2013

Vaudeville, Popular Entertainment and Cultural Division in the Inland Empire, 1880-1914

Mark Hauser

Claremont Graduate University

Recommended Citation

Hauser, Mark. (2013). *Vaudeville, Popular Entertainment and Cultural Division in the Inland Empire, 1880-1914*. CGU Theses & Dissertations, 78. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgu_etd/78. doi: 10.5642/cguetd/78

This Open Access Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the CGU Student Scholarship at Scholarship @ Claremont. It has been accepted for inclusion in CGU Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholarship @ Claremont. For more information, please contact scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu.

Vaudeville, Popular Entertainment and Cultural Division in the
Inland Empire, 1880-1914

by
Mark Hauser

Claremont Graduate University
Spring 2013

© Copyright Mark Hauser, 2013
All rights reserved.

APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This thesis has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Mark Hauser as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Master of Arts in History.

Janet Farrell Brodie
Claremont Graduate University
Professor of History

Robert Dawidoff
Claremont Graduate University
Professor of History

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1 – Urban Social Change and Vaudeville	6
Chapter 2 – Nineteenth-Century American Popular Entertainment.....	29
Chapter 3 – Vaudeville in the Inland Empire	52
Appendix A – Opera House Performances	71
Appendix B – Vaudeville Performances	97
Selected Bibliography	121

Introduction

“Some day, I’m afraid, the eggheads will take [Red Skelton] up and start reading social significance into his antics. Let’s hope they don’t because this has ruined many a good performer.” – Groucho Marx¹

American vaudeville emerged from the saloons that dotted the Bowery neighborhood of New York City during the 1880s. Over the course of the next 50 years vaudeville became the most popular entertainment in the country, resonating with a changing nation in a way that few other entertainment options were capable of doing. Audiences spread across the country in far-flung, rural areas were treated to the same performers as their big-city brethren, thanks to cross-country theater chains that spanned the nation. Even after the decline of vaudeville in the 1920s its aesthetic continued to shape American popular culture for decades thanks to radio, film and television’s reliance on comedians, singers and dancers who had honed their skills in front of vaudeville audiences.

Over the past 70 years performers and critics have written memoirs and books that help document the history of American vaudeville. This paper will draw on these popular sources written to document an art form that fell from its commanding height atop popular culture to explain the intricacies and excitement of American vaudeville. A few scholars have provided additional commentary, reflecting on the significance of vaudeville within the context of American social transformation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Albert McLean’s 1965 book *American Vaudeville as Ritual* represented one of the first attempts at creating a scholarly history of vaudeville, exploring the links between

¹ Groucho Marx, *Groucho and Me* (New York: Da Capo Press, Paperback Edition, 1995), 137.

vaudeville, urbanization and what he terms the “Myth of Success” that vaudeville promoted for urban audiences. Parker Zellers’s 1971 biography of Tony Pastor is full of details on the earliest days of vaudeville and Pastor’s efforts to differentiate his vaudeville shows from other variety shows during the 1880s, and also makes efforts to improve upon Gilbert’s history of vaudeville. These early works placed vaudeville within the context of middle class stability and comfort.

Robert Snyder’s *The Voice of the City* focused on the role of vaudeville as a unifying force in New York City during the early twentieth century that appealed across class and ethnic backgrounds, broadening the study of vaudeville beyond the middle class. Camille Forbes’s recent biography *Introducing Bert Williams* provided important details on one of the most successful entertainers of the first two decades of the twentieth century and on African-American performers in vaudeville.

Lawrence Levine’s important *Highbrow/Lowbrow* will help frame discussions of cultural hierarchy and evolving understandings of high and low culture within American society during the early twentieth century. Alison Kibler’s 1999 book *Rank Ladies* explored similar themes by documenting the important role of female performers and audience played in accepting and rejecting theater owners’ attempts to solidify cultural hierarchies. This paper will also draw heavily on past scholarship of popular entertainments of the nineteenth century to help demonstrate vaudeville’s distinct appeal to large numbers of Americans in a way that other forms of entertainment were unable to do.

Virtually all prior scholarship on vaudeville has focused on major markets such as New York City, the bustling east coast hub of American cultural life during

the era of vaudeville's emergence. However, this paper will attempt to move beyond these narrow confines to explore vaudeville's role in small town communities by examining an area east of Los Angeles known colloquially as the "Inland Empire." Communities such as San Bernardino, Riverside and Redlands that lie in the Inland Empire were coming into their own during the 1880s and experienced massive growth during the early twentieth century, presenting an interesting contrast with more established urban areas so often studied by scholars of vaudeville. By focusing on this region, it becomes possible to examine the relationship between vaudeville and the millions of Americans who did not live in the major urban areas previously covered by scholarship on vaudeville.

In order to capture the Inland Empire's relationship with vaudeville and popular entertainment, I collected sources from a variety of libraries and special collections around the region. I had initially hope to focus my studies on performers and their acts, hoping that I could analyze newspaper reviews and photographs to demonstrate the types of identity formation vaudeville was promoting. However, I found that most local archives did not have very detailed records on vaudeville theaters, nor did they have much in the way of photographic evidence, and the few newspaper articles were often promotions of performers coming to town in upcoming weeks rather than actual reviews of what had been on display. As a result, I revised my research to focus on the broad changes taking place within popular entertainment as a response to the formation of urban communities. I reviewed microfilm rolls of the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* at the library of California State University San Bernardino, and requested microfilm rolls of many other

newspapers from the California library system. The California Room at the Norman Feldheym Library in San Bernardino provided background information on popular entertainment in San Bernardino, particularly its files and press clippings on the San Bernardino Opera House. The Loring Opera House and Theatre Program Collection at the Riverside Public Library provided access to theatrical programs, while the library offered online access to newspapers such as the *Riverside Enterprise* and *Riverside Daily Press*. The Heritage Room of the A.K. Smiley Public Library in Redlands also provided useful information regarding the Wyatt Opera House in Redlands, and a few copies of *The Citrograph* newspaper. All of these sources were used to help shape an understanding of popular culture in the community, and to generate the original tables I present in Chapters Two and Three.

This paper's structure reflects my desire to engage with scholarship on social change in early twentieth century America. Chapter One will focus specifically on the emergence of vaudeville as popular entertainment, the urban social changes that helped make it particularly relevant, and the growth of the Inland Empire. Chapter Two will examine the other entertainment options of the nineteenth century America and why they were unable to match the appeal of vaudeville, as well as their place within the popular culture of the Inland Empire. Chapter Three will focus specifically on the place of vaudeville within the Inland Empire. Two appendices at the conclusion of the paper will outline all of the documented performances that occurred at Opera Houses and vaudeville theaters in the Inland Empire. All of this information will provide a detailed overview of vaudeville in the

Inland Empire, and vaudeville's place in American society of the early twentieth century undergoing rapid social change that reshaped cultural hierarchies.

Chapter 1

Urban Social Change and Vaudeville

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were an era of remarkable change in the United States, made more prominent by the country's increasing urbanization. Since the end of the Civil War Americans had begun to encounter rising income inequality that was only exacerbated as the decades passed. Immigrants from countries outside of the traditional western European homelands of the early nineteenth century began arriving in waves, and African Americans newly freed from the bonds of slavery were able to move across the country. Women began to demand a greater role in civic society, leading social reform efforts and demanding rights equal to those of male citizens.

All of these new currents in American life demanded a revolution in the way the country perceived itself and the values this society promoted. These values needed to reflect those of an increasingly diverse, urban population that was constantly moving and evolving. About sixty miles east of Los Angeles, several communities founded during the late nineteenth century grew rapidly and in many ways embodied these traits. This area, consisting of San Bernardino County, the largest county in the United States, and Riverside County, a smaller breakaway county, constitute what is known locally as "the Inland Empire." The largest cities in the area, San Bernardino and Riverside, gave these counties their name, and together with Redlands, another notable city in San Bernardino County, they constitute an important case study of small, emerging cities that are often overlooked by scholars fixated on the communities that grew to dominate California such as Los Angeles and San Francisco. By studying these developing communities

it is possible to examine both how successful these urban values were in penetrating small communities across the United States and the converse – ways in which urban values did not fully apply to growing communities and therefore only became common once communities had grown into more diverse, metropolitan areas.

As American political society and culture underwent profound changes, this ongoing shift naturally encouraged a revolution in popular entertainment. During the early twentieth century vaudeville emerged as America's favorite entertainment precisely because it matched urban society's values. It offered a variety of rapidly changing entertainments that matched the variety found in urban life. Vaudeville also benefited from producers who bowed to social standards of respectability that broadened its appeal across all classes. Additionally, producers were able to take advantage of emerging transportation and promotional networks to forge national theater chains, encouraging circuits that brought vaudeville into towns across the country. Because vaudeville drew heavily on urban life, social respectability and new technologies, a study of American vaudeville from its birth in 1880 until 1914 is tightly intertwined with an examination of emerging class, racial and social distinctions that were in flux during this period.

Vaudeville and Urban America

Vaudeville matched the lifestyle and values of urban Americans more than any other form of entertainment of the day, a major factor in why it was able to become the dominant amusement of the era.² It emerged out of variety

² Chapter Two will examine other forms of entertainment that were popular during this era and note the specific reasons why they were unable to keep pace with the shifts in American values during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

performances that had been an important staple of American popular culture for decades. Since the 1820s opera had incorporated variety performers during the interludes between acts, a practice that was very popular with audiences.³ By the mid-nineteenth century minstrelsy had also developed a reliance on rotating performers specializing in a variety of acts including singing, dancing and comedy, returning to the background after their few moments in the spotlight. This constant rotation had a particular appeal to audiences who were used to the quick pace and rapid changes of urban life.⁴

American variety theater owner M.B. Leavit claimed to have coined the term “vaudeville” in 1880 as a combination of the French words “vaux de ville” meaning “worthy of the city’s patronage,” linking this particular form of variety entertainment with a perception of social values.⁵ However, the man responsible for integrating variety entertainment with nineteenth-century urban American values was Tony Pastor. A theater owner and producer in the rough and tumble Bowery neighborhood of New York, Pastor had entered theater management because his Catholic faith encouraged him to eliminate what he considered to be objectionable content.⁶ Before Pastor opened his 14th Street Theatre in 1881, Bowery theaters catered to the local working class and were first and foremost

³ Karel Ahlquist, *Democracy at the Opera: Music, Theater, and Culture in New York City, 1815-60* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 2-3.

⁴ Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of the Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 201-202, 204.

⁵ Albert F. McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 19.

⁶ Parker Zellers, *Tony Pastor: Dean of the Vaudeville Stage* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 41.

saloons, with prostitutes freely working amongst the crowd.⁷ Pastor noted that these conditions were unappealing to the growing population of middle class urban women who wanted to share in the entertainments of the city, and by “cleaning up” variety entertainment he could offer these women access to performers they wanted to see.⁸ Throughout the 1870s, Pastor’s theaters began to challenge the variety establishment by eliminating objectionable material from performers’ acts in an effort to attract women and families from the middle and respectable working classes. His earliest theaters still offered alcohol, but in separate areas outside of the main auditorium; by the time he opened the 14th Street Theatre he had eliminated its sale entirely and relied solely on ticket sales to generate his profits.⁹ Pastor’s successful efforts to make variety entertainment respectable and broaden its appeal are generally cited as the birth of vaudeville in the early 1880s. B.F. Keith and his partner Edward Albee came to dominate vaudeville entertainment across the United States in the early twentieth century through their circuit of theaters that continued this focus on respectability. The duo received financing for their first vaudeville theater from the Catholic Diocese of Boston, promising the elimination of vulgarity and profanity from shows, with acts judged and censored by Sunday school teachers who vigilantly stood watch at the back of the theater during performances.¹⁰

Pastor’s new standards were restrictive, and were both a response to the audience’s demand for decency as well as the promotion of certain social ideals held

⁷ Zellers, *Tony Pastor*, xv.

⁸ Barth, *City People*, 195.

⁹ Zellers, *Tony Pastor*, 54-55, 72.

¹⁰ Joe Laurie, *Vaudeville: From the Honky-Tonks to the Palace* (New York: Holt, 1953), 338-339.

by theater managers and producers. In the words of historian John Dimeglio, “Vaudeville, for better or worse, directed morals and attitudes...While it reflected mass attitudes, it also exercised a considerable power in shaping its viewers’ feelings...If it is considered that [vaudeville] audiences contained great numbers of young minds easily influenced by amusements, it is no wonder that the influence of vaudeville on America is still great.”¹¹ Twenty-first century observers of the material performed by vaudeville comedians operating under these decency standards may note that it appears hackneyed or simplistically slapstick. However, within the confines of nineteenth and early twentieth century American society their acts actually represented more language play than the sexually suggestive content performed by circus and burlesque comics of the era.¹² Other performers found ways to perform risqué material by manipulating popular perceptions of beauty and sexuality. Throughout her career famed vaudeville singer Sophie Tucker used sexually provocative songs in her act, yet because of her heavysset and unattractive appearance she was not interpreted as an object of sexual desire and did not run afoul of censors.¹³ Tucker herself noted several factors that allowed her to seemingly flout contemporary standards:

“Often I am asked: ‘Why do you sing hot songs?’ And I can answer truthfully: ‘I’ve never sung a single song in my whole life on purpose to shock anyone. I sing to entertain. My ‘hot numbers’ (and especially the songs Jack Yellen has been writing for me the past twenty years) are all, if you will notice, written around something that is real in the lives of millions of people. They are songs that mean something to everybody who hears them.’...Another thing

¹¹ John E. DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1973), 197.

¹² McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 119.

¹³ Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 272.

about my 'hot numbers,' they are all moral. They have to do with sex, but *not* with vice. That, I believe, is one secret of their unfailing popularity with American audiences. The other secret that makes for their success is the fact that they are all written in the first person. When I'm singing them I am talking about myself. This makes me do them better than I could do a song about some indefinite third person. And the audience likes them better that way....the audience found my distress funny."¹⁴

These new performance standards helped vaudeville attract its initial audience of middle class Americans in droves. Vaudeville appealed to the middle class of white-collar workers who appreciated the onstage rituals of abundance and vitality, and had reevaluated and rejected older family values and traditions.¹⁵ Vaudeville performances depicted and celebrated a mythic view of American life that embraced glamour and glibness as important to success, in contrast to rural Americans who saw pious morality as a central component.¹⁶ Vaudeville offered audiences a compromise that if upon emigrating to a city, one was willing to suspend the belief that Christian life demanded the renunciation of pleasure, theater owners such as Pastor and Keith would eliminate other objections such as offensive language and vice.¹⁷ Keith hung a sign in his vaudeville houses, outlining exactly what he expected from his performers, stating:

"You are hereby warned that your act must be free from all vulgarity and suggestiveness in words, action, and costume while playing in any of Mr. Keith's houses, and all vulgar, double-meaning and profane words and songs must be cut out of your act before the first performance. If you are in doubt as to what is right or wrong, submit it to the resident manager at rehearsal. Such words as liar, slob, son-of-a-gun, devil, sucker, damn and all other words unfit for the ears of ladies and children, also any reference to

¹⁴ Sophie Tucker, *Some of These Days: The Autobiography of Sophie Tucker* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1945), 95-96.

¹⁵ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 41-43.

¹⁶ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 9-10.

¹⁷ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 72.

questionable streets, resorts, localities, and bar-rooms are prohibited under fine of instant discharge.”¹⁸

In the eyes of historian Albert McLean, performance standards therefore became an example of class identification rather than genuine religious fervor, writing:

“For the vaudeville audiences themselves, the appeal to purity and uplift was more a snobbish identification with upper-middle class taste than it was a matter of religious conviction. The managers, in adopting the sanctimonious tone, claimed that they were out for the ‘carriage trade,’ but the claim itself was addressed to the aspirant members of the new class of white collar workers. For this group, cut off by levels of education and income from the enjoyment of great and expensive art, the appeal to the sensibilities was vaguely desirable, but provided no firm explanation for their leisure activities. What they needed was a justification for fun, a frame of reference which they might not fully comprehend, but which would, at least, provide a basis for distinguishing between vaudeville and grand opera on the one hand, and vaudeville and a revival meeting on the other.”¹⁹

These values helped transform vaudeville into an almost exclusively middle-class entertainment following the depression of 1893, the year F.F. Proctor introduced his “continuous vaudeville” model.²⁰ Continuous vaudeville offered ongoing performances throughout the day, and was marketed by the phrase, “After breakfast go to Proctor’s, after Proctor’s go to bed,” an advance that shaped vaudeville into its famous, final form with a master of ceremonies introducing an ever changing array of acts.²¹ The success of vaudeville led to the creation of mammoth theaters such as the Palace Theatre in New York that stood as monuments to wealth, power and prestige, playing to the audience’s desire for success.²²

¹⁸ Robert W. Snyder, *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 29 quoting Edwin Milton Royle, “The Vaudeville Theatre,” *Scribner’s* 26 (October 1899): 487.

¹⁹ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 82.

²⁰ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 250.

²¹ Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 338.

²² McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 208. Barth, *City People*, 216.

Vaudeville performances also demonstrated currents that were shared by more than just the middle class, encompassing the urban lifestyle of millions of Americans. Variety performances identified urban problems and suggested ways of coping with them, with efficiency and discipline the key to both a successful performance onstage and a successful life in the city.²³ Vaudeville humor, which often boiled down to laughing at others and their suffering rather than with them, suggested a difficulty in finding intimacy with the numerous strangers one encountered in daily city life, while also providing a feeling of superiority.²⁴ Yet comedy was not just slapstick, but regularly observed, “the inefficiency of government and the paradoxes facing an unsophisticated immigrant populace,” which, “provided an outlet for their audiences when they supplied laughs on subjects which were sensitive and unsolvable.”²⁵ Songs such as “Give My Regards to Broadway,” “Hello Central, Give Me Heaven,” and “The Man Who Broke the Bank in Monte Carlo,” through their titles alone spoke to the joy and loneliness of urban life, glorifying success and teaching urban etiquette.²⁶ Magicians and spiritualists occasionally presented themselves as mysterious masters of the occult, but performers such as Houdini urged audiences instead to look beyond these homespun traditions, fostering the primacy of science over spiritualism.²⁷ Even animal acts demonstrated a fault line in the struggle between Darwinian

²³ Barth, *City People*, 225.

²⁴ Barth, *City People*, 217.

²⁵ John Lahr, *Notes on a Cowardly Lion: The Biography of Bert Lahr* (New York: Knopf, 1969), 29, quoted in DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.*, 42. DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.*, 42-43.

²⁶ Barth, *City People*, 219.

²⁷ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 163. John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001, 143.

evolutionists and sentimentality.²⁸ In short, virtually every act on the vaudeville stage directly or indirectly was influenced by modern, urban American life and the problems it posed.

Vaudeville also appealed to respectable working class and immigrant Americans by playing an active role in overcoming urban isolation and loneliness and serving as an important tool of Americanization. Vaudeville performances enabled immigrants to the United States and migrants from rural America to come in contact with, and learn the values of, the urban civilization absorbing them.²⁹ After learning rudimentary English, immigrants increasingly were drawn to vaudeville theaters outside of their local ethnic community. In these theaters, patrons were required to applaud at appropriate moments and maintain respectable silence during the performance. By patronizing vaudeville theaters immigrant newcomers could learn and embrace the values of middle-class America, leaving behind the working-class norms accepted in local ethnic theaters.³⁰ Vaudeville performers often came from lower class, immigrant backgrounds very similar to their audiences and crafted acts that referenced these experiences.³¹ At the same time, many immigrant groups began to assimilate into American life during the 1890s and 1900s, and stereotypical portrayals of comic Irish and Jewish Americans onstage no longer resonated with audiences as strongly as they

²⁸ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 147.

²⁹ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 11. Abel Green, *Show Biz, From Vaude to Video* (New York: Holt, 1951), 9.

³⁰ Barth, *City People*, 214-215.

³¹ DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.*, 59.

previously had, though they were still common.³² Even African Americans, who had been depicted since the minstrel era as unfit, quasi-savages and were generally unwelcome in first-class vaudeville theaters, began to challenge the popular biases against them on stage.³³ By the 1900s, “black and tan” establishments in New York that catered to an audience of black men and white women constituted the low end of vaudeville, and offered an opening for talented African American performers such as Bert Williams and George Walker.³⁴ By the 1910s, Williams had become one of the most famous entertainers in America, and challenged popular perceptions since, in the words of critic Edith Isaacs, “somehow or other, laughing at Bert Williams came to be tied up in people’s minds with liberalism, charity and the Thirteenth Amendment.”³⁵ Vaudeville emerged as the dominant urban entertainment of early twentieth century America by embracing middle class social values that new members of the urban working class were encouraged to adopt.

Social Change, 1880-1914

Historians have previously outlined a number of changes in American society that occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this time class divisions began to widen and grow more pronounced, which resulted in competing aims for upper, middle and lower class citizens. The rapid pace at which industrialization unfolded during the 1880s began to alienate

³² Alicia Kae Koger, “A Critical Analysis of Edward Harrigan’s Comedy” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1984), 309. M. Alison Kibler, *Rank Ladies: Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 56.

³³ Camille F. Forbes, *Introducing Bert Williams: Burnt Cork, Broadway, and the Story of America’s First Black Star* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2008), 46, 56. Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 134.

³⁴ Forbes, *Introducing Bert Williams*, 72-73.

³⁵ Edith J.R. Isaacs, *The Negro in the American Theatre* (New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., 1947), 41, quoted in DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.*, 115.

working class wage earners who sought to preserve a sense of decency and honor in their work. In some communities this goal was respected, but many found that as society focused increasingly on financial success, old customs, traditions and morality dissolved.³⁶ In areas where business elites were absent or had a singular focus on economic exploitation, laborers were seen as a dangerous revolutionary class and marginalized, which in turn encouraged workers to attack their oppressors.³⁷ The massive inequality between workers and owners was roundly perceived as unjust and undermined traditional beliefs that business success was somehow the result of moral virtue on the part of a company's owner.³⁸ Workers took increasing pride in their output and thought of themselves as honorable producers, contrasting their labor with that of lawyers, bankers and brokers got rich by manipulating others' money.³⁹ Belief in a traditional understanding of the Protestant ethic that held a man's character to be responsible for his economic success was no longer possible following the depression of 1893 when it became clear that many workers were poor through no fault of their own.⁴⁰

The growing need for collective action in the face of inequality helped spur the growth of national labor unions during the 1880s and 1890s as communities turned to national leaders to help overcome local jurisdictional problems that prevented their successful mobilization.⁴¹ Unions in urban areas played a crucial role in shaping individual identity, as the influx of inexperienced workers to cities

³⁶ Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 55.

³⁷ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 47.

³⁸ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 52. Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 133-134.

³⁹ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 74.

⁴⁰ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 173.

⁴¹ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 124.

required not only jobs and housing, but also a sense of belonging, which unions provided in loyalty towards an occupation, rather than political parties or ethnic groups.⁴² While workers and their unions demonstrated pride in the fruits of their labor, factory managers fought against them and pushed for more efficient production. These managers introduced automated machinery that removed skilled workers from their payrolls and simultaneously sped up the pace of their remaining workers' lives.⁴³

The individual identity a worker could find in a union was essential during the late nineteenth century, when the nature of an individual's life was constantly in flux. As more miles of train tracks were laid, workers became increasingly mobile and moved often to find better employment and wages, often with the seasons, perhaps constructing railways in the west during the spring and traveling to work in Chicago during the winter.⁴⁴ In this world of uncertainty, the definition of race took on increasing importance, and led to increasing focus on the racial categorization of immigrants, who were feared as a source of poverty, crime, political corruption and social subversion.⁴⁵ By the early 1900s, immigration had been termed a "problem" with illiteracy seen as a major contributing factor, leading to increased calls for immigrant restriction and expanded Americanization programs.⁴⁶

In addition to the escalating strife between upper and lower classes, urban America was also home to a growing middle class of professionals such as doctors,

⁴² Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 12, 129.

