SAN FRANCISCO THEATRE RESEARCH

FIRST SERIES
VOLUME NINE

MONOGRAPHS:
FOREIGN THEATERS PART I
THE FRENCH THEATER IN SAN FRANCISCO
THE GERMAN THEATER IN SAN FRANCISCO

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MONOGRAPHS

XIX: THE FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

XX: THE GERMAN THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

Lawrence Estavan, Editor. San Francisco, March 1939
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AVANT-PROPOS

Any history of the San Francisco theatre -- or of the other arts for that matter -- must devote a large chapter to the accomplishments of its foreign minority groups.

San Francisco was itself a foreign city, from an American point of view. Infant of Spain, stepchild of Mexico, it came near to being adopted by several other European nations. Seven flags flew over California in her fledgling days though half of these furled no sooner than they flew. Nevertheless the foreign character of a city, founded as a Spanish mission in 1776, taken into the Union in 1846 to become the mecca of a whole planet of people in 1849, was inevitable. Yet none realized in the beginning that the remote and alien area of the Pacific shore would become the Western terminus of the United States. England, France, Russia, all were on the verge of taking California. Not until Andrew Jackson, with his "manifest destiny," did the American hope become a determination; and not without the subsequent American infiltration, Fremont's filibustering, and the glitter of newly discovered gold could the conquest have happened when it did.

came forward with personal reminiscences, scrapbooks, photographs, and pertinent historical suggestions. Among the scholars who read the French and German monographs in this volume and passed on their accuracy as to fact and spirit, were Professors Haakon Chevalier and Erwin Gustav Gudde of the University of California. Other authorities in the field of the drama who have been constant in their help are Dr. Margery Bailey of Stanford University and Professor Frank Fenton of San Francisco State College.

Among those officials of the Works Progress Administration whose special knowledge of project planning and operation has contributed much to the successful outcome of our work are Dr. James B. Sharp, Coordinator of Research and Statistical Projects, who originally conceived the idea of setting up projects to write reference histories on the arts in San Francisco; Miss M. P. Hagan, Project Director of Women's and Professional Projects, and Mrs. Elizabeth Dixon, Field Inspector for the Projects.

LAWRENCE ESTAVAN.

COUNT ALFRED PIERRE RONCOVIERI

1819 - 1874

PHOTO COURTESY OF SUPERVISOR ALFRED RONCOVIERI

THE FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

I

The Pioneer Theatre

In March 1851 a melancholy young Parisian of the upper bourgeoisie arrived in San Francisco after a tedious trip around the Horn on the good ship Joseph. He wandered through the mud and slime of the turbulent and terrifying town, making scurrilous remarks in his journal. A year later this Albert Benard de Russailh* was carried off in a cholera epidemic, and his journal after passing through many hands found itself eventually in a Paris book store where it was rescued by an alert San Franciscan, brought home, translated, and published by a local firm. Animated by Gallic verve and esprit, this little book of impressions is an illuminating and entertaining document of the early days of San Francisco. De Russailh's journal, however, was only one of the many spawned by the times. The French colonists were a comparatively numerous and literate lot,** and in spite of the fact that they were

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* Variously spelled: Russailhes, Russailles or Russailhoe. De Massey gives another variation: "Albert Besnard de Ruchail."

**Daniel Lévy, in his book Les Francais en Californie, p. 29, says: "At the end of the same year (1853) California had 326,000 inhabitants, of which 204,000 were Americans; 30,000 Germans; 28,000 French." Soulé's Annals of San Francisco, however, on pp. 327 and 446 place the French and German populations for 1854 at 5500 and 6000 respectively. Inasmuch as the first official U.S. Census, taken in 1860, gives the French population as 8462 and the German as 21,646 it would seem that Lévy the Frenchman was over-enthusiastic, and that Soulé probably came much closer to the truth.

nomadic and widely scattered, they had so thickly settled Montgomery and Commercial Streets that this quarter became known as Frenchtown. And they were all busy writing journals, histories and books of exploration.

As colonists, the status of the French was unique: the new Spanish immigrants were of the working class, poor and uneducated; the Germans and Irish were mostly peasants and laborers; but the French were almost invariably an urban, cultivated lot. The reaction after the 1848 revolution, combined with the news of the discovery of gold in California sent whole flocks of restless, discontented, adventurous young Frenchmen to California -- younger sons and black sheep of nobility, lawyers, doctors, bankers, scholars, merchants, teachers, architects, journalists, besides the expected quota of bankrupts, vagabonds and fugitives from justice. They streamed into San Francisco by the thousands, preceded by a tide of French immigration from Louisiana, from Mexico and from South America.

CALIFORNIA IN PARIS

The great news from California was heard and heralded around the world, but nowhere did it produce the tremendous sensation it had in France, and particularly in Paris. The gold discovery coincided with a critical period in French history: the Revolution of 1848 and the reaction which followed had upset the entire social and economic structure of

nomadic and widely scattered, they had no tightly settled industry and commercial streets that still [illegible] as once known as Frenchtown. And they were all over [illegible], [illegible] and areas of exploration.

At [illegible], the start of the French [illegible] the new parish [illegible] separate [illegible] working-class [illegible] and uneducated; the farmers and [illegible] mostly [illegible] and laborers; but the French were there [illegible] cultivated art. The reaction [illegible] cited with the news of the [illegible] (1849) [illegible] sent whole flocks of restless, [illegible] young Frenchmen to California -- young [illegible] of nobility, lawyers, doctors, bankers, [illegible] tradesmen, architects, journalists, besides [illegible] of bankrupts, vagabonds and [illegible] streamed into San Francisco by the thousands, [illegible] by a tide of French immigration from [illegible] from South America.

[illegible]

The [illegible] California [illegible] around the world [illegible] tremendous sensation in [illegible] France, and particularly [illegible] The gold discovery coincided with a critical [illegible] history, the Revolution of 1848 and [illegible] followed and upset the entire social and economic [illegible]

the country. Commerce and industry were paralyzed; thousands of workers were thrown out into the street; it was a time of frenzied agitation, of riots, of widespread political turmoil. The wretched and the discontented became the prey of agitators and charlatans promising easy Utopias. Governments succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity; crowds of officials put out of office swelled the ranks of the disgruntled. It was a time of general misery and hopelessness.

Into this dull and dark despair suddenly entered the wonderful news from California, enkindling a spark of hope. Strange stories began to be circulated about this distant and legendary land where fortunes were made overnight. The exciting reports swept from cafe to cafe extinguishing political conversations. All men were stirred. This was the stroke of Providence. It was the needed escape for the romantic young men imprisoned in their country and in their time. Full of courage and high spirits the Argonauts stormed this fabulous California, traveling by steamer, by sailboat,-- Frenchmen of all classes, some with capital and merchandise, most of them penniless.

The vision of the mysterious and legendary El Dorado made its greatest appeal to the poorest, the wretched and the downtrodden. They devoured eagerly all the literature describing the heroic exploits of the gold seekers. In 1848 on the Avenue de Maine there was opened an enormous low-priced restaurant; it was a place where one might get a dish of

the country. Commerce and industry [illegible] prospered; thousands of workers were thrown out into [illegible]. It was a time of great [illegible] of speculation, [illegible] political turmoil. The wretched and the [illegible] were the prey of [illegible] and of [illegible] promoting every [illegible]. Governments [illegible] one another with bewildering rapidity; crowds of officials put out of office swelled the ranks of the unemployed. It was a time of general misery and [illegible].

Into this dull [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] from [illegible] [illegible] hope. There [illegible] began to be [illegible] [illegible] that and legendary land where [illegible] [illegible]. The exciting reports [illegible] from [illegible] political [illegible]. All [illegible] stroke of Providence. It was the [illegible] mantle young men [illegible] time. Full of courage and high spirits the [illegible] this fabulous [illegible] - Frenchmen of all classes, [illegible] most of the [illegible].

The vision of the [illegible] do made its greatest appeal to the [illegible] the downtrodden. They [illegible] describing the [illegible] on the Avenue de [illegible] restaurant; it was a place where [illegible] [illegible]

ragoût for 4 sous, and was largely frequented by the rag-pickers, peddlers and vagabonds of Montparnasse. This institution which survived twenty years according to Marius Boisson,* who unearthed this interesting piece of information, was baptized la Grande Californie. Perhaps the poor devils who frequented this establishment had identified themselves in spirit with the daring gold seekers of California.

FRENCH COMMERCE IN SAN FRANCISCO

Some of the young men who arrived in San Francisco were quite penniless and quite futile, in accordance with their romantic dispositions; others were more practical: they brought along with them capital and merchandise. Among these French Argonauts was considerable intelligence, education, talent -- but not much brawn. Quickly most of them learned they lacked the stamina for the painful and arduous business of gold-mining. They were shrewd and they knew that it was easier to extract the precious metal from the pockets of the miners than from the original earth. Commerce attained an extraordinary development among them. A great number quitted the mines very soon to establish themselves in the growing city as merchants and financiers and tradesmen.

In February 1849 there were but a handful of poor Frenchmen in San Francisco. Within a year French commercial establishments were to be seen everywhere: magasins de

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* Coins et Recoins de Paris, Editions Bofsard, Paris 1927.

[illegible]

mud at the end of a wilderness a second Paris. Before this turbulent, coarse, boisterous existence all social barriers were thrown down, all differences equalized, all aristocratic sensitivities and prejudices discarded. Titles meant nothing here -- and the first thing de Russailh did was to abolish his particule; he henceforth styled himself simply "Albert Benard." This was a new world. The flaneurs were exchanging their canes for picks and shovels, and those who in France had been attended by lackeys were now cleaning the muddy boots of miners.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOBLEMEN

In another journal, that of Ernest de Massey, we read of an Oriental scholar peddling matches for a living; how admirals' sons composed the crew of an old tub. These ingenious bon vivants discovered all kinds of little schemes for getting along: they sold wood, were gardeners and dish-washers; they improvised fantastic projects for manufacturing lemonade and marketing it at fabulous prices; they shined boots with polish and savoir-faire. Bootblacking became a monopoly of the déclassé nobility. The streets of San Francisco were very filthy, the price of a shine was fifty cents, and the Frenchmen were not sqeamish. These highborn bootblacks put just the right dash of suavity and whimsy into their performance; one of the artists used to dazzle the miners with a gold-bladed knife which he employed in his

work. In the frenzied pellmell of San Francisco the décrotteurs maintained their poise and detachment and occupied their leisure with fashioning exquisitely polished verses for the newspapers.

The literary output of the San Francisco French was prolific. It consisted not only of poems, plays, journals, descriptive narratives, histories, and adventure stories, but also something like 30 newspapers. Unfortunately however for the purposes of research, this material is almost entirely gone from San Francisco: either carried back to France by the returning Argonauts, or destroyed by earthquake and fire.

JULES DE FRANCE

One of the most productive of the early French was the fabulous Jules de France, who had a remarkable genius for the fantastic. At a time when dukes and marquises were becoming gardeners, porters, dockmen, dishwashers, and waiters, the Vicomte Jules de France enjoyed the bizarre occupation of nursemaid. One of the most impressive sights of early San Francisco was that of the fiery vicomte -- self-reputed descendant of the valorous Robert le Fort, duc de Paris, comte d'Anjou, father of Robert I, king of the Franks -- strolling down the streets escorting a baby carriage. The quixotic De France was a highly romantic character right out of Victor Hugo. Like his compatriots in California he was young and ardent; he was tall and slender, with long black hair and

work. In the French publication [illegible] defenders [illegible] maintained their position and [illegible] and occupied their [illegible] with [illegible] regularly [illegible] verses for the newspapers.

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JULES DE FRANCE

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mustache; he had the proud and impetuous air, the slovenliness of a Don César de Bazan. Jules de France was noted as a brilliant conversationalist, as a master of all the arts, and as a man who lived entirely by his wits and by his incredible ability to pile up debts without ever paying them. He wrote and published the first French newspaper in San Francisco, which lasted exactly one issue; it was printed on borrowed paper but no copies were sold, and the paper was never paid for. Later he wrote a little satiric play, Monsieur Gogo en Californie, which was produced in June 1852 at the Adelphi Theatre, and of which Daniel Lévy says: "Elle ne manquait ni de sel, ni de couleur locale." (It lacked neither salt nor local color.)*

The French theatre had made an early start in San Francisco and by this time was thriving gloriously. All this excessive vitality, all this extravagant energy and talent was bound to find articulate expression in a theatre. It was inevitable that these dynamic and gifted Frenchmen would spontaneously create a stage for themselves; a public was already waiting. As early as December 1849 there is the report of a theatrical performance attempted by the French. The organizer was of course the enterprising Vicomte de France. M. Pepin who, according to De Massey had won first prize given by the University of Paris for excellence as a plasterer,

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* Les Francais en Californie. San Francisco, 1884.

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* See Triangle on Gilt page, [illegible].

and a strolling actor from the Theatre de Varietes, Jourdain, who had gambled away his last piastre and was now heavily in debt, joined De France in the enterprise. They were planning a variety program but since De France's marvelous schemes seldom passed beyond the visionary stage, whether this performance ever materialized is doubtful.

DELAMARE

The first definite record of the French theatre in San Francisco is placed shortly afterward. On February 19, 1850 the first conventional theatre in this city, the National Theatre, opened on Washington Street between Montgomery and Kearny. It was a very simple, unpretentious affair and seated 400 people in the pit and gallery; prices ranged from $2 to $5. Here James Evrard and M. Delamare joined in producing combined French and English performances: Yankee stories, musical numbers, sketches, and French vaudeville. The brief French season which began with the vaudeville, Bruno le Fileur from the Palais-Royal, ended on March 15.

Delamare (or De Lamarre) is another semi-legendary character of the early days. One of the strolling actors from the small Parisian theatres who were so numerous at that time he had suffered an incredible number of catastrophes, but had never once lost his gaiety and savoir-faire. He entertained his fellow-passengers on the bark Hector en route to the mines, and the wretched De Massey, cheered by the comedian's

and a [illegible] motor [illegible] the [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible] marched away his last [illegible]
[illegible], and D. Pierre in [illegible]
[illegible] virgin [illegible] but [illegible]
[illegible], passed beyond the [illegible]
[illegible] over [illegible] individual.

The first [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Premorse [illegible]
1850 the first [illegible]
theatre, [illegible]
[illegible]. It was [illegible]
the people in the pit and gallery [illegible]
[illegible]. The three Byrons and [illegible]
combined French and [illegible]
[illegible] numbers, acrobats, and [illegible]
French season [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] from [illegible] [illegible]

D'Alembre (or De Lemaire) [illegible]
[illegible] of the early days. One [illegible]
the small Parisian theatres who were [illegible]
he had suffered an incredible number of [illegible]
never once lost his gaiety and [illegible]
his fellow-passengers on the [illegible]
mines, and the wreckers [illegible] Massey, [illegible]

brilliant example admiringly remarked:

> "He has plenty of nerve, courage and self confidence but is so careless and light-hearted that any one might think he held a contract as an important impresario. He will be able to give the savages some first class skit even though he is living a life of hard manual labor and perhaps misery...He is always the comedian ...bearing misfortune cheerfully."

Delamare must have been a clever comedian: he made a great hit with the Indians along Trinidad Bay. This preliminary success probably encouraged him to return to San Francisco and establish the first French theatre there. But the National Theatre lasted only until May 4, when it was burned to the ground, together with its contemporaries, the Phoenix Exchange and Washington Hall.

RONCOVIERI

A month before, in April, the celebrated French pianist, Henri Herz, had given a series of concerts at the National Theatre. Herz was assisted in several of these concerts by M. Alfred Roncovieri, a young man who had sung basso-cantante in the Grand Opera of Bordeaux, France. This Comte Alfred Pierre Roncovieri had upon his arrival in San Francisco discarded his title as so much excess baggage. In this new land he had also to discard many of his artistic prejudices.

As soon as the first ships landed in Bordeaux with the exciting story of the discovery of gold in California, the young adventurer had rushed to his family and shouted: "I am going to California. I do not know where it is but I am going

MME. RONCOVIERI WITH ALFRED RONCOVIERI, FILS

PHOTO COURTESY OF SUPERVISOR ALFRED RONCOVIERI

there." Going to California was like going to another planet, but this gallant adventurer had no qualms. He set sail and, after a harrowing trip of six months, was landed at the foot of Commercial Street in San Francisco, in January 1850.

Alfred Roncovieri walked down Commercial Street, alert to the strange sounds, the strange smells, the frenzied activity about him. He walked into a cafe, and discovered to his delight that the proprietor spoke French. They began a conversation.

"What you need here to attract customers in the evening is some entertainment. You need a good singer," he suggested.*

The proprietor agreed. "Do you know a good singer?"

"Certainly," replied the young man. "Listen." And he began to sing some of the comic airs that were popular in Bordeaux.

"Stop," said the proprietor. "You are hired. But we will need a piano."

Roncovieri remembered a fellow-passenger who had brought his piano from France. The proprietor was overjoyed; a piano was the rarest of all commodities in San Francisco.

"I will pay you $40 a night, and the same for the pianist. Will that be enough?"

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* The quotes are from an interview with Alfred Roncovieri, son of the pioneer French actor.

The young Frenchman nearly fainted, but revived himself sufficiently to write a letter home to Bordeaux relating the good news and sending for his wife. California was indeed another planet. That afternoon all business was suspended along Commercial Street to watch the men who toiled up the street (at $20 apiece) bearing the precious burden of the piano. And that evening Roncovieri launched the first cafe-concert in San Francisco and his own prosperous career in the San Francisco theatre, a career that was to last until 1873.

Roncovieri epitomizes the variety, the versatility, the richness of the French theatre in those days. Trained as an opera singer, he appeared in all the French operas of the day (as Monsieur Roncovieri) and in all the Italian operas (as Signor Roncovieri). He was also an excellent actor and, together with his wife -- likewise an excellent singer -- played in many of the French dramas, vaudevilles, and light operas of the Gold Rush period. Alfred Roncovieri was very much in demand; he sang in French, Italian, Spanish and English, and he had a magnificent stage presence. Very tall, with a noble and distinguished bearing, the count was an impressive sight as he strode through the streets of San Francisco, his black mustachios alert and his cloak flying in the wind.

As actor-singers the Roncovieris were splendid adornments to the cultural life of early San Francisco. Unlike most of their colleagues they settled here, and they

bequeathed to their adopted city a son of multiple distinction. Alfred Roncovieri fils was for many years a well-known band-leader; from 1901 to 1921 he was Superintendent of Public Schools; and since 1921 he has been a member of the Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco.

SOCIAL LIFE

Even in the period covered by Benard's Journal the institution of the French theatre was an important one in San Francisco's social life. The theatres and gambling houses, he noted, were the only places where one could spend the evening. Of course it would be pleasant to stroll about on the wharves enjoying the sea and the moonlight, but there was the double menace of bad weather and murderous thugs. Of the other alternatives the French were more attracted to the theatre; he explains:

> "The Frenchman out here has not changed the habits formed in his own country; he never forgets his national reputation for wit, or that he created light comedy; the theatre has its usual attraction for him, and he is not greatly influenced by the vices of other nations. He gambles little and does not often drink to excess; and as for women perhaps their small number in California and their high prices turn his thoughts usually away from love." (p. 79)

The inbred clannishness of these French colonists was aggravated by the language handicap which isolated them from the Americans and other nationalities; their deep-rooted sociability was reinforced by an active life; because they loved pleasure and gaiety and camaraderie they had their own

cafes, their own gambling houses, their own theatres. The theatre represents for the Latin more than casual entertainment -- for him it is the social institution par excellence.

AN EARLY DRAMATIC CRITIC

When Benard began his explorations of life in San Francisco there were three theatres and a circus; the American and the Jenny Lind theatres were American, and the Adelphi was French. He was pleased to observe that the American, run by Robinson and Evrard, was furnished in surprising luxury and good taste, in a manner reminiscent of the Paris Opera-Comique; he was delighted by the finish of the performances at the Jenny Lind Theatre by the Starks, Miss Albertine, and Booth. He was gratified at seeing that French plays and light comedies were frequently translated and put on in the Jenny Lind, pieces such as Don César de Bazan, Le Joueur, and amusing things from the Théâtre des Variétés - Le Chevalier du Guet and Bruno le Fileur, among others. He was however disturbed by the Americans' strange manner of applauding in the theatre. In Europe audiences clap or shout bravos; they hiss and whistle when disgusted with the performance. Benard noted:

> "Actors at home are terrified and paralyzed if an audience whistles; Nourrit, once so well known in Paris, is even supposed to have died from it. But with Americans whistling is an expression of enthusiasm; the more they like a play, the louder they whistle, and when a San Francisco audience bursts into shrill whistles and savage yells, you may be sure they are in raptures of joy." (p. 21)

On the other hand, French audiences baffled the Americans. In the San Francisco newspapers are occasional references to the odd behavior of the foreigners in theatres. One critic describes the lobby during the entr'actes of the opera:

> "The scene in the lobby during the intervals between acts was a curious one, evidencing the individuality of nationalities, even in California, where all nationalities might be expected to blend into one. Accustomed to long 'waits' between curtains, our foreign friends had lighted cigars, and were collected in groups discussing the merits of the opera. The difference between this and the American style of rushing out for a drink and speedily returning to the theatre to pass an impatient five minutes prior to the rising of the curtain, was quite manifest and amusing. The intervals between the acts being so much shorter than they anticipated, the chatting and smoking of the foreign gentlemen was summarily interrupted, greatly to their chagrin and astonishment." (Wide West, Feb. 11, 1855)

PARIS IN CALIFORNIA

At times the critics expressed themselves in other than mild ridicule; at times in a spirit of mistaken chauvinism they bitterly denounced the French for retaining their foreign mannerisms, their excessive and ungrateful loyalty to the vieux pays. It is true that these pioneer French colonists were unwilling to be Americanized -- in short, to give up their past, their traditions, their culture. Unwilling to be assimilated, they gave rather than received; they preserved their French soul and gave up a little of it to America; while maintaining their own civilization they introduced a bit of it into the new land.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Temporarily exiled from Paris these gay and energetic young men created a small reflection of "la ville lumière" in the alien land. The French filled this rude mining town with their personality; there was sparkle and brilliance, there developed a love of luxury and a taste for beautiful things. Almost overnight the rowdy village became a rich, cosmopolitan city -- the "Paris of America."

Women came to San Francisco. The French merchants, bankers, capitalists -- the Lazard frères, Raphael Weill, the Roos frères -- rose to power; the influence of French society began to spread; soon all San Francisco began to take on an unmistakably Gallic color. In the restaurants the populace developed an appreciation for the culinary art of the French chefs. A taste was acquired for the French importations, the wines and brandies, the "articles de Paris," the rich and magnificent cloth from Lyon, the preserves from Nantes and Bordeaux, the soaps and oils from Marseille. The French women created styles, gave tone and chic to the feminine colony. Even the style of the public buildings was influenced by Parisian architecture. For a time "le ciel bleu de Paris" hung over the city by the Golden Gate.

When the more vigorous and enterprising elements of the French colony began to return home, the influence of the French on the life of San Francisco commenced to dwindle. San Francisco itself began to lose its vitality. But there was

one place where French influence was deeply rooted, where it continued to hold sway for many decades -- the theatre.

During the fifties the French ran several theatres. The actors were highly trained in the French tradition of acting; they performed in a varied repertoire, ranging from vaudeville and popular melodrama to Racine and the psychological dramas of Dumas fils; they employed all resources from the rich and diverse Parisian theatre. French actors created a high level for the San Francisco theatre; they trained audiences to an appreciation for good acting. On Sunday evenings when they were not performing the actors from the American theatres would be found in the audience of the Adelphi, or the Jenny Lind, or the Union, getting pointers on acting from the French players. At its height the French theatre could find enthusiastic audiences of all nationalities attending performances in French at three different theatres on the same Sunday.

The French theatre of San Francisco had a great influence -- tremendous in proportion to its short life -- upon the dramatic art of the country. The highly trained French companies, in the best disciplined, finished tradition of the French theatre, were admirable models for the American actors. They learned the secret of the greatness of French acting -- naturalness -- which comes from thorough mastery of dramatic technique. The pioneering ventures of the French theatre provided a vigorous incentive to the development of a strong American theatre in San Francisco.

THE ADELPHI TROUPE

Even in those early days of 1851 when Albert Benard was having a good time seeing all the shows free -- and making cynical remarks about them -- as dramatic critic for the French department of the Daily True Standard, the French theatre was well rooted in the life of San Francisco. Directing the French troupe which gave performances every Sunday at the Adelphi were three women, the Mesdames Eléanore, Adalbert, and Racine. In the company were Mademoiselle Alexina Courtois, Mademoiselle Bréa, and the Messieurs Richer, Paul Sasportas, Leon Prat, Yomini, and Nitzel.

On December 23, 1850 this company had made its debut at the Jenny Lind on a Sunday, the only time when they could find an available theatre. They were billed as the French Vaudeville Company, and they gave a program of three sketches, or vaudevilles, including Les Petits Souliers and Le Commis et la Grisette, and musical interludes. This light and graceful vaudeville provided a welcome respite from the heavy Shakespearean performances of the Starks during the rest of the week at the same theatre. The next Sunday the French company repeated their initial success, giving a performance of Le Pauvre Jacques. The Starks were probably disturbed by the popularity of the French actors and the thought of competition; at any rate the French Vaudeville Company had to move after their second performance.

On January 5, 1851 the French actors were playing at Foley's Amphitheatre -- the home of the circus -- and again attracting a large audience, despite rainy weather. The critic of the Evening Picayune (Jan. 6) was pleased by the show:

> "The performances were admirable, and the acting characterized by that peculiar ease and gracefulness which belong to the French stage. The French simply live through a play, and naturally, too, but they do not act nor rant it out with the view of carrying out some huge idea which the author never intended to inculcate. The singing was sprightly and elegant."

THE FIRST ADELPHI

Two weeks later the nomadic troupe had moved again, this time to the Adelphi. This theatre, situated on Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue) between Clay and Washington, had been built by the French some months before. The first play given at the Adelphi was the sentimental classic by Dumas fils, La Dame aux Camelias; but at this time it had not yet become a classic: La Dame aux Camelias was produced in San Francisco only a few months after its first performance in Paris!

The French Vaudeville Company announced they would give two performances a week; it was also announced that the Adelphi would be renovated, boxes constructed, and an entrance made from Clay Street. On January 19, a newcomer to the company, Mademoiselle Bréa, made her debut. She had a very small

role, she was timid, and she had a cold, but she had "youth, beauty and vivacity," and a great career was predicted for her by the Picayune critic, whose French was faulty but whose eyesight was not.

A week later, on January 28, the Pacific News with equal gallantry discussed the improvements in the Théâtre Francais on Clay Street:

> "The inner portion of the building has been completely remodeled, a tier of boxes runs clear around the stage on each side, private boxes tastefully arranged, and the whole appropriately trimmed and decorated. It is now one of the most quiet and genteel places of amusement in the town, and if the entertainments of the French company failed to attract, the laughing black eyes of Eleanore, the beauty and grace of Adelbert, and the quiet winning ways of Racine, would serve to fill the house nightly."

On February 14 the Picayune, after a series of very flattering critiques of the French players suddenly published a devastating attack on the previous night's performance. A very angry Frenchman had evidently sneaked into the columns of the otherwise complacent Picayune, and this is what he said:

> "Si nous sommes disposés à reconnaître le mérite de cet établissement, aussi il est de notre devoir de ne pas le laisser dégénérer. Hier au soir nous croyions voir deux jolies petites, pièces, mais elles étaient tellement mutilées et si mal représentées qu'elles n'étaient plus reconnaissables! La musique était distraite--le chant pas du tout enchantant. L'amour, cette passion sublime, se faisait par un être dont le seul attribut est un nez céleste qui n'a pas le sens commun. Le fait est que nous ne sommes plus amateurs d'une direction sans culottes; sous ce régime la distribution des rôles est arbitraire, ce qui n'est nullement agréable au public...Nous espérons que le dimanche on nous

fera l'amende honorable, et si l'on nous donne de bonnes pièces, bien représentées, nous nous abonnerons, et ainsi aiderons à assurer le succès de l'entreprise."

(If we are agreed to recognize the merit of this establishment it is also our duty not to let it degenerate. Last night we thought we would see two pretty little plays, but they were so mutilated and so badly performed that they were no longer recognizable. The music was out of tune--the singing not at all delightful. Love, that sublime passion, was acted by a creature whose single attribute was a celestial nose - which is perfect nonsense. The truth is that we are no longer satisfied with an incompetent management; under the present system the distribution of roles is completely arbitrary, which in no way pleases the public... We hope that this Sunday we will be given a public apology, and if we are given good plays well performed, we will subscribe, and thus will help to assure the success of the performance.)

L'AFFAIRE DUANE

Everybody's attention, however, was distracted from the forthcoming "amende honorable" by a more sensational event. It was one of those incidents upon which Benard based his conviction that "the Americans are a savage and primitive race." On the evening of February 17 the French colony of San Francisco was participating gaily in a ball given by the ladies of the French Vaudeville Company. Into the ballroom stalked the notorious Charles Duane, one of the most violent of all the tough characters in San Francisco. He promptly began a quarrel with Amedée Fayole, one of the actors in the company, who had by accident stepped on Duane's foot. Everybody stopped dancing. Fayole politely apologized; Duane

became violently enraged when he saw that the other wished to avoid a fight. Others intervened and separated the two men. Then a quadrille began. Duane moved aside and stood behind the dancing Fayole. When the dance was over Duane cooly drew his revolver and shot him in the back. The actor fell and lay in a pool of blood.

As the women shrieked and fainted, as the men stood paralyzed with terror, Duane calmly proceeded to light a cigar. Finally the police were called. But everybody in town, particularly the authorities, were frightened by Duane or his reputation, and he was immediately released on bail. A month later his trial was held and he was acquitted. The case was brought to the superior court and again he was acquitted. Then the affaire was taken up by the French and American newspapers, and they clamored for justice. After the Supreme Court acquitted Mr. Duane the matter was definitely settled, the newspapers finally lost interest and M. Fayole gradually recovered. The incident for a time provoked a great deal of popular interest, attracted more attention to the Adelphi Theatre where M. Fayole was proudly exhibiting his bandages, and to Mr. Duane who, something of a dandy, used to drive through the streets of San Francisco in his own carriage drawn by two magnificent black horses, which he drove himself, with a negro groom in livery behind him.

CRITIQUE OF THE ADELPHI COMPANY

By the time of Albert Benard's journalistic adventures in San Francisco the anecdote had grown quite stale. The charming Mr. Duane was disappearing from the picture, and Fayole had definitely effaced himself from the scene by joining the filibustering expedition of the notorious and melodramatic Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon into Sonora and getting himself killed at the taking of Hermosillo. These were exciting times for the French in San Francisco, but as editor of the French division of the Daily True Standard Albert Benard had very little to do except to write reviews of the French performances at the Adelphi. Since Benard had lived in Paris and therefore knew the difference between good and bad acting he was less complacent than the American journalists. He was convinced that most of the troupe was incompetent; yet of three actors, Mademoiselle Racine, Monsieur Paul and Monsieur Richer, he had a few good words:

> "Mademoiselle Racine is amazingly versatile, always ready for anything, soubrette, character part, duenna, whatever is needed; and I've often hated to see her pretty face hidden under some ugly make-up. She has been trained in the best tradition, and acts naturally and with good taste. She is graceful, speaks her lines well, has vivacity and wit, and comes pretty close to being a finished actress. The public all like her and I am enthusiastic myself. Her best plays are Mademoiselle de Liron and L'Image.
>
> "M. Paul, who was once a director of the Theatre Lyrique, Rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, is a first rate comedian with lots of verve and intelligence. He is splendid in Le Comédien des Etampes and Les Vieux Péchés. Young M. Richer

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> has a pleasant voice. He is well fitted for juvenile roles, and plays them conscientiously. As he takes part in nearly every performance he has become a favorite with the audience, and contributes not a little to the theatre's success." (Benard's Journal, p. 24)

Then Albert Benard sums up the work of the Adelphi company; it is here that his Gallic cynicism stifles all gallantry:

> "On the whole, the French troupe is about as good as one could expect in California; the ensemble is as satisfactory as possible, and the shows are fairly varied, made up usually of light skits or comedies, farces, short plays of a more serious nature, or musical interludes. The women directing the company will soon have been two years in California, and have not done badly from a financial point of view, as they now own the building, the lot, and the scenery. Perhaps they have not earned all their money in the theatre. People say that there are certain wealthy patrons of the arts in the background, wealthy men who have endangered their own fortunes to make Mademoiselle Racine and her partners richer. But I shall say no more, lest I be accused of gossiping; I am only telling what everyone in town knows...." (Benard's Journal,p.25-26)

But if everybody else in town knew, they were all more discreet. The gold rush was the age of chivalry. In a country where women are rare, each woman is a goddess and all men idolatrous. The Adelphi trio were not the first of a procession of shrewd Frenchwomen to take advantage of this situation: back in the winter of '49, even before there were any theatres in San Francisco, a French lady called Mme. Paris was giving performances on what was reputed to be a geniune Stradivarius violin, accompanied by a quintette, in the El Dorado-a combination saloon, gambling and music hall. Of course

Mme. Paris was divinely beautiful; to the bemused Alta California (January 14, 1850) she was also "a very clever French musician, who plays the violin with quite remarkable skill and vigor." And out of the El Dorado Mme. Paris extracted two ounces of gold a day.

