A Skipping Rope Pas Suel Dance,

By Mrs. Smith.

The Scottish recitation of Ulla's
daughter,

By Mr. Johnstone.

To which will be added Colman's admired and humorous musical
 sketchpiece, with songs, &c. called

The Review

OR

Wag of Windsor.

Looney Macdwalter,

Mr. DUFF.

CALDERQUEN, MR. CLARKE, DUFFANG, MR. BRYAN,
 CAPT. BRADBARD, HOFF, GRACE GAYLOVE, Mrs. Hamilton,
 DEPUTY BULL, SMITH, LUCY, MRS. SMITH,
 JOHN LUMP, DUFFANG.

Songs in the Piece.

'The poor Little Gipsy,' by Mrs.
Smith.

'Oh Whack Judy O'Flanagan,' by
Mr. Duff.

The Dashing White Sergeant, by
Mrs. Smith.

'I am parish clerk and sexton here
by Mr. Clarke, and 'I was the boy
for bewitching them,' by Mr. Duff.

TICKETS to had of Mr Duff at Mr.
Greaff's Hotel, and at the Theatre

Playbill of a performance given in the Chestnut Street Theatre, on Mon-
 day, August 30, 1830. This old theatre stood at the southwest corner of
 Chestnut and Market Streets. This site and other land to the west is occupied
 by the post office.

really better than others or whether it was the name which brought to him happy memories of his glorious days in Philadelphia. Anyhow, he has set his heart to get this building, which by the way had to be remodeled. First, defeated for reasons which we do not know, he had to play in the ball room of the Red Lion Hotel in West King Street. But finally the tenacity of his sons, who were the official managers, won out. Joseph II, the Jack of all Trades of the company, and John, the most talented of the sons, got the coveted permission. Joyfully they opened the new theatre, Monday, September 12, no doubt with the intention to stay in Lancaster, but thirteen days later all their hopes were shattered. On the morning of September 25, John, the favorite son of old Joseph, died after a street accident of the day before. No wonder that the old man did not want to stay in Lancaster. He never recovered from the shock and died about ten months later. His only joy was his little grandson, Joseph, who was destined to become America's greatest actor.

The only company which can be compared with this family was Logan's troupe which brought the celebrated Charlotte Cushman to Lancaster. The editorial of the *Intelligencer*, of June 29, 1841, says rightly that "this company is better than any we had here since the days of Jefferson." Cornelius A. Logan, the manager, Charlotte Cushman and James E. Murdoch were the best actors before 1850. They played in Locher's Military Hall, called the New Theatre in South Queen Street. The repertoire included the inevitable Kotzebue, Bulver's "Lady of Lyons" and the usual farces, like "Lottery Ticket," "Maid of Croissy," etc. This was the last of the great companies. Touring actors continued to come to Lancaster, but the quality was mediocre. I quote, as an example, Smith and Sullivan from Philadelphia, who played at Locher's in February and March, 1845. They tried once to perform *Othello*, but generally they kept to farces like "Pickles for Six" and "Irish Attorney."

Actors had a hard time and were not accepted as equal members of society. The clergyman who read the burial service over the remains of Joseph Jefferson in Harrisburg, 1832, altered the text of the ritual and said instead of "Our deceased brother," simply "this man." It is an exception—and at the same time it is characteristic that these qualities need to be emphasized—that on June 26, 1838, John Mathiot, mayor of Lancaster, signed a request for a patriotic benefit "as a compliment to Messrs. Jackson and Crouta for their histrionic ability and gentlemanly conduct during their stay in Lancaster." This attitude is all the more astonishing as amateur plays were a favorite amusement and people liked even to give voluntary help to the professional stage. When Durang needed a stronger band for the performance of "Blue Beard," the band of the Lancaster Phalanx appeared on the stage on September 18, 1812, and eight years later, July 24, 1820, almost the whole Lancaster militia went into action. It happened at a performance of Noah's patriotic drama, "She Would be a Soldier." The editorial said, that "Captain Hambright's military company, the Lancaster Phalanx and the military band attached to Captain Reynold's Company, made their appearance. A camp with the military in view and the reveille by the band formed a part of the performance." Dozens of similar examples could be easily given.