⁴³ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 82-83.

⁴⁴ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 75-76.

⁴⁵ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 93, 95. Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 54.

⁴⁶ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 210.

lawyers, economists and social workers, as well as an increasing number of specialists in fields such as business, labor and agriculture.⁴⁷ The growth of this professional class coincided with the development of new methods of measuring achievement. Numbers and statistics became central to measuring success, making greatness synonymous with mass quantity and demonstrating the superiority of American industrial output and by extension the American way of life.⁴⁸ Due to their experiences as overseers and middle managers, business professionals adopted a worldview that demanded a need for constant interaction and adjustment to increase social performance.⁴⁹ This resulted in the aforementioned push towards efficiency of time and effort.⁵⁰ However, the relative success of this professional class also made them more inclined to revise their stance on certain values such as thriftiness, as they made money they were willing to spend on consumer goods as a way to demonstrate personal wealth and status.⁵¹ This consumerism was not just an urban trend, but one that spread quickly throughout the rural United States, making thriftiness a virtue held by the working classes that needed to generate more value from their pay.⁵²

In some areas of the rural West and South, social upheavals spawned the birth of “Populism,” with the Populist Party formed in 1891.⁵³ Populist reformers challenged the growth of monopoly capitalism by calling for the restraint of

⁴⁷ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 112.

⁴⁸ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 40.

⁴⁹ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 146.

⁵⁰ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 155.

⁵¹ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 56.

⁵² Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 148-149, 78.

⁵³ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 164.

corporate power through antitrust laws and the adoption of direct elections.⁵⁴

However, Populism never was able to develop a strong foothold in urban areas because its platform did not mesh with the needs of the urban workforce. Populists demanded the free coining of silver that meant little to urban workers and called for the elimination of tariffs that protected corporations employing urban workers. The political rallies of William Jennings Bryan, the charismatic face of Populism, were also off-putting as they often resembled rural camp meetings.⁵⁵ Following Bryan's failed Presidential campaign in 1896, Populism began to slowly die away as a major political movement.⁵⁶

In urban areas at the dawn of the twentieth century monopoly capitalism was attacked by a band of reformers who viewed the world not through the lens of the factory, but instead as a process of historical progress and evolution. Their views became known as "Progressivism," and emanated from influential citizens who felt that appreciating modernization was central to their personal interests.⁵⁷ Progressivism focused on cleaning society of corruption, leading efforts to reform medical laws and the Prohibition movement, which had also been supported by rural Populists.⁵⁸ The Progressive movement was independent of the working class Socialist movement that had grown out of the nineteenth-century organized labor

⁵⁴ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 180.

⁵⁵ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 189.

⁵⁶ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 105.

⁵⁷ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 177.

⁵⁸ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 195, 200.

movement to continue campaigns for an eight-hour workday and increased workers' rights, though it did advocate on behalf of many of these same issues.⁵⁹

Economic and political factors were joined by cultural shifts that helped shape the competing identities varying groups of Americans adopted or found forced upon them. While in many instances culture served as a barrier to varying social groups or classes, the great diversity of urban life demanded that something be able to transcend these differences. As historian Gunther Barth noted in *City People*, his study of American urban culture during the early twentieth century, urban life offered a chance for citizens to share feelings about common life and recognize mutual concerns, forming the basis for a shared urban culture.⁶⁰ The pace of urbanization had increased during the late nineteenth century when monopolistic corporations grew and centralized their operations, concentrating wealth in urban areas.⁶¹ Cities such as Chicago teemed with energy and vitality, and had a natural appeal to youth.⁶² By early twentieth century, cities also offered services such as the streetcars and gas and electric lamps championed by Progressives that quickened the pace of life and prolonged days.⁶³

A key component of urban culture was popular entertainment, which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was available on a wider scale than ever before due to shifts in American leisure habits and technological advancement. Freed from a rural life whose schedule was dictated by the agricultural duties

⁵⁹ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 58.

⁶⁰ Barth, *City People*, 23.

⁶¹ Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 89.

⁶² Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 141.

⁶³ Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 144.

associated with the changing seasons, urban workers were able to craft a new, informal lifestyle. Traditional holiday celebrations remained, but their formality declined, and workers were also able to claim control over their workweek free time.⁶⁴ As a result, leisure activities became a marketplace capable of being dominated by big business ventures, and producers in the nascent mass entertainment field quickly capitalized.⁶⁵

By the 1890s, growth in the railroad industry allowed performers to travel quickly across the country from town to town. Shrewd theatrical producers now had the ability to develop a nationwide network of theaters, and encouraged performers to travel on a circuit that connected these theaters, creating a unified, national popular culture. Theater owners also drew upon a growing culture of advertising, which allowed lithographs and broadsheets to be posted cheaply and quickly and often focused primarily on promoting theatrical productions.⁶⁶ These promotional tools helped stir demand for a national popular culture, a demand that proved so great even smaller communities lacking access to the drawing power of a major theater could still hope to attract imitators of well-promoted star performers. Thrifty theater owners who noted that such imitators would work for a lower price than genuine headliners enthusiastically embraced this practice.⁶⁷ These nationwide theater circuits formed the organizational basis of vaudeville, the most popular entertainment of the early twentieth century.

⁶⁴ Barth, *City People*, 19.

⁶⁵ Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 172.

⁶⁶ Armond Fields, *Lillian Russell: A Biography of "America's Beauty"* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 57-58.

⁶⁷ Green, *Show Biz*, 43. Laurie, *Vaudeville*, 248-249.

Development of the Inland Empire, 1880-1914

Southern California's Inland Empire of the late nineteenth century was not a densely populated region, although it was growing rapidly. During the middle of the century the area had begun a brief period of expansion after 500 Mormons settled in San Bernardino in 1851, drawn by the ease at which the surrounding plains could be irrigated. However, a few years after the city of San Bernardino was incorporated in 1854, Brigham Young recalled the community back to Utah, which brought a period of stagnation to the region.⁶⁸ By the 1870s, the area had again begun to grow after the discovery of gold in the hills surrounding San Bernardino and orange groves took root in Riverside, located about fifteen miles south.⁶⁹ The emerging gold and orange industries were important to the initial expansion of the region, and the arrival of railways in the late 1870s rapidly accelerated this growth. A dispute with regional rail power Southern Pacific slowed the San Bernardino's incorporation onto rail networks until 1876, when it was connected with San Francisco and Los Angeles. Southern Pacific's monopoly on the region's railways was broken by the California Southern, which constructed a competing terminal in 1883. The Santa Fe Railway soon purchased California Southern and integrated into their nationwide network, allowing orange growers to travel east, market their goods and further expand their operations in the region.⁷⁰ Home to two competing terminals, railway fares into San Bernardino plummeted, bringing new immigrants to the city and

⁶⁸ Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *Southern California Local History: A Gathering of the Writings of W.W. Robinson* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1993), 384-386, 388-389.

⁶⁹ Nunis, *Southern California Local History*, 393, 400. Walter C. Schuilling, *San Bernardino County, Land of Contrasts* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1984), 66.

⁷⁰ Schuilling, *San Bernardino County*, 62, 65-66.

driving a real estate boom during the late 1880s. Naturally, this real estate boom led to the expansion of a lumber industry in the surrounding forests, which encouraged further exploration of the region.⁷¹ By the 1890s, major silver, gold and borax mines had opened across San Bernardino County, bringing floods of new jobs and immigrants to its cities and surrounding areas.⁷² Table 1.1 outlines the rapid growth of San Bernardino, Riverside and their surrounding areas.

Table 1.1 – County Population, 1880-1920 ⁷³					
County	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
San Bernardino	7,786	25,497	27,929	56,706	73,401
Riverside	-	-	17,897	34,696	50,297

As more people moved to the region, individual cities began to take on different standings within the local community. As the home of a large population of railway workers, San Bernardino developed a reputation as a working class town, from which other cities attempted to distance themselves. Riverside sought a middle class identity and waged a campaign to break from San Bernardino and form its own county. This dynamic is the focus of an 1887 editorial in the *San Bernardino Daily Courier*, the city's Democratic-leaning newspaper, which attacked previous articles in the *San Bernardino Times* and *Riverside Press* about a perceived drinking problem in San Bernardino. There, next to ads for Brocker & Reinhold imported

⁷¹ Nunis, *Southern California Local History*, 408. Schuilling, *San Bernardino County*, 93.

⁷² Schuilling, *San Bernardino County*, 95-96.

⁷³ *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1880: Volume I, Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882), 51. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1890: Volume I, Report on the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 11. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1900: Volume I, Population of States and Territories* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 11. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1910: Volume II, Population Reports by State Alabama-Montana* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 148. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920: Volume III, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 115.

carpets and H.J. Weil & Co.'s fine wines and cigars, the editors of the *Daily Courier* observed:

"There is something of a difference between a large and growing city like San Bernardino, with the heavy force of railroad men, laborers and a large floating population, and a relatively isolated rural village like Riverside...San Bernardino, aside from its extraneous population, is as sober a town as shy in the State to-day...That San Bernardino is wicked, Riverside has been proclaiming since there was a Riverside. Perhaps this is the reason why they want a division of the county. They are afraid of contamination with the ungodly, roistering people north of the Santa Ana, these beatified bucolics. Some time ago we expressed a hope that the Riverside sneers at San Bernardino would cease. That hope, we fear, will never be realized."⁷⁴

As Table 1.2 illustrates, the great irony of the article is that while San Bernardino County may have had a larger population, the city of Riverside actually had a slightly larger population than the city of San Bernardino and would remain so for decades.

Table 1.2 – City Population, 1890-1920 ⁷⁵				
City	1890	1900	1910	1920
San Bernardino	4,012	6,150	12,779	18,721
Redlands	1,904	4,797	10,449	-
Riverside	4,683	7,973	15,212	19,341

Yet the population of these cities was still relatively close, and other information from the census reveals these cities and their surrounding communities were demographically very similar. Tables 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 outline the sex, ethnicity and literacy rates for both San Bernardino and Riverside counties.

⁷⁴ "Bucolic Bigotry," *San Bernardino Daily Courier*, 23 September 1887.

⁷⁵ Urban population for these communities was not recorded by the 1880 census, nor was it recorded for Redlands by the 1920 census. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1910*, 148. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920*, 115.

Table 1.3 – County Population by Sex, 1880-1920 ⁷⁶						
County		1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
San Bernardino	Male	4,352	14,666	15,333	31,535	38,435
	Female	3,434	10,831	12,596	25,171	34,956
Riverside	Male	-	-	9,601	19,089	26,676
	Female	-	-	8,296	15,607	23,621

Table 1.4 – County Population by Ethnicity, 1880-1920 ⁷⁷						
County		1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
San Bernardino	White (Native)	6,988	24,101	26,605	43,472	56,906
	White (Foreign)	-	-	-	10,681	14,183
	“Colored”/”Negro”	17	313	216	642	608
	Chinese	123	682	388	-	107
	Japanese	-	2	148	-	533
	“Indian”	658	399	572	-	1,029
Riverside	White (Native)	-	-	16,421	26,385	38,120
	White (Foreign)	-	-	-	5,228	8,544
	“Colored”/”Negro”	-	-	254	518	885
	Chinese	-	-	316	-	103
	Japanese	-	-	97	-	626
	“Indian”	-	-	809	-	1,958

Table 1.5 – Illiteracy Rates of Voting Age Males, 1900-1920 ⁷⁸			
County	1900	1910	1920
San Bernardino	6.3%	9.2%	6.9%
Riverside	6.2%	8.2%	6.9%

Both counties were very similar in these respects, with men making up roughly 55% of the population, were not very diverse with slightly more than 75% of the population being native born white, and had similar, if not identical rates of illiteracy. Riverside was not remarkably different from San Bernardino in characteristics that appeared in the census, so in order to develop a separate

⁷⁶ U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1900, 495. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1910, 174. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920, 115.

⁷⁷ The 1910 census began to separate those identified as “white” as either US or foreign born. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1880, 382. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1890, 404. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1900, 495. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1910, 174. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920, 115.

⁷⁸ Illiteracy rates were not recorded by the 1880-1900 census, but retroactive statistics were included beginning with the 1910 census. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1910, 174. U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1920, 115.

identity for itself town leaders chose to focus on class to differentiate it from neighboring San Bernardino.

The *Daily Courier's* premonition of county division ultimately came true, and in 1893 tiny Riverside County was carved out of portions of San Bernardino and San Diego counties.⁷⁹ The community of Redlands ten miles east of San Bernardino developed a reputation as an even wealthier town. Founded in 1881 and incorporated in 1888 the city marketed itself as the ideal winter weather home for easterners.⁸⁰ By the 1890s, Redlands was regarded as the home of millionaires who looked condescendingly on their neighboring communities, although it remained a part of San Bernardino County.⁸¹

In many ways, the social shifts in the Inland Empire at the dawn of the twentieth century conformed to historians' observations of urbanizing communities. The influx of laborers to work the region's orange groves, mines and railways led to a shift in labor dynamics as unions were quickly formed. During the early 1900s, railway workers were active in campaigning for better wages from the owners of the Santa Fe Railway, with boilermakers striking in 1902, and boilermakers and machinists walking out again in 1904.⁸² The 1904 strike saw machinists for the Santa Fe railroad adopt increasingly militant tactics, building a 40-foot observation tower to peer over the tall wooden fences ringing the railway

⁷⁹ Nunis, *Southern California Local History*, 345.

⁸⁰ Schuilling, *San Bernardino County*, 86-87.

⁸¹ Schuilling, *San Bernardino County*, 115.

⁸² "Strikers Will Get No Raise In Wages," *Riverside Daily Press*, 7 June 1902, 1. "Boilermakers Joined Machinists on Strike," *Riverside Daily Press*, 9 May 1904, 1.

yards to watch those workers who refused to go on strike, ultimately beating them in the street once they had left the yard.⁸³

While the San Bernardino area's working class identity became more concentrated during the 1890s, Riverside and Redlands drifted towards more middle class values encouraged by wealthy newcomers attracted to the region's warmth. Like many other communities, Riverside enthusiastically embraced the fight for Prohibition and in 1890 the *Riverside Daily Press* observed a meeting held at the town's 1,000-seat theater, writing, "the announcement that the anti-saloon meeting would be held in the Loring last evening filled every seat in that commodious building and a large number were compelled to stand throughout the meeting."⁸⁴ Riverside's politics were decidedly Republican, with a recap of the 1892 election noting that Benjamin Harrison had secured 810 votes to Grover Cleveland's 384, and the Prohibitionist and Populist candidates garnering 106 and 88 votes, respectively.⁸⁵ During Riverside's battles to establish independence from San Bernardino, Redlands's allegiance to Progressive principles led the *Riverside Enterprise* to advocate it replacing San Bernardino as the county seat, arguing:

"Just think, for once, of as a lot of progressive people as have settled Redlands, Ontario, Riverside and the other new towns of the county, submitting to the domineering bossing of one man in San Bernardino...the remedy is an easy one if the people will band together. Let the progressive towns band together and move the county seat, and by the same power put the management of public affairs into new hands. Why not move the county seat to Redlands...Redlands people will give the county a court house and lot, and the town would do credit to the county as a county seat."⁸⁶

⁸³ "Striking Machinists Build a Watch Tower," *Riverside Daily Press*, 23 May 1904, 3. "Strikers Warm Up At San Bernardino," *Riverside Enterprise*, 31 May 1904, 3.

⁸⁴ "'Chestnuts,'" *Riverside Daily Press*, 3 April 1890, 4.

⁸⁵ "See Where We Are At," *Riverside Daily Press*, 15 March 1894, 4.

⁸⁶ "The San 'Berdoo' Boss," *Riverside Enterprise*, 21 October 1891, 2.

Clearly, just as San Bernardino had begun to adopt working class, urban values, the communities of Riverside and Redlands had begun to adopt those of middle class, Progressive society.

Conclusion

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, the United States was still in the process of urbanization that brought social change to communities across the country. The expansion of small industries into big business brought growing income inequality and class identification, which in turn realigned political ideals. In many ways, the Inland Empire communities of San Bernardino, Riverside and Redlands were the embodiment of these shifts, with the expansion of the city into a railway hub bringing new people and new jobs to the region. As a result of this growth, the cities began to take on their own class and political identities, ultimately leading to Riverside's breakaway from San Bernardino County.

The social changes of the late nineteenth century also radically shifted the demands of American popular entertainment. Vaudeville embraced the new American values of urbanization in a way other forms of entertainment would not or could not. The variety of performers shuffling across stages matched the pace of urban life, captured the urban experience and brought middle class approval and patronage. Yet in many ways vaudeville was an extension or mutation of the many forms of entertainment that had come before it. In order to analyze why vaudeville was the perfect match for twentieth century urban America, it is first necessary to analyze these other forms of entertainment and their shortcomings.

Chapter 2 Nineteenth-Century American Popular Entertainment

Nineteenth-century America spawned numerous forms of entertainment that captivated audiences of the day. Some of these forms, such as musicals and the circus, drew on previous traditions, morphed over time in response to popular trends, and remained a part of American popular culture well into the twentieth century. Others such as the dime museum and blackface minstrelsy were popular during the nineteenth century, but fell out of favor by the early twentieth century. Amongst all of these entertainment options, none proved to be as popular as vaudeville, which by 1910 had 2,000 “small-time” theaters spread across the United States with larger theaters such as the Palace Theatre in New York making profits of \$10,000 per week.⁸⁷

In order to properly contextualize the nationwide embrace of vaudeville, it must be compared to the other entertainment options of its day. Previous scholarship by Albert McLean and Gunther Barth has linked the widespread appeal of vaudeville to the changes taking place in American life during this era of rapid urbanization. By the same token, other forms of entertainment can be explored to note the ways in which they were unable to keep pace with a rapidly shifting nation. Shakespearean plays, minstrel and burlesque shows, comic operas, dime museums, traveling circuses, and tent shows all competed for space within the crowded entertainment marketplace, but by the end of the nineteenth century most catered to narrow niche audiences that were much smaller than that of vaudeville. San

⁸⁷ Green, *Show Biz*, 4. Laurie, *Vaudeville*, 245. Marian Spitzer, *The Palace* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 144.

Bernardino, Redlands and Riverside all featured these forms of popular entertainment during the late nineteenth century, and the Inland Empire region can be used as a case study to help evaluate and demonstrate the reasons why these entertainment forms were not as successful as vaudeville in capturing the market for urban entertainment.

Other Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century America

Most forms of entertainment in late nineteenth-century America had their roots in performing traditions that emerged well before the Civil War. In the earliest years of the nineteenth century the most popular entertainers were ballerinas, violinists, and soprano singers, all of whom had yet to assume their sanctified place in American highbrow culture and were popular with the general public.⁸⁸ By the 1820s, acting troupes specializing in the works of Shakespeare began traveling along the east coast, spreading the Bard's popularity across all social classes.⁸⁹ These performers were able to utilize new transportation networks such as canals and roadways to travel hundreds of miles inland and provide settlers of what are now considered the Midwest and Mississippi regions access to the same entertainment as those on the east coast.⁹⁰

These transportation networks also allowed new forms of entertainment being developed in the nation's frontier regions the ability to reach eastern audiences. During the 1820s, urban-born northerners who were enamored with popular entertainment and the music and dance they encountered in African

⁸⁸ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 108.

⁸⁹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 17-18.

⁹⁰ Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business*, 154-155.

American communities in the western cities of Louisville, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati spurred the development of blackface minstrelsy.⁹¹ Eric Lott has argued that minstrelsy appealed to white working class men who feared that they were being viewed as “black” inferiors by the upper classes and resorted to forms of entertainment that emphasized white supremacy over their fellow black laborers.⁹² Minstrel performers traveled across the same networks as earlier “legitimate” theatrical performers had done, and swept across the west back to eastern cities including New York, where by the 1830s such performances had become extremely popular. During the 1830s, minstrelsy positioned itself in opposition to other entertainments such as opera and theater that became associated with the upper classes, creating a divide in popular culture.⁹³ In 1843 the first minstrel troupe, Dan Emmett’s Virginia Minstrels, was formed in New York, and traveled the country inspiring imitators, all of which helped craft a strong and relatable plantation mythology around themes of lost love, separated families, death, home and nostalgia. Following the Civil War, the minstrel show remained a popular format of entertainment that provided a familiar structure of dance, jokes, songs, instrumental tunes, skits, mock oratory, satire, and racial and gender cross-dressing or impersonation by mostly male performers.⁹⁴

Minstrelsy was only one of several forms of entertainment offered by saloons in urban, working class neighborhoods. During the 1840s and 50s, neighborhoods

⁹¹ Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 47-50.

⁹² Lott, *Love and Theft*, 71.

⁹³ Lott, *Love and Theft*, 64.

⁹⁴ Lott, *Love and Theft*, 72, 203, 9.

such as the Bowery in New York were home to a number of these concert saloons, which offered variety acts for 10 to 25 cents, as well as “waiter girls” that drank on the job and occasionally prostituted themselves to the overwhelmingly male audiences. These concert saloons differed dramatically from the bourgeois “respectable” theaters that emerged during this time and appealed to the upper classes, representing their mirror opposite.⁹⁵

Stage actors during this time began to organize the performances in these saloons into what would come to become known as “burlesque” by combining several popular varieties of stage show: travesty, pantomime and extravaganza.⁹⁶ Initially, burlesque performances were simply used to bridge breaks during larger plays, but in 1867 Lydia Thompson a well-known English dancer prepared a full-length burlesque entitled *Ixion* for her debut performance in the United States. This burlesque initially opened at the New York dime museum Wood’s Theater, dime museums offering nineteenth-century urban audiences additional entertainment detailed later in this section. Audiences loved its lampooning of classical culture, parodies of popular songs, and in particular, chorus lines of dancing girls that featured what Broadway historian Cecil Smith described as an “extensive display of the

⁹⁵ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 73.