BENARD'S ADVENTURES IN SAN FRANCISCO

Albert Benard had scarcely been launched into his new career as dramatic critic when he popped into a new adventure; suddenly he became manager for a new French theatrical troupe, and a potential butt for other critics. Again he was terrified, and again he accepted this new change of condition philosophically. Men's fortunes altered abruptly from hour to hour in this incredible San Francisco, and Benard's case was no exception.

Benard had come to San Francisco three weeks previously with 3 frs. 50 in his pocket and some assorted merchandise. On his arrival he had gone into business on the wharf and had special success with his toothpicks, which he sold at the rate of 50¢ a dozen. When he ran out of toothpicks he immediately began to sell watches, a transaction which netted him 100% profit. These were very beautiful imported watches, some ran for five minutes, some for fifteen minutes, and one ran for as much as an hour. His favorite watch was a beautifully ornamented masterpiece which ran very slowly one day

and then ran very fast the next day to make up for lost time. The majority of them were "capricious like a flighty woman."

Things were going very well in the watch business until the authorities came along and found that M. Benard had no shop or any other place of legitimate business, and besides customers were complaining about M. Benard's watches. Benard pointed to all the flattering testimonials, but they told him to move on. When he got to his room he wrote a very indignant letter to the editor of the French department of the Daily True Standard complaining about the discrimination against the French businessmen in San Francisco. The letter was written in elegant style and with feeling and was printed by the newspaper. The next day the editor came to Benard's room and complimented him on his epistle, said that the letter had attracted much favorable attention and he (the editor) had been trying for weeks to go off to the mines. Would M. Benard take his job?

Benard was now the editor of the French department of the Daily True Standard, an office which gave him much prestige, but since the French department consisted of only four columns in the newspaper and paid him exactly $16 a day, or approximately the price of a good dinner, Benard was looking for other opportunities. Suddenly he remembered the actors who had been fellow-passengers on the good ship Joseph. Why not organize a new French company?

Several of these actors had genuine talent. There was Alexandre Munie, a well-known figure at the Porte-Saint-Martin, for whom Lamartine had created a part in his famous Toussaint Louverture. His brother Jules Munie had acted for many years in various theatres of Paris. There was also Charlot, who had been a popular comedian at the Gaieté; there was Madame Bruneval of the Folies Dramatiques; Lucienne of the Variétés, well suited for coquette roles; Madame Jules Munie, good for any minor role.

Like their compatriots who had preceded them, these new actors had to throw professional dignity to the winds; some of them, not finding a theatre immediately available and having to eat immediately, made their San Francisco debuts in questionable localities. On March 11, 1851 the Herald appeared with the program of the opening of the California Exchange. It announced an entirely new company of French artists, musical and dramatic, under the direction of Teissière, "principal tenor of the National Academy of Paris." The bill consisted of two one-act vaudevilles, and musical selections sung by M. Teissière, M. George, M. Alfred, Mlle. Lucienne, Mme. Alexandre Munie, and others. Admission was $3.00 first tier and $2.00 second tier. It was also announced that presiding at the piano would be M. Korkell, "chief pianist and harpist to the emperor of Russia." Nothing was too grand for the "grand opening of the grand saloon of the California Exchange."

And nothing was too incongruous for the San Francisco scene, where dukes and marquises were posted outside saloons shining boots. The saloon of the California Exchange had been the only available stage for another French program given by forty French musicians, back in December 23,1850 under the direction of a M. de Monfort. It was all sacred music, and was given "with all the richness of style and execution which a corps of Parisian professors can display." (Herald.)

A NEW FRENCH TROUPE

The new company of well-trained actors directed by Alexandre Munie was at first welcomed by the French troupe at the Adelphi and permitted the use of their theatre; but after a successful first performance, and the menace of competition, they were turned away. The business manager, M. Benard, negotiated successfully for the use of the Jenny Lind Theatre. Thereupon the new company proceeded to call itself "The Second French Vaudeville Company" and entered into direct competition with the "First French Vaudeville Company." At a meeting it was decided that a prologue, or curtain-raiser, should be presented at their debut in the Jenny Lind Theatre explaining their break with the Adelphi Company, announcing plans for the new theatre and containing a number of elegantly worded local allusions, where each member of the troupe would be able to appear separately on the stage and speak a few

[illegible]

lines. It was unanimously agreed that Benard should write this prologue. Wasn't he the editor of the French department of the Daily True Standard, one of the foremost journalists and literati of San Francisco? Benard paled and lost his composure; he protested that the opening was only three days away and that there wasn't enough time for the writing and rehearsing of a new piece. But he had to do it anyway. He came home that night after a dinner with friends and at midnight began to write the play. By four o'clock in the morning it was finished, an allegorical prologue in one act, in verse and with incidental music, entitled Le Génie de la Californie.

BENARD'S FIRST PLAY

On the evening of the opening, April 20, 1851 Benard had little time to think of his debut as a dramatist; he was too busy designing posters, having them printed and put up; he was too busy being director, stage manager, business manager, publicity agent, and ticket seller. But when the performance went on he became panic-stricken; he refused to leave the ticket booth. The curtain went up, he heard the applause, and locked the door of the booth. Benard was a very modest author, and he was afraid the audience would come rushing out of the theatre in a few moments to lynch him, so he barricaded the door. He began to hear applause and shouts of "Bravo!" which increased and mounted in volume as his lines rolled out from the stage. Then the curtain fell on the curtain raiser

and the audience shouted for the author; but Benard mistrusted the intentions of the enthusiastic audience and refused to budge from the booth, and Munie had to step forward and acknowledge the applause for the absent author. The entire evening was an unqualified success.

Benard was getting over the emotional strain of being a playwright and was becoming accustomed to the calmer duties of management, when this phase of his San Francisco adventure was again abruptly ended. The fire of May 3 and 4 which razed the entire city suspended all theatrical activity for a while, and almost cost Benard his life: he rushed into his house to rescue the furniture, a piece of the ceiling fell on his head, and he was knocked unconscious.

THE END OF M. BENARD

He soon came to, however, crawled out and after wandering around for a little while in a dazed condition, concluded that everybody should be thirsty. He thereupon found a box and several bottles of whiskey and set himself up in the bartending business. Although he was very successful at first his supply soon ran out and the enterprising Benard began to look around for another business. He reflected that in a short time, as was the custom after the fires, San Francisco would rise phoenix-like from the ashes and start rebuilding. He made for himself a number of neat posters, which advertised: "Albert Benard: ARCHITECT AND UPHOLSTERER," and went

around slapping them on walls, on posts, on wagons, on people's backs. Then he sat in his room for a week, and absolutely nobody came to see him either about architecture or upholstery. Benard consoled himself that a barbarous place like San Francisco couldn't appreciate his refined taste anyway, and began to concoct other schemes. Soon another fire occurred and he again lost his furniture.

After the fire of June 22 Benard moved to the outskirts of the city. Here he was kept awake all night by tough characters who spent their time shooting at one another, and by large rats which nibbled at his toes; but he assured himself that he was at least removed from the center of fires. One night, however, he was awakened by the shout: "Fire!" He immediately dressed and rushed out into the street to see where the fire was burning. In the street people were pointing to the smoke that was pouring from his own window. He hastened back to his room, grabbed his valise in one hand and with the other scooped the things from the wall into it, and darted out through the back door, again without his furniture. And without looking back Albert Benard walked hurriedly out of San Francisco.

Discouraged for the time being from further commercial ventures in San Francisco, Benard wandered about California filling his journal with uncomplimentary ethnological

observations. He explored the mines; inspected the Indian villages. Adversity had aggravated his flippancy. Of the Indians he could remark:

> "I do not know if the Indians love their wives; probably they do, for the villages swarm with children, if that is any proof."

Finally Benard returned to San Francisco; and then in July 1852 this heroic pioneer perished in the plague, lighthearted to the end. The ubiquitous and versatile Jules de France gave him a very beautiful funeral oration, dwelling on Albert Benard's magnificent bequests to Franco-Californian journalism and skillfully passing over his contributions to the Franco-Californian theatre.

THE NEW ADELPHI

But the French theatre survived the fires and the plagues and Albert Benard. The Adelphi was rebuilt on Dupont Street, behind Portsmouth Square and across from the Post Office; it was practically a replica of the original, a little larger, seating about 600, with a parquette, a tier of boxes, and two galleries. On August 1, 1851 the new theatre was opened by the French vaudeville company, under management of the Mlles. Racine, Adelbert and Courtois; they gave two vaudevilles, Le Fils d'un Agent de Change and Mademoiselle de Liron. The Alta California, which reported the opening night of this new theatre, was surprised by two observations, namely, that the house was only moderately full and that the audience was composed principally of Americans.

Americans continued to flock to the performances of the French vaudeville company, which were steadily improving in merit. Were not "the performances of a light and interesting character and calculated to while away the cares of a California life"? (Alta California, August 9, 1851). On August 7 Dr. Robinson's company, which had been using the theatre, joined the French company in staging a benefit for M. Duchesne, the architect and scenic artist of the Adelphi. The proceeds from this benefit were the principal compensation for his work. During the month the French company produced such vaudevilles as La Romance d'un Enfant Prodigue, Le Retour au Tyrol, Une Mauvaise Nuit and Ma Femme. The next month the Alta California mentions a vocal performance given on the evening of Sept. 21 by a Mlle. Koska, together with the two vaudevilles, Deux Femmes contre un Homme and Le Cafe des Comédiens.

BLOSSOMING OF THE FRENCH THEATRE

In 1852 the Théâtre Francais performed regularly at the Adelphi. Scant reports come to us in the American newspapers and in McCabe's Journal of notable benefits and debuts: benefit for M. Paul on February 22; benefit for Mme. Foubert on March 18; debut of Mme. Nelson on November 28. It was here on June 13 that a famous performance took place, that of Monsieur Gogo en Californie, the original play of Jules de France, the aristocratic bohemian. In August the French lost

control of the theatre, the Bakers took over the Adelphi, and the French company had to limit its performances to Sunday evenings.

In the meantime, in other theatres of the city the French were going strong. At the rebuilt Jenny Lind, the third theatre of that name, French artists were giving concerts; it was here on March 17 that the famous danseuse, Madame Céleste, made her debut in San Francisco. Occasional dramatic and vaudeville performances were given here in French, sometimes in combination with English shows -- "mixed" or "combination" programs -- where the audiences and actors had an opportunity to compare directly both types of acting.

Back on January 6, 1851 the Evening Picayune, in reviewing a concert given by Madame and Monsieur Planel at the Dramatic Museum had noted that "the audience was composed of the elite of the French population of our city."

> "Indeed," continued the critic, "the entertainment and the audience reminds us of the taste and sense of social propriety which characterize the older cities, where deviations from the wholesome rules of art and delicate deportment are looked upon with distaste."

Then it asks rhetorically: "Why don't the French citizens here build a theatre?"

But the French had already built theatres: they had built the National Theatre which was destroyed by fire, and they had twice built the Adelphi Theatre, which had passed into the control of the Americans. Then, during 1852, a year

when whole cargoes of actors were being unloaded on San Francisco wharves, a new company was formed, headed by Mme. Félice, which, on October 9, laid the cornerstone of a new French theatre on Commercial Street near Kearny. Like most of the French gold-seekers, they had no money, but they had plenty of prospects. They went around selling shares and spreading the rumor that the great French tragédienne Rachel would be secured for this new theatre, with the result that a year later, on September 13, 1853, the new Théâtre Union finally opened, with La Biche au Bois. But Rachel never quite materialized in San Francisco.

On September 18, 1853 the Union Theatre gave its second performance of La Biche au Bois. In the cast were a few members of Benard's short-lived company of the Jenny Lind: Madame and Monsieur Munie, and the comedian Charlot; there were also the Mesdames Eléonore and Nelson of the Adelphi. The other members of the large cast were the Mesdames Bonnet, Sandre, Faring, Castellan, Eugénie, Pauline, Cécile and Dabberville; and the Messieurs Léonard, Georget, Thiery, Berthelon, Edouard, Jules, Bellancourt, Schemmel, Arthur, Bonnet, Eugène, Duchet, Bouchet, Delaunay, and Charles.

On the same evening, Sunday September 18, the French opera season started at the Adelphi. In the cast of La Fille du Regiment was a second member of the original Adelphi trio, namely, Madame Racine; there was also Monsieur Yomini, of the original Adelphi company. Many French actors with good voices have been trained in opera as well as in the

theatre. This versatility was never exceptional in the French theatre of San Francisco.

BONNET

When La Biche au Bois was given its first two performances at the Union Theatre there was in the cast playing an unobtrusive role an actor who had just arrived in San Francisco and who had played at the Théâtre Historique in Paris. This was Bonnet, one of the foremost actors of the French theatre in this city. A week later, on September 25, 1853 Bonnet made his real debut in San Francisco, playing Silvain in George Sand's Claudine. At the Adelphi the same evening La Favorite was being given, and on the stage of the American Theatre the famous French ballet company, La Famille Rousset, was performing.

ANTI-FRENCH SENTIMENT

Although these French performances were drawing packed houses composed of all nationalities -- or because of this fact -- some of the more chauvinistic editors were becoming increasingly indignant. In the issue of September 18, 1853 the Golden Era expressed itself very bitterly regarding the Rousset ballet troupe:

> 'It is a well established fact that anything foreign--from a bootblack down to a moustached opera singer or ballet dancer--will be received with more favor by a certain class of Americans than a like article of 'home manufacture.' The most recent illustration of this fact is the

theatre. This versatility was never exceptional in the French theatre of San Francisco.

Scarlet

When La biche au bois was given it was a success for auces at the Union Theatre. There was in the cast playing an unobtrusive role an actor who had just arrived in San Francisco and who had played at the Théâtre Bilboquet in Paris. This was John T. Ross, of the Comedie Française, the famous theatre in Paris city. A week later, on October 26, also for at least his real debut in San Francisco, playing Sylvain in Georges Ponsis Olympe. At the Adelphi the same evening a favorite was being given, as the Angel of the American Theatre, the famous French actress, Madame Rosa Rachel, was performing.

A Bilingual Bill

Although there was much performance during period since composed of all nationalities -- or because of this fact -- some of the more characteristic entries were becoming increasingly rarer. In the issue of September 17, 1850 the Californian expressed itself very bitterly regarding the Russian ballet troupe:

> "It is a well established fact that everything foreign--from a bootblack down to a prestidigitator--enjoys a degree of popular favor--will be received with more favor by a certain class of Americans than a like article of home manufacture." The most recent illustration of this fact is the

> manner in which the press and some of our citizens raised a hue and cry against the Mr. Murdock for raising the prices of admission--but no sooner had Mr. M's engagement closed than along came a French ballet troupe, the members of which bearing all sorts of unpronounceable names, and who, as we are informed, came here under a wager that they would relieve our citizens of $50,000 in less than three months, were received by crowded audiences with every mark of approbation, and at the same prices asked during Mr. Murdock's engagement. Thus it will be seen that foreign heels can be quoted at a much better price than American brains."

And since the public would not listen to him but permitted themselves to be exploited by these "foreigners" with the "unpronounceable names" the editor next decided to appeal to the managers and also give them some solemn advice; on November 20, he urged:

> "The management of our theatres should 'fraternize' and for the future protect themselves against such imported professional leeches as essay to dictate their own terms...What right have a trio of ballet dancers to demand a salary of from $600 to $800 per night, for whirling around upon the stage like a top, or going through a dumb show as devoid of interest as were the gyrations of the celebrated Chinese 'Hook Tong Dramatic Company'?"

There was undoubtedly some justification for this venomous diatribe; the critic was probably suffering from dyspepsia or some such ailment. A week before he had had a pretty bad attack, during which he had almost exiled to inferno the entire California theatre:

> "The theatrical profession in California numbers at present 110 members, among which might be numbered some 12 or 15 passable artists, while the rest are either horrid 'stiffs' or conceited 'ninnies.'"

THE FRENCH THEATRE DOMINATES

At this time the French seemed to be dominating the San Francisco theatre. According to McCabe's Journal (which is often inaccurate) a new French theatre had been opened on Bush Street between Sansome and Montgomery, on July 26, 1853. This seems to be confused in the Journal with another place of entertainment, Musical Hall, which is recorded as opening on the same date in the same place. These two are probably the same and refer to some sort of theatre in which French performances were given either in combination or alternately with American musical programs.

San Francisco in 1853 provided very fertile soil for the ephemeral French theatres and companies, sprouting like mushrooms over the landscape. There would occasionally be as many as four French theatres running at the same time, not to mention the numerous French variety entertainers in the music halls and café-chantants. A new company installed itself at the American and on January 8, 1854 gave the first performance of the romantic melodrama of Dumas père, Kean, ou Désordre et Génie. French vaudeville and operatic and ballet troupes were rushing in and out of the Metropolitan. In the meantime the French theatre on Sundays held sway over the Adelphi and the Union. Here opera and vaudeville and drama were produced; sometimes combinations of all three on special occasion. On May 4, 1854 a benefit was held for the brave pompiers of the Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company at the Union by the French opera and dramatic troupes. The French have always been fond

of balls, and on November 1 a masquerade ball was given by the French opera and vaudeville companies. It was undistinguished by any shooting. A few years had passed since Charles Duane's memorable gesture, and San Francisco had become considerably more civilized.

Now French was being spoken everywhere, The French theatre and the French shops were dominating the cultural and social life of the city; San Francisco had become a remote annex of Paris. And American actors and actresses, however important their reputations, had to pay tribute to this atmosphere. On July 2, 1854 the renowned actress-manager Mrs. Sinclair staged a benefit for Robert Kemp at the Metropolitan. She presented a French drama, Elle est Folle, in which she played the role of Lady Anna to Kemp's Sir Bernard. This was a great theatrical event and the Golden Era predicted:

> "This will enable her to display her great proficiency not only in a foreign tongue, but in a foreign school. In this piece she will be assisted by all the French talent in the city. Mr. Kemp has long enjoyed the reputation of being the first French tragedian in the Union and we can promise all a delightful dramatic feast, coming as it does, after a week's performance of balderdash."

Other well-known actors, such as Harry Courtaine, played regularly with the French companies.

MLLE. PITRON

The year 1854 ended gloriously for the French theatre with the arrival of Mlle. Elisa Pitron of the Théâtre des Variétés of Paris. She made her debut at the Adelphi in La Démon de la Nuit on December 13, 1854. Of Mlle. Pitron, Lévy

says:

> "C'était une étoile qui a jeté un vif et durable éclat sur la scène francaise de San Francisco."
>
> (She was a star who threw a bright and lasting glow on the French stage in San Francisco.)

with Mlle. Pitron in La Démon de la Nuit were two great actors, Munie and Bonnet. This was the height of the French theatre in San Francisco.

For some time there had been in existence in California a law which prohibited theatricals on Sunday, and for some time the French theatre had been giving performances exclusively on Sunday. The authorities suddenly decided to end this state of affairs, and on June 26, 1855 the managers of all theatres in San Francisco were arrested and fined. Then the authorities retired from action, and on the following Sunday the famous play by Dumas fils, Le Demi-Monde, was given at the Union for the first time in San Francisco. This sensational drama had only recently played a successful run at its introduction in Paris, and in the San Francisco version Mlle. Pitron scored a tremendous personal triumph as the demi-mondaine, la Baronne d'Ange. She was supported by Eléonore, Munie, Tallot, and Fanny, but the critic of the Daily Herald reserved all his enthusiasm for Mlle. Pitron alone; in the issue of July 7, 1855 he exclaimed:

> "On this piece it is impossible ever for those but partially acquainted with the language to ignore the splendid acting of Madame Pitron. Her manner is easy, fresh, graceful and eminently natural, and in some scenes the effect of her acting is electrifying. She manifests unquestionable genius as well as thorough knowledge of the stage."

On July 4 the same company, now under the management of Lewis Baker and called the French Dramatic Company, began a new season at the Metropolitan. They repeated the successful Demi-Monde for three performances and on July 7 played in La Démon de la Nuit, in which Mlle. Pitron, now the star of the company, appeared as Mathilde. La Démon de la Nuit was followed by an acrobatic act composed of a certain Professor Risley and son and a M. d'Evani, and by a sketch entitled Ce que Vivent les Roses. Again the public and critics applauded the performance, and again the performance was repeated. This time the Daily Herald was mostly impressed by the elegance of the costumes of the French actors. It noted on July 9:

> "In this piece no less than in the Demi-Monde, Madame Pitron gives proof of an histronic ability. She is a most accomplished, graceful and natural actress, and she is always tastefully and appropriately costumed. The same tribute as to costume may with justice be paid to most of the members of the French company. They always pay strict attention to the critics of dress, and their stage appointments are mostly un-exceptionable."

San Francisco was becoming increasingly sensitive to dress, as well as to food and wines. The marquis and the vicomte had not abandoned their costumes of the boulevards even as they plied their trade of bootblack--noblesse oblige. By this time French women had begun to descend upon San Francisco with their chic gowns de Paris. San Francisco was exchanging its red flannel shirts and muddy boots for more elegant accoutrements, and was busy polishing its nails.

Scarcely had this miraculous transformation started when Parisian dandies began to disappear from the scene. This was of course a gradual process and spread out over many years. All the vitality of the French immigration seemes to have been concentrated in these few early years. There are certain significant signs of its draining. On July 22,1855 the French company staged a benefit for Madame Eléonore; they gave three vaudevilles: Scribe's La Protégée, with Mlle. Pitron, La Question de l'Est, and Mme. Lariflo. The benefit was on the occasion of Mlle. Eléonore's projected departure for Paris. Mlle. Eléonore had been in San Francisco for three years; she had been one of the notable trio who had actually established the French theatre in San Francisco. The departure of this pioneer was not without significance.

THE RETURN OF THE PRODIGALS

The adventure over, many of the Frenchmen were returning home, overcome by homesickness, disappointed at not being able to take with them the heaps of gold that report had strewn all over the California soil. The Second Republic had within a few years become the Second Empire, Louis Napoleon had become Napoleon III,the vicomtes and marquises were resuming their titles and returning home in droves. San Francisco was becoming stabilized and it was no longer possible to live entirely by one's wits. Jules de France who according to De Massey, had at any moment "a hundred different schemes in his head, all visionary, for living in luxury at the expense of

any simpleton who comes along" was now reduced to desperate expedients and leading a miserable existence. Rescued by a few friends and put on a ship, he died a short time after reaching le Havre.

Defeated by the unaccustomed hardships, dismayed by the repetition of fire and earthquake, worn out by the unremitting hostility of the Americans, the weary disillusioned Frenchmen were straggling home. A few, still hopeful, remained; then the supply of gold in the mines began to diminish. In 1858 some emigrated to British Columbia upon the discovery of gold in that province; in 1874 the Bonanza strikes lured a few more away from San Francisco. San Francisco was becoming less and less French. In 1880 Levy reported but 6000 of his compatriots in San Francisco, and he attempted to justify these small pitiful remnants of the once vigorous colony by claiming that "les aventuriers, les chiffoniers et les décrotteurs ont disparu de la population francaise...les déclassés ici ne jouent plus de rôle important...." But it was precisely these French adventurers, ragpickers, bootblacks, and outcasts who gave color and glory to San Francisco. In becoming smug and respectable the French colony dropped completely out of the picturesque pattern of San Francisco life.

France is not a country of emigration; the peasant is too deeply attached to his soil. In the eighties when the full tide of European immigration began to burst upon American shores, very few Frenchmen arrived to settle here.

Emigration is generally the result of chronic misery in a country through systematic political and social oppression, and the average Frenchman has always been content with his lot. Today there are only approximately 14,000 French (including Americans of French parentage) in San Francisco. Recent immigration has been from the Midi and from Alsace and Lorraine and has consisted mainly of artisans, laborers, and domestics--an entirely different class from the gay and decorative Parisians of the fifties that gave character to the city by the Golden Gate.

THE FRENCH THEATRE THRIVES

The end of the first half of this decade, emphasized by Mme. Eleonore's return to Paris, marks the beginning of the decline of the French theatre in San Francisco. Yet for a time this institution, so deeply established in the life of the city, continued to thrive, not with its old energy to be sure, but vigorously enough to arouse interest. American actors were still thronging the Sunday performances to learn the essentials of good acting; there was still a cosmopolitan public who could appreciate the thoroughness and subtlety of French dramatic art. One recollected:

> "I must not overlook the well-equipped French company that later on in the fifties used to occupy the stage of the American on Sunday nights with plays drawn freshly from Parisian sources. There were Mesdames Pitron and Rellanger, Mlles. Clemence, Leontine and others; Mm. Thierry, Georget, Bonnet and a dozen more on the male side, all more or less skilled in the mimetic art in the fullest sense of the term, and with that delicate finesse which has

> made the French stage famous time out of mind. During this company's stay in San Francisco theatrical performances in English were not given on Sunday and, therefore, many of the players from other theatres were found at the American on that evening getting a point or two on stage business;even if they could not understand the Parisian French in which the text was spoken. The classic burlesques,petites comedies and sketches produced by these accomplished histrions were a delight to the lovers of theatric art. There was the Ulysses and Telemachus burlesque, the Marriage of the Grisette comedy, and the sketch of two blind beggars on the bridge, for example, which were perfection in their respective styles. The best patrons the French players had outside of their own compatriots were among the Irish-American population." (Bulletin, Aug. 22, 1896)

In 1856 there was a sudden burst of activity in the French theatre, with performances not only at the American but also at the Metropolitan. There is a record of Sunday vaudeville at the American during the spring, given by the "Société Francaise." The Bulletin of April 30 reports that a new company, "said to be the most talented of any that have performed on the Pacific Coast, have leased the American theatre for a limited time." On that date the company appeared in the historical drama, The Cossacks with the star, Mlle. Félice, in the role of Marianne,The Vivandière. During the summer still another company, starring Bonnet and a newcomer to the French stage, M. Tallot, a former banker, were presenting mixed programs at the Metropolitan. On August 3 they gave the vaudeville, Les Deux Profonds Scélérats (The Two Deep Villains) and the drama, L'Enchantrice. A week later in a gesture of loyalty to the "vieux pays" the company put

on a benefit for the victims of the recent floods in France. A Grand Overture executed by the orchestra composed of 16 musicians introduced the program which consisted of two plays, produced for the first time in San Francisco: Le Camarade de Lit, ou Les Deux Soldats de la Garde, and La Polka de Province, and several short vaudevilles. Playing the leading roles were Munie, Tallot, Mlle. Pitron, and Paul Sasportat. Although there was a full house, the financial returns seemed ungratifying; it was however a "geste." It must be remembered that most of these French considered San Francisco a place of temporary exile from their beloved patrie; because they intended to return to France they kept burning the fires of their patriotism. They responded magnificently to crises; one half of Daniel Lévy's history of the French in California is devoted to an account of the colony's subscription to an enormous war fund in 1870. And it is significant that Raphael Weill, long considered a civic leader of San Francisco, died in France.

MME. BALLAGNY

Yet, as long as they remained in this temporary home, the French continued to bestow gifts on San Francisco. Early in January 1857 another talented actress, Mme. Ballagny, came to San Francisco. She joined the French troupe that was holding forth at the Metropolitan Theatre on Sunday evenings under the management of M. Thierry. On April 30 Mme. Ballagny announced her last performance. For that

occasion she played a male role, that of Richelieu, in the two-act drama, Les Premières Armes de Richelieu, supported by Tallot and Thierry.

During this period the French company, called the Société Française, was giving performances twice a week, alternating between the Metropolitan and the American, and drawing good houses in both theatres. The critic of the Bulletin, who was interested in the educational aspects of the French drama as well as in the histrionic and decorative, remarked:

> "Even to those persons who are ignorant of, or who are only partially acquainted with, the French language, the performances of this company afford much pleasure. Their action is so expressive that much of the story of their pieces can be readily gathered by the unbalanced (sic) spectator. To those who have a book knowledge, but not a speaking one of the French language, like opportunities for acquiring the tone and accent of that tongue, from those who are supposed to speak it most correctly, can always be had. Mme. Ballagny, M. Bonnet, M. Thierry and several others of the company are admirable actors, and give much delight especially to those who can best appreciate their efforts." (May 2, 1857)

On Sunday May 3, 1857 the Société Française produced a comic opera, Le Joli Moulin, at the American Theatre. Mme. Ballagny, who had evidently not yet departed from San Francisco and was still playing male roles, appeared as Gaston; Thierry played Nivelle; Bonnet, Placide; and Mme. Léontine, Paquesette. The comic opera was followed by a new two-act vaudeville, fresh from Paris, Mademoiselle Faribole.

RETURN OF MLLE. PITRON

A week later an old favorite reappeared on the stage of the American, the charming Elisa Pitron, who had been away almost a year from the Théâtre Français of San Francisco. For this great occasion the famous play of Dumas fils, La Dame aux Camelias, was revived. This was an historic play; the play which had opened the Adelphi, the first home of the French theatre in San Francisco, seven years before. Mlle. Pitron played Camille. She was supported by Tallot, who played Armand Duval, with Bonnet as M. Duval. Also in the cast was Mlle. Racine, the original Prudence at the Adelphi. They played before a packed, cheering audience, and were forced to repeat Camille on the following Thursday, May 14.

FRENCH SPECTACLE DRAMA

The next Sunday at the Metropolitan the Société Française presented a lesser-known three-act drama by the elder Dumas, Le Marbrier. This was preceded on the program by a four-act burlesque drama, Madame de Marlborough, in which Mlle. Racine played the title role. This was quite an oversized bill, but there was more coming; it was advertised in the Bulletin that "for the first time eight horses will appear in this piece." This was the age of Adah Isaacs Menken of Mazeppa fame.

It was the age of the spectacle and the tour de force. Adah Menken was to be a sensation in San Francisco with her masculine roles, with her assumption of four, six,

nine characters in a play. Mme. Ballagny, her forerunner on the French stage, had embarked on a series of stunt performances. The week after the triumph of the eight horses in Madame de Marlborough she appeared in six different characters! In the interlude between the two plays, Le Marquis de Lazun and Indiana et Charlemagne, the resourceful Bonnet sang a popular song,"Kitty L'Oublieuse." He was followed on the program by a M. Glover who sang a sprightly American air, "What's a Woman Like?"

Mme. Ballagny continued with unabating energy, and the next Sunday May 30, 1857 she played the part of a general under Napoleon in the one-act vaudeville, Une Dame de L'Empire and the role of D'Adnème in a two-act piece, "interspersed with music" La Fille de Jacqueline. It was now the policy of the theatre to offer musical intermezzi; in this show Mme. Ballagny sang a comic song,"Les Fourches Claudine" in costume and M. E. Laya executed the "Grande Fantaisie de Toulou"on the flute.

CHANGE IN PUBLIC TASTE

Then, after concluding this spring season at the American, Mme. Ballagny returned to Paris, and with her departure more of the vitality of the French theatre in San Francisco dwindled. The public was becoming increasingly apathetic to solid legitimate drama; this was the heyday of variety and minstrelsy, and it was necessary to stir up the audiences with colorful stars. And for a time there were no

more Parisian importations. The bulk of the French theatrical colony had returned home; even such sturdy performers as Bonnet and Roncovieri, who remained in San Francisco, could not arouse enough interest to sustain their theatre. The French colony was changing not only in size but also in level of taste. Those who were coming to San Francisco now came with their families to settle, to work at their trades or businesses. Most of them were now from the provinces; they were unused to the theatre; they were satisfied by the more obvious entertainment of the minstrels and variety performers. They were being Americanized quickly and forming part of the public of the American theatre; and the formerly loyal American public was being drawn away from the French theatre. The American theatre now offered more competition than it did in the early days.