Lancastrians, like all Americans, were eager to play theatre. An interesting advertisement illuminated this point. The Lancaster Zeitung of August 22, 1792, printed the following appeal. One of the young gentlemen of the town borrowed a collection of farces in four volumes for the use of the theatre, in the winter of 1791. After the plays were over he got back all but the third volume, and was forced to make a special appeal for the missing volume. The development of the great Lancaster amateur organization, the Thespian Society, has already been thoroughly investigated.¹² The society played with few exceptions in John Landis' Orange Street Theatre. Its successor, the Connor Dramatic Association, favored Reitzel's Hall on Orange Street, where now is located the Y. M. C. A. The building was adapted for theatrical use about 1837, and the amateurs occupied it jointly with professional players.

The desire for amusement was matched by the interest for knowledge. Self-education was considered as the expression of responsibility worthy of a free citizen; the Lyceum movement spread over the whole country and public lectures were the greatest competition of the theatre. They took place at the same localities as the plays; were sometimes delivered by actors, and it is hardly possible to draw a clear line between recitation, moral lectures and philosophical experiments. To quote only a few examples: February 5, 1798, Mr. Bates, from the New Theatre in Philadelphia, gave a lecture with the title: *The World as it Goes or a Touch at the Times*. It consisted of various descriptions, recitations, comic songs, etc. He charged \$1 for the ticket, which was more expensive than the average theatre entrance fee. At Mr. Rohrer's Inn, Mr. Martin gave an exhibition (August 8, 1809) of what he called "natural and pleasing philosophy, mechanical contrivances, magic arts, etc." Two weeks afterwards the same gentleman sent up a balloon from the Lancaster jail yard, most probably the earliest balloon ascension in Lancaster, August 22, 1809. A few months afterwards, January 29, 1810, Mr. Webster, known as a theatrical manager, gave poetical recitations.

Characteristic is the advertisement, which his colleague, Ogilvie, uses to announce his recitation, January 11, 1811. He calls his recitation "the introduction of a new, innocent and elegant amusement, uniting the pleasure given by theatrical representations with the instruction derived from a philosophical lecture."¹³

Almost every year such a recitation could be heard. The favorite pieces were Hamlet's Advice to the Players, Othello's Apology for his marriage and Addison's Cato on the immortality of the soul. Frequently were the recitationists actors, among the famous ones being Fanny Kemble, who read Shakespeare's "Anthony and Cleopatra" at the Mechanics' Institute, December 11, 1849. At times the recitationists called themselves teachers of elocution. The average entrance fee was fifty cents. Only a Mr. Dweyer asked seventy-

¹² Worner, W. F. *The Thespian Society*, Papers of Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., 1930, 38.

¹³ A clear pronounciation of the modern American slogan: Instruction and entertainment.

five cents. He claimed to be from the Drury Lane Theatre in London, and wanted to deliver Stevens' celebrated Lecture on Heads. He would stay at Mr. Cooper's for one night only, so he said, on October 1, 1817. He repeated this statement through three entire weeks and left the city after October 22. The many titles of Mr. Stanislas, too, may arouse some suspicion. He called himself a member of the Academy of Arts and Science in Paris and of other philosophical institutions and professor of natural and experimental philosophy. He had a rich collection of mechanical devices and gave several performances in August, 1818. He was an able magician who performed the usual conjuring tricks.

In the same line ranks his colleague, M. Massonneau, "scholar of the celebrated professeur Robertson of Paris." He performed at Mr. Cooper's inn a so-called phantasmagoria, "a thunderstorm, when a tomb will be struck with lightning, and as a conclusion a dance of witches." An interesting item is the "Optical Fire" which could be seen at Mr. Leonard Eichholtz in South Queen Street in October, 1826. Most probably it was a kind of stereoscope. The bill promises the burning of Mount Vesuvius, with lava flowing, the Rhine Fall with the water in motion, etc. It is one of the many primitive attempts to satisfy the desire of the public to see motion.