⁹⁶ Robert Allen has defined each of these elements of early burlesque in great detail. “Travesty aimed at a specific work of high culture, removing its characters from their lofty positions as princes and peers and resituating them in considerably more prosaic settings. *Romeo and Juliet* were transplanted to Hoboken, for example...Whereas the travesty might or might not involve music, the extravaganza and the pantomime always did. Both these forms drew on myths, fairy tales, and children’s stories as frames for contemporary comic allusions, visual humor, dances, spectacles, and popular songs. The pantomime...was distinguished largely by its continued reliance on some vestige of the *commedia-del-l’arte* traditions of the form: stock characters and situations; a heavy dose of broad, sometimes violent slapstick; and the obligatory transformation scene...Extravaganza might include parodies of popular songs and retain the rhymed-couple form of more traditional burlesque, but its humor was diffuse, undirected toward any particular object. As the various forms of burlesque became increasingly loose and intermixed in the 1860s, the extravaganza came to stand for any inversive, comic, musical spectacle.” Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 101-102.

female form,” and flocked to performances.⁹⁷ A few years later Thompson moved her show to Niblo’s, a popular respected theater in New York, but critics attacked the show for being indecent and sexually suggestive; performances that may have been acceptable to Bowery theater goers were unfit for middle class audiences.⁹⁸ By the 1870s, burlesque houses had embraced their niche, working class audience by offering salacious material and blue comedy, both of which were increasingly frowned on by “legitimate” theaters,⁹⁹ a fact noted by Sophie Tucker who began her career singing in burlesque shows during the early 1900s:

“Folks weren’t so highbrow they cried for Ibsen and Shakespeare the way babies cried for Castoria in the ads. Folks wanted a belly laugh every so often. They wanted to let down their hair and unbutton their vests and be natural. They wanted to laugh at sex. Sex was funny, not necessarily intense and tragic the way the playwrights such as Ibsen made it out to be. Why, weren’t the best jokes in the world the ones that played on sex? And suppose burlesque was ‘vulgar,’ the way vaudeville said it was. Hell! folks were vulgar. Otherwise burlesque wouldn’t be the good business it was, playing to full houses forty-five weeks of the year.”¹⁰⁰

In response to the seediness of the Bowery’s burlesque performances, comic operas also emerged as a popular form of entertainment during the 1850s, and drew on similar traditions such as pantomime and extravaganza, as well as female beauty. In 1866, *The Black Crook* premiered in New York and became the first blockbuster musical in American history by attracting a high-class audience normally drawn to opera and working class audiences that traditionally attended Bowery shows by presenting a show based around displaying the beautiful legs of

⁹⁷ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 3-4, 10, 12. Cecil Smith and Glenn Litton, *Musical Comedy in America: From The Black Crook to South Pacific* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1981), 17.

⁹⁸ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 16, 28.

⁹⁹ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 177, 221.

¹⁰⁰ Tucker, *Some of These Days*, 54.

its female dancers.¹⁰¹ Comic operas and musicals remained popular throughout the 1870s and 1880s with the first American productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operas, as well as Edward Harrigan's *Mulligan's Guard* musicals that offered realistic depictions of urban, working-class life, a fact praised by leading literary critic William Dean Howells.¹⁰²

During the mid-nineteenth century dime museums emerged as a popular venue for middle class families to take in variety shows while avoiding the vice associated with working class theaters.¹⁰³ Dime museums offered quasi-scientific explanations for natural oddities, and also encouraged living "freaks" such as Tom Thumb to perform for live audiences by singing and dancing.¹⁰⁴ In 1849, P.T. Barnum, owner of the American Museum in New York, opened its Lecture Room to allow stock theater companies to produce dramas, comedies and farces featuring "afterpiece" freak shows.¹⁰⁵ By the 1880s, theaters became the main draw of dime museums, replacing their exhibits almost entirely, with large museums opening multiple theaters that catered to specific genres such as melodrama and variety. Dime museums also played a crucial role in shaping the administrative development of vaudeville, as future vaudeville mogul B.F. Keith began his career working in dime museums.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Smith and Litton, *Musical Comedy in America*, 2-6, 12.

¹⁰² Smith and Litton, *Musical Comedy in America*, 35, 39-42. Koger, "A Critical Analysis of Edward Harrigan's Comedy," 148.

¹⁰³ Andrew Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 6. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 64.

¹⁰⁴ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 71.

¹⁰⁵ Many theatrical performances during the nineteenth century concluded with humorous one-act plays known as "afterpieces" that served to loosen dramatic tension built up during the course of the preceding performance.

¹⁰⁶ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 35, 101, 103.

Urban centers on the east coast were the most densely populated regions of the country, but towns scattered across the country also had access to emerging stars of the theater. Spurred by the growth of railroads, theatrical touring companies were able to easily travel to newly constructed Opera Houses in towns across the country. The local theaters were called Opera Houses or Academies of Music to distance them from what were often considered scandalous reputations of contemporary theaters. Local Opera House owners and managers handled their booking by traveling to New York during the summer months to personally negotiate since there was no central booking agency for touring theatrical troupes.¹⁰⁷ These Opera Houses courted respectable middle-class audiences with full-length theatrical plays, and also exposed their audience to variety performers between acts of these traveling shows.¹⁰⁸

One form of entertainment equally popular in rural and urban areas was the circus. Circuses had emerged in the United States during the eighteenth century from English trick horse riders, but once circus operators began using tents in 1825 they were able to adopt the itinerant performing model that is still common today.¹⁰⁹ Circus performers traveled in wagon trains for nearly forty years, but it was the cheap rail travel of the 1870s that led producers such as P.T. Barnum to begin offering large-scale shows across the country. Barnum purchased his own specially designed cars with specialized feeding areas for animals, allowing them to

¹⁰⁷ William L. Slout, *Theatre in a Tent: The Development of A Provincial Entertainment* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972), 2-3, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Slout, *Theatre in a Tent*, 15.

¹⁰⁹ Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture & Society Under the American Bigtop* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 16-17.

be transported easily across vast distances.¹¹⁰ Circus owners also expanded the size of their tents, allowing acrobats more space to perform incredible feats for an amazed audience. Enterprising businessmen opened more circuses annually, reaching their apex in 1903 when 98 circuses circled the United States.¹¹¹ Circus operators tried to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, but their itinerant nature led to crime and illicit behavior, attracted child runaways, and allowed ticket prices to be higher than other forms of entertainment, all of which created division within communities.¹¹²

In many ways, the popularity of all of these forms of entertainment can be placed within the context of urbanization. Minstrelsy and the circus had their roots in rural areas during the early nineteenth century, but developments by Dan Emmett and P.T. Barnum, among others, helped reconstitute them for urban audiences. Similarly, art forms such as burlesque or musical theater had their roots in urban concert saloons, and dime museums functioned as theaters in urban America. Rural audiences were integrated into popular entertainment primarily through tent-based theater troupes.¹¹³ In 1900, there were over 300 tent-based theatrical touring companies catering to rural audiences. These companies were able to market themselves to farmers that had increased farm production and profitability during the 1890s, providing them with disposable income and a demand for entertainment. Tent shows were a popular alternative during the summer when traditional theaters closed in response to the heat, with some

¹¹⁰ Davis, *The Circus Age*, 20.

¹¹¹ Davis, *The Circus Age*, 7.

¹¹² Davis, *The Circus Age*, 29-34.

¹¹³ Slout, *Theatre in a Tent*, 35, 49, 51.

companies going as far as to construct wood flooring to provide the impression of a first-class theater.¹¹⁴

Limitations and Divisions of Nineteenth-Century Entertainment

Over the past several decades, scholars have noted the ways in which many of these forms of entertainment were unable to keep up with shifts in American society and how these shifts divided audiences along hierarchical lines. The most famous of these scholars is Lawrence Levine, whose book *Highbrow/Lowbrow* noted that by the end of the nineteenth century the works of Shakespeare had been divorced from everyday culture and “sacrilized,” a process spurred by non-English speaking immigrants who had little connection to his work, and the decline of the romantic idealism embodied by Shakespeare during the 1880s.¹¹⁵ Large theaters were re-ordered during the middle of the century in response to aggressive audience behavior from the working class, leading cultural elites to believe that “legitimate” art was above the understanding of the masses.¹¹⁶ An excellent example of this behavior can be found in the response of the mining community of Tombstone, Arizona to one of Shakespeare’s plays staged in a local theater in 1885:

“A company of duffers gave a show last night at Barney Hill’s. They played a dizzy snap called *Hamlet*. We never heard of the drama before and we never want to see it again. It is the snidest thing in the way of a show we ever fell up against. There ain’t no horses, singing, fighting, or dancing in the whole blamed shebang. There was a lively dog fight in the middle of the play that was a great success. The actors were not killed but the duck that played “Hamlet” was tarred and feathered. He will recover.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Slout, *Theatre in a Tent*, 39-40, 54.

¹¹⁵ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 33, 47-48.

¹¹⁶ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 60, 76.

¹¹⁷ (*Tombstone*) *Daily Record-Epitaph*, October 22, 1885, quoted in Clair Eugene Wilson, *Mimes and Miners: A Historical Study of the Theater in Tombstone* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1935), 9.

The upper class responded to this behavior by demanding private spaces free from the interference of the masses, created rules of decorum to transform public space, and encouraged the masses to emulate their behavior.¹¹⁸

Many scholars have argued that full-length minstrel shows had constraints that began to limit their appeal in relation to vaudeville at the dawn of the twentieth century. Minstrel shows had declined in popularity in New York following passage of the Concert Saloon Bill of 1862, which denied alcohol licenses to venues where curtains separated the audience from performers and barred women from serving as waiters. As a result, minstrel troupes began touring more extensively as similar laws were not widespread outside of New York, crafting a business model predicated around touring rather than ownership or residency at one particular theater. Minstrel troupes were also under pressure from producers of other forms of entertainment, particularly comic operas, which had emerged during the late 1860s and early 1870s as an exciting new alternative to minstrelsy.¹¹⁹ Unlike vaudeville and burlesque shows, which embraced some degree of feminine sexuality on stage, Albert McLean observed that minstrelsy limited its appeal by offering men in drag as the only female characters and made no attempt to offer sex appeal.¹²⁰ However, while these factors may have helped limit minstrelsy's appeal they did not eliminate it outright, and minstrelsy and blackface entertainment remained a

¹¹⁸ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 177.

¹¹⁹ Enforcement of this act was never totally successful, but was influential in pressuring theater owners to focus on box office receipts as the key to profit, particularly for Pastor and Keith. Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business*, 305.

¹²⁰ McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 28-31.

prominent part of American popular entertainment until well into the twentieth century.

By the end of the nineteenth century producers of both burlesque and comic operas had also developed performance structures that narrowed their perspective audiences. As previously noted, burlesque producers thought it beneficial to deliberately take their shows away from the mainstream and focused on catering to a niche audience; by doing so, they denied themselves the chance to become the leading entertainment of the early twentieth century. Burlesque remained a decidedly urban entertainment, limited to cities in the east, Midwest, and San Francisco, unable to resonate elsewhere.¹²¹ From a business perspective, burlesque owners also lacked a dominant theater ownership association like vaudeville, making it impossible for owners to develop the monopolistic power wielded by Keith in vaudeville.¹²² Comic operas moved in the opposite direction, and completely merged their art form into legitimate theater for the upper classes. By the early 1900s, Florenz Ziegfeld's *Follies* conjured up the worldliness of Paris and demonstrated the successful merging of sexuality and musical extravaganza that had eluded burlesque shows.¹²³ Sophie Tucker keenly observed this distinction, noting:

"The *Follies* were 'Class.' They offered Americans something Americans used to think they could get only in Paris, and at prices that lifted this form of variety way out of the vaudeville class. The suggestion of French naughtiness was implied in the name of the special theater, the Jardin de Paris, built on

¹²¹ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 192.

¹²² Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 191.

¹²³ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 245.

top of the New York Theatre in Times Square and dedicated to Ziegfeld's venture."¹²⁴

The other forms of entertainment also had their own limitations that prevented them from becoming as popular as vaudeville with urban American audiences. As previously noted, by the 1880s, dime museums had primarily become another venue for theatrical productions as urban audiences demonstrated an increased reluctance to accept the quasi-scientific displays of freaks.¹²⁵ Similarly, the itinerant nature of the circus prevented it from planting roots in cities and its performers lacked fresh material that could have kept audiences returning even if it had a base. The circus also suffered because it quickly became associated with children's entertainment, preventing it from being taken seriously by middle class adults.¹²⁶ Finally, urban society had little use for tent shows that came into existence precisely because they were catering to a rural audience.

Vaudeville uniquely positioned itself to nurture differences with legitimate theater that broadened its appeal, yet also embraced elements of legitimate theater that prevented its audience from becoming too fragmented. Vaudeville's audience was often characterized as being much less sophisticated than a legitimate theater crowd. A Keith theater manager noted such biases when he blamed the flop of acclaimed French actress Yvette Guilbert on the audience, writing, "the majority of vaudeville patrons are not of a class that appreciates her work."¹²⁷ Theater owners consciously sought to differentiate the fast-paced shows of vaudeville from the

¹²⁴ Tucker, *Some of These Days*, 65.

¹²⁵ Barth, *City People*, 199.

¹²⁶ Barth, *City People*, 199. McLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 28.

¹²⁷ Report Book 10, 28, Keith/Albee Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Library, Iowa City, IA, quoted in Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 2.

perceived slower pace of full-length or long one-act plays, observing that their audiences demanded different things. Another of Keith's theater managers observed a play performed on his stage and wrote, "I suppose that if I was a student of drama I would call this a dramatic gem. From a vaudeville standpoint I think the act is a little slow...not quite suited for the second largest theater in the world."¹²⁸ Vaudeville's ongoing efforts to differentiate itself from legitimate theater, while at the same time attracting diverse audiences will be examined further in Chapter Three.

Popular Entertainment in the Inland Empire, 1880-1914

The Inland Empire region of San Bernardino, Riverside and Redlands represents a significant case study of late nineteenth century American popular entertainment because virtually all of the dominant art forms were present in some capacity. As small though rapidly expanding urban areas, these young cities were home to a growing population that demanded entertainment. The main branch of the public libraries for all three cities contain archives for the Opera Houses constructed in each of these neighboring communities. The Opera Houses offered a variety of entertainment and were much more stable than the vaudeville houses that competed with them, making them important venues to study.

The San Bernardino Opera House was the first major theater constructed in southern California, completed in 1881 with financing from local rancher James Waters who had acquired extensive real estate holdings after purchasing land from

¹²⁸ Report Book 12, 113, Keith/Albee Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Library, Iowa City, IA, quoted Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 83-84.

departing Mormon settlers in the late 1850s.¹²⁹ At its opening day performance by Hamilton's Royal Australian Minstrels the theater could seat 900 patrons and in 1890 promoted itself to performers it was attempting to attract by claiming San Bernardino was "the best show town on the coast," with the city's population of 7,000 and the ability to draw crowds from the nearby towns of Riverside and Colton.¹³⁰ After Waters's death his daughter, Martha Kiplinger, became the manager of the theater in the early 1890s, and as one of the only female theater managers of the era cultivated friendships with leading actors and Broadway producers that helped her book acts for the theater.¹³¹ These clearly helped Kiplinger, who occasionally was able to get bookings over the nearby towns, such as a 1906 performance of Charles Hanford, where it was noted, "in conversation with a representative of *The Sun*, [Hanford's] Manager Walker stated that this city had the preference over Redlands and Riverside, as he had only one open night, and he gave it to San Bernardino."¹³² The theater was remodeled in 1912, which expanded the theater to between 1,200 and 1,400 seats and allowed Kiplinger to leave her job as a clerk at the post office and manage the theater full time. By the 1920s, the theater offered more vaudeville shows and eventually became a movie theater before it was sold and demolished in 1927.¹³³

¹²⁹ Earl E. Buie, "They Tell Me," *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, 20 May 1958. L. Burr Belden, "James Waters Had Big Role in City History," *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, 26 February 1956, 26.

¹³⁰ Earl E. Buie, "They Tell Me," *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, 20 May 1958. Plato, Leshner & Hyde advertisement of 1890, quoted in L. Burr Belden, "Gas Lights, Opera House Bring City Ways During 1880s," 28 September 1952.

¹³¹ Earl E. Buie, "They Tell Me," *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, 20 May 1958. "Death Takes Mrs. Kiplinger, Noted Citizen," *San Bernardino Sun*, 18 August 1942, 9.

¹³² "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 13 March 1906.

¹³³ Earl E. Buie, "They Tell Me," *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, 20 May 1958. "Death Takes Mrs. Kiplinger, Noted Citizen," *San Bernardino Sun*, 18 August 1942, 9.

Opened in 1890, the Loring Opera House in Riverside shared a similar history to its rival in San Bernardino. The 1,000-seat theater was noted for its luxurious beauty, financed by the former President of Riverside's Chamber of Commerce, Charles Loring, and managed by Frank Miller.¹³⁴ Like Kiplinger in San Bernardino, Miller also sought to cultivate relationships with performers, with one from San Francisco noting that, "in all his travels he never found it so hard to tear himself away from any place as Riverside, and that the great enjoyment he experienced there was due to the thoughtful attentions and generous hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Miller."¹³⁵ The theater booked many of the same leading acts that played San Bernardino, occasionally as part of the same tour of southern California. The theater evolved over time, becoming a movie theater for many years before being leased to the city for various municipal uses including as the first City Hall, before ultimately burning down in 1990.¹³⁶

The Wyatt Opera House in Redlands was the last of the major Opera Houses in the region to be constructed, opening in 1904. Prior to its completion, the town was home to smaller theaters such as the Wilson Opera House that offered a similar blend of entertainments as the other major Opera Houses, but lacked the grandeur leading citizens sought for a community styled the "City of Millionaires." H.C. Wyatt arranged financing for a vibrantly colored theater capable of holding 1,200 to 1,500

¹³⁴ "Local News," *Riverside Daily Press*, 29 October 1889. "Successful Sale," *Riverside Daily Press*, 30 December 1889, 4.

¹³⁵ "Local News," *Riverside Daily Press*, 26 January 1891, 3.

¹³⁶ Nina Hiltner, "Loring: The Man Behind the Opera House Name," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 4 December 2010.

patrons.¹³⁷ From the first years of its existence, the Opera House was beset by financial problems, which by the mid-1910s led Wyatt's son to focus on booking popular vaudeville entertainers that were cheaper than theatrical performers and could be secured from recent engagements on the Orpheum Circuit in Los Angeles. Like the other area Opera Houses, the Wyatt struggled through the 1920s, before being demolished in 1929.¹³⁸

These venues offered a variety of shows and performances that would appeal to diverse audiences. The below table demonstrates the range of different types of entertainment offered at the major Opera Houses.

Table 2.1 – Opera House Performances, 1880-1914 ¹³⁹			
Entertainment	San Bernardino Opera House ¹⁴⁰	Loring Opera House/Theatre (Riverside) ¹⁴¹	Wyatt Opera House (Redlands) ¹⁴²
Acrobat	2	-	-
Animal Act	1	-	-
Athlete	2	-	-
Classical Concert	5	19	7
Comedian	-	1	-
Dance	-	3	1
Magician	4	2	-
Minstrel	19	17	3

¹³⁷ Bradley Eugene Weisberg, "A History of the Wyatt Opera House," (M.A. thesis, San Diego State University, 1991), 1-2, 9-12.

¹³⁸ Weisberg, "A History of the Wyatt Opera House," 21-22.

¹³⁹ The purpose of the chart is to demonstrate the distribution of how often each type of entertainment was performed. This chart is not all-inclusive, but represents a sample based on available sources. Please see Appendix A for a complete listing of all documented performances.

¹⁴⁰ Sample collected from articles in *The (Redlands) Citigraph* from 1889-1893, articles and advertisements in the *San Bernardino Daily Courier* from 1886-1888 and the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* from 1894, 1899, 1903-1906, and retrospective columns on the Opera House by Earl E. Buie published in his "They Tell Me" column the *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram* on 20 May 1958, 27 May 1958 and an undated column, all three located in the "Historic Buildings – Opera House" file in the California Room of the Norman Feldheim Library, San Bernardino, California.

¹⁴¹ Sample collected from programs found in the Loring Opera House and Theatre Program Collection, Riverside Public Library, Riverside, California from 1890-1914.

¹⁴² Sample collected from summary of Wyatt Opera House programs holdings at the Heritage Room of the A.K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands, California for 1904-1914 in Weisberg, "A History of the Wyatt Opera House," 37-39, and the *Redlands Daily Review* from 1909-1913.

Table 2.1 – Opera House Performances, 1880-1914 ¹³⁹			
Entertainment	San Bernardino Opera House ¹⁴⁰	Loring Opera House/Theatre (Riverside) ¹⁴¹	Wyatt Opera House (Redlands) ¹⁴²
Musical	19	45	29
Opera	10	8	8
Play	181	204	52
Public Speaker	2	1	-
Singer	2	-	2
Vaudeville	4	4	2
Total:	251	304	104

At each of the region's Opera Houses, plays made up over half of the shows. The overwhelming frequency with which these venues offered plays suggests these "Opera Houses" more accurately would be considered theaters, a fact not lost on the community. In 1902, the Loring Opera House was actually renamed the Loring Theatre, in what the *Riverside Enterprise* felt was a direct reflection of popular tastes, writing:

"Owing to the well known fact that nearly every little town that possesses a public hall gives it the magnificent misnomer of 'Opera House,' ...Manager Miller has very wisely changed the name of his place of amusement from the 'Loring Opera House' to the more appropriate 'Loring Theatre,' and it will hereafter be known officially by this title. This is following in the footsteps of all the principal places of amusements in the large cities, and shows that Manager Miller and his popular theater are up with the times."¹⁴³

Clearly, in these communities the designation "Opera House" suggested a desire by theater owners to fit into a social landscape that demanded middle class respectability from popular entertainment, and the renaming of the Loring Theatre suggests social moods began to change in the early twentieth century. Appeals to the respectable classes could be seen in the pricing for shows, which were similar in each city, though they occasionally varied based on performer. Shows typically

¹⁴³ "Loring Theatre is its Official Title," *Riverside Enterprise*, 16 February 1902, 1.

fetched ticket prices beginning at 25, 50 and 75 cents, topping out at \$1 and \$1.50 for the best, non-box seats, and a substantial increase over the 15, 20 and 25 cent tickets charged at vaudeville theaters.¹⁴⁴ Ads for consumer goods often lay next to those for local theaters in the region's newspapers and provide some context for how reasonable the cost of a night's entertainment was; solid gold buttons emblazoned with the logo of any fraternal organizations cost 75 cents, 1,000 cubic feet of gas from the San Bernardino Gas & Electric Co. cost \$1, and women's French flannel shirtwaists were on sale for \$1.49.¹⁴⁵

Reviews of the plays, operas and musicals depict rapidly urbanizing communities and hint at emerging class differences. An unidentified reviewer described the audience for a performance of Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor," as being taken, "almost to a society function, as the beauty, refinement and wealth of San Bernardino and adjoining towns thronged the house, and became more and more enthusiastic as the rendition progressed."¹⁴⁶ Grand theatrical spectacles on stage mirrored the opulence of the crowd, with reviews regularly praising the elaborate costuming and staging.¹⁴⁷ While Shakespearean plays were popular with high society, they did not always resonate with wide audiences, as the review of a 1906 production noted, "Shakespearean lovers are still summering,

¹⁴⁴ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 31 August 1906. San Bernardino Opera House Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 15 September 1906. Loring Theatre Advertisement, *Riverside Enterprise*, 19 September 1907, 1. Weisberg, "A History of the Wyatt Opera House," 12.

¹⁴⁵ Manson & Bay Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 23 January 1906. San Bernardino Gas & Electric Co. Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 3 January 1906. Cartwright's Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 18 January 1906.

¹⁴⁶ "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 25 November 1906.

¹⁴⁷ "Week with the Players – Modjeska Last Night," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 11 February 1906. "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 18 February 1906. Weisberg, "A History of the Wyatt Opera House," 32.

perhaps, for under ordinary circumstances the 'Merchant of Venice' would have called for a houseful of enthusiasts, but hardly so last night. The numbers were only what might have been called fair."¹⁴⁸ Audiences in the area were discerning, and reviewers captured their waning enthusiasm for material they felt was derivative or lacked excitement, such as a review for "A Trip to Chinatown," which noted that, "there was a large audience gathered in response to past reputation, but their laughter was like a boy whistling through a graveyard. As to the play, it was a mere skeleton of its former self, with even the bones crumbling to decay."¹⁴⁹

Yet for all of the hints that point towards cultural division, other reviews suggest that a more dynamic, democratic society was still in place, helping to illustrate communities still grappling with the changes outlined in Chapter One. Though some reviewers had complained about material being overly familiar and stale, other audiences complained when performances changed too rapidly to material outside of popular tastes. The 1899 review of "A Night in Venice" provides an excellent example of this, as the reviewer remarked, "There is more opera and less music in A Night in Venice than anything bearing the name which has been produced in San Bernardino since the year 1. Nobody will be whistling airs and nobody will be humming any strain from the opera on the streets today...the opera was all wrong, and that's the end of it."¹⁵⁰ While performances were often designed to appeal to urban audiences, those that recalled country life were still popular. The 1906 review of "Uncle Josh Perkins" referred to it as a "rural play," and though the

¹⁴⁸ "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 20 September 1906.