THE NEW SOCIAL LIFE

The theatre no longer occupied the role it once held among the French in San Francisco. It was no longer the center of social life, the only place where one went "pour se voir et pour s'apprécier." Now the family and the home had developed; the famille and the foyer, as in France, were asserting their supremacy. The theatre and the gambling den were now no longer the sole places where one might spend one's evenings. San Francisco was beginning to lose more and more its famous resemblance to Paris and to take on the air of a quiet provincial town. The place was

becoming respectable; the gambling dens and dance halls and theatres were becoming less conspicuous. As early as 1853 a change in San Francisco mores was underlined by the opening of Russ Gardens, a park and pleasure garden. This recalled to the former Parisians their own Jardin de Luxembourg and Jardin de Plantes, and by 1860 they had their own promenade, the Willows. On Sundays and holidays the Willows had the appearance of a provincial park with the endimanché bourgeois families strolling about, dignified and uncomfortable. There was a menagerie with several exotic animals; there were balloon ascensions and tightrope performers; there was a merry-go-round. Little tables were set outside and here the families sat, chattering pleasantly and eating their picnic lunches. There were no back rooms at the Willows; it was domestic, respectable, and very French.

The first French to arrive in San Francisco had immediately established a mutual benefit society, the Société de Bienfaisance Mutuelle. By the sixties the institution of the clubs and societies had undergone extensive development among the clannish French. Even today there are over twenty-five of these organizations which dominate and stabilize the social life of the San Francisco French; there are political clubs, athletic clubs, mutual aid societies, clubs which reunite Frenchmen originating from the same province, with similar hobbies, or belonging to the same social stratum, trade or profession. And above all, there has existed, ever since the first French arrived in San Francisco, a durable solid-

arity, a loyalty to a common past and a common tradition which manifests itself in such practices as the ceremonious observation of the Quatorze Juillet, la fête nationale de la France. "Le Français emporte sa patrie à la semelle de ses souliers," said Danton.

Another symbol of French solidarity during the early years was the pride the colony took in subsidizing the Compagnie Lafayette des Echelles et Crochets, the Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company, No. 3. There were a number of these volunteer fire brigades in San Francisco, each an exclusive club which concerned itself with staging elaborate banquets or with beating other companies to the fires. The gentlemen of the Compagnie Lafayette were magnificently arrayed in the traditional costume of French pompiers: gleaming brass helmet, brilliant red uniform, and sometimes sword and epaulets. They were not very functional but they were decorative, and the colony was very proud of them and staged benefits for them. They even wrote operas for them. On August 8, 1857 Eureka, an opera by Mm. Touben and Gandonnière, dedicated to the Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company, No. 3, was produced at the Metropolitan. "Not having been present," explains the Wide West of the following day, "we cannot speak of its merits." It undoubtedly did not have any, but it was the only production of an empty season.

FRENCH THEATRE DECLINES

The decline had been rapid after the departure of Mme. Ballagny from San Francisco. For several years there-

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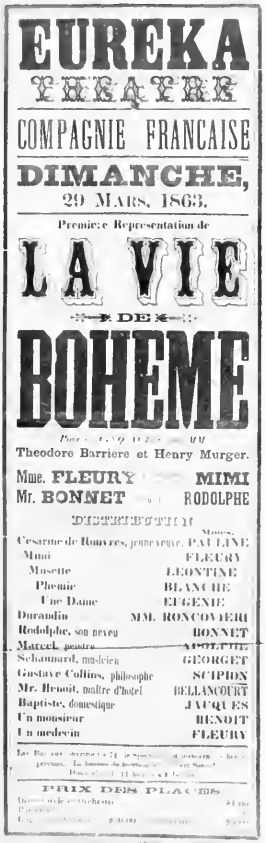
after the French theatre was moribund -- at least we are without record of anything significant taking place. A pretentious spectacle, The War in Crimea, was performed at the American Theatre on December 1, 1857 with a cast of 150; it was a crude, amateurish, blundering production. The next record to be unearthed in French theatrical history is of a vaudeville program on January 14, 1858 in which a group of French amateurs participated, together with some Spanish dancers and a ballet.

For the next two years we hear of sporadic performances by French companies at the Lyceum and at the American Theatre. There were occasional mixed bills: on October 6, 1859 a French company appeared at the American with the Baker troupe; the former contributed to the program a comic opera by Paer, Le Maître Chapelle. Although there were still many proficient French actors left in San Francisco, and although there were available theatres, there was an insufficient public to support regular seasons of the Théâtre Français. The regular Sunday performances had become more and more scarce; weekly performances had become semi-monthly; then more irregular. The only record yet discovered of the French theatre for the next five years is the rare program in the De Young Museum (see photograph) of the first performance at the Eureka Theatre of Murger's popular five-act play, La Vie de Bohème, the source of the well-known Puccini opera.

EARLY FRENCH THEATRE PROGRAM



EUREKA
THEATRE

COMPAGNIE FRANCAISE

DIMANCHE,
29 MARS, 1863.

Premiere Representation de

LA VIE
DE
BOHEME

Theodore Barriere et Henry Murger.

Mme. FLEURY — MIMI
Mr. BONNET — RODOLPHE

DISTRIBUTION

	Mesdames
Cesarine de Romvres, jeune veuve	PAULINE
Mimi	FLEURY
Musette	LEONTINE
Phemie	BLANCHE
Une Dame	EUGENIE
	MM.
Durandin	RONCOVIERI
Rodolphe, son neveu	BONNET
Marcel, peintre	[illegible]
Schaunard, musicien	GEORGET
Gustave Collins, philosophe	SCIPION
Mr. Henoit, maître d'hotel	BELLANCOURT
Baptiste, domestique	JACQUES
Un monsieur	HENOIT
Un medecin	FLEURY

PRIX DES PLACES

PHOTO COURTESY M. H. de YOUNG MUSEUM

REVIVAL OF ACTIVITY

Occasionally an energetic director would take hold of things, would collect all the available actors into a strong group, arouse the phlegmatic public; then the quiescent French theatre would quicken into a semblance of life. It seemed for a time in 1864 that the French theatre was on its feet again; the old American theatre, considered outmoded and abandoned by American companies, was bustling into activity. A new and glorious season of French drama was announced. The old tradition of presenting important plays fresh from Paris triumphs was revived. On Sunday March 6, at the benefit of Mlle. Léontine, there occurred the first representation of Octave Feuillet's five-act drama, Montjoye. It is worthwhile to scan the names in the cast; many of them are already familiar to us:

Montjoye	M. Bonnet
Rollabe	Mme. Bonnet
Georges de Sorel	M. Adolphe
Tuberge, old cashier	M. Georget
Saladen	M. Roncovieri
Lajaunaye	M. Bellacourt
Mayor of Chantilly	M. Scipion
Foreman of a Fire Company	M. Hennecart
An usher	M. Paul
A servant	M. Jules
Henriette, wife of Montjoye	Mme. Armand
Cecile, his daughter	Mlle. Leontine
The May Queen	Mlle. Jeanne Bonnet
Marchioness of Rio Vellez	Mlle. Aubray

For a time things were going well. Efficient management, good publicity, and a judicious choice of pieces were interesting to the public. Then came the maiming blow: in December 1864 the Supreme Court finally acted on the much-disputed "Sunday Law" in California; it closed all the

theatres on Sunday. This ruling effectively crippled for a time the foreign theatres, German as well as French, which could not afford to give more than one performance a week, and relied on good houses on Sunday, their public's day of rest.

The enforced ban on Sunday theatricals stifled what promised to be a revival of the French theatre in San Francisco. For a time all theatrical activity was suspended. Then, in January 1866 a new group of actors arrived in town. They were enthusiastic and energetic and succeeded in rallying together a new company for Monday evening performances at the Academy of Music. For a few months the popularity of the principals, M. and Mme. Daujau and Mme. Reiter, brought full houses to the Academy of Music. But soon the excitement abated, and attendance began to wane.

THE POLYGLOT OTHELLO

Things were pretty dull in the legitimate theatre this season, and a certain George Pauncefort, an ambitious actor and impresario, decided to do something about it. In New York just recently Edwin Booth had played in a freak version of Othello with an Iago who spoke only German and a Desdemona who spoke both German and English. This is San Francisco, the cosmopolitan city, thought Mr. Pauncefort; we do things here in more impressive style. On March 25, 1867 after much advance publicity San Francisco staged its own polyglot version of Othello -- in English, French, German and

Danish! Pauncefort himself played Othello; Bonnet, the greatest French actor in California, played Iago. It was probably very confused and exciting.

NATHALIE OF MONTMARTRE

After this brief agitation the French theatre again lapsed into its usual coma. It needed repeated transfusions of new blood, fresh and vital talent, imported sensations. Such a sensation was Mlle. Nathalie, who on September 2, 1867 created a new and colorful season at the American. Bonnet and Roncovieri and some others could apply their rich talents to popular songs of the music halls; Mlle. Nathalie was by métier a chanteuse populaire. She brought to San Francisco the style and manner of Theresa, then the reigning favorite of the café-concerts, sometimes referred to as la Patti de la canaille, or la Diva du ruisseau (the Patti of the rabble, the Diva of the gutter). Theresa had imparted to her disciple the rare quality of clear and meticulous pronunciation; and Nathalie had recaptured the coarseness, the bonhomie of the Parisian populace. The critic of the Dramatic Chronicle found her language and gestures too unrefined for the San Francisco public. After her debut he reported:

> "There was a coarse, vulgar abandon in her personations, which possessed little, or rather no other merit. Mr. Bonnet supported her in a very able manner, but the rest of the company were mere sticks." (Sept. 7, 1867)

Nathalie appeared in a varied program; she sang several popular Montmartre songs, she sang and impersonated

"La Femme à Barbe," (The Bearded Woman) the comic song with pantomime which Theresa had made the current hit of Paris. She performed in a group of Parisian vaudevilles. The versatile troupe of the American co-operated easily in transforming that staid theatre into a gay, roaring music hall; Roncovieri, Bonnet, Bellancourt, Deligne, Mme. Reiter and Mlle. Léontine participated in a lively and attractive program.

But even Mlle. Nathalie's popularity could not revive the old tradition of weekly performances. The police had put an end to the Sunday theatre and thus weakened popular attendance. Now the Théâtre Français performed semi-monthly, on Monday evenings. Even then the house was only moderately full; but the audience, such as it was, proved appreciative. They laughed uproariously at Nathalie's boisterous pantomime, at her mischievous and expressive comedy. On September 30, 1867 she gave her third performance, singing the comic "C'est pour l'enfant," "La Dijonnaire," the ever-popular "La Femme à Barbe." Supported by Bonnet, Bellancourt, and Deligne she played the title role in the vaudeville, Margot. Two other vaudevilles also were given: Entre Hommes with Mme. Reiter and Mlle. Léontine; and Les Deux Sous with Mlle. Léontine, Mme. Roncovieri, Bonnet, and Deligne. This was Mlle. Nathalie's most successful performance so far, and she was showered lavishly with bouquets by her many admirers. The frowning critic of the Dramatic Chronicle had to bow before the verdict of the people and to admit with reluctance

that "Mlle. Nathalie is evidently a success, and can do nothing that does not excite great applause."

This was said after Nathalie's fourth performance at the American, on October 14. Her reputation as a gifted chanteuse populaire was increasing, and this performance was given to "one of the most crowded and fashionable audiences of the season." She sang the comic and rowdy "C'est dans le nez que ça m'chatouille," which Theresa had introduced and popularized all over Paris. This number brought down the house and Nathalie had to sing encore after encore, in spite of the fact that she had already completed an exhausting program of vaudevilles: C'était Gertrude, Le Garcon de Chez Véry, La Marquise de Caraban, and that Bonnet too had sung several songs including "Un Dernier Chant" written by M. Reiter, the leader of the orchestra. The enthusiastic audience clamored for encores, and threatened to keep this up all night. Finally Mlle. Nathalie and the company had to come out and send everybody home by singing the "Marseillaise."

It was decided by this time that Mlle. Nathalie deserved the customary tribute. Accordingly her fifth performance, that of October 24, was set aside for her benefit. She was greeted with the usual bouquets, the usual laughter and applause. In return she sang with Gallic gusto a few more songs from the Montmartre repertoire, and appeared in a few more popular vaudevilles. The whole French company appeared on this occasion; each contributed his share to make the

benefit performance a success; Roncovieri, the operatic basso, recalled his debut in the San Francisco scene by singing a rollicking comic air.

Two weeks later, on November 11, Mlle. Nathalie made her farewell appearance in San Francisco and in a short time was on her way back to the Paris music halls. Although her stay was short in San Francisco her sprightly singing and charming presence had galvanized into activity the feeble French Theatre. With its vitality being sapped away steadily and tottering on its last legs, the Théâtre Français of San Francisco needed such injections as were furnished by Mlle. Nathalie de Paris. So it was that a week after Nathalie's last performance at the American the management was able to announce the debut in San Francisco of Mlle. Eugénie Sen, an actress with a trustworthy reputation acquired in the principal theatres of Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna.

MLLE. SEN

Mlle. Sen was a totally different performer from her predecessor. She was not a singer of gutter songs; she specialized in elegant comedy. But she also attracted her "large and fashionable" audiences. Mlle. Sen was very chic, and the eager critic of the Dramatic Chronicle predicted:

> "As she comes directly from Paris no doubt beauty and fashion of San Francisco will attend the performances if for no other purpose than to observe and criticize her toilettes, which are said to be rich and various." (Nov. 11, 1867)

Mlle. Sen made her debut in La Duchesse de Langlais, and the critic was not disappointed. He was pleased to record the following:

> "She displayed a fine face and figure, a remarkable power of facial expression, an exquisitely distinct and delicate though sufficiently powerful enunciation, and a rich and elegant toilette, which last was by no means the least attraction, doubtless to many of our fair French citizens. M. Georget was capital as 'Grandet,' and the other characters were sufficiently well sustained. The vaudeville of Tambour Battant was omitted in consequence of the illness of Mlle. Leontine, and her part in the comedy was read by Mme. Reiter. It is apparently the general desire of our French population that Mlle. Eugenie Sen should give a series of representations, and we presume that the next one will be announced at an early date." (Nov. 23)

The next play, two weeks later, was another three-act comedy, Sophie Arnould. In addition the company revived the one-act vaudeville Une Dame de l'Empire, in which Mlle. Ballagny had played a Napoleonic general; in this performance Mlle. Sen played the more feminine role, that of Madeleine Gorju. The program concluded with a repetition of the vaudeville, Tambour Battant.

The French theatre of San Francisco was always au courant with the times; it imported the freshest of talent, it presented the most recent of Parisian triumphs. The modern problem plays of Dumas fils were then the talk of the boulevards, and the French theatre was never backward about producing them here. It had introduced to San Francisco La Dame aux Camélias, Le Demi-Monde. Now, for Mlle. Sen's third

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performance, on December 17, the American billed the four-act comedy, Les Idées de Mme. Aubray, which had recently been given more than two hundred performances in Paris and had been successful when introduced to the New York French theatre by Bateman's troupe during November. Mlle. Sen played Jeannie, and in the cast were the faithful Bonnet and Roncovieri who played respectively Gaston and Tellier; Déligne played Valmorean; Adolphe played Camille; Mme. Reiter, Mme. Aubrey; and Mme. Clémence, Lucienner. Also in the cast, making her debut, was little Blanche Bonnet.

Mlle. Sen had reawakened the interest of the French colony in the legitimate theatre, and when it was announced that she would next play Adrienne Lecouvreur, the role which Scribe had created for Sarah Bernhardt, there was great enthusiasm. The play was billed for January 20, but because of the inclement weather was postponed to the following Monday. Mlle. Sen scored a success as the ill-fated 18th century actress in Adrienne Lecouvreur; two weeks later her compatriots packed the American to see her again in two comedies and a vaudeville Les Femmes Qui Pleurent, Les Chansons de Béranger and Le Camp des Bourgeoises. This performance took place on February 10. A week later the French company returned to the American Theatre and found nothing but a few bare and blackened walls and some ashes.

CATASTROPHE

It had been a beautiful conflagration, if an unhappy one. It occurred at four o'clock in the morning; by the

time the first alarm was given the whole building was in flames; and since the old American Theatre was a huge building, the largest in San Francisco, the blaze could be seen from every part of the city. Eventually, "with their usual promptness," (according to the Daily Dramatic Chronicle) the Compagnie Lafayette arrived in their dashing uniforms, together with the other fire companies--to survey the cinders.

It was a disastrous blow for both the French and German companies. For the past few months they had been giving regular performances at the old American. The house had been abandoned to them by the American troupes; they shared it with Italian opera, lectures, boxing and wrestling matches, and other attractions. Now they lost their home; and also their wardrobes. In the street the burned-out French actors met the desolate German actors; they fell into one another's arms and wept long and sorrowfully. Then they sat down on the curb and out of the catastrophe evolved an entente cordiale. On March 2 the French company gave a performance at the Turnverein Hall.

Three days before, Mlle. Sen had sailed from California without the usual benefit; the burning of the theatre had deprived her of the customary testimonial. Without her support the old guard of the French company turned to the inexhaustible repertoire of operetta and vaudeville. Bonnet, Déligne, Georget, and Mmes. Reiter and Léontine appeared in Jean Le Sot, music by Offenbach; Une Loge d'Opera, by Jules Leconte; and Le Procès, music by M. Albert.

Like their fellow-sufferers, the Germans, the homeless French troupe now commenced a period of wandering from theatre to theatre hunting for a place to put on a show. The pioneer days had passed, that semi-mythical period when two theatres would spring from the ashes of a third. They were not building theatres any more now; the American died and was not resurrected. The foreign players found it increasingly difficult to discover an available auditorium on weekdays. In desperation they resolved to risk the consequences of breaking the Sunday law.

All through the spring of 1868 we hear of sporadic performances by the French companies on Sundays in the various theatres. Then on June 1, 1868, while they were giving a performance of La Dame de St.-Tropez for the benefit of Mlle. Léontine at Maguire's Opera House, the police burst into the theatre, dragged M. Bonnet off to jail and sent everybody home, without benefit of the Marseillaise. At the trial it was claimed that M. Bonnet was merely one of the actors and not a manager; nevertheless, because Bonnet was the most active and most conspicuous member of the French troupe, the authorities decided to make an example of him. Accordingly he was given a severe fine and Sunday theatricals were definitely outlawed in San Francisco.

The succession of calamities was sufficient to extinguish utterly the flickering light of the French theatre in San Francisco. Without roots, without support or even encouragement of the French population it sank deeper into

obscurity. For months it remained enshrouded in darkness while Bonnet and his embattled group struggled gallantly for the lost cause. Then there came a ray of hope. They heard how, over at the German colony, Mme. Genée, fighting against precisely the same obstacles, had created a permanent and successful German theatre. Then Mlle. Sen returned to San Francisco and announced a new season of French performances at the Metropolitan. For a moment a brilliant glow appeared in the heavens as the sun of the French theatre declined in the West.

LAST RAYS OF THE FRENCH THEATRE

On Tuesday, September 20, 1868 Mlle. Sen appeared in Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle, the five-act historical comedy-drama of Alexandre Dumas père. The newspapers encouraged this new attempt to restore French drama to San Francisco; they applauded the response of the French to German initiative.

> "We are glad," said the Figaro of September 28, "that steps have been taken to provide our French with amusements. They should not be behind the Germans in this respect, although they do not number so many among our population. The play for the commencement is well chosen. Mme. Sen is an artiste of undoubted talent, and we have no doubt will be well supported not only by the French, but by the well-educated of the American population."

In the cast of Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle were the last representatives of the French theatre in San Francisco; out of the once powerful French troupes these were the survivors of storm and catastrophe. The mighty Bonnet of course heads the list:

La Chevalier d'Aubigny.....Bonnet
Le Duc de Richelieu.....Adolphe
D'Aumont.....Scipion
D'Auvray.....Bellancourt
Chamillac.....Woodthorpe
Un Laquais.....Achille
Mlle.Gabrielle de Belle-Isle...Mlle.Eugénie Sen
Mme. la Marquise de Prie.....Mme. Armand
Mariette.....Mlle. Léontine

On October 19 Mlle. Sen appeared in a benefit for the Société de Bienfaisance des Dames Françaises, the French charitable organization. She played Caroline de Lusian in the one-act comedy, Les Droits de l'Homme; Bonnet and Mme. Armand played the two embarrassed lovers in Alfred de Musset's one-act proverb, Il faut qu'une Porte soit Ouverte ou Fermée; other entertainers sang and danced.

The next month Mlle. Sen began arrangements to leave San Francisco. Again catastrophe interfered with her San Francisco career; this time it was an earthquake that almost cheated her out of her benefit. However she merited appreciation by the citizenry as one who had enlivened the last hours of the French theatre in San Francisco. On November 9, at Platt's Hall, home of the Germans, Mlle. Eugénie Sen had her farewell benefit. The performance consisted of two vaudevilles: Bonnet and "the piquant and clever" Mlle. Léontine appeared in Après le Bal; Mlle. Sen played Mme. de Riz in the comédie-vaudeville, Les Femmes. A few days later Mlle. Sen left for New York, and on this occasion everybody was optimistic about the French theatre of the future. Predicted the Figaro of November 16, 1868:

> "Madame (sic) Eugenie Sen who gave a series of dramatic performances in this city which afforded much pleasure to our French population, left on the steamer of Saturday for New York, when she will return in the Spring with a number of artistes and with them form a company here for a regular season at French dramatic performances. We are glad to announce this; our French citizens, though not so numerous as the Germans, should be encouraged by the eminent success which has attended the well-directed efforts of Manager Fritsch of the New German Theatre."

But Mlle. Sen did not return in the spring, and the French theatre slowly rotted away. During the next few years there were occasional benefits given for the Ladies' Benevolent Society, occasional performances in such places as Mozart Hall. In 1869 the theatrical newspaper, the Figaro, launched a campaign against the Sunday law which, it claimed, was hampering foreign theatres, with such success that in January 1870 the law was repealed. The repeal of the Sunday Law aided the German theatre for a time, but had little effect upon the French. In the hearts of the tenacious adherents of the French theatre however this event aroused a wave of hope. They at once began to make plans for a bigger and better season. The heroic Bonnet succeeded in renting the Metropolitan Theatre for Easter Sunday, April 17, 1870 and announced a "Représentation Extraordinaire": a program of original sketches and vaudevilles on local subjects by local writers. There was Un Effet Du Hazard, a comedy-vaudeville in two acts; Histoire de Mon Chien, a playlet in verse; and Une Marie Poétique. Bonnet also sang an original "Romance Dramatique"; he was assisted in the rest of the program by

[illegible]

some of the other dependable Franco-Californian actors: Roncovieri, Madame Félice and Mlle. Léontine.

The literary productivity of the French colony still continued haltingly; the tradition established by the semi-legendary Jules de France had not yet died. On July 31, 1870 another French performance was put on at the Metropolitan. The director was Pierre Canwet, editor and poet, called by Lévy "le poète le plus inspiré de la colonie francaise." Canwet contributed an original song that was sung by Bonnet. The program in addition had a comedy, Un Tryan en Sabots; a ballet by Madame Marzetti and corps; and Offenbach's one-act operetta, La Rose de Saint-Fleur.

Danton's statement was not an exaggerated one: the Frenchman wherever he lives will carry the soil of his mother country on the sole of his shoes; and in his heart he will always preserve intact the image of France. By 1870 much of the colony appeared to have drifted away from the old tradition. Then the Franco-Prussian war broke out. The response of the San Francisco French was magnificent. Subscriptions were organized; in 1870 and 1872 dozens of benefits were staged; thousands of dollars were sent over to aid their struggling compatriots. Again in 1872 when defeated France was attempting to throw off the yoke of Prussia, the French peasants and laborers and bourgeois with patriotic zeal emptied their socks and overturned their mattresses to force the hated invader from the sacred shores of France.

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In San Francisco on May 13, 1872 at Maguire's Opera House a group of amateurs, which included members of the prominent Weill and Verdier families, put on a show which included one-act vaudeville, Dans une Cave; an original and timely one-act sketch in verse, Fais ce que Dois; and Offenbach's one-act operetta M. Choufleuri Restera Chez Lui. It was one of the benefits for the Second National Subscription for La Rançon de la France.

By now only violent shocks such as this could galvanize the French theatre of San Francisco into the feeblest semblance of life. For some time the French theatre had been dead. The German theatre lingered on for another decade, due to the persistence of that indefatigable actress-directress-impresario, Mme. Genée. Throughout the seventies Bonnet tried to revive the French theatre and failed; later on, in the eighties, another talented actor, Paul Juignet, arrived in San Francisco and made many attempts to re-establish the French theatre here, but he too failed.

There were still a few people, however, who were aware of the great debt of the great San Francisco theatre to its French theatre. After the death of the French theatre it was realized how deep was the loss to San Francisco. The Chronicle of May 11, 1884 grieved:

> "If a good French company could be formed, we would have the opportunity to see Sardou and the other good authors, as the Parisians see them, and we would acquire in the theatre an education which would aid us considerably to understand the value and significance of the dramatic art." (Quoted by Lévy)

But the public heeded not, and for more than a generation the French theatre remained entombed under a massive weight of indifference.

But the public heeded not, and for none with a generation the French theatre remained entombed under a massive weight of indifference.

A N D R E F E R R I E R

SINGER, ACTOR, DIRECTOR

SECTION II

THE THEATRE OF ANDRE FERRIER

Many years passed, and then in 1911 there came to San Francisco a young Frenchman of adventurous Norman blood, a pioneer over whom hovered the genial ghosts of Benard, Delamare, and Jules de France. It seemed to him that San Francisco needed a French theatre, and almost singlehanded he proceeded to build one. And here in 1939 it is still going, the Théâtre d'Art of Andre Ferrier, the only permanent French theatre in America today.* Its story requires a special chapter in the history of the French theatre in San Francisco.

The theatre of Ferrier is by no means a popular theatre. It appeals almost exclusively to a small American élite; it is a small semi-amateur enterprise, almost entirely the work of one man. But it is a gesture and a symbol.

San Francisco supports a French theatre; there is still a tradition it has not lost. Those gallant adventurers who came to San Francisco from another planet built a civilization here. Their theatre was never foreign to San Francisco. Later, even when French was no longer spoken in the theatres of San Francisco, Coquelin père could come here and play

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* Specifically, the only French theatre in this country which observes regular seasons and has its own building. There are a few in other cities, especially New York, which rent quarters and put on occasional performances.

Molière in his native tongue on Mission Street and Sarah Bernhardt could come here and play Marguerite Gautier, she who was la Dame aux Camélias. And a little American girl, who with many other San Franciscans had listened with awe to the famous voix d'or, could reminisce in later years:

> "As I said San Francisco was a wonderful place to hear and see foreign actors as at that time they liked it when they got there and they stayed and they played.
>
> "I must have been about sixteen years old and Bernhardt came to San Francisco and stayed two months. I knew a little French of course but really it did not matter, it was all so foreign and her voice being so varied and it all being so French I could rest in it untroubled. And I did.
>
> "It was better than the opera because it went on. It was better than the theatre because you did not have to get acquainted. The manners and customs of the French theatre created a thing in itself and it existed in and for itself as the poetical plays had that I used so much to read, there were so many characters just as there were in those plays and you did not have to know them they were so foreign, and the foreign scenery and actuality replaced the poetry and the voices replaced the portraits. It was for me a very simple and direct and moving pleasure...."

THEATRE D'ART

> "...Actors in those days liked to go out to the Coast and as it was expensive to go back and not expensive to stay there they stayed. Besides that there were a great many foreign actors who came and having come stayed and any actor who stays acts and so there was always a great deal to see on the stage...."*

While Gertrude Stein was writing these words Andre

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* Stein, Gertrude. Lectures in America 1935

Ferrier was celebrating the twentieth year of his Théâtre d'Art in San Francisco. In 1911 he was a member of a small Parisian opera company stranded in San Francisco; Paris was far away, San Francisco appeared the very place to stay. He stayed. Since 1921 Ferrier has been living in a modest dwelling at 1470 Washington Street. Downstairs in the basement is the complete little theatre that he has built almost entirely with his own hands, the Théâtre d'Art Français, a tiny unpretentious affair, but the only French theatre in the United States which has its own building.

Ferrier's theatre is no mere amateurish enterprise. It is a real theatre, controlled by the most rigorous standards. M. Ferrier is critical about everything which is being done in the theatre today. Something of a crusader, he would like to rescue the theatre from its present doldrums singlehanded. His attitude is that of some one fighting for a cause, but here the crusade is not only la cause française; it is something more. M. Ferrier will have you know that the theatre to him is an art transcending all language limitations. Since French is his tongue he must confine himself to the French theatre -- but to him there are certain principles underlying all theatre. He speaks of le théâtre pûr.

If M. Ferrier can overcome the language barriers as skillfully as he has conquered technical handicaps he is already on the way to his goal. His tiny theatre seats only 162 people and has a stage 25 by 41 feet; yet it has an intricate lighting system and an ingenious method of scene

shifting. On this stage he has produced a bewildering variety of operas, operettas and plays. A recent performance of Knock drew from its author, Jules Romains, the declaration that it had never before been done so well -- even in Paris.

FERRIER'S STAGECRAFT

M. Ferrier's stagecraft is his own idea, an experimental adjustment to the limitations of his stage. He has worked out what he considers to be a new system of scenic design and staging -- because he has little space, little money, and little assistance. He is not only the director and principal actor of his theatre; he is also his own carpenter, his own painter, his own electrician. As a result his theatre is extraordinarily unified, a true reflection of his personality. He can look on at a play in progress and see himself not only in the gestures of his actors but even in the very paint on the scenery. His theatre is a living theatre, one in constant evolution. He is always planning and constructing additions and modifications. He has the patience and almost inexhaustible energy of the true craftsman; a simple-appearing effect may be the product of months of constant study and labor.

His lack of materials and the early necessity of compensating for the makeshift qualities of the settings steered Ferrier to an emphasis on lighting. This actor-director-musician-metteur-en-scène is also a master of lighting; as part of his background there is a thorough training in science at the Sorbonne and the École de Pharmacie. His

lighting system departs radically from the old footlight scheme of illumination; it is more delicate and nuancé in its effects; it gives dimensional depth to flat surfaces, creates dramatic emphasis by shadows. In using lighting as a powerful dramatic medium M. Ferrier has been in the avant-garde of the new theatre movement. One of his most successful productions was that of Maeterlinck's Pelléas and Mélisande. The ultra-mundane atmosphere of the play was sustained by Debussy interludes, and scenes changed without closing the curtains by combinations of lighting effects, magically evoking new settings.

THE "REVOLVING PANELS"

In addition to an intricate lighting system Ferrier has evolved a very flexible mis-en-scène, perfectly adjusted to the exigencies of his little theatre and his stage crew (consisting generally of himself and a young assistant). At first, settings were patterned after the larger, more conventional theatres, but the impossibility of adapting these forms to the unique conditions existing in his theatre led him to experiment in ways of conserving space and labor and eliminating backstage complexities. The necessity for economy and simplicity led him to anticipate many of the innovations of the modern scenic designers.

It was necessary to have settings that could be easily dismounted and stored out of the way; it was necessary to shift scenery rapidly. M. Ferrier has solved these

problems; he has constructed mechanisms that can be operated by a child. He uses parts of settings with a multitude of uses; posts which appear in one scene as columns, in another as the supports of an arch, etc. He understands the secret of art: to create something out of nothing -- like the Parisienne who with nothing dresses elegantly. He manufactures trees out of old newspapers; he directs such distinguished artists as Lucien Labaudt and Ralph Stackpole in the painting of full sets on ordinary brown wrapping paper; and out of old spools, removable panels, pulleys and ropes he is working out a system of scenic control which enables him to make a complete change of set in two minutes.

This system is M. Ferrier's principal innovation in the theatre -- his system of "revolving panels." Instead of the customary built-up sets or the alternative revolving stages he has fallen upon a simpler, more economical solution -- panels which revolve about a rigid central column. Scenery painted on canvas or paper is tacked to the panels; to change the scene the panels are turned -- the more panels, the more scene-shifts. Ferrier visualizes the substitution of electrical controls for manual controls, eliminating entirely cumbersome scenery and stage crews: you press the button, et voilá! the stage is set. In the meantime he carts around the panels himself and turns the panels, which is good exercise and keeps him young and vigorous.

FERRIER'S BACKGROUND

One may easily become so engrossed in the backstage

treasure house of mechanical marvels that one may forget in M. Ferrier's theatre, as in any other theatre, "the play's the thing." And the play depends ultimately on the acting. In acting Ferrier adheres to the traditional French style; he stresses discipline and thoroughness. He has established a school in connection with his theatre, a school where, as in the Comédie-Française, young people are trained to become actors of the company. He will force the actor to practice hours on the perfect rendering of one single gesture, insisting that this fragment well learned will be transferred into other elements of the actor's part.

It was as dramatic tenor that Ferrier made his debut in San Francisco, in the unfortunate opera company that played a brief engagement at the Valencia in 1911. In Paris he had sung at the Opéra-Comique. But he had also done considerable acting -- at the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre, at the Porte Saint-Martin, at the Ambigu, at the Théâtre du Peuple, at the Odéon. He has had enough background to endow a number of theatres, and a few months after his arrival in San Francisco a new theatre came into being. After almost a half century of darkness the sun once more shone on the French theatre in San Francisco.