We have approached the end of the important period of transition. The second half of the nineteenth century saw quite a different America. The terrific fight between the states had settled the old question of industry versus agriculture, the transcontinental railroad was built and the frontier disappears officially from the United States census reports. The character of the immigration, too, had changed. The idealist or ideologists who, persecuted, fled from religious and political intolerance, is substituted by professional, mostly city people, who came over in search of new materialistic opportunities. Acclimatization became more difficult, not only because the number of immigrants steadily increased but first of all because America had become a stabilized pattern which had to be accepted as a whole.

Stabilization is the Leitmotif of the period. Where formerly the frontier, the deep forest or the wide plains had been, are now a number of small thriving towns; the rough backwoodman turns into a middle-class citizen. The old trust in self-help changes in the belief in self-education. The Public Library movement starts and Adult Education becomes headlines. America finds her own conception of art. In Europe it was reserved for a certain upper-class, artistic and intellectual, and sometimes financial and aristocratic, here it is the trend to make it common good. In Europe it was the patronized child of aristocrats—either of the spirit or of the blood—here it became education. Seeing in art an instrument of education is certainly no American invention; Schiller, for instance, too, had called the theatre a moral institution. Differences always lie in degrees. The educational attitude is more emphasized here, and an advertisement like the one of Amburg's menagerie of 1850, that claimed to be a moral and instructive exhibition, is more frequent in this country. American-born players (Joseph Jefferson, Charlotte Cushman,

Davenport, William Warren, etc.) have replaced immigrant actors. The actors took advantage of the enormous opportunity of the railroad as a mode of transportation. It is the period of the traveling star, who could display a limited but brilliant repertory in one hundred different theatres. All foreign visitors suddenly begin to realize the existence of an American theatre. Some like it, some dislike it, but all acknowledge it. Every town erected a stabilized centre of amusement; Lancaster built the Fulton House.

FULTON HALL

The history of the construction of this building has been described in many interesting papers, but it would be worthwhile to devote an entire monograph to all the activities offered at this place which was the centre of amusement in Lancaster for more than sixty years. We have here a fascinating opportunity to get an insight of the life of an American community. In accordance with the desire for stabilization as discussed before, which obviously was based on very sound economic conditions, a kind of building boom swept the country. Besides the Fulton House, Lancaster got the present Court House, the prison at the east end of the city, the first buildings of Franklin and Marshall College, and almost one thousand new residences.

The old jail, the witness of the massacre of the Conestoga Indians, had been sold to Peter Eberman and Christopher Hager in April, 1852. A month later the building permit was issued to Mr. Hager who had become the sole owner. Under supervision of the architect, Samuel Sloane, and of John Sener, who was in charge of the construction work, the building was erected in less than five months at a cost of \$15,000. The first two floors were occupied by two big halls. The main hall could accommodate 1500 spectators. Later the two floors were combined to one large theatre auditorium. The third floor had five small apartments which could be used for lodges or other societies. The Lancaster County Historical Society held several meetings there.

On September 2, a meeting of the Odd Fellows was held there but the official opening was on October 14. Judge Hayes gave the formal address. In 1856 the Fulton Hall Association was founded with Mr. Hager as president. Nine years later the whole enterprise was sold to Hilaire Zeppel and Blasius Yecker. Both men came from the same village in Alsace, they immigrated to Lancaster in the late 1840's and were thriving business men in town. The story often has been told how Yecker bought the Fulton House with no knowledge of what the building stood for. For the first four years the manager was Henry P. Carson, but in 1869 Yecker, who had become the sole owner, personally took over the management of the theatre. The building was frequently remodelled. In 1888 an attempt was made to sell it to F. Proctor and Henry P. Soulier. Old Yecker died in 1904; his son Charles founded the Fulton Opera Company and managed it together with his brother-in-law, Mr. Edgar S. Gleim.