¹⁴⁹ "Amusements," *Riverside Enterprise*, 27 February 1903, 6.

¹⁵⁰ "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 6 May 1899.

reviewer felt the plot was fairly generic, he ultimately conceded, “On the whole, however, it was a fairly good show, and the audience seemed to like that kind of a play. There was a good house in evidence.”¹⁵¹ Plays also reflected popular tastes by incorporating skilled vaudeville performers into the action, which suggests a need to attract and retain audiences with a variety of social and economic backgrounds. The review for 1900’s “A Knotty Affair” suggests that plays were written as a way to place vaudeville performances on stages reserved for middle class audiences, explaining:

“The piece was evidently written with a liberal license for the interpolation of specialties, which Mr. Dailey has used to the utmost limit. The musical part of the entertainment was a special feature and introduced a number of vaudeville people in topical songs who are above the average. Clever dancing and acrobatic specialists were introduced.”¹⁵²

The continued popularity of minstrelsy at local Opera Houses suggests it had moved beyond its initial working class appeal and become accepted more broadly by society, a fact reinforced by prices that mirrored those offered for other forms of entertainment.¹⁵³ By the early twentieth century several local minstrel troupes had formed, often under the aegis of Elks or other social clubs, and were very popular amongst their communities, so popular that local clubs staged minstrel shows as benefits to raise money for victims of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.¹⁵⁴ These troupes included a troupe consisting entirely of women in blackface, the Refined Darktown Lady Minstrels, who were greeted with overwhelming praise, and

¹⁵¹ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 18 November 1906.

¹⁵² “Amusements,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 22 September 1900, 4.

¹⁵³ Loring Opera House Advertisement, *Riverside Daily Press*, 5 January 1901, 3. San Bernardino Opera House Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 10 January 1904.

¹⁵⁴ “City and County,” *The (Redlands) Citrograph*, 19 November 1904, 7. Elks’ Minstrels Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 20 April 1906.

attracted well-to-do members of San Bernardino.¹⁵⁵ Beyond the minstrel show, audiences also embraced blackface performers in stage plays, with a 1906 review for “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” explaining, “audiences laughed at the antics of the slaves, were convulsed at the particular ways of Aunt Ophelia, and wept with Little Eva and Uncle Tom, just as they did 40 years ago.”¹⁵⁶ While minstrel shows were popular, there also is evidence to suggest that the community did not uniformly embrace these shows. A 1900 production of “Mott’s Colored Aristocracy” was deemed a successful show, but the reviewer noted a division of the audience, writing, “The gallery of the Loring was crowded last night, but the house down stairs was rather light.”¹⁵⁷ The gallery offered the cheapest seats in the theater, and crowds here but not in the more expensive seats imply that the working classes were more interested in this particular show.

Entertainers did not always come to town to perform at the Opera Houses, a fact that is certainly true of those that arrived with the circus. The circus offered a variety of different entertainments for the price of 50 cents, which placed it well below the cost of a ticket to a show at the Opera House, but above vaudeville.¹⁵⁸ The main appeal of the circus was spectacle, which began the moment the circus arrived in town when gigantic animals paraded down public streets to attract attention for the shows, and “people came in from the country by wagon and train and the town presented a regular holiday appearance.”¹⁵⁹ The varying circuses that came to town

¹⁵⁵ “Darktown Minstrels Score a Big Hit,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 29 April 1899.

¹⁵⁶ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 11 December 1906.

¹⁵⁷ “Amusements,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 19 December 1900, 3.

¹⁵⁸ The Great Wallace Circus Advertisement, *Riverside Daily Press*, 13 September 1895, 4. Norris & Rowe Circus Advertisement, *Riverside Enterprise*, 12 March 1904, 10.

¹⁵⁹ “The Big Show,” *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, 5 November 1898, 3.

all promoted the variety of their performers, which included clowns, acrobats, animal acts and music, with much attention focusing on the exotic, foreign origins of the performers. An article outlining new additions to the Norris and Rowe circus focused solely on a new Japanese acrobatic act, explaining:

“The Oka troupe have performed before the Mikado...They perform intricate feats with a brilliancy, dash and daring that is pleasing to the eye. Their picturesque flowing robes, beautifully wrought with the handiwork which only the deft fingers of the Japanese seem to fashion, are soon discarded for the red tights and white trunks which give greater freedom.”¹⁶⁰

The skill of the performers was overlooked by some commentators in the region who saw the circus as children’s entertainment, writing, “The ‘kids’ were glad it was Saturday, for otherwise they might have missed the splendid parade...it would have been worth letting school out anyhow.”¹⁶¹ However, this view was not uniform, as another reviewer reflected on several types of entertainment offered by the circus that were appropriate for adults, noting, “There is hardly an act that wouldn’t make a fortune at the Orpheum.”¹⁶² Overall, the circus in the Inland Empire provided variety entertainment that differed from vaudeville mainly because of its limited, annual engagements, and appealed to similar, urbanized audiences.

Conclusion

Popular entertainments of the nineteenth century continued to have a strong presence in Inland Empire communities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet the community was clearly at a crossroads, as a number of competing impulses brought by urbanization slowly were pushing local society towards an

¹⁶⁰ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 13 November 1904.

¹⁶¹ “Dog and Pony Show Here Today,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 19 March 1904, 8.

¹⁶² “Barnum and Bailey Circus,” *Riverside Enterprise*, 6 September 1905, 8.

embrace of cultural division. On the one hand, Opera Houses in some ways represented trends toward democratic impulses by staging popular plays and musicals to such a degree that the Loring Opera House was eventually rechristened the Loring Theatre. On the other hand, reviewers noted increasing division in the audiences, with certain shows attracting either well-dressed, upper-class crowds, or audiences concentrated in the cheap seats of the gallery. The plays of Shakespeare gradually were becoming less popular, but Italian operas were still accepted by wide audiences. In short, by the early twentieth century the Inland Empire was gradually embracing a hierarchical division of culture, but this transformation was still unfolding.

Chapter 3 Vaudeville in the Inland Empire

Talented vaudeville performers offered urban Americans fast-paced, variety entertainment that matched their lifestyle better than other forms of popular entertainment. Attracting customers by the million, big-time vaudeville producers enforced standards designed to appeal to middle class respectability. However, in doing so, vaudeville contributed to deepening social and cultural divisions in American society.

Like many small but rapidly growing American cities of the early twentieth century, the Southern California cities of San Bernardino, and to a lesser extent Riverside and Redlands, began opening vaudeville theaters in the early twentieth century. Prior to 1914 these Inland Empire communities were considered “small time” and struggled to attract the biggest stars of the day. However, a number of competing vaudeville theaters vied for patrons in the expanding Southern California entertainment marketplace. While they could not attract top draws, these theaters offered up an abundance of vaudeville performers, adopted policies akin to big time theaters, and in many ways fit into the broader American model of vaudeville.

Vaudeville, Cultural Hierarchy and Social Division

Chapter One noted that vaudeville matched urban America’s values and lifestyle and became the preferred entertainment option at the dawn of the twentieth century. From its outset, entrepreneurs and producers including Tony Pastor and B.F. Keith sought to make vaudeville a respectable form of entertainment to appeal to a broad and diverse audience. Keith specifically sought to build an audience that crossed class lines, as attested by the opening of the New Boston

Theatre in 1894 where an actress recited a poem promising “all are equal here,” and that the theater would recognize “no favorites, no class.”¹⁶³ In her autobiography, Mae West reflected on her early vaudeville career and recalled that these “equal” audiences did not always intermingle, writing, “I usually found that one night a week you would get a top society crowd, and another night you’d get mostly working class people. Other nights there would be family groups.”¹⁶⁴

While vaudeville was popular across a broad range of social classes, it also contained the fault lines of social division that ran through other aspects of American life. Keith was very conscious of class distinctions, and patriarchally hoped to use vaudeville to uplift the tastes of lower classes and refine women.¹⁶⁵ Martin Beck, the owner of the Orpheum theater chain which served as the main big time vaudeville circuit west of Chicago, had a similar view, believing it was okay to stage acts he considered to be of artistic quality that flopped since this served as a way to educate the audience.¹⁶⁶ By the end of the 1890s, Keith claimed that his introduction of basic rules of decorum had succeeded in improving the character of the audience, echoing a change in broader private spheres of American life where rules of etiquette had taken hold; activities such as coughing, spitting, nose blowing and urinating quickly became unsuitable for public, while etiquette books advised readers to behave quietly and inconspicuously in public thoroughfares.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 77.

¹⁶⁴ Mae West, *Goodness Had Nothing to Do With It: The Autobiography of Mae West* (New York: Belvedere Publications, Paperback Edition, 1981), 49.

¹⁶⁵ Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 28, 32.

¹⁶⁶ Laurie, *Vaudeville*, 362.

¹⁶⁷ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 195, 198-199.

Perhaps as a result of Keith's successful campaigning, by the end of the 1890s it was no longer common for performers to approach their work with the belief that they must educate their audience, instead favoring the assumption that the audience would bring their own knowledge to the performance.¹⁶⁸ As the incentive for performers to serve as educators declined and the drive towards entertainment accelerated, scholars such as John DiMeglio and Lawrence Levine have noted that vaudeville no longer made an effort to be intellectually engaging, and as a result, "the cultural fare that was actively and regularly shared by all segments of the population belonged *ipso facto* to the lower rungs of the cultural hierarchy."¹⁶⁹ DiMeglio harshly observed the effect of vaudeville's refusal to engage in anything beyond popular entertainment for the masses, writing, "where social issues and original drama would appeal to the intellect, vaudeville maintained a hands-off policy...In effect, did vaudeville retard the intellectual growth of the nation? Vaudeville was a mirror image of its public, reflecting a country that was evidently content to be socially and intellectually mediocre."¹⁷⁰ Alison Kibler observed that because vaudeville quickly came to be dominated by performers catering their acts towards very broad audiences, producers became reluctant to book acts that could be considered "highbrow," fearing that it would cut into profits, and led producers to look down on their audiences.¹⁷¹ As a result, vaudeville, despite being an entertainment for the masses, came to occupy a middle rung in an emerging cultural

¹⁶⁸ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 216.

¹⁶⁹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 234.

¹⁷⁰ DiMeglio, *Vaudeville U.S.A.*, 198.

¹⁷¹ Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 38, 42, 45.

hierarchy, below “legitimate” theater productions, but above forms such as burlesque that catered to a niche, male audience.

Other fault lines of social division also emerged within the vaudeville structure, most notably a distinction between “big time” and “small time” vaudeville theaters. Sophie Tucker succinctly recalled the difference between big and small time in her memoir, noting, “Two shows a day instead of three. Top prices, one dollar and a half. And every bill with two or three – occasionally four – headliners.”¹⁷² From the perspective of vaudeville performers, the main difference between big and small time theaters was the number of shows they were required to perform every day. At some small time theaters, performers were required to work as many as six shows a day.¹⁷³ Big time theater chains, such those operated by Keith and Beck, operated theaters such as Keith’s aptly named New York flagship, the Palace Theatre. These opulent theaters naturally demanded expensive tickets, and provided the highest quality entertainers for their audiences. As a result, big time theaters attracted urban white-collar workers, while small time theaters were popular with urban working class audiences or those living outside of major cities.¹⁷⁴

Performers noted that there was a definite distinction between big and small time audiences. Will Ahern recalled tailoring his acts to specific audiences and their perceived sensibilities, noting:

“The singer in vaudeville learned the tastes of his public in each area and would give it the songs it liked best. Same thing applied to an even greater

¹⁷² Tucker, *Some of These Days*, 88.

¹⁷³ Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 18.

¹⁷⁴ Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 26.

extent in comedy. In the South, for example, they were a little slow in getting material. So you had to work slower. In the steel and coal mining areas of Pennsylvania and the Virginias, where many of the workers were foreign, you had to broaden and enunciate your material. But in the key cities – New York, Boston, Chicago – you’d do everything with a snap because they were show-wise.”¹⁷⁵

These observations were commonplace, and were echoed by performers such as Jack Haley and George Cohan. Yet it would be incorrect to assume that performers’ acts and material were totally isolated from small time audiences. While it was nearly impossible for small time theater owners to hire major stars, they often hired impersonators that offered to perform popular acts for a much lower price. Songs, monologues and jokes were published in trade papers like *Madison’s Budget* and *McNally’s Bulletin*, and marketed to performers for direct incorporation into their acts. Cohan recalled the popular “Running for Office” monologue by Aaron Hoffman was seen, “in all the principal cities from New York to San Francisco.”¹⁷⁶ Offering popular material was a sure way to maintain profitability, and small time producers sought ways to feature the biggest draws of the day.

Vaudeville in the Inland Empire

The Inland Empire communities were small time vaudeville markets during the early twentieth century. Neither Redlands nor Riverside appears to have had long-lasting or stable vaudeville theaters, although local community groups were fond of providing vaudeville performances. A 1905 article in the *Citrograph* documented a well-received performance by members of the Redlands country club

¹⁷⁵ Bill Smith, *The Vaudevillians* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 55.

¹⁷⁶ George M. Cohan, *Twenty Years on Broadway, and the Years It Took to Get There: The True Story of a Trouper’s Life from the Cradle to the “Closed Shop”* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Paperback Edition, 1971), 193.

that featured community members performing songs and a burlesque of the popular play “The Lady of Lyons.”¹⁷⁷ Local vaudeville performers were also used as a marketing tool to help attract visitors to community hotels. An 1899 advertisement for vaudeville at Harlem Springs, located between San Bernardino and Redlands, promised a “clean, respectable show, including Farces, Monologues, Sketches and the Latest Songs on the Orpheum Circuit.”¹⁷⁸ These local shows attempted to mimic the entertainment being offered by big time vaudeville, guaranteeing the respectability of their performances and providing popular hits that had been successes around the country. In 1909, the Airdome was opened in Redlands, which offered entertainment every day of the week, but only illustrated songs and moving pictures, making no effort to offer a full vaudeville show.¹⁷⁹ Advertisements suggest that in February 1905 a theater called the Orpheum Theatre was in operation in Riverside, although further details of this theater could not be located, suggesting it was only open for a brief period of time.¹⁸⁰

In contrast to Redlands and Riverside, the working class city of San Bernardino had several verifiable vaudeville theaters during the early twentieth century, but many struggled financially and closed rapidly. Two of the more stable theaters in San Bernardino were the Orpheum and Broadway Theatres, which opened in 1903 and 1904 respectively. Harry Deets, who had previously operated the Orpheum Theatre in Los Angeles, operated the Orpheum and aligned it with the

¹⁷⁷ “City and County,” *The (Redlands) Citrograph*, 7 January 1905, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Harlem Springs Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 7 July 1899.

¹⁷⁹ Airdome Advertisement, *Redlands Review*, 21 September 1909, 6.

¹⁸⁰ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 26 February 1905.

small-time, nationwide Loverick, Lubelski and Levy circuit.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately, the theater was closed by Christmas 1904 when Deets was removed to the California Sanitarium, and his wife was unable to care for him and operate the theater at the same time.¹⁸² The Broadway Theatre lasted in San Bernardino for a much longer period, but was often beset by financial problems and changed ownership and names at several points during its existence. In December 1904, the same month the Orpheum closed, the Broadway temporarily closed due to financial problems, which shocked locals as it had consistently drawn large crowds.¹⁸³ In 1906 it was sold to J.E. Vieno who was aligned with the west coast Sullivan-Considine circuit and extensively remodeled the theater.¹⁸⁴ The Sullivan-Considine circuit was always in financial troubles, as its expansion revolved around mortgaging prior theaters to pay for new buildings or acquisitions, a risky proposition that led to the rechristening of the theater the Unique Theatre in 1907.¹⁸⁵ Ultimately the theater was repurposed for film, renamed the State Theater, and demolished in 1958.¹⁸⁶

As a major hub on nationwide rail networks San Bernardino's theater owners frequently booked acts out of San Francisco.¹⁸⁷ At the time, San Francisco was a hotbed of vaudeville talent, and Sophie Tucker described the scene around 1910:

"San Francisco in those days had a lot of great entertainers. Al Jolson was playing there. Mary Lewis was singing at 'Tait's.' Others I remember were

¹⁸¹ "Minstrels to Swell White Monument Fund," *The San Francisco Call*, 24 April 1901, 2. "Splendid Coup by the Orpheum," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 30 June 1904.

¹⁸² "Orpheum Closes Last Evening," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 13 December 1904.

¹⁸³ "Broadway Theater Closes Down Last Night," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 28 December 1904.

¹⁸⁴ "Broadway Theatre Under New Management," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 2 October 1906.

"Improvements Planned for Broadway," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 11 October 1906

¹⁸⁵ Frank Cullen, *Vaudeville Old & New: An Encyclopedia of Variety Performers in America* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1074.

¹⁸⁶ Earl E. Buie, "They Tell Me," *San Bernardino Evening Telegram*, 28 March 1958, B-6.

¹⁸⁷ "San Bernardino's New Vaudeville Play House," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 31 March 1904.

Lee Lloyd, Baby Ruth, the Three White Kuhns, and that swell song, dance, and comedy team Blyler and Brown. Jimmy Blyler and Fred Brown were doing their act in Nome, during the Klondike Rush, when Rex Beach saw them. He brought them to Frisco, where they were a terrific hit.”¹⁸⁸

The entertainers mentioned by Tucker all grew to become major names in American entertainment by the 1920s. By being connected to this network vaudeville theaters in San Bernardino were given the chance to grow beyond their small time status, although this process took several years, with most major performers arriving well after 1914.

As a small-time market, San Bernardino struggled to attract top name performers. The Sullivan-Cosdine and Loverick, Lubelski and Levy circuits did not have a strong enough pull to attract many of the biggest headliners to the city, particularly prior to 1910. Isabella Patricola, a talented singer and violinist, played the Broadway Theatre for two weeks in 1906.¹⁸⁹ She eventually went on to headline at the Palace Theatre in New York, but at this stage in her career she was not very well-known, sang songs that were not very popular, and was billed in the undesirable second position where she would have to calm an audience that was often bored by the first act and had to contend with late arrivals to the theater.¹⁹⁰ The performances of Fatty Arbuckle and Mabel Normand at the Unique Theatre during 1913 or 1914 were of much greater consequence, as they were established performers, only a few years away from their big break in silent films. However, these productions were memorable more for what these future stars would become, rather than what was presented onstage. In the 1950s, local columnist Earl E. Buie

¹⁸⁸ Tucker, *Some of These Days*, 103.

¹⁸⁹ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 29 May 1906.

¹⁹⁰ Cullen, *Vaudeville Old & New*, 869-870.

described the memorable yet simple show from his youth, writing, “Arbuckle, roly-poly fat and young, hadn’t learned a thing save falling on his backside, but he got laughs. Miss Normand, young and attractive, was the butt of the ribald jokes of the alleged comedians of the troupe. There was no chorus but everybody in the cast sang a bit and did a little tap dancing, just as the occasion required.”¹⁹¹

Unfortunately, Buie does not delve further into the specifics of their act to discuss the jokes that apparently rubbed his youthful morality the wrong way.

Table 3.1 outlines the frequency with which certain types of performers appeared on stage in San Bernardino.

Table 3.1 – Vaudeville Performances, 1903-1907 ¹⁹²		
Entertainment	Broadway/Unique/State Theatre, San Bernardino ¹⁹³	Orpheum Theatre, San Bernardino ¹⁹⁴
Acrobat	24	6
Animal Act	-	7
Barrel Jumper	-	1
Child Act	-	1
Chinese Impersonator	2	-
Chinese Singer	2	-
Comedian	38	23
Cyclist	2	1
Dancer	24	13
Equilibrist	6	3
Female Impersonator	3	2

¹⁹¹ Earl E. Buie, “They Tell Me,” *San Bernardino Evening Telegram*, 28 March 1958, B-6.

¹⁹² The purpose of the chart is to demonstrate the distribution of how often each type of entertainment was performed. This chart is not all-inclusive, but represents a sample based on available sources. Please see Appendix B for a complete listing of all documented performances. The date range of this sample was considerably smaller than the sample taken for Table 2.1 because of a limitation in primary sources since it was difficult to locate microfilm or hard copies of the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* after 1907. While other theaters briefly operated in the San Bernardino during the years 1903-1907, they closed much too rapidly to create anything resembling a representative sample size.

¹⁹³ Sample collected from articles and advertisements in the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* from 1904-1907.

¹⁹⁴ Sample collected from articles and advertisements in the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* from 1903-1904.

Table 3.1 – Vaudeville Performances, 1903-1907 ¹⁹²		
Entertainment	Broadway/Unique/State Theatre, San Bernardino ¹⁹³	Orpheum Theatre, San Bernardino ¹⁹⁴
Freak	-	1
Gypsy Musician	-	1
Illustrated Singer	42	21
Impersonator	9	2
Japanese Juggler	1	-
Juggler	7	4
Magician	9	-
Mechanical Doll	-	1
Mexican Acrobat	1	-
Blackface/Minstrel	17	8
Monologist	8	3
Musical	1	-
Musician	27	4
Novelty Act	9	-
Play	17	-
Punching	2	-
Quick Change	1	-
Rifle Shooter	1	-
Singer	49	20
Sketch	79	55
Soubrette	11	11
Ventriloquist	1	-
Total	393	188

The vaudeville performers sampled in Table 3.1 differ in many respects from those at local Opera Houses sampled in Table 2.1. As would be expected from an art born out of variety entertainment, vaudeville shows in San Bernardino offered a much greater range of performances than the cross-town Opera House. Additionally, vaudeville shows featured a more even distribution of performance styles; while comic sketches and musical acts were the most common in vaudeville shows, they did not make up over half of the performances like plays did at the Opera Houses.

Singers were very popular, and unlike the classically trained vocalists performing at the Opera Houses, they often sang new, popular songs and could be accompanied by illustrated slides depicting the lyrics being acted out. Singing was also used by comic teams, coupled with dancing, or even incorporated into novelty acts, providing variety not just from other performers, but also within their own acts. A summary of the acts performing at the Broadway Theatre in October 1904 offers a glimpse at the variety present amongst musical performers:

“Holmes and Deane make up a new team that will furnish the musical novelty act, promising to pull melody out of almost any old thing. The Schiller brothers, one a violin virtuoso and both sweet singers, are mere lads who have created something of a sensation on the vaudeville stage farther east on the circuit. The third musical team is styled the Jamisons, who sing and dance their way into favor on every stage where they appear.”¹⁹⁵

Those acts billed as musicians also differed significantly from the classical musicians appearing in Opera Houses, focusing on novelty, tricks or unique instruments to entertain the audience. Memphis Kennedy brought a “Den of Wild Instruments,” to his performances, Lizzie Welles was a “clever juvenile trick pianist,” and Varden, Perry, Wilser were the “Novelty Musical Trio – The Original Rag Time Players.”¹⁹⁶

Soubrettes, a subset of singers, were significant in that they served as a major fault line in differentiating between the high and low culture of vaudeville and the Opera House. The term soubrette was traditionally applied to flirtatious or sexually suggestive stock characters in operas and musicals, but in vaudeville came to mean

¹⁹⁵ “At the Playhouses,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 9 October 1904.

