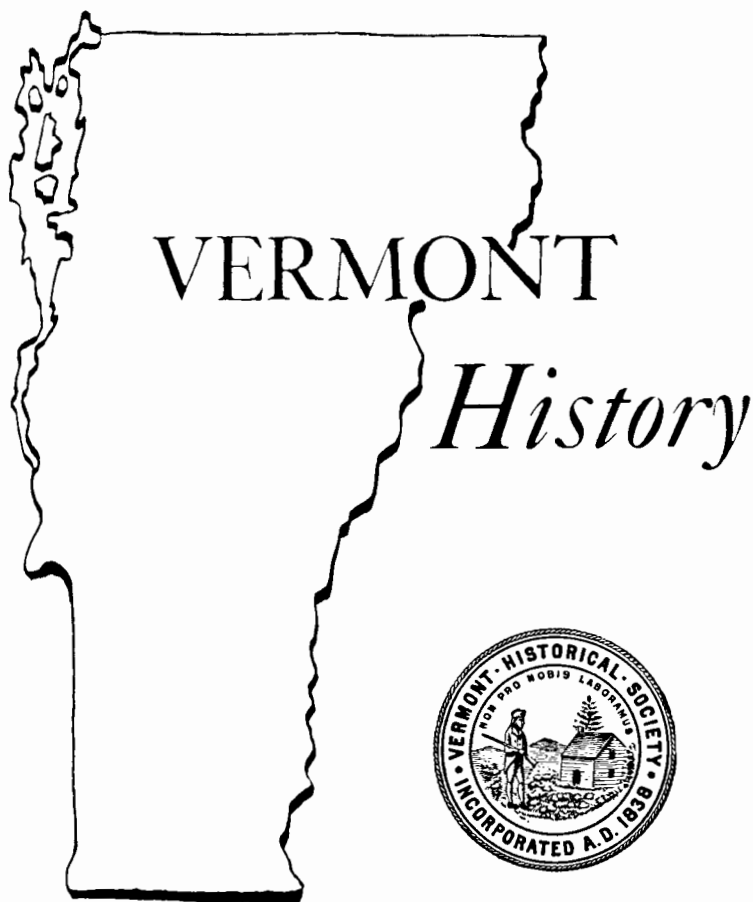


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The PROCEEDINGS of the
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY



The roster of great players who acted in Burlington demonstrated that the Queen City was no cultural backwater.

The Howard Opera House in Burlington

By GEORGE B. BRYAN

When Burlingtonians learned in 1877 that John Purple Howard (1814-85) intended to erect a large business block on the southwest corner of Bank and Church Streets, the long-felt dissatisfaction with City Hall as a theatre erupted. People approached Howard complaining that City Hall was unsafe, too small, and an acoustical outrage. Speaking for many, one citizen took the occasion "to voice the earnest wish of many intelligent citizens in the hope that Mr. Howard will include in his enterprise the construction of a commodious public hall."¹ Even after the laying of the foundation in mid-November, 1877, Howard was still being urged to include a theatre in the block because "confidence in the City Hall seems to be considerably shaken."²

There was every reason to expect that Howard would accede to the requests of his townsmen. After all, was he not a Burlingtonian, the son of a public-spirited Burlingtonian? As a young man Howard had gone to New York, where he amassed a fortune in the hotel business.³ "He never could be entrapped into visionary and worthless speculation, and was, for these reasons, a safe and successful financier," who it was said, "never made a mistake in investing money."⁴ As he multiplied his assets, Howard remembered his native city, contributing liberally to charities and making numerous benefactions. To furnish "the citizens of Burlington a suitable and attractive place for concerts, lectures, theatrical and literary entertainments, and other amusements of a high-toned and elevated character,"⁵ he was prepared to spend about \$100,000.⁶

The block attracted much public curiosity during construction because Howard had directed that his edifice be "as good as anybody's." Workmen caused the building to rise quickly, and soon



John Purple Howard

(1814-1885)

Vermont Performing Arts
Collection, Royal Tyler
Theater, University of Ver-
mont

the outlines of the structure designed by Stephen D. Hatch (1839-94) began to emerge. A native of Swanton, Hatch also went to New York as a youth, where he became a respected architect. When there he received Howard's commission.⁷

