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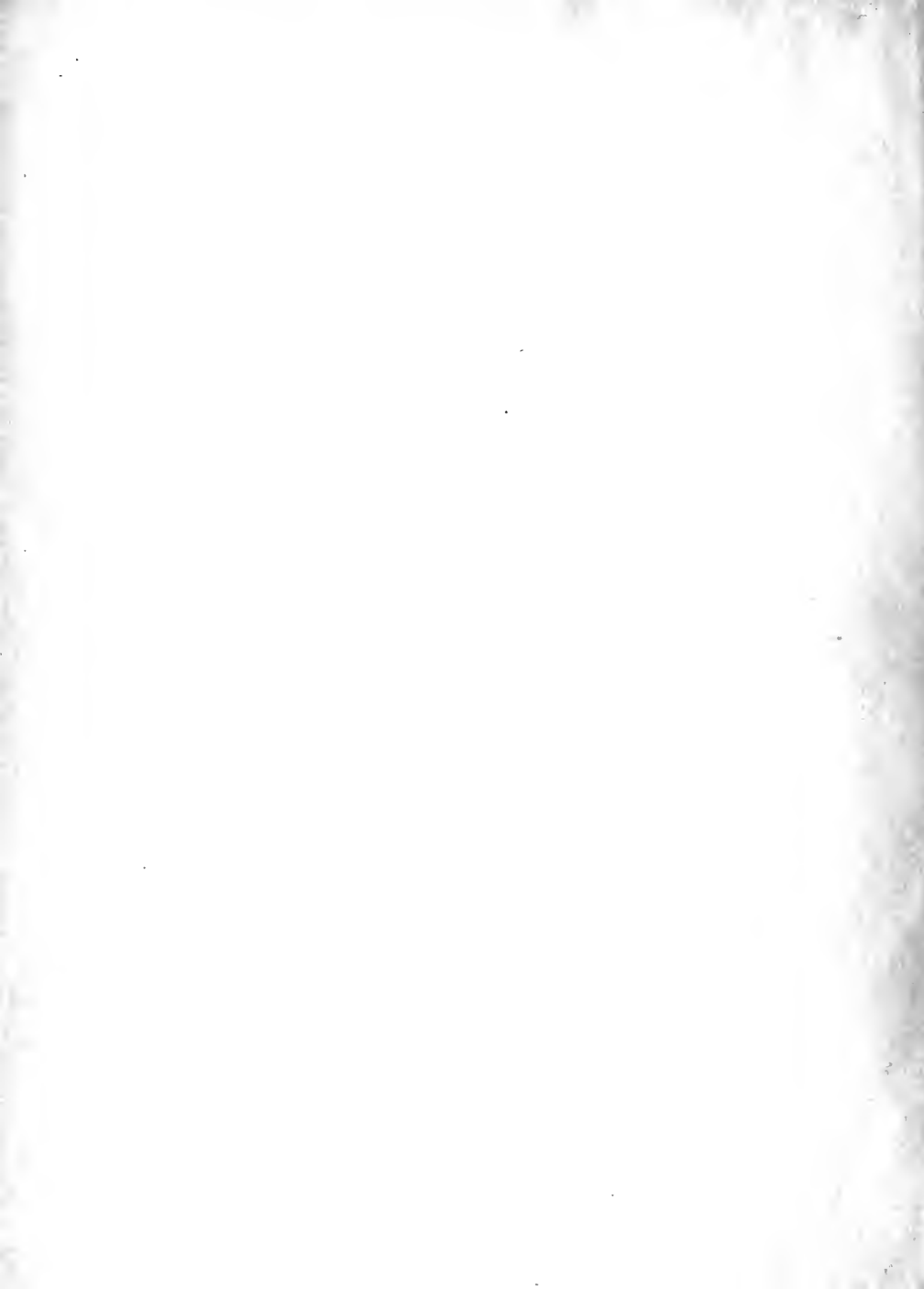
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SAN FRANCISCO THEATRE RESEARCH

MONOGRAPHS:

LOTTA CRABTREE

JOHN McCULLOUGH

VOLUME SIX

FIRST
SERIES

Abstract from
WPA Project 8386
O.P. 465-03-286

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

1938

MONOGRAPHS TO BE INCLUDED IN THIS SERIES - BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

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San Francisco Theatre Research

Vol. 6

MONOGRAPHS:

XV: LOTTA CRABTREE

XVI: JOHN McCULLOUGH

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LOTTA CRABTREE

1847 - 1924



Lotta As A Child

PHOTO COURTESY M. H. de YOUNG MUSEUM

LOTTA CRABTREEMusette of the Gold Coast

To the rhythm of "Oh, Susanna," or some other prime favorite of minstrelsy, men sang: "We're off to California!" And from every Eastern seaport hundreds sailed; '49 was the great year of discovery but '53 was the year of clipper ships which plied both Atlantic and Pacific in the wake of the famous Flying Cloud. Making plans for the journey in New York or Baltimore, these argonauts affirmed that they had no intention of remaining on the frontier. It was their purpose only to seize enough "dust" to make the remainder of their days comfortable; then they would return East to their homes.

But there was a singular, although silent, contradiction in their preparations; they took household goods, harness, agricultural implements, tools, machinery. The ships were so crowded with this miscellany that its owners found inadequate space in which to stow themselves. Men went mad from close confinement; many of them were lashed to the masts lest they jump overboard. Notwithstanding such intense discomfort, a high spirit of jollity prevailed. Where

there was gold there was energy enough to link the continent's ends, courage enough to bolster humanity against any disaster less final than death. It was insane, fantastic, wild -- a fever which caught even the most timid in its on-sweep. Conservative New Englanders, skeptical stay-at-homes, were finally persuaded to brave the hardships of this unprecedented exodus. Furious debates took place in families where opinion was divided and in nearly every case the outcome was inevitable; California or die.

LUCK IN THE WEST

In 1852 a Lancashire man named John Crabtree acquired the gold fever. He was a man with a family: a shrewd thrifty wife, small of figure but with an indomitable will; a child of five with hair a brighter red than her mother's, animated, cheerful, sturdy. Mary Ann Crabtree nurtured this child, Charlotte, with passionate love; she would not hear, at first, of breaking up their home merely to make a trip to California. If Crabtree, as she called her husband, wanted to go, he could go alone. She herself had not time for nonsense. Someone must look after the interests of little Lotta. John Crabtree had never been much of a breadwinner. His bookshop on Nassau Street, New York, had become an encumbrance which Mary Ann herself partly supported from her earnings in an upholstery shop which she maintained. Perhaps her consent to the debacle would not have been so easily won had Crabtree's business showed a profit like her own.

Between January and May 1852 he was off, leaving Mary Ann and Lotta behind. Scarcely a year had passed when, from his vague letters, Mrs. Crabtree decided there was luck in the West. True, John had not acquired any gold, his prospects, to her shrewd way of thinking, looked slender. But she also was taken with the inescapable fever. Her decision to follow Crabtree was now as positive as her refusal the year before. Although she could ill afford it, she chose the most luxurious mode of travel, by steamer. There were many things to see, anticipate, and enjoy. Little Lotta, standing beside her mother on the crowded deck, attracted favorable attention. On the ocean Mrs. Crabtree perhaps forgot the travails of former years. Her first-born, which had arrived during the middle forties, had soon died. Life had been a bitter struggle never far removed from bare survival. When Lotta came along November 7, 1847, Mrs. Crabtree had all she could do to earn a livelihood for the family. Many a penny had slipped through her purse into John's improvident hands. Now, however, all that was past. Lotta must have a future -- it would be Mrs. Crabtree's purpose to plan it and, vicariously, to renew her own frustrated youth. But whether she thought then of a stage career for her daughter cannot be determined.

SAN FRANCISCO PAGEANTRY

Lotta and her mother arrived in San Francisco just before Lola Montez did. On Telegraph Hill they saw the

black signal arm which announced ships coming through the strait; in the bay they saw the flags of many countries flying from mast-tops, small craft plying in every direction, fast clipper ships outward bound to the Orient with full cargoes. At the edge of the city was Long Wharf that resembled a muddy fishing hamlet, crowded with stalls and emporiums, filled with jostling sailors, miners, nondescript characters who emerged constantly from the turbulence of Portsmouth Square.

John Crabtree, according to arrangement, was to meet them in San Francisco; but in the dense crowd Mrs. Crabtree sought him in vain. Some English friends of hers, with whom she had arranged to stay for a time, informed her that Crabtree had last been seen in a little town in the Sierra. It is quite probable that such news, although it must have deeply affected her, was not wholly unexpected. The mother of Lotta long ago had learned to accept anxieties. In this new and fantastic environment there were other worries more important than Crabtree's absence; there was, above all, Lotta to think about. Moreover a most tantalizing scene presented itself. Actors, theatrical people of all kinds were constantly in evidence -- almost an affront to a person like Mrs. Crabtree who cherished an ambition for her child which seemed far from realization.

A THEATRICAL DISPLAY

Even without the theatre there was a display of histrionics: men in great sombreros and black cloaks paraded

in the square; native Californians, in serapes, with boots and spurs, rode spirited horses through the streets. Silk-lined carriages dashed into the plaza from side streets. Gamblers were in evidence, plainly recognized by their adornment -- usually a clump of feathers or a squirrel's tail in their hats; white shirts with large diamonds or breastpins of gold prominently showing. On foot came red-shirted miners, wearing pistols with an air of grandeur. This exuberant scene excited Mrs. Crabtree even though she did not outwardly show it. Its impression on Lotta may vaguely be imagined.

Edwin Booth, who had played Hamlet for the first time, might be seen riding down to the theatre on a white horse. Mrs. Judah, a towering personality even in this motley assemblage, must have passed. Tom Maguire they may have seen loitering near a doorway, or walking in his quiet immaculate attire, hat on one side, cigar held at a rakish angle, in every aspect a resplendent gambler. And Tom Maguire, they surely knew, controlled the fate of many an actor and company. It appeared improbable that Lotta would become a member of this Thespian group most of whom were older and experienced players. Some of them, indeed, had come from actor families with long training on the stage. The Crabtrees had no theatrical tradition. Yet, despite this fact, Lotta was soon to begin that arduous career which later made her a prime favorite, not only in California but in the whole United States.

GOSSIP AND AMBITION

Mrs. Crabtree, one of those persons with a marked capacity for insinuating herself at a timely moment into the most fertile endeavors, encountered adversity at the start. News was a commodity in San Francisco; people gathered publicly and privately, gossiped about the theatre. Even in her retreat near the Presidio where she was staying with friends, Mrs. Crabtree could keep in touch with the latest trends. But she had no entrée into the theatre itself. It is quite definite that now she had theatrical ambitions for Lotta, whether they were inspired by the westward journey or the San Francisco scene. But for a while she had to bide her time, secluding both herself and the child until Crabtree was located.

The gossip which Mrs. Crabtree heard she carefully absorbed, tucking small bits of information away in her memory where it would be useful later on. She listened to glamorous stories, some of them disheartening perhaps, of the ill fortunes which had befallen troupers in the rough camps of California. Although the child Lotta seemed remote from anything theatrical, forces were at work not only in the designs of her mother but on the frontier itself which helped shape her future. At a school near the Presidio, Lotta was led to the platform to sing Annie Laurie for a celebration. She broke down, wept bitterly and had to be taken home. The crowd of strangers which packed the little room gave her stage

fright; but in a dense throng or among people whom she knew, Lotta became herself again.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

Mrs. Crabtree carefully studied her daughter, computing her chances of success against the world. She heard, as who did not, of children singing and dancing at the mines. There was a vogue in California for such performances; occasionally they were presented in San Francisco. With an almost supernatural intuition Mrs. Crabtree questioned of herself: Who were these children? How did the miners like them? Inexorably she viewed the past, present and future, weighing, testing, judging the entire spectacle of theatricals on the coast. In the spring of 1848 a few young stage struck youths had banded together to present plays. Another group had engaged in the same endeavor at the Shades Tavern that autumn. Then had come Steve Massett, giving the first San Francisco entertainment in 1849. From these beginnings the theatre had grown to elaborate proportions. Its dominant characteristics were song, dancing, minstrelsy, burlesque. In the new amphitheatre on Kearny Street Rowe's circus had held hundreds spellbound for a few weeks. But late in '49 the city was deserted. Ships continued to arrive, though instead of stopping at Long Wharf, many of them pushed up the river to Sacramento. Those which did drop anchor in the bay were immediately abandoned. Anxious to reach the mines, crews did not trouble with discharging cargoes. There is on

record the anecdote of one captain who succeeded in tyrannizing his men, thereby accomplishing the final task. He was an actor with Master's papers and a flair for declamation. Thus at Sacramento in October of 1849 the first complete theatrical performance was given at the Eagle Theatre, a small canvas-walled building with sheet iron roof upon which the rain poured ceaselessly. Outside its door stood the invariable gaming establishment, in this instance the Round Tent, noted then and throughout later years for its magnificence. Gambling and the theatre were closely associated.

Mrs. Crabtree had these facts at hand for ready reference. It is possible that the association of gambling and theatricals influenced her passionate surveillance of Lotta which continued to the end of the actress' career.

COMEDY, A PREFERENCE

The theatre came into full robust life at San Francisco with completion of Maguire's Jenny Lind; before long numerous others were built in an effort to supply the increasing demands of playgoers. Mrs. Crabtree had been attracted to the bizarre life of the plaza. Like everyone else she attended the theatre. The names Booth, Judah, Chapman, were familiar to her as was the whole theatrical history of the West since its earliest days. She selected for her own purpose those aspects which she thought best suited Lotta's future. It was comedy that she perceived continuously rising to the surface; comedy, she believed,

had become the people's preferment. Tragic characters did not appeal to her. Possibly Lotta's mother was correct, for a bold sense of fun had pervaded California entertainment since the time of Steve Massett, who had given the first public performance at San Francisco in the summer of '49. But right or wrong she settled the matter for herself with dogmatic determination. At the same time she must have realized how presumptuous her own entrance into the theatre seemed.

At the San Francisco Hall there was a group of highly trained actors whose family ramifications extended all over the country and even abroad. Miners drifting into town spoke the praises of a child actress named Sue Robinson, protégé of the popular "Yankee" Robinson, who, along with the Chapmans and Mrs. Judah, dominated San Francisco theatricals. Sue had danced, sung, acted, in the interior. Others of the so-called "fairy stars" were doing likewise and being amply rewarded. Mrs. Crabtree took the significant view of such proceedings; here was a new trend that cast its shadow upon the future. She thought of little Lotta's piquant charm; the child could be developed, schooled, taken through the camps with every possibility of a similar success. This land of adventure seemed to offer unlimited prospects. How could it be otherwise when players were showered with gold, watches, diadems and jeweled brooches?

A NEW ARRIVAL

Even as Mrs. Crabtree attempted to decide what

course could be pursued with most advantage, two celebrated new arrivals lent scope to the insurgent life of the plaza. Catherine Sinclair came, witty, charming, flushed with New York successes, bearing the notoriety of her recent divorce suit against Edwin Forrest. Lola Montez came with dash and fanfare and all the accompaniments of romance. Now that there was a final dazzling display, with the whole town talking, it must have been difficult to leave. But a letter had been received from Crabtree whose present location, though unspecified, was somewhere in the high Sierra. Neither did he specify his business. A new project was afoot, vaguely having to do with gold. His words held an optimistic note, although he said nothing as to his progress in the venture. His instructions were that Mrs. Crabtree proceed at once, with Lotta, to Grass Valley.

OFF TO GRASS VALLEY

Knowing Crabtree as well as she did, Mary Ann was perhaps skeptical. She must have been a little pleased too, since even her practical nature proved susceptible at times to the general madness, which may have now held forth the prospect of a bonanza. Sudden dazzling fortunes were made overnight in California. It could happen to her as well as any one. Forthwith she packed her own and Lotta's belongings and started up the river to Sacramento. From this point the remainder of the journey was to be accomplished by stagecoach. They arrived by night at the shadowy settlement

lighted with torches which cast weird shapes across the landscape. With Lotta beside her, Mrs. Crabtree was up at dawn looking for places in one of the rickety vehicles that stood in the street beside elegant Concord stages. The horses were no sooner harnessed than they were off, rolling across great flat lands towards the north. In sombre early morning light the travelers could discern thickets of live oak, embers of dying fires, a few wayfarers already afoot or on horseback moving towards distant mountains.

It was spring. The slopes of Grass Valley were green; earth in the deep gullies looked rich and fertile. Clear streams rushed through the valley, fed by melting snow. The whole outward appearance seemed to promise luck. Men marched ceaselessly to and from claims wearing an air of conquest. Gorges were being bridged, tunnels dug, shafts sunk, water piped or sent in flumes across ridges and foothills. Everywhere the stranger went he saw indications of tremendous activity.

IMPROVIDENCE

Such sights provided Mrs. Crabtree and Lotta with a new diversion and compensated for the tiresome journey they had just taken. But John Crabtree offered only disappointment. He had not prospered. He had no aptitude for strenuous labor; luck had not been with him. There were stories about men who had literally stumbled upon rich pockets, digging nuggets out of the earth with a jack knife. Some of

them were his neighbors. He had seen breath-taking lumps of quartz -- in the hands of others. His own were empty. Invariably he left a claim prior to the "big strike." Wandering about the Sierra, he had acquired nothing save hope which he now extended convivially in the form of a proposition: Why not keep a boardinghouse? At the mines, he argued, everybody spent money lavishly; there were rich merchants in town who needed a home, who would relish the good New England cooking of Mrs. Crabtree; others would drift in; their place would be crowded -- in short they could do no less than get rich.

MRS. CRABTREE OPENS A BOARDINGHOUSE

Mrs. Crabtree's disappointment must have been incalculable, but she allowed her husband to persuade her. Cuisine had never been her forte. In the East she had devoted herself exclusively to upholstering and had kept a servant who did the household work and cooked. Although she maintained the boardinghouse capably, her duties were performed in an atmosphere of rebellion. Meanwhile she resolutely fixed her purposes on the acquisition of gold -- enough for herself and Lotta and perchance even for Crabtree, whose participation in the present enterprise, slender enough at the start, ultimately vanished. During the summer he roamed away, prospecting. Mary Ann talked with every man who had the look of experience about him and with every woman who had lived long in the mountains. She learned by hearsay the

whole fantasy of California's riches: the hidden lakes of gold; the solid gold structure of the higher Sierra under a rock crust which, if some means of tearing it away could be devised, would yield fabulous wealth. She learned also of less fantastic things. To the north, beyond a few hills and valleys, lay the camp Rough and Ready, where bullet-riddled ceilings attested to the wildness of the community. The place was decked with gaming houses and saloons wherein huge fortunes in dust, nuggets, coin, were recklessly gambled away. There was gold, or the talk of gold, all over the country. Those who had not found it knew that they would as soon as their luck changed.

Through these rich camps came peddlers with silk, velvet, calico, broadcloth coats, lace, sealing wax, paper-backed novels, (occasionally the novels of Dickens and sometimes even Shakespeare's plays) beside a hundred baubles and trinkets, all solidly strapped into a pack and worn on the shoulders unless the venders were prosperous enough to possess mules.

LOLA MONTEZ

Luxuries were not for Mrs. Crabtree though; only talk, dreams, and frugal thrift such as might be called "pen-n-y-pinching." However, in midsummer of '53 when Lola Montez came to Grass Valley, Mary Ann allowed herself to share in the excitement. Before long Lola settled in a house not far from the Crabtrees and whether by accident or design (insofar

as Mary Ann was concerned) they became friendly neighbors.

By all precedent Lola Montez should have been an outcast, but she was not. The miners, in her honor, named the highest peak in the vicinity Mount Lola. A few resolute persons among the women became friendly with her; others accepted her with mild criticism. Her house became a veritable salon, thronged with singing, laughing people. She had been in Grass Valley only a short while when she began a rather picturesque custom of playing with children, among whom was Lotta Crabtree -- red-haired, with merry roguish black eyes and irrepressible laughter, romping in and out of the Montez house. At first Lotta was timid but Mrs. Crabtree, perhaps because of her interest in the theatre and Lola's former eminence on the stage, allowed the child to spend days at a time in the salon. This was strange in view of the fact that she otherwise scarcely permitted Lotta out of her sight. Moreover Mrs. Crabtree was sternly conventional. Under covetous supervision Lotta lived, until the end of her days, an almost incredibly innocent life. Yet in company with this new, exotic companion, the girl became livelier than ever before.

LOTTA BECOMES A PUPIL

Soon Lola began teaching her to dance. The pupil proved quite adept, possessing a sense of rhythm that surpassed Lola's. She learned a fandango, Highland flings, a few intricate ballet steps. From Lola also the child learned to sing ballads and ride horseback. They went about the

countryside together, Lotta on a pony, Lola on a horse. At Rough and Ready Camp Lola once stood the diminutive child on a blacksmith's anvil and bade her dance before a group of miners, declaring she should go to Paris. And by such devices of the Montez temperament Lotta in time lost her timidity. She would mingle freely with the witty theatrical company which visited Lola. She met strolling players, entertainers who could imitate a score of different characters. Once she was amused for an afternoon by the redoubtable Steve Massett, who called himself Jeems Pipes of Pipesville. An amusing Englishman, he came direct from San Francisco with a sheaf of his own songs and impersonations, with all the latest theatrical gossip.

NEWS FROM SAN FRANCISCO

Mrs. Crabtree was inevitably drawn into this fringe of stage life. She listened avidly to every scrap of talk, at the same time resisting its attraction, since at heart she distrusted theatre folk. But if she mistrusted its people she did not mistrust the theatre itself. Early in '54 theatrical events were startling. At San Francisco an aspect of violence had entered the competition between various troupes. The company which had seemed supreme at San Francisco Hall was now dispersed like chaff by the wind. Dr. Robinson had been forced into the background. The Chapmans had fled to Stockton. The American had been forced to close for want of business. In fact the whole scene had changed,

or had been changed by the appearance of Catherine Sinclair, actress-manager of the new Metropolitan which had opened December 24, 1853. The people of San Francisco had taken her to heart; nothing seemed likely to turn the tide of approbation for a long time to come.

To Mary Ann Crabtree, observing, listening, deducting, one must suppose such news held many a discouragement. But out of this debacle certain relieving factors presented themselves. Simultaneous with Mrs. Sinclair's rise, other women made their influence felt. The San Francisco theatrical scene became a kind of feminine heyday and the highest rewards now went to actresses in the Metropolitan company: Matilda Heron, Laura Keane, Catherine Sinclair. Moreover the vogue for child stars continued unabated in this land predominantly male. Children were still a novelty in the mining camps. Not far from Grass Valley, at Camptonville, miners had come from miles around to see a child who was not even an actress.

JOHN ASHWORTH CRABTREE

Thus a pattern was spread out before Mrs. Crabtree. She had only to become a manager. Lotta, in a sense, had already been trained by Lola Montez. Few of the other child stars were trained. Whether she would have decided the matter at once is doubtful, for she was always cautious, hesitant in making decisions. But when she discovered that she was to have another child there was no possibility of

immediate action. Spring passed. In the summer of 1854 a boy, John Ashworth, was born to her. By this time her husband returned from a long prospecting trip. He had been over the mountains, had seen new, unusually rich claims. The irresistible picture persuaded Mrs. Crabtree once more. In California, the golden, there was always a belief in sudden riches.

LIFE AT RABBIT CREEK

As soon as she was able to travel they made the difficult journey by stagecoach and packmule to Rabbit Creek, a violent little camp humming with activity as pocket after pocket of gold was opened and exploited. Grass Valley had been somewhat civilized, if not altogether law-abiding; but in Rabbit Creek murder was as frequent as were its provocations, usually quarrels over money. Hardier characters reached the ground first and John Crabtree found nothing. That summer there was an intense drought, with hardly any water for washing gold. It was far easier, Crabtree discovered, to spend his time in saloons, or rambling away on vague mysterious missions than to prospect. He selected from the rough elements of camp life what pleased him most and decisively pursued his wants; chiefly these were hours of leisure. When winter descended Mary Ann had no other course than to open another boardinghouse, this time under far greater hardships.

LOLA MONTEZ MAKES AN OFFER

The following spring, with roads reopened, Lola Montez rode over to Rabbit Creek. She had decided to visit Australia and wanted to take little Lotta with her. Such a proposal Mrs. Crabtree of course answered with a passionate, sharp "No!" Events had moved towards a climax in Lotta's life. A barnstormer with plenty of tricks in his carpetbag had arrived at the camp before Lola Montez. This man, Mart Taylor, was something of a musician, dancer and versifier. He opened a saloon next to which he built a crude theatre. Music abundantly filled both places. During the afternoons, when business in the saloon was slack, he conducted a dancing school for children.

Lotta and Taylor became fast friends. He not only taught the child new dance steps but provided her with a place to exhibit them before the miners. Mrs. Crabtree, with an immediate opportunity before her, made the most of Lotta's increasing reputation when she refused Lola's request to take the child to Australia. Not long afterward to the tune of a grinding hand organ, Lotta was dancing the cracovienne, which she had learned from Lola Montez.

DANSEUSE AT THE MINES

Any experienced theatrical manager would have been impressed by the small red-haired girl whose eyes flashed as her feet traced intricate steps on the table. Lotta was almost eight, but she looked six; she would have proved a

sensation to audiences eager for diminutive child performers.

In Taylor's theatre, then, Lotta Crabtree became a nightly attraction. Dressed in a green tail-coat, knee breeches, tall hat and brogans, she danced an Irish jig. Her laughter, added to an uncommon vitality, made her seem an absurd midget who danced for the sheer joy of it. When she appeared on the crude stage lighted by candles even Taylor's talents were forgotten. Pausing only to change costumes, she would reappear amid a storm of applause in a simple white dress and sing some plaintive ballad that shook the house with emotion. Money was tossed upon the stage in such profusion that soon a small fortune sparkled at her feet. She now had more money in her possession than at any other time since her arrival in California. The next move seemed obvious; a tour of the mines.

MART TAYLOR'S TROUPE

Taylor said that the first prerequisite was music. He engaged a fiddler; he himself could play the guitar and Mrs. Crabtree had, during her husband's long absences, learned to play that quaint instrument known as the triangle. Lotta was taught a further number of ballads and pretty songs. The repertoire, the company itself, was now complete. Taylor had a happy faculty for improvisation. He was a tall man, a singer with the appearance of a genuine troubadour, piercing black eyes, long hair, oriental cast of countenance and graceful figure. On a morning in late spring, 1856, he led

the troupe forth.