¹⁹⁶ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 27 December 1904. Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 25 April 1905. Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 16 May 1905.

a singer who sang of sex boastfully or mockingly for comic effect.¹⁹⁷ In San Bernardino Olive Hare was billed as “a dashing soubrette who is said to be charming both in appearance and voice. She sings catchy songs and does ‘tweentimes’ dances.”¹⁹⁸ Soubrettes on the vaudeville stage represented a pull towards the lower culture often associated with burlesque, but while sexually suggestive were not as overt as burlesque performances. However, burlesque sensibilities did creep onto the local vaudeville stage, with M’Lain and M’Lain billing their May 1905 act as “burlesque sketch artists,” although what this act contained is not described in the advertisement.¹⁹⁹

For all of the major differences between high and low culture that were emerging in San Bernardino during the early twentieth century, vaudeville theaters also contained a number of performers very similar to those appearing at the local Opera Houses. Vaudeville theaters occasionally brought acting troupes to San Bernardino where they could perform full-length plays, much like the Opera Houses. During the summer of 1906, the hot months when theaters traditionally lay empty due to difficulty attracting crowds willing to bear the heat, the Broadway Theatre featured the Empire Theatre Company for seven consecutive weeks, offering a different play every week including the popular favorite *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.²⁰⁰ Local theaters regularly featured sketches, which often were simple one-act comic plays that could fit within the variety structure of a vaudeville bill. One description of a September 1904 bill at the Broadway Theatre notes the variety offered in each

¹⁹⁷ Cullen, *Vaudeville Old & New*, 1056.

¹⁹⁸ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 15 May 1904.

¹⁹⁹ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 23 May 1905.

²⁰⁰ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 7 August 1906.

sketch, and ethnic characters that were often depicted: “The Randolphs are a comedy knock-about sketch team, and precipitate rounds of applause and good nature in their sketch ‘Fun in a China Wash House.’ ...Fairburn and Caines, a clever sketch team lately from England, will present their very funny travesty, ‘An Irish Recruit,’ introducing straight shoe dancing and Irish clog, are to appear for the first time.”²⁰¹

Local theaters employed comedians who adhered to nationwide vaudeville standards of good taste, standards that were an appeal to middle class sensibilities and audiences. A multi-week engagement of the Rudwin company offered a series of full-length plays, including *Where is Tompkins?* which could gratify the senses as, “comedy of the cleanest and most pungent sort bubbles from every line.”²⁰² The La Petite Theatre, whose name also unfortunately indicates its impact in the community, ran ads that were more explicit appeals towards respectability, describing itself as, “a continuous performance theatre presenting an hour of refined and moral entertainment, catering to the patronage of Ladies, Children and Gentlemen.”²⁰³

Vaudeville also found some similarities with Opera House productions that focused on the display of exotic peoples. Although nowhere nearly as popular as plays at the Opera Houses, blackface minstrel performers were very common at San Bernardino vaudeville houses. Unlike the full-length minstrel shows that were performed at the Opera Houses, vaudevillians performed shorter sets, focusing on a

²⁰¹ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 25 September 1904.

²⁰² “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 19 April 1906.

²⁰³ La Petite Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 25 September 1906.

specialized skill, rather than the variety format common in longer performances. Performers were billed as blackface singers, blackface comedians, blackface female impersonators, and included Malcolm, a blackface juggler and magician, whose act came with the warning that, “ladies who wear diamonds had better don their paste set when they come to the Orpheum, for Malcolm considers it no trick at all to make a change of that kind when he sees the real thing, and he ought not to be tempted.”²⁰⁴

San Bernardino’s vaudeville theaters also offered other popular depictions of ethnic stereotypes including German, Jewish, and Irish Americans that were popular around the country. More interestingly, San Bernardino’s vaudeville theaters also offered up Chinese and Japanese ethnic stereotypes; the Opera Houses had regularly offered performances of the popular Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera *The Mikado*, but vaudeville performances offered a differing depiction of Asian culture. As noted in Chapter One, the late nineteenth century was an era of increasing suspicion of immigrants and racial fears. During the early twentieth century the Chinese were the only ethnic group legally barred from entry to the United States under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and a 1907 “Gentleman’s Agreement” between Japan and the United States blocked the immigration of unskilled Japanese workers. As noted in Table 1.4, the population of Chinese and Japanese residents of San Bernardino and Riverside counties was among the lowest of any ethnic group from 1900-1920, and the Chinese population actually fell during this time. From the brief descriptions provided in newspaper articles it is hard to get a sense of how Chinese

²⁰⁴ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 3 July 1904.

and Japanese identities were physically acted out in vaudeville performances, but it is unlikely they were in any way flattering. La Kola was billed as “The American Japanese Juggler,” while Durant and Baldwin promised “music in Chinatown,” including the song “You Sabe Me?” descriptions that suggest they borrowed heavily from minstrelsy’s traditional depiction of the Other.²⁰⁵

Although major performers appeared infrequently on local vaudeville stages, during the first years of the twentieth century vaudeville performances were still very popular. A 1904 article in the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* noted that the Broadway and Orpheum theaters played to packed houses on the same night as the Opera House, meaning 2,500 residents were attending performances, or roughly 30% of the city’s population.²⁰⁶ Vaudeville shows were a low cost alternative to the local Opera Houses, and rarely cost more than 25 cents for the most expensive seat with 50 cents being the highest price in the entire survey.²⁰⁷ This was less than half of the regularly priced 50 and 75-cent seats at the Opera Houses, and significantly less than their maximum price of \$1.50. As an emerging force in local popular culture, vaudeville’s norms became so engrained that a 1906 advertisement for San Bernardino Hardware Co. parodied a vaudeville bill including a duet entitled “Outdoor Pleasures by Hoe and Rake,” a monologue entitled “Cutting the Green by Sir B.B.L. Mower, and the “Serpentine Dance by R.G. Hose.”²⁰⁸ Vaudeville’s contribution to the local economy was briefly examined by the *Daily Sun* in an

²⁰⁵ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 5 June 1906. Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 5 February 1905.

²⁰⁶ “At the Playhouses,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 9 October 1904.

²⁰⁷ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 10 July 1904. Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 13 March 1906. Orpheum Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 17 January 1904.

²⁰⁸ San Bernardino Hardware Co. Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 23 March 1906.

overview of the Broadway Theatre, which in 1906 employed 24 people paid collectively \$500 per week.²⁰⁹

Decline of Vaudeville

Historians link the decline of vaudeville to the rising prominence of motion pictures and radio during the 1910s and 1920s. Alison Kibler's examination of the Keith-Albee Circuit noted that their theaters began to show the first signs of financial struggles in 1922-1923, and by 1926 economic problems were widespread throughout the circuit.²¹⁰ Mere weeks after vaudeville headliner Al Jolson's influential film *The Jazz Singer* opened in 1927 profits at the Keith-Albee Circuit's flagship Palace Theatre in New York fell to \$2,000-\$3,000 per week, compared to an average of \$10,000 per week earlier in the decade.²¹¹ In 1932, *Variety* reported that the Palace had been losing \$5,000 a week for over a year, and the Palace's conversion to a movie theater that November is considered the end of the golden age of vaudeville.²¹²

Small-time vaudeville theaters in the Inland Empire had been incorporating films into their bills since their openings. A cheaper alternative to booking live performers, films could be used by new or struggling theaters to help pad out short bills and make them into a greater spectacle. The 1904 opening announcement for San Bernardino's Lyric Theater, one of several small, short lived theaters in the city, listed off four performers that could be seen for only 10 cents and concluded by noting that, "the Lyric has also been fitted with a complete moving picture apparatus

²⁰⁹ "Amusements," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 11 August 1906.

²¹⁰ Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 200.

²¹¹ Spitzer, *The Palace*, 144.

²¹² Spitzer, *The Palace*, 194.

of the latest improved make and this will be turned upon the canvas tomorrow evening. Some very novel scenes will be shown, while illustrations of current events and war happenings will undoubtedly prove of much interest.”²¹³ By 1906, the Broadway Theatre had installed projectors and offered the ability to watch scenes from the San Francisco earthquake, as well as other silent films.²¹⁴

Most relevantly, standalone movie theaters began to open in the Inland Empire before 1910. In 1909, the 600-seat silent movie house called the Grand Theatre opened in Redlands, coinciding with the temporary closing of the Airdome, a local theater that had only been open for a few weeks. The article describing the opening of the Grand observed the massive size of the stage would be a good venue for live entertainment, writing, “though it could be used for the production of company plays and vaudeville specialties...it is the intention of the Amusement company to confine the entertainment to pictures and songs.”²¹⁵ Several short films and illustrated songs could be seen for a mere 10 cents, the same price as the cheapest ticket to a vaudeville show.²¹⁶ By 1913 the rival Majestic Theater had opened and movies became so popular that the *Redlands Review* began running a column describing the city’s film offerings in the manner it described live stage shows.²¹⁷ The Wyatt Theatre, formerly the Wyatt Opera House, also embraced the revolution, extensively remodeling to support the most modern motion picture

²¹³ “Amusements,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 1 May 1904.

²¹⁴ Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 13 May 1906. Broadway Theatre Advertisement, *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, 25 August 1906.

²¹⁵ “Grand Theatre Opens Tonight,” *Redlands Review*, 29 September 1909, 5.

²¹⁶ Grand Theatre Advertisement, *Redlands Review*, 3 October 1909, 6.

²¹⁷ “At the Moving Picture Shows,” *Redlands Review*, 21 September 1913, 3.

projectors for films in color and with sound.²¹⁸ In short, by 1914 the Inland Empire was at the forefront of embracing film as an alternative to vaudeville, no doubt aided by its close proximity to Hollywood and its increasing production of motion pictures, the entertainment that would ultimately end vaudeville.

Conclusion

A study of vaudeville in the Inland Empire during the early twentieth century must focus primarily on San Bernardino, the city with the most active vaudeville theaters. By studying the dynamics of vaudeville in San Bernardino, it becomes possible to observe that even small time markets showed signs of a hierarchical division of culture that has been observed by scholars like Lawrence Levine. The community demonstrated many of the typical elements of hierarchical cultural division that are often associated with its relationship to legitimate stage productions found in the local Opera House. Vaudeville theaters abided by respectability standards encouraged by the upper and middle classes to provide their productions with a sense of decency in order to attract an audience that included women and families, but also offered acts that would have been more risqué than those that appeared onstage at the high class Opera Houses. The wealthy community of Redlands's early embrace of motion pictures, an entertainment born out of vaudeville that ultimately supplanted it, fits snugly within Levine's analysis. As a result, in the Inland Empire it is possible to observe that cultural norms were shaped local elites, and that the popular culture enjoying the

²¹⁸ "Kinemacolor Pictures at the Wyatt Opera House," *Redlands Review*, 8 October 1913, 6. "Edison's Latest Achievement. Movies That Talk, Laugh, Sing," *Redlands Review*, 11 October 1913, 8.

largest possible audience was born from of the lower rungs of this cultural hierarchy.

Appendix A
Opera House Performances

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Hamilton's Royal Australian Minstrels		Minstrel	1881	
Under the Gaslight		Play	2/5/86	
The Private Secretary	Long & Mott's Comedy Co	Play	10/26/86	
Young Mrs. Winthrop		Play	10/27/86	
Marshall's Japanese Tourists		Acrobat	11/9/86	
Clothilde	Miss Jeffreys-Lewis	Play	11/13/86	
Uncle Tom's Cabin	LR Stockwell	Play	11/16/86	.50/.75
	John Sullivan	Athlete	11/26/86	1
Edmund Kean	Francis Reinau, Lizzie Vigoureux	Play	12/17/86	
Hamlet		Play	12/18/86	
The Lady of Lyons		Play	12/18/86	
Unknown	Nellie Boyd	Play	12/19/86	.50/.75
	Howard Athenauem Specialty Co		1/1/87	
The Black Flag		Play	1/18/87	
The Triumph of Love		Musical	2/1/87	
Faust and Marguerite	Lewis Morrison, Celia Alsberg	Play	2/4/87	
Not Guilty		Play	2/5/87	
	Fam Matthews vs. WA Hunter	Athlete	2/8/87	.50/.75
Sight-Seeing in the Emerald Isle		Musical	2/22/87	
	The McGibney Family	Singer	2/26/87	
	Adelaide Randall Bijou Opera Co	Opera	3/8/87	
JL York		Public Speaker	3/20/87	0.25
	Pyke Opera Co	Musical	3/28/87	.50/1
A Hoop of Gold	Joseph	Play	4/4/87	.50/1

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	Grismer, Phoebe Davies			
The Field of Honor	Joseph Grismer, Phoebe Davies	Play	4/5/87	.50/1
Baird's Minstrels		Minstrel	4/25/87	
Humbug	Roland Reed	Play	4/28/87	
Cheek	Roland Reed	Play	4/29/87	
Prof. McKanlass		Minstrel	5/25/87	
	Perry Davis Concert Co	Classical	5/28/87	.75/1
Harbor Lights		Play	6/14/87	
	Oura Japanese Troupe	Acrobat	6/28/87	
Pearl of Savoy	Stuttz		7/4/87	
	Jaguarine- Macallister Combination	Vaudeville	7/22/87	.50/.75
Equine Paradox		Animal	8/1/87	.25/.50/.75
Fireman's Benefit			8/12/87	
The Black Flag	Edwin Thorne	Play	8/26/87	.50/1
Unknown	Nellie Boyd	Play	9/3/87	.50/1
Passion's Slave	Nellie Boyd	Play	9/3/87	.50/1
	Zerega's Royal Spanish Troubadors	Play	9/12/87	
Emerson's Minstrels		Minstrel	9/19/87	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	9/28/87	
Prof. W. Anthony		Magic	10/1/87	0.25
Nordeck	Frank Mayo	Play	10/28/87	
Davy Crockett	Frank Mayo	Play	10/29/87	
La Belle Russe	Miss Jeffreys- Lewis	Play	10/31/87	
Rossner's Hungarian Electric Orchestra		Classical	11/3/87	
Shadows of a Great City	Osbourne & Stockwell Co	Play	11/8/87	
Ranch 10	Osbourne & Stockwell Co	Play	11/9/87	
The Golden Giant	Osbourne & Stockwell Co	Play	11/9/87	
Rossner's Hungarian		Classical	11/12/87	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Electric Orchestra Alvin Joslin Comedy Co		Play	11/16/87	
Vim	Neil Burgess	Play	11/17/87	
Caught in a Corner	MB Curtis	Play	11/21/87	
Romeo and Juliet	Margaret Mather	Play	12/1/87	1/1.50
Love and Law	Milton Nobles	Play	12/7/87	
Richards and Pringle		Minstrel	12/14/87	
	Campanini	Opera	12/23/87	1/2/3
Kate Eddy		Magic	12/25/87	
IW Baird's Mammoth Minstrels		Minstrel	12/26/87	
Rene	William Redmund, Thomas Barry		1/2/88	
Dan Sullivan		Public Speaker	1/3/88	.50/.75
Held by the Enemy	Al Hayman, Lewis Morrison	Play	1/6/88	
The Main Line	Al Hayman, Lewis Morrison	Play	1/7/88	
She	GP Webester, William Brady	Play	1/12/88	
After Dark	GP Webester, William Brady	Play	1/13/88	
Lights O'London	GP Webester, William Brady	Play	1/14/88	
The Count of Monte Cristo	Horris Lewis	Play	1/20/88	
Uncle Tom's Cabin	Blanche Slader	Play	1/25/88	
Woody Male Quartette		Singer	1/29/88	.50/.75
The Streets of New York	Joseph Grismer, Phoebe Davies	Play	2/3/88	
Rosedale	Joseph Grismer, Phoebe Davies	Play	2/4/88	
Michael Strogoff	George Wessells	Play	2/10/88	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The White Slave	George Wessells	Play	2/11/88	
Haverly's Minstrels		Minstrel	2/14/88	
Haverly's Minstrels		Minstrel	2/19/88	
	Washington Irving Bishop	Magic	3/5/88	
Hermann the Great		Magic	9/21/88	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	1/12/89	
A Night Off		Play	2/23/89	
	Karl Gardner		Aug 1889	
Romeo and Juliet	Robert Mantell, Margaret Mather	Play	1889	
The Prince and the Pauper	Elsie Leslie	Play	8/23/90	
In Old Kentucky		Play	10/17/94	
American Vaudeville Co		Vaudeville	10/19/94	
O'Neill Washington, DC	Daniel Sully	Play	11/3/94	.25/.50/.75/1
Killarney	Katie Emmett	Play	11/13/94	
Haverly's Minstrels		Minstrel	11/21/94	
Charley's Aunt		Play	11/23/94	
The Gladiator	Dramatic Company	Play	11/28/94	
Refined Darktown Lady Minstrels		Minstrel	4/28/99	
A Night in Venice	Wakefield-Andrews Opera Co	Opera	5/5/99	
	Lambardi Grand Italian Opera	Opera	5/27/99	
A Midnight Ball	LR Stockwell	Play	6/15/99	.25/.50/.75/1
A Bachelor's Honeymoon		Play	6/30/99	.25/.50/.75/1
The Battle of Manila and Vaudeville		Play/Vaudeville	7/4/99	.15/.25/.35/.50
The Fatal Wedding	Grace Church	Play	1/11/04	.25/.50/.75/1
Mahara's Minstrels	Billy Young, Gordon Collins	Minstrel	1/15/04	.25/.50/.75
Alexander the Great	Louis James, Frederick	Play	1/18/04	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	Warde			
Richards and Pringle		Minstrel	1/25/04	
A Night on Broadway	Murray and Mack	Musical	1/30/04	
Kidnapped	Jessie Norton	Play	2/27/04	
Pudd'n Head Wilson	James Neill	Play	3/3/04	
Maloney's Wedding	Maud Sutton	Play	3/9/04	
Human Hearts		Play	3/10/04	
The Merchant of Venice		Play	3/21/04	
Sag Harbor	Charles Brandt	Play	3/22/04	
Slaves of Mine		Play	4/4/04	
Erik of Sweden	Ben Hendricks	Play	4/9/04	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	4/27/04	
The Frisky Mrs. Johnson	Florence Roberts	Play	5/5/04	
The Drummer Boy of Rappahannock	Major Hendershot	Musical	5/6/04	
Our New Minister	Ernest Hastings	Play	6/1/04	.25/.50/.75/1
Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde		Play	8/21/04	
The Prince of Liars		Play	8/27/04	
A False Friend	Frank Cooley	Play	9/24/04	
A Sleeping City	Frank Cooley	Play	9/24/04	
Sweet Clover		Play	10/21/04	
The Burgomaster	Oscar Figoman	Play	10/22/04	
York State Folks		Play	Oct 1904	
Sousa's Band		Classical	11/1/04	
A Texas Steer	Wilt Bray	Musical	11/2/04	
Fritz and Snitz	Mason and Mason	Musical	11/6/04	
Canada	Lester Lonergan	Play	11/11/04	
West's Minstrels	Tom Mack	Minstrel	11/29/04	
Pretty Peggy	Jane Corcoran	Play	Nov 1904	
The Fatal Wedding		Play	11/30/04	.10/.25/.50
The Runaways	Arthur Dunn	Play	12/1/04	.25/.50/1/1.50
For Her Sake	Billy Marble	Play	12/6/04	.10/.20/.30/.50
Over Niagra Falls		Play	12/30/04	.15/.25/.35/.50
Tess of the D'Urbervilles	Florence Roberts	Play	2/8/05	.25/.50/.75/1

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Moonshiner's Daughter		Play	2/20/05	.15/.25/.35/.50
Creatore		Classical	2/23/05	.25/.50/.75/1
Our New Man	Harry Beresford		3/4/05	
London Vaudeville Co		Vaudeville	4/3/05	.10/.15/.25/.35
Haverly's Minstrels		Minstrel	1904-1905	
The Show Girl		Musical	1904-1905	
	Black Patti	Opera	1904-1905	
David Harum		Play	1904-1905	
Friend of the Family		Play	1904-1905	
Ole Olson		Play	1904-1905	
Salambo	Frederick Warde, Kathryn Kidder	Play	1904-1905	
Shore Acres		Play	1904-1905	
The Billionaire		Play	1904-1905	
The Silver Slipper		Play	1904-1905	
The Tenderfoot		Play	1904-1905	
Yon Yonson		Play	1904-1905	
	Joe Jefferson	Play	1904-1905	
	Louis Morrison	Play	1904-1905	
	Marie Wainwright	Play	1904-1905	
	Paul Gilmore	Play	1904-1905	
	The Ellefords	Play	1904-1905	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Heatsense, The Second in Oominand, Soldiers of Fortune	White Whittlesey		1904- 1905	
	Joe Murphy		1904- 1905	
Stanford Glee Club		Musical	1/5/06	.25/.35/.50/.75
Hooligan's Troubles		Musical	1/6/06	.25/.35/.50/.75
Way Down East		Play	1/15/06	
The Yankee Consul	Harry Short	Musical	1/17/06	
West's Minstrels		Minstrel	2/1/06	
Around the Town	Murray and Mack	Musical	1/27/06	
Don Pasquale	Alice Nelson	Opera	2/1/06	
	Frederick Warde	Play	2/3/06	
Mary Stuart	Modjeska	Play	2/10/06	
The Strength of the Weak	Florence Roberts	Play	2/12/06	
Jolly American Tramp		Play	2/13/06	
Ole Olson	Ben Hendricks	Play	2/15/06	.25/.35/.50/.75
Sleeping Beauty and the Beast		Musical	2/17/06	
The New South	The Ellefords	Play	2/19/06	.15/.25/.35
Stranger in a Strange Land	The Ellefords	Play	2/20/06	
When We Were Twenty-One	The Ellefords	Play	2/21/06	
A Princess of Patches	The Ellefords	Play	2/22/06	
A Poor Relation	The Ellefords	Play	2/23/06	
Fun in a Boarding School	The Ellefords	Play	2/24/06	
Jimtown Folks Abroad	The Ellefords	Play	2/24/06	
The Princess of Patches	The Ellefords	Play	2/24/06	
Shrine Minstrels		Minstrel	3/20/06	1
	Lilliputian Opera Co	Opera	3/21/06	
Taming of the Shrew	Charles Hanford	Play	3/24/06	
Human Hearts		Play	3/31/06	.25/.35/.50/.75