Since the Howard Block still stands, the external shape of the opera house can be discerned. The building is 130' long on the Church Street side, 76' wide on the Bank Street face, and rises to a height of 60' with a tower (28' x 30') crowning the northwest corner. The overall architectural style is Romanesque. The exterior walls of pressed brick are decorated with Nova Scotia stone and colored Minton tiles. Windows placed in the five rounded Romanesque arches dominate the Church Street facade. The walls are topped with a battlemented cornice of galvanized iron, and the original roof of tin and copper was painted red. The Bank Street side is decorated more plainly and contained the entrance to the theatre itself.

Two commodious black walnut doors with heavy moldings were situated directly beneath the tower (the portals can still be identified). Semi-circular fanlights adorned the doors, which opened into the entrance hall. A thirty-foot square polished oak floor graced this foyer on the left of which was the ticket window with its front of cherry wood and ground glass. On the right of this hall lay the grand staircase (parts of which are still in use), ten feet wide and resting on cherry columns that rose to the third level. Windows, molded in cherry and fitted with cherry shutters, lighted the entrance hall on every level by day. The walls of the foyer were frescoed in neutral shades and adorned by handsome gas lighting fixtures of brass and

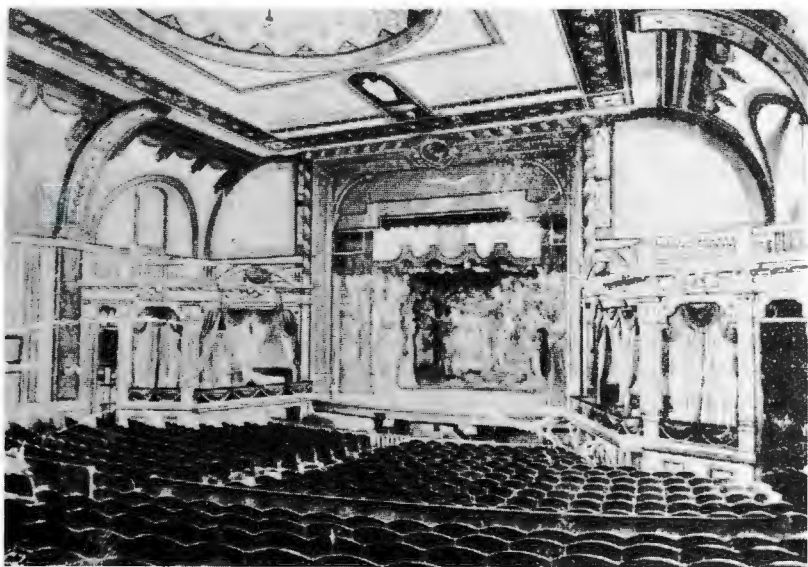
cut glass. For "one standing at the bottom and casting the eye upwards . . . the whole effect of the entrance way and staircase, with its spacious proportions, thorough construction, high finish and pleasant colors of the native woods and of the frescoing," presented a "striking and satisfactory" scene. At the top of these stairs a crimson cloth-covered door led to the auditorium.

The decorative effect of the auditorium was achieved more through the judicious use of color than through sculptured architectural detail. It was a large room, 129' long, 76' wide, and 40' high, with no supporting columns except those beneath the gallery to mar the view of the stage from any chair. Romanesque arches outlined in brown provided the main decorative motif. The pilasters dividing the arches were of Pompeiian red with blue horizontal bands. The side walls were painted French gray with overlaid patterns. The ceiling was buff-colored with a border of dark crimson and was dominated by a dome twenty feet in diameter, the inside of which was painted to represent the sky with wispy clouds. At either end of the ceiling were mandorlas containing painted draped figures, one depicting Music, the other, Drama. Above the gallery the ceiling was painted lavender and gray, which in daylight was transformed by light passing through stained-glass windows behind the gallery.