The house was used for all kinds of entertainments and social gatherings, such as theatre, concerts, church fairs, balls, exhibitions, commencement exercises, political meetings, etc. Woodrow Wilson received his honorary degree

there, the Presbyterian Congregation worshipped in the building once, and the formal opening of Franklin and Marshall College was celebrated under the same roof. For one term even court was held in this "City Hall." At the same time it was used for amusement. Great artists made their appearance, like the violinist Ole Bull, and the singers Adelina Patti and Jenny Lind. Uncle Tom's Cabin, the famous anti-slavery drama, was represented there in March, 1854, and several months later the murder story "Love's Sacrifice or the Mysterious Murder," which was so hair-raising, that the bill says: "the play is so terrible that no lady can possibly gain admission unless accompanied by a gentleman." All the famous stars of the American theatre appeared here, like Joseph Jefferson and the elder Booth, and New York Vaudeville and comic operas were presented to the Lancaster audience. According to the old Lancaster custom amateurs, too, performed on this stage. To give one example of many similar ones: May 10, 1868, the young ladies of the Conestoga Collegiate Institute presented living tableaux. Prof. A. Bowman's orchestra provided the music. As it is not possible to compress the rich material in one paper I only point out the differences in the course of the generations.

I chose as a starting point the season 1865-66, the first year of the new management, because we have to record here another attempt to give Lancaster a standing theatrical company. On February 5, 1866, the New Lancaster Theatre was founded under the management of G. W. Harrison. Fulton Hall was entirely refitted. The announcement points out that a new company will be presented, "not traveling actors, but a company of artists collected for the express purpose of displaying the beauties of the drama to the citizens of Lancaster." The opening day was fixed for the 10th of February, but after six weeks the company disappeared. The prices were a little above the average, thirty-five to seventy-five cents. The beginning of the play was 8 P. M., the usual time at this period. The management kept good discipline, "persons of improper character positively not admitted" was printed on all posters. The repertoire consisted mainly of comedies and farces; Cigar Girl of Cuba, Aunt Charlotte's Maid, Nick of the Woods, etc. It may be that the discrepancy between the high price of the tickets and the mediocrity of the plays was one reason of the commercial failure. Anyhow it is remarkable that in the last performances, which we can record, the repertoire suddenly shifted to high classics. Night after night Shakespeare was performed: "Othello," "Richard III," "Taming of the Shrew." And all of a sudden the whole enterprise snuffed out like a candle. Traveling companies again rule the stage.

The troupe who had played in November, 1865, seemed to have been second rate, judging by the fact that they promised a "magnificent firehorn" to the fire company selling the largest amount of tickets. From the very lenient editorial we learn only that it was "a great entertainment." Mr. Lawrence, the manager, had promised to show every department in the world of amusement—opera, ballet, comedy, burlesque, even acrobatics—and he kept his word. The American Theatre under Charles Montgomery, which came in

December, had a higher standard. In May the Philadelphia Opera House gave a short season, and in June Fanin with his actors played for several nights. In the repertoire comedies dominated and the price never exceeded fifty cents.

But the bulk of amusement of this season was taken over by minstrels. Aside from the mediaeval concept of the word we originally understood minstrels to be a class of singers of negro melodies. In many cases they were white men, who had blackened their faces and hands with cork. Therefore they call themselves Ethiopians; they are important as the forerunner of the American vaudeville. Every month another troupe came with about twenty to thirty members from the New York Bowery, from the Philadelphia Opera House or from separate organizations. They stayed three or four nights to give their "chaste and elegant entertainment." All claimed to be "the greatest combination of talents in existence with a repertoire not yet pirated by the migratory mushroom of the profession."

Dwarfs and natural curiosities, the old requisites of the primitive stage shows were not missing. Of Commodore Foote, the smallest man in the world, the wonderful comedian, actor and dancer, we read "The whole world is challenged in the sum of \$50,000 to produce the equal of Commodore Foote and sister in weight, size and education." A curious combination of qualities indeed. The immortal Siamese twins were here again and "wonderful wild Australian children." A more serious performance will conclude this picture. The New Year's day brought—as the bill says, recommended by the ministers of all Christian churches—the great Miltonian tableaux of *Paradise Lost* in sixty-three scenes.