They traveled by wagon, Mrs. Crabtree holding young Ashworth in her arms, Lotta sitting beside her. In the cabin which they had left were some loaves of fresh bread, a kettle of beans, a note which informed Crabtree of their departure. Rabbit Creek lay near six crossroads, leading towards Port Wine, City of Seventy-Six, Rich Bar, Gibsonville, Quincy, Bidwell's Bar. For their destination Taylor had selected Quincy and as they struck rugged mountain trails the wagon had to be abandoned for mules. These animals, gayly decorated with red, blue and yellow tassels, were tied one behind the other since they were obliged to proceed in single file. Lotta was allowed a mount to herself, being considered even at that age an accomplished equestrienne. Often she slept in the saddle at night when the company hastened to reach camp in time for a performance.

A RAIN OF NUGGETS

When they reached a settlement Taylor went about beating a drum to attract attention while the remainder of the troupe rested. His tall troubadour figure would have assured them an audience anywhere, but with Lotta's appearance they were assured a riotous success. For the most part they played in saloons where makeshift stages were set up on saw-horses. Stuffed into bottles arranged along the outer edge, candles served as footlights. In strange places, confronted by an audience of men whom she had never seen before, Lotta

was timid and seldom wished to perform until her mother had spent an hour or more coaxing, wheedling and telling her funny stories. And even when the moment came, she nearly always had to be given a little push to get her on the stage. Once there, however, she danced her Irish jig with perfect abandon, placing her hands in the pockets of her long-tailed suit, rollicking about with an air which her mother considered somewhat rowdy. At the conclusion of each performance she came out in her angelic character, attired in the white dress with puffed sleeves, hair smoothly combed, face scrubbed clean, and sang her ballad or sentimental song. This was the signal for a rain of nuggets which afterwards Mrs. Crabtree collected in a basket, scraping every fragment of dust from the boards to augment her store of treasure.

MART TAYLOR AND JOE TAYLOR

Taylor's troupe moved constantly. At Shasta they encountered a band of minstrels, including one Joe Taylor, who described the meeting in his autobiography: Joe Taylor, Barnstormer, published in New York, 1913:

"While traveling with Backus' Minstrels in 1856 or '57," wrote Taylor, "we were in Shasta, when Lotta, who was traveling with Mart Taylor, met us; and Mrs. Crabtree asked us if we would be pleased to have Lotta go on, and sing Topsy's song. Knowing Mrs. Crabtree very well, I asked if Lotta would black up.

"This proved a great success for she was forced to respond to several encores, each time filling her slipper with money which was being showered on the stage. From this time Lotta sprang into prominence. She was an amiable, lovely and

ambitious child, who became the pet and pride of California.

"In 1858 Lotta made her legitimate debut in Loan of a Lover. Most of her early California plays were written especially for her, sensational, sentimental melodramas centering around a heroine, who, though a ragged waif among drunk-crazed miners, regenerates them -- with the ever pleasing coincidence that they find gold and become fabulously wealthy."

BULLETS AND BRAVERY

On one occasion during these travels Mrs. Crabtree and her children were forced to lie prone on the floor of their room as bullets burst through the canvas walls. A fusillade of shots from the opposite side of the hotel showed that a brawl was in progress and that their lives were in danger. But Mrs. Crabtree remained cool. It was of prime importance that Lotta be kept in good spirits. There were hard journeys before them; many a minor decorum must be preserved if she would uphold the dignity considered essential to her station. If she questioned the wisdom of her course, or exposed herself and Lotta to innumerable perils, the answers always came in positive form -- in nuggets and money and gold dust. Lotta, singing her ballads with greater charm, dancing with greater vivacity, romping with greater abandon, had now become an institution of the camps.

DEBACLE OF TAYLOR'S TROUPE

At Weaverville the company was forced to break up. Mrs. Crabtree was about to have another child. Little

Ashworth she sent to San Francisco with Mart Taylor, who was a true friend. Lotta was packed off to Eureka, nearer at hand, where she stayed with the family of James Ryan Talbot, a pioneer. Mrs. Crabtree's sojourn is not definitely known; but her third child, a boy whom she named George, was born among strangers, either at Weaverville or some neighboring village. As soon as her health would permit she hurried to Eureka, stayed a time with the Ryens, then embarked on a schooner for San Francisco in the spring of '56.

SAN FRANCISCO IN 1856

The city which now confronted her was no longer the same as that which she had left a few years before. It had grown to bold proportions. There were more elaborate buildings, longer wharves; life was hurried and formidable. Violence had become its legend, the theatre its arena. United States Marshal Richardson and James King of William had been shot; Cora and Casey had been hanged by the second Vigilance Committee. In the smaller gambling halls and saloons one clash after another had occurred. Despite the Vigilance Committee, lawlessness was still rampant; San Francisco was embroiled in an emotional and civic chaos bordering on warfare. Theatrical warfare continued, more subdued perhaps, but no less bitter. Mrs. Sinclair, than whom none had seemed more firmly entrenched, had lost her position by attempting to produce opera when the public emphatically showed it wanted drama. Nor was her retirement accomplished without

a public quarrel, over some costumes, that was continued in the newspapers and even on the stage of the Metropolitan before an almost empty house. It was this circumstance which started the rise of Laura Keene.

The only theatrical figures who had held their ground were Tom Maguire and Mrs. Judah. The former, morosely self-satisfied, went about in silence, contemplating the success of his new minstrels at San Francisco Hall. Mrs. Judah continued to play her old woman's parts before responsive, eager audiences. Laura Keene was producing Shakespeare, lesser tragedies and melodrama. There was certainly no place in this much altered theatre for Lotta Crabtree. Her mother might easily have retired for a time into some quieter existence. She still possessed a considerable fortune as the result of the summer's tour, but some obscure necessity which she alone knew prompted her to make a new start. She followed Laura Keene's formula; plays were in demand therefore Lotta should be schooled in legitimate drama. Besides being gifted with the capacity for mimicry, Mrs. Crabtree had a shrewd dramatic sense. Perhaps she had observed such qualities in her child. Somehow she made an entry for Lotta into an unknown theatrical company. The repertoire of course was far removed from that of Laura Keene, consisting mostly of old and much played farces. But since provincial audiences had enjoyed the child's dancing she reasoned they would readily be amused by seeing her perform adult roles.

LOTTA CRABTREE



Studio Pose of Lotta

PHOTO COURTESY M. H. de YOUNG MUSEUM

Leaving Ashworth in the care of friends, Mrs. Crabtree, Lotta and the baby George started with the troupe on a tour of the Valley of the Moon.

LOTTA'S DRAMATIC DEBUT

They went by schooner across the bay, thence up shallow Petaluma Creek, carrying their costumes in champagne baskets, sitting on the open deck, their instruments within reach.

As the boat moved slowly up the creek, winding among low flats and marshes, Mrs. Crabtree sat with George in her arms and listened without comment to the talk of the players. She was an odd figure in their midst, a muse of domesticity; but the same zeal that motivated them flashed in her pensive gaze as she glanced at Lotta.

Remembering the sad story of Edwin Booth, who had been stranded in midwinter at Nevada City, the company were apprehensive as to what lay before them. At the worst, however, they would not have to improvise a stage. The village of Petaluma boasted a small theatre in the second story of a frame building. It was equipped with boxes and even a parquette. Here, at the age of nine, Lotta made her first dramatic attempt, playing Gertrude in A Loan of a Lover. This comedy was still a favorite in New York after twenty years of repetition. The action was stilted, the ending forced, but Lotta's vigorous personality redeemed it somewhat. She pursued Spuyk, the hero, much as any child might pursue an

escaped pet; and when she was alone on the stage she incongruously danced a jig. In the next play, The Dumb Belle, she portrayed another absurd part.

"THE DUMB BELLE"

Lotta's mother was her mentor. Mrs. Crabtree had picked up bits of stagecraft here and there from observation of the actors whom she met and with whom she mingled. She possessed a sense of theatre, knowing instinctively what would make people laugh. In The Dumb Belle, although Lotta had only to carry a bottle on the stage, place it on a table and retire, Mrs. Crabtree taught her child such an elaborate pantomime that the simple incident became an act. Her success was instantaneous. The audience roared with laughter, showered the stage with money. John Rankin Towse, who seems to have been skeptical of Lotta's ability as an actress, wrote in his Sixty Years of the Theatre, by way of reminiscence:

"Of no importance in herself, a theatrical will-o'-the-wisp, she (Lotta) was yet a striking illustration -- as were Maggie Mitchell, Minnie Palmer, and others of their type -- of the slender professional capital with which popularity and fortune may be won before the footlights in a degenerate age. She was an attractive little creature with a pretty, saucy face, a fairy figure, and wonderful agility.

"It was in the far West -- in a mining camp, I believe -- that she first charmed rough audiences by her dancing, banjo-playing, and singing. She attracted the attention of some theatrical agent on the lookout for a novelty, was diligently and successfully paragraphed, brought East, and introduced as a prodigy of humor and pathos. She was a bright and piquant morsel, prankish, audacious, with a pleasant aroma of

girlish innocence about her, and she 'caught on.'

"For years the public adored her. She appeared in many parts and played them all in exactly the same way. She never developed or suggested any real dramatic force or adaptability. Her Marchioness was an amusing figure in its dirt and rags and childish make-believe, but was informed by no vestige of the Dickens spirit, while the so-called pathos of her Little Nell was the emptiest and dreariest of affectation. But she had splendid press notices, as if she were a luminary of purest ray serene. Modern press criticism has a good deal to answer for."

The press notices of which Mr. Towse speaks did not appear until many years after her Petaluma debut. For the time Lotta was still unknown, a member of that legion which tirelessly tramped through the California gold coast without any recognition elsewhere.

RISE OF MINSTRELSY

Although there was much rivalry among the company, Mrs. Crabtree drove hard bargains for Lotta and enforced them. After the first performance of The Dumb Belle one of the older actresses insisted that she be given the role, but Mrs. Crabtree would not allow the substitution. Lotta's drawing power was such that no one dared press the matter further.

Traveling about Sonoma County the company made good profits. Lotta had made an entrance into legitimate theatricals, her mother felt. The stages on which she played were orthodox; audiences were regularly seated in rows instead of crowding haphazardly around some makeshift affair of sawhorses and tables. By late summer hopes for Lotta's future had

considerably risen, only to sink again when she returned to San Francisco. Maguire had fought his silent way to supremacy. He cast his support on the side of minstrelsy. The music of banjo, with a byplay of negro character, which had begun in gambling halls and saloons, now held forth at the San Francisco Hall. The whole town was humming darky airs. One robust minstrel had been given a pair of gold-tipped bones. Almost all the celebrated exponents of blackface comedy had arrived on the coast: Birch, Bernard, Wells, Backus, Coes, Eph Horn, the Buckleys and one of the Christys. Theirs was entertainment of a many-sided nature, often wild or plaintive, but always amplified by vigorous dancing.

MRS. CRABTREE APPROACHES MAGUIRE

This trend in the theatre could not be misconstrued. Mrs. Crabtree, although she must have been frightened, approached Maguire. But he was absorbed in his minstrels; he would have none of Lotta. Weeks of searching for a sponsor yielded only the same kind of terse refusal. There was nothing left then save the lesser places of amusement. In some subtle fashion Mrs. Crabtree managed to find engagements in various auction halls near the bay. Once more it became necessary for Lotta to sing and dance. Perched high above the crowd on a table, or up-ended barrel, her small red head bobbed to the patter of swiftly moving feet. The engagements were slight, insubstantial and brief. Others more desirable, but of doubtful propriety, were obtained at the Bella

Union, the most notorious gaming establishment in the city, scene of several shootings and innumerable rows since the days of '49.

THE BELLA UNION

Into this bright saloon where men of shady character gambled, where women in lurid clothes dealt cards, Mrs. Crabtree brought Lotta. The acts were momentary, breathless; at their conclusion the child was snatched away before the atmosphere of the place could leave its impression. With passionate protectiveness, an equally passionate yearning for success, Mrs. Crabtree night after night accomplished wonders in keeping Lotta to herself, yet always before the public. She bargained for engagements, received their rewards, and constantly added to a store of treasure. And Lotta herself accomplished something approaching the miraculous when she pleased those blasé patrons of the Bella Union, who would tolerate no entertainer that was not spirited, vivacious, tireless. The way was being prepared for greater conquests.

A NIGHT AT THE AMERICAN

But the way was long and arduous, like a stiff mountain climb. On November 20, 1856 about the time Lola Montez sailed for the East, Lotta rose from obscurity to appear in a mixed bill at the American Theatre which was then under management of the Chapmans. First Caroline Chapman appeared in a play, singing He Died at his Post Doing Duty,

an elegy composed on the death of James King of William. There followed a round of songs and dances; then "La Petite Lotta," as she was announced on the posters, performed a song and dance act. There was something significant and triumphant in this first performance at a legitimate San Francisco playhouse. The night previous a man had been fatally shot there. On the stage Lotta had braved peril, in a sense, and had gathered to her small self a measure of critical approbation. But now a new anxiety confronted Mrs. Crabtree -- an anxiety which would not have been present had she been able to see into the future, when such notices as these were to appear in The Spirit of the Times:

"October 12, 18⁶7. Lotta is doing her banjo soliloquies in Chicago. Lotta is St. Louis' favorite star. She has played to more money than any artist who ever appeared in that city.

"March 14, 1868. Lotta played to houses as large as the Arch would hold during her late Philadelphia engagement. The banjo is mighty and must prevail. We expect to see Lotta next as Juliet, in the balcony scene, picking the indispensable banjo, and keeping tune to the music of Romeo's beguiling voice.

"March 15, 1868. Lotta opens at Pike's on Monday the 16th.

"April 11, 1868. Lotta, the indescribable, is playing Andy Blake and the Governor's Wife in Pittsburg to overflowing houses.

"April 25, 1868. Lotta, the 'Marchioness,' is in Cleveland."

NO OPENINGS FOR LOTTA

Openings should have been plentiful, for, as the city grew, places of entertainment became increasingly numerous.

The Russ Gardens and Hayes Park came into existence; Long Wharf, now fashionable as a promenade, contained a resort where minstrels gave their song and dance acts in the midst of a lavish display. But there was no immediate prospect for Lotta. To make matters more difficult Crabtree reappeared, having finally discovered the whereabouts of his family. Mary Ann, thinking he meant to kidnap Lotta, secreted her child in the Presidio.

ANOTHER ALLIANCE WITH MART TAYLOR

It may have been that her suspicions were unfounded; however she effected some sort of compromise with her husband, whereby he was free to drift in and out of their lives as he pleased, always more dapper, more elegantly dressed as Lotta's triumphs increased. Meantime spring advanced. Something had to be done. When Mrs. Crabtree's sister Charlotte appeared in San Francisco the problem was partially solved. Leaving the two boys, Ashworth and George, in her charge, Mary Ann once more made an alliance with Mart Taylor, who had gained repute as a poet. He still wore his long black hair in romantic fashion; he had published a volume of songs; he was popular with the miners.

MISS ARABELLA

On this second tour Mrs. Crabtree played a minor role. Announced as Miss Arabella, she impersonated various notables within and without the profession, displaying a

sense of humor that was often biting and dry as dust. Taylor called his company the Metropolitan. They set out in the spring of 1857, traveling up the Sacramento Valley by stage-coach. Although the journey was invested with gaiety, it could not be made without incurring the risk of danger. Highwaymen were frequent since all stages carried boxes laden with money. And if the company was not held up, they had the even less pleasing prospect of being coldly received. Too many troupes had traveled in the mountains, some of mediocre calibre. The miners refused plays like The Lady of Lyons, considering them outworn. They too had become critical; and when their ire was aroused by actors not to their taste, they frequently used force or firearms in evicting them.

MINSTRELSY

But Mrs. Crabtree had not lived in vain at Grass Valley and Rabbit Creek. She was quick to adapt herself to a changed condition, a different mood. Her ceaseless efforts kept Lotta at a high pitch, the child herself becoming aware of the temper of people and place, and adapting her own moods to it. Now she less frequently appeared in white cambric dress to sing a sentimental song. Somewhere along the route from Sacramento to Placerville, Taylor had found a negro dancer whose skill was known throughout the country. He taught Lotta a robust, complex soft-shoe dance. Moreover the Taylor troupe had spent a night or two with the Backus Minstrels.

As a result of this contact, Lotta learned such airs of minstrelsy as these:

"I can play the banjo, yes, indeed I can!
I can play a tune upon the frying pan,
I hollo like a steamboat 'fore she's gwine to stop,
I can sweep a chimney and sing out at the top --"

"Trike de toe and heel, cut de pigeon wing,
Scratch gravel, slap de foot, dat's jus' de ting --"

Above all Lotta liked minstrel acts in which she could romp, dance and sing with hoydenish delight. In brief, to borrow a phrase from modern slang, she "went to town" whenever she had the opportunity, and slight opportunity she needed. For this reason, perhaps, she met a ready response even at the more frequented camps from which unfortunate troupers had been routed with bullets flying at their heels. Her songs or ballads came to life because she was adept at mimicry. Likewise she made an act of picking up her rewards at the end of a performance. Then she became a child, taking off her shoe and naively filling it with dollars, gold slugs, nuggets.

ADVENTURES OF THE TRAIL

Mrs. Crabtree, young looking, attractive, but not so young in years, was taxed to the utmost, making costumes, coaching the child, playing the triangle. In the higher Sierra they traveled by horseback and there was little relaxation for Mary Ann, who had not the knack of sleeping in the saddle which Lotta had long since acquired. There was danger in this mode of travel also. Frequently trees snapped and

fell across their path; boulders, loosened by continual mining operations, would often roll down some mountain side, perilously close to them. Once Lotta remembered seeing a lone rider, far ahead, plunge into eternity at the bottom of an abyss.

Through summer and fall they followed little used trails, until it began to snow; then dropped down into the lower regions. When it became impractical to travel further, because of heavy rains, slush, bitter cold, they returned triumphantly to San Francisco. The tour had prospered them. Mrs. Crabtree felt secure both in mind and pocketbook, anticipating yet other successes in the city. Lotta had achieved a certain polish in her performances. Since minstrelsy was still well to the front, it appeared logical to Mrs. Crabtree's prim, tidy mind that Maguire, a veritable patron of minstrelsy, should be interested in acquiring fresh talent.

PERE CRABTREE ASSAULTS MAGUIRE

Perhaps Lotta was all that later admirers asserted; a novelty, the pet and pride of California. But Maguire was definitely not interested. At the moment his gambler's instinct either slumbered or preoccupied itself solely with the better known minstrels. He spoke disparagingly of Lotta's accomplishments, if indeed he spoke at all. Then Crabtree, following a gallant precedent set by the father of the Bate-man children who had shot a too severe critic, stalked out into the Square with a small revolver, lay in wait for Maguire

and wounded him in the arm. The encounter was negligible. Maguire, hardly feeling his assailant's bullet, sauntered away with his customary imperturbable calm. But no one can yet tell whether he held a grudge or dismissed the matter entirely, since Maguire showed no open resentment and afterward formed an association with Lotta, which, however, was more formal than friendly.

THE GAJETIES

Crabtree had, in any case, distinguished himself; and Lotta finally obtained an engagement at a shabby little playhouse on the waterfront, called the Gaieties. It was a cracker-box theatre, entered through a barroom, surrounded by junk shops, clothing houses, a few dives of indeterminate character. The Gaieties was upstairs, long and narrow, with overhanging galleries around three sides, a small stage lit by candles, a few tables in front where actors sat awaiting their cues. The patronage consisted mainly of miners down from the mountains. The actors were amateurs, broken down professionals, circus performers. The manager was Rowena Granice.

After the play Brigham Young, a melodrama which became farcical before it was finished, Lotta came on, singing Shells of the Ocean:

"One summer eve, with pensive thought,
I wandered on the sea-beat shore,
Where oft, in heedless infant sport,
I gathered shells in days before."*

* Rourke, Constance. Troupers of the Gold Coast. p. 142

The air was so filled with tobacco smoke that she became hoarse, stopped, then vainly persisted in trying to resume the song while the miners (many of whom had known her in the camps) shouted encouragement. At last she became frightened and fled. A brawl was starting. Mrs. Crabtree, taking Lotta by the hand, made a hasty retreat. There were probably similar retreats before the brief engagement ended; but through Rowena Granice Lotta obtained another engagement at the Forrest Theatre, Sacramento, where in 1858 she appeared in a burletta.

RETREAT TO THE SAN JOAQUIN

As if all the forces in California were conspiring to thwart her, Mrs. Crabtree once more chartered her course into the interior -- this time southward through the San Joaquin Valley. They started by coach in the autumn of '58, crossing the trails of other theatrical people: Julia Dean, Frank Mayo, Walter Leman and probably John S. Potter, who, according to one contemporary "had built more theatres and opened more theatres than any man in the Union or out of it." Unlike the two previous ventures, this tour is clouded by obscurity. Who the companions of Mrs. Crabtree were, where they stopped, whether they were successful, is not known. One may hazard a guess that they traveled as far as Mariposa, among brown and copper colored hills and black oaks. They may have paused to play at Mormon Bar or at Hornitos, the wildest of all the southern camps. Sonora may have been a

haven as winter set in, with rains flooding the roads and rivers dangerously overflowing their banks. It is equally probable that Mrs. Crabtree suffered acute discouragement, but she never lost heart. Inevitably they returned to San Francisco.

CHANGE AND A CHANCE FOR LOTTA

In 1859 still another change had occurred in San Francisco theatricals. Variety, the forerunner of vaudeville, had come into being; was overwhelmingly popular. Tom Maguire had built the Eureka Minstrel Hall; Rowena Granice had brought a minstrel and variety troupe to the Union Theatre; even the Bella Union had displaced its characteristic gambling for a fling at variety; and there was a diminutive stage at **the** Willows for the same purpose.

At last came that long expected chance for Lotta. Her entire career up to this point suggests variety; all of her versatile capabilities now fitted, like the piece of a pattern, into the current scheme and settled for all time her future. In spite of the pretentious roles which she later assumed, Lotta remained essentially a variety actress.

"LA PETITE LOTTA"

Almost immediately a half dozen halls were opened to her. Maguire engaged her for his Opera House and the Eureka; she performed at the What Cheer, Gilbert's, the Apollo, the Bella Union. Overnight she became "La Petite

Lotta," the San Francisco favorite. A public which demanded diversity found it in ample portions in her small person, sturdy, yet delicate and full of quaint rowdyism. In her voice, which had now acquired a clear soprano range, there was a suggestion of smothered fire that often seemed to belie the frivolous words of minstrel ballads. One of the strolling players whom the Crabtrees had encountered in the mountains had taught Lotta to strum the banjo. She drew from this instrument a deep resonance characteristic of the art of plantation negroes, with the many-throated rhythm belonging to their songs. According to Constance Hourke in Troupers of the Gold Coast (p. 157) the whole company would join in the chorus as she played and sang,

Ruberii, de cinnamon seed, seed de Billy hop
jis' in time,
Juba dis, Juba dat, round de kettle of possum
fat,
A-hoop-ahoy, a-hoop-ahoy, double step for ju-
berii,
Sandy crab, de macreli, ham, and half a pint of
Juba....

"finally tossing her instrument to another player and joining in the breakdown. She had dozens of banjo numbers with jigs, songs and pantomime...."

Before I left we danced two reels,
(De holler ob her foot war back ob her heels!)
I played on de banjo till dey all began to sweat,
Knock'd on de jaw-bone and bust de clarinet.

"She played and sang the favorite Ole Bull and Old Dan Tucker, well known in California and long relished there since Ole Bull had played in the city and in the interior...."

Ole Bull he made his elbow quiver,
 He played a shake and den a shiver,
 But when Dan Tucker touch his string
 He'd make him shake like a locus' wing....

Loud de banjo talked away,
 And beat Ole Bull from de Norway,
 We'll take de shine from Paganini,
 We're de boys from ole Virginny....

A JAUNT WITH JAKE WALLACE

Lotta appeared on the same bills with most of the famous minstrels of the day, matching their own versatility, equaling their masculine exuberance. She acted in the afterpieces and became a headliner among such personalities as Billy Birch, Johnny de Angelis, Ben Cotton and others whose names have survived the period in which they lived. As their fame spread in San Francisco a constantly widening field opened before these minstrels. Soon the rich Nevada strike gave rise to camps at Virginia City, Gold Hill, Carson City and Washoe. Led by Jake Wallace, a company including the Crabtrees set out in 1862 on a long tour of the sagebrush towns, and stopping likewise at the older California camps.

Although Wallace was an expert with the banjo, he possessed a lazy genial temperament; before long Lotta surpassed him at his own game. Mrs. Crabtree, making an issue of necessity as she thought, still played the triangle, occasionally essayed her satirical impersonations, or sang. The troupe had its own coach. An outrider went in advance to announce their presence and secure them billings. He wore a cut glass pin in his cravat which was so large that newspapers

en route charged double for advertising; but everyone agreed the effect was worth whatever it cost.

Early in '63 they made their way over almost impassable roads to Sacramento where they played for a time with Biscaccianti. Then, since houses were only fair, they resumed the journey northward. At Iowa Hill they encountered strong Union sentiment, but in southern Oregon audiences hissed when patriotic airs were sung. Lotta, who knew little about Civil War issues, declared herself loyal to the North and refused to change her act at Wallace's advice.

"She said she would give it if they hanged her that night," said Wallace. "She faced a cold and relentless audience and they never gave her a hand."*

Fortunately she gained at least a neutral response; but once the performance was over Wallace hurried his troupe towards Portland. He was taking no chances with a mob whose sudden fury might at any moment rise against them.

THE WILLOWS

When they returned triumphantly to San Francisco, Lotta found an increasing number of engagements, notably at the Willows, "a sylvan retreat near the Mission," where, among other attractions, they held balloon ascensions and tightrope performances. Lotta was now sixteen. Portraits show her in hoop-skirts, stiff round hats turned up in back and adorned with miniature feathers. Although she continued

her blackface acts, there were afterpieces which afforded her a chance to display histrionic ability. She came out in The Soldier's Bride, "a comedy written expressly for Miss Lotta," in a burletta called Melodramatic Sally; another called The Swiss Cottage, and a farce called Jenny Lind.