A NEW SCHOOL OF THE THEATRE

Although Ferrier's theatre has essentially been a one-man affair, much of his success has been due to competent support, particularly that of his wife, Jeanne Gustin-Ferrier,

another member of the stranded Grazi opera troupe, a talented singer in both grand and comic opera, graduate of the Conservatoire de Paris. She enthusiastically joined him in the project of forming a school of declamation and singing. The Théâtre Français was an outgrowth of this first idea.

In the causerie delivered at the second performance of the Théâtre Français, M. Ferrier criticized the use of the word "troupe" in connection with his group of actors; he preferred the term "company," to indicate the solidarity and permanence of his enterprise. He had in mind an organization whose members were "sociétaires," like that of the Comédie Française -- at the same time a permanent theatre with permanent members and a school for the training of new actor-members. He and Mme. Ferrier would form the nucleus of this company; both well-trained experienced actors they would gather around them a company of professionals and amateurs who would carry out the ideals of this theatre. In an interview with Mr. John D. Barry (Bulletin January 8, 1913) he suggested what he was planning to do with these amateurs: he would treat them not as parrots, for acting is far deeper than imitation; he would develop their minds, using the natural temperament of the individual as plastic material, training the dramatic intelligence.

SUPPORTING ACTORS

Even during the first season of the Théâtre Français the Ferriers were fortunate in having some proficient professional actors play in their company. Hubert Dolez, who

another member of the strolling troupe, a talented singer in both French and Gaelic songs, and the disappearance of Perrier. The enthusiastically forced him into the project of forming a school of dramatic art and singing. The Théâtre champêtre was an outgrowth of that first idea.

In the summers delivered at the school performance of the Théâtre fréquent, . . . Perrier introduced the use of the word "troupe" in connection with the company to preferred the term "company," as indicative of the solidarity and permanence of his enterprise. . . . . of an organization whose members were "coadjuteurs," like . . . at the Comédie Française -- at the early time . . . . . with permanent members, and a special . . . . . motor-members. He had two . . . . . of this company: both well-trained . . . . . who would gather around them a company of . . . . . and amateurs who would carry out the ideal . . . . . In an interview with Mr. John H. Barry ("Mirror," . . . 6, 1913) he suggested that he was planning to . . . . . a permanent: he would treat them not as . . . . . in the theatre than imitation, he would develop . . . . . real temperament of the individual . . . . . training the dramatic intelligence.

SUPPLIED LOVE

Even during the first season of the Théâtre champêtre the Perriers were fortunate in having some . . . . . sional actors play in their company. Mr. Hart Jolly, who

arrived in San Francisco at this time, was one of the founders. He was a solid performer. His manner of acting, sober and restrained, reminded the Franco-Californien (Aug. 22,1912) of Lucien Guitry. He distinguished himself as a character actor; one of his best roles in this early season was that of Bedarride in La Petite Chocolatière, a successful interpretation of the picaresque, boasting, audacious Midi type. Dolez could always be depended upon for a good performance. In Paris he had been actor, author and critic. Two of his works had been played at the Renaissance and the Odéon and he had played with Tarride, the actor-director of the Renaissance Theatre. Mlle. Jeanne Farnès, another of the Renaissance company, who had been pensionnaire at the Comédie Française, and later had played in the French theatres of Canada, was another permanent member of Ferrier's early company. The Franco-Californien critic who had a weakness for extremely adulatory comparisons, discovered that the young actress reminded him of Brandes. Later Mlle. Yvonne Michèle joined the troupe. A dainty little coloratura soprano, with small and delicate features, her acting and singing as Jeannette in Les Noces de Jeannette, a role she had played in Paris, London, and New York, greatly pleased the public.

THE AMATEURS

From time to time various professionals have joined Ferrier's troupe as permanent or guest performers, but Ferrier in the main has had to depend upon the work of amateurs.

These have been members of the French colony, teachers of French, young American college girls and boys. Occasional talent would be exhibited by these amateurs, such as Madame de Tessan, wife of the author, sister of Paul Verdier, and herself an accomplished painter. She played with the young company during the first few seasons and was highly commended by the critics. In the role of Benjamine Lapistolle in the vaudeville La Petite Chocolatière she scored a hit, giving the character gaminerie, charm, light and spontaneous grace.

Another amateur who acquitted herself creditably during the early seasons was a young American girl, Alice Coleman. Miss Coleman played Doña Sol in Hugo's Ruy Blas, one of Sarah Bernhardt's earliest triumphs, at a performance attended by that veteran tragédienne herself, then visiting San Francisco on a vaudeville tour. Mme. Bernhardt was polite; indeed she was most gracious. According to the Bulletin (Feb. 12, 1913):

> "The players were honored by the congratulations of Madame Bernhardt, who insisted that Miss Coleman accompany her on their triumphal march of exit, and with the prettiest grace imaginable went about introducing the young amateur as her 'confrère.'"

Most of these amateurs were of course timid and self-conscious and sometimes incompetent, but the criticism was always indulgent. Sometimes the newspapers even complained that the amateurs were too good, that M. Ferrier was not giving them the opportunities their talents demanded. On the occasion of the opening of the second season of the

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Théâtre Français with Mlle. de la Seiglière, the Franco-Californien (Nov. 15, 1913) offered the director some genial advice:

> "He has under his wings such excellent amateurs as the Messrs. de Villers and Gassion, who have versatility and a real aptitude for the stage. With such elements, in appropriate plays, he can offer us some excellent performances."

REPERTOIRE

This was essentially criticism of the repertoire. Ferrier has not often dared to produce works of tremendous artistic significance. Every season has of course had its "great event," its Racine or Molière, its Topaze or Marius, its Claudel Miracle Play. There have been the great civic triumphs at the Opera House or the Civic Auditorium, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, the oratorio, Sainte Thérêse. But Ferrier has been severely handicapped by his lack of resources; he has had to limit himself to plays which can be put on cheaply, with simple settings. He has also been limited by his audience; composed mainly of Americans whose comprehension of French is imperfect, who come to his theatre for an education and prefer simple plays with much action, little dialogue and most of that comic. Thus the staple of the Théâtre d'Art has been mediocre curtain raisers, comédie-bouffe, farce, the repertoire of the vaudeville theatre in Paris. Typical of many of its programs was the very first performance at the Scottish Rite Auditorium, on August 1, 1912: three one-act trifles, Asile de Nuit, in which Ferrier played the

role of Haps; Rosalie, with Mme. Ferrier playing the name part; and Le Mariage de Colombine, with the two founders playing Pierrot and Colombine.

Ferrier has limited his theatre almost entirely to popular comedies. He has found out that his public prefers this branch of the theatre and after all, Molière is the national genius of the French. Particularly during the first season, a period of caution and restraint, and without adequate resources, he had to limit himself to the formulae for certain success. He took the light farces at which the public laughs easily; he took the familiar and trite schoolroom classics, such as Le Voyage de M. Perrichon, Le Barbier de Séville, L'Anglais tel qu'on le parle. Occasionally during this period Ferrier interpreted plays that were really significant, truly representative of the Gallic temperament, like Anatole France's mocking version of a medieval fabliau, La comédie de celui qui épousa une femme muette (The Comedy of the Man who Married a Dumb Wife); Augier's solid comedy of "le bon sens bourgeois," Le Gendre de M. Poirier; and the poetic drama of Francois Coppée, Le Luthier de Crémone.

NEWSPAPER CRITIQUES

Le Luthier de Crémone, a one-act play, was part of the second performance of the Théâtre Français at the Scottish Rite Auditorium. The program was introduced by Ferrier with a causerie on Francois Coppée (the causerie became a traditional feature of the first seasons of the Théâtre Français).

role of [illegible] *Jocrisse*, with [illegible] *Jocrisse*, the [illegible] part in *Le Cabaret de Colombine*, with [illegible] increasing [illegible] of Colombine.

[illegible] the limited his theatre [illegible] popular [illegible]. He may found out that it is [illegible] while [illegible] the theatre [illegible] in the national [illegible] of the [illegible]. Particularly [illegible] the first [illegible], a period of [illegible] and [illegible] adequate [illegible] to limit [illegible] to [illegible] for [illegible]. In [illegible] the public favorite [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] characters, such as [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] de Déville, *Bibliothèque de [illegible]*. [illegible] this period [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] response [illegible] the [illegible] temperament, like Aurélie Brunet's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] *comédie de salut qui [illegible] une [illegible] morale* (The [illegible] of the [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] of "Le [illegible]," *Le [illegible]* [illegible] poetic [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], *[illegible]*.

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Le Lutrin de Crémone, a [illegible], was [illegible] the second performance of the Théâtre [illegible] at the [illegible] site Audiberti. The one act was [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] or [illegible] (the [illegible] [illegible] tional feature of the first [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible]

This was followed by solo numbers by the Ferriers, accompanied by a small orchestra; the music was almost entirely from Massenet, in commemoration of the French composer who had recently died in Paris. Next was Au Téléphone, a two-act grand-guignol drama by A. de Lorde, in which Hubert Dolez made his San Francisco debut. The program concluded with Le Luthier de Crémone, in which Dolez interpreted the role of Ferrari, the master violinmaker and Mlle. Jeanne Farnès that of Giannina.

The impressionable reviewer of L'Écho du Pacifique was overwhelmed by this performance; and he was perhaps somewhat fulsome in his praise when he announced:

> "The interpretation of last night was almost perfect and approaches those we have seen at the Comédie Française." (Sept. 6, 1912).

Later however, he came down to earth, and found a great deal wrong with the performance of Le Barbier de Séville (Nov. 8). He was puzzled by the strange apathy of the French public. But particularly was he disappointed in Ferrier; he had expected much better from him; had been promised much better. He admitted that he was not difficult to please; he did not have to be indulgent as before some silly amateur group performing for charity; from Ferrier he had been taught to expect the highest artistic standards. But much was lacking in this performance: the troupe did not play with its usual ensemble, there were not enough rehearsals, some of the actors did not know their roles well. And Le Barbier de Séville is a very difficult play.

THE FERRIERS' ACTING

This was however only a rare lapse, and the company soon merited the good opinion of the critics. With the director, M. Ferrier, they were always pleased. His solid background in the theatre gives him an unusual versatility, an ability to adjust himself with ease to any role, be it a speaking or singing one. According to Ferrier there is no contradiction between acting and operatic interpretations. They both come from the same source, both express the same artistic impulse, both reveal human emotions. Thus in acting he tends to emphasize diction much more than an American director would. His own diction is an excellent model for his pupils. L'Écho (Nov. 13, 1912) discussing his conference on l'Art Théâtral speaks of "his clear, clean speech and his elegant and precise diction." Of his Poirier, one of his favorite characterizations, M. Tournier in Comoedia (Paris) said:

> "(M. Ferrier) made of Poirier an unforgettable figure, very well made up, his bearing, his gestures, his clear and biting diction aroused at each moment the applause of the house." (Oct. 30)

Mme. Jeanne Gustin-Ferrier is likewise an accomplished artist and endowed with an expressive voice; her musical training too has stood her in good stead. L'Echo describes her in Mademoiselle de la Seiglière as:

> "Very graceful, with an irreproachable stage presence, with a limpid diction, she knows how to conquer her audience with her entrance on the stage and to keep it without interruption under the charm of her speech." (Nov. 14, 1913)

With her rich voice she could imitate almost to perfection the famous "voix d'or" of the aged tragedienne in Ferrier's original one-act satire, Madame Sarah Bernhardt ne joue pas aujourd'hui -- the "golden voice" a little strained by fifty years of treading the boards. She could mimic the langorous gestures, a little heavy, a little weary, and the coquetry of bon ton, which formed part of the baggage of the divine Sarah. Having played with Bernhardt, Mme. Ferrier had ample opportunity to study her model closely.

MUSIC

The Ferriers' preoccupation with music is reflected in their acting; it is more obviously exhibited in their choice of repertoire. For music plays an important role in their theatre. During the early years they gave many vocal concerts; they have produced and they still do, all the popular varieties of opera: comic opera, operetta, opéra-bouffe. The first opéra-comique presented was Les Noces de Jeannette by Victor Massé, in which Mlle. Michèle made her deout on January 13, 1913. This was given on the same program with Octave, a "comédie-bouffe." Works of the prolific Offenbach have been favorites of the Ferrier repertoire; during the first season of 1912-13 they offered an opéra-comique, Le Mariage aux Lanternes and a "bouffonnerie musicale," Les Deux Aveugles.

Convinced that music itself is a powerful dramatic medium, Ferrier has used it whenever possible to heighten the

With her rich voice she could [illegible] in the [illegible] orchestral [illegible] -- the [illegible] musicians [illegible] years [illegible] Gershwin, a little heavy, [illegible] con tem, this [illegible] Having [illegible] mit, [illegible] [illegible].

The [illegible] in the [illegible] choice of repertoire [illegible] their theatre. [illegible] concerts [illegible] lar versatile of [illegible] The first [illegible] by Vladimir [illegible] January 12, 1 [illegible] Octave, a "[illegible]" [illegible] have been [illegible] the first [illegible] Le Mariage aux Bouleaux and [illegible] Deux Avenues.

"Gershwin [illegible] medium, Ferrier [illegible]

emotional expressiveness of his plays. He has used it in the form of interludes, or incidental music. He considers that among his best works have been Maeterlinck's Pelléas et Mélisande, with Debussy interludes, and his own dramatization of Mallarmé's poem, L'Après Midi d'un Faune, with the music of Debussy supplying the background and intensifying the mood. These two productions were notably successful, because Debussy has written an opera and a symphonic poem based upon the play and the poem. Some of Ferrier's own attempts at harmonization have not been so successful. His first attempt at producing a "musical play" (during the season 1912-1913) was Daudet's L'Arlésienne in which he used Bizet's popular Arlésienne Suite. This was a poor choice. In the first place, L'Arlésienne, although it possesses Daudet's delicate, sentimental touch, is a poor play, dramatically weak and without much interest. The famous Bizet music, although good music, has no connection with the dramatic action, being in the nature of an "hors d'oeuvre." This was the consensus of critical opinion when the play was first produced; however the play still retains a certain popularity and is occasionally revived.

FIRST SEASONS

The first season of the Théâtre d'Art of 1912-13 established a level for future seasons; it foreshadowed the future history of the French Theatre in San Francisco. There were the comedies, the farces, the vaudevilles, the light frothy musical pieces from Paris, and the occasional

emotional expressiveness of his play. He introduced it in the form of interludes, or incidental music. He considers that among the best works have been certainly the ballets of Milhaud, with Debussy in second place, and the music of Milhaud's poem, Bilboquet, and the music with the music of Debussy accompanying the production of Antoine, the moon. These two productions were notably successful, because Debussy has written an opera and a symphonic poem based upon the play and the composers of Paris have their own style as impressionists have not been so successful. The first attempt at writing a "musical play" (during the season 1917-1918) was Demetria L'Adolescence in which [illegible] Antoine Bute. This was a [illegible] place. Milhaud, although, although it is serious [illegible] instrumental bowl, is a poor play, dramatically, and the music is interest. The [illegible] music, [illegible] music, has no connection with the dramatic action, [illegible] the music is an "hors d'oeuvre." This was [illegible] of political opinion when the play was first produced. However the play still retains a certain popularity and is [illegible] "[illegible]".

Ballet Russe

The last season of the Ballet Russe 1912-13 established a level for future [illegible]. It foreshadowed the future history of the company's [illegible] in Paris. There were the comedies, the [illegible], the vaudevilles, the light frothy musical pieces [illegible], and the occasional

attempts at serious drama, the timid invasions of literature, Like its Italian sister, the Teatro Italiano, the Théâtre d'Art Français has increasingly taken on the aspect of an educational institution for the exhibition of French culture to Americans.

The repertoire of the French theatre differs in literary level from the Italian theatre. The repertoire of the Théâtre d'Art has from the start almost consistently maintained a popular basis. It is a shrine to French culture; not a very elaborate shrine, but a shrine nevertheless.

Occasionally,however,Ferrier's theatre has attempted to present the work of local American writers, in translation. One such production during the early years of the Théâtre d'Art (1913) was a play by John D. Barry, San Francisco author and journalist. It was entitled Une Aventure de Napoléon, a melodrama in one act which gave the Emperor the role of the villain pursuing the virginal heroine, fighting a duel with the hero, and then just before the curtain making a gesture of renunciation and magnanimity.

Barry's irreverent treatment of the Napoleonic legend brought sharp criticism from some quarters. L'Écho (March 3, 1913) summed up the tenor of this criticism in the comment: "The play would make a fine comedy -- for Americans -- but not for Frenchmen."

Ferrier's later work, of high artistic merit, is

more genuinely French, in fact, according to some enthusiastic admirers, an important addition to the entire tradition of the large French theatre. In this way he is realizing his duty to those who support his theatre -- mainly Americans -- and who desire to experience a fragment of what France has created in the theatre.

But on certain occasions Ferrier has not neglected his compatriots. On Bastille Day, 1914, he produced at the Scottish Rite Hall his "historical and patriotic allegory," La Marseillaise with music by Marcelli, which he himself had written, directed, staged. And with this grand patriotic gesture he completed the first season of the new Théâtre Français and sailed for France, to serve that country during the war as pharmacist, nurse, entertainer, and all-around morale-uplifter. At home in San Francisco, Mme. Ferrier carried on. She continued the Ferrier school of declamation, song and drama. She continued her vocal concerts. She gave conferences. She played in benefit performances. In 1918 in Berkeley, she participated in one of Sarah Bernhardt's last performances in America -- the dramatic poem Les Cathédrales. In this war play by Eugène Morand, the role of the French soldier was played by the granddaughter of Sarah Bernhardt and the Divine Sarah, now 74, played the Cathedral of Strasbourg.

And across the sea, in France, the Théâtre d'Art of San Francisco had its influence. For about this time, at the Grand Théâtre in Le Havre they were producing for the benefit

of the wounded soldiers of France, La Marseillaise of Andre Ferrier.

AFTER THE WAR

Andre Ferrier returned to San Francisco, voice and energy unimpaired by the war, and at once plunged into renewed activity for the Théâtre Français. He had new plans and ambitions for a Théâtre d'Art, a permanent home for the Théâtre Français. The Scottish Rite Hall, where he had given his performances, was obviously not the place for his theatre; among other things the accoustics were bad, the seats were narrow and uncomfortable. Attempts were made to give the hall a more intimate atmosphere by rearranging the seating plan, but Ferrier was looking for a theatre of his own, a bijou theatre, "devoted to the cultivation of the best in French music and art of the stage" -- a "théâtre intime." He had to design his own mis-en-scène; he had to have the feel of his own theatre. This man who acts, directs, produces (and occasionally writes his own plays) and who requires that no part of the theatre be alien to him, is in the fullest sense of the term a Man of the Theatre.

The next few years, as Ferrier worked with characteristic care and patience on his plans for the new theatre, he continued to give performances from the usual repertoire. In February 1919 he reopened the Théâtre Français at the Notre Dame Hall on Bush Street. Certain typical performances given there deserve mention: La Boîte à Joujoux, a children's

of the wounded soldiers on [illegible] Tarrier.

[illegible]

[illegible] energy [illegible] activity [illegible] bition [illegible] Francois. [illegible] performance, was [illegible] some other things [illegible] narrow and [illegible] hall a [illegible] plan, but [illegible] bition [illegible] French [illegible] had to design [illegible] of his own theatre. [illegible] (and [illegible] no part of the theatre [illegible] sense of the [illegible] of the [illegible]

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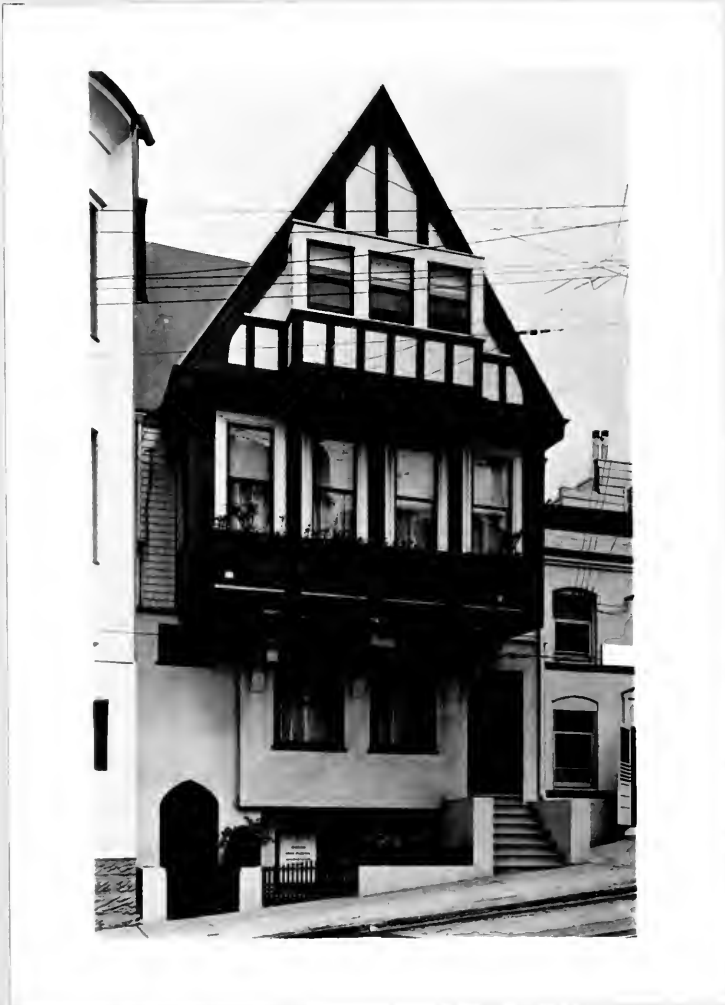

ANDRE FERRIER'S FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

ballet by Andre Heller with music by Debussy, and A War Christmas, a lyrical fantasy written by Ferrier with two other collaborators, which had played over 100 performances in France during the war. During April occurred a Représentation de Gala of the Théâtre Français at the Columbia Theatre. Two opéra-comiques were given: Massenet's Le Portrait de Manon and Offenbach's Chanson de Fortunio. Toward the end of the year the Théâtre Français re-established itself in the Scottish Rite Hall. In October were given Les Gardiens de Phare, a Grand Guignol melodrama, and Une Tasse de Thé, a comedy by Nuitter and Derley. In December Ferrier produced La Noce du Poilu Épinard, an original musical farce on Prohibition, and Les Cloches de Corneville, the well-known comic opera by Planquette. In December the Théâtre Français was in the Maitland Theatre on Stockton Street; here a special performance was given for the Salon Français, consisting of Bilhaud's Les Espérances and Bernard's Les Coteaux du Médoc.

BIRTH OF THE GAITÉ FRANÇAISE

Finally in 1921 Ferrier was ready to announce the opening of the Gaite Française, the Théâtre d'Art Français, the permanent home of the French Theatre in San Francisco. In the basement of his house at 1470 Washington Street he had equipped a little theatre, complete with stage, auditorium, dressing rooms, workshop, studio, and much complicated technical apparatus. He had worked very industriously, with

ballet by Andre Haller with music by Lebrun, and *Les Chrysthèmes*, a lyrical fantasy written by Pierre Lièr with two other collaborators, which had played over 4 years more in France during the war. During 1921 it opened a repertoire de la Comédie de Paris at the Columbia Theatre. Two opéra-comiques were given, namely *Le Jardin de Paris* and Offenbach's *Chanson de Fortunio*. Toward the end of the year the Théâtre Français re-established itself in the Scottish Rite Hall. In October were given *Les Jardins de France*, a Grand Guignol melodrama, and *Les Lèvres de Rire*, a comedy by Mitter and Derley. In December Tarbier produced *Le Jeu du Foin Bourrée*, an original musical farce, *Prohibition*, and *Les Cloches de Corneville*, the well-known comic opera by Planquette. In December the Théâtre Français was in the Mallard Theatre on Stockton Street; here a general performance was given for the Salon Français, consisting of Allinard's *Les Ecoréances* and Bernard's *Les Jetons du Hasard*.

SINCE OF THE WAR, 1921

Finally in 1921 Copper was ready to announce the opening of the Cafe Français, the Théâtre Français, the permanent home of the French theatre in San Francisco. In the basement of his house at 1420 Washington Street he had equipped a little theatre, complete with stage, auditorium, dressing rooms, workshop, studio, and much complicated technical apparatus. He had worked very industriously, with

only occasional assistance of friends and members of his company. He was undoubtedly familiar with the history and fate of the French and other foreign theatres in San Francisco, but he was optimistic about the future of his theatre; for behind him was a faithful public, small but steadfast, who, gratified by the sincerity and finish of the first few seasons, had pledged their support of the new theatre. And true to his promise Ferrier offered for this first season of the Gaité Française an encouraging variety of representative French plays. The season began on October 14, 1921 and continued until April 30, 1922 and included the usual popular comedies, opéra-comiques, schoolroom classics, and Grand Guignol melodramas; but there were also given such substantial classics as Corneille's tragedy, Le Cid, Racine's sole comedy, Les Plaideurs, and Vildrac's modern drama, Le Paquebot Tenacity.

EARLY LIFE OF THE GAITE

Encouraged by the reaction of his public to this type of theatrical fare and fortified by many new subscriptions, Ferrier soon announced a new season, which also would last from fall to spring. The season of 1922-23 embraced opéra-bouffe (Les Trois Bossus), one-act comedies (Courteline's La Paix Chez Soi), three-act farces (La Tante d'Honfleur), and opéra-comiques (Les Noces de Jeannette). Aware that his public prefers the familiar, Ferrier repeats constantly such trite works as Le Voyage de M. Perrichon and L'Anglais

tel qu'on le Parle. The season ended with the customary salute to Molière; in May the French Theatre produced a minor Molière farce, Les Fourberies de Scapin.

The next season, that of 1923-24, was a much more significant season; it covered a wide range of French comedy and revealed to the American public some important and profound products of the French dramatic genius. Two works of Molière were presented this season: the great character study, L'Avare, in which Ferrier received high praise for his interpretation of the miser, Harpagon; and the social satire, Les Précieuses Ridicules. The latter play was given in May on the same bill with another satire, Labiche's well-known La Poudre aux Yeux, which lampoons another social class, that of the parvenu petty bourgeoisie.

VISITING CELEBRITIES

Ferrier has tried to keep his theatre as informal as possible, in keeping with its intimate character, in common with the French attitude toward the theatre as a social institution. He has been successful in establishing an atmosphere of bonhomie and friendliness in the audience and an easy camaraderie between audience and actors. Most of the actors are known personally to members of the audience and a warm reception is always assured. Ferrier has quite often recruited actors from the social register, American as well as French. Mrs. Constance Wylie, a young amateur from the Blue Book, made her debut in January 1924 playing the ingénue, Antoinette,

in Auger's Le Gendre de M. Poirier, revived for the first time after Ferrier's first season in San Francisco.

To enhance the sociable atmosphere of La Gaieté Française, Ferrier maintains the custom of inviting visiting French celebrities to be guests of honor at his theatre. The precedent was established with Bernhardt's visit in 1913; since then the public of the Théâtre Français has honored other French actresses, in addition to actors, painters, musicians, scholars, sailors and prizefighters. In October 1923 Mme. Georgette Leblanc, the famous actress and wife of Maeterlinck attended the performance of L'Avare; in December the officers and crew of the French cruiser, Jeanne d'Arc, saw Ferrier's company in Les Noces de Jeannette. In May the piquant Jaqueline Morrin of the Folies Bergeres arrived in San Francisco after a brief sojourn in Hollywood and informed the newspapers of her contempt for the entire Hollywood moving picture industry. She received a hospitable invitation from M. Ferrier. Not only did Mlle. Morrin visit the little French theatre at 1470 Washington Street; she also appeared on the stage a few times, sang a number of "chansons montmartoises," including the popular "Mon Homme," and played the title role in Jules Renard's poignant semi-tragedy of peasant life, Poil de Carotte. This drama, already produced in America as Carrots, and later a masterpiece of the French cinema, was given a capable interpretation by Mlle. Morrin and by M. and Mme. Ferrier. It was excellently mounted; this one-act drama. Poil de Carotte, together with Maeterlinck's Pelléas et

[illegible]

Mélisande, is considered by competent critics to be the best he has done so far in his theatre.

VARIED SEASONS

The season of 1923-24 was in other respects notable. In January Yvonne du Parc and Henri Château, two skilled actors, returned to the company. They appeared in Blanchette, by the modern sociological playwright, Brieux, and on February 28, the anniversary of Molière, the company joined in gay tribute to their patron saint; they put on Le Malade Imaginaire.

Le Malade Imaginaire was repeated during the next season. In March 1925 Anatole France was commemorated with the production of Crainquebille, a three-act drama adapted from his short story, and Thaïs, the Massenet opera derived from his novel. A month later the French Theatre produced a one-act comic opera also from the pen of Massenet, Le Portrait de Manon, which was given on the same program with another comic opera, La Poupée, and a two-act miracle play, Le Chevalier qui Donna sa Femme au Diable. The season of 1924-25 was a crowded one, beginning in October with Knock, ou le Triomphe de la Médicine, the three-act comedy by Jules Romains which had been a hit the previous December at the Comédie des Champs-Elysées; and ending with La Famille Pont-Biquet, a comédie-bouffe in three acts. It included such diversified attractions as Offenbach's comic opera, Le Mariage aux Lanternes; Birabeau's three-act comedy, La Fleur d'Oranger, which had

been the greatest success of the year in Paris; and a two-act comédie-bouffe, Le Cultivateur de Chicago, adapted from an obscure short story by Mark Twain.

During the next few seasons there were a few unusual productions, a few well-mounted plays, like Missa's opéra-bouffe, Les Trois Bossus, in which for the creation of décors Ferrier had the proficient collaboration of the painters Lucien Labaudt and Siméon Pelenc, assisted by V. Ulianoff, former décorateur of the Imperial Theatre of St. Petersburg. There were also such unique events as the first performance anywhere, in 1927, at the Gaieté Francaise, of Le Bonheur n'est pas de ce Monde, a play in three acts and prologue by Gaument and Cé which, according to the program was neither a comedy nor a vaudeville, but an "amusing bouffonerie."

MIRACLE PLAY AND PATRIOTIC SPECTACLE

There were no productions of outstanding significance until the season of 1928-29 which began, in the words of one enthusiastic critic, with "the most beautiful artistic production ever given in San Francisco." This was Paul Claudel's tenderly lyrical religious drama, L'Annonce faite à Marie, in nine tableaux, upon which Ferrier had bestowed more than his usual careful and thorough preparation. He announced that this play had required 73 rehearsals, and that the entr'actes would last from two to five minutes. The actors after Ferrier's industrious coaching, had absorbed the pious mood of this miracle play; and with simple, symbolical

décors and lighting effects been able to heighten and sustain this mood.

This season of 1928-29, having begun so auspiciously, ended in sensational fashion. On May 21, 1929 the French colony celebrated in the Civic Auditorium the 500th anniversary of the triumphal march of Jeanne d'Arc to Orleans, the greatest event in the history of the French nation. It was a celebration sponsored by the French colony assisted by American friends and the city of San Francisco, in which the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and the Municipal Chorus participated; its principal event was a spectacular pageant, Jeanne d'Arc, written, composed, directed, and staged by Andre Ferrier.

Jeanne d'Arc was a spectacle of the Reinhardt genre, that is to say, colossal and stupendous. There were forty actors in this series of "tableaux animés" depicting scenes from the life of The Pucelle, as a peasant, at court, in battle, at death. On the stage were three immense arches 60 feet high, a reconstruction of the Great Portal of the Cathedral of Rouen; on the gate of the central arch Labaudt had painted Jeanne d'Arc in gold in the manner of the medieval frescos in the pose created by the sculptor Frémiet. There were no curtains: transitions and settings were created by lighting. There was a highly complicated system of lamps and projectors that threw all kinds of light on the stage from all directions. producing very subtle and dramatic effects. The San Francisco

decors and lighting effects been able to [illegible] under this mood.

The season of 1922-23, having begun auspiciously enough in sensational fashion [illegible] Oct. 21, 1922 the [illegible] company celebrated [illegible] by the Civic Auditorium the 500th night [illegible] of the talent playing of Tempe d'Arc to Orleans, the [illegible] at event in the history of the Opera Guild [illegible]. It was celebration [illegible] by the Opera officials, [illegible] San Francisco and the city of San Francisco, in which the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, the Imperial Chorus participated; the principal [illegible] a spectacular pageant, Jeanne d'Arc, written, composed, [illegible] by [illegible] Harper.