There was little entertainment beside the Fulton House, except some Mannerchor concerts and one appearance of the Baltimore Liederkrantz. Worth mentioning is the stereoscope at Messrs. Hambright & Co. at Centre Square. Fifty different views were displayed of landscapes, battlefields, etc.

Three points are remarkable in this whole amusement program. All walks of life were to be attracted, consequently we find different levels of quality. Further, we note another serious attempt to stabilize the theatre as an expression of art with a Lancaster standing troupe, and, third, the great American amusement—the vaudeville—casts its foreshadows over the scene. This was in 1866.

Now we will turn one page in the book of history and see what happened here twenty years after; we are now in the fall of 1886. Two observations strike us immediately: the prices were lowered, the average is now thirty cents, and the language of the advertisements is more aggressive: "A dynamite cartridge of fun," "a laughing cyclone," "a dollar performance at thirty cents," etc. It is not sufficient to call a good dancer a prima ballerina, prima ballerina assoluta sounds better. Success in metropolitan theatres is stressed even to a point which sounds ridiculous to our ears; as, for instance, when an actor makes the point that he had had the honor of appearing before the crown heads of Europe. Superlatives are freely used. Michael Strogoff (after

Jules Verne's novel) is positively unrivalled in its scenic display. "Condemned to Death" is "the great Boston theatre success, the most powerful sensational drama." The repertoire is dominated by the comic opera. "Girofle Girofla," "The Mikado," "Princess of Prebizonde" and Milloecker's "Black Hussar" appear again and again. Less frequent are the old American comedies; "Fun at Saratoga" and "Fun at the Potomac." Our friends, the minstrels, are frequent visitors, and one feels that the era of Broadway is approaching when the Company Corinne announces her "bevy of beautiful girls." Fulton Hall now has much competition, though not very serious. Rothweiler Hall, 206 West King Street, had mostly shows which one would call a little risky. Schiller Hall, 231 North Queen Street, and Grant Hall, 32 North Duke Street, had big dances; and Robert Hall, West King, corner North Prince, fairs and similar activities. The great theatre stars occasionally appear in Lancaster, but they are less in number; the salaries had become too large, and our city no longer could compete with the possibilities of the great industrial and commercial centres.

Again we turn a page in history; we are in 1906. Three new theatres have been built in Lancaster in the meantime, in 1901 the Woolworth Roof Garden, the Orange Street Opera House in 1902, and two years afterwards the Little Family Theatre. All were entirely devoted to vaudeville.

Vaudeville was characteristic of American amusement in the beginning of the century. Its forerunners, the Minstrels, go back to about 1830, and shows of a very similar nature are abundant in the gay nineties. Nevertheless, the transition to modern vaudeville can be recognized as an important step—a distinct improvement over the old music hall show. It is, curious as it may sound, again the Puritan spirit which is responsible for this achievement. The new generation of producers was determined to rescue variety from the ill-repute into which it had fallen and elevate it "to a high plane of respectability and moral cleanliness." The stage rules of some of the great vaudeville circuits threatened every actor who would use indecent words with immediate dismissal. The entertainment consisted of songs, dances, dramatic sketches, acrobatic stunts, each of which is announced and presented as a separate successive performance. At the time of the World War about one thousand vaudeville theatres were in existence, most of them combined in great circuits. The Lancaster Little Family Theatre belonged to a circuit of twenty-six theatres. At a very early stage all added motion pictures to their program. They did not suspect that in the next generation the movie would drive vaudeville out of their own homes.