WARFARE WITH THE WORRELLS

At this juncture there occurred one of those inevitable rivalries that spring up in the life of a successful artist. The Worrell sisters, whose father had been a circus manager, and who were theatrically well connected, had risen to prominence at Gilbert's Theatre. Frequently Lotta played at this theatre also, sometimes having engagements at the Willows and Gilbert's the same night. The acts were highly competitive, with advantages on both sides. The Worrells were three against one, but they were not so pretty and graceful as Lotta. However they did have histrionic powers which gained them a considerable following.

Lotta, on the other hand, was isolated from the people in her own profession. She possessed fine looks, a slender figure, piquant airs. She was named "Lotta, the unapproachable," and she had her following. Some nights the Worrells topped the bill; other nights it was Lotta. At length, however, Miss Lotta emerged victorious from this bitter warfare. Her routine was hard, but she had a momentum of her own, a characteristic energy which bore her towards stardom. Just as stubbornly Mrs. Crabtree drew her away from

theatrical gatherings in the greenroom (which most actors had found a liberal school), backstage, where in the larger theatres there was always to be found a convivial interchange. Since her temper and force and gusto had few of the normal outlets, the stage became her challenge to life. She fulfilled her own destiny before the public by giving rein to every suppressed emotion, and that perhaps is Lotta Crabtree's secret of popularity.

THE FABULOUS MENKEN

In midsummer, 1863, Adah Isaacs Menken arrived in San Francisco. Like Lola Montez, whom she is said to have emulated, she came arrayed in legend. Maguire had engaged her for a fabulous sum to play Mazeppa. She was another of those free spirits who found in the West a proper background in which to display her unconventionality. Somewhere, probably in Texas, Menken had learned fine horsemanship. During her stay in San Francisco, by an odd quirk of circumstance, she made the acquaintance of Lotta. It is believed that the poet Stoddard introduced them, for he knew Adah, admired Lotta's dancing, and was tolerated by Mrs. Crabtree, who usually repelled people with a touch of Bohemian character. Menken possessed a fondness for young people. Quite conspicuously she chose Lotta for her companion and since Lotta's mother made no objection, they became friends. Together they went horseback riding out to the Cliff House, promenaded along its balconies where they could obtain an excellent view of

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains. The number of transformed cells was determined by the number of colonies obtained on the selective medium. The results are the mean of three independent experiments. Error bars represent the standard deviation.

the sea lions, or watched the carriage races, or raced themselves, on horses, along the hard packed stretch of beach. Lotta was now an expert horsewoman, although she had never attempted such equestrian feats as her older companion.

LOTTA'S FAREWELL TO SAN FRANCISCO

One may only conjecture how much of Menken's career the red haired little minstrel knew. But that she admired Adah, or at least some dramatic element represented in her glamorous person, there can be no doubt. Although Lotta was almost seventeen, the press as yet had scarcely praised her; she was considered "a clover juvenile . . . the most talented juvenile actress California has yet produced." She had indeed risen, (in spite of quarrels with a manager, the almost continuous rivalry with the Worrells) but variety seemed to be the only prospect until Lotta, Menken and Junius Booth, as if by concerted decision, took their farewell benefits all at once.

Mrs. Crabtree had made another of those difficult choices; she would take Lotta to New York. True, her knowledge of the eastern theatre was limited to hearsay. Lotta had been singing and dancing for nearly ten years; no matter what the situation was in other parts of the country, it could not be worse for Lotta, she reasoned, than California. In spite of the rich rewards she earned there, the child had not received a real "break", she felt. And besides she had thriftily hoarded her golden treasure; there would be plenty

of money with which to buy their way into the theatrical capital.

About this time Crabtree turned up again. He now joined the small entourage which accompanied Lotta's exodus in the spring of '64. The two boys, however, were left in California. All at once it appeared that every established favorite was deserting the gold coast: Booth, Menken, the Worrells -- even Maguire's minstrels one after another drifted away, most of them headed for New York. Maguire's theatre night after night was almost empty. His few magnificent offerings, including the Keans and Edwin Forrest, fell flat. He glowered morosely, stalked back and forth in a not always silent disapproval of everybody from the leading actors to the call boy. Forrest was ill after his long bitter contest with Catherine Sinclair. He had come to stay at Maguire's for one hundred nights, but the engagement was curtailed to thirty-five. An atmosphere of disquiet pervaded San Francisco theatricals.

TRIUMPHS IN THE EAST

Meantime in New York, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis, Lotta made spectacular conquests during the next four years. Her name began to appear regularly in The Spirit of the Times, in notices of which the following is typical:

"May 9, 1868. Lotta's Little Nell was more true to the original. There was the same love, the same devotion, the same sacrifice of self, the same purity, in the personation of Lotta, that has made the old gambler's granddaughter

one of the most loveable of all the characters of the great novelist (Dickens). She won as much the sympathies of her audience in this part, as she excited their 'uncontrollable laughter' in her character as the mistress of the fondest affections of Dick Swiveler's heart. Altogether, Lotta has achieved success here. Not a great actress, neither a great comedian, nor wearing the laurels of tragedy, she yet, by her arch ways, her uncouth motions, her good humor, her fun, wins both applause and money."

PERE CRABTREE IN THE NEWS

Even the San Francisco dailies offered news of Lotta's successes. She had become a star, having appeared at Niblo's, at Wallack's, at the Broadway, the Howard Athenaeum, the Boston Theatre, and the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. Plays had been written especially for her, among them Little Nell and the Marchioness, referred to above. She traveled through the West and South. At St. Louis even Crabtree received a press notice:

"Père Crabtree," wrote a correspondent to The Spirit of the Times, June 8, 1868, "who enjoys the undisputed honor of the paternity of Lotta, the Marchioness, took it into his head the other day, while in St. Louis, that he had had enough of this world's trouble, and concluded to settle down in one of the hedge-lined rural retreats of Merrie England, the fortunate place of his chivalric nativity. So, to effect that patriotic purpose, he knocked down his wife--or the 'old 'oman,' as he affectionately calls her--and 'kicked the jaw out of her,' made a paternal pass at Lotta, who skipped nimbly aside with filial respect, and then the cheery English husband and doting British father broke open his daughter's trunk and confiscated thirty-five thousand dollars--the scanty earnings of a year's hard work.

"On this amount the fine old English gentleman intends to open an English 'Public' in Kent or

Devonshire, 'you know,' and we shall be very much gratified to hear that an indignant American public has opened him before he gets out of reach."

LOTTA WITH A REPERTOIRE

There is much in this article that sounds fantastic, but it may have some basis in fact. On their arrival in New York, Mrs. Crabtree had engaged Niblo's saloon, a small hall which derived glamor chiefly from its nominal association with the famous Niblo's Garden. At this time she was still stubbornly proud of her husband's athletic figure and fine presence. She had therefore put him in the position of lessee and proprietor; but one can hardly suppose that he contributed to the venture. It was short-lived, consisting mostly of variety bills. Afterward there was a minor engagement in Philadelphia; then a road tour of the Middle West. Although variety shows were still featured, Mrs. Crabtree managed to increase the number of plays in Lotta's repertoire, adding Nan the Good for Nothing, The Pet of the Petticoats, and Captain Charlotte.

At Chicago an enthusiast, to show his appreciation of her Tartarine in The Seven Sisters, folded a gold watch in layers of a handkerchief and tossed it onto the stage. But no matter how serious or pretentious the play, somewhere in the action or between acts came the inevitable breakdown, banjo playing jigs, minstrel songs and hornpipes. Time after time they made the same circuit: Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Buffalo, then into the South. It may have been

that Crabtree became restless and that he did rebel somewhat in the fashion described by The Spirit of the Times.

"I'M A STAR"

At all events Lotta's career was not materially affected. She romped through her parts as before, always presenting some enjoyable novelty, always being acclaimed. In a letter to a San Francisco friend she wrote in 1865:

"Yes, we started out quite fresh, and so far things have been very prosperous. I am a continual success wherever I go. In some places I created quite a theatrical furor, as they call it, and so far our agent is such a gentleman and good business man that we are perfectly satisfied with him. He is also a man of money. His wife travels with him, and a more ladylike person we have never had the good fortune to be in company with....The Reens played one week and we returned to play one week after them. I played to far the biggest houses but not so much money, for their prices were double....I'm a star, and that is sufficient, and making quite a name. But I treat all and every one with the greatest respect and that is not what every one does, and in consequence I get my reward...."*

LITTLE NELL AND THE MARCHIONESS

However, the day had not dawned when Lotta could race back to San Francisco for a brief engagement, for she did not attain her New York successes until after John Brougham had written Little Nell and the Marchioness for her -- an adaptation of Dickens' Old Curiosity Shop which was produced at Wallack's Theatre, New York, in 1867. Then for six weeks,

*Quoted by Constance Bourke in Troupers of the Gold Coast, p.196

LOTTA CRABTREE



Lotta As The Marchioness

PHOTO COURTESY M. H. de YOUNG MUSEUM

STANDARD LETTERS

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although theatrical business was poor, Lotta played before crowded houses. The papers published an almost continuous succession of notices which were echoed in San Francisco possessively and enviously and generally captioned: "Lotta." It was no longer "Miss Lotta"; nothing so impersonal as that could satisfy.

This play was something of an extravaganza; the longer Lotta played it the more free became its innovations. Referring to its first production at Wallack's, under management of Tayleure, The Spirit of the Times, July 11, 1866 detracts somewhat from Lotta's glory:

"With Lotta, Tayleure won a triumph. The poor little Western waif had some talent, much native, and a rare gift of originality, with taking audacity. Tayleure secured Wallack's during the summer season, flooded the city with big bills, little bills, colored posters, pamphlets, illuminated cards, squibs, paragraphs, flying rumors with real wings, which went out to all the rural nooks and hedge-lined villages of the Hudson, and many other quaint devices to attract and beguile the public until the end was accomplished, and the public stamped the fortunate actress with the great seal of their August -- or July, we forget which -- approval.

"Even adverse criticism was ingeniously turned to account by the astute Tayleure. The dramatic editor of the Spirit said that Lotta was like a bottle of champagne -- a small bottle -- effervescent, sweet, with no body to speak of, and apt to give one a headache. Quite praise enough for Tayleure, who instantly issued a broad, blue poster with quoted lines from all the leading daily and weekly journals; and the Spirit was made to call the little Western beauty 'the sparkle of champagne.'"

ANOTHER THRUST FROM THE WORRELLS

Although the New York season had been a success, it contained a certain bitter reminiscence of an old feud. The Worrell sisters were ascendant; they had a theatre of their own, The New York. They had associated themselves with Augustin Daly, who dramatized Norwood, a novel by Henry Ward Beecher, for their exclusive use; and later, at their request, he gave them a version of Pickwick Papers. Later, as their Dickens play failed while her own succeeded, Lotta may have enjoyed triumph; but at the moment she smarted with chagrin while Daly's Under the Gaslight proved itself a lasting melo-drama in which one of the Worrells merely walked on, another had the lead and the third a good character part.

Imitating Lotta, the Worrells injected minstrelsy into the play. But they could scarcely match their rival's superabundancy. When Lotta returned to New York she played Topsy at the Broadway Theatre, receiving at least a half dozen encores after her banjo numbers. Again she made the long circuit west and south. John Brougham had called her "the dramatic cocktail." Others took up the phrase. At Chicago she caused a small riot in Little Nell and the Marchioness. Wallack and Davenport, playing at the same time before almost empty houses, publicly declared they would not appear again until they had learned to strum the banjo and dance a clog. In the fall of 1868 at the Boston Theatre, Junius Booth, its manager, added yet another feather to Lotta's cap. He

announced her as "Little Fairy Lotta, the diamond edition of dramatic delights." Climaxing the Worrell feud, another play had been written for her -- Firefly, adapted from Ouida's Under Two Flags. In Boston, at least, the play was considered reckless. Lotta was a rebellious hoyden who wore her skirts too high from the ground, smoked liberally and gracefully, (insisting afterward that she had learned the trick from Lola Montez). Also she mingled with soldiers, led a regiment, danced on parapets, sang a song, Bright Champagne, and at last rode madly across the desert to save her soldier lover, only to find him dead. Whereupon she flung herself into a volley of hostile bullets.

CRITICAL COMMENT OF THE PRESS

On August 8, 1868 it was announced in The Spirit of the Times that

"Falconer's new drama written for Lotta, the little Western bird of a thousand songs, will be produced on Monday next. What the story is we know not, but doubtless one to bring into play all the young artiste's most scintillating points. We have not heard the part assigned to Lotta, but probably the title role, as that electric and explosive young lady usually makes the 'Fire Fly'."

A week later, however, the same journal spoke a little less enthusiastically of this vehicle:

"The Firefly has blazed out its full refulgence and blinded no one. 'Figaro' last week called it a 'Lightning Bug.' He did not tell the whole truth. It is a Lightning Humbug. The piece was written to develop Lotta's talents as a soloist on the snare drum. Mr. Edward Falconer is the author, and has conceived a part

for Miss Lotta which is fruit beyond that kitchenish young lady's grasp."

"SHALL WE SING IT AGAIN?"

During the sixties women in comedy of such rough outlines were still taboo. Yet Lotta managed to maintain such an air of innocence, even while smoking on the stage, that she survived mid-Victorian prudery. Few other actresses had successfully attempted it. Lola Montez became an out-cast for breaking the conventions and Adah Isaacs Menken, although she lasted longer, gradually descended into oblivion as Lotta continued to rise. Perhaps Lotta's improvisations saved her; for heedlessly she broke a score of traditions as if she could not help herself. Something in the shattered tempo of the post Civil War period seemed to respond to her unlicensed joyousness; and she rode new tides of popularity, hurrying back and forth between Boston and New York season after season.

New dances were named after Lotta; songs were dedicated to her; everywhere she encountered an instantaneous and electric acclaim. She had become indeed "the dramatic cocktail." At Buffalo where she was singing a duet in an operetta, Le Postillon, she received seven encores; flushed, breathless, almost unable to stand, she laughed pleasureably and turning to her partner, asked aloud: "What do you say, Ben? Shall we sing it again?"*

*Rourke, Constance. Troupers of the Gold Coast. p. 206.

But the ever present Mrs. Crabtree was always in the wings, or backstage. She saw to it that Lotta's acting remained aloof, no matter how natural her daughter might appear. And this unique combination of qualities forever distinguished Lotta from her contemporaries. Since she had come out of the West, people were quick to take up the garish phrase of Booth, naming her the "California Diamond."

A SHORT SEASON AT SAN FRANCISCO

In August 1869 Mrs. Crabtree returned with her protege to San Francisco for a season. It was another timely move. National expansion had started there with completion of the transcontinental railroad. The pioneer days were over; the scale of life was now comparable to and almost homogenous with that which prevailed in the East. Whereas gambling in gold slugs had been a former obsession, now there was gambling in stocks; expansion and industrial development had begun, accompanied by the boom in speculation. This was the great "bonanza" era -- the era of bankers, when mansions began to appear on Nob Hill.

In theatricals a sophisticated extravagance flourished. William C. Ralston, a gambler in the grand style, had built the new California Theatre, spacious, expertly designed, with impressive outside arches and an ample lobby which ran around three sides of the building. The greenroom had an aura of dignity, the dressing rooms were comfortable; stage sounds had been deadened. For the audience there was

an interior of fairy tale luxury. Galleries rose one above the other, with boxes arranged at the sides; vision and audition had been vastly improved. An experienced, expert stock company reigned here, for this playhouse had been designed for the cultivation of actors; the pleasure of spectators.

Night after night the same people came. But they were no longer dressed in nondescript style. They arrived in carriages, the women elaborately garbed and bejeweled; the men elegantly groomed.

Lotta appeared at the California Theatre towards the close of its first season. Her advent was announced in the San Francisco News Letter, August 14, 1869:

"Next week Lotta commences an engagement, appearing as Little Nell and the Marchioness -- her most admired roles. This young actress and danseuse belongs to that class who have always been successful everywhere, but nowhere more so than in San Francisco. Lotta is petite and very pretty, an impersonation of grace, and -- when she sees fit to evince them -- abounding in those sweet and winning ways, which (for instance) constituted Kingsbury's only merit and sufficed with her to draw many weeks of crowded houses. For Kingsbury was no more of an actress than this penholder -- or any other stick; but she had a manner which was winning; and would seat herself upon McCullough's knees, and pet that 'ingenuous' (as Sam says in the Bulletin) person in a way to make the spectator's hair curl. Moreover she could not dance, and Lotta can; and furthermore Lotta used to possess (we are justified in presuming that she still has it 'about her clothes') a pair of the very prettiest legs that ever bounded in a pirouette; and she can act cleanly. Therefore we imagine that a profitable engagement opens before the young danseuse."

The prediction was justified. Every seat, every available nook, every inch of standing room was occupied. It was a formidable occasion. Supported by a highly accomplished cast, Lotta faced the most critical audience she had yet known. Her fame, however, had fired the popular imagination. Exacting these people might be, yet from the first they were congenial. At the end of each climax their plaudits roared through the house; and Lotta responded, smiling, to many encores.

On successive evenings it was much the same. She raced through a series of plays in rapid succession, exuberant, laughing, happy. Even these theatre-goers, whose demands were severe, she astonished. Since her departure from the coast Lotta had acquired a repertoire; some of it was old, but still attractive. She presented: Nan the Good for Nothing, Pet of the Petticoats; a farce The Governor's Wife, Family Jars, The Irish Diamond, Captain Charlotte, The Little Detective, The Ticket of Leave Man, and Firefly. As in Little Nell and the Marchioness, many of these plays afforded her dual roles and an opportunity to scintillate through varied characterizations.

THE LITTLE FIREFLY

On this commodious stage the production of Firefly acquired grandiose proportions: troops marched to the noise of cannon and small arms; there were elaborate settings of camps and fortresses; a panorama of Lotta galloping across

the desert. She was surrounded by such stars as Barrett, McCullough, Raymond, Harry Edwards, Emelie Melville and Mrs. Judah. Nevertheless she was not intimidated by such substantial figures. In her own small person Lotta maintained a self-sufficiency, an energy, that allowed her to dominate the scene immediately she made her appearance. Playing Andy Blake in The Irish Diamond, Barney O'Brien in The Little Detective, she brought to mind reminiscences of her first adventure, long ago, at the mines. And there was always banjo playing, dancing, minstrelsy and breakdown somewhere in the performances. No audience, however seasoned, could predict what she would do next; consequently she was regarded as the self-embodiment of dramatic essentials, suspense and surprise. Her qualities of vigor, innocence, delicacy, rode rampant over criticism:

"Four heavy dailies," said the San Francisco News-Herald, August 21, 1869, "have dealt clumsy wipes of congenial criticism at the performance of Mistress Lotta at the California. The single act which provoked this reprobation was tying a hat upon her hips and wiggling with it across the stage. This was not even suggestively funny, was unnecessary, and stupid--we are tempted to say brutally so; and had Lotta looked less of the child which she personated, the act would have been more objectionable. As it was, considering the costumes and other features, in comparison with 'Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines,' the act was one of scrupulous delicacy. And this is, in a nut-shell, the sole and entire source of the roughish handling which Lotta has received during the past week; we trust that we have not been unpardonably tedious in the attempt to show that it has been all wrong--that people who have not seen 'Marchioness-Nellie' are likely to derive an erroneous impression of the dual character--and that it is unjust to all hands engaged in a

performance which is in many respects enjoyable, and in some very much so. And especially is it more than unjust--it is discouraging toward an actress who, whatever may have been her sins in other cities and before other audiences has paid ours the compliment of acting in cleanly wise, and whose single fault was (inaccurately) an indecorum--an offense against taste and in no sense against morals.

"It is evident that there was no effort to construct a good play (dramatically speaking) but merely to provide a sufficient connection of incident upon which to introduce a quantity of Lotta's special tricks, and (perhaps) to present her in strongly contrasted alternation as the ragged and acute Marchioness and the devoted and suffering Nell.

"Since the play is so very bad Lotta appears at a certain disadvantage. Some of the other parts are better. Notwithstanding all this, there was a great deal in the play to enjoy, much of which was contributed by the minor characters. But first, what does Lotta amount to? Lotta, friends, in the Marchioness, is very fair fun. Whether or not she has real dramatic ability cannot be safely judged from her Little Nell. We have said the part was an indifferent one and certainly did not succeed in redeeming its feebleness. But there are a few touches in her acting which must give us pause in estimating her strength, and which hint that she may, under more favorable conditions, develop some true dramatic fire. She is sufficiently pretty, sufficiently graceful, generally amusing, with flashes of archness, and we imagine will be voted, upon the whole, pleasing; she and her performances are at least a novelty, and likely to be received as an agreeable episode in current theatrical business."

Like this unknown critic, her public failed to define Lotta; she was simply different from anyone else they had seen. For six weeks she frolicked before packed, clamant, San Francisco audiences who rewarded her at benefit time with a golden, diamond-studded wreath and a package filled with gold eagles.

"HEARTSEASE"

In the East, after these triumphs, Lotta presented a California play, Heartsease, or What's Money Without, written by Falconer. Its plot has often been compared to Bret Harte's Luck of Roaring Camp and to Augustin Daly's Horizon, depicting the life of a girl taken to the Coast by a profligate father. By some it was said to be a piece written around a banjo, but considering its melodramatic ramifications this can hardly be held true.

For the next two years Lotta presented Heartsease all over the country from New York, where it ran six weeks, to California, where she gave it an even more fantastic extravagance than it originally possessed. In fact the play was never a melodrama while she produced it. Her pantomime with pistols was full of boisterous humor, ever changing, ever lambent in its effect. Her bravado was like a child's, and as the fun spread she invested every emotion with childish fantasy.

A HEROINE IN CHESHIRE

Money poured into the Crabtree's coffers as Lotta reached a new pinnacle of fame. Mrs. Crabtree, now sole administrator of the family fortunes, perhaps reflected in accord with the play. "What's money without?" Ashworth and George were growing up, Crabtree had vanished, neither Lotta nor herself could enjoy peace and quiet. So she decided they should go to England for a vacation. Lotta, as soon as

the others were settled at Cheshire, went on to Paris, where she studied French and painting, showing considerable aptitude for capturing likenesses on canvas. She also studied the piano; perhaps familiarized herself with other arts. At the end of winter she too settled down in Cheshire, her life there resembling that of a heroine in a light novel of the time.

LOTTA AS A GUEST

Occasionally she became the guest of some notable and on one occasion attended a banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London. In the San Francisco Examiner of June 8, 1893, Lotta herself is quoted as disapproving of this social life:

"When we go abroad," she says, "I never go sight-seeing; I usually sleep in the cars, and when we reach our destination I am entertained by everything and everybody about me. I do go to the art galleries, but that's all.

"Not long ago mother and I attended a very elegant reception. The so-called best people were present. Presumably they had all dined, but I assure you it was perfectly disgusting to see the avidity with which the supper and the wine were consumed. From nine o'clock until we left the dining parlor was crowded and the servants had as much as they could possibly do the whole evening. I told our hostess that such a thing could never happen in our house.

"Another time, Mr. Labouchere gave a dinner party for us. For some unknown reason he thought it necessary to invite only members of the profession to meet us. We went expecting to meet his set, the Parliamentarians, literary people and representative statesmen and their wives. Well, as I never talk shop and make it a rule to cultivate the society of people entirely unlike myself, the dinner was

a great disappointment to me. The host and his family enjoyed it, for the stage stories and bits of history were all new to them. I was perfectly dumb. I couldn't talk and I haven't a doubt but Mr. Labouchere thought me stupid. All this to show you that a great many social affairs neither rest nor amuse me."

Probably for similar reasons Lotta refused to appear on the London stage, preferring to remain, in her own conception at least, like the secluded young heroine. At the end of a year, traveling with severe economy, the Crabtrees returned to America. Again Lotta delved into her repertory, dancing with greater audacity, displaying heightened skill with the banjo and snare drum -- altogether unlike her recent and pensive and elegant self in England. Presently she appeared in Zip, or the Point Lynde Light, a piece which she performed with agile zest, almost like an acrobat.

"ZIP"

This was another of those extravaganzas composed of variety melodrama. Its plot outline followed what is known today as "the hokum formula" -- the poor girl bereft of mother and fortune, both of which come unexpectedly to her, as if by magic, towards the end. There were many villains in the piece, all of whom the heroine must thwart in order to reach a satisfying denouement -- with of course much pistol-brandishing and acrobatics throughout -- before love and riches are attained.

In her repertoire there were countless slight pieces like The Rainbow, which bordered on minstrelsy and

legerdemain, with many ballads and characters ranging from Corduroy Bill and Persipio Boosey Buff to Esquire and Tiger. Once she tried Jack Sheppard but the action proved too stilted for her light talents and she abandoned it for a melodrama called Musette.

MISS MUSETTE

Lotta never failed to provide some novelty. In Musette it was the display of gypsy scenes; popularity continued to mount as if there could be no limit. During the winter of 1874, despite financial difficulties in the South, she played at New Orleans before the largest houses of the season, while other troupes suffered. Enthusiastic admirers in the Middle West met her at the railway station, unhitched the horses from her carriage, and drew her triumphantly to the hotel themselves. Even in Boston, then one of the most rigid theatrical cities of America, she reigned supreme. At New York, with Sothern, Mrs. John Drew and W. J. Florence, she played an act from Othello for the benefit performance of Edwin Adams. She played Desdemona, frisking about the stage, tossing her gown childishly, catching pillows which Iago threw her, and finally, instead of the Willow Song, gave a banjo number and minstrel breakdown. With Lotta in the scene -- from whom everybody seems to have taken their cue -- Othello became a farce which W. J. Florence ended by turning on a fire hose.

VARIETY

People who loved Shakespeare might have considered such horseplay a sacrilege. Yet it was wildly acclaimed, proving the esteem in which Lotta was held both by actors and the public, as a comedienne. The identical group performed together at another benefit in Philadelphia, after which Sothern declared in a note to Lotta that when she came on the stage the lights were brilliant, that when she went off "it seemed as if the gas had been turned down," and that "I was so natural that I made all the rest seem like mere actors," as she herself declared.* Joseph Jefferson complimented her for the rapport which she established between herself and audience the moment she stepped upon the stage. Indeed many notable actors paid homage to Lotta who, although she did not know it, was virtually in the forefront of the drift towards minstrelsy and variety.