Jeanne d'Arc was a pageant of the Immortal Maid, that is to say, original [illegible]. There were first scenes in this series of [illegible] according [illegible] from the life of the Maiden [illegible] in battle, at death. In the [illegible] three [illegible] of Rouen, a reconsecration of the Sacred Heart at the Cathedral of Rouen; on the gate of the [illegible] arch [illegible] painted Jeanne d'Arc in gold in the manner of the mediaval [illegible] the page created by the [illegible]. There were [illegible] tableau: [illegible] and pageantry were created by [illegible]. There was a [illegible] complicated system of [illegible] that threw all kinds of light on the stage from all directions, producing very subtle and dramatic effects. The San Francisco

Symphony produced the music for the tableaux, which Ferrier synchronized with the movements of the actors; most of the acting was in pantomime, with only rare dialogue. The Municipal Chorus concluded with the pageant at the climax of Jeanne's death scene accompanying the apotheosis of the 12th tableau with some of the great a cappella music of Palestrina. It was a great civic triumph for Ferrier and his artists.

MOLIERE AND CHEVALIER

During this season, 1928-29, Ferrier employed considerable music in his productions. There was not only the traditional performance in February of Le Malade Imaginaire for Molière's anniversary, with the ballet music of Charpentier -- this time played by pupils of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music -- but also La March Indienne, the three-act comedy of Franc-Nohain, given in December, in which there were music and Indian dances. The scenery and costumes for this Oriental fantasy were designed by Labaudt; in it Ferrier played the role of the Wandering Jew. Labaudt also designed colorful settings for the performances, in February, of Les Vignes du Seigneur, the three-act Parisian comedy by Robert de Flers and Francois de Croisset. Pelenc, Stackpole, and Clifford Wight also designed décors for this rich season in the Théâtre d'Art.

The next season was rather dull without any spectacular or otherwise extraordinary productions. There had been little time for preparation; Ferrier had been away in

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[illegible]

[illegible] sidereal music [illegible] traditional [illegible] for Kilpatrick [illegible] ter -- this [illegible] repository of Music -- [illegible] not merely if [illegible] were music [illegible] this Orient [illegible] played the role of [illegible] colored settings for [illegible] Vingen du Soir [illegible] de Pierrot [illegible] Gilded Night [illegible] the Theatre [illegible].

The next [illegible] bauhaus or otherwise [illegible] been little time for [illegible]

Los Angeles singing in Gaetano Merola's opera company. He had begun his career in San Francisco as an opera singer; he has never permitted this one of his many talents to fall into desuetude; he has sung often with the San Francisco Opera Company and has been its assistant stage-manager since its inception. The only outstanding event of the 1929-30 season in the French Theatre of San Francisco was the arrival of a guest of honor. In this case the celebrity was Maurice Chevalier, visiting San Francisco after completing his second Hollywood film, The Love Parade, which boosted him into American fame. On January 31 Chevalier was honored with a soirée française at the St. Francis Theatre; he obliged by singing songs from the films, Innocents of Paris and The Love Parade, including "Dîtes-moi ma mère" and "Valentine." Next he was guest of honor at a dinner given by the Bohemian Club, where he was toasted elaborately by M. Ferrier and other members of the club.

All this excitement, however, could not detract from the traditional tribute to another compatriot, a 300 year old Frenchman. In February Molière was tendered his usual tribute with the playing of Le Mariage Forcé. This was a month conspicuous for some unusual productions. In a program which included La Chance du Mari, a witty one-act Parisian comedy by Robert de Flers and de Caillavet, the French Theatre presented a one-act San Francisco comedy, A Pacific City, by O'Pingui of the Courrier du Pacifique, the local French newspaper; in the latter play Ferrier played three roles.

PAGNOL, ARCHIPENKO, AND MAETERLINCK

The next season the Théâtre d'Art suspended activity in San Francisco. In 1931 and 1932 Ferrier was in Hollywood, occupied like other important foreign actors, like Mimi Aguglia, the Italian tragedienne, in the remunerative field of synchronization. When the various foreign nations passed restrictive laws against Hollywood films with synchronized foreign dialogue, these actors found themselves unemployed and most of them returned to the theatre. Mimi Aguglia came to San Francisco to found the Teatro Italiano; Andre Ferrier returned to continue the Théâtre d'Art Français.

He returned with renewed zest. In a short time he was offering the "clou" of the 1932-33 season the memorable production of Pelléas et Mélisande, a tour de force of lighting and poetic evocation. In April he revived another great play, L'Annonce faite à Marie, with settings designed by Pelenc. The same month he gave Topaze, the brilliant four-act comedy of Marcel Pagnol. The season ended with a favorite opéra-bouffe, Les Trois Bossus.

The next season was one of even greater triumphs. It began on October with an unique performance of Les Dames aux Chapeaux Verts, a three-act comedy by Albert Ocrement which had, during the preceding year, been given over 300 performances at the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre. The role of Telcide was played by Mme. Archipenko, the wife of the noted sculptor; she had played the same role in the Mills College version.

[illegible]

The décors were the work of Joseph Sheridan, guest artist at Mills College. Archipenko had obviously inspired the sets; they were expertly modernistic, but according to critics had nothing to do with the play, whose spirit was provincial and old-fashioned.

Ferrier soon returned to more conventional fare. In December he gave a number of performances of the inevitable Tristan Bernard, L'Anglais tel qu'on le Parle; this was on the same program with two other one-act comedies, George Courteline's farcial Le Boulingrin and Pierre Veber's L'Extra. In January there was again Pelléas et Mélisande, Ferrier's chef d'oeuvre. Mme. Johanne Biétry-Salinger, the sensitive critic of the Courier du Pacifique was deeply impressed by Ferrier's Pelléas; she found felicitous his use of Debussy's music as "musique de scène," creating a melodic continuity between scenes. She speaks of the atmosphere created by the ensemble of words and silences, "as of life seen through a veil." She has this to say of Ferrier's mis-en-scène and lighting:

> "...lighting which projects us into a fairy-land, with décors stylized and with a simplicity proportionate to the simplicity of Maeterlinck's words...the symbolic characters in Pelléas appear on the true scale of their symbolic grandeur..."

LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME

But the "clou" of the 1933-34 season was this time a great civic production. At the same time Molière received his annual tribute; thus two birds were killed with one stone.

On April 20 and 21 at the Opera House, Ferrier sponsored by the Société Franco-Amérique, produced the five-act comedy-ballet of Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme. It was given with unusual opulence and splendor. The original seventeenth century music of Lulli was directed by Gastone Usigli; the ballets produced by Adolph Bohm were danced by members of the San Francisco ballet school; there were singers, dancers, musicians, a cast of 65. Ferrier who had never been cramped in his little cellar at 1470 Washington Street -- for the French genius seems to express itself in terms of quality rather than in size or quantity -- now had an opportunity to work lavishly, on a large, completely-equipped stage, with abundant resources. Ferrier had by choice limited himself to the smaller medium, where his theatre can be completely intregrated, unified by his own all-round talents, a work of art expressing the creator's individual personality. He has always preferred to do all of the work, rather than a minor share of it. In reality, on the vast stage of the War Memorial Opera House, he found himself cramped. Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme turned out a popular success; the performances attracted an audience of 7000. And this was a play in French -- a magnificent survival in this late age of the glorious past that is the French theatre in San Francisco!

The next month Ferrier was called upon again to make an artistic and patriotic contribution to the community. In May there was an official celebration by various French

and American organizations at the Civic Auditorium of the centenary of the death of Lafayette; and as usual M. Ferrier had a tableau up his sleeve for the occasion. Due, however, to the absence of Ferrier in Washington at the time of its presentation, Mme. Ferrier had to take over.

SAINTE THÉRÈSE

During the next season Molière's L'Avare was revived; it was performed on March 15 and 16 with Josephine Tapie playing opposite Ferrier. The next month Ferrier gave additional proof of his versatility in directing another civic triumph. On April 29 and 30 at the Civic Auditorium Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus, an oratorio, was produced at the Civic Auditorium. It was written by Evangeline Lehman, conducted by Maurice Dumernil; the mis-en-scène was by Andre Ferrier and the décors by Simeon Pelenc. This oratorio which had had a great success on its first performance in Paris was here given in English, with the soloists Sonia Samorukova, Evangeline Lehman, Mme. Jeanne Gustin-Ferrier and Mr. Noel Sullivan; with the San Francisco Orchestra and a chorus of 125. This musical legend illustrating the life of Saint Theresa, the Little Flower, had a cast of 150, and required 200 costumes. The music of the oratorio was simple and chaste; Ferrier's scenic effects were likewise simple, but ingenious. This artist-technician had come to depend more and more upon the dramatic power of lighting. The Chronicle of April 28 analyzed his miraculous effects, as follows:

> "No enclosed stage, no drop curtains. The illusion of scenery, objects and people on the stage is created by the play of ultra-violet rays on draped curtains and on the costumes. These costumes have been treated with a special fluorescent varnish sensitive to ultra-violet light and special paint has been used in painting the religious panels which will give the illusion of stained glass windows under the special lighting."

OFFICIAL TRIBUTE TO FERRIER

Ferrier's settings have been praised by no less an authority than Lee Simonson, the director of the New York Theatre Guild. This happened in October 1935, at a performance of Bernard Zimer's four-act modern populiste play, Bava l'Africain, which Mr. Simonson was attending in his capacity as guest of honor. The occasion was a special one. This time Andre Ferrier himself was being paid tribute; the public of the Théâtre d'Art was commemorating the twentieth year of the French Theatre and Ferrier's thirtieth year on the stage. The next year the French Government rather belatedly gave him official recognition for his unremitting industry on behalf of French culture in America. On February 5, 1936 during the entr'acte between Carotte and Paul Blanchard's drawing room comedy, Qui?, he was ceremoniously presented by the consul of France with the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

M. FERRIER CARRIES ON

And yet M. Ferrier is not satisfied with this recognition, now even with the encouragement and praise of those authors whose work he has produced and who have seen him at

work -- men like Maurice Maeterlinck, Paul Claudel and Jules Romains. Although he is a master of words and gestures and tones, although he has his fingertips on every department of the theatre, he is not yet satisfied. He is not content to rest on his laurels; his work, incredible as it is in scope and finesse, cannot be limited. M. Ferrier's vast energy continually overflows into other fields. There are his operas; his oratorios; his activities with the San Francisco Opera; as instructor of dramatics at Mills College and the University of California; the direction of the gigantic productions of the Bohemian Club at Bohemian Grove.

In the Théâtre d'Art at 1470 Washington Street his work continues. The season 1937-38, which began in November and ended in April, was a traditional one. It began with an important well-known modern drama, the four-act Marius by Marcel Pagnol and concluded with the characteristic schoolroom classic, L'Abbé Constantin, adapted from the novel of Ludovic Halévy familiar to high school pupils. There was even the distinguished amateur, Nancie, the daughter of the conductor Pierre Monteux, making her début as Bettina. In January the Théâtre d'Art produced Feu Toupinel a three-act comedy by André Bisson. Ferrier's records reveal that attending the performances of his play were over 7000 people of whom 5000 were students.

The foreign language theatres that have survived in San Francisco seem to have acquired this specialized function,

work -- man [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Although [illegible]

[illegible], although [illegible]

the theatre, [illegible]

read [illegible] Lorel [illegible]

and [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] overall [illegible] Pierre. [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] Dramatic [illegible]

In the [illegible] [illegible]

work continues. The season [illegible]

and ended in April, [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Frogel [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Ludovic [illegible]

even the distinguished [illegible]

conductor [illegible]

January the 1 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Foreign Language [illegible]

San Francisco seems to have [illegible]

this limited educational appeal. But Ferrier is not interested solely in teaching French to Americans, he is still interested in the theatre itself as an art. For him the fight still goes on. There is so much to be done yet in the theatre, so much he wants to do himself. Soon, he says, he will put on his production of Hamlet. He has been working on it for seven years....

- - - - -

THE FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

CHRONOLOGY

1849 De France's first venture in French theatricals.

1850 Opening of National Theatre for French and American performances. French Vaudeville Company at the Jenny Lind.

1851 French Vaudeville Company at Adelphi. Debut of Mlle. Bréa. L'Affaire Duane. The Second French Vaudeville Company at the Jenny Lind. Reopening of Adelphi on Dupont Street by French Company. French actors at Foley's Amphitheatre.

1852 Regular performances at Adelphi. M. Gogo en Californie. Vaudeville and combination performances at rebuilt Jenny Lind. Théâtre Union cornerstone laid.

1853 Opening of the Union Theatre by French Company. French opera at the Adelphi. Debut of Bonnet. New French Theatre on Bush Street.

1854 French company at the American. Vaudeville and opera at Metropolitan. Mrs. Sinclair performs in French at Metropolitan. Debut of Mlle. Pitron.

1855 Sunday law interferes with Foreign theatres. French Dramatic Company managed by Baker at Metropolitan. Mlle. Eléonore leaves San Francisco.

1856 French performances at Metropolitan. New company of Mlle. Félice at American.

1857 Mme. Ballagny at Metropolitan. Société Française at Metropolitan and American. Return of Mlle. Pitron.

1858-63 Sporadic performances at American, Lyceum, Eureka, etc.

1864 Restoration of French theatre at American. All theatrical activity suspended by decree of Supreme Court.

1866 New company gives performances at the Academy of Music.

1867 The polyglot Othello. Mlle. Nathalie at the American. Debut of Mlle. Sen.

CHRONOLOGY (Cont.)

THE FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

1868	Burning of the American. Wanderings of the French troupe. Arrest of Bonnet at Maguire's for violation of Sunday Law. Mlle. Sen returns to Metropolitan.
1869	Desultory performances at Metropolitan.
1870-72	Repeal of Sunday Law. French colony stages benefits for French National Subscriptions. Amateur performances.
1911	Ferrier arrives in San Francisco.
1912-14	Re-establishment of French theatre in San Francisco.
1919-20	Wanderings of Ferrier's troupe.
1921	Opening of the Gaité Française on Washington Street.
1922-28	Varied seasons at the Gaité Française.
1929	Jeanne d' Arc at the Civic Auditorium.
1930-32	The Théâtre d'Art Français continues.
1933	Pelléas et Mélisande. Topaze, etc.
1934	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme at the Opera House.
1935	Sainte Thérèse at the Civic Auditorium.
1936 -	Ferrier carries on.

THE FRENCH STATES IN CANADA

1855 [illegible] the American. Montreal. [illegible] type. Account of [illegible] at Marmiton. [illegible] at Grande Ligne. "Five. Sec. [illegible] [illegible]

1859 Seminary performances at Montreal.

1870-71 Report of Brouillet. Trouble during stages [illegible] for French National Interlude. [illegible] [illegible]

1911 Premier arrives in [illegible] America.

1912-14 Re-establishment of [illegible] in San Miguel.

1919-20 Marriages of Marmolis [illegible].

1921 Opening of the Belle Prairie [illegible] Station [illegible]

1922-[illegible] Varied [illegible] at the Belle Prairie.

1930 Legion of Honor at the [illegible].

1930-31 The Théâtre Mineur Français [illegible].

1932 Religieuses et Religieux. Tribune, etc.

1934 Le Romancero Canadien-Français et [illegible].

1935 Saint Thérèse. [illegible].

1936 - Foreign [illegible].

THE FRENCH THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Supervisor Alfred Roncovieri, son of the pioneer French actor-singer, for an account of his father's career in San Francisco.

To M. Andre Ferrier, director of the Théâtre d'Art Française, for interviews and guided tours of inspection of his theatre, and for loan of scrapbooks containing complete programs and clippings from French and American newspapers.

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COMPANION

As Supervisor [illegible] of the Winter Prunes color-slides, [illegible] California [illegible] in San Francisco.

To Mr. Adams Berkeley, [illegible] the [illegible] Prunedale, for [illegible] of his theatre, and for [illegible] of [illegible] programs and [illegible] Angelo [illegible].

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THE GERMAN THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

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THE GERMAN THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

I

The Pioneer Theatre

From the very early days of San Francisco the German theatre has been struggling to establish itself in the life of the German colony. Repeatedly ever since 1853 impresarios, managers, artists, have attempted to interest the German public in the cause of their theatre, but most of them have known only failure.

We have seen how the French theatre flourished vigorously during the early years; and yet the Germans, even more numerous, were unable to support a permanent national theatre. In 1854 there were 6,000 Germans to 5,500 French; during this year the French had at times as many as four theatres running at the same time, whereas the few German productions were sporadic and negligible. The German population steadily mounted while that of the French declined in San Francisco, so that by 1930 there were but 14,000 French to more than 55,000 Germans.

In 1913 a troupe of operatic artists came from Germany to play in San Francisco. They found a theatre waiting

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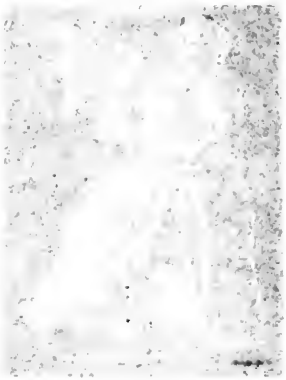

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known as [illegible].

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In [illegible] many to play in [illegible]. [illegible]

for them in the Deutsches Haus -- but no audience. At that time the French colony was enthusiastically acclaiming the new Théâtre d'Art Français of Andre Ferrier, and the French newspapers could select this occasion to gloat over the stranded German troupe and to boast that the few thousand French in San Francisco, without even a theatre building of their own, could support a permanent troupe.

This neglect of the theatre is only one aspect of the general dearth of interest in German culture in America. In San Francisco the German element supports two weekly newspapers, whereas the Italians, with a population only slightly greater, support seven daily, semiweekly, and weekly papers.

The reasons for the indifference of the Germans in America to their cultural heritage are obvious. Americanization is of course the greatest obstacle to the development of foreign language theatres in America; and with the Germans the process seems to operate with more thoroughness and rapidity than with most immigrants. They have an extraordinary adaptability to the conditions of a new country. The German coming to America quickly learns the English language, early becomes naturalized, reads English newspapers, takes an eager interest in local politics, and goes to the American theatre. The similarity of languages facilitates this assimilation. The Frenchman on the other hand retains the idea of ultimately returning to France; so to a certain extent does the Italian. For this reason the French adapt themselves to American

life only reluctantly and tentatively. But Germans as a rule seldom have the desire to return to their native land; they eagerly absorb this American life, discarding their old customs and traditions as irrelevant.

With the Latins the theatre's function is particularly social. With the early San Francisco French, who were from the beginning an urban class, the theatre had this character; more than merely providing entertainment, it was a place where people could enjoy the amenities of society.

The German immigrants, however, have been largely of the laboring and peasant class; to them the theatre has never been a familiar institution. Like many a hard-working people who toil all week, their only day of diversion is Sunday and for many years the California ordinance against Sunday theatricals was the greatest enemy of the German theatre in San Francisco, virtually stifling it at birth.

GERMAN SOCIAL LIFE

The Germans prefer to spend their leisure time in strenuous social activities. They are fond of group singing. The various German groups have their choral groups; they give concerts at the festivals. One of the most popular institutions is the Sängerfest, the singing festival. Even today over 1000 members of the Gesangvereine practice every week, and from time to time give programs that include opera and operetta.

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GERMAN'S OF LEISURE

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German is rich in folk songs, drinking songs, marching songs, all of which are to be sung lustily and in

chorus. The hikers like to yodel and roar, all together, as they trudge up the mountains. For, competing with their love for music is the German enthusiasm for the outdoors, and they can very skillfully combine both activities. The Latin prefers to confine himself in cities and to refrain from all unnecessary physical exertion. On a hot Sunday afternoon you may occasionally see a group of Italians playing boccie ball, but under no condition will any of them condescend to remove their vests. The German however will remove as many clothes as possible and go in for a very vigorous kind of exercise. When he is not going to picnics with his family he is attending seances at his Turnverein, performing calisthenics, leaping about on the parallel bars, swinging dumbbells, and flying about on trapezes with the greatest of ease.

There is music, as well as gymnastics, hiking, picnics and the celebrations. The Germans are inordinately addicted to celebrations, and anything will serve as a pretext -- a festival, May Day, a wedding, a betrothal, or somebody's birthday. This involves much oratory, music, dancing, eating and beer drinking; even gymnastics.

During the pioneer period the Germans were already far advanced in this direction. The chef d'oeuvre of their celebration occurred on May Day. The first, held in 1853, is described in the Annals of San Francisco:

> "...The Turner Gesang Verein (Gymnastic Musical Union) took the most active part in these festivities. Dressed in loose brown linen coats and pantaloons, proper for their exercises, they marched, with banners flying and musical instruments sounding, to the gardens of Mr. Russ,

chorus. The [illegible] in [illegible] the [illegible] trains to the [illegible], [illegible] love for [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] difficult [illegible]. [illegible] prefer [illegible] unnecessary [illegible] may occasion [illegible] [illegible] little [illegible]. The [illegible] possible [illegible] [illegible] ing [illegible] ing [illegible] about [illegible]

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During the [illegible] for [illegible] celebration [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]

"...The [illegible] (Union) [illegible] tivities. [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] structure [illegible]

> near the Mission road. There somewhere about eighteen hundred persons of German blood participated in the different enjoyments of the day. They leaped, balanced and twirled, danced, sang, drank, smoked and made merry, as only such an enthusiastic race of mortals could.... 'Das Deutsche Vaterland' was chanted in the most rapturous manner, and for the moment the different performers seemed to forget all their native local distinctions and the very land that now gave them shelter, to become in heart and spirit only members of the one common brotherhood of Germans. Prizes to the best performers in the various athletic and other games were distributed, and several appropriate addresses were afterward delivered."

These gymnastic-musical societies developed rapidly. In the Wide West of May 18, 1856 is a large engraving of a festival held by the German Turnverein Association in Pacific Gardens. The illustration reveals a lot of complicated gymnastic apparatus, with a number of spry young Germans flinging themselves about in the midst of them.

It is conceivable that with all these distractions the Germans have neither the leisure nor the inclination for wholesale theatre-going. What German theatre there has been in San Francisco has been incidental to these other activities. It has never taken on the spontaneous development it has had with the French and Italian theatres; the Germans are too conscientious about their pastimes. They attend the theatre as they do the athletic exhibitions; it is a kind of duty. The attitude is best exemplified in the Liebhabertheater, the amateur theatre. The clubs put on performances for charitable purposes, and the audiences likewise are charitable.

Although the Germans are quite energetic in other pursuits, they are lethargic about the theatre and it requires

an extraordinary inducement to overcome this apathy. That is why Madame Genée merited especial credit for her perseverance and courage in establishing the only German theatre in San Francisco. For fifteen years, from 1867 to 1883, she struggled desperately against the indifference of the German public. The odds were overpowering and capitulation was inevitable. We are indebted to Heinrich Kadelburg for the thoroughly documented story of her battle.

FIRST ATTEMPTS

Here in San Francisco the German theatre began its life auspiciously. The first company opened in Armory Hall on the corner of Washington and Sansome streets on May 15, 1853. The newspapers, which had noted the characteristic German indolence in regard to the theatre, were encouraging. The San Francisco Herald of June 4, 1853 states:

> "We have a very large and intelligent German population in our city, for whose amusement little provision has heretofore been made. The French and Chinese have both had theatres in our city. The Germans have contented themselves with indulging their passion for music, but we learn Mr. Edward Wehler has undertaken the management of a theatre at Armory Hall, where the German drama is hereafter to be presented, enlivened by the finest vocal and instrumental music. Performances are to take place every Saturday night."

Shortly after its inception, the German company, at the solicitation of Lola Montez, was asked to participate in a benefit for the charitable fund of the Fire Department. Besides the German troupe, the French troupe and visiting celebrities volunteered their services. The German contribution

was the performance of Der Gerade Weg Der Beste.

Evidently public support of the first German company was lacking; it played only until July 3rd. At the same time, however, another company was playing on Sundays at the Adelphi on Dupont Street. This company did not play long either, although the newspapers report the crowding of this theatre at every performance. A month later we read in McCabe's Journal of a reopening, on August 7, of the German dramatic company at the Music Hall, and on August 24 there was a benefit for Herr Fischer of the German dramatic company at Armory Hall.

AN ABORTIVE BENEFIT

During September, news reached San Francisco of the floods that had swept New Orleans. The local German citizens met on the 22nd to devise plans to aid their suffering countrymen. Among those present was Viereck, manager of the German theatre, who offered the services of the Germany company. The offer accepted, arrangements were made with M. Munie for use of the Union Theatre on September 26th. The classic drama by Theodor Koerner, Hedwig, or the Bandit's Bride, was chosen for the occasion. However, the performance failed to materialize, and thereby disrupted the amicable relationship of the German and French theatre managers. The unfortunate affair received considerable space in the papers. That of the Daily Herald of September 27, 1853 revealed the impoverished state of the German theatre:

> "At the appointed hour the members of the company assembled in the greenroom, but could find no wardrobe ready for them. This threw them into considerable excitement, and on the appearance of Mr. Viereck, they made a rush on him for their costumes. He had none, but forthwith started off to hire what was necessary from Mr. Munie, the manager of the French Theatre. After a skillful negotiation he managed to obtain them at $30.00 for the night, a short time before the hour appointed for the curtain to rise. The actors jumped into them at a moment's notice, without much regard to fit or appropriateness and awaited the rising of the curtain."

Viereck, manager and player, was forced to play his role in more than realistic style;for according to the Herald when the orchestra failed to appear,

> "M. Viereck, who was to play the part of the captain of the Bandits, took a peep at the audience, which, to his great consternation, he found did not exceed one hundred persons. Here was a terrible state of things. The whole proceeds would not pay expenses, still less leave anything for the sufferers. The Bandit Chief determined to secure himself in time, so he quietly slipped out from behind the scenes and went round to the box-keepers. There were two--one for the gallery, a German, and the other for the dress circle, a Frenchman. The Bandit got possession of the funds in the gallery box without much difficulty, slipped them in his pocket and proceeded to the Frenchman's lookout. Peering through the little semicircular hole in front of that worthy guardian's sentry box, he asked to see how much money he had collected. The unsuspecting Frenchman poured it out upon the platform in front of the hole to count it, when the Bandit Chief reached his arm in, swept off the pile and in a twinkling disappeared. Great was the outcry made by the Frenchman, and loud the uproar of the audience within. They had been making the house resound with their yells for the curtain to rise and the orchestra to commence. Presently the Frenchman rushed into the gallery, and announced that all the money had been swept off.

> Here followed a perfect pandemonium. The whole audience poured down upon the poor Frenchman to return them their money. In vain, with rapid utterance and wild gesticulations, he declared his innocence and proclaimed his mishap. Finally, Viereck made his appearance and commenced to pay off some of the audience, but such was the wild uproar, that he very soon gave it up and again ran off. Meantime a scene was going on behind the curtain between M. Munie, who had no idea of being choused out of his money for the hire of the wardrobe and the house, and some of the German actors. Words and voices rose high, and as neither party was very conversant with the language of the other, they had to make themselves understood in broken English. By this time the audience was yelling with forty-trumpet power--the Frenchman was distracted--the actors were in tribulation--the manager in retreat and confusion rampant. A posse of half a dozen policemen, headed by the Marshal, made their appearance in the midst of the uproar, and by dint of hard work managed to disperse the crowd and clear the house--and thus ended the performance of Hedwig, or the Bandit's Bride."

The difficulty did not end here. Not until the next day did Viereck learn that Munie had beaten him to the box office and secured forty-five dollars. Upon Munie's refusal to relinquish the money, Viereck obtained a warrant for his arrest. The outcome of the trial is not given by the press. But the Daily Herald of September 28, 1853 reveals the honest intentions of both parties. Viereck is quoted as saying he would redeem the tickets "if he had to sell his coat," and that Munie intended to give his money to the Relief Committee "for the benefit of the New Orleans sufferers."

PATRONS OF THE OPERA

German opera made its debut before the San Francisco public during the year of 1854. The first opera given

was Der Freischütz, produced on July 30 at the Metropolitan. On August 10, Der Freischütz was given its second and last performance at the Metropolitan. A small catastrophe intervened. McCabe reports in his Journal: "At the end of the second act the gas went out all over the theatre, and the audience (very calmly, we imagine) left."

In 1855 the German zest for music was finding popular expression. The Germania Society on February 11 inaugurated a series of weekly concerts at the Turnverein that continued throughout the spring. The admission was 50 cents and the concerts must have been popular, for on May 3 a new series was begun. On May 3 a German vaudeville company opened at the Union Theatre but lasted only a few nights; apparently the musical competition was too great. On September 27 Mme. Anna Bishop, a favorite chanteuse of San Francisco, sang her farewell concert and on November 11 the Germania Concert Society gave its last afternoon concert of the season at the Turnverein, and included a theatrical performance in the program.

SUNDAY LAW

The first test of the Sunday law, enacted in 1855 against "noisy and barbarious amusements" occurred June 24, 1855. On that date the managers of the theatres were arrested for violation of the ordinance. This frightened the fragile German theatre almost out of existence. Even the German music societies feared suppression. Their fear was somewhat allayed

when the District Attorney ruled, as legal, the Sunday performances of the Germania Concert Society.

In June 1858, Thomas Maguire and Richard M. Hooley, proprietors of the Opera House, were arrested for violating the unpopular law. On this occasion the press of San Francisco condemned the action of the police. The Bulletin of June 23, 1858, in pointing out the inconsistency of the law, said:

> "This prosecution has been induced by the new-born desire to make the Sunday a 'bitter observance' to many people, particularly those of foreign birth. In a cosmopolitan country like California, it cannot be expected that the same unanimity of opinion will be entertained as to the best mode of observing Sunday that exists in Boston. If public opinion does not demand, in unmistakable tones all these prosecutions, it is exceedingly unwise to urge them. Those struck at by them, and all their friends and sympathizers with them in principle, are only forced to become worse Christians and worse men."

Attacks by the press brought about the abrogation of the law. On Saturday, June 26, Judge Terry, of the Supreme Court in session at Sacramento, ruled the "Sunday Law" unconstitutional and void. Its repeal was wildly celebrated in San Francisco, and the Bulletin of June 23, remarked: "As a matter of course, considerable liquor was drunk and many cigars burned to smoke...."

For a few years the German theatre enjoyed comparative freedom. Then in 1864 Adolph Meaubert attempted to reopen the Metropolitan with another German company, without much success. Finally, on December 13, 1864 the police clamped down on all the San Francisco theatres for violation

when the District Attorney ruled, as legal, the Sunday performance of the Lunatic Concert Society.

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of the Sunday law. Hailed into Police Court with Meaubert were Thomas Maguire of the Opera House and Eureka Theatre, Walter Bray of the American Theatre, E. G. Bert of the New Idea playhouse, and Samuel Tetlow of the Bella Union. Maguire, then the local theatrical magnate, was tried on December 17 and fined $50. The Bulletin of December 20, 1864 reported that on that day the other managers had "forfeited the bail of ($5) each," and that:

> "The prosecutions against all these parties are now at an end, with the understanding that the custom of giving such theatrical entertainments on Sunday is to be abolished by common consent."

But puritanical laws do not easily die. Fansticism frequently worked hardship upon the struggling German theatre. The law was enforced for several years.

SECOND ATTEMPTS

During the tenure of the Sunday law a few isolated attempts were made by courageous individuals to meet public demand, and to defy the wrath of the police. But the damage to the German theatre was far-reaching.

An indication of the general sterility of the German theatre was the adaptation of the San Francisco favorite The Love Chase. In order to attract a greater German public, a company at the Union Theatre produced on March 14, 1858 a translation of this popular American comedy -- a virtual admission that there was nothing in the German repertoire that could appeal to the rapidly Americanized Germans. The Wide

West of March 21, 1858, however, generously recommended the play:

> "Madame Stein-Grünwald is the most accomplished actress that has yet appeared on the boards of the German Theatre, and played the part of Constance with much artistic force and animation, exhibiting also in her ease and grace of action and well modulated expression, the advantages of a good school, and mature study in her profession.
>
> "Mesdames Fisher and Kind, and Messrs.Grünwald, Vonder, Salle, Marks, and others did cleverly what was set down for them, and the performances of the company are certainly entitled to the generous patronage of the German portion of the community. They afford also an opportunity for advancing in the study of the language which is being improved by many of our American-born citizens."

Madame Stein-Grünwald the next month again starred in another foreign adaptation -- this time from the French -- a three-act comedy, He Must Go to the Country. But even the borrowings from other theatres did not bring new vitality to the German theatre which lapsed steadily into oblivion. The German colony of San Francisco did not grieve deeply over this loss; they continued to enjoy their picnics and celebrations.

The Brothers Foster or Fortune's Frolics, a characteristic play of the 15th century in 5 acts was produced on May 16 at the Union Theatre.