That period also brings special summer theatres. The great parks in the vicinity are adapted as pleasure parks and comic operas and vaudeville are presented, in Rocky Springs Park, Maple Grove and Conestoga Park. The Fulton House presented comic operas, vaudeville and movies. There appeared a new play every evening (except Sundays) and at least once a week a matinee. The average price is still thirty cents, but good shows ask one dollar to three dollars. In the repertoire we find the old names like "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "The Prince of Pilsen" and modern comedies like

"Just out of College." No question, the comic opera period is over, "The Mikado" appears very seldom and "Girofle Girofla" has been forgotten. The number of nights entirely devoted to motion pictures increases from month to month. In the beginning they are mixed with other forms of entertainment, as in the Dunbar Goats Circus which brought educated goats, vaudeville and movies, but very soon the young art is strong enough to fill a whole evening.

Remarkable is the frequent change of program. There is a continuous coming and going of artists. It seems that people just before the World War were very keen on amusement. If we take the number of entries in a Lancaster classified business directory as a basis, then the amusement enterprises have been more than tripled between 1900 and 1913. Most of them were small movie theatres, or started as vaudeville and changed in time like the Colonial in North Queen Street and Kuhn's Theatre on Manor Street, which became the Strand. Others like the Seventh Ward Theatre, 470 South Duke Street, also owned by Kuhn, ceased to exist after a two years' struggle. Amateur organizations played at the same place as the professionals. Yeates Dramatic Club presented "The Rivals" at the Orange Street Theatre,¹⁴ the Cap and Bell Club—another organization for theatrical amateurs—played "The School for Scandal" at the Roof Garden and the Lessing Verein of Franklin and Marshall College even gave a German comedy, "Einer muss heiraten" (One must get married). Sometimes even the Martin Auditorium in the Y. M. C. A. was opened for theatrical amusement; we hear of a presentation of "Ben Hur," illustrated with one hundred and fifty stereopticon views of the Holy City.¹⁵

The Fulton Theatre had lost its supremacy. Other places and other men moved into the lime light. Mr. Charles M. Howell, now postmaster of Lancaster, was connected with the Woolworth Roof Garden, and for a score of years president of the Howell amusement company, which managed the Colonial. The name of the company has now been changed to Howell Theatre Corporation. Mr. Alexander, now proprietor of the Stevens House, was connected with the Orange Street Theatre, the Little Family Theatre and with many other amusement enterprises in the city. Mr. Mozart was one of the pioneers of vaudeville in Lancaster. And last, but certainly not least, John B. Peoples, generally known under his nickname of Captain Peoples. He operated Rocky Springs Park, the Woolworth Roof Garden, the Arcade and many other places. Six feet tall, and weighing more than two hundred pounds, he was a well-known figure in town and generally liked as a jolly good sport. His rank was neither earned on the battlefield nor on the ocean, but on the Conestoga where he owned a steamship, the Lady Gay, which ferried pleasure-seeking Lancastrians to Rocky Springs Park.

Amusement after amusement was offered to Lancastrians and nobody was aware of the dark days which were lying ahead. We are approaching 1914.

¹⁴ February 10, 1902.

¹⁵ March 31, 1902.

Once again the world went mad and America was soon to follow the general example. It is a curious coincidence that Charles Frohman went down with the Lusitania in 1915. He died in the famous catastrophe which brought America into the war, a war which was destined to put an end to the kind of amusement he stood for. Mr. Frohman was the head of the most gigantic company of traveling actors. In fact, he ruled supreme over all road theatres. It has been calculated that he spent more than one and a quarter million dollars a year for railroad transportation of his troupes. The railroad accorded to him the same precedence of schedule that they did to the Presidents' special.

The end of the world war saw great economic changes. The sudden rise in cost of living made it commercially unprofitable to send players on the road, where they could not compete with the low-priced movie. With the rapid growth of the more intimate type of drama the road theatres were found increasingly unsatisfactory. To provide a stage for the new type of drama theatrical enthusiasts organized local amateur organizations and performed the plays in centers generally called "Little Theatre." The colleges, which always had theatrical interests, turned in increasing number to serious art work. Apart from the great cities America would have no theatre to-day but for the college theatre. From the first dramatic presentation in this country at William and Mary's College in 1702 to the Green Room Club¹⁶ of a college to-day is a long way. And one may meditate upon the fact that the theatre in America reached to-day the point from where it started almost two hundred and fifty years ago—the college. The circle is closed.