Harrigan and Hart had formed a variety team; the San Francisco minstrels, whom Maguire had promoted, were now favorites in New York. Minor troupes of comedians flourished all over the country. Moreover variety players had begun an invasion of the legitimate theatre. Lotta had been a pioneer in this movement; she had learned her art while still young and now encompassed it with personal gestures of wide range. She was therefore inimitable. Her plays: perhaps

*Rourke, Constance. Troupers of the Gold Coast. p. 221

were not of high calibre; but what others could have been better adapted to her own extravagant mannerisms? In the seventies no appreciable burlesques had yet been written. Traditions of an anachronistic English comedy still influenced American plays, and most feminine roles of power tended towards lyrical expression.

Lotta appears to have been a figure who belonged to the stage, yet not to the drama. She overstepped both the limitations of the theatre and the limitations placed upon women in private life. She had of course innumerable rivals and mimics, some of whom minutely imitated her plays, her actions, her gestures. But none could keep pace with her for she was continuously originating new acts, sending the old to limbo with her laughter.

LOTTA'S FOUNTAIN

Again and again Lotta made flying visits to the Coast, playing in the camps and at San Francisco. In 1875 she presented to the city her famous Lotta's Fountain. When it was dedicated, September 9, of that year, the San Francisco Evening Bulletin recorded the event as follows:

"Today little Lotta's gift of a great big fountain was formally presented to the public of San Francisco. During the earlier part of the day the rough board enclosure that has so long concealed the beauties of the fountain from the gaze of the passers-by was removed, and the handsome present revealed in its graceful proportions, although concealed by a veil of canvas. The fountain is twenty-four feet high, and rests on a base of granite eight feet square, and three feet thick, the greater part

of the stone being below the surface of the street. The first section of the fountain proper is four feet broad and three feet high, having a drinking basin at each face, and is ornamented at each corner with a lion's head. Over each basin is a griffin's head, the water flowing from the mouth.

"Henderson black tin cups have been provided, and are confined by a chain to the stone work above the basins. The section above, which is a little smaller, has a brass medallion fifteen inches square on each face. That looking towards the Palace Hotel bears the inscription: 'Presented to the citizens of San Francisco by Lotta.' The others represent respectively mining, agriculture and commerce, the three leading industries of California....

"The shaft proper is an elegant fluted column, ornamented at top and bottom with arabesques, which support a neatly shaped six-sided lantern. The whole structure is crowned by a stem bearing three lilies and small golden balls....

"The water will not flow continuously. Just above each basin is a handle like a brass door-knob, drawn out easily, but flying back with an energetic spring when let go, which thirsty souls will have to manipulate when they crave the element. The fountain will be protected from intrusive vehicles by two stone posts placed at each corner of the base. The cost of putting it in place has been \$1,600. The total cost will probably not exceed \$8,000 or \$9,000.

"In obedience to invitation, the mayor and members of the Board of Supervisors assembled at the City Hall at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and were escorted to the location of the fountain, intersection of Kearny and Market Streets, by companies B and C of the National Guard, and the Fourth Artillery Band, U. S. A.

"As heretofore announced, the presentation speech is to be made on behalf of Miss Lotta by Harry Edwards, and the reception of the handsome gift to be acknowledged on the part of the city by Mayor Otis...."

In spite of her immense popularity Lotta felt that her gift would be construed as a gesture to seek favoritism and for a time refused to appear in San Francisco. But she could not resist visiting the theatres as a spectator, according to "Betsy B.", who wrote in The Argonaut, August 10, 1878:

"I have been looking at Lotta's mignonne face and burnished locks in the boxes lately, and thought perhaps we were to have seen her in one of her new plays, but an enterprising reviewer has dashed my hopes. For my part I like little Lotta extremely. I admire her for her modesty in not wishing to play lost they think her presuming upon her own generosity, but I fear she overestimated the delicate consideration of the community. They have never extended, either to her or to her gift, a superabundant courtesy, and I fear that if she did play, the fountain would not materially affect the cash box. At all events she has made enough money elsewhere to be independent of California caprice."

REAPPEARANCE ON THE SAN FRANCISCO STAGE

Although she was in fact "independent of California caprice," Lotta yielded to Maguire's persuasion the next year and appeared at his Baldwin Theatre during August and September. During this engagement she presented Musette, La Cigale, Zip, or the Point Lynde Light, Little Nell and the Marchioness, repeating Musette at her farewell benefit, September 11, 1879. Musette was the story of gypsy life, written for Lotta five years earlier and produced at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, where it had an immediate success. Of all her plays it was considered strongest in plot, well sustained, with characters finely drawn, since the personation

of Little Bright Eyes combined all the eccentricities for which Lotta had become famous. Usually Lotta's role was the only strenuous or substantial one, and for this reason she was seldom associated for long with superior actors.

THE UNPREDICTABLE

In 1860, leaving her San Francisco triumphs, she formed a company of her own; then began a tour of the West and South. But even now her manner of producing plays kept her apart. She rehearsed in private, emphatically insistent as to her reason--that she could not know in advance precisely what she was going to do. The company might go through its routine in the usual fashion but Lotta changed details of her own part to suit herself, thereby affirming a spontaneous elasticity which seemed to please her public. The bold outline of Lotta's fate had become established: as a child she had remained aloof from personal associations; now she was still aloof, while at the same time she possessed the companionship of crowds, invested with laudation and tributes. At New Orleans Grand Duke Alexis of Russia visited the theatre during one of her performances. So pleased was he with her acting that he gave her a set of bracelets, a necklace of diamonds and turquoises, and a dinner on board a warship, permitting each officer to sit beside her for ten minutes. Jewels were forever being showered upon her; managers presented her with locketts and other valuable pieces of adornment. On one of her western tours Brigham Young entertained her.

Everywhere she went the proverbial stage door crowd danced attendance. Hundreds of young men considered Lotta their idol, yet most of them obtained no more than a glimpse of her as she went in or out of a theatre.

FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS

Occasionally Mrs. Crabtree, who was still the business manager, took an apartment when their stay in a city was to be a lengthy one. Then the whole family were reunited, the boys wild, careless, gay, full of amusing anecdotes. If Crabtree were present, he too had his amiable moments, and Mrs. Crabtree could always be relied upon to weave some reminiscence out of her vivid memories. More often, though, the boys were away on some adventure of their own; for Lotta there remained always a long circuit of travel in company with her mother.

But if her detached existence grew monotonous, Lotta never showed it. She appeared fresh, radiant, youthful. She danced with fervor, created new bits of action and comedy and put on new plays. Ma'amzelle Nitouche anticipated by many years the present day comic opera, revealing Lotta in a Japanese role, flitting about the stage in a kimono with a pink lampshade on her head which was supposed to illuminate dark corners. She also produced La Cigale in elaborate fashion and brought out Pawn Ticket 210 with which the critics dealt harshly. However Lotta gave the performance life and made it a popular success in spite of the critics.

ENGLAND AGAIN

Towards the end of the eighties Mrs. Crabtree took her daughter to England with the intention of finding public favor there; but a few shrewd imitators of the red-haired comedienne had preceded her and given many of her popular successes. Thus when Lotta appeared, she was considered an impostor. Misfortune followed upon misfortune. The manager chosen for this engagement was incompetent; one of the actors in the company had recently secured a divorce and British resentment was aroused. Musette, which had been selected for the opening, was a play set in England. It contained a scene in which an ignoble baronet pursues a naive girl, a situation which Englishmen thought anachronistic. All the actors, including Lotta, were hissed. Not discouraged by the initial failure, Lotta presented Little Nell and the Marchioness. Her audience could not be infused with sympathy until she had repeated the play; then they responded to her high spirits and subtle adaptation, turning failure into a semblance of success. Shortly afterwards she returned to the States.

"A LIFE RECORD"

About this time there appeared in The San Francisco Morning Call, April 3, 1887, an odd and pathetic notice penned by Mart Taylor, Lotta's first manager:

"Suisun City, Solano Co., Cal.
Box 104

"Editor Morning Call:

As there are doubtless many
of my old friends living who remember me, I

give you these items, and at the same time not only permission, but hope you will publish them. They are truths which by being made known by means of your widely read paper might be to me of some benefit.

"I am 60 years of age. I have been known all over the Pacific Coast since 1853. I first went over California in 1855 with Lotta Crabtree and a little company, giving our opening engagement at Petaluma, thence through all the mining towns. My next engagement was with Sherry Corbyn at Sacramento, then with the Pennsylvanians under the management of Johnson and Mordo and the Mandevilles; then with the Fairy Minstrels, then with Mart Taylor's Comedians, and subsequently with various other combinations.

"My forte has been my local and original songs, many of which have been published. For three years I conducted the first commercial college in Sacramento; have published papers in San Francisco, Columbia, Tuolumne County, and have practised law at La Porte, California, Harrisburg, Oregon, and Punta Arenas, Mendocino County. Have given largely to many objects and purposes of charity, and never threw up the sponge until sickness brought me down.

"I am now very sick, and have been so for a long time. I am moneyless, an inmate of the county hospital of Suisun, as above stated. I am among strangers, was taken worse while negotiating an entertainment, and here I am.

Yours, completely tired out,
Mart Taylor."

An editorial statement continues, as follows:

"Somebody who knows both Lotta and her unfortunate first manager would do a good turn by forwarding the actress poor Taylor's sorrowful brief. She has, it is said, a hand as open as the day to melting charity, and surely there can be no more worthy object for her beneficence than the man who first set her feet in the pathway to a fortune."

There is no record to show whether or not Lotta received news of Taylor's plight.

LOTTA RETIRES FROM THE STAGE

In 1891, after more than thirty years on the stage, she retired. Many rumors traveled around the circuits she herself had traveled. It was true that she had been ill; yet she had recovered sometime before. Her difficulties in England had affected her career, but they had not completely broken her self-confidence. On her return to the United States she had played with her accustomed hilarity before audiences who acclaimed her as vociferously as ever. David Belasco, soon after her retirement, wanted to bring her back; arrangements were well advanced. Lotta intended to return, obviously attracted by the life she had so long enjoyed, but for some unknown reason Belasco failed in his endeavor. Afterwards Lotta explained that she had desired to remain in seclusion rather than to risk losing her popularity. In any case the decision proved opportune -- for the day of crude, light plays was passing. The interest in Dickens had begun to wane; minstrelsy had already suffered changes -- the older minstrelsy, indeed, had completely vanished. A new era was being born, an era of chorus girls and leg shows. Comic entertainment was becoming gaudier, less humorous. Lotta's art would soon have been outmoded.

LOTTA'S FORTUNE

Like the heroines of her melodramas, Lotta herself now came into a fortune; Mrs. Crabtree had sometime during their travels caught the gambling instinct. She had purchased real estate in what had proved to be the right sections

of several new cities. Many of her risky speculations had multiplied in value and there was besides the accumulation of box office receipts. Mrs. Crabtree, prim, often parsimonious, had managed well. She drove hard bargains with everybody even when there was no longer any need for thrift. In her own and Lotta's personal affairs she had been most frugal. Consequently their wealth amounted to millions.

FALSE RUMORS OF MARRIAGE

On the shore of a lake in the New Jersey Hills. Mrs. Crabtree built a rambling summer home with gables, wide verandas and lawns. Here they lived most of the time like English noblewomen. Crabtree had gone to England, dying shortly after his arrival. Ashworth and George, handsome darlings of fortune, occasionally visited their mother and sister, indulged in sports, admired the gifts which Lotta gave them, and generally made the New Jersey home a place of transient pleasure. Lotta amused herself with art, gave masquerades, dragged old costumes out of her trunk and appeared again and again in her favorite role, the Marchioness. When she left the stage she was forty-four; at fifty she looked no more than thirty, and her youthful looks became the subject of minor legends.

Marriage for Lotta had never been a very real prospect. Once she had been engaged to a young army officer who had died. The newspapers frequently printed stories of other engagements but these were untrue. The only definite

bond between Lotta and another individual was that which held the actress to her mother. The common devotion they shared was close, faithful. Neither of them seemed to find it irksome, although Mrs. Crabtree aged prematurely. When she died in 1905 her shriveled countenance might have been that of Lotta's grandmother.

LOTTA AWARDED MEDAL

In 1915 after George and Ashworth too had died, Lotta, all alone now, made a trip to San Francisco and visited the Panama Pacific International Exposition. Regarded as "San Francisco's own," she was given a tremendous ovation. Lotta's Day was declared, with special exercises during which, at the Exposition grounds, she was awarded a commemorative medal and a gold nugget. At another ceremony, held at Lotta's Fountain, more than ten thousand people were on hand to cheer her. The scene was reminiscent of Christmas Eve, 1910, when Tetrizzini sang at Lotta's Fountain before a similar throng. She remained in the city only a few days, however, feted and entertained by old friends, then departed for the East.

OBITUARY

Her one diversion during the last years of her life was horse racing. She added to her stables, acquiring a filly named Sonoma Girl which won the Transylvania sweepstakes one year. During the winters she lived at Boston in her own hotel surrounded by people, yet solitary. Often she traveled to Gloucester, Mass. where she wandered about with

sketch box and easel. Sometimes she painted herself, dressed in the rags she had worn as the Marchioness. But inevitably she grew old. The next news which came to San Francisco told of her death, September 25, 1924:

"Lotta is dead," reported the San Francisco Examiner (Sept. 26, 1924). "What more could be said that would cause the sorrow or the fond recollections of old San Franciscans?"

"Her monument stands in the very center of the city, Lotta's Fountain. Who does not know it? Third and Market Streets, Geary and Kearny Streets, and after that the West becomes East."

And the San Francisco Chronicle of the same date:

"Lotta Crabtree, retired actress who thirty years ago was reputed to be the richest individual in stage life, died tonight (Boston, Sept. 25) at the Hotel Brewster at the age of 77. She leaves no immediate relatives, her brothers having died several years ago. The body will be taken to New York, where services will be held with burial at Woodlawn Cemetery Sunday.

"Lotta Crabtree was a particularly bright star in the brilliantly studded dramatic firmament of the golden age of California. As a winsome little stage queen of song and smile she won the hearts of the big, bewhiskered Argonauts of those days and later danced and acted her way into the affections of larger, but no more appreciative audiences.

"Because of her charming and versatile personality as a performer which placed her as an idol upon a distinctive pedestal, her name became a cherished memory with San Franciscans of a later generation, and it will remain as such long after her death."

AFTERMATH

For a long while the color of Lotta's frontier life survived in court disputes as innumerable claimants, deeming themselves entitled to share her enormous wealth, contested

the will she had made. One of these declared herself the daughter of Ashworth Crabtree by a common law marriage. She declared her birthplace had been Tombstone, Arizona, during the wild days when Ashworth had wandered, without his family's knowledge, to that frontier. Another asserted she was Lotta's daughter and her story was even more fantastic and complicated, suggesting the theme of one of Lotta's oldest and least substantial melodramas. When this second case was heard in a Boston court, it was so sensational that one could almost envision glittering gold, as if it were spread out in an open gulch of the mother lode. Each case however collapsed from the weight of its own ambiguity.

Lotta's will, which these people tried in vain to break, left half of the Crabtree millions to a foundation for relief of destitute World War veterans; the remainder was designated to many charitable causes, including care of the sick in hospitals, an actors' relief fund, a fund for students of music and of agriculture, a fund to care for worn-out horses and stray dogs, and another to promote anti-vivisection laws. Thus the bulk of her estate was distributed among strangers, for there were very few personal bequests in that document whose provisions are said to have been endlessly complex.

ESTIMATE

Perhaps the sole consolation of Lotta's lonely life may be found in her sheer exuberance, in the great fun which she herself found on the stage. And in this aspect she will

be remembered if not as a fine actress at least as one of the fine personalities of the American theatre. It is impossible to determine how long her fame will endure, for she died relatively only a few years ago. However, her monument stands significantly at one of the busiest intersections in San Francisco.

LOTTA CRABTREE

Representative Parts Taken by Lotta

<u>Date</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Play</u>
1856	Gertrude	The Loan of a Lover The Dumb Belle
1863		The Soldier's Bride Melodramatic Sally The Swiss Cottage
1864	Jenny Lind	Jenny Lind
1865	Nan	Nan the Good for Nothing Captain Charlotte Pet of the Petticoats
	Fanchon Tartarine	Fanchon The Seven Sisters
1866	Topsy	Uncle Tom's Cabin
1867	Little Nell	Little Nell and the Marchioness
1868	Vivandiere	Firefly
1869	Andy Blake Barney O'Brien Sam Willoughby	The Irish Diamond The Little Detective The Ticket of Leave Man The Governor's Wife Family Jars
1870	Corduroy Bill Persipio Boosey Buff Esquire Zip	Zip, or The Point Lynde Light
	Tiger May Wylderose	The Rainbow Heartsease, or What's Money Without?
	Musette	Musette
1874	Desdemona	Othello
1879	La Cigale	La Cigale
1880	Nitouche	Ma'amzelle Nitouche Pawn Ticket 210



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JOHN McCULLOUGH

1832 - 1885



PHOTO FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. DONN HUBERTY



JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGHStar Tragedian and Maker of Stars

The theatre in San Francisco has always been an integral unit in the cultural and public life of the city. Of no other city is this so true as of San Francisco. With the founding of the city came the theatre, a robust, lusty theatre with all the rough exuberance of youth. The city grew with startling rapidity, and the theatre kept apace. Within twenty years after the discovery of gold in California, the event which catapulted the city of San Francisco into existence, the theatre had attained its full growth. Its golden age came when the city itself was growing and expanding with adolescent vigor. Early in 1869, with the opening of the California Theatre, the zenith of theatrical entertainment was reached and maintained for eight years.

Probably the best stock company ever assembled on an English-speaking stage was gathered here and the leading stars of the time came in rapid succession, culminating in the celebrated engagement of the great Edwin Booth in the



fall of 1876. The man responsible for this unparalleled management was John McCullough, a star in his own right.

A tragedian on the stage, McCullough was a man of buoyant temperament and quick sense of mirth, friendly and sociable, called "Genial John" by his numerous friends. Yet, his relatively early death, at the age of fifty-three, was tragic; as tragic as any of the roles he had portrayed on the stage.

EARLY INTEREST IN DRAMA

McCullough, christened John Edward, was born on the 14th of November 1832 in Blakes, a small village not far from Caleraine in Londonderry County, near the northeast coast of Ireland. His parents were peasants and McCullough's biographers delight in describing the actor as having risen from "abject poverty" and "destitute circumstances," and although this seems to be a matter of conjecture, it may have been true.

His mother Mary died in 1844, leaving three daughters, two sons and her husband, James McCullough. In the spring of 1847, a few weeks after one of his sisters had made the journey, John emigrated to the United States. He had an uncle in Philadelphia who was the proprietor of a little cabinetmaking shop, and there John found employment as a chair-maker. His father with the other two daughters* and a son

*John's sisters married in America. Elizabeth became the wife of Thomas Young. She died in Dunmore, Pennsylvania in 1869. Mary married James Smith and died at Statington, Pa. Jane married John Wirth and became a resident of Dunmore, Pa.

followed soon after.

The father, James McCullough, independent in spirit, worked the rest of his life as a farmer in the vicinity of Philadelphia, seeming to prefer a humble life. He declined to accept aid even from his son in the prosperous days which eventually arrived. He died in Moorestown, Burlington County, New Jersey in 1878. He is remembered as being a small, thin man who spoke with a brogue -- a faithful worker, an honest man, but without ambition and reticent of character.

John was now fifteen and although he could read laboriously he had not yet learned to write. As a compensation for this lack he had become intensely interested in listening to recitations. One of his co-workers in the cabinetmaking shop was an old Irish chairmaker named Burke, who when drunk would indulge in tragic recitals. Burke's favorite was Richard III.

McCullough was strangely drawn by this play and there was then born in him a strong desire to be able to read more fluently. This he did, educating himself, and his textbook was Richard III. He read the whole of Shakespeare and then later he perused all the masterpieces of the great dramatists.

When he saw Sheil's The Apostate acted at the Arch Street Theatre, he became interested in the actual performance rather than the reading of plays. He joined the Bootherian Dramatic Association, an amateur group, and studied elocution under Lemuel G. White. For ten years he

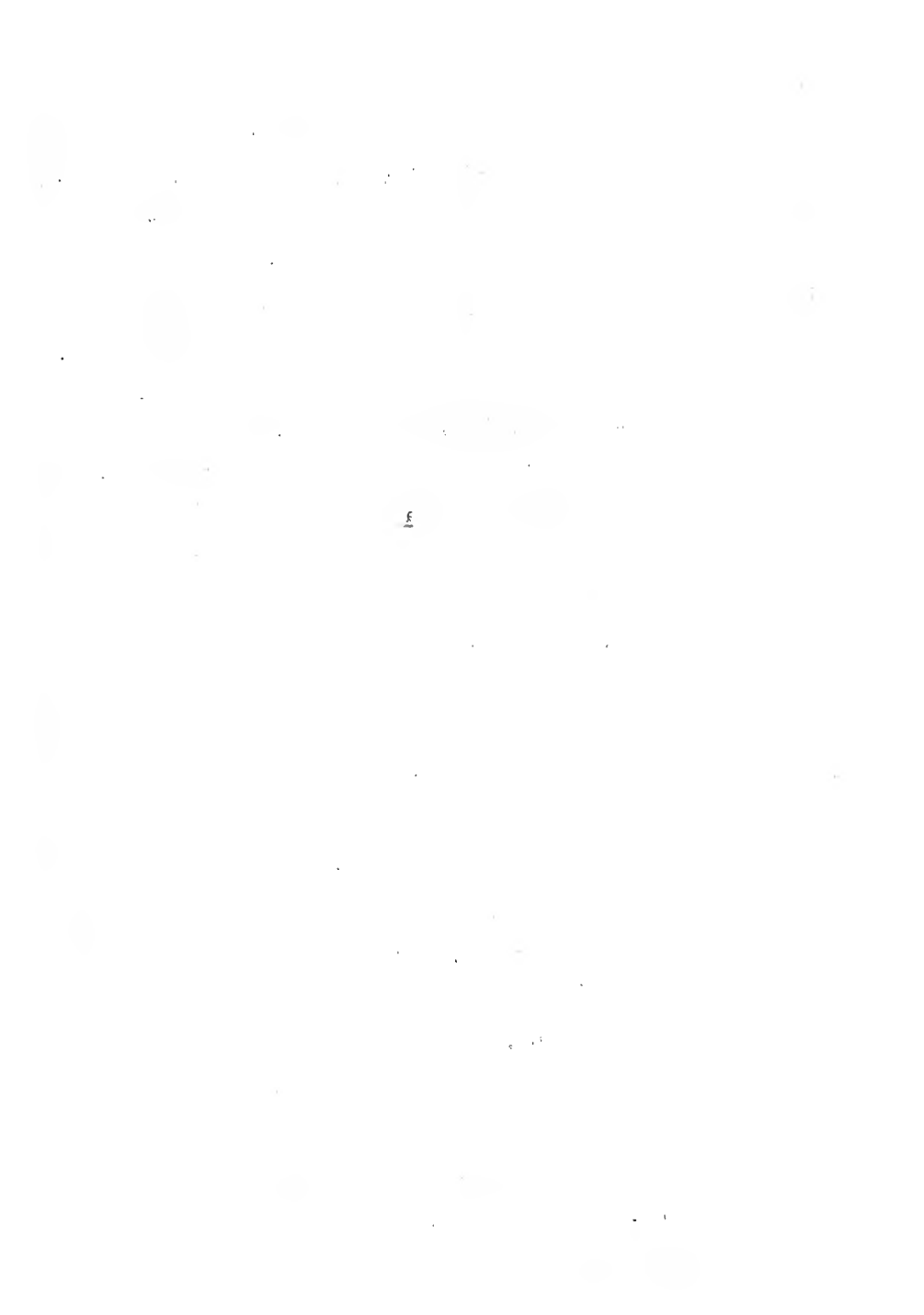
devoted his spare time to studying every phase of the theatre and often performed with this amateur dramatic association. Early in 1857 he played Othello at the Callowhill Street Museum in the production of the Boothenians. His potential ability was so marked that he was offered an engagement at four dollars a week by the manager of the Arch Street Theatre.

A PROFESSIONAL STARTS THE CLIMB

He made his professional debut on August 15, 1857 as Thomas in The Belle's Stratagem at the Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, where he had seen, ten years previously, the play which had been instrumental in his choice of a life's profession. His years of devotion to acting with the Boothenians stood him in good stead for, although his advance on the professional stage in his first few years was seemingly slow, he moved steadily forward.

He remained in Philadelphia until the summer of 1860 and was then engaged by Edward L. Davenport for the company at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston where he acted through the season of 1860-61. Early in the fall of 1861 he returned to Philadelphia and immediately found an opening at the Walnut Street Theatre.

It was while appearing at this theatre that he received the first major sign of recognition of his talents for Edwin Forrest chose McCullough to play secondary roles opposite himself. McCullough played small bit parts at this theatre but his years of study had prepared him for his



opportunity when it came. Davenport had produced Charles Selby's The Dead Heart and was acting Robert Landry, one of the longest parts in any romantic drama. One day Davenport was so severely stricken with rheumatism that he could not leave his bed; therefore at eleven o'clock that morning an order reached the theatre that McCullough should go on and read the part of Landry, the audience to be notified beforehand of the change.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY BRINGS RECOGNITION

McCullough took the script and went to his lodging not far from the theatre. "I sat on my bed and looked at the written pages; and suddenly I determined to learn the words and to act the part that night without the book," so he told William Winter many years later.*

The young actor studied his lines till darkness fell but by that time he had memorized every word and every bit of business of the role. He went to the theatre, dressed, and waited for his cue. "I had not told anybody what I intended to do. I walked on when the cue came and I played the part from beginning to end and was letter-perfect in it. The astonishment of the company was great. . . ."

One day he happened to meet Edwin Forrest at the home of the Arch Street Theatre's manager. The San Francisco Daily Morning Call, April 14, 1878 tells the story of this

* Winter, William. Other Days, Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage.

**Ibid.

meeting and subsequent events:

"Once or twice during the visit Mr. Forrest addressed the young man, who answered him modestly, and finally took his departure. The next day he met Mr. Forrest on the street and the great actor spoke to him. They walked along together, and Forrest suddenly asked McCullough if he would like to go to Boston with his troupe.