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Elk's Minstrels		Minstrel	4/23/06	1
A Message from Mars	David Proctor	Play	4/25/06	
The Merchant of Venice	Joseph DeGrasse	Play	9/19/06	.25/.50/.75/1
Lights of Frisco		Play	10/26/06	.25/.35/.50/.75
Checkers		Play	10/29/06	
Arizona		Play	10/31/06	
The Maid and the Mummy		Musical	11/6/06	
Richards and Pringle		Minstrel	11/8/06	
Peggy From Paris		Musical	11/12/06	
Uncle Josh Perkins		Play	11/17/06	
Tilly Olson		Play	11/19/06	
The Merry Wives of Windsor	Louis James	Play	11/24/06	
The Holy City		Play	12/1/06	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	12/10/06	
Faust	Lambardi Grand Italian Opera	Opera	12/12/06	.50/.75/1/1.50/2
The Convict's Daughter		Play	12/14/06	.25/.35/.50
A Cowboy's Girl		Play	12/22/06	
As Told in the Hills		Play	12/27/06	
Under Southern Skies		Play	1/3/07	.25/.35/.50/.75
Susan in Search of a Husband	Isabel Irving	Play	1/4/07	
In Search of a Sinner	Lillian Russell	Play	12/24/10	
Richards and Pringle		Minstrel	1910	
Mikado	National Pollard Opera Co	Musical	1910	
Lucia	Bevani Grand Opera Co	Opera	1910	
The Fairy Tale	Madame Nazimova, Brandon Tynan	Play	1910	
The Melting Pot	Walker Whiteside	Play	1910	
The Withching Hour	John Mason	Play	1910	
Tales of Hoffman	Sheehan	Musical	1911	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	English Opera Co			
Alias Jimmy Valentine	Frank Warner	Play	1911	
Julius Caesar	Frederick Warde	Play	1911	
Polly of the Circus		Play	1911	
Sis Hopkins	Rose Melville	Play	1911	
The Merry Widow	Oscar Figman, Theresea Van Brune	Play	1911	
The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary	May Robson	Play	1911	
A Doll's House	Madame Nazimova	Play	1909-1911	
A Lucky Star	William Collier	Play	1909-1911	
A Woman's Way	Grace George	Play	1909-1911	
Brewster's Millions	George Cohan, Sam Harris	Play	1909-1911	
Cameo Kirby	Dustin Farnum	Play	1909-1911	
Her Husband's Wife	Henry Miller	Play	1909-1911	
The Man From Home	Henry Hall	Play	1909-1911	
The Other Woman	Blanche Walsh	Play	1909-1911	
The Prince of Tonight	Henry Woodruff	Play	1909-1911	
The Time, the Place and the Girl	Robert Pitkin, Jessie Huston	Play	1909-1911	
The World and His Wife	William Faversham	Play	1909-1911	
The Yankee Girl	Blanche Ring	Play	1909-1911	
Wildfire	Lillian Russell	Play	1909-1911	
The Quaker Girl	Mrs. Victor Morley	Musical	5/12/12	
Merely Mary Ann	Marjorie Rambeau	Play	1912	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Bohemian Girl		Play	1912	
The Chocolate Soldier		Play	1912	
The Littlest Rebel	Dustin Farnum	Play	1912	
The Man From Home	William Hodge	Play	1912	
Two Women	Leslie Carter	Play	1912	
Maggie Pepper	Rose Stahl	Play	4/17/13	
Peter Pan	Maude Adams	Play	4/19/13	
Over the River	Eddie Foy	Play	5/1/13	
The Red Widow	Raymond Hitchcock	Play	5/13/13	
The Bird of Paradise	Leonore Ulrich, William Desmond	Play	10/10/13	
The Fascinating Widow	Julian Eltinge	Play	10/21/13	
The Chimes of Normandy	The Tivoli Opera Troupe	Opera	11/9/13	
Little Women		Play	12/11/13	
The Rainbow	Henry Miller	Play	12/13/13	
The Lady of the Camellias	Sarah Bernhardt	Musical	1913	
Julius Caesar	William Faversham	Play	1913	
Macbeth	Robert Mantell	Play	1913	
Marc Anthony	William Faversham	Play	1913	
Oliver Twist	Nat Goodwin	Play	1913	
The Typhoon	Walker Whiteside	Play	1913	
The Common Law		Play	1/5/14	
The Candy Shop	William Rock, Maude Fulton	Play	1/27/14	
The Firefly	Emma Tentrini	Play	1/30/14	
Within the Law	Margaret Illington	Play	2/26/14	
Her Soul and Body	Mrs. Douglas Crane	Play	5/6/14	
Disraeli	George Arliss	Play	11/24/14	
Les Miserables		Play	1914	
Marrietta	Evelyn Nesbit Thaw	Play	1914	

San Bernardino Opera House				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Shameen Dhu	Chauncey Olcott	Play	1914	
The Tik-Tok Man of Oz		Play	1914	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Iolanthe		Musical	1/8/90	1/1.50/2
Deestrikt Skule No. 108		Musical	2/28/90	.25/.50
Faust	Emma Juch	Opera	1/1/91	
The Ensign		Play	9/20/92	
Julius Caesar	Frederick Warde, Louis James	Play	4/17/94	
Mary Stuart	Modjeska, Otis Skinner	Play	4/17/94	
John Sousa	John Sousa	Classical	4/24/94	
The Idea	Hallen & Hart	Musical	6/13/94	.25/.50/.75/1
HMS Pinafore		Musical	11/13/94	
Haverley's Minstrels		Minstrel	11/20/94	.25/.50/.75/1
The Gladiator	Robert Downing, Eugenie Blair	Play	12/5/94	
Herr Aamold		Opera	12/26/94	
The Three Guardsmen	Alexander Salvini	Play	1/2/95	.25/.50/.75/1/1.50
Blind Tom		Classical	1/3/95	
George Kennan		Public Speaker	1/29/95	
Patience		Opera	2/8/95	
Hazel Kirke	Isaac Payton, Mattie Keene	Play	2/16/95	
Living Whist		Dance	2/20/95	
		Classical	3/8/95	
Judah	Marie Burroughs	Play	3/25/95	
		Classical	4/8/95	
Our Flat	Emily Bancker	Play	4/16/95	.25/.50/.75/1
The Girl I Left Behind Me		Play	4/22/95	.25/.50/.75/1
The Gobblin' Goblin		Musical	5/3/95	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
and the Greedy Gnome				
Alabama		Play	5/17/95	
Allatoona		Play	5/30/95	
Royal Hawaiian Band		Classical	7/5/95	
Miss S. Marcia Craft Benefit			9/27/95	
Dorcas	Pauline Hall	Opera	10/5/95	
The Magistrate	LR Stockwell, Rose Coghlan	Play	10/12/95	
A Fool for Luck	Joe Carthorne, Annie Buckley	Play	11/14/95	
Charley's Aunt		Play	11/19/95	
The Parisian Princess	Rose Stillman	Play	11/25/95	.10/.20/.30
The Clemenceau Case	Rose Stillman	Play	11/27/95	
Haverly's Minstrels		Minstrel	12/6/95	
The Black Flag	Jessie Norton, Lorimer Johnstone, WJ Elleford	Play	3/2/96	
The Plunger	Jessie Norton, Lorimer Johnstone, WJ Elleford	Play	3/3/96	
The Corner Grocery	Jessie Norton, Lorimer Johnstone, WJ Elleford	Play	3/4/96	
Fritz in a Mad House	Joseph K. Emmet	Play	4/6/96	
The Embassy Ball		Play	9/14/96	.25/.35
The Octoroon	Alice Roseland	Play	9/15/96	
Innocent Bohemia	Alice Roseland	Play	9/16/96	
Streets of New York	Alice Roseland	Play	9/17/96	
A Bargain Husband	Alice Roseland	Play	9/18/96	
Easy Lynne	Alice Roseland	Play	9/19/96	
The Pearl of Savoy	Alice Roseland	Play	9/19/96	
The Yaw Concert Company		Classical	12/4/96	
Forever Devil's Auction		Dance	1/2/97	
Humanity	Joseph Grismer,	Play	1/7/97	.25/.50/.75/1

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	Phoebe Davies			
The Man From Mexico	Willie Collier	Play	1/27/98	.25/.75/1/1.50
Our Nation's History		Play	3/22/98	
20 Minutes Under an Umbrella		Play	3/29/98	
The Mysterious Mr. Bugle		Play	3/29/98	
The Nancy Hanks	Marie Jansen	Musical	5/10/98	
La Mascotte		Musical	7/29/98	.25/.35/.50
Mikado		Musical	9/1/98	
The Leading Man		Play	10/27/98	.25/.50/.75/1
Sowing the Winds		Play	11/15/98	
Finnigan's Ball	Murray & Mack	Play	11/22/98	
Hogan's Alley		Play	11/28/98	
Mistakes Will Happen	Charles Dickson, Henrietta Crosman	Play	12/2/98	
A Bunch of Keys	Ada Bothner	Play	12/6/98	
The Heart of Chicago		Play	12/14/98	
Gorton's Minstrels		Minstrel	12/24/98	
Under the Dome		Play	12/28/98	
The Man From Mexico	Willie Collier	Play	12/30/98	
Pudd'nhead Wilson	Edwin Mayo	Play	1/3/99	
The School for Scandal	Louis James, Kathryn Kidder, Frederick Warde	Play	1/25/99	
The Jewess	Nance O'Neil	Play	2/3/99	
Why Smith Left Home		Play	2/28/99	
Robin Hood	The Bostonians	Musical	3/8/99	
A Night in Venice	Johann Strauss' Carnival Opera Comique	Opera	5/4/99	
On and Off		Play	5/23/99	
A Midnight Bell	LR Stockwell	Play	6/13/99	
MacBeth	Modjeska, John Kellard	Play	9/9/99	
Hotel Topsy Turvy	Eddie Foy	Musical	10/26/99	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Mlle. Fifi	Maud Granger	Play	10/31/99	
A Lady of Quality	Eugenie Blair	Play	11/28/99	
The New South	Darrel Vinton, May Nannary	Play	12/4/99	
Hamlet	Darrel Vinton, May Nannary	Play	12/5/99	
New Magdalen	Darrel Vinton, May Nannary	Play	12/6/99	
Yon Yonson		Play	12/7/99	
Gorton's Minstrels		Minstrel	12/12/99	
My Friend From India	LR Stockwell	Play	12/20/99	
The Winter's Tale	Louis James, Kathryn Kidder, Charles Hanford	Play	1/2/00	
Louise Brehany Ballad and Opera Concerts		Classical	2/27/00	
Said Pasha	Boston Lyric Opera Company	Musical	3/7/00	
Bohemian Girl	Boston Lyric Opera Company	Musical	3/8/00	
Have You Seen Smith?		Musical	3/21/00	
A Flag of Truce		Play	3/26/00	
The Ensign		Play	3/27/00	
Little Paloma Schramm		Classical	4/6/00	
The Gottlobs, Meyers, Richard Mack, Deets & Don, Papinta, The Michelsons, WC Fields, Asher the Great	Papinta	Vaudeville	4/16/00	"Popular"
Brownies in Fairyland		Musical	5/29/00	
A Knotty Affair	WR Dailey	Play	9/21/00	.25/.50/.75
U and I	Gus Williams	Play	9/22/00	
Othello	Samuel Wells, Glenn Will	Play	10/11/00	
That Man	Harry Lillford	Play	10/25/00	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
That Man	Walter Walker	Play	10/25/00	
Big Minstrel Jubilee	William West	Minstrel	11/1/00	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	11/6/00	
Hermann		Magic	11/8/00	
Brown's In Town		Play	11/8/00	
Richards & Pringle's Georgia Minstrels		Minstrel	11/19/00	
What Did Tompkins Do?	Hary Corson Clarke	Play	11/20/00	
The Ameer	Frank Daniels	Musical	11/28/00	
The Duke's Jester	Frederick Warde, ER Spencer	Play	12/8/00	
At the White Horse Tavern		Play	12/10/00	
Shenandoah		Play	12/14/00	
Colored Aristocracy		Minstrel	12/18/00	
Eduard Straus		Classical	12/27/00	
Ole Olson	Ben Hendricks	Play	12/29/00	
Way Down East		Play	12/31/00	
Primose & Dockstader's Great American Minstrels		Minstrel	1/11/01	.25/.50/.75/1
James Wobberts, Freshman		Play	1/16/01	
A Stranger in a Strange Land		Play	1/24/01	
Titania		Musical	1/25/01	
Uncle Josh Spruceby		Play	1/28/01	
Human Hearts		Play	1/31/01	
Antoinette Trebelli		Classical	2/3/01	
A Midsummer Night's Dream	Luis James, Kathryn Kidder	Play	2/19/01	
Sousa and his Band		Classical	2/20/01	
A Breezy Time		Play	2/25/01	
Wiggin & Bowman, Sid Baxter, Pearl Hackman, Leondor Bros., The Strollers		Vaudeville	3/9/01	
The American Girl		Play	3/11/01	
The Charity Ball		Play	3/12/01	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Quo Vadis		Play	3/15/01	
Beacon Lights		Play	3/16/01	
The Steam Laundry		Musical	3/19/01	
The Angel of the Alley		Play	4/18/01	
Society Vaudeville	Riverside Women's Club	Vaudeville	5/24/01	
A Texas Steer		Play	10/8/01	
Big Minstrel Jubilee	William West	Minstrel	10/11/01	
Peaceful Valley	Frank Cooley	Play	10/16/01	
Under Two Flags	Frank Cooley	Play	10/17/01	
A Romance of the Road	Frank Cooley	Play	10/18/01	
The Butterflies	Frank Cooley	Play	10/19/01	
In Old Kentucky		Play	10/25/01	
Secret Service	Daniel Frawley	Play	10/29/01	
Yon Yonson		Play	11/13/01	
Shore Acres		Play	11/20/01	
For Fair Virginia	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/2/01	
The Sultan's Daughter	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/3/01	
Trilby	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/4/01	
Nell Gwynne	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/5/01	
Camille	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/6/01	
A Young Wife	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/7/01	
Little Lord Fauntleroy	Jessie Shirley	Play	12/7/01	
Rip Van Winkle		Play	12/10/01	
The Cowboy and the Lady	S Miller Kent	Play	12/23/01	
Big Minstrels	Hi. Henry	Minstrel	12/27/01	
Stanford University Glee and Mandolin Club		Classical	12/28/01	
SW Gillilan		Comedy	1/10/02	
Hunting for Hawkins		Musical	1/16/02	
The Irish Pawnbrokers		Play	1/22/02	
Henry VIII	Modjeska, Louis James	Play	1/30/02	
The Princess Chic		Musical	2/5/02	
Gus Sun's American Minstrels		Minstrel	2/11/02	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Village Parson		Play	2/13/02	
Emma Nevada		Classical	2/18/02	
The Pride of Jennico		Play	2/22/02	
Forget Me-Not		Play	2/28/02	
Secret Service		Play	3/10/02	
A Man of Mystery		Play	3/11/02	
The World		Play	3/12/02	
The Girl I Left Behind Me		Play	3/13/02	
Fuast		Play	3/14/02	
The American Girl		Play	3/14/02	
Arizona		Play	3/19/02	
Shooting the Chutes	Murray & Mack	Play	3/20/02	
Way Down East		Play	3/20/02	
Prisoner of Zenda		Play	3/25/02	
Rupert of Hentzau		Play	3/26/02	
Too Rich to Marry		Play	4/18/02	
The Christian	Edward Morgan	Play	4/21/02	
Zaza	Florence Roberts	Play	5/14/02	
Virginus	Frederick Warde	Play	6/19/02	
Barbara Frietchie	Mary Elizabeth Forbes	Play	9/20/02	
Easy Lynne	Harrington Reynolds	Play	10/1/02	
A Thoroughbred Tramp		Play	10/4/02	
Big Minstrel Jubilee		Minstrel	10/10/02	
Fiddle Dee Dee		Musical	10/11/02	
Sousa and his Band		Classical	10/22/02	
Hermann		Magic	10/24/02	
Alphonse and Gaston		Musical	10/27/02	
Hello Bill		Play	10/29/02	
Pickings From Puck	Willard Simms	Musical	11/3/02	
Hearts of Oak		Play	11/3/02	
Gorton's Minstrels		Minstrel	11/27/02	
A Voice From the Wilderness	Robert Downing	Play	11/29/02	
Florodora		Musical	12/2/02	
The Wrong Mr.	Harry	Play	12/9/02	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Wright Shore Acres	Beresford	Play	12/15/02	
The New Robin Hood	The Bostonians	Musical	12/22/02	
Yon Yonson		Play	12/24/02	
The Tyranny of Tears	Paul Gilmore	Play	12/26/02	
Rudolph and Adolph	Mason & Mason	Musical	1/3/03	
A Night on Broadway	Murray & Mack	Musical	1/10/03	
The Man From Mexico	Leslie Morosco, Leila Shaw	Play	1/17/03	
The Tempest	Louis James, Frederick Warde	Play	1/22/03	
Lover's Lane		Play	2/4/03	
Sandy Bottom		Play	2/18/03	
A Trip to Chinatown	Jack Campbell, Harry Cashman	Play	2/26/03	
The Kilties		Dance	3/20/03	
Lord Strathmore		Play	3/26/03	
Ole Olson	Ben Hendricks	Play	4/3/03	
The Unwelcome Mrs. Hatch	Florence Roberts	Play	4/17/03	
The Two Orphans	Kate Claxton	Play	4/23/03	
	Mme. Mantelli	Opera	5/18/03	
Richard J. Jose Minstrels		Minstrel	9/1/03	
The Dairy Farm		Play	9/10/03	
A Bachelor's Honeymoon	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/21/03	
The Mouth of the Cannon	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/22/03	
A Celestial Maiden	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/23/03	
A Daughter of Dixie	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/25/03	
The Sleeping City	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/26/03	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Tom Sawyer	Frank Cooley, Gladys Kingsbury	Play	9/26/03	
Big Minstrel Jubilee		Minstrel	10/14/03	
The Storks		Musical	10/29/03	
Looking for a Wife		Musical	10/31/03	
Hello Bill	John Daly Murphy	Play	11/14/03	
Haverly's Minstrels	Billy Van	Minstrel	11/17/03	
Way Down East		Play	11/20/03	
Ellery's Royal Italian Band		Classical	11/24/03	
The Belle of New York		Musical	12/3/03	
An American Millionaire		Musical	12/4/03	
A Gaiety Girl		Musical	12/5/03	
HMS Pinafore		Musical	12/5/03	
Foxy Grandpa	Joseph Hart, Carrie de Mar	Musical	12/8/03	
Are You a Mason?		Play	12/10/03	
Spotless Town		Musical	12/14/03	
At the Old Cross Roads		Musical	12/16/03	
Ghosts	Alberta Gallatin	Play	12/30/03	
Yon Yonson		Play	12/31/03	
Old Jed Prouty		Play	1/6/04	
Gus Sun's American Minstrels		Minstrel	1/19/04	
Alexander the Great	Louis James, Frederick Warde	Play	1/20/04	.50/.75/1/1.50
A Night on Broadway	Murray & Mack	Musical	1/21/04	.25/.50/.75/1
A Flag of Truce	Ellefords	Play	1/25/04	
The Man From Mexico		Play	1/26/04	
The Ensign		Play	1/27/04	
Toll Gate Inn		Play	1/28/04	
Woman's Sacrifice		Play	1/29/04	
Jack and the Bean Stalk		Play	1/30/04	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
New York, Day by Day		Play	1/30/04	
Circumstantial Evidence		Play	2/2/04	
Richard Carvel	Andrew Robson	Play	2/11/04	
Devil's Auction		Musical	2/26/04	
Maloney's Wedding		Musical	3/8/04	
Sag Harbor		Play	3/21/04	
The Silver Slipper	Samuel Collins	Musical	3/29/04	
Erik of Sweden	Ben Hendricks	Musical	4/8/04	
The Frisky Mrs. Johnson	Florence Roberts	Play	5/4/04	
Our New Minister		Play	6/2/04	
Sousa and his Band		Classical	10/31/04	
Don Caesar de Bazan	Charles Hanford, Marie Drofmar	Play	3/23/05	
Mary Stuart	Helena Modjeska	Play	2/12/06	.50/.75/1/1.50/2
Northern Lights		Play	2/21/06	
The Lion and the Mouse		Play	5/2/06	
A Merchant of Venice		Play	9/21/06	
Nights of Frisco		Play	10/25/06	
The Merry Wives of Windsor	Louis James, Nellie McHenry, Norman Hackett, Aphie James	Play	11/21/06	
The Man of the Hour		Play	9/18/07	
The Comedy of Errors	Louis James	Play	9/24/07	.50/.75/1/1.50
The Burgomaster		Musical	2/21/08	
Glorious Betsy	Mary Mannering	Play	2/26/08	
The Great Divide	Henry Miller	Play	6/24/08	
The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary	May Robson	Play	8/7/08	
The Squaw Man	Dustin Farnum	Play	10/7/08	
The Rivals	Joseph Jeffries, William Jeffries	Play	11/20/08	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Paid in Full		Play	11/24/08	
	Arthur Hartmann, Alfred Calzin	Classical	11/25/08	
Brewster's Millions	Robert Ober	Play	12/28/08	
The Merry Widow		Play	8/5/09	
Our New Minister		Play	10/17/09	
	Frieda Langendorff	Classical	10/29/09	
The Music Master	David Warfield	Play	12/16/09	
Henry VIII	Louis James, Aphie James	Play	1/13/10	
The Test	Blanche Walsh	Play	3/4/10	
The Melting Pot	Walker Whiteside	Play	10/20/10	
The Land of Nod		Musical	11/16/10	
	The Bevani Grand Opera Co	Opera	11/30/10	.50/.75/1/1.50
Polly of the Circus		Play	1/4/11	
Julius Caesar	Frederick Warde	Play	3/17/11	
The Spring Maid	Mizzi Hajos	Opera	9/28/11	
The Red Rose		Musical	12/30/11	
The Barrier		Play	1/6/12	
Creator and His Band		Classical	3/11/12	
The Faun	William Faversham, Julie Opp	Play	3/15/12	
Over Night		Play	4/17/12	
		Vaudeville	7/10/12	
Baby Mine	Marguerite Clark, Ernest Glendinning	Play	9/12/12	
Bunty Pulls the Strings		Play	1/24/13	
The Senator Keeps House	William Crane	Play	2/20/13	
Oliver Twist	Nat Goodwin	Play	4/9/13	
The Rainbow	Henry Miller	Play	12/11/13	
Stop Thief		Play	12/19/13	

Loring Opera House, Riverside				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Rosary		Play	12/20/13	
Believe Me	Billy Clifford	Musical	1/19/14	
Romeo and Juliet	EH Sothern	Play	1/21/14	1/1.50/2/2.50
The Candy Shop	William Rock, Maude Fulton	Musical	2/8/14	
The Climax		Play	3/18/14	
The Wolf		Play	3/27/14	
Shameen Dhu	Chauncey Olcott	Play	5/7/14	
Kitty MacKay		Play	11/9/14	

Wyatt Opera House, Redlands				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Sousa's Band		Classical	11/1/04	
Twelfth Night	Ben Greet	Play	11/7/04	
Haverly's Minstrel Show		Minstrel	11/14/04	
Pretty Peggy		Play	11/22/04	
Fatal Wedding			11/28/04	
West Minstrels		Minstrel	11/30/04	
Finnegan's Ball		Play	12/20/04	
The Show Girl		Musical	12/23/04	
As You Like It		Play	12/26/04	
Kerry Gow			1/2/05	
	Black Patti Troubadours	Opera	1/3/05	
The Silver Slipper		Play	1/4/05	
Looney Dreamland			1/27/05	
Salammbô		Play	1/30/05	
Ole Olsen		Play	1/31/05	
Everyman			2/1/05	
	Marie Wainright	Play	2/3/05	
Elks Club Vaudeville		Vaudeville	2/10/05	
	Dolmetsch		2/15/05	
Tess of the D'Ubervilles		Play	2/17/05	
Faust		Opera	2/18/05	
	Creatore and His Band	Classical	2/22/05	
Mikado		Musical	2/24/05	
Soldiers of Fortune			2/28/05	