The thirty-two foot square proscenium arch was painted light greenish-brown with molding and ornaments of gold. A shield at the top of this arch contained carved musical instruments encased by a wreath. The stage was flanked by two proscenium boxes with elaborately carved and decorated faces. The woodwork was pinkish-gray and the interior walls of the boxes papered in drab and gold. Crimson satin draperies adorned the fronts of the boxes, which contained chairs with rose-tinted silk-damask cushions with crimson velvet bands and gold fringe. Howard's elegantly furnished private box was situated on the east side. The auditorium contained a large parquet and dress circle on the main floor and a family circle and gallery on the upper level. There were enough chairs, permanent and auxiliary, to accommodate between 1,300 and 1,400 patrons.

Gas fixtures attached to the walls and the front of the gallery provided lighting, and gas jets hidden inside the dome created heat which caused ventilating currents of air to rush toward the ceiling. Twenty Argand footlights concealed in the molding lighted the front of the stage, while about eighty burners in the wings illuminated the stage proper. A drop curtain depicting a European landscape was provided, while a luxurious grand drape bore Howard's monogram on a medallion.

By means of backstage stairways actors reached the four carpeted dressing rooms fitted with marble washstands, mirrors, shelves, and closets. Adjacent to the "star" dressing rooms was a seven-foot high enclosure into which the stage trap-doors opened. Beyond the fact



Interior view of the Howard Opera House, Burlington, Vermont in the 1880's. Vermont Performing Arts Collection, Royal Tyler Theater, University of Vermont.

that the grooved stage floor was quite large (76' wide x 30' deep x 35' high), little is known of the backstage arrangements.

As construction progressed, an inaugural season was arranged. It was not an easy task because booking agents were at first reluctant to schedule important shows in Vermont. Because his work as building superintendent had impressed Howard, he designated Kilburn B. Walker (1839-1914) manager of the opera house, an occupation for which he had no training. Walker came to Burlington from Montpelier around 1869 and worked as a stone mason. While planning the opera house, Howard met Walker and hired him to provide some stonework and serve as his local agent. The new manager had much to learn, not the least of which was that most "opera houses" seldom presented operas. That euphemism was invented to mollify the more straitlaced citizenry who saw the Devil's hoofprint on every stage floor.

It was John Howard's intention, however, that his opera house would be precisely that, and over some protests he insisted that the theatre be opened with a season of opera.⁸ Walker engaged the Strakosch Opera Co. to present Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* on the 24th of February, 1879, followed by Verdi's *Il Trovatore* on the



Exterior view of the Howard Opera House located on the southwest corner of Church and Bank Streets, Burlington, Vermont, soon after its opening in 1879. Vermont Performing Arts Collection, Royal Tyler Theater, University of Vermont.

25th. A flurry of activity blanketed Burlington as Max Strakosch papered the city with posters announcing his company's engagement. As work neared completion, the doors were locked against onlookers. Local merchants stocked opera glasses, opera "kids" (gloves), and opera apparel. Fred Pattee sold libretti from door to door, while young O'Meara, the newsboy, peddled the same wares to alighting passengers at the train depot. Hotels, restaurants, and shops did record business because of the influx from out of town as the opening night approached.¹⁰

The press of spectators on opening night was handled by special policemen, who forestalled carriage jams in the vicinity of the opera house. Youthful ushers directed the audience dressed in attire that ranged from formal to Sunday best to their seats without any recorded confusion. The happy throng was vocal in its expressions of satisfaction with the handsome edifice, especially the fine acoustics. They judged the performance of *Lucia* "unequal," although singer Maria Litta was roundly applauded. An interpolated three-woman ballet — called "as ugly and absurd — as it is indecent" — was excised from the program for the next night.¹¹

The combination of Verdi's opera and singer Clara Louise Kellogg attracted a larger audience on the 25th than had appeared on opening night. By the second night the stagehands had begun to understand the stage machinery and to master the technique of changing scenes. So many people had booked tickets, in fact, that extra chairs had to be moved in. The performance progressed smoothly, and people went away both pleased and proud.

The remainder of the theatrical season was truncated because by the time the hall was opened, the regular touring season was half over. Given Walker's lack of experience as a manager, the summer break was a godsend, for it gave him an opportunity to learn more about theatre management. That summer also provided many visitors to the city with their first opportunity to inspect the opera house.¹² The period from the opening in February, 1879, until November, 1881, is best characterized as a breaking-in time both for K.B. Walker and the theatre itself.