"I hear very good accounts of you," said he to the astounded young man. "I hear you are careful and studious, and if you will go, I think I can obtain your release from your engagement here." Eagerly accepting the offer, McCullough hurried off, with Forrest's promise to communicate with him in a few days ringing in his ears.

"I wasted ten days," said McCullough, to a writer on the Post and Tribune of Detroit; "ten days of wretchedness, but heard nothing. One night I was playing, when word came to me to go to the box-office, and when I arrived there Forrest told me my engagement there had been cancelled and that I must meet him in Boston on the following Tuesday. He asked me if I had any money, and when I told him I had a little, he pulled out some and made me take it. I shall never forget how he looked that night. It was raining hard and he wore a glazed cap."

"McCullough went to Boston and found he was cast for Pythias to Mr. Forrest's Damon. He learned his part and went to the first rehearsal. To his surprise Mr. Forrest did not know him, but still he played his part until he reached a passage which he asked leave to play a little out of the orthodox rendition. 'Play it as you always have,' ordered Forrest peremptorily. Then McCullough explained that he had never played it before, to Forrest's amazement and hearty pleasure. After that, the two were friends...."

The theatre in those days was a hierarchy which was formal and traditionally rigid. First, there was the star who took the hero's part whether he was suited to that role or not; second, the leading man who always had the next most



important male role; then came the heavy who depicted the villain, followed by the comedian who essayed the humorous role whether the author intended it for a six or sixty year old, next the juvenile, followed by several general utility actors and finally the captain of the supers.

ASSOCIATION WITH FORREST

McCullough's association with Forrest lasted for several years -- until 1866 -- and during this period they became so well-knit a team that McCullough would often exchange parts with Forrest in defiance of the tradition of the theatre's hierarchy.

John McCullough first appeared with Edwin Forrest in Boston as Pythias to Forrest's Damon in John Banim's famous play. In April 1866 Forrest and McCullough left New York for a Pacific Coast engagement at Thomas Maguire's Opera House in San Francisco. At that time it was necessary to take a steamer from New York to Aspinwall and from there to take a train across the Isthmus to the seaport of Panama. From there the sea voyage to San Francisco usually lasted a month.

Forrest was a notoriously poor sailor and at this time was in poor health. The two actors with their agent McArdle, however, spent a fairly pleasant month on board although Forrest was the victim both of seasickness and of a practical joke. It seems that one of their fellow passengers was a particularly boring preacher. McCullough, McArdle and

the captain of the ship convinced this minister that the great Edwin Forrest wished to hear him preach. Of course he was greatly pleased to hear this and welcomed the opportunity to divert and perhaps convert so celebrated a public figure.

On the promise of the three conspirators that the sermon would be brief, Forrest was lured into the preacher's cabin. The sermon lasted one hour -- the unhappy Forrest suffering from seasickness in the meanwhile -- and was followed by an equally long and distressing harangue in Kanaka. Courtesy demanded that the actor, as guest of honor, remain. Everyone else left. McCullough and the other two jokesters peered in through the cabin windows, convulsed with laughter.

The trip ended May 3, 1866. Tom Maguire had spent over \$6000 in alteration of his Opera House in anticipation of the renowned New York actors and the audience that they would draw. The best box seats were sold at an auction, the highest bid reaching \$500.

AT MAGUIRE'S IN SAN FRANCISCO

They opened on the 14th of May in Bulwer-Lytton's historical drama, Richelieu, with Forrest playing the Cardinal Duke and McCullough supporting him as Adrien de Mauprat. The daily papers were full of praise for Forrest, but of McCullough the press was a little more chary. The Daily Evening Bulletin of May 15, 1866. reported that:

"McCullough's impersonation of de Mauprat was a fair piece of acting but did not establish his claim to the distinction of a first class artist."

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During the next few months, McCullough appeared in many different plays opposite Forrest until the latter left the theatre on June 29 for a rest and health cure at the Geysers. Critics blew hot and cold on McCullough alternately. Of his performance in Knowles' Virginus, the Bulletin of May 17 said:

"McCullough's Icilius was a decided improvement on his first effort."

His next performance as Charles de Moor in Schiller's The Robbers, was politely ignored. However in King Lear the Bulletin May 22, admitted that:

"McCullough achieved a decided success in the role of Edgar. It was by far the best piece of acting he has yet given."

No mention was made of his acting in Damon and Pythias in the latter role but the Bulletin, May 24, reported that McCullough did not do justice to Iago who, after all, was the real hero of the play Othello. Admitting that he was "a very good actor." the article continued with the observation:

"His personation of it lacked the subtlety, depth and quiet craft of the original. He did not sufficiently look or speak the villain to reproduce the conception of the author...."

With a nightly change of repertoire at the Opera House McCullough played Antonio de Cabavenco in The Broker of Bogota, to be mentioned by the Bulletin of June 5 as

"...only fair to middling as the villain of the piece."

Due to his illness, to the rather apathetic press

notices, and declining box office receipts, Forrest cut short his engagement at Maguire's Opera House on the 29th of June. McCullough was then engaged by Maguire as leading man and star of the current stock company at a salary of \$150 a week. His first performance in that position was on the following night, June 30, when he played the lead with the regular stock company.

He received his first benefit performance there on August 3rd, at which time he was severely cut on the forehead during a combat scene in Richard III. On November 19th he again received a benefit and on this evening he took the title role in Hamlet for the first time. He played his last night of that engagement on the first of December and then left for a tour of the interior with Alice Kingsbury.

Early in 1867 he returned from his tour for a three months' engagement at the opera house, beginning the night of January 27th. On the first of April he started out again on a trip through the mining regions with the leading lady of his former tour, Alice Kingsbury. He enjoyed a long run in Virginia City, Nevada, first appearing on May 7th, and was the recipient of a benefit on May 22nd. On the day of his benefit performance the men of the town gathered in groups and threw dice to see who should buy blocks of twenty tickets to the performance. As soon as the loser had purchased the tickets they were given back to the box office, gratis, and the dice shaking began again. He realized \$1175

in this one evening.

AN ACTIVE SEASON WITH SIDE TOURS

He returned from this tour on June 20 and again became active with the Opera House company, receiving a benefit on August 16th. The company, deciding on an engagement in Sacramento, left for that city on August 27 and McCullough was with them. On the 19th of September he gave a recitation in aid of the St. Francis Church at the church. He closed this Sacramento run on October 5 and returned to Tom Maguire's Opera House in San Francisco where he appeared on November 12th. On the 27th he was tendered a benefit performance and was presented with a diamond scarf pin.

The last night of that season fell on December 7 following which he immediately left for Sacramento, only to reappear at the Opera House on the 16th. The following year, 1868, was as full of activity as the previous one. A sketchy notation will suffice to contrast the professional activities of the leading theatrical figures in those days with those of the actors on the legitimate stage today.

McCullough received a benefit at the Opera House on April 15, 1868 and then left for the interior. He then returned to the same theatre where he made his first appearance on May 28. On the 19th of June he set out again for Virginia City, returning to San Francisco on July 7. He appeared at a benefit performance for Harry Edwards at the second Metropolitan Theatre on July 11th. He was tendered a farewell

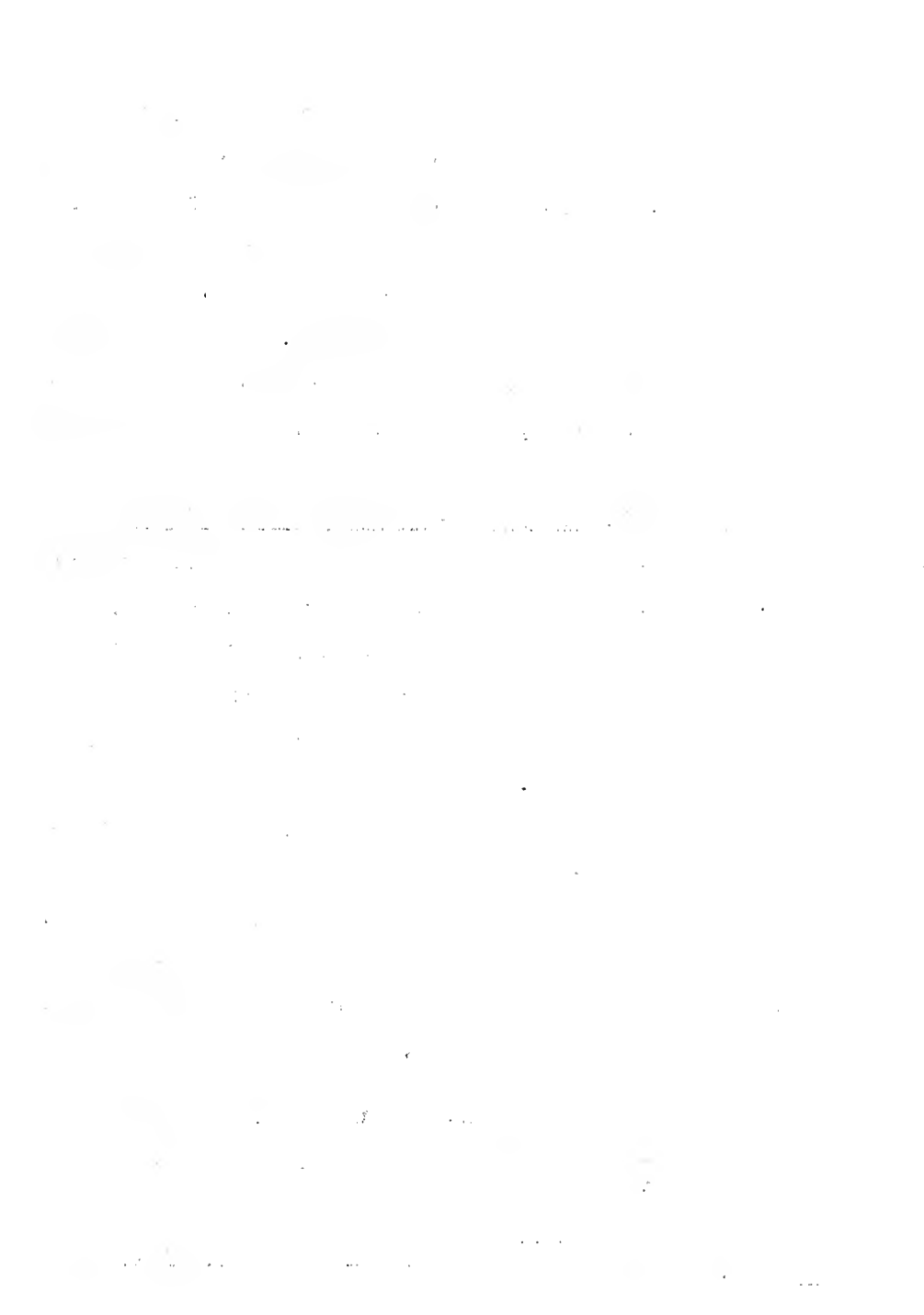
benefit, himself, at the Opera House on July 31, and left for the East on August 6 on an extended trip, playing at numerous towns en route. On August 13th he appeared at Carson City, Nevada, and on the 15th at Virginia City, as De Mauprat in Richelieu for the benefit of the local orphanage. In December, he began his trip back to California, planning it much the same as his trip East, playing in Salt Lake City on December 4. A month later, January 4, 1869, he returned to San Francisco.

THE CALIFORNIA THEATRE -- McCULLOUGH AND BARRETT

At this time a group of financiers headed by William C. Ralston, president of the Bank of California, and comprising most of the officials of that institution, planned to erect in San Francisco a theatre as perfect as architects could make it and with a theatrical company heretofore unequalled in this country. To head this proposed galaxy of stars and to manage them, the sponsors decided on McCullough and Lawrence Barrett.

After many serious conferences McCullough accepted. The strongest factor in making his decision was the advice, no doubt, voiced by Edwin Forrest to McCullough when the former left San Francisco to return East.

"'Stay here,' said the old actor. 'Leave off imitating me. Blank!--Blank!--Blank! A lot of infernal fools are doing that, all over the country. Build yourself up here, and you will do well.'"



Barrett couldn't make up his mind. He vacillated from a strong "no" to a weak "perhaps." He had just been graduated from the Boston Theatre as a Shakespearean star and his success in that metier on the San Francisco stage had convinced him that the rest of the country would be as appreciative. He hated to have both himself and the American theatre-goers deprived of the pleasure of a Barrett Shakespearean tour. But the monetary inducement offered by the syndicate from the Bank of California was too strong. He accepted and with McCullough started gathering a company second to none in this country.

Several architects began bidding for the theatre commission and finally Bugbee and Son, then prominent, were retained to draw the plans, for it so happened that the junior member of the firm, Sumner W. Bugbee, was an exceedingly active amateur actor. Bugbee was delighted with this opportunity to put some of his novel ideas of theatrical construction into actual effect for he felt sure that his innovations would give to San Francisco the finest theatre building in the country.

The Bugbees, before drawing up the first plan, visited many of the theatre centers in the East but were little impressed with what they saw. On their return to San Francisco they insisted on their own designs for an entirely new and magnificent building, and this was just what Ralston and the financial backers wanted.

A REAL TEMPLE OF THE MUSES

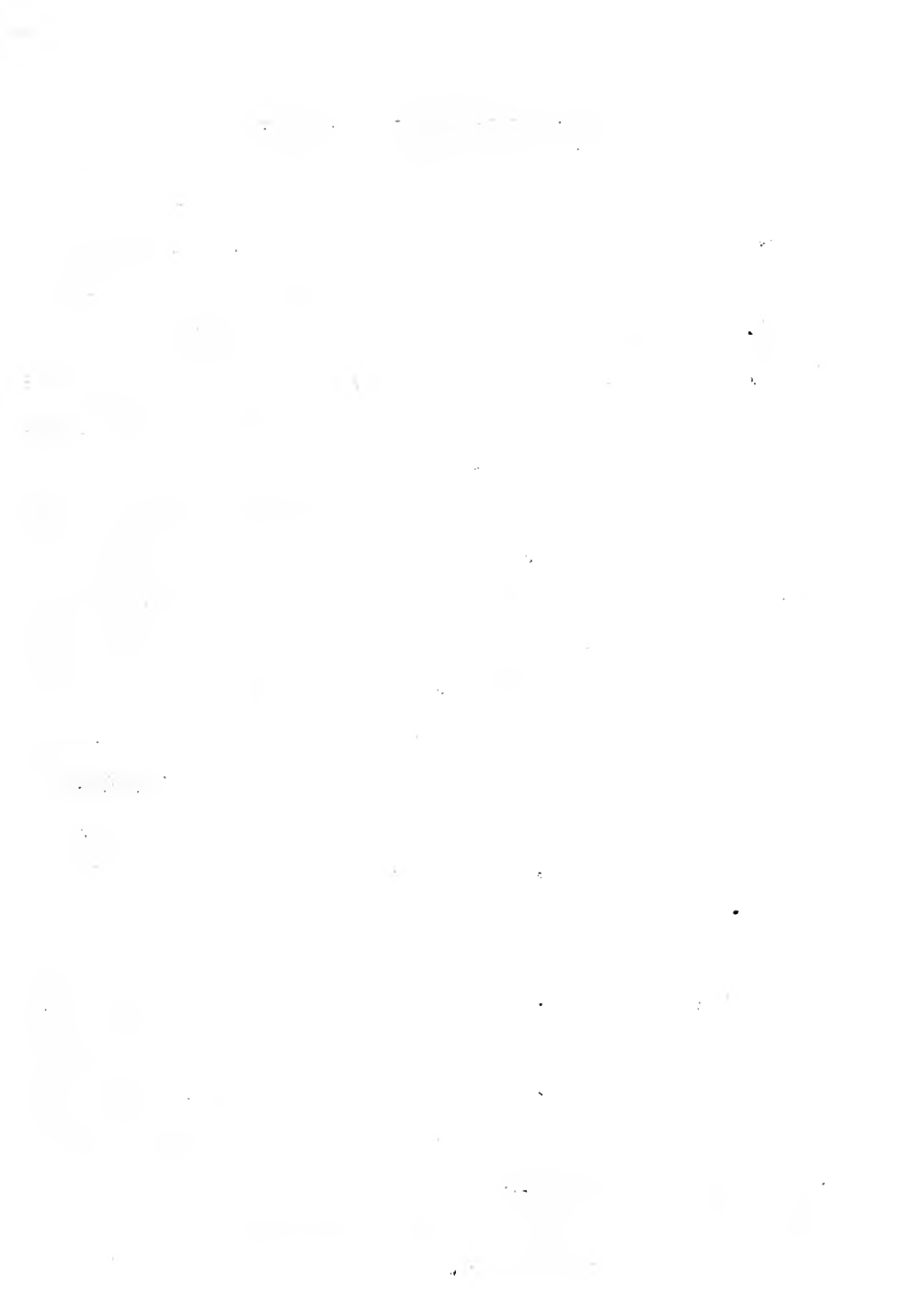
The theatre was begun and rushed to completion. The result was a building unlike any other theatre then in existence. The facade was of a new design, giving no indication to the conventionally-minded public that it was a theatre front. In answer to a demand for a hall suitable for lectures, concerts and social functions, an elaborate one was included on the second floor on the Bush Street front of the building, and named Pacific Hall.*

The auditorium of the California Theatre was large and comfortable. A new type of seat was especially designed; high backed and wide in the seat, upholstered in bright red leather, and fitted with a spring attachment which made each seat a semi-rocker. However, these seats proved not to be as practical as was first thought, but more or less of a nuisance since a patron reclining in the comfortable rocker was apt to prop his feet up on the back of the seat in front of him and would, more often than not, get his toes pinched.**

The opening of this unique theatre was scheduled for Monday, January 18. Tickets went on sale on the 14th and several people began lining up at the box office at one o'clock in the morning. By ten in the morning all the seats for the first night were sold. A prominent lawyer offered

* This Hall later became the Public Library.

**For a detailed description of the California Theatre, see volume on Theatre Buildings.



\$125 for four seats. Premiums of \$10 and \$15 admissions were freely offered and amateur scalpers did a land office business. The prices as advertised, however, were very reasonable. Seats in the orchestra stalls and dress circles were a dollar; balcony circle, fifty cents; and family circle, twenty-five. Opera dress boxes were priced at \$10 and \$12.

A GALA OPENING

The opening night was a gala social event in San Francisco's cultural life with everyone, famous, well known or notorious, both in and out of the social register, present. It was not yet the custom for first nighters to come in formal evening attire and only a few in the private boxes were so dressed.

But a first-hand account of the evening when enthusiasm was still fresh should prove an illuminating description of the premiere of the theatre which ushered in the Golden Era of theatres in San Francisco. The Alta California of January 19, 1883 (Tuesday) the day following the opening, reported:

"The opening of the California Theatre was the sensation of yesterday; those who had seats were preparing to go, those who had not were trying to figure out how they could get standing room, and still others wanted to see the assemblage as it filed in the building. Anticipating the crowd that would come all together, a barricade was placed across the entrance so that only one couple at a time could pass, and the delay at the door enabled the ushers to seat the visitors as fast as they presented themselves in the vestibule.

"Mr. Barrett and Mr. Rodgers were inside the railing to tell the ticket-holders which entrance would take them most directly to their seats. By a few minutes after eight o'clock all were in their places, the orchestra under the direction of Prof. George Evans played an overture, (composed by Charles Koppitz, Boston, especially for this occasion and dedicated to the California Theatre), the curtain was rung up, displaying a room scene, and Mr. Barrett stepped out to pronounce the opening address, written by Frank Bret Harte, Esq."

Lawrence Barrett was greeted with a tremendous ovation and remained bowing for several minutes. Finally, he stepped up to the front of the stage and read the dedicatory poem; or rather, he held the manuscript in his hand, not wishing to rely too much on his memory for so important an occasion.

"Brief words, when actions wait, are well.
The prompter's hand is on his bell;
The coming heroes, lovers, kings,
Are idly lounging at the wings;
Behind the curtain's mystic fold
The glowing future lies unrolled,
And yet--one moment for the Past;
One retrospect--the first and last.

"The world's a stage," the master said--
To-night a mightier truth is read;
Not in the shifting canvas screen;
The flash of gas, or tinsel sheen--
Not in the skill whose signal calls
From empty boards and baronial halls,
But fronting sea and curving bay--
Behold the players and the play.

"Ah, friends! beneath your real skies
The actor's short lived triumph dies;
On that broad stage--of Empire won--
Whose footlights were the setting sun,
Whose flats--a distant background rose
In trackless peaks of endless snows;
Here genius leaves and talent waits
To copy that but One creates.



"Your shifting scenes; the league of sand--
 An avenue by ocean scanned.
 The narrow beach of straggling tents--
 A mite of stately monuments;
 Your standard, lo! a play unfurled
 Whose clinging folds clasp half the world.
 This is your drama--built on facts
 With 'twenty years between the acts.'

"One moment more--if here we raise
 The oft sung hymn of local praise
 Before the curtain facts must sway--
 Here waits the moral of your play.
 Glassed in the poet's thoughts you view
 What money can, yet cannot do;
 That faith that soars, the deeds that shine,
 Above the gold that builds the shrine.

"And, O, when others take our place
 And earth's green curtain hides our face,
 Ere on the stage so silent now
 The last new hero makes his bow,
 So may our deeds, recalled once more
 Memory's sweet but brief encore,
 Down all the circling ages, run
 The world's plaudit of 'well done!'"

The curtain went up on the comedy. Money by Lord Bulwer Lytton, the play selected for this memorable event after much discussion. It had first been thought Shakespeare would be the most appropriate, with Lawrence Barrett as Hamlet, but it was later decided that since the theatre would draw large audiences with any well selected repertoire, the new leading members of the company should be introduced to San Franciscans separately by a series of fitting plays. Money was chosen for the first in this series, according to Clay M. Greene in his Memoirs, who advances a novel reason because, as he said:

"...much money had entered into the construction of the theatre; much more would be necessary to keep it open under the expensive policy

of the management, and nothing but money in plenty was the ultimate dream of everyone concerned."

The cast of the first play was as follows:

Alfred Evelyn	John McCullough
Sir John Vesey	W. H. Sedley Smith
Lord Glensmore	E. J. Buckley
Sir Frederick Blount	W. F. Burroughs
Sir Benjamin Stout	E. B. Holmes
Graves	John T. Raymond
Capt. Dudley Smootly	John Wilson
Mr. Sharp	Fred Franks
Clara Douglas	Miss M. E. Gordon
Lady Gordon	Mrs. Judah
Georgina	Mrs. E. J. Buckley

Every member of the company was applauded individually as he came on. Mrs. Judah was recognized as an old favorite, along with McCullough, and both received an enthusiastic ovation. But McCullough was essentially a tragedian and it was only his personal attractiveness that made him a drawing card in modern roles.

Between the first and second acts, the outer curtain was lowered for the purpose of preparing the spectators for the added attraction--the drop curtain by Gideon J. Denny, marine artist. The gallery gods began to clamor impatiently. Finally the green curtain slowly rose and amid prolonged applause the view of the Golden Gate was divulged to the audience. The Alta California, January 16, 1869, described it with much feeling:

"The subject is eminently in the line of the artist, and has been painted con amore; the central figure is the ship Western Continent, in tow of the farthest tug-boat; going out of the heads, (the spectators are on the bar), and is so admirably executed that the vessel seems

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt.$$

It is shown that the function $f(x)$ is continuous and differentiable.

$$f'(x) = f(x).$$

$$f''(x) = f(x).$$

$$f'''(x) = f(x).$$

$$f^{(4)}(x) = f(x).$$

$$f^{(5)}(x) = f(x).$$

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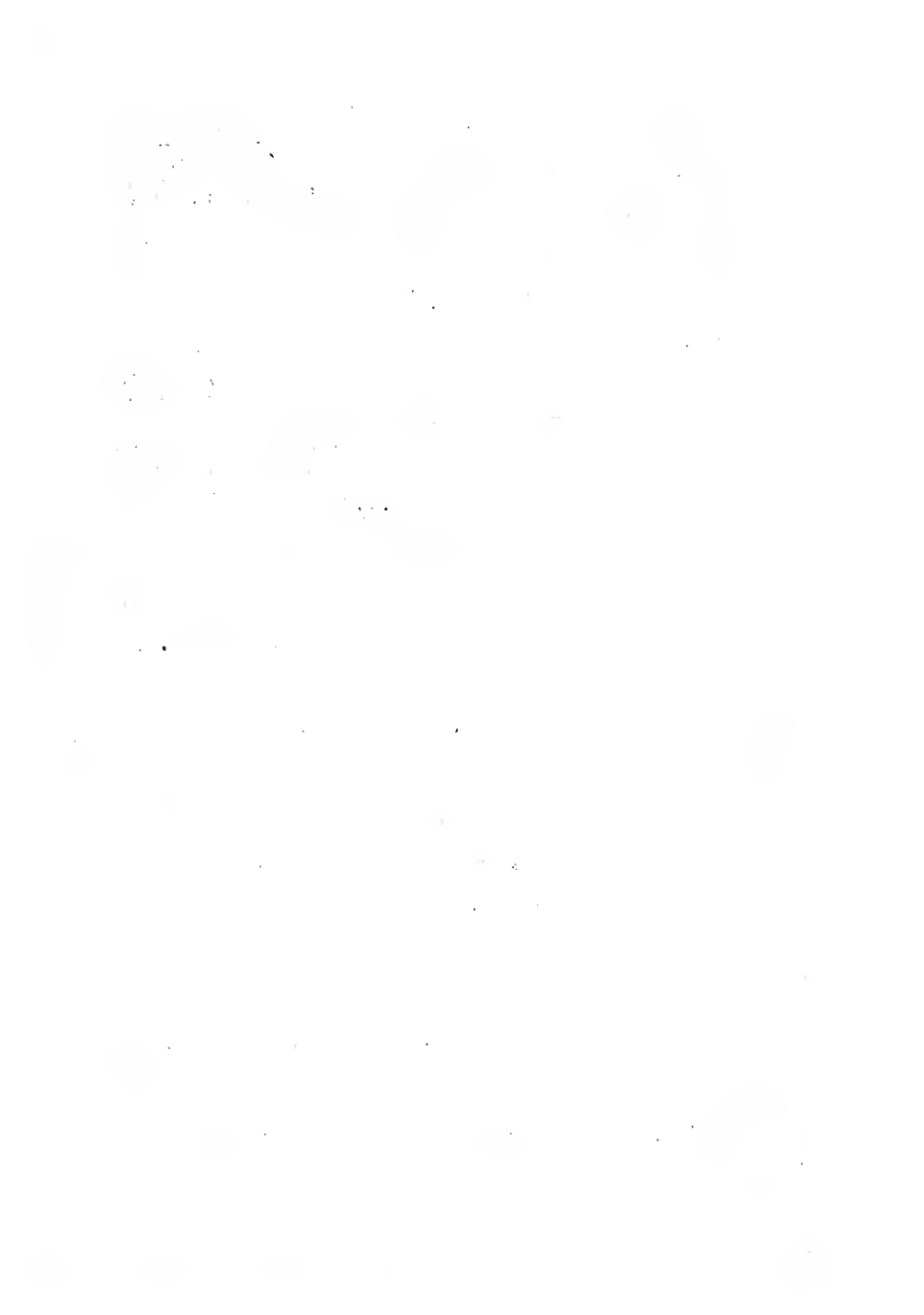
$$f^{(50)}(x) = f(x).$$

to have been built in miniature, and placed there by some trick. The steamer Golden City has passed the ship and is going in. The Challenge from New York is off the Cliff House, making for port; Captain Ogden's yacht, the Restless, is crossing the bar at Point Bonito to give her voyagers a sniff of the ocean breeze; an Italian fishing-boat is in the wake of the ship, and another yacht has been out far enough and is returning.