Wyatt Opera House, Redlands				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Stranger In a Strange Land			3/6/05	
When We Were 21			3/7/05	
The Princess of Patches			3/8/05	
A Poor Relation			3/9/05	
Fun in Boarding School			3/10/05	
Jimtown Folks Abroad			3/10/05	
Don Cesar de Bezan		Play	3/25/05	
	The Ellesford Repertoire	Play	4/3/05	
	Bates Stock Co. Repertoire	Play	4/24/05	
The Merchant of Venice		Play	5/12/05	
	Innes' Band		5/23/05	
Zira			5/24/05	
For Her Child's Sake			1905	
The Irish Widow			1905	
The Yankee Consul		Musical	1/16/06	
The Madcap Princess			1/26/06	
	Alice Nelson	Opera	37282	
Way Down East		Play	1/30/06	
Ole Olsen		Play	2/3/06	
Hiawatha			2/6/06	
	Modieska	Play	2/9/06	
The Strength of the Weak		Play	2/13/06	
The Jolly American Tramp		Play	2/14/06	
Incog		Play	2/27/06	
	Polmatier Sisters		3/12/06	
	Liliputian Opera Co.	Opera	3/19/06	
Arab Patrol Shrine Minstrels		Minstrel	3/21/06	
	Pugno	Classical	3/22/06	
	Kubelik	Classical	3/29/06	
Human Hearts		Play	3/30/06	

Wyatt Opera House, Redlands				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	Gerardy		4/11/06	
Ermine			4/17/06	
As You Like It		Play	4/28/06	
Zeke			10/2/06	
Mikado		Musical	1906	
Cricket on the Hearth			1906	
The Rivals		Play	4/5/07	
A Yankee Tourist			4/18/07	
Little Johnny Jones		Musical	10/21/07	
Isle of Spice			10/29/07	
Mayor of Yokio			11/15/07	
Brown's in Town		Play	2/28/08	
Uncle Tom's Cabin		Play	1/1/09	
HMS Pinafore		Musical	1/29/09	
Who's Your Friend			2/3/09	
Rip Van Winkle		Play	2/12/09	
Babes in Toyland		Musical	2/19/09	
The Merry Widow		Play	8/6/09	
Before and After			8/17/09	
	International Grand Opera Co.	Opera	8/18/09	
The Climax		Musical	9/3/09	
Cameo Kirby	Dustin Farnum	Play	9/22/09	.50/2
The Time, The Place & the Girl		Musical	10/11/09	.50/1.50
Honeymoon Trail		Musical	10/13/09	
A Knight for Day		Musical	10/18/09	
Sousa's Band		Classical	10/23/09	
Fifty Miles from Boston	George Cohan	Musical	10/27/09	
The Girl Question		Musical	11/8/09	
The Man of the Hour		Play	11/12/09	
The Land of Nod		Musical	11/17/09	
Three Twins		Musical	12/9/09	.50/.75/1/1.50/2
The Singing Bandits		Musical	12/10/09	
Sapho	Olga Nethersole	Play	12/25/09	.50/1/1.50/2
The Wolf		Play	12/27/09	
Berkeley Glee Club		Singer	12/31/09	
Fritz Kriesler		Classical	1/5/10	1/1.50/2
Brewster's Millions		Play	1/10/10	.50/1.50

Wyatt Opera House, Redlands				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Henry VIII	Louis James	Play	1/11/10	.50/1.50
45 Minutes From Broadway		Musical	1/14/10	.25/1
The Shepherd King	Wright Lorimer	Play	1/18/10	.50/1.50
Vesta Herne	Leslie Carter	Play	1/22/10	1/1.50/2/2.50
The Alaskan	Richard Carroll, Gus Weinburg	Musical	1/28/10	.50/1.50
The Country Squire	Lee Willard		2/9/10	.25/.50/.75
Babes in Toyland	Helen McLeod	Musical	2/14/10	.50/1.50
Widow Jones	Dorothy Morton	Musical	2/16/10	.50/1.50
St. Elmo		Play	2/18/10	.50/.75/1/1.50
The Red Mill		Musical	2/26/10	
The Gingerbread Man		Musical	2/28/10	
Uncle Josh Perkins	Frank Hall	Play	3/3/10	
Wine, Women and Song	Bonita	Musical	3/7/10	.50/1.50
Palomita			4/11/10	
The Prince of Tonight		Musical	4/13/10	
The Thief	Herbert Kelcey, Effie Shannon	Play	4/14/10	.50/1.50
The Speculators		Musical	4/20/10	
The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary	May Robson	Play	5/12/10	
A Lucky Star	William Collier	Play	6/27/10	
The Spendthrift	Doris Mitchell	Play	8/18/10	
Rigoletto		Opera	12/1/10	
In Search of a Sinner		Play	12/23/10	
The Merry Widow		Play	2/21/11	
The College Widow			4/7/11	
	The Russian Symphony	Classical	4/24/11	
The Yankee Girl		Play	4/25/11	
The Toy Maker			6/2/11	
	Ernestine Schumann		2/2/12	
The Road to Yesterday			3/8/12	
	WN Tiffany		5/1/12	

Wyatt Opera House, Redlands				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Little Miss Fix It		Musical	1912	
Berkeley Glee Club		Singer	1/1/13	
The Lottery Man		Play	1/6/13	.50/.75/1
Madame Butterfly		Opera	1/7/13	
A Night Out	May Robson	Play	1/10/13	
Broadway Jones		Play	1/15/13	
Mutt and Jeff		Play	1/20/13	
The Rose Maid		Musical	1/30/13	
Trelawney of the Wells			2/12/13	
The Senator Keeps House	William Crane	Play	2/13/13	
The Siren	Donald Brian	Musical	3/18/13	
Faust	Sarah Bernhardt	Play	3/19/13	
	Adeline Greene	Dance	3/27/13	.75/1/1.50/2/2.50
Oliver Twist	Nat Goodwin	Play	4/8/13	
Maggie Pepper	Rose Stahl	Play	4/18/13	
Peter Pan	Maude Adams	Play	4/21/13	
The Red Widow	Raymond Hitchcock	Musical	5/12/13	
Mary Magdalene	Mrs. Scott		10/6/13	.50/1.50
	Yvonne de Treville	Opera	3/2/14	
Mice and Men			4/3/14	
Chamber of Commerce Vaudeville		Vaudeville	12/4/14	
Mistress Mary			12/11/14	

Appendix B
Vaudeville Performances

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Joe Dower		Novelty	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
Only Muller		Blackface Comedian	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
LaCroix and Campbell		Juggler	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
Pringle and Kenwood		Sketch	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
Mayer and Irwin		Sketch	7/11/04	.10/.25/.50
The Irving Trio		Acrobat	7/18/04	
Alicia Odette		Illustrated Singer	7/18/04	
Kalacratire		Juggler	7/18/04	
Schoenwreck		Magic	7/18/04	
Smith and Chester		Singer	7/18/04	
In Country School Days	Slaw and Still	Sketch	7/18/04	
Leo and Sulky		Sketch	7/18/04	
Howard and Campbell		Acrobat	7/25/04	
Harry Marshall		Comedy	7/25/04	
Aunt Melinda's Opportunity	Viriden and Dunlap	Sketch	7/25/04	
Champion Liars	Maude Still and FH Seaward	Sketch	7/25/04	
Charles and Lulu Oro		Comedy	8/2/04	
James Duan		Impersonator	8/2/04	
The Kramers		Dancer	8/2/04	
Arthur Jerome		Illustrated Singer	8/2/04	
Lewis Berdick		Magic	8/2/04	
Country Hotel	Mr. and Mrs. Nick Hughes	Sketch	8/2/04	
Senator Mc[?]	Maude Still and FH Seaward	Soubrette	8/2/04	
The Avalos		Acrobat	8/9/04	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Higgins		Blackface Comedian	8/9/04	
A Night in a Lunatic Asylum	Charles and Lulu Oro	Blackface Comedian	8/9/04	
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	8/9/04	
The Nellas		Juggler	8/9/04	
Sue Kramer		Dancer	8/9/04	
The Lippincotts		Singer/Dancer	8/9/04	
Douglas and Douglas		Acrobat	8/16/04	
J Howard Maxwell		Comedy	8/16/04	
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	8/16/04	
Peres and King		Minstrel	8/16/04	
Billy Price		Singer/Dancer	8/16/04	
Klondike/A Trip to the Springs	Charles and Lulu Oro	Sketch	8/16/04	
Label and Cecil		Sketch	8/16/04	
Del Mae and De Verne		Acrobat	8/23/04	
Musical Walton		Chinese Singer	8/23/04	
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	8/23/04	
Lucille Cross		Impersonator	8/23/04	
Raymond		Magic	8/23/04	
The Two Burglars	Charles and Lulu Oro	Sketch	8/23/04	
Maude Still and FH Seaward		Sketch	8/23/04	
Karl and DeElmer		Acrobat	9/6/04	
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	9/6/04	
Rags	Viriden and Dunlap	Sketch	9/6/04	
Elmer and Bartlett		Female Impersonator	9/6/04	
Matrimonial	Charles and	Sketch	9/6/04	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Difficulties	Lulu Oro			
Maude Still and FH Seaward		Sketch	9/6/04	
Grace Armond		Soubrette	9/6/04	
The Burger Brothers		Acrobat	9/13/04	
Hazel Constenello		Dancer	9/13/04	
The Thompson Sisters		Dancer	9/13/04	
Daisy Vernon		Illustrated Singer	9/13/04	
Dorothy Vere		Singer	9/13/04	
Adams Brothers		Singer/Dancer	9/13/04	
The Two Sports		Sketch	9/13/04	
Alfred Anderson		Female Impersonator	9/20/04	
Dorothy Vere		Illustrated Singer	9/20/04	
Viriden and Dunlap		Singer	9/20/04	
The Silent Witness	Hall and Weston	Sketch	9/20/04	
LaClair and West		Sketch	9/20/04	
Are You An Elk		Sketch	9/27/04	
The Great Cozora		Equilibrist	9/27/04	
Mabel Humbert		Singer	9/27/04	
Fun in a China Wash House	The Randolphins	Sketch	9/27/04	
An Irish Recruit	Fairburn and Caines	Sketch	9/27/04	
The Shattuck Trio		Acrobat	10/3/04	
The Burtons		Musician	10/3/04	
Davey and Emerson		Comedy	10/3/04	
William		Comedy	10/3/04	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Whalen				
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	10/3/04	
The Schiller Brothers		Singer	10/10/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	10/10/04	
Raymond		Impersonator	10/10/04	
Holmes and Deane		Novelty	10/10/04	
Si Kidder, of Boston	Viriden and Dunlap	Sketch	10/10/04	
The Jamisons		Singer/Dancer	10/10/04	
The Edwards		Acrobat	10/17/04	
Lue Warrenton		Monologue	10/17/04	
John Murtha		Monologue	10/17/04	
The Manning Trio		Comedy	10/17/04	
Peck's Bad Boy	Viriden and Dunlap	Sketch	10/17/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	10/17/04	
The Massilottas		Novelty	10/17/04	
Al Christal		Novelty	10/17/04	
The Wizard of Wall Street	Viriden and Dunlap	Sketch	10/25/04	
Demrock Brothers		Equilibrist	10/25/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	10/25/04	
Mr. and Mrs. Searelli		Singer	10/25/04	
CN Williams		Juggler	10/25/04	
Wells Brothers		Musician	10/25/04	
Suttleiff Sisters		Soubrette	10/25/04	
A Liar – Pro Tem	Tom Elliott	Sketch	11/2/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	11/2/04	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Campbells		Juggler	11/2/04	
A Modern Othello	Ellis and Palerma	Sketch	11/2/04	
Margie Addis		Soubrette	11/2/04	
The Rouselles		Acrobat	11/9/04	
The DeLaceys		Blackface Singer	11/9/04	
Pete Gerold		Monologue	11/9/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	11/9/04	
Ellis and Paloma		Singer	11/9/04	
Wells Brothers		Musician	11/9/04	
Boyle and Lewis		Sketch	11/9/04	
The Rouselles		Acrobat	11/16/04	
The DeLaceys		Comedy	11/16/04	
Margie Addis		Singer/Dancer	11/16/04	
Bellevue and Martin		Comedy	11/16/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	11/16/04	
Nagle and Adams		Sketch	11/16/04	
The Aftermath	The Broadway Stock Co	Sketch	11/16/04	
Lewis and Harr		Blackface Singer	11/23/04	
Mabel Humbert		Illustrated Singer	11/23/04	
Bill O'Dell		Comedian	11/23/04	
Broadway Minstrels		Minstrel	11/23/04	
Nagle and Adams		Sketch	11/23/04	
Bellevue and Roberts		Sketch	11/23/04	
Lewis and Harr		Blackface Singer	11/30/04	
Claude Kellog		Comedy	11/30/04	
The Willagrees		Novelty	11/30/04	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Voltaire and St. Reimo		Singer	11/30/04	
Hale and Van		Musician	11/30/04	
Sadie Johnson		Singer	11/30/04	
Married in the Dark	The Broadway Farce Comedy Co	Sketch	11/30/04	
Folkert		Impersonator	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
Frank Appleton and Perry Ed.		Improvisational Comedian	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
Lloyd Spencer		Monologue	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
Voltaire and St. Reimo		Singer	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
Sadie Seward		Singer	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
The Doll Makers' Dilema	The Four Roberts	Sketch	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
An Irish Surprise Party	The Broadway Stock Co	Sketch	12/5/04	.10/.25/.50
Cohler and Seymour		Comedy	12/12/04	
Folkert		Impersonator	12/12/04	
Sadie Seward		Singer	12/12/04	
Al Pleau		Blackface Comedian	12/12/04	
The Right Place, but the Wrong Number	The Four Roberts	Sketch	12/12/04	
The Telephone Office	Bobby Boyle	Sketch	12/12/04	
Barney Williams		Monologue	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50
Memphis Kennedy		Musician	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50
Sadie Seward		Singer	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50
Jupiter Trio		Singer/Dancer	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50
The Intruder	Kelley and Massey	Sketch	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50
The Siege of Port Arthur	The Broadway Stock Co	Sketch	12/19/04	.10/.25/.50

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
JH Jackson		Acrobat	2/6/05	.20/.25
Durant and Baldwin		Chinese Singer	2/6/05	.20/.25
EE Lissenden		Illustrated Singer	2/6/05	.20/.25
Mabel Melrose		Singer	2/6/05	.20/.25
Heim Children		Sketch	2/6/05	.20/.25
James Dervin		Ventriliquist	2/6/05	.20/.25
Little Paul		Acrobat	2/20/05	.15/.20/.25
Curtain and Blossom		Blackface Singer	2/20/05	.15/.20/.25
A Quiet Night	Shone Family	Sketch	2/20/05	.15/.20/.25
EE Lissenden		Illustrated Singer	2/20/05	.15/.20/.25
Picket and Whippler		Dancer	2/20/05	.15/.20/.25
Marfield and Harvey		Dancer	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
James Stover		Monologue	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
EE Lissenden		Illustrated Singer	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Edwin Hart		Magic	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
The Great Hart Co		Magic	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Rehu and Rehu		Sketch	2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Vardaman			2/27/05	.15/.20/.25
George Gale		Illustrated Singer	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
EE Lissenden		Illustrated Singer	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
James Dervin		Impersonator	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
A Burglar's Surprise	Lavina and Arlington	Sketch	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Mr. Kidder's Enterprise	Gale and Wensley	Sketch	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Wallace and Beech		Acrobat	3/10/05	.15/.20/.25
William Elton		Blackface Comedian	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Ben Salas		Chinese Impersonator	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Eva Perkins		Illustrated Singer	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Louis Lawrence		Musician	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Nonsense	The Whitesides	Sketch	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Bill and the Spook	Leona and Leota	Sketch	3/27/05	.15/.20/.25
Emma O'Neil		Illustrated Singer	4/3/05	
Ali Zada		Magic	4/3/05	
Three Sisters Masqueria		Singer	4/3/05	
Niemyer Trio		Sketch	4/3/05	
The Yard Boy	Davis and Douglas	Sketch	4/3/05	
Louise Niemyer		Soubrette	4/3/05	
Fay Masqueria		Soubrette	4/3/05	
Tommy Dee		Comedy	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Twisted	Onslow and Garnett	Sketch	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
May Kempest		Singer	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Ernest Reels		Singer/Dancer	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
The Copper and the Lady	Binney and Chapman	Sketch	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Mamie Costa		Soubrette	4/10/05	.15/.20/.25
Ben Zareli		Comedy	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
Veorg May Vaeida		Comedy	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
York-Herbert Trio		Novelty	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
Milo Vagge		Punching	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
May Kempest		Illustrated Singer	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
HM Herbert		Comedy	4/17/05	.15/.20/.25
De Shields		Equilibrist	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
May Kempest		Illustrated Singer	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
The Dutch Senator	Eugene Williams	Monologue	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
Lizzie Welles		Musician	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
Shaw and Clifton		Singer/Dancer	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
Minicahy's Reception	George Rosa	Sketch	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
Marie Davis		Soubrette	4/24/05	.15/.20/.25
Eshe Brothers		Equilibrist	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25
Kittie Stevens		Dancer	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Charles Richards		Illustrated Singer	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25
Markley and Cruz		Musician	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25
The Desmond Sisters		Singer/Dancer	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25
Ella St. Vrain		Soubrette	5/1/05	.15/.20/.25
Serena Wolf		Blackface Singer	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
Will Shaw		Female Impersonator	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
Marvelous Figaro		Juggler	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
The Great Wayne		Magic	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
Wilson and Leicester		Singer	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
Shaw and Clifton		Singer	5/8/05	.15/.20/.25
The Pattersons		Acrobat	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
Joe Kelly		Dancer	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
Eddie Leslie		Impersonator	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
Mlle. Carrie		Musician	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
Varden, Perry and Wilber		Musician	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
Ernest Spees		Illustrated Singer	5/15/05	.15/.20/.25
The Lewis Children		Acrobat	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
M'Lain and M'Lain		Sketch	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
Jennie DeWeiss		Musician	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
Pete Laird		Singer	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
Charles Richards		Singer	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
The Rag Time Soubrette	Zarelli	Sketch	5/22/05	.15/.20/.25
The Waltons		Chinese Impersonator	1/3/06	.15/.25
Frank Clayton		Comedy	1/3/06	.15/.25
James Behan		Comedy	1/3/06	.15/.25
Barteno		Novelty	1/3/06	.15/.25

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Jardinere		Quick Change	1/3/06	.15/.25
John Donovan		Comedy	1/10/06	.15/.25
The Rodriguez Family		Mexican Acrobats	1/10/06	.15/.25
The Cases		Rifle Shooters	1/10/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Singer	1/10/06	.15/.25
Richard Burton		Singer	1/10/06	.15/.25
Howe & Emmett		Impersonator	1/18/06	.15/.25
Why Brown Was Blue	The Imperial Trio	Sketch	1/18/06	.15/.25
Hugh Emmett		Musician	1/18/06	.15/.25
The Arrival of Mr. Dooley	Howe & Edwards	Sketch	1/18/06	.15/.25
Rizal and Fatima		Acrobat	1/23/06	.15/.25
O'Brian from Kalamazoo	Martine & Martin	Sketch	1/23/06	.15/.25
Louis Worth		Minstrel	1/23/06	.15/.25
The Powers of Anaesthetics	The Waltons	Sketch	1/23/06	.15/.25
Keith and Greyson		Musician	1/23/06	.15/.25
Rapier		Comedy	1/31/06	.15/.25
Louis Worth and Hill Sisters		Comedy	1/31/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	1/31/06	.15/.25
Sgr. And Mme. Solli		Singer	1/31/06	.15/.25
Wells & Wells		Novelty	1/31/06	.15/.25
Hayes Sisters		Soubrette	1/31/06	.15/.25
A Military Ball	Brumage & Clark	Sketch	2/7/06	.15/.25
Josephine Wallace		Minstrel	2/7/06	.15/.25
Louis Worth		Musician/Comedy	2/7/06	.15/.25
Beverly & Danvers			2/7/06	.15/.25
A Quaker Maid		Musical	2/13/06	.15/.25

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Hofmans		Cycling	2/20/06	.15/.25
Cillo the Wizard		Magic	2/20/06	.15/.25
Georgie Verdi		Singer	2/20/06	.15/.25
The Witch's Revelry	The Davenport Bros.	Sketch	2/20/06	.15/.25
Charles Gayllor		Acrobat	3/2/06	.15/.25
Jimmy Roberts		Blackface Comedy	3/2/06	.15/.25
Black & Leslie		Comedy	3/2/06	.15/.25
Louis Worth		Musician/Comedy	3/2/06	.15/.25
Miss Bertina		Musician/Comedy	3/2/06	.15/.25
Morey & Morey		Musician/Comedy	3/2/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	3/2/06	.15/.25
Paul Brachard		Acrobat	3/13/06	.15/.25
Douglas & M'Lain		Comedy	3/13/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	3/13/06	.15/.25
Musical Campbells		Singer/Dancer	3/13/06	.15/.25
Matrimonial Difficulties/ For Memory's Sake	Romaine & Fitch	Sketch	3/13/06	.15/.25
Clida Young		Soubrette	3/13/06	.15/.25
Lewis Children		Acrobat	4/2/06	.15/.25
Clida Young		Comedy	4/2/06	
Musical Bentley		Musician	4/2/06	.15/.25
JE Keith		Musician	4/2/06	.15/.25
Romaine & Fitch		Sketch	4/2/06	.15/.25
A Texas Ranger		Play	4/9/06	.15/.25
A Connecticut Yankee	Rudwin Co	Play	4/16/06	.15/.25
Where is Tomkins	Rudwin Co	Play	4/20/06	
Struck Oil	Rudwin Co	Play	4/23/06	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Married By Mistake	Rudwin Co	Play	5/6/06	
La Rue Brothers		Acrobat	5/7/06	.15/.25
James Diamond		Dancer	5/7/06	.15/.25
Monroe		Musician	5/7/06	.15/.25
Hill Sisters		Singer/Dancer	5/7/06	.15/.25
Fitch & Romaine		Sketch	5/7/06	.15/.25
George Delmas		Acrobat	5/24/06	.15/.25
La Mar		Comedy	5/24/06	.15/.25
Royal Sisters		Dancer	5/24/06	.15/.25
The Patricolas		Musician/Comedy	5/24/06	.15/.25
Dale & Carrey			5/24/06	.15/.25
The Daffy Dame	Paul La Drew	Sketch	5/29/06	.15/.25
Isabelle Patricola		Musician	5/29/06	.15/.25
The Patricolas		Musician/Comedy	5/29/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	5/29/06	.15/.25
Daye & Knight		Sketch	5/29/06	.15/.25
The Widow's Courtship	Rossley & Rostelle	Sketch	5/29/06	.15/.25
The Great Garza		Equilibrist	6/5/06	.15/.25
La Kola		Japanese Juggler	6/5/06	.15/.25
Charlotte Hill		Musician	6/5/06	.15/.25
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	6/5/06	.15/.25
McHendry, Wilber & McHendry		Singer/Dancer	6/5/06	.15/.25
Dale & Carreg		Sketch	6/5/06	.15/.25
The Great Menlo		Magic	6/12/06	.15/.25
Nellie Hill		Illustrated Singer	6/12/06	.15/.25
Halden & Hayden		Singer	6/12/06	.15/.25
Marie Laurens		Singer	6/12/06	.15/.25
The Serenaders	The Three Daniels	Sketch	6/12/06	.15/.25