Walker needed all the expertise he could muster as his direction of the affairs of the opera house was challenged immediately. The first wave of dissatisfaction appeared even before the opening of the theatre. Tickets for the inaugural performances were quickly sold out, leaving many citizens bitterly disappointed. They claimed that a "syndicate" (presumably headed by Walker) were offered the best seats, thus forcing other patrons to sit in the gallery. These ill-gotten seats, it was alleged, were sold or given to the manager's friends. Walker's feeble explanation that local people who had purchased tickets for both nights and only belatedly returned the extra tickets to the box office to be resold satisfied no one. Unfortunately, this final transaction occurred too late to benefit those forced to purchase less suitable seats.¹³ Happily much of the rancor over the situation was submerged in the general euphoria that attended the opening.

Manager Walker's most notable coup was enticing America's most beloved actor, Joseph Jefferson, to present his famous production of *Rip Van Winkle* in November, 1879. As soon as he announced that Jefferson would perform, the clamor for tickets commenced as did the old charges of dishonesty at the ticket window. The queue had already formed at the box office when a man known to be on friendly terms with Walker hired a small boy to hold a place in the line. In spite of the all-day rain, the lad faithfully did as he was told, leaving his post hours later only to eat his dinner. In his absence a friend of the boy substituted. By the time the first boy returned, it was nearly time for the sale of tickets to begin, but there was no sign of the man who had engaged the boy. As he approached the ticket window, the boy showed such signs of distress that some college students came to his aid, paying him three dollars for his place in line. At that moment Manager Walker stalked out and to the chagrin of the bystanders verbally abused and physically assaulted the boy. Walker's bad

temper was exacerbated, no doubt, by the appearance of hundreds of posters decrying his policies.¹⁴

The public embarrassment caused Walker to publish an explanation of his policies in which he stated that he knew he was being accused of ticket speculation. He invited anyone who could show proof of his wrongdoing to come forward. The decision to limit the number of tickets available to each customer was Jefferson's agent's and not his. Walker said that while he felt a degree of responsibility for out-of-town customers, his chief allegiance lay with local patrons. When he received an out-of-town ticket order, he hired a boy to stand in line and purchase the tickets, thus placing all customers on the same footing. If his methods were inequitable, he maintained, he was willing to institute a better system. Then, in an appeal for sympathy, Walker stated that the size and composition of the audience did not affect his salary. Even so, he vowed, he had the interests of Burlingtonians at heart when he moved extra chairs into the theatre. As further evidence of his good offices on behalf of his townsmen, he persuaded Jefferson's manager to lower the price of orchestra chairs from \$1.50 to \$1.00. In spite of Walker's protestations and the contention of the editor of the *Free Press* that the real problem was that demand exceeded the available seats, some members of the community were not mollified. For many, the excellence of Jefferson's performance only magnified their animus toward Walker.

The excitement attending *Rip Van Winkle* was mild in comparison with the furor generated by the announcement that Sarah Bernhardt would appear at the opera house in December, 1880. The news that the celebrated French actress was coming to Burlington prompted two immediate reactions: a rush to the ticket office (many stood in line all night) and vigorous speculation as to the degree of her immorality. One nourished the other. Then a sedate query was addressed to the *Free Press*: "Is the Opera House likely to be of advantage to the best interests of our town? Is the rising generation to be the better for it?" The veiled reference to Bernhardt found its audience, and the controversy raged.

One correspondent suggested that since the theatre was an undeniable fixture of the age, one should simply admire the works of a genius and ignore its private behavior. This voice of moderation fired the puritan spirits of Burlington. The town was abuzz with heated discussions about the profaneness of the stage, and the "moral" people of the city were urged to act boldly in the defense of decency. The *Free Press* offered a sound suggestion: since individuals seldom choose a druggist or a cobbler for the moral tone of their lives, why should they view their entertainers in a different light? Bernhardt, the newspaper argued, was a good actress with a bad reputation; could a person not enjoy the one while deploring the other? Those who could not answer affirmatively should remain at home!¹⁵

While indignation brewed, antagonism toward Bernhardt's engagement increased because of another issue. The actress' manager first demanded a guarantee of \$2,500 and settled for \$2,000. Even with the reduction, the ticket range ran from \$1.00 to \$3.00, an exorbitant rate. The combined effect of the costly tickets and the moral controversy caused the cancellation of Bernhardt's engagement.¹⁶ K.B. Walker had suffered a second test of his managerial mettle.