"Fort Point is seen about the middle of the background, Alcatraz Island to the left, just beyond, and a glimpse of the city as it spreads out to Meiggs Wharf, and beyond at the foot of the picture is a tresselated marble floor, surrounded by a balcony, which is so skillfully painted that it seems to set the full distance intended to be represented...."

The galleryites accepted the painting with wild acclaim; three cheers were given and repeated again and again. Every act received its due share of applause. At the final curtain, calls were made for the managers to appear and Barrett and McCullough came on. Barrett was profuse with his thanks to all, including the audience, the financial backers, Charles Peters for initiating the enterprise and carrying it to a successful completion, and John Torrence for the completeness of the stage proper. McCullough also spoke briefly and read some of the numerous congratulatory messages received from the East.

The box office receipt for the first night amounted to \$2,135, showing 2,479 persons paid to participate at the grand opening. The construction of the theatre proved itself to have been a success in one respect at least, for when the speeches were concluded at twelve minutes after eleven the parquette was cleared of patrons in two minutes and



thirty seconds and in three minutes and thirty seconds the lights in the house were turned out.

There was no doubt -- the California Theatre's first night was an overwhelming success and seemed to assure a continued success.

In line with its policy of presenting its new leading actors in a series of plays appropriate to each of them, the first two weeks featured a nightly change of program. On the second night two leading ladies were co-stared in that old favorite, The Hunchback, in equal roles. Annette Ince played Julia; Fanny Marsh, Helena, supported by McCullough as Clifford. The play and the performance as a whole received good notices but the two leading ladies were thought to be below par in comparison with others who played these roles and so were dropped from the cast before long.

On the third night a dull, old-fashioned comedy Extremes, or Men of the Day was produced. Emelie Melville made her first appearance in the leading feminine role and saved the performance. Not only the critics said so, but the public agreed, and this first appearance established her position as "Our Emelie." McCullough's wisdom in selecting ingenu lead and soubrette from the comic opera stage was lauded.

McCullough, on the fourth night, played Rover in Wild Oats, a highly popular standard comedy of that time. On Friday and at the Saturday matinee Money was repeated; Saturday night offered Annette Ince again, this time in a

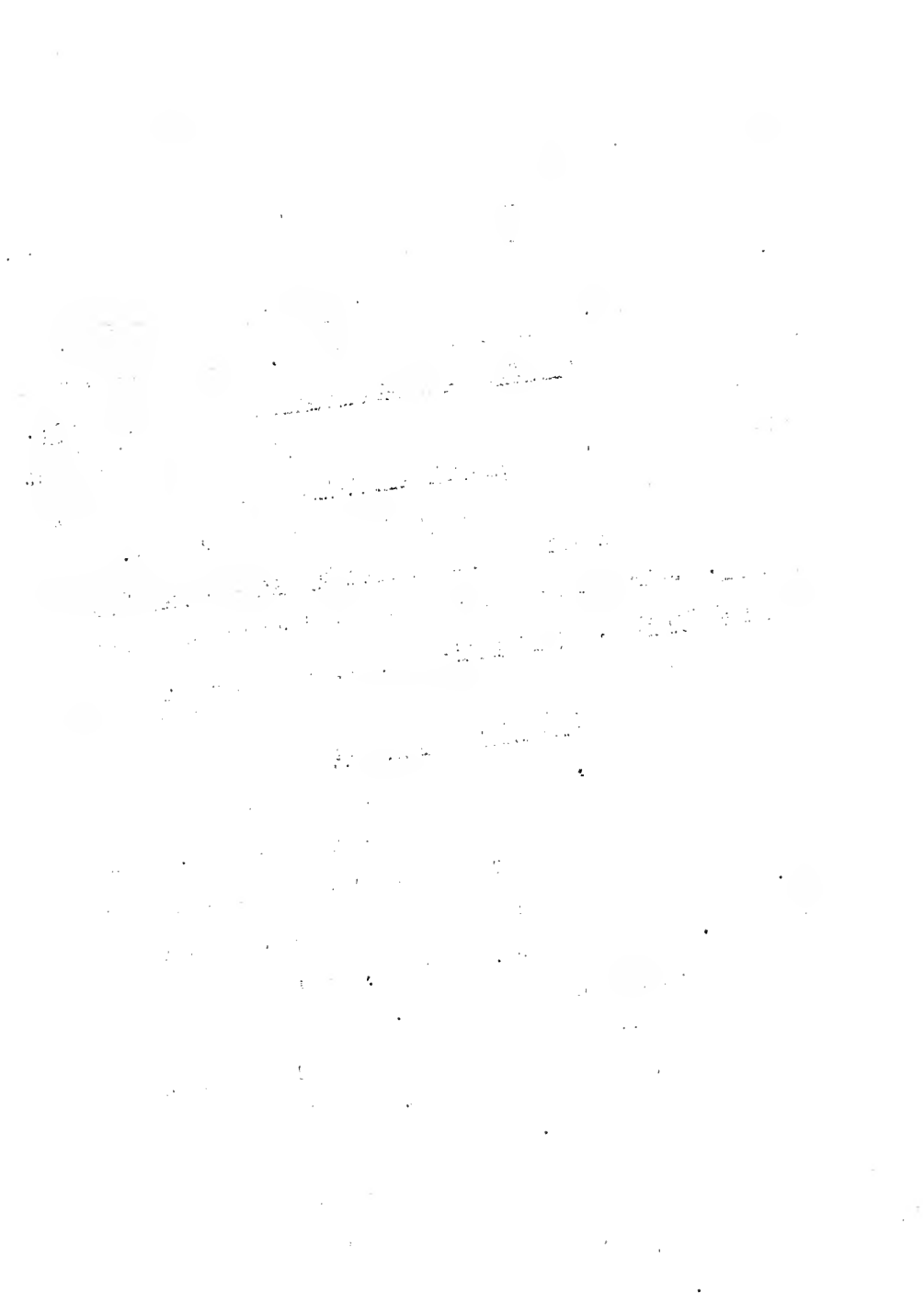
tragedy, Love's Sacrifice, in which she played Margarèt Elmore.

The California Theatre continued through its second, third and fourth weeks with just such an ambitious program as the first: Extremes was repeated; then followed such comedies as Married Life, Playing With Fire and John Bull. Annette Ince appeared in the tragedy Ingomar and in that blood-and-thunder drama Lucretia Borgia, with the audience being treated to farcical afterpieces featuring John T. Raymond and Emelie Melville in My Neighbor's Wife and The Spectre Bridegroom. John McCullough and Annette Ince played together in Town and Country, John Bull, Camille and Pizarro, or the Death of Rolla.

THE ADVENT OF BARRETT

By this time, although the four weeks had been the most remunerative period ever experienced by any San Francisco theatre, the novelty of the new theatre had begun to wear off, especially so since only the well-known plays had been presented. The managers, however, held a trump card which so far they had declined to play. During the close of the fourth week there appeared on the playbills of the California Theatre a welcome announcement -- "First appearance of Lawrence Barrett next Monday."

In the interim McCullough had read at a Sunday concert for the benefit of the Gold Hill sufferers on January 18, 1869 and had made a quick trip to Virginia City where he played on the 24th.



As Raphael Duchalet, Barrett made his first appearance in the new theatre of which he was co-manager, in the great emotional drama of that day, The Marble Heart. He was more than ably supported by McCullough as Diogenes and Volage and Annette Ince as the Statue of Phryne and Marco, known as the Marble Heart. They played to a crowded house and the production was a tremendous hit.

McCullough, never a light comedian, had to play before an audience and critics who still remembered the excellent characterization of Volage by James A. Hearne in support of Edwin Adams at Maguire's Opera House. But McCullough astounded the critics by his interpretation of the role -- although it really was a fool-proof part -- and there was no more heard about Hearne.

A LAVISH PRODUCER

In his double role as manager and star of the California Theatre, McCullough spared nothing to give his patrons the finest possible presentations. He became known as an extravagant producer, and it was said that his props and wardrobe department were the most lavish of any theatre in the world.

Barrett's presentation on the second night was The Wife in which he portrayed Julien St. Pierre, supported by McCullough and Annette Ince. They followed this with Dion Boucicault's first successful play, London Assurance, with the greatest luminaries in the theatre of that day:

Lawrence Barrett, John McCullough, Henry Edwards, John T. Raymond, Willie Edouin, W. H. Sedley Smith, Fred Franks, Annette Ince and Emelie Melville. There was not a second-rater in the entire cast.

McCullough's recognition of his own worth and fame as an actor did not blind him to his obligations as a manager. Seeing the great success of London Assurance on its first night, McCullough ran it for another week, closing on Saturday with a repeat performance of The Marble Heart. The second week of the Barrett engagement was devoted to David Garrick with light afterpieces such as All That Glitters Is Not Gold added, and the third week featured Lester Wallack's Rosedale exclusively.

The last two weeks of the Barrett engagement, due to the insistence of the stars, were devoted solely to the works of Shakespeare, including Hamlet, Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice, Othello, The Taming of the Shrew and Macbeth. In the last named play McCullough took the title role -- the story being that Barrett knew he, himself, could not play the Thane of Cawdor and was anxious to see if anyone else could be as bad. McCullough was no better or no worse than any other Macbeth -- the role which many eminent authorities declare unactable.

McCullough's perspicacity as a manager again became evident following the Barrett engagement of five weeks. He realized that the novelty of the California Theatre, in spite of its famous company, was beginning to wane, even after only

eight weeks of its existence. So on March 12, 1869 the first imported star, John E. Owens, a comedian of wide repute, often rated above Joseph Jefferson, appeared on the stage of the California Theatre.*

Owens was undoubtedly a success but the unexpected hit of a burlesque, included on the program during his last week's engagement to relieve him for a night, so far overshadowed him that his success was soon forgotten. This was the production of Ixion, or The Man at the Wheel, a burlesque in which some of the male parts were taken by women (and vice versa), then at the height of its success in New York.

Ixion's success in San Francisco was unexpected and unprecedented and so great was the demand for repeat performances that it was held over, with some short comedy preceding it. At the Saturday matinees, and after 9:30 at night, only half the usual admission was charged.

A SUCCESSION OF STARS AT THE CALIFORNIA

The cast was as follows: Ixion, Emelie Melville;

*On his opening night, Owens played Major Wellington de Boots in Everybody's Friend, and Solon Shingle in a condensed version of The People's Lawyer. He followed these with: Dicken's Dot, or The Cricket on the Hearth, as Caleb Plummer; the farce The Live Indian which was much criticised since condensed versions had been given many times before as minstrel afterpieces. Many excellent comedies were then performed: The Heir at Law, Paul Pry, The Happiest Days of My Life, Tom Sawyer's Victims, a dramatization of Tennyson's Dora, The Poor Gentleman (with Lawrence Barrett), The Rivals with Owens as Bob Acres, Barrett as Captain Absolute and McCullough in the unimportant supporting role of Beverly. He closed with Shakespeare's A Comedy of Errors with himself and John T. Raymond as the two Dromios.

Jupiter, Maria Gordon; Juno, Kate Lynch; Minerva, John T. Raymond; Ganymede, William A. Mestayer; Cupid, Willie Edouin; and Bacchus, E. B. Holmes.

At the conclusion of the Ixion run a great complimentary benefit was tendered Emelie Melville at which the burlesque was performed, supposedly for the last time. However, in the first few weeks of the appearance of Charlotte Thompson, the California Theatre's next attraction, Ixion had to be revived to draw business until the new star had found favor with the public. Emelie Melville's benefit drew a large crowd, second only to that which attended the opening night of the theatre.

Charlotte Thompson, the next imported star at the California, was an excellent actress, albeit of the old school. She was characterized by a charming gentleness of manner which was her principal stock in trade. She appeared first as Pauline in The Lady of Lyons which was conceded by critics to have been the most alluring performance of that piece seen in San Francisco.

Her repertoire consisted of the old legitimate dramas such as The Hunchback, Camille, Ingomar, Evadne, The School for Scandal, East Lynne, Leah, As You Like It, Romeo and Juliet and The Sea of Ice, all of which were performed in the first two weeks of her engagement. It was then that Ixion was revived in order to stimulate business. Her appearance, however, in Robertson's comedy School, supported by McCullough, Barrett, and others from the California's

great array of actors, was a decided success.

The School was Charlotte Thompson's last vehicle on the stage for, while she claimed to love the theatre and the acting profession, she wanted an engagement which would allow her to act only when in the mood or when not in conflict with her social engagements. Such a whim could not be pampered nor even tolerated in the theatre, so naturally her contract was not renewed. Although she was distantly related to Lawrence Barrett, McCullough remained firm in his stand and Barrett did not attempt to take sides except in a slight way, as co-manager with McCullough. Charlotte Thompson ended her engagement with gratifying success and subsequently married Lorine Rogers, business manager for McCullough and Barrett.

Another star to have a special engagement at the California Theatre was John Brougham, a well-known writer and comedian with a special aptitude for Irish roles and burlesque. His engagement was perhaps the most unfortunate of any at the California Theatre for he opened in A Gentleman From Ireland and as Wilkins Micawber in his own dramatization of David Copperfield. The San Francisco theatre-goers were traditionally loyal to old favorites and they believed, mistakenly, that James A. Herne, Harry Courtaine and John Collins were better Irish comedians than Brougham. His rendition of Micawber fared better, but he was hard pressed to keep John T. Raymond as Uriah Heep from stealing the scenes.

The remainder of his engagement proved to be a

financial failure and he finished by playing subordinate comic roles and burlesque.*

Several special performances were given by McCullough during this period, the most notable being a revival of Rosedale for the benefit of the Mercantile Library. Col. William H. L. Barnes, San Francisco's noted lawyer and orator, took the part of Elliot Gray, formerly played by Lawrence Barrett. The program of the performance, June 30, 1869, announced that "owing to the importance of this occasion, prices had been raised to \$1.50 and \$1.00." The seats were sold at an auction and almost \$3,000 was realized. As supers the National Guards, the best military unit in San Francisco at that time, were engaged to take the roles of lancers and in the lancers' ball scene many gentlemen from the social register danced.

McCullough, ever alert, then engaged Lotta Crabtree to play at the California Theatre on her return, as a full fledged star, to the city where she had been a variety and musical hall attraction. Unfortunately, though the engagement started out as if it might have a prolonged run and her opening received a great ovation, her poor repertoire was unsuited to her peculiar and unique talents. She made a poor showing on the stage of the California Theatre which, after all, had known nothing but the best in legitimate actors and drama.

*He appeared in Playing With Fire, the burlesque of Pocahontas; Flies In the Web; The Rivals; Dombey and Sons as Captain Cuttle; his own play The Red Light; The School for Scandal in an unimportant role, and in London Assurance.

In spite of its stellar attractions, the California Theatre was bucking tough opposition. Tom Maguire's Opera House, under the management of this "Napoleon of Theatre Managers," was again at the peak of popularity, due to the astuteness of Maguire who had seen that the public was again ready for burlesque. At the end of the Christmas season McCullough, thinking that burlesque had lost its appeal, changed his policy to include only the legitimate drama -- a mistaken policy, for burlesque was to be popular for many more months.

MANAGER AND STAR

During 1870, McCullough and the California Theatre were to engage in managerial rivalry with Tom Maguire's Opera House and other theatres, to the financial detriment of all concerned. On November 5 of this year Lawrence Barrett's interest in the California Theatre expired and McCullough became the sole lessee. For six more years he played the theatrical seasons at this theatre in his double role of manager and star, interspersing his engagements there with short professional trips to the East and West.

After the Christmas season of 1869, the run of Cherry and Fair Star concluding a profitable run, McCullough made a managerial mistake by not continuing that type of entertainment. He mistakenly believed that burlesque had worn out its welcome. Maguire, however, determined to outdo all the local theatres, imported several popular burlesque

companies, among them the British Blondes, made up of such stars as Rose Massey, Ada Harland, Eliza Wethersby and Harry Beckett, formerly a member of the Lydia Thompson company.

Their first show was a veritable sellout, and realizing that if they would play to full houses the California must play burlesque, the management engaged the great Lydia Thompson company. The British Blondes at Maguire's found their business much slimmer as a result.

"Then occurred (writes Clay M. Greene in his Memoirs) one of those managerial mysteries, when both the Californian and Maguire's decided to freeze one another out by playing the same play, instead of properly turning the trick by equal or better productions of something different.

"At all events, Lydia Thompson was pitted against Rose Massey, supposedly for a fight to the finish, both making gorgeous presentments of a travesty on the opera of La Sonnambula. As a matter of fact, the chances should have been equal, for neither of the companies was any better than the other, and although Rose Massey was infinitely more beautiful than Lydia Thompson, the latter was the better singer, actress and dancer, and so, finally drove her rival out of town...."

MANAGERIAL RIVALRY

Burlesque was now finally finished as the result of this unnecessary fight between the two managers. The California Theatre turned again to stock, with McCullough and Barrett taking the leads. Maguire, however, not to be outdone this time, engaged Frank Mayo as the star and drew the fickle public away from the California. With the production of The Duke's Motto, business again seesawed back to the California

Theatre. Maguire then engaged Herman the Great, a noted magician, and large audiences returned to the Opera House.

McCullough, finding that Mayo's engagement with Maguire was concluded, immediately hired him for his theatre. Mayo had to battle for the public favor against the Lingards whom Maguire was presenting to packed houses. Alice Dunning Lingard in Frou-Frou, was still playing to full houses when her engagement ended. Maguire, thinking that the public wanted more Frou-Frou, organized another company headed by Lizzie Price to play at his theatre; but the public wanted Alice Lingard -- it would have none of Lizzie Price.

Maguire, realizing his error, then produced Sardou's Fernande, a current New York success. He ran into difficulties when Sallie Hinckley claimed that she alone had the California rights to this play, but Maguire persisted in continuing his own production. Sallie Hinckley, then, with the aid of the California Theatre's idle company (McCullough was featuring minstrels then) got together her own presentation of Fernande at the San Francisco Theatre. Maguire played to wretched business and Sallie Hinckley to a good but profitless one.

She made the same mistake later by playing Boucicault's The Rapparee at the same time Dan Bryant was appearing in this play at the California, making profit impossible at both houses. Again, later on, they conflicted with Man and Wife, the California presenting it with a splendid cast

and Hinckley with a scratch company at the Alhambra for 25, 50 and 75 cents -- with no profit to either.

"Then (says Clay M. Greene in his Memoirs) Billy Emerson came to Maguire's and became the idol of the hour. So great was the rush to see him at Maguire's Opera House that after the third week he demanded a half interest in the company and got it without protest of any nature from the 'Napoleon of Managers.'

"Frank Chanfrau was playing at the California, an admirable actor with a fine repertoire, but Billy Emerson cut into his profits sadly, and it was not until the great production of Monte Cristo at Christmas time (1870) that the aforementioned fickle public trekked back again to Bush Street."

Among other stars that McCullough, as manager, booked at the California Theatre were Walter Montgomery, Mary Gladstane, May Howard, Morlacchi, Rose Evans, Charles Matthews, James Carden, the Zavistowski sisters, J. K. Emmett and Daniel E. Bandman, all during the first two years at the theatre. During this period McCullough was made a member of the San Francisco Bohemian Club and remained an active spirit in the organization for the rest of his stay in the city.

EARNs NICKNAME, "GENIAL JOHN"

McCullough was never a martinet and there are numerous anecdotes about "Genial John." He was always ready to aid beginners in the theatre and even a fiasco, such as was the opening of Clay M. Greene's initial play, never dampened his willingness to assist the initiate. Greene had written

a burlesque based on the story of Cupid and Psyche which he called Love, and anxious to have the play produced, had assumed some of the expense of production. The curtain rose on the night of March 28, 1871 with the anxious young author in a prominent box, nervously going over the carefully prepared speech he expected to deliver on a call from the (he hoped) delighted audience.

"Unfortunately, however," (writes Clay M. Greene himself in his Memoirs) the performance received a black eye within five minutes after the curtain rose, for a distressingly bad actor named Edmund Leathes, specially engaged for the part of Jupiter, 'stuck' in his first speech, and plunged the audience into peals of laughter when he deliberately walked over to the prompt side and said: 'Cawnt you speak loudah? I cawnt heah you.'"

McCullough, despite his first dislike for bad actors and bad acting, must have chuckled heartily and then did his best to console the dejected playwright. One other incident will serve to show how lenient he was toward practical jokes in his theatre, if they did not disrupt performances. McCullough was playing the lead in the play Elfie and the villian, James Carden, in order to gain entry to a house he was to rob, had the wax figure man make a mask, a copy of the hero's visage, which was modeled on the face of McCullough.

A few minutes before the scene in which the mask was to be used, Ed Buckley, then playing juvenile roles in the company, stole it from Carden's dressing room and hid it. The cue was given for Carden to appear. He did not enter.

The cue was repeated. Still no Carden. There was an embarrassing silence -- then Carden's voice was heard off-stage: "Where's my mask? Who stole that mask? I can't go on without it." The painful wait continued. Finally the villain appeared on the stage, masked in the wax face of McCullough, and played the scene. Then, in the denouement of the scene, the man with the wax face, his back to the audience, was unmasked by the hero, McCullough. It was Buckley, not Carden who had played the villain in that scene. On being asked by the irate manager why he had played so unprofessional a trick, Buckley answered: "I'll tell you how it was, guv'nor. I don't like my part in this play and I thought I'd take a whack at Jim's."* McCullough grasped the humor and enjoyed the situation immensely, holding no hard feelings for the impatient juvenile whom he later starred.

SAN FRANCISCO'S LOSS

Heavy financial losses in 1875 coupled with the death of William C. Ralston, builder of the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, president of the Bank of America, and head of the syndicate which financed the California Theatre, forced McCullough to expand his activities. After Ralston's death McCullough discovered that some sixty thousand dollars which he had turned in to the bank had not been credited to him. Rather than produce the official papers which might have cast

* Greene, Clay M. Memoirs.

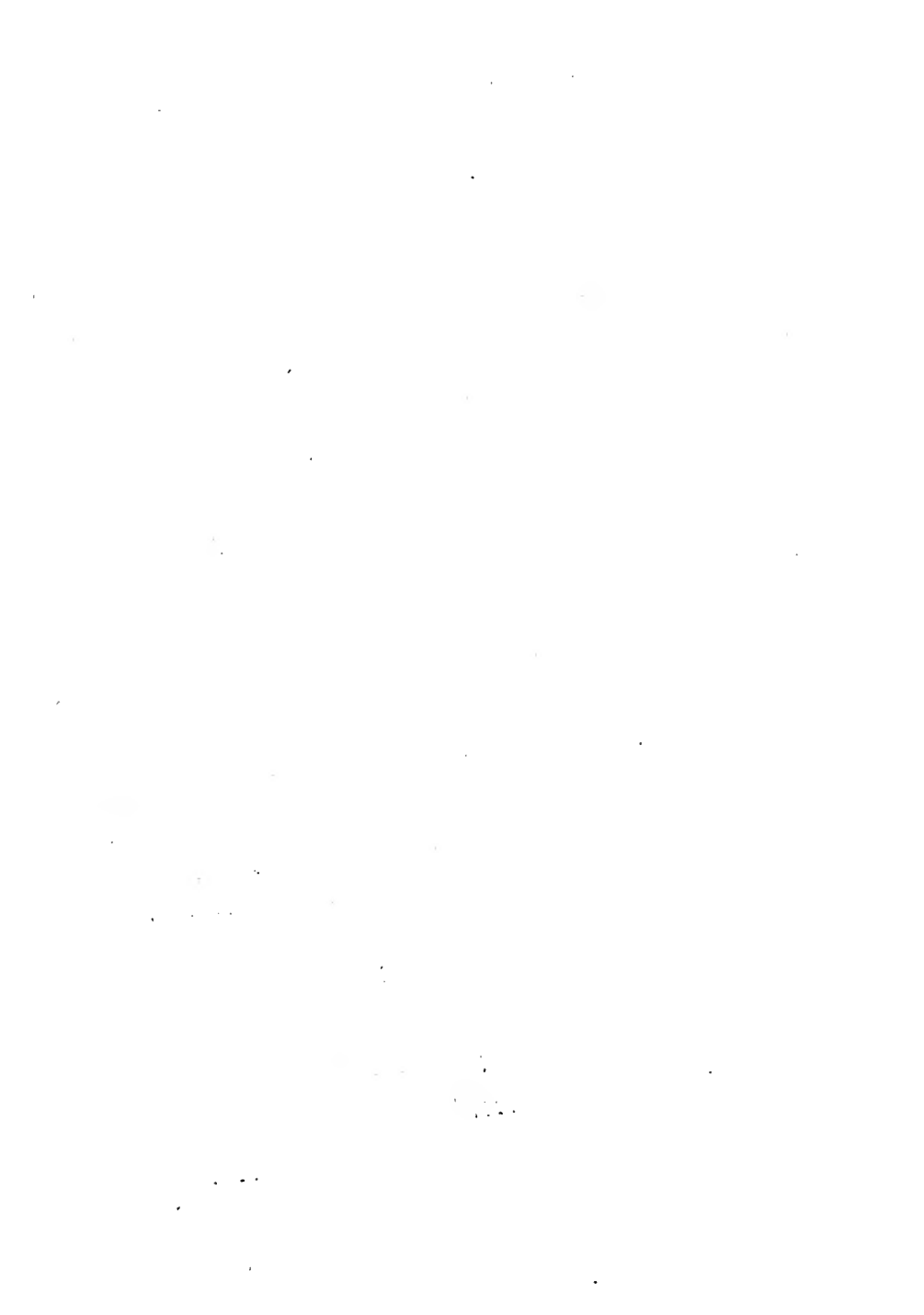
a reflection on Ralston's memory, McCullough tore up the receipts for payments and began a starring tour of the country in order to pay his debts.