At the same time as the Little Theatre movement started we observe another attempt concerned with bringing great masses of the community into one theatrical action. The popular demand for poetry was best satisfied by the great pageants. Since the St. Louis masque of 1914, under the direction of Mac Kaye, which represented the whole development of the town, many American cities have commemorated historical events in a great dramatic display. The Lancaster pageants are still vivid in everyone's mind. To commemorate Lancaster's activities in the War of the Revolution we had the Pageant of Liberty on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It was presented on Williamson Field, July 5-7, 1926. Two members of this society had important positions on the committees. Dr. H. M. J. Klein was chairman of the Program Committee and Mr. William Frederic Worner chairman of the Research Committee. The Historical Society is also intimately connected with the second great Lancaster pageant, the Pageant of Gratitude of 1929. More than three thousand persons took part in this great celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Lancaster County.

If we speak of Lancaster theatre to-day we have to turn to the college theatre. The college students are by no means the only ones who play theatre in Lancaster. No professional roadshow has been here since 1930,¹⁷ but almost

¹⁶ The dressing room of the colonial players was generally painted green.

¹⁷ March 12, 1941, the play "Tobacco Road," was staged at the Capitol.

all high schools have amateur performances and many of them, like the annual Christmas play of Franklin and Marshall Academy, have a high standard. But they cannot be compared with the activities of the Green Room Club of the college, which under direction of Darrell Larsen has reached an artistic height. All activities are voluntary and no students receive curricular credits for work at the Club. The organization is self-supporting since its foundation in 1900. Professor Larsen, who deserves all the credit for the high quality of the performances, joined the faculty in 1927. He produces four shows a season, each running a week. About half of the audience consists of towns people. Thus the club performs a two-fold task: instruction to the college students and a service to the community. It is art as education at its best.

MOTION PICTURES

No doubt the movie is the most popular amusement to-day, but there are many arguments as to its artistic value. The first pictures were shown in Bial's Music Hall in New York in 1896. It was very fortunate for the young technic that an actors' strike forced many vaudeville theatres to introduce motion pictures in their program from 1900 on. The greatest promotion is due, however, to the Penny Arcade owners. The leading companies soon united as Motion Picture Patent Company. Thus the movies showed from the outset the tendency to be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful companies. The independent producers fought bitterly against the controlling groups. As a refuge they went to Los Angeles from where it was only a jump to the Mexican border to escape from subpoenas. With the World War the European film industry collapsed and America dominated the market. The enormous expenses of installing sound equipment and undertaking the production of talking films required a further concentration of capital, and put the motion picture industry under the indirect control of the two dominating financial groups: Morgan (telephone) and Rockefeller (radio). And with this industry the theatre too, came to a large degree, under the control of the dominating concerns.

Of the six movie theatres we have to-day in Lancaster, three — the Grand, Capitol and Hamilton—are leased to Warner Brothers. The Fulton is controlled by a large Philadelphia circuit, and only the Strand and Colonial are independent. To-day motion pictures are "Big Business" in Lancaster, forty years ago they had a very humble beginning. The confectionery store of William Jackson, 116 North Queen Street, showed movies as a great attraction to get more customers for his ice cream and sweets. Early vaudeville theatres used the film for quite the opposite purpose: to chase people out. Mr. Alexander explained to me that he introduced motion pictures in his Orange Street Theatre as a "chaser" before the beginning of the second show of the evening. The pictures then were so flickery that the eyestrain was unbearable. The Fulton Theatre has the honor of presenting the first real motion picture show in Lancaster. An announcement of April 22, 1903, says that Lyman H. Howe will present America's greatest moving pictures, an entirely new collection. His main attraction was a great Egyptian series

which was so beautiful that "there was no need to visit Egypt afterwards." The Roof Garden was opened a few days later under the new management of Peoples and Howell (May 4, 1903). October 5th of the same year they showed "a new series of unusually fine and interesting moving pictures." It was again the Fulton which brought the whole production of Edison's Biograph Company regularly to Lancaster. The prices (about thirty cents) in all these vaudeville theatres were too high, therefore a number of small theatres sprung up which offered this popular amusement for a nickel or a dime.