On November 14, 1881, John P. Howard again showed his humanitarian stripe by an action that profoundly affected the opera house: he donated the entire block — stores, theatre, hall, and weather station — to the Home for Destitute Children, a charitable organization founded in 1865. The jubilant directors of the Home marvelled at a man who projected "his influence and love for humanity into the future — forever!"¹⁷ Although it did not eliminate financial anxieties, Howard's gift gave the Home a fiscal solidity it had not previously enjoyed. The Home continued to benefit from Howard's generosity until 1961, when the Magram Corporation bought the property.

Howard's agreement with the Home stipulated that the block could not be sold or the theatre closed (unless an act of God destroyed the fabric) before November, 1901.¹⁸ Trustees C.F. Ward and W.G. Shaw declared that they would receive bids for the lease of the opera house. The trustees awarded a lease which ran from January, 1882, through April 1, 1883, to K.B. Walker.¹⁹ Walker's management must have pleased the trustees because he retained control until 1885.

During his tenure Walker maintained a consistent production policy in terms of the length of his seasons and the frequency of bookings, determined partially because he worked within the touring schedules set up by syndicates in major cities. Frequently he journeyed to these cities to arrange attractions, but more often he received advance agents in his office. The result was a steady and varied program of entertainers. An average season included forty-five attractions in little more than ten months, or roughly one booking per week during that period.

A financially successful manager arranged his season in accordance with his perceptions of local taste, so an examination of the shows that appeared under Walker's management offers an insight into the nature of the Burlington audience. John Howard correctly estimated the preferences of his townsmen for musical attractions, which comprised one-third of Walker's bookings. An average season contained fourteen musical dramas of all sorts, eight comedies, thirteen serious dramas and melodramas, and a few lectures, concerts, and meetings.

The admission was determined by the capacity of the hall and the guaranteed gross receipts demanded by each company. Throughout Walker's tenure the fees remained rather constant. Most shows could be seen for thirty-five cents (gallery), fifty cents (family circle), and seventy-five cents (orchestra and dress circle). America's all-time most

popular play, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, presented in 1879 alone by forty-nine touring companies, was always easy to secure. The usual admission price at the Howard for a touring company was twenty-five or thirty-five cents. For that amount a Burlingtonian might also see many old melodramas, Irish dramas, minstrel shows, amateur productions, and lectures, while higher prices (one dollar top) were charged by actors of the first magnitude. A few attractions, such as operas and Lily Langtry, commanded \$1.50 for select orchestra chairs. In view of these realities, the violent reaction to Bernhardt's demand for three-dollar orchestra seats is understandable.

A theatre staff is as reflective of managerial policy as the repertory and ticket policy, and Walker's helpers at the Howard were an interesting group. He was fortunate in securing the services of two competent musicians for the house orchestra, Bert Waterman (1855-1917) and George D. Sherman (1845-1927). The conductor of the ensemble, Waterman, was a popular and respected violinist. Under his direction members of the Howard Opera House Orchestra supplemented their incomes by playing concerts, weddings, assemblies, and dances. Throughout his entire Opera House career Waterman was assisted by an older, more versatile musician, George Sherman.

Sherman was renowned as the organizer of a popular military band of the sort made popular by Sousa and Gilmore. He organized the band in Winooski, but he moved it to Burlington in 1878 and continued to lead it until 1921.²⁰ The author of hundreds of musical compositions, Sherman helped maintain the quality of the opera house orchestra in which he played until 1904.