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Jimmy Roberts		Comedy	6/19/06	
Equillo		Equilibrist	6/19/06	
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	6/19/06	
Marie Laurens		Singer	6/19/06	
Hill, Yung and Hill		Singer/Dancer	6/19/06	
Mother, Pig a Rose on Me	Jim Diamond	Sketch	6/19/06	
Romaine & Fitch		Sketch	6/19/06	
Pete Fearr		Comedy	6/26/06	
Fields & Hanson		Comedy	6/26/06	
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	6/26/06	
RL Henderson		Musician	6/26/06	
Clida Young		Musician	6/26/06	
Vera Ransdall		Soubrette	6/26/06	
Gerald & Clayton		Sketch	6/26/06	
Wicked London	Empire Theatre Co	Play	7/9/06	.15/.25/.35
The Sheriff	Empire Theatre Co	Play	7/20/06	
Marching Thro Georgia	Empire Theatre Co	Play	7/24/06	
A Golden Giant	Empire Theatre Co	Play	7/28/06	
Uncle Tom's Cabin	Empire Theatre Co	Play	8/3/06	
Jack O Diamond	Empire Theatre Co	Play	8/6/06	
Friends	Maldon Marquam	Play	8/18/06	.15/.25/.35
Bimbo		Acrobat	8/25/06	.15/.25/.35
Robert Webb Lawrence		Comedy	8/25/06	.15/.25/.35
Vier Hill		Illustrated Singer	8/25/06	.15/.25/.35
Desoto & Logan		Musician	8/25/06	.15/.25/.35
A Tip on the Suburban	The Lawrences	Sketch	8/25/06	.15/.25/.35

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Evans & Evans		Dancer	8/27/06	.15/.25/.35
William Mack			8/27/06	.15/.25/.35
Kitty Walsh		Singer	8/27/06	.15/.25/.35
Vier Hill and Nellie Hill		Singer	8/27/06	.15/.25/.35
The Irishman's Pipe Dream	The Lawrences	Sketch	8/27/06	.15/.25/.35
Charley's Aunt	Cogley's Comedy Co	Play	9/3/06	
My Uncle From Japan		Play	9/10/06	
Walter Trask		Blackface Singer	10/8/06	
Evelyn Maxwell		Singer	10/8/06	
The Frolicksome Demon		Sketch	10/8/06	
The Tourists	Edward Hutchison's Musical Comedy Co	Sketch	10/8/06	
Luy Withoft		Singer	10/15/06	
Martha Ledover		Singer	10/15/06	
The Circus Rider	Cluxton, Richmond & Co	Sketch	10/15/06	
At Narrangansett	Edward Hutchison's Musical Comedy Co	Sketch	10/15/06	
Carl Brothers		Comedy	10/21/06	
Joe Winschell		Illustrated Singer	10/21/06	
Yuma the Mystery		Novelty	10/21/06	
Doline Cole		Singer	10/21/06	
Bessie Crawford		Singer	10/21/06	
The Denouncement	Robert Warwick	Sketch	10/21/06	
Dolline Cole		Blackface Singer	10/29/06	

Unique/Broadway/State Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Jolly Jesters		Comedy	10/29/06	
Lucy Witthoft		Illustrated Singer	10/29/06	
The Book Agent		Sketch	10/29/06	
Walter Franks		Singer	11/5/06	
Lucy Witthoft		Illustrated Singer	11/5/06	
Leonard & Drake		Sketch	11/5/06	
Other People's Money	Cooley & Co	Play	11/9/06	
Eddie Young		Comedy	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
John Hoffman		Monologue	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
Gordon Brothers		Cycling	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
Fischer Laird		Illustrated Singer	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
Lucy Witthoft		Illustrated Singer	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
Black and White	Lawrence & Sheridan	Sketch	11/30/06	.15/.25/.35/.50
Our Uncle	Conlon-Hanlett	Play	12/5/06	
The Hypnotist		Play	12/19/06	.25/.35/.50
Armento Bros		Acrobat	5/30/07	
Pose de Plastique	Unique Comedy Co	Sketch	5/30/07	
Major Williams		Juggler	5/30/07	
Henry Woods		Punching	5/30/07	
Willison & Flint		Singer	5/30/07	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Martin and Ridgeway		Freak	6/29/03	
Joe Fox		Comedian	6/29/03	
La Toska		Juggler	6/29/03	
Mr. and Mrs.			6/29/03	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Bob Shaw				
Mrs. Harry Deets			6/29/03	
Prof. Lansing		Musician	1/11/04	.10/.20
Edmons & Edmons		Sketch	1/11/04	.10/.20
Leslie Sterling		Soubrette	1/11/04	.10/.20
Claude Kelley			1/11/04	.10/.20
Joe Fox		Comedian	1/11/04	.10/.20
Happy Hooligan Poulter			1/11/04	.10/.20
Clyde Monterey		Illustrated Singer	1/18/04	.10/.20
Mabel Maitland		Dancer	1/18/04	.10/.20
The Sherers		Musician	1/18/04	.10/.20
Edmons & Edmons			1/18/04	.10/.20
Happy Hooligan Poulter			1/18/04	.10/.20
Joe Fox		Comedian	1/18/04	.10/.20
The Black Justice	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	1/18/04	.10/.20
Dan O'Neil		Comedian	1/25/04	
La Toska		Juggler	1/25/04	
Morey and Morey		Singer	1/25/04	
Tidings From Home	Verne and O'Brien	Sketch	1/25/04	
The Other Fellow		Sketch	1/25/04	
The Black Statue	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	2/15/04	
Charles Pope		Comedian	2/15/04	
Effie Doreen		Musician	2/15/04	
The Burroughs		Sketch	2/15/04	
Buffalo Bill	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	2/22/04	.10/.20
The New Idea	Bence and	Sketch	2/22/04	.10/.20

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
	Atler			
Throsa		Mechanical Doll	2/22/04	.10/.20
Daisy Darvin		Singer	2/22/04	.10/.20
Domestic Repartee	The Burroughs	Sketch	2/22/04	.10/.20
Nellie's Lovers	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	3/1/04	
Hines and Speedy		Animal Act	3/1/04	
JE Flood		Barrel Jumper	3/1/04	
Summers and Winters		Comedian	3/1/04	
Sadie Hayes		Soubrette	3/1/04	
Delia Adams			3/1/04	
A Hole in the Wall	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	3/8/04	
Phillips and Armstrong		Comedian	3/8/04	
OB Schmidt		Comedian	3/8/04	
Summers and Winters		Comedian	3/8/04	
Daisy Merrit		Singer	3/8/04	
Mae DeHaven		Soubrette	3/8/04	
A Big Load of Wood	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	3/15/04	
Lawson and Mack		Comedian	3/15/04	
Summers and Winters		Comedian	3/15/04	
Charles Gardner		Monologue	3/15/04	
Marie Stoddard		Impersonator	3/15/04	
Square for a Day	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	3/22/04	
Eddie Frank		Comedian	3/22/04	
Whiting and Desmonde		Singer	3/22/04	
Billy Hayes		Singer/Dancer	3/22/04	
Gardner and Shaddard		Sketch	3/22/04	
The Godfreys		Acrobats	4/4/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Widow Bedotte	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	4/4/04	
Sid Winters		Dancer	4/4/04	
Homer Long		Singer	4/4/04	
The Alarcons		Singer/Dancer	4/4/04	
Maxie Mitchell		Soubrette	4/4/04	
Americans Abroad	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	4/11/04	.10/.20
Sid Winters		Dancer	4/11/04	.10/.20
Homer Long		Singer	4/11/04	.10/.20
Carberry and Stanton		Sketch	4/11/04	.10/.20
A Domestic Story	The Burroughs	Sketch	4/11/04	.10/.20
Maxie Mitchell		Soubrette	4/11/04	.10/.20
The Siamese Twins	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	4/25/04	
Forbes & Co		Comedian	4/25/04	
May and Edna De Mar		Impersonator	4/25/04	
The Plunger	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	5/2/04	
Forbes and Forbes		Blackface Comedian	5/2/04	
Cyrena Wolfe		Blackface Singer	5/2/04	
Harrison and Malumby		Comedian	5/2/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	5/2/04	
The Masquerade Ball	Joe Fox & Company	Blackface Comedian	5/9/04	
The Lamonts		Animal Act	5/9/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	5/9/04	
Cyrena Wolfe		Singer	5/9/04	
Frank Forbes		Singer	5/9/04	
Damaria and Orlando		Singer/Dancer	5/9/04	
Marco Brothers		Acrobats	5/16/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
The Minstrel Man	Joe Fox & Company	Blackface Comedian	5/16/04	
The Lamonts		Animal Act	5/16/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	5/16/04	
Olive Hare		Soubrette	5/16/04	
Amateur Acts		Amateur	5/19/04	
Joe Fox		Monologue	5/23/04	
Kitty	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	5/23/04	
The Lamonts		Animal Act	5/23/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	5/23/04	
The Jacks		Sketch	5/23/04	
Ethel Cossette		Soubrette	5/23/04	
The Pattersons		Acrobats	5/30/04	
Joe Fox		Monologue	5/30/04	
United States Mail	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	5/30/04	
Little Pat		Child Act	5/30/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	5/30/04	
Ethel Cossette		Soubrette	5/30/04	
Joe Fox		Singer	6/6/04	
The Rival Dummies	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	6/6/04	
Adkins		Female Impersonator	6/6/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	6/6/04	
Smith and Walsh		Juggler	6/6/04	
Hamlin and Hamlin		Singer/Dancer	6/6/04	
The Manager's Troubles	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	6/13/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	6/13/04	
Hamlin and		Singer/Dancer	6/13/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Hamlin				
The Daffy Dame and the Tad	Paul LaDrew and Fred LaZone	Sketch	6/13/04	
Happy Hooligan	Marve Kingdom	Cycling	6/13/04	
The Stones		Acrobats	6/20/04	
The Hypnotist	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	6/20/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	6/20/04	
Josephine Cromwell		Singer	6/20/04	
The O'Hoolihans' Troubles	Paul LaDrew and Fred LaZone	Sketch	6/20/04	
Joe Fox		Comedian	6/27/04	.10/.20
Moving In and Moving On	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	6/27/04	.10/.20
Lola Montez		Dancer	6/27/04	.10/.20
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	6/27/04	.10/.20
Jumping a Board Bill	McDowell & Duffy	Sketch	6/27/04	.10/.20
LaDrew and LaZone		Sketch	6/27/04	.10/.20
Joe Fox		Comedian	7/4/04	
Epitaphs	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	7/4/04	
Malcolm		Blackface Juggler	7/4/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	7/4/04	
Carlson Sisters		Singer/Dancer	7/4/04	
Reno and Zolo		Sketch	7/11/04	
Joe Fox		Comedian	7/11/04	
Lunatic Asylum	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	7/11/04	
Malcolm		Blackface Juggler	7/11/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	7/11/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Carlson Sisters		Singer/Dancer	7/11/04	
DeShields		Equilibrist	7/18/04	
Blue Glass	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	7/18/04	
Volkya		Equilibrist	7/18/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	7/18/04	
The French Maid	Hadley and Archer	Sketch	7/18/04	
The Three Hunters	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	7/25/04	
Joe Fox		Comedian	7/25/04	
Happy Tramp	Boyle and Wilson	Blackface Comedian	7/25/04	
Mozarto		Musician	7/25/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	7/25/04	
Cinderella's Dream	Hadley and Archer	Sketch	7/25/04	
The Automatic Bellow	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	8/2/04	
Mike and Mike		Animal Act	8/2/04	
Newell		Female Impersonator	8/2/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	8/2/04	
The Pantas		Animal Act	8/2/04	
The Three Renos		Acrobats	9/6/04	
Tony Toy, the Knight of the Road	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	9/6/04	
Joe Fox		Comedian	9/6/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	9/6/04	
Harney and Haynes		Blackface Comedian	9/6/04	
Mrs. Harry Deets		Sketch	9/6/04	
Little Addie		Soubrette	9/6/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Yeager				
Joe Fox		Comedian	9/13/04	
E Will Bensey		Equilibrist	9/13/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	9/13/04	
Kronas, Arthur and Bessie		Sketch	9/13/04	
Gordon and Gilbert		Sketch	9/13/04	
Mrs. Harry Deets		Sketch	9/13/04	
Brocky Morgan		Sketch	9/13/04	
McGinty at the Seaside	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	9/20/04	
Barnold		Animal Act	9/20/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	9/20/04	
Uncle Joshua's Visit	Hooper and Burrell	Sketch	9/20/04	
Kenton and Sutton		Comedian	9/20/04	
Mrs. Harry Deets		Sketch	9/20/04	
Little Addie Yeager		Soubrette	9/20/04	
The Voltons		Acrobats	9/27/04	
The Steamer Viola	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	9/27/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	9/27/04	
The McShaffreys		Musical Gypsies	9/27/04	
Maud DeAlma		Singer/Dancer	9/27/04	
Kenton and Sutton		Sketch	9/27/04	
Mrs. Harry Deets		Sketch	9/27/04	
Way Down South	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	10/3/04	
Joe Ellis		Comedian	10/3/04	
Eugene De		Illustrated Singer	10/3/04	

Orpheum Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Bell				
The Sisters Demar		Singer/Dancer	10/3/04	
Maud DeAlma		Singer/Dancer	10/3/04	
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Deets		Sketch	10/3/04	
Desdemona	The Lancaster Trio	Sketch	10/3/04	
Smith, Brown and Summerton	Joe Fox & Company	Sketch	10/10/04	
Eugene De Bell		Illustrated Singer	10/10/04	
Juggling Burkes		Juggler	10/10/04	
Bacon and Vane		Sketch	10/10/04	
Plaisted Loraine		Soubrette	10/10/04	

Edison Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
John Donovan			4/11/04	.10/.20
Thomas Armstrong		Illustrated Singer	4/11/04	.10/.20
Miner and Galbreth		Singer	4/11/04	.10/.20
Mabel Humbert		Soubrette	4/11/04	.10/.20
The Lady and the Messenger	The Gilens	Sketch	4/11/04	.10/.20
Thomas Armstrong		Singer/Dancer	4/25/04	
AD Miller		Illustrated Singer	4/25/04	
The Photograph Gallery	The Australian Comedian	Sketch	4/25/04	
Tommy Armstrong		Singer	5/2/04	
AD Miller		Illustrated	5/2/04	

Edison Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Picking the Winner	Kehoe and Rainer	Singer Sketch	5/2/04	
Nellie Hilyer		Singer	5/2/04	
Jenkins and O'Neve		Sketch	5/2/04	

Lyric Theatre – San Bernardino				
Performance	Billed Star	Genre	Date	Prices
Wilson & Moran			5/2/04	.10/.20
Stanley and Scanlon		Singer	5/2/04	.10/.20
Rube Simms		Comedian	5/2/04	.10/.20
Walter Wilson		Illustrated Singer	5/2/04	.10/.20
McCuen and Grant		Acrobats	5/9/04	
Thomas Hefron		Comedian	5/9/04	
Wilson & Moran		Sketch	5/9/04	
Walter Wilson		Singer	5/9/04	
Faits & Co		Magic	2/18/05	.10/.20/.30

Selected Bibliography

Books

- Ahlquist, Karen. *Democracy at the Opera: Music, Theater, and Culture in New York City, 1815-60*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Allen, Robert C. *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Barth, Gunther. *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Cohan, George M. *Twenty Years on Broadway, and the Years It Took to Get There: The True Story of a Trouper's Life from the Cradle to the "Closed Shop."* Paperback ed. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971.
- Cullen, Frank, Florence Hackman, and Donald McNeilly. *Vaudeville, Old & New: An Encyclopedia of Variety Performers in America*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Davis, Janet M. *The Circus Age: Culture & Society Under the American Bigtop*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Davis, Lee. *Scandals and Follies: The Rise and Fall of the Great Broadway Revue*. 1st ed. New York: Limelight Editions, 2000.
- Dennett, Andrea Stulman. *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- DiMeglio, John E. *Vaudeville U.S.A.* Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1973.
- Duffy, Susan. *American Labor on Stage: Dramatic Interpretations of The Steel and Textile Industries in the 1930s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996.
- Elliott, Eugene C. *A History of Variety-Vaudeville in Seattle from the Beginning to 1914*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944.
- Fields, Armond. *Lillian Russell: a Biography of "America's Beauty."* Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 1999.
- Finson, Jon W. *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Song*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Fisher, James. *Eddie Cantor: A Bio-Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

- Forbes, Camille F. *Introducing Bert Williams: Burnt Cork, Broadway, and The Story of America's First Black Star*. New York: Basic Civitas, 2008.
- Gilbert, Douglas. *American Vaudeville, Its Life and Times*. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.
- . *Lost Chords, the Diverting Story of American Popular Songs*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc, 1942.
- Golden, George Fuller. *My Lady Vaudeville and Her White Rats*. New York: The White Rats of America, 1909.
- Goodwin, Nat C., and Lester Donahue Performing Arts Collection. *Nat Goodwin's Book*. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1914.
- Green, Abel. *Show Biz, from Vaude to Video*. 1st ed. New York: Holt, 1951.
- Hall, Roger A. *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Hamm, Charles. *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America*. 1st ed. New York: Norton, 1979.
- Harris, Chas K. *After the Ball, Forty Years of Melody; an Autobiography*. New York: Frank-Maurice, Inc, 1926.
- Kasson, John F. *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
- Kattwinkel, Susan. *Tony Pastor Presents: Afterpieces from the Vaudeville Stage*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Kibler, M. Alison. *Rank Ladies: Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Koger, Alicia Kae. "A Critical Analysis of Edward Harrigan's Comedy." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1984.
- Lahr, John. *Notes on a Cowardly Lion; the Biography of Bert Lahr*. 1st ed. New York: Knopf, 1969.
- Laurie, Joe. *Vaudeville: From the Honky-tonks to the Palace*. 1st ed. New York: Holt, 1953.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920*. 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins, 2009.

- Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Lewis, Robert M., ed. *From Traveling Show to Vaudeville: Theatrical Spectacle in America, 1830-1910*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Lott, Eric. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Lowry, Ed, and Paul M Levitt. *Vaudeville humor: The Collected Jokes, Routines, and Skits of Ed Lowry*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002.
- Lyons, Jimmy. *Encyclopedia of Stage Material for Professional Entertainers, Clubs, Lodges, Comedians, or Any One Else Who Desires to Laugh: Containing Witty Jokes, Recitations, Sidewalk Conversation, Monologues, After Dinner Stories, Playlets, Minstrel Show, and Other Miscellaneous Comedy Matter*. Boston: Walter H. Baker Company, 1925.
- Marks, Edward B. *They All Sang: From Tony Pastor to Rudy Vallee*. New York: Viking Press, 1935.
- Marx, Groucho. *Groucho and Me*. 1st Da Capo Press ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.
- McCabe, John. *George M. Cohan: The Man Who Owned Broadway*. 1st ed. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.
- McLean, Albert F. *American Vaudeville as Ritual*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- McNamara, Brooks. *Step Right Up*. 1st ed. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976.
- Moody, Richard. *Ned Harrigan: From Corlear's Hook to Herald Square*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980.
- Nunis, Jr., Doyce B., ed. *Southern California Local History: A Gathering of the Writings of W.W. Robinson*. Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1993.
- Page, Brett. *Writing for Vaudeville: With Nine Complete Examples of Various Vaudeville Forms by Richard Harding Davis, Aaron Hoffman, Edgar Allan Woolfe, Taylor Granville, Louis Weslyn, Arthur Denvir, and James Madison*. Springfield, MA: Home Correspondence School, 1915.
- Pastor, Tony. *Tony Pastor's Stories and Jokes*. New York: W. Small and Co., 1872.
- Rodgers, Daniel T. *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

- Root, Deane L. *American Popular Stage Music, 1860-1880*. Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- Rosenzweig, Roy. *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Sanjek, Russell. *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Sante, Luc. *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1991.
- Schuling, Walter C., and San Bernardino County Museum Association. *San Bernardino County, Land of Contrasts*. 1st ed. Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1984.
- Slide, Anthony, ed. *Selected Vaudeville Criticism*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988.
- . *The Encyclopedia of Vaudeville*. Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Slout, William L. *Theatre in a Tent: The Development of a Provincial Entertainment*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972.
- Smith, Bill. *The Vaudevillians*. New York: Macmillan, 1976.
- Smith, Cecil Michner, and Glenn Litton. *Musical Comedy in America: From The Black Crook to South Pacific*. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1981.
- Snyder, Robert W. *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Sobel, Bernard. *A Pictorial History of Vaudeville*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1961.
- Spitzer, Marian. *The Palace*. 1st ed. New York: Atheneum, 1969.
- Tucker, Sophie. *Some of These Days; the Autobiography of Sophie Tucker*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1945.
- Weisberg, Bradley Eugene. "A History of the Wyatt Opera House." M.A. thesis, San Diego State University, 1991. A.K. Smiley Public Library (Heritage Room).
- Wertheim, Arthur Frank, ed. *The Papers of Will Rogers: From Vaudeville to Broadway: September 1908 - August 1915*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

Wertheim, Arthur Frank, and Barbara Bair, eds. *The Papers of Will Rogers: The Early Years*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

West, Mae. *Goodness Had Nothing to Do with It: The Autobiography of Mae West*. Paperback edition. New York: Belvedere, 1981.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Willson, Clair Eugene. *Mimes and Miners: A Historical Study of the Theater in Tombstone*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1935.

Wilmeth, Don B. *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements: a Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Zellers, Parker. *Tony Pastor: Dean of the Vaudeville Stage*. Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971.

Newspaper Articles

Belden, L. Burr. "Gas Lights, Opera House Bring City Ways During 1880s." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, September 28, 1952.

———. "James Waters Had Big Role In City History." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, p. 26, February 26, 1956.

Buie, Earl E. "They Tell Me." *San Bernardino Evening Telegram*, p. B6, March 28, 1958.

———. "They Tell Me." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, May 20, 1958.

———. "They Tell Me." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, May 27, 1958.

———. "They Tell Me." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, n.d.

"Death Takes Mrs. Kiplinger Noted Citizen." *San Bernardino Sun*, p. 9, August 18, 1942.

"Graveside Services of Lyman Rich." *San Bernardino Sun*, July 7, 1981.

Holliday, Fred. "Trapper James Waters Love the Mountains - and Opera." *San Bernardino Sun*, p. E4, December 7, 1986.

Metz, Leonard. "Legitimate Theater's Struggle Against Movies Ended in 1927." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, September 17, 1969.

———. "Opera House Met Competition With Advent of Movies in 1904." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, p. B4, September 16, 1969.

———. "The Play's the Thing - Ever Since 1859." *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, September 15, 1969.

Palmer, Chuck. "Hot Times at the Old S.B. Opera House." *San Bernardino Sun*, p. D4, October 30, 1983.

Periodicals

The Citrograph (Redlands, California) 1889-1893, 1904-1906.

Madison's Budget, 1905, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1925, 1929.

McNally's Bulletin. 1931.

San Bernardino Daily Sun, 1894, 1899, 1903-1906

Southern California Library Special Collections

A.K. Smiley Public Library, Redlands, California, Heritage Room.

Norman Feldheim Library, San Bernardino, California, California Room.

Riverside Public Library, Riverside, California, Loring Opera House and Theatre Program Collection.