He left San Francisco on July 31, 1875 for the East and rose in one year to the position of one of America's greatest tragedians, and it was as such that he returned again to San Francisco on March 25, 1876. He had made as much as \$25,000 in a single engagement while on the road and his year's income was reputed to be \$64,000. On his return to the California Theatre he paid his debts and sunk the remainder of his money into production costs of the theatre. He lost \$15,000 on the Hess English Opera Troupe in June 1877, and the same amount on the Soldene Opera Company the following month.

On the 21st of July, he was finally forced to relinquish the management of the theatre. The feeling of regret was general. Even his rival, Maguire, when he was informed of this by a representative of the New York Dramatic News, said (San Francisco Chronicle, August 26, 1877):

"It will be the worse for San Francisco....Mr. McCullough did a great deal for San Francisco. It needed his name and influence to get the stars out there that he did. He worked hard to give the California people the best there was. And mind you, when I saw that, it means something because we were opposition managers. Yet we always got on well; I always liked John McCullough. A squarer man never lived. He was above doing anything mean, small or underhanded....

"He had been very unfortunate of late....But loss came to him as something entirely new. He hardly knew what it meant, and I suppose, like other men who have had continuous prosperity, the blow came with double force. I don't know who can run the California successfully after him."



McCullough was given a complimentary farewell benefit on August 25 and made his last appearance in San Francisco on the 27th, playing Hamlet to Helena Modjeska's Ophelia. Three days later he had packed and left for the East, never to return to the West again.

APPEARANCE IN ENGLAND

The next few years he spent in the East were years of great triumph. Critics hailed him as one of America's greatest tragedians, second only to Edwin Booth. In November 1877 he was invited to call upon President Hayes and his wife at the Executive Mansion, Washington. In 1881 he made a trip to England, appearing as Virginius at the Drury Lane Theatre in London on April 26. Between engagements he made a side trip to the village in which he was born. In a conversation with William Winter, McCullough said of the night he spent in his former home: "I was shown to a chamber, on the ground-floor of a sort of ecclesiastical ruin, and when I awoke in the morning I saw a cow that had thrust her head through an open, arched window, and appeared to be trying to eat my trousers."*

His English appearance was highly successful although press notices did not heap great honors on him as an actor. The San Francisco Examiner on May 22, 1881 gathered together some representative English press notices, and wrote:

* Winter, William. Other Days, Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage.

"The comments of the London critics on McCullough are, in the main, complimentary. The Standard says: 'McCullough was warmly applauded by a very cordial house. His shortcomings as an artist are the absence of real passion and the inaudibility of the lower tones of his voice, but there were some striking points in his interpretations.'

"The News says: 'McCullough does not possess a very commanding presence, but his movements do not lack dignity and his features are capable of much expression. He has an excellent voice, enabling him to give a distinct effect to all his utterances, but he has excessive deliberateness of utterance and movement. His great strength lies in his vigorous passion. On the whole the performance was highly successful, and was received with much enthusiasm.'

"The Post says: 'McCullough is not so much of an actor as an elocutionist. His performance lacks spontaneity and freshness. He has no gleam of fancy, no glow of poetic imagination. With the exception of two outbursts of genuine emotions there was nothing in his performance to raise it above the dull level of mediocrity. Nothing, however, could exceed the enthusiasm with which McCullough was received by an overflowing audience.'

"The Telegraph says: 'McCullough was received with much enthusiasm. He came, was seen, and conquered. It was not too much to say that a finer representative of Virginius the character can never have had.'

"The Telegraph also complains of the inaudibility of the lower tones of his voice, which is probably owing to the size of the theatre."

On his return to America he played at the Fourteenth Street Theatre in New York. He had become a public figure -- so much so, that when he visited the Senate of the United States, the New York Star made quite a story of it, the San Francisco Call reprinting it, January 30, 1881:

"Dear to the heart of every actor is the unpaid advertisement which publishes his name in the

newspapers as doing something, or saying something totally unconnected with the duties of his profession. We felt like congratulating Mr. John McCullough, therefore, when we read in the telegraphic news yesterday how he had been shown about the Senate chamber at Washington by General Sherman. How Senator Blaine, of Maine, had shaken him by both hands, how Conking, K.S., delighted at the presence of a professional though masculine spectator had struck one of those picturesque attitudes which would make the ancient Grecian statues sick with envy, and had delivered, for the benefit of the visiting tragedian, one of his choicest speeches upon the Halliday bill, which will rank, under the circumstances, as the greatest oratorical effort of his life...."

FIRST SHADOWS OF A TRAGIC END

The following year, 1882, he played in Philadelphia, the scene of his theatrical debut. In the fencing scene in Richard III, his realistic exertions caused him to become severely ruptured. During his convalescence the mental disorder which cast such a blight upon the remaining years of his life first became evident. He began to show signs of serious illness and was especially depressed and miserable in Cincinnati where he played from April 29 to May 24 in the roles of Brutus, Othello and Master Walter. On May 7, he retired to the home of a friend, John Carson, at Quincy, Illinois, where he spent some time recuperating. There he suspected for the first time that he was going mad, and his mental suffering was severe.

He rallied a bit however and appeared at Denver, August 20, 1883. By Christmas, which he spent in Philadelphia, he seemed to be convalescent. Following an engagement

in Boston he went to New York where he appeared at the Star Theatre, March 3, 1884 to March 29, 1884. It became evident to everyone that he was a mere shell of the former great tragedian. He sailed for Germany on June 29 to attempt a cure at Carlsbad and other spas but to no avail.

Returning to America not fully recovered he played briefly in the Eastern seaboard cities. His acting was spotty and the audience expressed their disapproval of him. Hoping to regain new enthusiasm, for he thought this was what he lacked for a comeback, he headed for the Middle West. On the night of September 29, 1884 he appeared in The Gladiator at McVicker's Theatre in Chicago.

In the middle of one of the early scenes McCullough suddenly forgot his lines. He stumbled about the stage like one drugged and finally turned helplessly to the wings. The curtain was rung down hurriedly. The audience laughed callously, thinking him drunk and not realizing what had really happened. After a brief wait McCullough was helped before the curtain, supported by two members of his cast. Facing the audience he said: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are the worst mannered audience I have ever seen. If you had suffered tonight as I have, you would never have done this. Good night."*

NEVER TO ACT AGAIN

The now sobered audience quietly walked out.

* Winter, William. Other Days, Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage.

McCullough never acted again. This was his final mental and physical breakdown. The next day, Tom Keene, an old friend of McCullough, having acted with him at the old California Theatre in San Francisco, ran into him on the corner of State and Monroe streets in Chicago. The San Francisco Examiner, October 2, 1884 ran the story of this meeting:

"...McCullough was standing under an umbrella and seemed to have no purpose in view. It was not raining nor was rain threatened.

"'Why hello, John,' said Keene. 'Why hello, Tom, how are you?' exclaimed McCullough, and the two clasped hands....' 'Why, John,' said Keene, 'what are you doing here?' 'I'm going to rehearsal, Tom. That was an awful break last night. Couldn't remember my lines; must rehearse, you know. D--- it. I thought I could read better in Sparticus, but, but--well you know how it is, Tom, to be nervous. I'm so infernally nervous, and they are hounding, hounding me! Why, they say I'm a dying man. Bah! Why don't they let me alone?'

"'There,' said Keene, soothingly. 'I wouldn't notice it. Come, let's go to rehearsal. It's 11 o'clock now. Come, you need to be prompt, John. Don't miss it.' And Keene linked arms with his old friends. They got to the alley that leads past Capin and Gore's, when McCullough wanted to go south and Keene tried to lead him north.

"'This is the way, John,' he said. 'No,' said McCullough, 'this is the way,' and the latter tried to go toward the State Street dives. Keene laughed and said, 'John, you and I don't play in dives. Come this way.' 'Tom,' said McCullough bitterly, 'it seems to me that a dive is just where I should make for.'

"They went west to McVicker's and Keene had some difficulty in piloting his charge into the stage door. To humor the actor the company naturally rehearsed with him, and soon after, McVicker and Brooks announced that McCullough had been released from his engagement. Somewhat to their surprise, he heaved a great sigh, and

said, 'Well, I think so myself. I am not well enough to play, and it is better not to go on telling everybody concerned that they shall not lose anything, if I can prevent it.

"Soon after McCullough went to Leland and allowed himself to be put to bed for a rest. The reporter saw that Keene was full of concern for his old friend, but he said that the result was inevitable. To anyone who knew of McCullough's real condition, it could only appear that Brooks acted wisely. 'To force him to work now,' said Keene earnestly, 'would he simply to threaten his sanity and his life.'"

RUMORS AND FINAL DISINTEGRATION

This breakdown came as a complete surprise to most of his close friends and to all of his admirers. Only a very few of his most intimate friends had even an inkling of the inevitable insanity which his illness foreshadowed. Every attempt to tell the truth about McCullough's collapse was immediately hushed. Rather than state that he was afflicted with paresis, his well-meaning friends preferred to let stories and gossip circulate that McCullough was a hard drinker, or circulated the kinder story that he was too sensitive and high-strung--a genius--for the tense and hectic life of the theatre.

Eric Howard, in California and Californians, inclined to the first reason:

"The strain of managing and acting was too great for one of McCullough's nervous, sensitive temperament. Besides, he was heavily burdened by debt at the time when his health was breaking down...."

His friend, Tom Keene, said to a reporter (San Francisco Examiner, October 2, 1884):

"I have known John McCullough for many years, and I have known him in his greatness; therefore I am competent, more competent than he is himself, to judge of what is good for him. John must give up all work. Must place himself in the hands of a physician, and rigidly obey his instructions. The trouble with John is that he does not realize the necessities of his case and will not take care of himself. He must be made to do so if he would speedily recover his health....

"It is true in one sense but not in another (that he is drinking heavily). The man is sick and feeble. He feels that he must work, and he tries by stimulants to put himself in condition. In his enfeebled state a little of that overcomes him, and I suppose that was the trouble the other night. It is not drink that incapacitates him. He is sick, and he ought not to play or attempt it."

Charles B. Bishop attributed McCullough's mental illness to both these reasons in an interview with the San Francisco Morning Call, May 3, 1885. The story opens with a prejudiced implication and the attitude towards the theatre that reached the height of puritanical prudishness in later years. The reporter asked Bishop:

"The latest instance of victimization by lights that lured only to destroy is Genial John. Did you see him before you left New York?"

"Yes, (answered Bishop). Saw him coming out of the Fifth Avenue Hotel one day, but he did not know me. He had eyes like a dead fish, furrowed cheeks, and the hollows of age in his neck. I stopped him, and after looking at me called my name in a far away tone of voice.... What McCullough needs is a change in his way of life. He wants domesticity, and the quiet and regularity of a well-ordered household would do much to soothe the irritation of a brain tossed hither and thither in the shifting scenes of his career. He often admitted to me when in the heyday of his popularity and his pride of place, that his private life was a

mistake, even when pooh-poohing the advice I gave him to go slow.'

"McCullough was not a dissipated man, I believe?", asked the reporter. (This was quite true. McCullough was never a dissipated man and it was only after his illness that his friends mistakenly thought that this story was the lesser of two evils.)

"He was not a very hard drinker;(replied Bishop) but, unfortunately, he never got drunk. He was one of those who could carry his liquor.... and these are in the greatest danger....Your sober drunkard should fear, rather than be proud, and be pitied rather than envied. I remember a convivial occasion, at which McCullough, Frank Chanfrau, Clifton Tayleure and myself were present. I was only a lookeron...but I noticed that while the others became hilarious, McCullough was calm as a clock, and when they were sent to bed he rather plumed himself on his staying ability. 'Come,' said he, 'I've put that lot under the table; I'll have to do the same for another party by and by.' My reply was, 'I wish to God, John, you were as drunk as the drunkest of those we have left. There would be a slight relief to you, at least, in that. But you are always on the strain; the tension is too great; something must give way, and when you least expect it.' But he only laughed in his self-confident way and told me to shut up...."

George E. Barnes later quoted this interview in a story about McCullough in the Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, July 27, 1895) and concluded with much the same words:

"...He is to be pitied rather than condemned; pitied because his will power was insufficient to successfully oppose the great temptations that met him and to which so many of his fellow professionals have succumbed...."

For at least two years before his final breakdown on the stage of McVicker's Theatre in Chicago on September 29, 1884 his condition must have been apparent. A few days after this tragic incident, the San Francisco News Letter and



California Advertiser, October 4, 1884 described how much McCullough had aged in the past two years, since his illness had first manifested itself:

"...His shoulders have become bent, his face heavy seamed and his eye has lost its brightness. He seems to be a victim of melancholy, upon which change of scene and altered conditions have no effect. His visit to the German springs improved his health somewhat but his recent extraordinary behavior...shows conclusively that Mr. McCullough is no better."

William Winter, one of McCullough's friends of long standing, was with him in London one evening driving in a hansom cab from Cromwell Road to the Bristol Hotel, and, writes Winter:

"...when, having been entirely himself for several hours, he suddenly became quite insane, rolling his eyes from side to side, and gazing at me, now furtively and now openly, with an indescribable expression of menace--like the look of a tiger.

"I call to mind our last interview. I was walking one morning in Broadway, New York, with the brilliant Steele Mackaye, when suddenly I received a heavy blow on the shoulder and turning saw McCullough, who had struck at us with his cane to attract our attention. We asked him to go with us, and presently we were seated at a table in Delmonico's old restaurant, at Twenty-sixth Street.

"He had a lucid interval, and thought of the past, and, looking at me earnestly, while the tears slowly filled his eyes, he warned me against waste of time and talent, and asked me always to remember that he was my friend. It was only for a few moments that this mood lasted, and then the light faded from his face and he was strange again,--murmuring, as he rose and walked away, the last words I ever heard him speak:

"'Old and wretched; old and wretched; old and wretched!'"*

On the 27th of June. 1885 he was placed in a private ward in the lunatic asylum at Bloomingdale. He remained there until October 25th, when he was removed to his home in Philadelphia, death seeming imminent. William Winter called on McCullough at Bloomingdale and describes his visit in his book, Other Days:

"The last time that I ever looked on McCullough in life he was stretched upon a bed, in a dimly lighted room, in a lunatic asylum at Bloomingdale. The door had been slowly and carefully opened by one of the attendant keepers, and I was permitted to enter the presence of the dying tragedian. He was fully, though carelessly dressed; he was in a deep slumber--limp, flaccid, helpless; the mere shattered remnant of what had once been manly strength, beauty, dignity and grace.

"'Shall I wake him?' said the attendant.

"'No,' I said; 'don't wake him.'

"There was a solemn silence. The sleeper did not move. His head was resting on his clenched right hand. His face was pale, ghastly, and a little streaked with blood. He had fallen that morning (so the keeper said) in a corridor, where patients were allowed to walk, and so had cut and bruised himself. His left arm, listlessly extended, the hand partly closed, seemed strangely expressive of forlorn, piteous weakness."

THE DEMISE OF A BELOVED CHARACTER

On Thursday of his second week at the home of his wife in East Franford Lane, a crisis in his condition

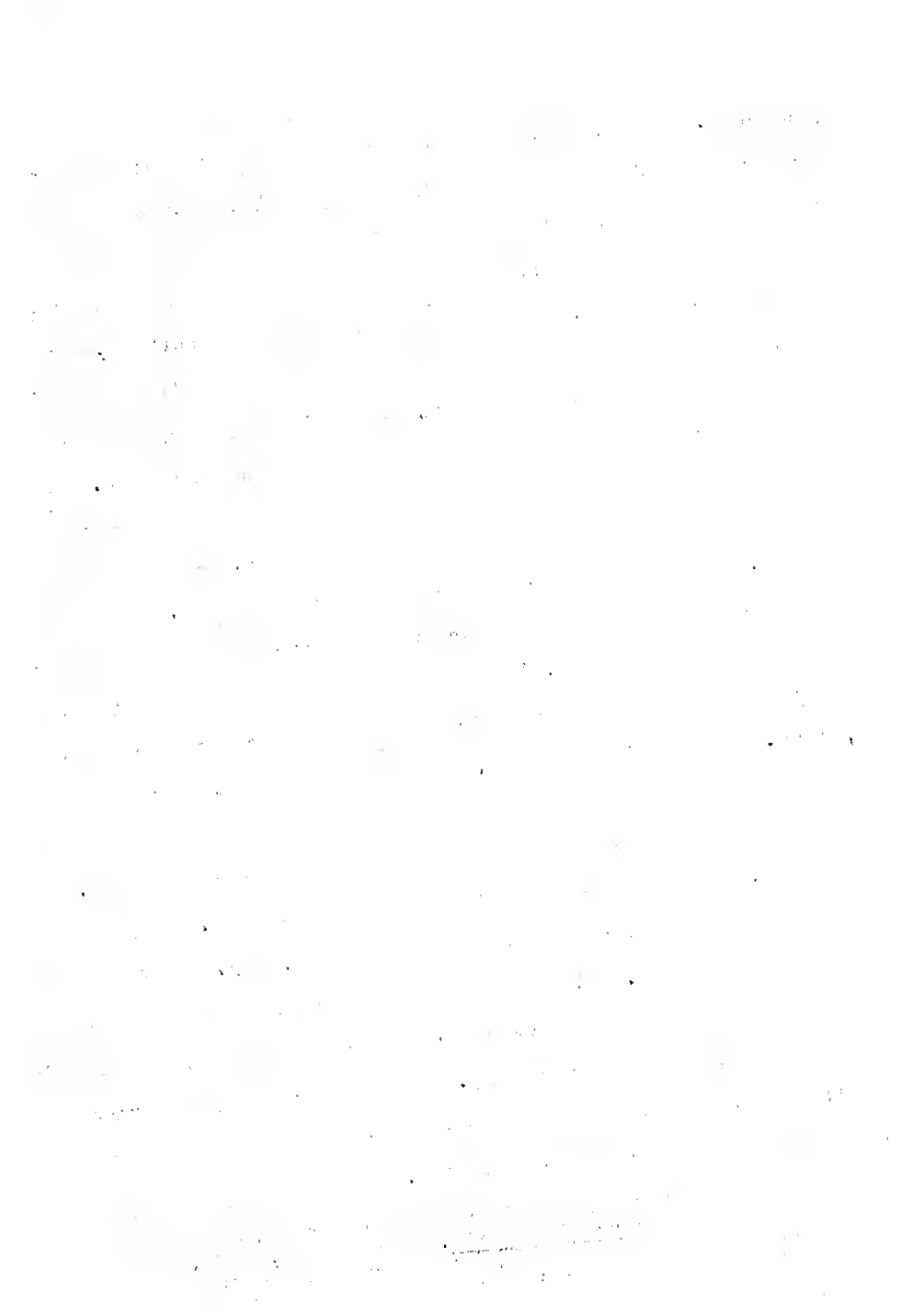
*Winter, William. Other Days, Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage.

occurred. His physician, Dr. Engel, felt satisfied that McCullough would recover but on Friday night, a sudden change for the worse came. Late that night the patient fell asleep after desperate ministration and woke on Saturday morning feeling much better. He was brighter that day, perhaps, than at any other time during his illness, and was quite aware of all that was going on about him. He took his wife's hand and made several vain attempts to speak to her but could not. He had lost all control over his vocal cords.

At eight o'clock that night, however, he suffered a relapse. His pulse fell to sixty beats a minute. Sunday morning the muscles of his throat were paralyzed and he was unable to take medicine. He then became unconscious and remained so until he died at 1:05 in the afternoon of November 8, 1885. His death was quiet, without a struggle. It came as sleep to a child.

At his bedside were his wife; his daughter, Mrs. West; Mrs. James McCullough, his daughter-in-law; F. Johnson, his legal advisor, and his medical attendants, Drs. Engel and McNutt, and a nurse. Dr. Hugo Engel stated that death was due to "an affection of the brain" (paresis) caused by "blood poisoning" (congenital syphilis). He asserted strongly that McCullough was not insane and that it was a mistake to have placed him in the Bloomingdale asylum.

"A post-mortem examination will be made (wrote the San Francisco Chronicle, November 9, 1885, in a story of his death) as the case is regarded as very important from a medical point of view.



"...The year that has passed since (McCullough's collapse in Chicago) has been for him a time of slow progressive but inexorable decay under the wasting influence of a fatal disease. For several months, indeed, he retained his mental faculties, and could, in a desultory manner, control and direct his movements and affairs, but his proceedings soon grew capricious and erratic, frequently subjecting him to danger and constantly afflicting his friends with painful apprehensions. At length it became unmistakably manifest that he was deranged, hopeless and irresponsible...."

McCullough's fellow actors and friends proposed erecting a monument to his memory and until the site was selected the body was placed in a vault at Cedar Hill Cemetery. In 1888 an ornate monument was erected, with elaborate ceremonies in Mount Moriah Cemetery, Philadelphia, and his body was interred there. In that same year, ironically enough, his brother Vincent, a former member of John McCullough's dramatic company, also fell victim to inexorable paresis (San Francisco Morning Call, March 4, 1888).

When news of John McCullough's death reached San Francisco, treasurer Price of the California Theatre draped the lobby with mourning and placed there a large picture of the dead actor, the theatre's first manager. Besides Price, there were Ellie Wilton, Charles Bishop and Edward Thayer, from the old California Theatre company, still acting there.

Ellie Wilton, when notified by a Chronicle reporter of McCullough's death, exclaimed (San Francisco Chronicle, November 9, 1885):

"'Poor, poor, Mr. McCullough! I only learned from your card just now that he was dead. Can I tell you something about him? No, nothing

but how kind and good he was to everyone ever associated with him. Whatever I am in my profession I owe to Mr. McCullough. I came to his theatre when a child and was with him nine years.

"I never heard him say a harsh word to a man, woman or child in the theatre, and he was as kind to the small people as the principals. He was not only gentle to all the people, but he insisted upon others being so. I remember, years ago, when May Howard was leading lady here, that she was offended with a girl in some part and spoke to her very roughly. Mr. McCullough overheard her, stopped Miss Howard and told her quietly that he did not permit any of his people to be spoken to like that.

"He had only friends in the professions from the smallest to the greatest people....He disliked to discharge any one who had ever served him well, and sometimes a man or woman would be wanted in a cast and be down at Paso Robles or somewhere else, ill, perhaps. 'Never mind,' Mr. McCullough would say, and get someone else for the part, but the salary of the absent one would go on just the same."

The reporter soon found Charles Bishop backstage in the California Theatre.

"I've just heard the sad news (said Bishop). Poor John, I've known him for thirty years, and on both sides of the continent have played with him at intervals during that time....I played with him during the early (Civil) War years. I was the manager of Ford's Theatre in Washington....McCullough would come to Washington during the summer and play an engagement as a stock actor.

"McCullough, J. Wilkes Booth and myself were very intimate friends but Booth never hinted of his plot to either of us. You may not remember that our intimacy with Booth led to some peculiar occurrences after the assassination of Lincoln. I had been playing in Baltimore for two weeks before that Friday, but the next morning at my breakfast I was arrested. After I had been examined by the Chief of Police, I was allowed to go.

"An actor named James McCullum was playing there at Baltimore at the same time. I learned subsequently that the Washington police thought McCullum was McCullough. This gave McCullough an opportunity to skip over to Canada, which he did, for a reason I will explain. Among the copies of telegrams signed by Booth and found in telegraph offices when everything was being searched for conspiracy, was one to McCullough in Baltimore, dated only a short time prior to the assassination.

"The despatch was apparently so meaningless on its face that it was of course thought to contain some deep hidden meaning, so that officers in Washington who thought McCullough was in Washington with me, kept a close eye on McCullum, the similarity of names causing the mistake. One day McCullum was arrested and the mistake discovered.

"Then McCullough telegraphed from Montreal that he would return if wanted. He did not because some friends had undertaken to quietly clear up the dispatch mystery. The fact was that the mysterious dispatch was a cipher announcement of a dinner engagement for Booth and McCullough with two women. The reason McCullough left so suddenly for Canada was that the dinner lark was with two well-known Washington ladies, and he did not want to disclose their names. So he left till the matter could be explained quietly."

So Bishop reminisced about his old friend McCullough while wiping off the make-up he had on as the First Witch in Macbeth. He continued:

"I remember one time McCullough and I were with Ford's company at Baltimore when Ford sent us to Washington to play a piece called Three Fast Men. As we were on our way uptown after our arrival we saw a three-sheet poster headed in big block type,

JOHN McCULLOUGH
C. B. BISHOP
And
HOSTS OF PRETTY GIRLS

"John thought that was the funniest poster he ever saw and for twenty years afterwards he would

tell the story of how Bishop and he were billed with a host of pretty girls."

It was in this warmhearted way that all Genial John McCullough's fellow actors, friends, admirers and critics paid tribute to the dead tragedian -- in praise of his sociability, his kindness and generosity, and his manly qualities. The Overland Monthly, December 1885, heartily concurred with everything that had been said of McCullough:

"...but in noting the career of the great actors, the great reason for his success in his profession has been overlooked...there must needs have been many months of patient work, and of earnest study of authors and of the dramatic art, to have enabled the hitherto uncultured chairmaker to appear as a leading tragedian before very large audiences in nearly every city in the United States, and to win unstinted praise from the London critics....