None of the early motion picture theatres has survived. The first was the Pullman Car in North Queen Street. The theatre was built in the shape of a railroad car and had, therefore, a small seating capacity. Its name was afterwards changed to "Bijou." The smallest theatre probably was the "Gem" in North Queen Street. It had one aisle and could accommodate only ninety-six persons. Both theatres had to give place to the Nickelodeon in the Arcade Building, 141 North Queen Street. This is the first movie in the city which used all the modern advertising rules. It promised fine moving pictures and music, changed the program twice a week and was open from ten o'clock in the morning till midnight. Admission ticket cost a nickel. Its slogan: "Come when you please, go when you please" was well chosen. In November, 1906, it was taken over by Captain Peoples and the name was changed to Arcade.

The year 1907 brought three new theatres to town. The Theatorium was located first at 59 North Queen street, but moved soon to larger quarters at 105 North Queen Street. The Electric Vaudeville Palace existed for about ten years, but changed its name every two years. It was located at 10 West King Street, in the newspaper house. Neither the name The Jackson, Reno nor Penn brought the desired big income. The well-known little theatre, Dreamland, stuck to its name during all the seven years of its existence. It was situated at 43 North Queen Street, the manager was George M. Krupa, who for a long time managed also the Scenic. This theatre was founded in 1909 and closed after an existence of almost a quarter of a century. It was first situated in 57 North Queen Street, but moved to more spacious quarters at 45 North Queen Street, and finally to 139-141 of the same street. The Arcade Auditorium, 113 N. Prince Street and Wonders' Theatre, corner Prince and West King Street, had only a short existence.

All the large Lancaster motion picture theatres were built between 1911 and 1914. We have first to mention the Colonial. Built February, 1911, it is run by the Howell Theatre Corporation. It is the only big "First Run" movie which is independent, as far as anything can be called independent in modern movies. Like all the theatres it showed vaudeville and movies, and went over to sound in 1930.

A few houses below at 152 North Queen Street, is the Capitol. Its first name was Hippodrome, which was afterwards changed to Aldine. It is run by Warner Brothers. The third is Kuhn's Theatre in Manor Street. Mr. Adam Kuhn was a former baker, who wanted to give amusement at very cheap prices. After the war it changed to cinema under the name Strand.

It has remained faithful to its old tradition and is one of the low-priced movie houses. The Grand, 133 North Queen Street was built in 1913. It is the only theatre in Lancaster which was from the beginning exclusively cinema. With its capacity for about one thousand persons, it is one of the best "First Run" theatres and ranks in importance with the Colonial and the Capitol. The Hamilton Theatre was founded in 1917. It showed cinema only and belongs to the inexpensive group. The oldest theatre in Lancaster is, from the movie point of view, the youngest. The Fulton was converted into a movie in 1930. It is run by a Philadelphia circuit and belongs to the second-class movies.

It is very difficult to decide to what degree Lancaster movies of today are still influenced by the historical and cultural background of the city. A comparison of the attendance figures would show the trend in the taste of the public. Few of these figures have been collected and we have only some general remarks of the people in charge. Seemingly there is still something left from the isolationist spirit of Buchanan's speech. There is not much love lost for foreign titles and for plays of cosmopolitan spirit. The younger generation is still very fond of western stories; a little history is accepted by all, nobody of course wants to see war pictures. A sociological research, based on reliable data, would have interesting results.

These pages are only meant as a methodical outline. A detailed study based on a critique of the theatre repertoire would have gone beyond the space limit set for this paper. But a complete history of the theatre in Lancaster is only one of the many preliminary researches which must be made to fulfill the great challenge set to all historians of this city, to write a Cultural History of Lancaster.

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