A slight revival of interest in German drama is noted at the close of the decade. Of a performance given at the Stadt or Union Theatre, on February 11, 1859 the Bulletin of the 12th reported:

> "Dr. H. Bien's play of Dragon and Zabaoth--an adaptation of the Bible story of Sampson and

> Delilah--presented on the occasion of the author's benefit, is a meritorious piece. The language is good, and some passages beautiful; and so finely is it put upon the stage, that even a person who does not understand the language will be interested in the acting."

It mentions some of the actors: Mr. Viereck, Mr. Fischer, Mrs. Werner and Mr. Kiebe.

LEAN YEARS

During the next few years there were desultory performances. Birch-Pfeiffer's sensation drama, Der Goldbauer, was fairly popular during December 1863. During the month a local play by Kalisch, Das Volk, wie es weint und lacht also was given. Operas, operettas, and other musical plays have always been more popular with the Germans than the straight legitimate drama, and on December 27, a presentation of Preciosa with von Weber's music -- very popular in Germany -- was given by the company. The principal actors in this romantic musical play were Ida Mantius, Messrs. Niemeier, Schraubstaedter, Meaubert, Viereck, and the Ahlfelds, husband and wife.

On May 1, another German program was given by the German theatre, consisting of a three-act sensation play, Der Fabricant, and a farce, Ein Stündchen in der Schule. These plays indicated the crudeness of the German theatre public.

On December 1, 1865 occurred a notable theatrical event, the benefit for Mme. Felicita Vestvali by American and German dramatic companies at the second Metropolitan. Here Elisa Vestvali Lund, the cousin of Mme. Vestvali, made her San Francisco debut as Deborah in the German version of Leah.

In a matinee performance the next day Mlle. Vestvali appeared as Gamea.

Instrumental in rekindling German interest in the theatre was the arrival in 1865 of Daniel E. Bandmann. This eminent Anglo-German tragedian offered the German population the alternative of hearing drama in either German or English. He appeared first at Maguire's Opera House as Narcisse in the play of that name. The Bulletin of October 2, mentioned it as being produced for the first time in California. Evaluating his performance, the Bulletin of the following day said:

> "This gentleman has a fine presence, an intellectual face and a sympathetic voice. His English is excellent...."

During this visit Bandmann participated in benefits for local societies. Among these was the Grace Church Festival held at Platt's Hall on October 6, and that of the San Francisco Philharmonic Society on December 9 at Maguire's Academy of Music. Shortly before his departure, he performed Schiller's Robbers on February 8, 1866 at the American Theatre.

During this period many foreign plays, French and German, were performed in English versions. Adaptations of French plays and novels were particularly popular and formed part of the German repertoire. Occasionally an English play was given in foreign versions. At any rate, however garbled and mutilated the translation, it was probably coherent within itself. This would have been too much to expect of the

famous "polyglot" production of Othello, given by George Pauncefort on March 25, 1868 at the second American, a building which at this time housed only occasional performances in French and German.

THE POLYGLOT OTHELLO

It was an age in which theatrical appetites were whetted by freak performances, stunts, spectacles, and tours de force. Mr. Pauncefort was obviously inspired by the original polyglot performance which occurred at the Winter Garden in New York on December 29, 1866.

The New York Othello, however, was really a performance in English with Edwin Booth in the role of Iago. The great German actor Dawison* played the part of Othello in German and the German actress Methua-Scheller, who had the role of Desdemona, spoke English to Booth and German to Dawison. How Booth and Dawison managed to conduct their passionate dialogues without benefit of an interpreter is not mentioned.

But this slight technicality did not disturb the San Francisco version; it went the original much better. Determined to be an extra-super-sensation, Othello was given here with actors speaking their lines in English, French, German and Danish, all in the same play! It was a riot.

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* Bogumil Dawison, Polish, born of Jewish parents in Warsaw (1818), came to Vienna in 1849. He was a star of the first magnitude.

famous "polyglot" [illegible] at Oxfordshire [illegible] Paneorlogy on [illegible] 20, 1850 at the [illegible] Exhibition [illegible] Through [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] Frederick [illegible] were whether [illegible], and [illegible] de Force, [illegible] the [illegible] national [illegible] German in New York [illegible] 20, 1[illegible].

[illegible] Clerk, [illegible] Frenchman [illegible] School Inc. The [illegible] German [illegible] role of [illegible] Davison. [illegible] their peculiarities [illegible] in not monstrous.

[illegible] Sun Piano [illegible] letter. Between [illegible] Clerk was given here [illegible] French, German and [illegible] clot.

---

* Donnell Davison, Editor, [illegible] of Lord [illegible] (1817), [illegible] Vienna in 1[illegible]. [illegible] the first magnitude.

MME. OTTILIE GENÉE

1836-1911

Photo From Rosenthal and Roesch's

"Fifteen Years of the German Theatre in San Francisco"

II

THE THEATRE OF MME. GENÉE

On April 23, 1867 Madame Ottilie Genée came to San Francisco. Her arrival was awaited with great eagerness by those who had followed her career both in Germany and in New York as "the leading comedienne of her day." Born in Dresden, in 1834, she had achieved great success on the stages of Danzig and Berlin while still young. In New York she had made her debut at the Stadt-Theater playing Richelieu in the comedy, Der Eheman von fünfzehn Jahren. Her talents and versatility were acclaimed;she shone particularly in soubrette roles. Leuchs, the historian of the New York German theatre, reports that "throughout November the Genée craze continued unabated, and the Stadt-Theater enjoyed a period of brilliance."

With this reputation, Mme. Genée accompanied by her manager, Charles Fritzsch, who was also her husband, opened the American theatre. The company assisting her was formed of mediocre actors. Her first performances were trivial one-act plays and farces, her settings were quite bad, but the public was appreciative nevertheless. She received flattering notices in the press and what is more important, drew crowded houses.

After her successful debut on April 30 with a bill of three plays, Mme. Genée decided to settle in San Francisco and establish her own permanent German theatre. She determined to organize a competent professional company and she

wrote to various German actors in the country, inviting them to San Francisco. But in the meantime she produced plays that made little demand on her amateur performers -- one-act pieces, comedies, sentimental dramas. She gave five weekly performances on successive Fridays in May, consisting almost entirely of one-act pieces. On June 7, she staged her own benefit performance, presenting a three-act comedy by her brother, Rudolph Genée, entitled Diavoletta, and a one-act play, Der Soubrette letzte Rolle (The Soubrette's Last Role).

THE GERMAN THEATRE TAKES ROOT

The first professional actor to join Mme. Genée's troupe was Julius Ascher. He had played at the Stadt-Theater in New Orleans as well as at the Thalia in New York. On June 21, 1867 he made his debut in San Francisco, in the three-act farce of David Kalisch, 100,000 Thaler. With his entry into the scene the San Francisco Deutsches Theater became permanent. Plays were now given every Friday at the American Theatre and occasionally serious and lengthy plays were presented -- three, four, even six-act dramas.

Original plays by members of the local colony were performed. A one-act farce entitled Der Erste Tag in San Francisco (First Day in San Francisco) by a certain "V. Jemand" was given as part of the performance of August 2. During this period adaptations from the French were popular both in the American and German theatres. On August 23, Der Glöckner

von Notre Dame. from Hugo's Hunchback of Notre Dame, a six-act version by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, was given.

In the autumn two more professional actors joined the company, Francis Roland and H. Maret. On September 27 they made their debuts in the classic tragedy of Friedrich Schiller, Maria Stuart, with Fräulein Roland playing the title role. The Deutsches Theater was expanding; now it enriched its repertoire with weighty material. More and more significant productions were added to its stock of farces and melodramas. There were performances of other plays by Schiller, Gutskow, Kalisch, and Birch-Pfeiffer.

Mme. Genée attempted to give Sunday performances in order to attract a larger public, but these were stopped immediately by the police. On August 24 Charles Fritzsch was fined fifty dollars for breaking the Sunday law. Beginning in January 1868, however, additional performances were given occasionally on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Thousands of dollars were spent in redecorating and refurnishing the American Theatre. The future looked quite brilliant for the new Deutsches Theater.

THE END OF THE AMERICAN

And then at five o'clock, on the morning of February 18, 1868 the American Theatre went the way of so many San Francisco theatres. Catastrophe in the usual incendiary form swept in unannounced. The situation looked bad for Mme. Genée and her pathetic troupe of "burned-out actors." Their costumes and decorations were gone, they were without a theatre,

-- and other players contracted by Mme. Genée were already on their way to join the company.

MME. GENÉE, THE INDOMITABLE

The other theatres in the city were the Metropolitan and Maguire's Opera House, where established American companies gave performances every day except Sunday, the day on which theatricals were tabooed. The only solution was to improvise a theatre somewhere, which Mme. Genée did, renting Platt's Hall, then a dance hall. Here she installed removable orchestra seats and a dress-circle; here the Deutsches Theater reopened its season on February 28, ten days after the destruction of the American Theatre.

But this arrangement proved unsatisfactory and Mme. Genée desperately tried other measures. She rented the Metropolitan Theatre for Sunday night performances, having agreed in advance to pay the police the fifty dollar fine for each performance provided her shows would proceed unmolested. This was all very friendly and businesslike, and for a time things went well. On April 5 the company played at the Metropolitan in Eine Leichte Person (A Frivolous Person). Olga von Plittersdorf -- who later committed suicide -- joined the company as leading lady and became very popular with the public. On May 17, a farewell benefit was staged for Julius Ascher, with a performance of the popular three-act farce of Kalisch's, Krethi and Plethi. At some point in the proceedings the untrustworthy police entered unannounced and declared: "The show must not go on!" At this point Sunday

-- and other elegant [illegible]
their way to [illegible] the company.

[illegible]

[illegible] Other [illegible]
[illegible] Hamilton's [illegible]
[illegible] the sky
[illegible] Flatbush [illegible]
able [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
the [illegible]

[illegible]
Ibo. Some [illegible]
Metropolitan Theatre [illegible] Dream Night [illegible]
agreed to assume [illegible] the [illegible]
each performance [illegible]
This [illegible] Dialogue [illegible]
[illegible] well. [illegible]
Metropolitan [illegible] Dream (A Period [illegible]
[illegible] Filmarama -- [illegible]
company [illegible] [illegible]
public. [illegible]
Asoher, with a performance [illegible]
Kalisch's, Jupiter and Jupiter. [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]
clarel: "The show must [illegible] Sunday

performances abruptly ceased.

WANDERINGS OF THE DEUTSCHES THEATER

Then followed the nomadic period in the life of the Deutsches Theater. For a long time Mme. Genée had hoped that among the 35,000 Germans then in San Francisco there could be aroused enough interest in the preservation of the German theatre to finance an independent theatre building. But the interest of the Germans in their theatre could not be stretched that far,and the German actors had to content themselves for a time with temporary quarters.

On June 3 the Deutsches Theater, now augmented by Leonhard Scherer, an actor of reputation, opened at Maguire's Opera House on Washington Street with Narciss, a five-act drama. After two performances an American company moved in, and again the wandering actors were out in the street. They returned to the Metropolitan on July 24. In the following week Olga von Plittersdorf, now a permanent member of the company, played the title role in Katharina Howard, a five-act drama by Gottschall.

After three performances at the Metropolitan the German colony was again given the order to vacate. With a shrug of resignation Mme. Genée led her storm-tossed actors back to Platt's Hall, and with characteristic German adaptability and thoroughness set to work to create "eine neue Deutsche Bühne" (a new German stage). They opened in Platt's Hall on Friday, August 28, and played regularly once a week

until January 1, 1869. This was a season in which many popular and world-famous plays were produced. San Francisco saw Faust, in Goethe's original version, for the first time when it was performed at Olga von Plittersdorf's farewell benefit performance on December 1.

MME. GENÉE THWARTS THE LAW AND DEPARTS

After her closing in Platt's Hall, where the management had been steadily losing money, Mme. Genée realized that if the Deutsches Theater hoped to survive the season, it would be necessary to give more than four weekday performances a month. There had to be more receipts, more of a public, and Sunday performances were indispensable. There are ways of circumventing unpopular laws, and Mme. Genée was shrewd. She organized a mythical society, the Dramatischer Verein "Frohsinn" (Dramatic Club "Cheerfulness"), which gave Sunday night performances in a gymnasium, Janke's Turnhalle. The Verein Frohsinn invariably announced a grand ball following the exercises, a "grand ball" which one may take for granted, "natürlich nie statt fand" (naturally never took place).*

The company continued to offer performances on Friday nights at the Metropolitan where the better plays were usually given. On January 3, 1869 they opened at Janke's Turnhalle, and on Friday of the same week at the Metropolitan,

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* Kadelburg, Heinrich. Fünfzehn Jahre des Deutschen Theaters in San Francisco. p. 6.

until January 1, 1890. This was a period [illegible]
lar and world-famous plays were produced [illegible]
Flagg, [illegible] critical [illegible]
It was [illegible]
performance [illegible]

[illegible]

After [illegible]
engagement had [illegible]
that if the [illegible]
would be [illegible]
and during [illegible]
of unconventional [illegible]
the [illegible] Virgin
"Scotland" [illegible]
night [illegible] The
Verein Theater [illegible]
the [illegible]
"[illegible]"

The [illegible]
[illegible]
usually [illegible]
[illegible]

---

* Kadelburg, Heinrich, [illegible] in San Francisco, [illegible]

Olga von Plittersdorf played the title role in Schiller's Maria Stuart. These alternating performances were given until the close of the season on March 14. It was then that Mme. Genée accepted an offer from the New York Stadt-Theater to play there for a season as guest artist.

The German colony now organized an enthusiastic farewell benefit for Mme. Genée, which was sponsored by many prominent citizens, Americans as well as Germans. In the play Das Geheimnis der Alten Mamsell (The Secret of the Old Maid), based on a novel by Marlitt, this talented artist and embattled impresario said auf wiedersehen to San Francisco. For about a year thereafter the Deutsches Theater lay moribund in San Francisco.

A GENÉE LETTER

While in New York and subsequent to a visit to Germany, Madame Genée wrote to a San Francisco German newspaper one of her rare letters. The newspaper evaluated the letter as being "of interest to the German world."

"New York, May 8*

My honored Gentlemen,

Before I place myself in the power of the treacherous ocean from which I may never touch dry land again, I want to deliver a message to my dear San Francisco and announce with no little pride what I have already accomplished for the coming season. I hope to produce In Marmor ausgehauen (Carved in Marble), or should this take place after my death, it will give me

* 1869

Olga von Flitterdorf played the title role in Ferdinand's *Maria Stuart*. There is nothing people like more than seeing the black [illegible] on Broadway. It was time that Mme. Gerard accepted an offer from the Alcazar-Theatre to play there for a [illegible] guest engagement.

The [illegible] company has organized an [illegible] financial [illegible]. [illegible], which [illegible] by many problems [illegible]. [illegible] in the play *Das Geheimnis der Alten Marcell* (The Secret of the Old Maid), [illegible] "Mme. Gerard", but it [illegible] with [illegible] to San Francisco. For [illegible] travel in the Pacific [illegible] by more-bound to San Francisco.

A LONG LETTER

While in New York [illegible] visit to Germany, Indore [illegible] newspaper one of her many letters. The [illegible] the letter is being "[illegible] world".

"New York, May 8th.

My honored [illegible],

Before I leave [illegible] the port of the three-masted [illegible] which I may [illegible] a [illegible] to my dear San Francisco and [illegible] the [illegible] the port, [illegible] for the coming season. I have to [illegible] *Im Lenzer musenkleinen* (Spring in Mirella), or should this take place after my [illegible] [illegible] no

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* 1899

infinite satisfaction to know that the house has been sold out before the beginning of the season (which I do not doubt for a moment!)

The overland trip was the most dreadful which I ever experienced. Disregarding broken bridges, floods, and so forth and the round about way through Denver, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago which we had to travel, we encountered a storm between Denver and Kansas City which never in the annals of history was ever experienced. A cloudburst accompanied with thunder and lightning awakened me and I found myself completely soaked so that in the bewilderment I thought that I was on the sea and was drowning. The storm continued howling and we travelled 45 miles an hour in the darkest of night. All lamps in the train were extinguished and the wild hunt was only lit up by the lightning. Finally, as you see, I am in New York and well.

Without taking any rest I have thrown myself into the 'whirlpool'--that is to say, saw all the managers and agents who are directing the two stars of the season--Geistinger and Carl Sontag. I can assure you that it is only through my friendship with Frau Geistinger and my energy that I succeeded in engaging the stars for San Francisco. This was however only possible by my arrangement with Herr Baldwin to play daily for 3 weeks. Without Frau Geistinger, who is incomparable, my trip to New York would have been barren of results. They earned $42,000 cash in 4 months. She is as wonderful in operettas and farces as she is in dramas and tragedies, something which has never before existed. I saw her in her last plays as Bocaccio, Madame Fabart, Die Schöne Helena, and the Näherin (the seamstress). You will of course see and admire her yourself.

"A second and not less happy engagement was that of Carl Sontag, who has ended an equally brilliant season at the German Theatre and who was overwhelmed with ovations. It was possible for me to secure the artist for 8 guest roles from the beginning of November. He has a splendid repertoire. I think that I am not saying too much when I assure you that we shall have a most interesting season. I am sure also of signing up Fritz Haase, the renowned character actor, whom I shall meet in Berlin. Engage a new cast of actors, and with the aforementioned guest artists, I am sure that I shall have the

whole-hearted support of the public. Please communicate these fore-notices to the public of San Francisco and remember me to my friends, for whom I shall gladly suffer seasickness and 'who doesn't know you, you heavenly powers'* does not know what sacrifice is! And now adieu, dry land, which I am loathe to leave. When you read this letter, I shall be sailing, I hope with the blessings of all my theatrical friends, whom I shall bring everything that I possibly can.

"With hearty greetings

I am,

O. G."**

THE RESTORATION OF THE DEUTSCHES THEATER 1870-73

During the absence of Mme. Genée continual agitation went on for the repeal of the Sunday law. On April 6, 1869 the theatrical newspaper Figaro had taken up the cudgels for the foreign theatre, demanding suppression of the restricting ordinance. Finally in January 1870 the Sunday law was abolished and the way was clear for Mme. Genée to return to San Francisco and take over the Deutsches Theater. On Sunday, February 20, 1870 the German company opened at the California Theatre on Bush Street, playing there every Sunday until August 7.

The Sunday performances attracted a larger public; the attendance problem was considered permanently solved. But

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* Und wer Euch nicht kennt, Ihr himmlischen Mächte.
**Translated from the German by the Theatre Research Project.

no sooner had the Deutsches Theater scored this victory over legislation than they discovered the real battle was against the German temperament, their predilection for gymnastics and outdoor life, which the San Francisco climate encourages. After a few years the Sunday performances were being given to a rapidly dwindling patronage. Picnics were becoming more and more popular among the Germans.

GUEST STARS LEND IMPETUS

A great event of the 1870 season was the guest appearance of Otto Hoym with the Deutsches Theater of San Francisco. He was the founder and director of the New York Stadt-Theater, as well as leading actor; he had won favor because of his "handsome appearance, his splendid voice and his unusual ability as an actor." On February 27 he made his San Francisco debut in the six-act tragedy, Narciss. On March 27 he played in the Carlschmidt version of the Count of Monte Cristo, a spectacle drama. On May 1 a benefit was performed for him during which Hoym played Hamlet.

On May 29 two new artists made their debut with the company, namely Josephine Wolf and Max Lube. The last performance of the season was a revival of the popular comedy, 500,000 Teufel (500,000 Devils). An extra performance for the benefit of the German wounded in the Franco-Prussian war was given at the Metropolitan Theatre on Friday, August 12.

Mme. Genée opened the winter season on Sunday, September 4, in the California Theatre, now the permanent

no sooner had the Dardanelles Theater so [illegible] legislation than they [illegible] the red [illegible] the German government, their [illegible] outdoor life, which the [illegible] After a few years the [illegible] a reality, [illegible] and more popular as [illegible].

[illegible] MEETING

A great [illegible] performance of the Hippodrome with the [illegible] Dramatic Theater, as well as [illegible] Theater, [illegible] of his "Dardanelles Expedition," [illegible] usual ability as an [illegible] Francisco debut in the six-act tragedy, [illegible] be played in the [illegible] Crater, a spectacle [illegible] for him during which [illegible].

On May 20 the new [illegible] company, namely [illegible] performance of the season was a revival of the [illegible] 300,000 Teufel (300,000 Devils). An extra [illegible] the benefit of the German [illegible] was given at the Metropolitan Theatre [illegible] September 4. In the California Theatre, [illegible]

home of the "German muse." The company ended this season on April 2, 1871. A farewell benefit was performed for H. Maret on November 6. Max Sondheim-Schoenfeld made a guest appearance on January 26, 1871, playing the title role in Hinko, a five-act drama by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, a popular dramatist of the Deutsches Theater. On March 26 another performance was held for the benefit of the German wounded. The season was climaxed by the customary benefit for Mme. Genée, which included a bill of three one-act plays, and the presentation of all sorts of flattering testimonials to Mme. Genée from the German colony.

The next season was given lustre by the appearance of the celebrated actress, Mathilde Veneta. She made her debut in Mosenthal's four-act drama Deborah on July 23; on the next Sunday she appeared in the famous four-act tragedy of the Austrian Grillparzer, Medea; on September 4 she played in Romeo and Juliet; on October 15 in Goethe's Iphigenie; on November 5 she concluded a brilliant engagement in San Francisco with Mosenthal's Pietra.

A week later the 1871-72 season was officially opened with Ernst Rethwisch making his debut in his own three-act farce, Kaufmann und Seefahrer (Merchant and Sailor). Rethwisch had enjoyed a great reputation in New York for his versatility, as character actor, comedian, singer and playwright. His popularity in San Francisco was so great that he remained here until the close of the season on April 28, 1872

when he was given the customary farewell benefit. During his visit, several of his one-act Volkstücke were performed by the Deutsches Theater.

Again with the close of the season, financial reckoning had to be made, and Mme. Genée had to admit that the Deutsches Theater was running at a loss despite the flattering notices in the newspapers and the lavish baskets of flowers presented after benefit performances. She had attempted to please the German public by offering a rich and varied repertoire -- everything from popular farce to classical tragedy -- but the fact was inescapable; the German public still stayed away. The prospects for a permanent German theatre in San Francisco were again pretty low.

THE SUPPORT OF OPERA

Then arrived an unexpected piece of good news; the Fabbri Opera Company was coming to San Francisco. This German troupe had scored a great success in its tour of the United States; a repetition of this success might wipe out the Deutsches Theater's deficit. After a few performances at Pacific Hall and at the Opera House, the Deutsches Theater took the troupe under its auspices. The Fabbri Opera Company began its new season at the California Theatre on October 6. Then suddenly they were confronted with the competition of the Bianchi troupe who were giving Italian opera at the Metropolitan. On October 13, however, the Bianchis retired from the contest, permitting the German troupe to continue

when he was given the customary farewell benefit. During his visit, several of his pre-war Volksbühne roles were performed by the Deutsches Theater.

Again with the close of the season, financial problems had to be made, and some. Denes had to admit that the Deutsches Theater was running at a loss despite the flattering notices in the newspapers and the lavish baskets of flowers presented after brilliant performances. The had attempted to please the German public by offering a glob and varied repertoire -- everything from popular dance to classical tragedy -- but the fault was incompatible: the German public still stayed away. The prospects for a permanent German theatre in San Francisco were again pretty low.

THE SUPPORT FAILURE

Then arrived an unexpected blow -- good news; the Rabbi Opera Company was coming to San Francisco. This German troupe had enjoyed a great success in its tour of the United States; a repetition of this success might wipe out the Deutsches Theater's deficit. After a few performances at Pacific Hall and at the Opera House, the Deutsches Theater took the troupe under its wings. The Rabbi Opera Company began its new season at the California Theater on October 6. Then suddenly they were confronted with the competition of the Bianchi troupe, who were giving Italian opera at the Metropolitan. On October 15, however, the Bianchis retired from the contest, permitting the German troupe to continue

until November 6 in triumphant possession of the operatic field. On successive Sundays they produced, among others, The Barber of Seville, Martha, Faust, Norma, Ernani, Die Afrikanerin, and Lucia di Lammermoor.

On November 24 the Deutsches Theater again returned to the California Theatre. Julius Ascher, who had achieved great popularity during Mme. Genée's first season in 1867, returned as guest artist. Mme. Genée, spending lavishly, brought together here in San Francisco the best German actors available in America. With her the company of the Deutsches Theater now consisted of Mmes. Clara Behrens, M. Fleischer, E. Meier, B. Schultz, E. Brechtig; and of Messrs. E. von der Osten, A. Varena, A. Lauber, B. Hirsch, L. Scherer, H. Schober, A. Klebs, Weissig, H. Wed'l, Fell and Julius Ascher. The latter held his farewell benefit on February 16, 1873 and on April 27 the season, which had offered mainly uninspired revivals of poor plays, came to an end.

The Fabbri Opera Company had played a two months' season at the California starting on March 2, 1873 with Halévy's Die Jüdin (The Jewess). They introduced to San Francisco such operas as The Magic Flute and Robert the Devil.

But even the general popularity of German opera in San Francisco failed to make up for the losses suffered by Mme. Genée, and by the spring of 1873 the financial outlook was so hopeless that she decided to wash her hands of the San Francisco Deutsches Theater. And for fifteen months thereafter the Deutsches Theater was again dead in San Francisco.

BENNO HIRSCH LEONARD SCHERER

HANS WED'L SALOMON HIRSCH

Photos From Rosenthal and Roesch's

"Fifteen Years of the German Theatre in San Francisco"

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE GERMAN THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO
(1874-1880)

Despite firm resolutions, Mme. Ottilie Genée let herself be lured back to San Francisco. The leaders of the German colony offered her all kinds of inducements if she would return to San Francisco and reopen the German theatre. On Sunday, August 30, 1874 the dynamic impresario reopened the Deutsches Theater at the California Theatre. The opening bill was quite significant; it included a revival of Die Tochter der Hölle* (The Daughter of Hell); a four-act comedy by Kneisel; and a one-act Offenbach operetta, Hanni Weint und Hansi Lacht (Hanni Weeps and Hansi Laughs).

Mme. Genée tried to get the best available talent for this season and to include a number of serious plays in her repertoire. She began to offer long double bills of comedies, dramas, and one-act operettas. An unusually long season ended on May 9, 1875. During this season she had produced, among other important works, the following: On November 8, Schiller's Kabale und Liebe; on November 22, Die schöne Galatea (The Beautiful Galatea), a one-act operetta by Franz von Suppé; and on December 27, Die Räuber (The Robbers), the powerful drama by Schiller.

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* Title shortened from Die Tochter Luzifers, oder In der Hölle und auf der Erde (Lucifer's Daughter, or In Hell and on Earth).

Her repertoire became, as time went on, more ample, more diverse. There were of course, dramas, tragedies, comedies, farces -- the Lustspiel, the Posse, the Volkstück, the Schwank, the Lebensbild, the Komisches, Zeit-Bild, the Character-Bild, the Schauspiel, the Volks-Schauspiel, the Trauerspiel and the Sensations-Schauspiel.

THE GOLDEN AGE BEGUN

On Sunday August 1, 1875 the new season began at the California with the revival of the popular comedy, Eine Leichte Person. Other significant performances of the season were the following: on September 5, Schiller's Don Carlos, a tragedy in five acts; on January 23, a five-act play, Die Drei Musketiere, an adaptation of Dumas' popular novel; on February 20, Lecoq's operetta, Girofle-Girofla. The season ended on April 30 with a mixed bill consisting of popular individual performances.

A BEVY OF STARS AND VARIETY

During the 1876-77 season a number of new players joined the permanent company. These included the singer, Louise Beckman; the soubrette cantante, Alwine Heynold; Th. Hablemann, tenor; Franz Kirschner and Hugo Schultz; Mesdames Anna Schultz, Mundt-Mühlbach, and Herr and Frau LaFontaine. The public was interested in new faces and Mme. Genée was always on the outlook for fresh talent. The public wanted variety; Mme. Genée spared no expense increasing the repertoire.

Her repertoire became, as time went on, more and more diverse. Those were of course, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] edies, Faust [illegible] the [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], the [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] roter [illegible], [illegible] Sudermann [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ched and the [illegible] in [illegible].

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In [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the Gillig [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]* *Lolalte [illegible]*. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] were the following [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]*, a tragedy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]* *Drei [illegible]*, an adaptation [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] on February 20, Leopold [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] ended on April [illegible] with [illegible] bill [illegible] [illegible] dividual [illegible] [illegible].

A [illegible] OF [illegible]

During the last [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] joined the permanent company [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Louise [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Schlomann, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Anna Schalter. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The public was interested [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ways on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ty. Mme. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

She began to interchange classical dramas, sentimental pla comedies and farces, with light operas and operettas. penses kept piling up and Mme. Genée attempted to take more revenue by giving several shows a week but the pub continued apathetic and the Deutsches Theater had to cont itself with one performance a week.

When this season ended on April 1, 1877 the mana ment had hardly broken even. It began on July 30, 1876 w a performance of the Laube comedy, Der Letzte Brief (The L Letter). On August 6, Louise Beckman and Hugo Schultz m their debut during a very ample program which consisted o five-act comedy, a one-act farce, and a one-act operetta von Suppé.

When the California Theatre changed hands Deutsches Theater deserted it for one performance, givir musical comedy entertainment on August 24 at Maguire's Op House. Returning to the California they offered more op ettas, such as the four-act Orpheus, on September 3; Grand Duchess of Gerolstein by Offenbach on October 29; The Sisters from Prague by W. Müller, on December 31.

On January 14, 1877 a benefit performance was gi for Alexander Varena; on March 4 an opera in three acts, und Zimmerman; on March 25 a guest artist, Ilma de Murska peared in the opera, The Magic Flute. The last performanc the season on April 1 was the customary benefit, this for Alwine Heynold.

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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THE GROWTH OF THE DEUTSCHES THEATER

For the next two seasons more guest artists were attracted to the Deutsches Theater of San Francisco. This succeeded in stimulating attendance with the result that these years were the most profitable for Mme. Genée and her company.

Mathilde Cottrelly opened the season of 1877-78 on July 22 in the farce Luftschlösser (Castles in the Air), with F. Urban, also making his debut in San Francisco. The latter remained a permanent member of the company for five years. On the following Sunday Max Freeman made his debut. The popular Mathilde Cottrelly played at her farewell benefit on September 2, and on the following Sunday, Helena von Rokowitza made her debut in the five-act drama of Lindau, Maria und Magdalena. On October 21 Mme. Louise Roeckel appeared for the first time before the San Francisco public in an adaptation of another popular French drama, The Vicomte de Letoriere by C. Blum.

The German Theatre at times was in harmony with its American contemporaries. On November 4, 1877 Mme. von Rokowitza gave her farewell performance in Laube's The Danisheffs, a psychological drama with a Russian or pseudo-Russian background. On November 14 the same play was produced by an American company, The Union Square Theatre Company, at the Baldwin Theatre, with C. R. Thorne Jr. and Fanny Morant in the leading roles. On December 30 the German company staged

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that great American classic, The Black Crook, which was listed as a Feerie and in which the Kiralfy Ballet participated.

Uriel Acosta, the powerful drama by Gutzkow, performed since 1847 on the European stage, was played by the Deutsches Theater on February 10 at a benefit for G. Brockmann, an actor who had played for many years with German troupes in England and Russia.

On March 10 Goethe's Faust was given at a benefit for Louise Roeckel. On the following week Lina Fettenborn made her debut, and on April 28 a successful season ended with a mixed bill for the benefit of Washington Lodge No. 7. Although a general depression had hit California and the San Francisco theatres were still suffering from its effects, the Deutsches Theater had been well attended all season and was achieving some kind of security and permanence in San Francisco.

A SUCCESSFUL SEASON

The 1878 season opened on August 4 with Anna-Liese, a four-act comedy, in which Eugenie Lindemann, Fanny Witt, and Heinrich Kadelburg made their debuts. The latter, according to American newspaper critics, proved to be a versatile and dependable member of the permanent company. For whatever Kadelburg lacked in brilliance he evidently made up in patience and industry, and the public is indebted to him for his careful and thorough record of these fifteen years in the German theatre of San Francisco.

that great American classic. The last [illegible]

[illegible] a Devil [illegible] (illegible) [illegible]

Uriel Acosta. The presented [illegible] by Dr. [illegible] Gutzkow [illegible] 1847 [illegible] by the Dutchess Theodore of Hohenzollern [illegible] at Sigmaringen. [illegible] German troupe [illegible] this [illegible].

[illegible] Dr. Gutzkow [illegible] Uriel Acosta for [illegible] made his debut [illegible] in a [illegible] written onlad with a [illegible] [illegible] Although [illegible] Franciscus [illegible] Dutchess [illegible] and was such [illegible] in San Francisco.