"John McCullough did not pose as a student, did not wear a preoccupied air when brought in contact with people off the stage nor wrinkle his brow as if in deep thought; he laid no plans to be pointed out as 'one of the most diligent students in the profession': and thus the man who did not act when out of the theatre, who would find time to exchange salutations with his friends, indulge in a chop at a rotisserie, or play a game of billiards at a hotel, was rated as a 'genial gentleman and a delightful companion--he will never rank with Doleful Lugubrious as a star.'

"Occasionally, however, it would be noted that the man with the unaffected manner and cheerful disposition had, in his early career, always understudied the other parts in the plays in which he appeared, and that the precaution thus taken at such great pains, had frequently made his services available in the case of sudden illness of the person whose lines had been understudied. It is also related that on one occasion, when the indisposition of a great star (no doubt Edwin Forrest) necessitated the substitution of another play or the closing of the theatre and subsequent great loss to the

manager, the warm-blooded young actor volunteered to give a performance and accept any play that the company had recently played in, or that the members were most familiar with--and did appear in one of the most difficult of the legitimate tragedies that evening, to the great delight of those who composed the audience.

"It seems to have never occurred to some of the writers whose utterances go to make up public opinion that man may be a diligent student, and yet have time to mingle with the world as they themselves mingle; and the fact has been apparently overlooked that John McCullough was earnestly devoted to his profession with rare unselfishness, and that too much study probably caused the breaking down that resulted in his untimely death."

The story continued, telling of the years of study undertaken with the assistance of Edwin Forrest, and

"...many years after his conversations with Mr. Forrest, McCullough expressed his gratitude to his patron for the benefit derived from his association with him, and even for the hard work that fell to his lot in relieving the star of the drudgery of rehearsal at the different theatres where he played....

"Love for his art predominated--no sacrifice was too great where any good could be accomplished by surrender of rights, or dignity, or profit....His modesty as to his merits was remarkable. After playing Othello for the first time he called on a journalist whose duties kept him late in the office, and apologized for his intrusion.

"'When you are quite through with your work, I wish to talk about my performance--I saw you in the audience--and I cannot rest until I know whether I have disappointed you. Some of the blemishes that I know of I can remedy at the next performance, but I want to learn whether there are too many to justify me in keeping the character on my list.'

"He afterwards had the satisfaction of being warmly complimented by Walter Montgomery and Edwin Booth as the best Othello on the English-speaking stage...."



Of McCullough's early years in San Francisco with Edwin Forrest, George E. Barnes relates in the San Francisco Bulletin, July 27, 1895:

"...McCullough was Forrest's leading man and also his locum teneris when the blase old tragedian could not or would not attend rehearsals....McCullough had not a bed o' roses with the 'tyrant of the stage' as Forrest was called. In addition to his salary not being a very princely one, he had to bear a good deal of nagging and ordering. Forrest's physical infirmities had ruined his mind. McCullough being closer to him than any other member of his company, had to bear the brunt of his capricious temper.

"The leading man dressed soberly, too, in those days...he had no fancies in dress, because the 'old man' as he used to call Forrest when out of his presence, took care that his leading man's means were not plentiful enough to gratify them....He was a slave almost to Forrest, and for his comparative servitude received only \$40 a week, a sum which scarcely met his expenses. He was mortally afraid of his master...

"For one who later in his career developed a measure of self-assertiveness, his timidity was remarkable. He was very necessary to Forrest, who could find no young actor to supply his place, one who would be so biddable and do so much hard work for so little pay. Forrest, in fact, during the later years of his life, never went to rehearsals. His useful leading man took the drudgery of his principal on his own shoulders and drilled the players to show them what the tragedian would do when acting it that night...."

Even in those early years at Maguire's Opera House in San Francisco, McCullough's ability as an actor had been recognized by critics. The dramatic critic of the San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser wrote in that periodical, April 18, 1868:

"Do you (or do you not) know that McCullough is the best actor that has ever played in California?...It was McCullough's misfortune to come here with Forrest--a Moon as it were to Forrests Sun; he took a second position and he has not yet got fairly out of it....

"...he is an actor all through; his tragedy is about the best we ever saw; but the crowd does not appear as yet to have found it out...the Town Crier looks forward with perfect confidence and patience to the day when McCullough's name shall be one of the bright particular stars in the histrionic firmament, and he (T.C.) will be able to say triumphantly--I told you so!"

Even before this, however, in 1867, the Daily Critic (Nov. 25) reprinted the critical comments of the Golden Era:

"The theatrical critic of the Golden Era, who really understands his business, thus strongly endorses John McCullough's Othello:

"The tragedy of Othello received probably the finest presentation ever afforded on this coast. McCullough, as the Moor, excelled all his previous Shakesperian efforts. It was nearly faultless in conception and execution. Several of the marked passages were given with a force and intensity that thrilled an audience many of whom were assembled to compare the new star with Forrest and Adams. Not only were the intense declamatory passages rendered with force and effect, but the halfhidden meaning of others was made plain and even vivid by judicious and discriminating emphasis."

Critical comments after his death and evaluations of his ability as an actor were varied. The Overland Monthly, December, 1885, said:

"The word 'noble' was frequently, and justly, applied to his characterizations. He found in the tragedies of Shakespeare, in the classic plays of our language...and in the melodramas first made by Forrest, a fitting and expressive means for the denotement of a dramatic skill



that was always effective even though if fell short of inspiration and genius. Like Forrest, he was imposing in stature, forceful in voice and action, and although he lacked the finer powers that gave spiritual significance to the interpretations of other actors, he was in many ways the real embodiment of a long line of theatrical figures."

The Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography

wrote:

"His shortcomings were a lack of originality and deficiency in literary culture. He was inferior to his model Forrest, in natural endowments, and when he appeared in the parts that distinguished his master, he displayed all his defects, and too closely rendered the faulty readings that were based on the judgment of his predecessor. Unlike him, however, he enriched the stage with no new dramas, and created no original characters."

George E. Barnes in the San Francisco Bulletin,

July 27, 1895 commented briefly that

"McCullough was only conspicuous in heroic acting, and when clad in the toga virilis; he was of no account on the stage in modern trousers."

William Winter, in his Other Days, evaluated McCullough in much the same strain:

"His (McCullough's) acting was of the heroic strain and was best in parts that are emblematic of noble manhood and lofty and tender feeling; parts that implicate splendid deeds, fidelity to duty, self-sacrifice for love or honor; parts that move in the realm of the affections...in Virginus, Payne's Brutus, Damon, King Lear, Othello, and portions of Richelieu, he was magnificent. To see him in those great parts was to feel the essential dignity that is in human nature...."

A more detailed and analytical criticism is that of John Rankin Towse in his Sixty Years of the Theatre which



will suffice to conclude the excerpts of critical comments:

"John McCullough was a good actor, within restricted limits of heroic parts, for which nature had bestowed upon him the physical qualities....He was a man of noble presence, of powerful build, with bold Roman features and a voice that had in it the ring of a trumpet...in stormy bursts of passion he exhibited vast power. He could assume a lofty dignity...and had a notable mastery of virile pathos. He excelled in broad strokes, in vivid contrasts between raging passion, portentous calm, and the inner convulsions caused by repressed emotions. But he was not an intellectual, imaginative or analytical performer.

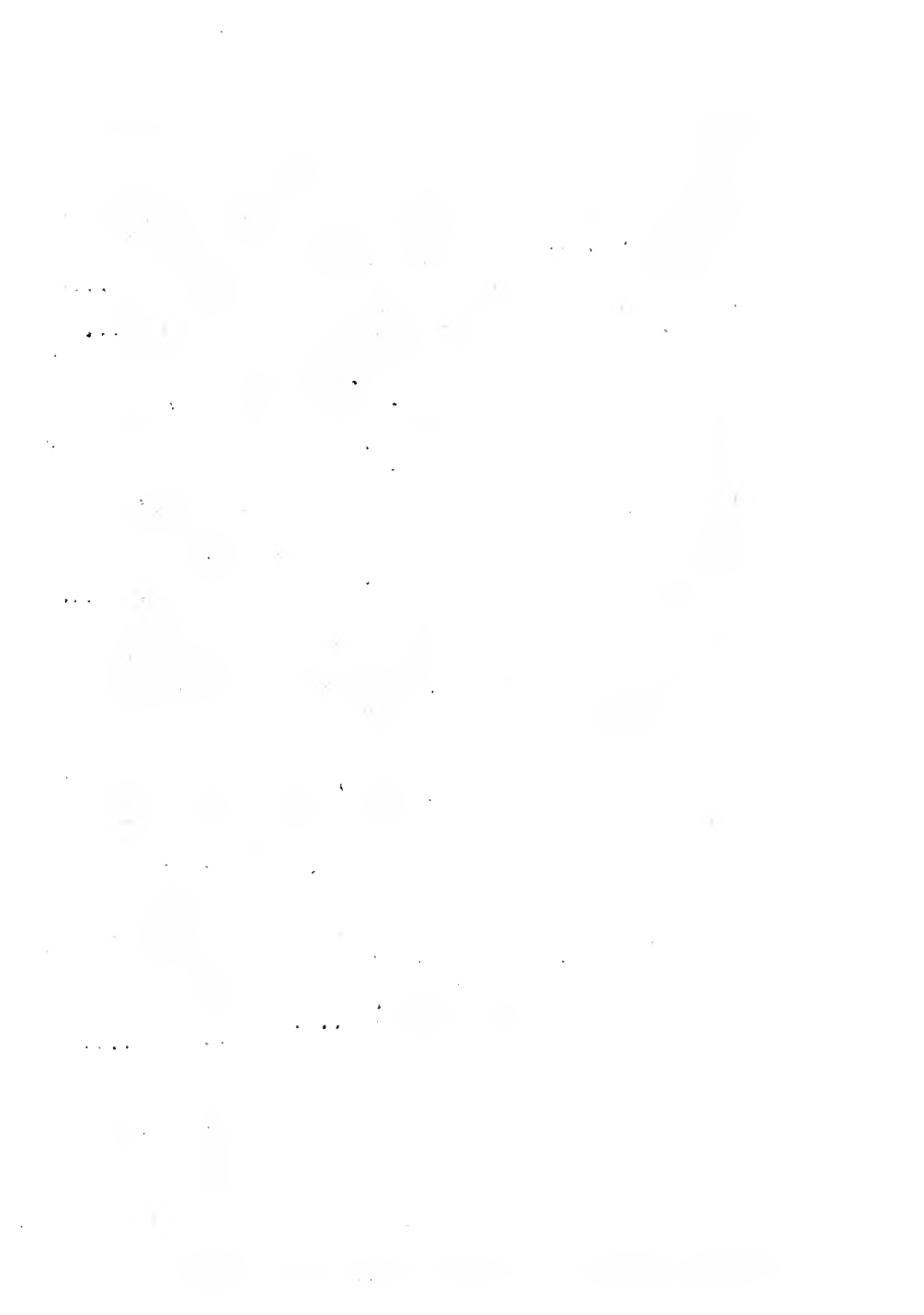
"In Lear, he could stir his hearers to enthusiasm by the magnificent outbursts of passion which seemed to shake the theatre...but his impersonation as a whole, though theatrically effective, had neither grandeur nor subtlety....

"His Othello was an imposing and martial figure....But it was only in storm and stress that it was remarkable. In detail it was crude, unimaginative, unfinished, a bold free-hand sketch rather than a completed study.

"In his Macbeth, again, it was the physical prowess that was the dominant feature. His Richard III was a bit of lurid melodrama. There was much merit in his Coriolanus but it was an unequal performance, often marred....

"His Virginius was his most notable achievement. In this he approached greatness very closely. The part, compounded of powerful but simple emotions, lay completely within the compass of his abilities, and called all the best of them into requisition....In this part he was facile princeps among his contemporaries...."

The apparent contradiction between the wildly enthusiastic acclaim accorded him while still alive and the coldly analytical dissection of his ability and worth as an actor after his death is well explained by Lewis C. Strang in his Players and Plays of the Last Quarter Century:



"McCullough was a simple, whole-souled, lovable man and his personal popularity was remarkable. Indeed, his friends were so numerous and so loyal that critical judgment regarding his worth as an actor was in a measure surveyed by the affection felt for the man. A fair estimate of his histrionic ability would place McCullough decidedly in the second class, but still not disgracefully so. He was essentially a heroic actor...."

McCullough's friendliness with people was not cultivated for the ulterior purpose of increasing his public stature. He was essentially "a simple, whole-souled, lovable man" and made friends because he liked to be friends with everyone. His pleasures in the years, before the symptoms of his affliction manifested themselves, were simple.

"The joy of his life during his first engagement in San Francisco (writes George E. Barnes, Bulletin, July 27, 1895), where many friends took him up and paid him attention before the plutocratic element absorbed him into its charmed circle, was a trip around the bay every Sunday, after a week of hard toil at the theatre and close and wearying confinement in Forest's atmosphere.

"With a party on board the steam yacht Amelia, owned by Henry B. Platt, and made up of the proprietor, himself, Dr. Beck, Louis Cohen, Captain Almy and a few others of a group who have nearly all passed away, the course would be laid by all the interesting points along the shore line of the bay, including Sausalito, which was a favorite landing place in the course of this trip.

"McCullough liked to land at the 'Little Willow' where the party would take tiffin on some grassy slope, garnished by friendly, free and easy conversation on any topic that might arise. Plays and players were the topics most generally discussed; they were themes of which the actor never tired. He used to say, in after days, that he counted those Sausalito outings among the red-letter days of his life."



In his domestic life, McCullough seems not to have been wholly happy. He was married in Philadelphia on April 8, 1849 two years after he had emigrated to the United States, to an Irish girl, Letitia McClain. They had three sons, James, William F. Johnson, and Robert McCullough. In the 1860's McCullough entered the theatre as a professional, which necessitated long periods of absence from home. The McCulloughs were never legally separated nor divorced but from the period that McCullough became a professional actor they lived separate lives.

Charles Bishop, in an interview with a Chronicle reporter, said (San Francisco Chronicle, November 9, 1885):

"...(His relation with his wife) has been very much misrepresented. They were never divorced, and never legally separated in any manner. It is a story that is told a thousand times. He advanced and she did not. He acquired education, experience, polish; she remained what she was when he married her, a factory hand's companion. He always supported her well and visited her whenever he was in Philadelphia. He always spoke of her with utmost respect, and even, to his intimates, when speaking of her he would say, 'She deserved a better husband than I.'"

Letitia McCullough was of stern Presbyterian stock. She violently opposed his passion for acting, which became so strongly developed soon after his marriage, and it was this incompatibility that forced the break in their domestic relations. Many of his friends thought that had his home life been happier, his mental collapse would not have occurred -- a few of them knowing the true nature of his affliction.



Immediately following his death, every ham actor included in his repertoire a piece which he called "The Ravings of John McCullough," consisting of heroic passages from Shakespeare scrambled indiscriminately and interspersed with mild expletives. When the first phonographs came out with a big horn, cylindrical records and a diamond needle, in each collection of records was one entitled "The Ravings of John McCullough." This piece, recorded by third-rate actors, was invariably played by temperance lecturers as conclusive evidence of the evils of drink, and no doubt many were the families that gathered about the new invention to jeer or be awed at the McCullough that they thought was exemplified by the recording.

McCullough died, at the age of fifty-three, his manner of death being prescribed at the time of his birth. He was not a genius; his acting was the result of long study and heedful care. Each role was thoroughly gone over, step by step. He was an actor, humble in spirit, who thought more of his profession than of himself.

"John McCullough (wrote Eric Howard in California and Californians, Volume III) enriched the life of his time by his efforts in behalf of a classic theatre. An actor and manager he should be honored by San Francisco because he made this city a scene of brilliant theatrical productions and so planted cultural seed which is still bearing fruit."

His personal success was not mere professional fame. It was the acquisition of friendship of all the members of the theatre, of the actors, the critics and the public's appreciation. It was also respect for his intellectual



integrity in his relation to the stage -- both as manager and actor -- he gave to the stage a steadfast maintenance of the highest standard of dramatic art.

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JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

A P P E N D I X

(Chronology of activities from 1870-1877 as listed by John H. McCabe in McCabe's Journals)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Theatre</u>
1870 Jan. 3	Return from Virginia City and reappearance with company.	California
Jan. 7	Benefit	California
Jan. 7	Serenaded after performance at Occidental Hotel where he stayed, southeast corner of Montgomery and Bush --a rendezvous of actors and artists.	
June 18	Last night of dramatic season.	California
June 29	Played at benefit for Frank Mayo.	Alhambra
June 30	Left for Virginia City en route East.	
Aug. 1	Returned from the East.	
Aug. 29	Opening night of second dramatic season. Co-lessee with L. Barrett.	California
Oct. 1	Played Hawkshaw in <u>Ticket of Leave Man</u> at matinee and Charles Surface in <u>School for Scandal</u> at Sacramento. Distance by steamer and railroad, 85 miles.	California Metropolitan
Nov. 5	Became sole lessee; L. Barrett's interest ceasing on this date.	California
1871 Mar. 27 Apr. 9	Transferred portion of Dramatic company from California to Opera House which he rented to play Mr. and Mrs. Bandman whose engagement filled those dates.	



JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

Appendix (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Theatre</u>
1871 March 29 and 30	Played with Bandman.	Opera House
April 21	Went to Virginia City to play at John T. Raymond's ben- efit.	
June 16	Benefit tendered him by Edwin Adams. Presented by com- pany with onyx seal ring and by John Torrence with silver corkscrew.	California
July 6	Left for Salt Lake City.	
July 22	Reappearance	California
July 29	Last night of second season.	California
July 31	Opening night of third season.	California
Nov. 5	Left to play engagement at Virginia City.	
1872		
Jan. 31	Played at benefit for Ernst and Roussey.	Platt's Hall
Feb. 22	Left for the East	
March 26	Return	
April 1	Reappearance; Phidias in <u>Mar- ble Heart</u> .	California
May 24	Annual benefit.	California
June 2	Played at benefit for Jas. H. Hardie.	Metropolitan
June 29	Last night of third season.	California
Aug. 3	Left for Virginia City.	
Sept. 16	Played at benefit for Annette Ince.	Platt's Hall

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

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BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Printed by J. B. R. 1704

THE SECOND PART

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THE SECOND PART

JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

Appendix (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Theatre</u>
1872 Sept. 26	Played at benefit for Harry Edwards.	Platt's Hall
Sept. 30	Opening night of fourth season.	California
Nov. 15	Left for the East.	
Dec. 10	Return.	
Dec. 19	Played at John Torrence's benefit.	California
1873		
Jan. 18	Presented Master Carron, young athlete of Carron family, with gold medal at end of engagement.	California
March 17	Recited patriotic poem at St. Patrick's celebration.	California
June 6	Annual benefit.	California
June 8	Played at benefit for Mrs. Josephine Jackson.	Pacific Hall
July 31	Left for Yosemite.	
Aug. 6	Return.	
Aug. 17	Left for East.	
1874		
Jan. 15	Returned from East.	
Jan. 23	Left for Salt Lake City.	
Feb. 11	Returned from Salt Lake City.	
Feb. 16	Reappearance.	California
March 6	Benefit.	California

JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

Appendix (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Theatre</u>
1874 March 7	Last night of current season.	California
March 8	Left for St. Louis.	
June 23	Return.	
June 29	Last night of season.	
July 23	Left for the East.	
Dec. 13	Returned from the East.	
Dec. 14	Reappearance as Virginus.	California
1875		
Jan. 8	Benefit.	California
Jan. 9	Last night of season.	California
Jan. 12	Left for East.	
April 5	Returned from East.	
April 6	Reappearance as Othello.	California
July 31	Left for East.	
1876		
March 25	Returned from the East.	
March 27	Reappearance as Virginus.	California
April 7	Benefit performance.	California
April 8	Last night of season	California
May 14	Played at benefit for W.H. Crane.	Baldwin Acad.
May 20	Played at benefit for Oakland Centennial	

JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

Appendix (Concluded)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Theatre</u>
1876 June 8	Presented by Chas. Flechter with diamond and jet set of shirt studs, sleeve buttons and collar stud.	
Dec.19	Played Spartacus in <u>The Gladiator</u> for benefit of sufferers of Brooklyn Theatre fire (N. Y.)	Baldwin Acad.
Dec.30	Left for East	
1877		
May 2	First night as lessee with The Hess English Opera Troupe.	Baldwin Acad.
May 13	English Opera Company transferred.	California
May 28	First night as lessee with Mrs. Drew.	Baldwin Acad.
June 2	Last night season with Mrs. Drew.	Baldwin Acad.
June 3	Last night Hess Opera Troupe.	California
June 4	First night of Soldene Opera.	California
June 7	Reappearance as Virginius.	Baldwin Acad.
July 2	Last night of season as lessee.	Baldwin Acad.
Aug.17	Barton Hill announced as lessee.	California
Aug.25	Complimentary farewell benefit.	California
Aug.27	Last appearance in California. Played Hamlet opposite Modjeska as Ophelia.	California
Aug.30	Left for East.	

JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH

Representative Parts Taken by McCullough

<u>Date</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Play</u>
1851	Artemidorus	<u>Julius Ceasar</u> (amateur production.)
1857	Othello Thomas	<u>Othello</u> (amateur production) <u>The Belle's Strategem</u> (professional debut)
1861	Robert Landry	<u>The Dead Heart</u> (substitute performance)
1862	Pythias	<u>Damon and Pythias</u> (first appearance with Edwin Forrest)
1864	Benedick Shylock Petruchio Cardinal Wolsey	<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u> <u>Merchant of Venice</u> <u>Taming of the Shrew</u> <u>Henry VIII</u>
1866	Adrien de Mauprat Icilius Charles de Moor Edgar Iago Antonio de Cabaveno Febro Hamlet Richelieu Metamora Jack Cade Macduff D'Artagnan Don Felix Lord Clifford Ruy Blas	<u>Richelieu</u> (first appearance in San Francisco) <u>Virginus</u> <u>The Robbers</u> <u>King Lear</u> <u>Othello</u> <u>The Broker of Bogota</u> <u>The Broker of Bogota</u> <u>Hamlet</u> <u>Richelieu</u> <u>Metamora</u> <u>Jack Cade</u> <u>Macbeth</u> <u>The Three Guardsman</u> <u>The Wonder</u> <u>Jack Cade</u> <u>Ruy Blas</u>
1868	John Perry Bingle	<u>Cricket on the Hearth</u>
1869	Alfred Evelyn Clifford Rover Diogenes Macbeth Beverly	<u>Money</u> <u>The Hunchback</u> <u>Wild Oats</u> <u>The Marble Heart</u> <u>Macbeth</u> <u>The Rivals</u>

Representative Parts Taken by McCullough (Cont.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Play</u>
1869	The Ghost	<u>Hamlet</u>
	Volage	<u>The Marble Heart</u>
	Rolla	<u>Pizarro</u>
	Richard III	<u>Richard III</u>
	Triplet	<u>Masks and Faces</u>
		<u>School</u>
		<u>London Assurance</u>
		<u>Town and Country</u>
		<u>John Bull</u>
		<u>Camille</u>
		<u>The Wife</u>
1870	Hawkshaw	<u>Ticket of Leave Man</u>
	Charles Surface	<u>School for Scandal</u>
	King Lear	<u>King Lear</u>
	Coriolanus	<u>Coriolanus</u>
1872	Phidias	<u>The Marble Heart</u>
1874	Virginus	<u>Virginus</u>
	Falconbridge	<u>King John</u>
	Colonel Bligh	<u>Belle Lamar</u>
	Pierre	<u>Venice Preserved</u>
1876	Sparticus	<u>The Gladiator</u>
	Mark Antony	<u>Julius Ceasar</u>
	Marcus Brutus	<u>Julius Ceasar</u>
1877	Hamlet	<u>Hamlet</u>
1878	Lucius Brutus	<u>Fall of Tarquin</u>
	Claude Melnotte	<u>Lady of Lyons</u>
	Ingomar	<u>Ingomar</u>
	Duke Aranza	<u>The Honeymoon</u>
1881	Virginus	<u>Virginus</u> (LONDON)
1884		<u>The Gladiator</u>

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$$f(x) = \frac{1}{x} \int_0^x f(t) dt = \frac{1}{x} \left(\int_0^x 1 dt + \int_0^x (f(t) - 1) dt \right) = \frac{1}{x} \left(x + \int_0^x (f(t) - 1) dt \right) = 1 + \frac{1}{x} \int_0^x (f(t) - 1) dt$$

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JOHN EDWARD McCULLOUGH
NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The Evening Bulletin (San Francisco) May 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, June 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 16, 18, 23, 25, 27, 30, 1866; Sept. 4, 22, Oct. 14, 16, 21, Nov. 5, 12, 14, 16, Dec. 7, 1867; Feb. 16, 1874; Nov. 9, 1885; July 27, 1895.

The Morning Call (San Francisco) Dec. 2, 1877; Apr. 14, 1878; Jan. 25, 1880; Jan. 30, 1881; May 3, 1885; Mar. 4, 1888.

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Alta California (San Francisco) Jan. 16, 19, 1869.

PROJECT EDITORIAL STAFF

Research Director.....Jack W. Wilson

MONOGRAPH WRITERS

George Ducasse	Cornel Lengyel
Hector Rella	Alan Harrison
Michael Krepschaw	Eddie Shimano

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Mathew Gately	Gretchen Clark
Dorothy Phillips	Lenore Legere
Wyland Stanley	

ART and PHOTO REPRODUCTION

Lala Eve Rivol	M. H. Mc Carty
----------------	----------------

PRODUCTION

William K. Noe	Elleanore Staschen
Clara Mohr	

Although the entire research and stenographic staff on the project assisted in the preparation of these monographs at various stages in production, particular credit should be given to Mr. Alan Harrison for his work on the Lotta Crabtree monograph, and to Mr. Eddie Shimano for his work on the John McCullough monograph in this volume.

Lawrence Estavan
Project Supervisor.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* contents were determined by spectrophotometry using the method of Lichtenthaler and Whistler (1987).

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1. The first group of variables includes the demographic characteristics of the respondents, such as age, gender, and education level. These variables are used to control for potential confounding factors that may influence the dependent variable.

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1. 1992年12月1日以前，在《民法通则》施行期间，因侵权行为造成他人损害的，适用《民法通则》第134条第2款的规定，即“侵害他人财产的，财产损失按照发生侵权行为时的市场价格或者其他方式计算”。

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