A Success [illegible]

The 1873 season [illegible] Jean-Louis, a four-act comedy, [illegible] Julia [illegible] and Elizabeth [illegible] their [illegible]. The [illegible] according to American newspaper critics, proved [illegible] a versatile and dependable member of the permanent company. [illegible] Madisbury [illegible] in brilliance [illegible] theatre and [illegible] the public is [illegible] for his careful and thorough [illegible] of [illegible] in the German theatre of San Francisco.

On August 11 Louis Koch made his debut. The next Sunday Mathilde Cottrelly and Julius Witt returned to the Deutsches Theater. On November 17 Max Freeman played at his benefit in an adaptation by Cohnheim of a familiar German farce;this new version was entitled Reise durch San Francisco in 80 Stunden (A Trip around San Francisco in 80 Hours). On January 5, 1879 Kadelburg was given a benefit, the vehicle chosen being Ihr Korporal, a comedy by Castor in five acts. Die Juden von Worms (The Jews of Worms), a five-act drama by Theodore Gassmann was performed on March 2, on the occasion of Fanny Witt's benefit. On March 16 another benefit was held for Mathilde Cottrelly; and the old favorite, 500,000 Teufel (500,000 Devils) was revived on March 30 for the benefit of Herr Julius Witt. The season closed in traditional manner on April 6 with a benefit for the Frau Direktor Ottilie Genée who put on Die Grille (The Whim) a five-act work by the Deutsches Theater's favorite dramatist, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.

STARS FROM GERMANY

Mme. Genée was considerably encouraged by this successful season of the German Theatre and she attributed it rightly to the large number of new faces, for the Germans were rapidly adjusting themselves to American life and were acquiring the American habit of clamoring for novelty. A Mistinguette, or an Yvette Guilbert, or even a Bernhardt would be unique in the American theatre where loyalty to the

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artists of yesterday is not its chief quality. The American public prefers the fresh, bright face of the Hollywood juveniles. Or, to borrow Kadelburg's quotation: "Dem Mimen flicht die Nachwelt keine Kraenze"* (To the mummer posterity weaves no garlands).

Mme. Genée was determined to strengthen her enterprise. She would meet the demand with an ever-changing supply of new faces. She went to Germany, and with her prestige influenced some of the foremost German actors to join her company at various times. The celebrated German actress Magda Irschick (star of the Königsberg Stadt-Theater) was one of those she induced to play in San Francisco during the next season.

THE HEIGHT OF THE DEUTSCHES THEATER

The next season, 1879-80 may be considered the peak of the German theatre in San Francisco, the most brilliant of this Golden Age of the Deutsches Theater. It opened with a strong company, consisting of Mmes. Eugenie Lindemann, Mary Walden, Fanny Witt, Berta Fiebach, M. Fleischer, Mundt-Mühlbach, E. Meier, and B. Schutz; Messrs. H. Kadelburg, B. Hirsch, Ferdinand Urban, Julius Witt, H. Wed'l, A. Fischer, L. Duval and O. Diehl.

The season opened on August 3 with the debut of Mary Walden and O. Diehl in the four-act comedy Dr. Klaus,

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* Kadelburg, Heinrich. Fünfzehn Jahre des Deutschen Theaters in San Francisco.

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* [illegible] Hilgrion. [illegible]
in [illegible].

and on August 10 the celebrated Magda Irschick made her eagerly awaited debut in Schiller's great tragedy, Die Jungfrau von Orleans (The Maid of Orleans). On August 28, she played in a German version of The Taming of the Shrew and on September 21 at her farewell benefit she played the title role in Grillparzer's classical tragedy, Medea.

On October 5 the German players borrowed again from a popular French writer, producing Die Kinder des Kapitan Grant, based on Jules Verne's adventure novel, The Children of Captain Grant. On October 19 Julius Witt had his benefit. A mixed bill was given which included Die Lustige Weiber, an obvious adaptation of the Merry Wives of Windsor. On October 26 Bertha Fiebach made her debut with the Deutsches Theater. Fraulein Mundt-Mühlbach made her debut of the season on December 7 in Sodom und Gomorrah, a four-act farce by Schönthau.

THE CRITICS DIFFER

Schiller's tragedy, Kabale und Liebe, was given at Eugenie Lindemann's benefit on January 4, 1880. The performance of this important historical play was a characteristic one. In its announcement on January 1, 1880, the San Francisco Call predicted:

> "Miss Lindemann is an artist of exceptional merits who during her career in this city has given so many proofs of an unusual dramatic talent, and has so firmly established herself in the favor of the patrons of the German stage, that a crowded house may be safely expected."

In the review of the following week, January 11, 1880 the critic of the San Francisco Call said:

> "The performance was all that could be desired...Miss Lindemann interpreting the lady's part, Louise, with a feeling and grace that won her the heartfelt approval of the public. Abundant floral and other gifts, among them a check for $250, testified to the favor in which she is held by the German theatre-going public...Mr. Kadelburg's Ferdinand was, in appearance and general interpretation, a characteristic rendering; also Miss Mühlbach's Lady Milford...."

In some of the Call's weekly comments on the German theatre are to be found some excellent critical judgments. According to the critic, the greatest fault of the Deutsches Theater was its repertoire. While the actors were proficient and often talented, the repertoire of historical melodramas and old-fashioned comedies failed to interest the new generation of theatre-goers.

Of Our Bohemian, performed on January 25, he says:

> "(This play)...approaches much nearer the standard of genuine comedy than most of the dramatic productions that...were brought forth lately by German authors."(San Francisco Call, Feb. 1, 1880)

Another historical play was performed on February 8, this being Laube's Die Karlsschüler, based on the life of the young Schiller. This time the usually severe Call critic was full of praise:

> "The performance went off with excellent effect. The interpreters of the principal characters entered fully into the spirit of their parts and appeared to be inspired by the noble thoughts and beautiful language which the author makes them utter. This was especially

> noticeable in Mr. Kadelburg's interpretation of Schiller, a rendering, though not always even, of great and lasting force. The part of Laura, whom Schiller secretly adores, was well suited to Miss Lindemann, who played it very impressively."

Of Bertha Fiebach, who for her benefit on February 22 appeared in another historical play, the Call critic said:

> "Her engagement on our German stage has been of comparatively short duration, yet the sprightliness of her acting and her handsome stage appearance have made her a decided favorite with the patrons."

In reviewing the performance which closed the season on April 4 for the benefit of Solomon Hirsch, treasurer of the Deutsches Theater, he castigated the poor quality of German comedies with this dry comment:

> "...the comedy...has nothing in common with the strained wit of German plays whose farcical features give them no right to the title 'comedy' they usually assume." (San Francisco Call, April 11, 1880)

Probably the public had already discovered this, too. At any rate Mme. Genée, who in her eagerness for the establishment of a successful Deutsches Theater in San Francisco had protested the Sunday law and had fought the public craze for novelty, was eventually routed by apathy and indifference. But the root of this neglect lay not so much in the repertoire of the Deutsches Theater but in the rapid Americanization of the Germans which had destroyed in them a feeling for the old language and culture. Even in the most old-fashioned of these comedies there was a spirit to which the German could respond, something which to the critic of the

Call and to the Americanized German was incomprehensible and absurd.

A NEW VENTURE -- ON TOUR

Mme. Genée seems to have had much greater success outside of San Francisco. Noteworthy was her popularity on the stages of Germany and New York -- the "Genée craze" which resulted from her appearance in the New York Stadt-Theater. When she returned to the Stadt-Theater for a guest appearance the historian of the New York German theatre commented:

> "(Genée) had already become a familiar figure, as a highly charming soubrette chantante, and her successes of the previous seasons were still fresh in the minds of the theatre's patrons."*

Now, after the relatively successful 1879-80 season in San Francisco, the enterprising Mme. Genée decided upon a new venture. From the newspapers of the time we learn of its progress (San Francisco Call, April 18, 1880):

> "The Directress of our German theatre, Mme. Genée, has taken a new departure by boldly following the example of the American managers, who make the combination system a field of their activity. She has formed a traveling combination of her own, selecting from her stock company those actors and actresses whom she thought best adapted to the purpose, and, accompanied by them, left this city on a starring tour through the Eastern states....The combination consists of Messrs. Urban and Kadelburg, and Mrs. Fiebach and Lindemann; and Mme. Genée, while not participating in the joint performances of the latter, will supplement them by her rendering of different solo scenes, especially written for her by well-

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* Leuchs, Fritz. The Early German Theatre in New York 1840-1872.

known German authors. The route includes Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and, in fact, with the exception of New York, every Eastern city containing a German population sufficiently large to warrant a performance. This is the first time in this country that the combination system has been applied to the German stage, and to Mme. Genée belongs the credit of being the pioneer in this direction."

And in the San Francisco Call of May 2, 1880:

"The opening of the starring tour of Mme. Genée's traveling company has taken place under very favorable auspices. In Cincinnati, where they appeared first, they met with an enthusiastic reception, and played to crowded houses. The German papers in that city speak in the highest terms of the excellent ensemble the company presents, and also lavish much praise upon the individual renderings. They universally concede to the representatives of the German theatre of San Francisco a great superiority over most all the other German companies in the United States. During their stay in Cincinnati, the company appeared in the following comedies: Emma's Romance, Her Corporal, Die Lachtaube, and This Varzin, all new plays, and with the exception of New York and San Francisco, never before performed in America. From Cincinnati Mme. Genée and her troupe will go to St. Louis, thence to Louisville."

On May 23, 1880 the San Francisco Call relates:

"Mme. Genée's traveling company is meeting with extraordinary success on their starring tour through the Eastern cities. After...a very successful engagement in Cincinnati and Louisville, they played a week in St. Louis and were received with open arms. The English and German press of that city is unanimous in their praise of the artistic merits displayed by the company. The Republican says: 'The German dramatic company from California is equal to the best American combinations which have visited St. Louis. In Milwaukee, the next station made by the German Dramatic Star Company -- their official name -- they met with an equal fate, playing to crowded houses during their stay there. Their reputation thus achieved has

> induced the management of the Thalia Theatre in New York to offer them a two weeks' engagement, which has been accepted by Mme. Genée, and which will be entered upon by her after having fulfilled her contract to play in Chicago. The Thalia is well known to be the best German theatre in the United States and its offer to Mme. Genée may therefore be deemed no small honor to the California artists.'"

By the time she returned home in July 1880 Mme. Genée had won for the Deutsches Theater of San Francisco a national reputation.

LAST DAYS, 1880-1883

After this successful tour of the country any enthusiasm generated by the good Germans of San Francisco could be nothing but an anticlimax. On July 18, 1880 Mme. Genée again opened her season in the old California Theatre. She brought together some new artists of the German stage, such as Josephine Pagay, a talented soubrette of Berlin and Vienna theatres; Marie Wolff of the New York Thalia Theatre; Leonard Scherer of Chicago; and Mr. and Mrs. Max Lube. Max Lube had played in San Francisco seven or eight years previously and after that had played in New York. When he later returned to Germany he became the first comedian of the Thalia Theater in Hamburg.

The next season 1881-82 more guest artists were engaged. The engagement of the comedian, Carl Sontag, from November 20, 1881 to February 12, 1882 turned out to be a great artistic and financial coup for the Deutsches Theater.

THE METEOR FALLS

It was while the German theatre was performing at the Baldwin that the great character actor, Friedrich Haase, "one of the very greatest comedians of the time" according to Leuchs, made a short guest appearance in San Francisco. Born at Berlin in 1825, Haase, under the guidance of the dramatist Ludwig Tieck, had early developed into an actor of great power. He played in Berlin, Weimar, Munich, and St. Petersburg. After starring in the United States he returned to Germany and became director of the Stadt-Theater at Leipzig between the years 1871-78. In order to negotiate with him for his appearance in San Francisco Mme. Genée traveled to Berlin. He played in San Francisco from March 4 to April 15, on Sundays and Wednesdays, achieving a brilliant success. And thus the Deutsches Theater closed its season.

The successive engagements of Sontag and Haase were rapidly exhausting the supply of guest artists of Mme. Genée's company. The jaded palate of the German public had to be constantly stimulated. Mme. Genée continued her activities as impresario. She engaged Franziska Elmenreich, who opened on November 19, 1882 in Schiller's Maria Stuart and gave sixteen performances in San Francisco during a period of eleven weeks. This was followed by the engagement of the young popular comedian Adolf Link, who made his debut on February 11, 1883 in the farce, Durchgegange Weiber.

All these engagements were successful, but apparently Mme. Genée's finances were still suffering, for during the

summer of 1883 she announced that she could abandon the San Francisco Deutsches Theater and join her brother Rudolph Genée in Vienna.

Thus ended the unspectacular but gallant battle of Mme. Genée for the German theatre in San Francisco. The cause was definitely lost, but later the indefatigable and optimistic directress returned to this city and continued to direct occasional performances.

EVALUATIONS

The plays of Madame Genée's German theatre, as well as its actors and their abilities, have been fully discussed in the preceding text. It now becomes appropriate to appraise her early efforts as depicted in the local papers. An undated and unidentified San Francisco German newspaper clipping tells of an early attempt to establish a German theatre:

> "Four small comedies were performed yesterday. Although it was steamer day, which kept most of the theatre visitors until late at night at their desks, the theatre was crowded. Theatrical Studies by Kalisch, Before the Ball by Gomer which can be compared with glow-worms that we pursue with great interest when they fly past us, but which when seen in light appear as unimportant insects, Bride or Sister by Angely, and the Triplets by Holty are well-known plays; as well-known as the authors were famous at one time. The performances hitherto must be regarded only as trial performances. The directors must select plays which satisfy the public. They have begun to carry out these thoughts. Up to the present time the German theatre has not established a permanent stage."*

Any possibility of impermanence disappeared with the arrival of Messrs. Ascher and Maret, and Fräulein Roland.

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* Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco.

summer of 1903 she announces that she could abandon the San Francisco Deutsches Theater and join her former husband Gonge in Vienna.

Thus ended the unspectacular but silent battle of Mme. Sandrock for the German theatre in San Francisco. The cause was doomed to failure, but later the indefatigable and optimistic directress returned to this city and continued to direct German performances.

Conclusion

The place of culture that the German theatre, as well as its actors and their activities, have been fully discussed in the preceding text. It now becomes convenient to appraise her early efforts as related in the local press. An unedited and unsimplified San Francisco German newspaper clipping tells of an early attempt to establish a German theatre:

> "Four small cows are now performed weekly. Although it was Kaiserin day, which is not most of the theatre lovers, nevertheless at night their seats, the theatre was crowded. Theatrical Studies by Heinzel, Falling the Fall by Gomer which can be compared with silhouettes that we purchase at great intervals when they fly past us, but which when seen in light appear as unimportant trifles. Plays or sketches by Kerry, and the children by Heinz are well-known plays; as well-known as the authors were forgotten at one time. The performances of theatre must be pursued only in still performances. The audience must subject itself to a certain activity the spirit. They have to run to carry out their thoughts. By so the practice time the German theatre has not established a permanent scene."*

Any possible hope of improvement vanished with the arrival of Lessing, Asoner and Jaser, and Schulein Roland.

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* Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco.

When Maret and Roland made their San Francisco debut on September 27, 1867 in Schiller's Maria Stuart, the praise of the press was unstinted both in quality and quantity. A German newspaper on the following day said:

> "We confine ourselves to the statement that in yesterday's performance we found more than we expected. First let us laud the beautiful scenery; also the splendid interpretation of the tragedy which was learned in so short a period. With the exception of Herr Niemeier who was compelled at times to rely upon the prompter, the performance was perfect. Miss Roland played Maria Stuart. We dare not express a final opinion of an actor who appears for the first time. Every artist, if he is not to be accused of arrogance, is self-conscious at his or her first appearance. Also the lack of knowledge of the acoustics of the theatre is a drawback in the division of the power and modulation of the voice. Miss Roland was rather weak in the correctness of gesticulation and mimicry in the first act. But in the second and following acts,Miss Roland found the right note and retained it to the end. The best scene was the farewell scene,in which Miss Roland did not interpret it as poorer actresses usually do, resorting to the superficial meaning of words. Instead she expressed beautifully the resignation and sympathy for those she was leaving behind. She rendered Schiller's inspired thoughts so marvelously that we comprehend perfectly the forgetfulness of herself in her last moments.
>
> "In contradistinction to Miss Roland,Miss Meyer played Elizabeth rather superficially, but we must admit that the role was interpreted, far, far better than we expected. We admired the boldness of the lady for appearing in a role in which we have seen so many fine actresses flounder,and were happy that she played so well.
>
> "Frau Marks also played the part of Kennedy very well. Herr Maret played the part of Leicester; his first performance at this theatre. We excuse his acting, which at first left us cold, on the same ground that we mentioned above. The final act was played excellently by him. We were pleased by his tranquility and deliberation, and we are convinced that this

> was his artistic conception of the role, and that it was not due to a lack of fire, which the ordinary theatre audience acclaims. Miss Roland as well as Mr. Maret are acquisitions to our theatre. Herr Niemeier played Mortimer. When we say that he was a good foil for the actress, we think that we are rendering him ample praise. Herr Ascher played Paulet, because there was no other role for him. His Paulet was comic. It also appeared that Herr Ascher comprehended his part thoroughly; yet on the other hand it was impossible for him to combine his gestures with voice modulation. We think it an asset when a person cannot do everything, but can do one thing well. Herr Ascher has command of the comic field, but he must refrain from entering other fields. Herr Louis was again very fine. Nothing very good can be said of the other actors."

The type of play presented by Madame Genée did not always meet with the approval of the German press. Neither would the German population, now educated to better drama, accept mediocre plays. The following clipping attests to both press and public disapproval:

> "There was such a poor house last evening that neither the managers nor the audience enjoyed themselves. Much Enjoyment was the play. The great heat may have been a contributing cause for the small audience, but the public is weary of the presentation of genre drama. It has its value, but should not occupy exclusively a Peoples Theatre. That the play was not satisfactory cannot be laid to the players. Without an exception they played excellently. Frau Genée, Herr Ascher, as 'Butzke' made a worthy appearance. He is fast becoming a favorite and deserves to be. Herr Niemeier's role was so unimportant that we offer no criticism. Herr Klebs played the part of the crafty agent from Berlin very well. Equally good were Herr Louis, Krelschimann, Marks and Fahrbach. Frau Marks was too exaggerated, but in a farce this may be permitted."

During a Christmas presentation of Raimund's Verschwender (Spendthrifts) a German newspaper reported of the

roles essayed by Madame Genee and Herr Ascher:

> "The performance of the principal roles was admirable. Mr. Ascher amply justified our opinion of his capability in playing comic roles. His Valentine was a splendid accomplishment. Madame Genee as Rosel was a worthy opposite. It is too bad that she is not efficient in the Viennese dialect. Fraulein Roland acted the part of the fairy Christiane adequately. Herr Maret received considerable applause. Frau Marks had but a small episode to play but that she acted with such mastery, that she received generous applause as she made her exit from the stage."

THEY STILL SING

Since 1883 the Liebhabertheater has of course been sporadically active. There have been German opera companies at various times in San Francisco. The festivals have continued; every week at the California Hall on Polk and Turk streets the Bavarians or the Swiss or some other lodge is giving a festival, a masquerade ball, a folk dance, or a concert. The societies still dominate the social life of the more than 55,000 Germans in San Francisco. There are more than 70 clubs affiliated with the United German Societies.

The theatre -- never much alive in the first place -- is now thoroughly dead in San Francisco. None of the German colony seems to have any personal recollection of a German legitimate theatre here. But the Turnvereine still exists, there are still the festivals, the picnics and dozens of German hiking groups that ascend Mount Tamalpais every Sunday. And the Germans continue to sing, out of doors and inside.

Ever since 1852 when the Sängerbund sang at a benefit for Grace Church the singing societies have been in existence. Every week the 1000 members of the five singing societies practice in California Hall. Directed by Mr. Frederick Schiller, who in 1916 organized the municipal chorus, they give concerts annually or semiannually at the Civic Auditorium or at the Opera House.

If you drop in at the California Hall any Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday you can hear the Sängerbund singing with heartiness the old German songs, old folk songs, Wagner and the more intricate Kunstlieder. Sometimes you will hear them rehearsing for a one-act operetta to be given under the auspices of one of the lodges. The old spirit hasn't died. After concluding practice at 9 or 10 o'clock they will have several beers and sandwiches. This continues until they go home, about midnight. Singing is very good for the appetite.

GERMAN THEATRE

CHRONOLOGY

1852 Sängerbund sings for benefit of Grace Church.

1853 First May Day festival, held in Russ Gardens. Impresarios, managers, artists attempt to interest German public in a theatre. May 15, first company opens in Armory Hall. Another company plays Sundays at the Adelphi. Benefits for Herr Fisher and for New Orleans flood sufferers. Reopening of German Dramatic Company at Music Hall.

1854 Sporadic German productions. German Opera comes to San Francisco. Der Freischütz produced at Metropolitan.

1855 Germans concentrate on music. Germania Society gives weekly concerts at Turnverein. Sunday Law retards German theatre. Theatre managers arrested June 24. Mme. Anna Bishop sings farewell concert September 27.

1856 Turnverein Association holds festival in Pacific Gardens. German theatre, offshoot of festivals and Turnverein activities. Liebhabertheater (amateur theatre) entertainments for charity.

1858 German theatre in San Francisco sluggish. Company at Union Theatre produce The Love Chase, translation from English play. Mme. Stein-Grünwald and other actresses attempt staging plays with indifferent results. Sunday Law discourages continuance of German theatre until Sunday Law declared unconstitutional June 26.

1858-63 Next few years desultory performances.

1860 Show at American Theatre on Nov.11 by German players.

1863 Der Goldbauer play by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer during December. Musical plays, operettas. Revival of interest in German theatre.

1864 German plays still crude. Actor Meaubert attempts to reopen Metropolitan. Police close theatre on account of Sunday Law violation. Foreign language theatres menaced by Sunday Law. Germans hold celebrations, May festivals, etc. in place of theatrical performances.

CHRONOLOGY (Cont.)

1865 Notable theatrical events: Benefit for Mme. Vestvali by American and German companies at Metropolitan II. Daniel E. Bandmann performs at American Theatre and in benefits.

1867 Mme. Ottilie Genée arrives in San Francisco, April 23. Mme. Genée and husband open American with one-act plays and farces. April 30 her debut. Julius Ascher makes debut June 21. San Francisco Deutsches Theater established. Professional actors join company. Chas. Fritsch (husband of Genée) fined for breaking Sunday Law. Critic praises actors Maret and Roland for performances.

1868 Feb. 16, American Theatre burns. Polyglot Othello at American II given by George Pauncefort. Mme. Genée moves her company to other quarters. Rents and redecorates Platt's Hall. Farewell benefit for Ascher and end of Sunday performances. German company moves to various halls and theatres. Deutsches Theater opens at Maguire's Opera House, June 5. World-famous plays produced.

1869 Mme. Genée organizes mythical society, Dramatischer Verein "Frohsinn." Genée leaves for New York. Given brilliant farewell benefit by German colony.

1870 German theatre lags. Sunday Law abolished and Mme. Genée returns to San Francisco. Opens at California Theatre, playing Sundays. Extra performance for German wounded in Franco-Prussian War at Metropolitan, Aug. 12. Guest appearance of Otto Hoym.

1871-72 Max Sondheim-Schoenfeld (guest) Jan. 26. Benefit for Mme. Genée and testimonials from German colony. Rethwisch makes debut in his own three-act farce. Celebrated actress Mathilde Venota acts with German company. Debut July 23. Fabbri Opera Company opens season at California Theatre, Oct. 6 in competition with Bianchi (Italian) troupe. Bianchi troupe retires. Ascher returns.

1873 Farewell benefit for Julius Ascher Feb. 16. Fabbri company gives opera under auspices of Mme. Genée. Deutsches Theater quiescent for fifteen months.

1874 Aug. 30, Genée reopens Deutsches Theater at California Theatre.

CHRONOLOGY (Cont.)

1875 Repertoire broadens. Full season ends on May 9. New season begins at California Theatre Aug. 1.

1876 New players and singers join company. Season begins on July 30.

1877 Public apathetic. Season ends April 1 with benefit for Alwine Heynold. Poor financial results.

1878 Season opens August 4. Fanny Witt and Heinrich Kadelburg make debut.

1878-79 Mathilde Cottrelly and F. Urban perform on July 22. Exceptionally fine season closes with benefit for Mme. Genée.

1879 Benefits for Heinrich Kadelburg and Fannie Witt. Mme. Genée goes to Germany, returning with many well-known actors and actresses. Most brilliant season of San Francisco Deutsches Theater. Magda Irschick makes eagerly awaited debut, Aug. 10.

1880 Schiller's tragedy Kabale und Liebe given at Eugenie Lindemann's benefit, Jan. 4. Critics differ. Season closes April 4 with benefit for Solomon Hirsch. Mme. Genée goes on triumphant tour with her own company. On July 18, Mme. Genée again opens season in old California Theatre.

1881-82 More guest artists engaged. Mme. Geistinger meets popular approval, creating vogue for German performances. Carl Sontag, comedian, scores coup for Deutsches Theater. Friedrich Haase brought from Germany, achieves brilliant success. Franziska Elmenreich, gives 16 performances.

1883 Adolf Link, guest artist, debut Feb. 11. Mme. Genée finally abandons San Francisco. Joins brother in Vienna. Liebhabertheater sporadically active. German theatre gone from San Francisco. Lodges, societies, festivals dominate German social life, principally at California Hall.

1884 Fabbri Opera Troupe with Eugenie Pappenheim as star. Mme. Genée performs on Berlin stage.

1885 Franz Reinau directs troupe at California. Magda Irschick, famous tragedienne at Baldwin under direction of Reinau. Herr Lederer (Edwin Booth's manager when Booth toured Germany) in cast.

CHRONOLOGY (Concluded)

1886 Noted star, Friedrich Mitterwurzer, and excellent company play three month season. Tremendously successful. New season follows by popular request.

1888-90 July 29, Mme. Genée (returned from Germany) gives dramatic seasons at Baldwin.

1891 German dramatic season under Becker, Kahn, and Hirsch (all star company).

1893 German Liliputians, starring Franz Ebert. Great novelty for San Francisco.

1894 Conreid-Ferenczy Comic Opera Company in San Francisco, season of several weeks.

1902 Benefit for Mme. Fabbri (70th birthday) at Sherman, Clay and Company Hall. Many notable artists appear.

1903 Various Liebhabertheater formed. Alameda Lustspiel Ensemble presents Im Weissen Roessel(English version, In the White Horse Tavern).

1905 Alameda Lustspiel Ensemble gives comedy, Grosstadtluft, at Columbia, Feb. 5, benefit for Josephine La Fontaine, aged actress. German players give original version of Alt Heidelberg at Columbia, Max Carl Weiss in role of prince.

1906 Arthur Becker's Lustspiel Ensemble give Zwei Waffen with Fritsch, Strauss, Weiss, La Fontaine and others. Jan. 27, German-American League of California celebrates 150th anniversary of Mozart's birth at Native Sons' Hall. Becker Ensemble produces Die Berühmte Frau with strong cast.

1916 Sporadic amateur performances and visiting companies. Friedrich Schiller organizes municipal chorus.

1916-39 United German Societies still dominate German social life. Turnverein continues to thrive. Annual or semiannual concerts by municipal chorus at Civic Auditorium or Opera House.

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Evening Bulletin (San Francisco), November 11, 1859.

Pilgrim (San Francisco) April 6, 1860.

Morning Call (San Francisco) Dec. 12, 27, 1862; April 30, July 2, 1864; June 1, 4, 11, Feb. 1, 16, March 1, April 11, 18, May 2, 22, July 11, 1[illegible].

A P P E N D I C E S

FRENCH AND GERMAN THEATRE

FRENCH THEATRE

GERMAN THEATRE

REPERTOIRE OF THE FRENCH THEATRE

THEATRE D'ART FRANCAIS

				Pages
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		Asile de Nuit		79
		Rosalie		80
		Le Mariage de Colombine		80
1912	Sept. 5	Au Téléphone	A. de Lorde	81
		Le Luthier de Crémone	François Coppée	80
1912	Nov. 8	Le Barbier de Séville	Rossini	80
1913	Jan. 13	Les Noces de Jeannette	Victor Massé	83
		Octave		83
		Also in first season were given:		
		Le Mariage aux Lanternes	Offenbach	83
		Les Deux Aveugles	"	83
		L'Arlésienne	(A. Daudet) Bizet	84
1913	Nov. 15	Mlle. de la Seiglière	Sandeau	79,82
		La Petite Chocolatière		77
1913	Feb. 11	Ruy Blas	(Hugo)	78
1913	March 2	Une Aventure de Napoléon	John D. Barry	85
1914	July 14	La Marseillaise	(Ferrier,) Marcelli	86 87
1914-1919		Interim -- Ferrier went to France and upon his return laid plans for a renewal of French Theatre.		

REPERTOIRE OF THE FRENCH THEATRE (Cont.)

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A War Christmas	Ferrier et al	88
At Columbia Theatre		
(Représentation de Gala):		
Le Portrait de Manon	Massenet	88
Chanson de Fortunio	Offenbach	88
At Scottish Rite Hall		
Les Gardiens de Phare		88
Une Tasse de Thé	Nuitter & Derley	88
At Maitland Theatre		
La Noce du Poilu Épinard		88
Les Cloches de Corneville	Planquette	88
Les Espérances	Bilhaud	88
Les Coteaux du Médoc	Bernard	88
SEASON 1921-1922		
At La Gaité Française		
Le Cid	Corneille	89

REPERTOIRE OF THE FRENCH THEATRE (Cont.)

REPRESENTATIVE PERFORMANCES (Cont.)

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Les Plaideurs	Racine	89
Le Paquebot Tenacity	Vildrac	89

SEASON 1922-1923

Les Trois Bossus	Missa	93
La Paix Chez Soi	Courteline	89
Ma Tante d'Honfleur		89
Les Noces de Jeannette	Victor Massé	89
Le Voyage de M. Perrichon		89
L'Anglais tel qu' on le Parle		89
Les Fourberies de Scapin	Molière	89,90

SEASON 1923-1924

L'Avare	Molière	90
Les Précieuses Ridicules	"	90
La Poudre aux Yeux	Labiche	90
Les Noces de Jeannette	Victor Massé	89,91
Poil de Carotte	Jules Renard	91,101
Blanchette	Brieux	92
Le Malade Imaginaire	Moliere	92,95

SEASON 1924-1925

Le Malade Imaginaire	Molière	92
Crainquebille	Anatole France	92
Thaïs	Massenet	92

REPERTOIRE OF THE FRENCH THEATRE (Cont.)

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La Poupée		92
Le Chevalier qui Donna sa Femme au Diable		92
Knock, ou le Triomphe de la Medecine	Jules Romains	72, 92
La Famille Pont-Biquet		92
Le Mariage aux Lanternes	Offenbach	92
La Fleur d'Oranger	Birabeau	92
Le Cultivateur de Chicago	Mark Twain	93
Blanchette	Brieux	92

SEASON 1925-1927

Les Trois Bossus	Missa	93

1927

(First performance anywhere)

Le Bonheur n'est pas de ce Monde	Gaumont & Cé	93

SEASON 1928-1929

L'Annonce faite à Marie	Paul Claudel	93
Le Malade Imaginaire	Molière	95
La Marche Indienne	Franc-Nohain	95
Les Vignes du Seigneur	Robert de Flers and François de Croisset	95

[illegible] (Cont.)

[illegible]

		Pages
Le [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
Le [illegible]		90
Trois [illegible]		[illegible]
La [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Le [illegible]		90
Le Marlage [illegible]	[illegible]	90
La Plume d'[illegible]	[illegible]	90
Le [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Planchette	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Les Trois Frères	[illegible]	90

[illegible]

(First part [illegible])

Le Bonheur [illegible] Le [illegible] Monde	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

L'Amoureuse Faite à [illegible]	[illegible]	90
Le Malade Imaginaire	Molière	95
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	Season activities suspended.	
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Pelléas et Mélisande	Maeterlinck	73, 84 91, 92
L'Annonce faite à Marie	Paul Claudel	93, 97
Topaze	Marcel Pagnol	97
Les Trois Bossus	Missa	93
	SEASON 1933-1934	
Les Dames aux Chapeaux Verts	A. Acremant	97
L'Anglais tel qu' on le Parle		80
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REPERTOIRE OF THE FRENCH THEATRE (Cont.)

REPRESENTATIVE PERFORMANCES (Cont.)

		Pages
	At the Opera House: (Sponsored by the Société France-Amérique)	
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	Molière	79,,99
	Official celebration honoring Lafayette at Civic Auditorium.	100
	SEASON 1934-1935	
L'Avare	Molière	90, 91, 100
	At the Civic Auditorium	
Sainte Thérèse de L'Enfant Jésus	Oratorio by Evangeline Lehman	79, 100
	SEASON 1935-1936	
Bava L'Africain	B. Zimer	91, 101
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Carotte		101
Qui?	P. Blanchard	101
	SEASON 1937-1938	
Marius	Marcel Pagnol	102
Feu Toupinel	A. Bisson	102
L'Abbé Constantin	(Adapted from Halévy's novel)	102

ACTRESSES MENTIONED IN FRENCH THEATRE MONOGRAPH

ACTRESSES PERFORMING IN FRENCH THEATRE [illegible]

ACTRESSES (Cont.)

ACTRESSES (Cont.)

ACTORS, IMPRESARIOS, OTHER PERSONALITIES MENTIONED IN FRENCH THEATRE MONOGRAPH

ACTORS, IMPRESARIOS, OTHER PERSONALITIES (Cont.)

ACTORS, IMPRESARIOS, OTHER PERSONALITIES (cont.)

ACTORS, IMPRESARIOS, OTHER PERSONALITIES (Cont.)

THEATRES, HALLS, PLAYHOUSES

MENTIONED IN FRENCH THEATRE MONOGRAPH

Theatre	Location	Year	Pages
Academy of Music	N. side of Pine bet. Montgomery & Sansome Streets.	1866	55
Adelphi I	Grant Ave. bet. Clay & Washington Streets.	1851-52	14, 17-19 22-4,28,33 34, 48
Adelphi II	Grant Ave. at Portsmouth Square	1853-54	32-36,38,39 48
American I	Sansome & Halleck Sts.	1850-51	14
American II	" " " "	1853-54	36, 38, 44
American III	" " " "	1856-59 1864 1867-68	44,45,47,49 53-59,61-63
California Exchange	NE. cor. Clay & Kearny Streets.	1850-51	27, 28
Columbia	O'Farrell above Stockton St.	1919	88
Exposition Auditorium	Civic Center	1929 1935	79, 94, 100
Eureka	Montgomery bet. Pine & California Streets.	1863	53
Dramatic Museum	California below Kearny Street	1851	34
Foley's Amphitheatre	West side Portsmouth Square	1851	19

THEATRES, HALLS, PLAYHOUSES (Cont.)

Theatre	Location	Year	Pages
Gaité Française (see Théâtre d' Art Français)	1470 Washington St.	1921-	88, 89 91, 93
Jenny Lind I	SE. cor. Kearny & Washington Sts.	1850-51	14, 17 18, 28
Jenny Lind III	SE. cor. Kearny & Washington Sts.	1852	34, 35
Lyceum	NW. cor. Washington & Montgomery Sts.	1859, 1860	53
Maguire's Opera House	Pine bet. Montgomery & Sansome Streets.	1868, 1872	63,68
Maitland	Stockton Street	1919	88
Metropolitan I	Montgomery bet. Washington & Jackson Streets.	1854-57	38,39,41 45,46,47 48,52
Metropolitan II	" "	1868, 1870	64,66,67
Mozart Hall	Post bet. Kearny & Dupont Sts. (Grant Ave.)	1868	66
Musical Hall	Bush bet. Sansome & Montgomery Sts.	1853	38
National	Washington bet. Kearny & Montgomery Streets.	1850	9, 10, 34
Notre Dame Hall	Bush Street	1919	87
Platt's Hall	Montgomery bet. Pine & California Sts.	1868	65

THEATRES, HALLS, PLAYHOUSES (Cont.)

Theatre	Location	Year
Scottish Rite Auditorium	Sutter St. & Van Ness Ave.	1912 1914 1919
St. Francis	Sixth & Market Sts.	1930
Théâtre d'Art (See Gaite Française)	1470 Washington St.	1921-
Turnverein Hall	Bush bet. Stockton & Powell Sts.	1868
Union	Howard near Third St.	1853-55
Valencia	Valencia bet. 14th & 15th Sts.	1911
War Memorial Opera House	Van Ness Ave. & McAllister St.	1934

TRADAVILE, HALL, PLAYNEDGE (Cont.)

Trustee	Location	Year	Trust
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

COMPANIES AND TROUPES

MENTIONED IN FRENCH THEATRE MONOGRAPH

Company	Theatre	Date	Page
*Academy of Music, Company at	Academy of Music	Jan. 1866	55
*Amateur Group	Maguire's Opera House	May 13, 1872	68
*American, First Company at	American	Jan. 8, 1854	38
*American, Second Company at	American	March-Dec.1864	54
*Baker Troupe,French (visiting) Co.	American	Oct. 6, 1859	53
Famille Rousset, La (visiting ballet)	American	Sept. 1853	36
*French acting group, leadership Bonnet, guest stars Sen & Nathalie	American	Sept. 2, 1867 Feb. 10, 1868	56-61
	Turnverein Hall	March 2, 1868	62
	Metropolitan	Sept.-Dec.1868	64,65
	Metropolitan	Apr. 17, 1870	66
*French Opera Company	Adelphi	Sept. 18, 1853	35,36
French Vaudeville Company	Jenny Lind	Dec. 23, 1850	18
	Foley's Amphi-theatre	Jan. 5, 1851	19
	Adelphi	Jan. 19, 1851	19-21 23,24
	Adelphi II	Aug. 1, 1851 Aug. 1852	32-34

*Exact name of company unspecified in research.

COMPANIES AND TROUPES (Cont.)

Company	Theatre	Date	Page
*French Amateur Group	American	Jan. 14, 1858	53
*French Dramatic Co. (French Theatre groups, 1854-1855)	Adelphi) Union) Metropolitan)	Sunday performances, 1854	38
	Adelphi	Dec. 1854-June 1855	38-40
	Metropolitan	July 4, 1855	41
*First French Co. (Evrard & Dolamare)	National	Feb.-Mar. 1850	9
Marzetti, Mme. & (visiting) corps de ballet	Metropolitan	July 30, 1870	67
Second French Vaudeville Co.	California Exchange	Mar. 11, 1851	27,28
	Jenny Lind	Apr. 20, 1851	29
Société Française	American (Sundays)	Spring, 1856	45
	Metropolitan) Sun- American)days	1857	46-48 49,52
*Thierry Company	Metropolitan	Summer, 1856-1857	45,46
*Theatre Union Company	Union	Sept. 18, 1853-1855	35,36

*Exact name of company unspecified in research.

COMPANIES AND TROUPES (Cont.)

Company	Theatre	Date	Page
Théâtre d'Art Française	At the following theatres:		69-103
	Scottish Rite Auditorium	1912-14	79, 83, 86
	Notre Dame Hall	1919	87
	Columbia Theatre	April 1919	88
	Maitland "	Dec. 1919	88
	Gaité Française (1470 Washington St.)	1921	88 et seq.
	St. Francis	Jan. 31, 1930	96
	Civic Auditorium	May 21, 1929	94
	Civic Auditorium	May 1934	99, 100
	Civic Auditorium	April 29, 30, 1935	100
	War Memorial Opera House	April 20, 21, 1934	99

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES

MENTIONED IN FRENCH THEATRE MONOGRAPH

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Abbé Constantin, L'	1938	Gaité Française	102
Adrienne Lecouvreur	1868	American	61
Anglais tel qu'on le parle, L'	1922-23 1933	Gaité Française	89, 90, 98
Annonce faite à Marie, L'	1928, 1933	" "	93, 97
Après Midi d'un Faune, L'			84
Après le Bal	1868	Platt's Hall	65
Arlésienne, L'	Season 1912-13		84
Asile de Nuit	1912	Scottish Rite Auditorium	79
Au Téléphone	Season 1912-13	" "	81
Avare, L'	Season 1923-24 1935	" "	90, 91, 100
Aventure de Napoléon, Une	1913	Gaité Française	85
Barbier de Séville, Le	1912		80, 81
Bava l'Africain	1935	Gaité Française	101
Biche au Bois, La	1853	Union	35, 36
Blanchette	1924	Gaité Française	92
Boîte à Joujoux (ballet)	1919	Notre Dame Hall	87, 88
Bonheur n'est pas de ce Monde, Le	1927	Gaité Française	93
Boulingrin, Le	1933	" "	98

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Le	1934	War Memorial Opera House	79, 99
Bruno le Fileur	1850	National Theatre	9, 14
Café des Comédiens, Le	1851	Adelphi	33
Camarade de Lit, Le	1856	Metropolitan	46
Camp des Bourgeoises, Le	1868	American	61
Cathédrales, Les	1918	Greek Theatre*	86
Ce que Vivent les Roses	1855	Metropolitan	41
C'Etait Gertrude	1867	American	58
Chance du Mari, La	1930	Gaité Française	96
Chansons de Béranger, Les	1868	American	61
Chanson de Fortunio	1919	Columbia	88
Chevalier du Guet, Le	1850	Jenny Lind	14
Chevalier qui Donna sa femme au diable	1925	Gaité Française	92
Cid, Le	1921-22	" "	89
Claudine	1853	Union	36
Cloches de Corneville, Les	1919	Maitland	88
Comédie de celui qui épousa une femme muette			80
Comedien des Etampes, Le	1851	Adelphi	23
Commis et la Grisette, Le	1850	Jenny Lind	18
Cossacks, The	1856	American	45

* University of California, Berkeley.

PLAYS-PERIOD: VAUDEVILLES (Cont'd)

Play	Year	Adapter	Page
Bonsoyons Mademoiselle	1904	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mme le Prince	1907	[illegible]	14
Le Jeu de l'Amour	1907	[illegible]	[illegible]
Amerade le Lit	1908	[illegible]	[illegible]
Le Coup [illegible]	1908	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cathédrales	1910	[illegible]	60
Le Vieux Vivant	1911	[illegible]	41
Le Lit	1907	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mme [illegible]	1908	[illegible]	[illegible]
Le Mariage de [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	61
Le Chemin de Polichinelle	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Le Chevalier de [illegible]	1909	[illegible]	14
Le Chevalier qui [illegible] Le Jardin	1909	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Clairette	1911	[illegible]	35
Le Clochet [illegible]	1910	[illegible]	[illegible]
Le Comédie de [illegible] [illegible]			60
Le Union des [illegible]	1911	[illegible]	[illegible]
Comédie et la [illegible]	1910	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cadeaux: The	1910	[illegible]	45

* University of California [illegible]

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Coteaux du Médoc, Les	1919	Maitland	88
Crainquebille	1925	Gaité Française	92
Cultivateur de Chicago, Le	1924-25	" "	93
Dame aux Camélias La	1851	Adelphi	19, 60, 70
" " " "	1857	American	48
Dame de L'Empire, Une	1857 1867	Metropolitan American	49, 60
Dame de St. Tropez	1868	Maguire's Opera House	63
Dames aux Chapeaux Verts, Les	1933	Gaité Française	97
Dans une Cave	1872	Maguire's Opera House	68
Demi-Monde, Le	1855	Union Metropolitan American	40 41 60
Démon de la Nuit, Le	1854	Adelphi	39
" " " " "	1855	Metropolitan	41
Deux Femmes contre un Homme	1851	Adelphi	33
Deux Aveugles, Les	Season 1912-13		83
Deux Profonds Scélérats, Les	1856	Metropolitan	45
Deux Sous, Les	1867	American	57
Don César de Bazan	1850 or 1851	Jenny Lind	14
Droits de l'Homme, Les	1868	Metropolitan	65

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Author	Character	Page
Coiffeur et Medecin, Les	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chaly-Chaly	[illegible]	[illegible]	46
Chevalier [illegible], Le	[illegible]	[illegible]	62
Dame aux [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	17
" " "	[illegible]	[illegible]	16
Dame de [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	70
Dame de [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	63
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	17
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Domi-[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	40
Demon [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	49
" " "	[illegible]	[illegible]	41
Deux [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	53
Deux [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	58
Deux Protocol [illegible] Les	[illegible]	[illegible]	49
Deux [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	57
Don [illegible] de [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	14
Droite de l'Homme, Les	1865	[illegible]	45

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Plays	Year	Theatre	Page
Duchesse de Langlais, La	1867	American	60
Effet du Hazard, Un	1870	Metropolitan	66
Elle est Folle	1854	"	39
Enchanteresse, L'	1856	"	45
Entre Hommes	1867	American	57
Espérances, Les	1919	Maitland	88
Eureka (opera)	1857	Metropolitan	52
Extra, L'	1933-34	Gaité Française	98
Fais ce que Dois	1872	Maguire's Opera House	68
Famille Pont-Biquet, La	1925	Gaité Française	92
Favorite, La (opera)	1853	Adelphi	36
Femmes, Les	1868	Platt's Hall	65
Femmes Qui Pleurent, Les	1868	American	61
Feu Toupinel	1937 1938	Gaité Française	102
Fille de Jacqueline, La	1857	Metropolitan	49
Fille du Régiment, La (opera)	1853	Adelphi	35
Fils d'un Agent du Change, Le	1851	"	32
Fleur d'Oranger, La	1924-25	Gaité Française	92
Fourberies de Scapin, Les	1923-24	" "	90
Garçon de Chez Véry Le	1867	American	58
Gardiens de Phare	1919	Scottish Rite	88

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (cont.)

Plays	Year	Theatre	Page
Duchesse de Langeais, La	1907	Ambigu	40
Effet du Rasoir, Un	1890	Nouveautés	65
Elle est Folle	1884	"	30
Enchantresse, L'	1885	"	45
Entre Hommes	1867	Ambigu	57
Espérances, Les	1883	Gaité	88
Eurydice (opera)	1889	Théâtre-Lyrique	32
Exilés, Les	1886-87	Théâtre-Lyrique	38
Faire ce que Doit	1872	Menus-Plaisirs, Petits	68
Familie Poli-Bigot, La	1885	Gaité-Montparnasse	32
Favorite, La (opera)	1886	Athénée	30
Femmes, Les	1870	Théâtre-Italien	65
Femmes Qui Pleurent, Les	1888	Ambigu	61
Fen Toupinel	1886 1888	Petite Bourse	103
Fille de Trente-Ans, La	1887	Théâtre-Moderne	49
Fille du Régiment, La (opera)	1885	Ambigu	35
Fils d'un Agent du Change, Le	1881	"	32
Fleur d'Orange, La	1882-83	Gaité-Montparnasse	32
Fourberies de Scapin, Les	1882-83	"	40
Garçon de Chez Véry, Le	1887	Ambigu	58
Gardiens de Phare	1879	Théâtre-Lyrique	88

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Gendre de M. Poirier, Le	Season 1912-13	Scottish Rite Auditorium	80
" " " " "	1924	Gaité Française	91
Génie de la Californie, Le	1851	Jenny Lind	29
Histoire de Mon Chien	1870	Metropolitan	66
Idées de Mme. Aubray, Les	1867	American	61
Il faut qu'une Porte soit Ouverte ou Fermée	1868	Metropolitan	65
Image, L'	1851	Adelphi	23
Indiana et Charlemagne	1857	Metropolitan	49
Jean le Sot (operetta)	1868		62
Jeanne D'Arc	1929	Civic Auditorium	94
Joli Moulin, Le (comic opera)	1857	American	47
Joueur, Le	1850 or 1851	Jenny Lind	14
Kean, ou Désordre et Génie	1854	American	38
Knock, ou Le Triomphe de la Médecine	1925	Gaité Française	72, 92
Loge d'Opéra, Une (operetta)	1868		62
Luthier de Crémone, Le	1912	Scottish Rite Auditorium	80, 81
Ma Femme	1851	Adelphi	33
Madame Lariflo	1855	Metropolitan	42
Ma Tante d'Honfleur	Season 1922-23	Gaité Française	89

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (cont'd)

Play	Year	Type of Act	Page
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
M. Choufleuri Restera Chez Lui	1872	Maguire's Opera House	68
Madame de Marlborough	1857	Metropolitan	48, 49
Mme. Sarah Bernhardt ne Joue pas Aujourd'hui			83
Mademoiselle de la Seiglière	1913		79, 82
Mademoiselle de Liron	1851	Adelphi	23, 32
Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle	1868	Metropolitan	64
Mademoiselle Faribole	1857	American	47
Maître Chapelle, Le	1859	"	53
Malade Imaginaire, Le	Season 1923-24	Gaité Française	92
" " "	Season 1924-25	" "	92
" " "	Season 1928-29	" "	95
Marbrier, Le	1857	Metropolitan	48
Marche Indienne, La	1928	Gaité Française	95
Margot	1867	American	57
Mariage aux Lanternes, Le (operetta)	Season 1912-13		83
" " " "	Season 1924-25	Gaité Française	92
Mariage de Colombine, Le	1912	Scottish Rite Auditorium	80
Mariage Forcé, Le	1930	Gaité Française	96

PLAYS, GENERAL, VAUDEVILLES (Cont'd.)

Play	Translation, Imitation, etc.	Page
M. Orgueilleux (Les)	1272 [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] de Mr. Lorenzo	1872 [illegible]	[illegible]
Mme. [illegible] Gendrade-[illegible]	[illegible]	65
Madrecita (La) de la [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Me [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Modernizaciones [illegible]	[illegible]	64
Mujeres [illegible]	[illegible]	47
Mujer [illegible], La	[illegible]	55
Malade Imaginaire, Le	[illegible] 1832-[illegible]	[illegible]
" " "	[illegible] 1832-[illegible]	32
" " "	[illegible] 1832-[illegible]	35
Marbrier, Le	[illegible]	49
Marie [illegible], M.	1880 [illegible]	35
Marcel	1877 [illegible]	37
Marias aux Bandoneons, Las (Zarzuela)	[illegible] 1[illegible]-13	35
" " "	[illegible] 1[illegible]-[illegible]	32
Mariage de Colombine, Le	1870 [illegible]	40
Mariage Forcé, Le	1850 [illegible]	36

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Marie Poétique, Une	1870	Metropolitan	66
Marius	1937	Gaité Française	79, 102
Marquise de Caraban	1867	American	58
Marquis de Lauzun, Le	1857	Metropolitan	49
Marriage of the Grisette, The	1850s	American	45
Marseillaise, La (spectacle)	1914	Scottish Rite Auditorium	86, 87
" "	1918	Grand Theater (Havre)	86, 87
Ma Tante d'Honfleur	1922-23		89
Mauvaise Nuit, Une	1851	Adelphi	33
Monsieur Gogo en Californie	1852	"	8, 33
Montjoye	1864	American	54
Noces de Jeannette, Les	1913	Scottish Rite Auditorium	77,83,89,91
" " " "	Season 1922-23	Gaité Française	83, 91
" " " "	Season 1923-24	" "	83, 91
Noce du Poilu Épinard, La	1919	Maitland	88
Octave	1913		83
Othello (polyglot)	1867		55
Pacific City, A	1930	Gaité Française	96
Paix Chez Soi, La	Season 1922-23	" "	89

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Marie Poètique, Une	1870	Metropolitan	58
Marina	1927	Gaité Bergère	101, 102
Marquise de Carabas	1867	Ambigu	58
Marquis de Lauzun, Le	1877	Metropolitan	49
Marriage of the Grisette, The	1850	American	45
Marseillaise, La (spectacle)	1914	Football Gate Auditorium	86, 87
" "	1918	Grand Coliseum (Arena)	86, 87
Ma Tante d'Honfleur	1922-23		89
Mauvais Nuit, Une	1881	Aléatoire	53
Monsieur Bébé en Californie	1892	"	8, 85
Montjoye	1864	American	54
Noces de Jeannette, Les	1913	Scottish Rite Auditorium	77, 85, 89, 91
" " " "	Season 1922-23	Gaité Française	85, 91
" " " "	Season 1923-24	" "	85, 91
Noce du Petit Jardin, La	1919	Maillard	88
Octave	1913		85
Othello (polyglot)	1867		55
Pacific City, A	1920	Gaité Française	98
Paix Chez Soi, La	Season 1922-23	" "	89

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Paquebot Tenacity, Le	Season 1921-22	Gaité Française	89
Pauvre Jacques, Le	1850	Jenny Lind	18
Pelléas et Mélisande	Season 1922-23	Gaité Française	73, 84 91, 92
" " "	Season 1932-33	" "	97
" " "	1934	" "	98
Petite Chocolatière, La	1912	Scottish Rite Auditorium	77, 78
Petits Souliers, Les	1850	Jenny Lind	18
Plaideurs, Les	Season 1921-22	Gaité Française	89
Poil de Carotte	1924	" "	91, 101
" " "	1936	" "	101
Polka de Province	1856	Metropolitan	46
Portrait de Manon, Le (operetta)	1919	Columbia	88, 92
" " " "	1925	Gaité Française	92
Poudre aux Yeux, La	1924	" "	90
Poupée, La (comic opera)	1925	" "	92
Précieuses Ridicules, Les	1924	" "	90
Premières Armes de Richelieu, Les	1857	Metropolitan	47
Procès, Le	1868		62
Protégée, La	1855	Metropolitan	42
Question de l'Est, La	1855	"	42

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Author	Page
Paquerette Rosalie, La	Saison 1829-30	[illegible]	80
Pauvre Jacques, Le	1830	[illegible]	18
Pêlerins de Lolliverie	Saison 1829-30	[illegible]	74, 84, 91, 92
" " "	Saison 1829-30	"	87
" " "	1830	" " "	90
Petite grande dame, La	1829	[illegible]	77, 90
Petit [illegible], Le	1830	[illegible]	19
Plaideurs, Les	Saison 1829-30	[illegible]	89
Petit de Faroch	1829	"	71, 101
" " "	1830	" "	101
Polka de Fayolle	1830	[illegible]	44
Portrait de femme, Le (opérette)	1829	[illegible]	80, 92
" " " "	1830	[illegible]	92
Pudre aux yeux, Le	1830	"	90
Pourceo, Le (comédie opéra)	1830	"	92
Procès[illegible], Les	1829	" "	90
Prémices d'un [illegible] cation, Les	1827	[illegible]	47
Procès, Le	1829		92
Protégée, La	1830	[illegible]	42
Question de l'Ecu, La	1830	"	42

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Qui?	1936	Gaité Française	101
Retour au Tyrol, Le	1851	Adelphi	33
Romance d'un Enfant Prodigue, La	1851	"	33
Rose de Saint-Fleur, La	1870	Metropolitan	67
Rosalie	1912	Scottish Rite Auditorium	80
Ruy Blas	1913		78
Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus (oratorio)	1935	Civic Auditorium	79,100
Sophie Arnould	1867	American	60
Tambour Battant	1867	"	60
Tasse de Thé, Une	1919	Scottish Rite Hall	88
Thaïs	1925	Gaité Française	92
Topaze	1933	Gaité Française	79, 97
Trois Bossus, Les	1922-23		89
	1933	Gaité Française	89, 93,97
Tyran en Sabots, Un	1870	Metropolitan	67
Ulysses and Telemachus	1850s	American	45
Vieux Péchés, Les	1851	Adelphi	23
Vignes du Seigneur, Les	1928-29	Gaité Française	95
Vie de Bohème, La	1863	Eureka	53
Voyage de M. Perrichon, Le			80, 89
War in Crimea, The (spectacle)	1857	American	53
War Christmas, A	1919	Notre Dame Hall	88

PLAYS, OPERAS, VAUDEVILLES (Cont.)

Play	Year	Theatre	Page
Quit?	1897	Saint [illegible]	101
Retour du Tyrol, Le	1851	[illegible]	35
Revanche d'un [illegible] Produire, Le	1851	"	35
Rose de Saint-Aman, La	1870	[illegible]	59
Rosalie	1912	[illegible]	80
Ruy Blas	1912		78
Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus (operetta)	1925	Civic Auditorium	99,100
Sophie Arnould	1897	American	80
Tambour Battant	1907	"	80
Tasse de Thé, Une	1910	[illegible] Hall	88
Thais	1925	Saint Augustine	92
Topaze	1930	Saint Augustine	78, 97
Trois Sœurs, Les	1924-25 1930	[illegible]	88 86, 93,97
Tyran en [illegible], Un	1870	[illegible]	67
Ulysses and Telemachus	1890a	American	46
Vieux Péchés, Les	1891	[illegible]	55
Vignes du Seigneur, Les	1928-29	Saint Augustine	95
Vie de Bohème, La	1903	[illegible]	85
Voyage de M. Perrichon, Le			86, 89
War in Crimea, The (spectacle)	1897	American	55
War Christmas, A	1910	Notre Dame Hall	88

A P P E N D I C E S

GERMAN THEATRE

THE GERMAN THEATRE IN SAN FRANCISCO

EARLY PERFORMANCES

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1852	Sängerbund	Grace Church		144c
1853	First May Day Celebration	Russ Gardens		111
1853	Der Gerade Weg Der Beste	Benefit Fire Dept.		114
1853	Hedwig, or The Bandit's Bride	Union Theatre	(Theodore Koerner)	114 115
1853	First German Co. Edward Wehler, Manager	Armory Hall		113
1853	Another German Co.	Adelphi		114
1853	Reopening German Dramatic Co.	Music Hall		114
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[illegible]

[illegible]

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1858	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1843	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1852	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1853	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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GERMAN THEATRE

MME. GENÉE'S DEUTSCHES THEATRE

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[illegible] SUBSCRIPTION [illegible]

NEW YORK

[illegible] STAGE

	Thousand Guilder	(Author?)	1[illegible]
	Before the Mail	([illegible])	1[illegible]
	Before the Master	([illegible])	1[illegible]
	[illegible]	([illegible])	1[illegible]
	[illegible]		1[illegible]
	Veranderung		1[illegible]

1[illegible]

AT THE MANHATTAN

Typical performances

June 7	Jitrovlaria	([illegible])	120
	Der Lebendige Leiche Realic		120
June 21	100,000 Tuelers	([illegible])	120
Aug. 2	Der [illegible] in E. F.	(V. [illegible])	120
Aug. 20	Der Diener von [illegible] Dame	(Herzfeldt Bruck-Prolsher)	120
Sept. 27	Maria Stuart	([illegible])	12[illegible] 1[illegible]

1[illegible]

AT THE METROPOLITAN.

April 5	Eine [illegible] Person		12[illegible]
May 17	Kreuzt und Flieg!	(Martos)	12[illegible]

AT MAGDEBURG'S OPERA H[illegible]

June 3	Marriage		12[illegible]

AT [illegible]OPOLITAN.

July	Katharina Boyard	([illegible])	12[illegible]

[illegible] BATTLE HALL

Dec. 1	Faust	([illegible])	12[illegible]

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1883

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ADDITIONAL PLAYS, OPERAS, MUSICALS

PRODUCED BY GERMAN THEATRES IN NEW YORK 1890

Date		Play	Theatre
April 30,	1897	Ein Prozess um einen Preis	Irving Place Theatre
"	"	Ein Unbeschriebener Student	"
"	"	Glückliche Flitterwochen	"
"	"	Fröhlichmacht zu Bad de [illegible]	"
May	3,	Die Zwillinge oder Der Tyrannische Schwester aus Liebe und Hass aus Paris	"
Dec.	25,	Der Verschwender	"
Jan.	1, 1898	Mutter und Sohn	
"	3,	Der Verschwender	
	10,	Heute und Plötzlich (Farce)	
"	15,	Die Hypnotisten, With the Ladies Dramatic Turner Literarischer Society	American Theatre
"	24,	Grenzpermalter (Farce)	
"	31,	Ein Mädchen von Welt	
Feb.	7,	Robert und Bertram	
"	14,	Drei Tage aus dem Leben eines Spielers	
March	25,	Die Schwiegertrin (The Daughter-in-law)	Metropolitan Hall
April	4,	Eine Leichte Person (Farce comedy)	Metropolitan
"	11,	Der Mann mit der Eisernen Maske	

ADDITIONAL PLAYS PRODUCED (Cont.)

Date	Play	Theatre
April 19, 1868	Der Budiker und sein Kind (Comedy)	
" 26, "	Einer von Unseren Leut	
May 3, "	Belphegor	
" 10, "	Ein Armer Teufel	
June 5, "	Der Viehhaendler aus Ober-Oesterreich	
July 24, "	Stadt und Land	
" 31, "	Catherine Howard	
Aug. 6, "	Donna Diana (Comedy)	
Sept. 4, "	Die Frau in Weiss	
" 11, "	Die Lieder des Musikanten	
" " "	Ich Esse bei Meiner Mutter (Comedietta)	
" 15, "	Pech Schultze (Serio - Comic)	
" 19, "	Pietra, or Love and Revenge	
" 22, "	Bruder Liederlich	
Oct. 6, "	Anna von Oesterreich	
" 9, "	Unter der Erde, oder, Arbeit bringt Segen	Platt's Hall
" 20, "	Lumpaci Vagabundus (Comedy)	
" 23, "	Keine Jesuiten Mehr (Comedy)	
" 30, "	Die Kartenschlaegerin	
Nov. 6, "	Der Verkaufte Schlaf	

ADDITIONAL PLAYS PRODUCED (Cont.)

Date		Play	Theatre
April	10,	1066 "Der Soldier und sein Kind" (Comedy)	
"	26,	" "Einer von Unseren Leut"	
May	3,	" "Seelenhagen"	
"	10,	" "Ein Armer Teufel"	
June	5,	" "Der Wiederbringer aus Waterloo"	
July	24,	" "Stadt und Land"	
"	31,	" "Katherine Howard"	
Aug.	7,	" "Donna Diana (Comedy)	
Sept.	4,	" "Die Frau im Weiss"	
"	11,	" "Die Tiefer der Menschheit"	
"	"	" "Ich Habe Mich Meiner Mutter (Operette)	
"	18,	" "Hoch Schwalbe (Sports - man)	
"	19,	" "Pierre, der Bube und Bevern"	
"	22,	" "Unreife Liebelich"	
Oct.	6,	" "Anna von Westerwick"	
"	9,	" "Unter der Brücke, Wolen, Arbeit Bringt Segen"	Little Hall
"	20,	" "Ewiges Verzeihung (Comedy)	
"	23,	" "Wenn Jemand Helfen (Comedy)	
"	30,	" "Die Kartenschlegerin	
Nov.	6,	" "Der Verlorene Sohnlein	

ADDITIONAL PLAYS PRODUCED (Concluded)

Date	Play	Theatre
Nov. 13, 1868	Kabale und Liebe	Platt's Hall
" 20, "	Herz und Dollar	" "
" 26, "	Marie-Ann	" "
Dec. 1, "	Faust	" "
" 4, "	Doctor und Friseur (Comedy)	" "
" " "	Der Liebestrank (Operetta)	" "
" 11, "	Wie man Seine Toechter Verheiratet	
" " "	Ein Prozess um einen Kuss (Farce)	
" 25, "	Cancelled	
Jan. 1, 1869	Das Irrenhaus zu Dijon	
Aug. 1, "	The Secrets of an Old Maid Genée Farewell Benefit Madame Laura Marks and Miss Emma Kaiser	
Sept.26, "	Lorle von Schwarzold	

ADDITIONAL PLAYS PRODUCED (Concluded)

Date		Play	Theatre
Nov. 12,	1888	Nabal, und Liebe	Fischle Hall
" 20,	"	Herr und Knecht	"
" 26,	"	Karlo-Ann	"
Dec. 1,		Raub	"
" 4,		Doktor und Patient (comedy)	"
" "	"	Der Liebesbrief (Operette)	"
" 11,		Wie man Seine Tochter Verheiratet	
" "	"	Ein Prozess um einen Kuss (Farce)	
" 28,	"	Cancelled	
Jan. 1,	1889	Das Irrenhaus zu Dijon	
Aug. 1,	"	The Secrets of an Old Ice Storage Warehouse Larry Sterke and Miss Frau Lubsen	
Sept. 28,	"	Lorle von Schwarzwald	

ACTRESSES MENTIONED IN GERMAN THEATRE MONOGRAPH

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Metropolitan I	Montgomery Street bet. Jackson & Washington Sts.	1854 1864	114
Metropolitan II	Same location	1865 1868 1870 1872	117, 117a 117d, 122 123, 124 126, 128

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* The name Deutsches Haus was changed to California Hall during the World War.
**Also termed Turnverein.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Theatre	Leased to	Year
Marlyn	[illegible]	1[illegible]
Marlyn I	[illegible]	[illegible]
Marlyn II	[illegible]	[illegible]
Army Hall	[illegible]	[illegible]
Palace	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tella [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cal Florida	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] House	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] Theatre	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] Cosmo House	[illegible]	[illegible]
Metropolitan I	[illegible]	[illegible]
Metropolitan II	[illegible]	[illegible]

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* The name [illegible] during the [illegible].
**Also termed [illegible].

THEATRES, HALLS, PLAYHOUSES (Cont.)

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* Known as Deutsches Haus before the World War.

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* Known as Dashaben [illegible] before [illegible].

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Don, The (Opera)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Robert [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Marcella [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible] (Opera)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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Compliment, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] Life	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hard-Up	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hand Right Hand Left	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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Hunter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ten Commandments	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indigenous	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dublin, The [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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Lawrence Estavan, Editor.