A local painter of some repute, Joseph Piggott, provided the "natural and admirable" scenery for the new theatre, his fourteenth such commission. For the Howard, Piggott painted twenty sets (a formidable number), including "landscapes, mountain and water views, streets ancient and modern, gardens, forests, rocks, cottage flats and set houses of various kinds, with gothic, rustic, and plain interiors." Piggott's handiwork was so admired that a benefit performance of *Struck Oil* was put on for him in April 1879.²¹

Walker's tenure at the Howard was not without the usual small problems. People complained of insufficient heat, excessive escaping gas, disorderly conduct during performances, and the rude cascade of some of the audience toward the doors before the completion of performances. There were rumblings about "the niggardly economy which permits only about half the gas jets in the auditorium to be lighted," resulting in "a 'dim, religious light,' by which one can hardly recognize a near neighbor and which makes it very difficult in many parts of the hall, to read the program."²² (It was not yet a universal practice to darken the auditorium during performances.) These annoyances did not discourage Walker with the theatre business. A shrewd businessman, Walker profited from his mistakes, and his direction from 1879 until mid-1885 was not without success.

Walker's son Willard K. (1864-98), who probably assisted his father, was named manager in 1885,²³ although his father retained the opera house lease. The elder Walker apparently wished to leave the theatrical business, possibly because of the press of other duties. When John Howard died in England in the autumn of 1885, K.B. Walker's last deed in his behalf was to receive the corpse in New York and accompany it to Lake View Cemetery in Burlington. In December Walker was chosen superintendent of the Burlington-Winooski Street Railroad, which he served until 1893.²⁴

Although young Walker brought youthful exuberance and flare to his job, the first season under his management was not particularly noteworthy. His first act was to redecorate the house²⁵ although it had been twice refurbished by his father. He was extremely fortunate to secure a production of Gilbert & Sullivan's *The Mikado* directed by Richard D'Oyly Carte, the original producer. For the occasion Walker printed an eight-page, colored picture program.²⁶

During his first year he learned much about the complexities of management, as his second season demonstrated. The first indication of exciting things to come was the announcement that Walker had engaged a New York scene-painter, Arthur Voegtlin, to touch up Piggott's scenery and create some new settings. Under Voegtlin's direction the stage crew recovered old flats and made new scenery, while the scenic artist took up his brushes. Besides renovating the scenery, Voegtlin laid a new stage floor, installed new grooves for shifting scenery, purchased carpets and furniture for stage use, and created four new settings. Walker also decorated the foyer with pictures of theatrical personalities and may have installed hat holders beneath the seats.²⁷ These improvements did not approach the novelty of electric lighting, which he had installed by mid-October 1886.²⁸ However, the electric lamps were turned on only in the foyer and in the auditorium between the acts of a play.²⁹ Most touring companies preferred gas lighting because of its warm atmosphere and because it cast flattering shadows about the face.

In addition to the physical innovations, Walker announced he would no longer schedule low-budget attractions.³⁰ There was a proliferation of cheap companies, most of them of dubious quality, and patrons deserted theatres in the wake of unpleasant exposures to these troupes. In spite of his statement, however, Walker booked the Helene Adelle Co. for a week in 1886-7 at ten to fifty cents, and budget shows continued to comprise a significant part of every season but two of his management. Though Walker also said he would book only one attraction per week to avoid saturating his audience, he never implemented that plan. During his first year, Walker averaged one booking every four days, and during two subsequent seasons he scheduled one attraction every three days.

When arranging his seasons, Walker could not afford to forget that Burlington audiences supported programs of serious music. Though

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OR THE TOWN OF TITIPU.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

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Nanki Poo, his son, disguised as a Wandering Minstrel in love with Yum Yum	Mr. Harry Pepper
Ko-Ko, Lord High Executioner of Titipu	Mr. F. B. Blair
Poo-Bah, Lord High Everything Else	Mr. Percy F. Cooper
Pish-Tush, a Noble Lord	Mr. John W. Clark
Yum-Yum	Miss Emily F. Handy
Pink-Sing, three sisters, wards of Ko-Ko,	Miss Annie McVeigh
Peep-Bo	Miss Fannie Cohen
Katisha, in love with Nanki Poo	Miss Augusta Roche
Chorus of School Girls, Nobles, Guards and Cordies.	

ACT I

THE UTTERANCE OF KO-KO'S OFFICIAL RESIDENCE, by Jas. Clare

ACT II

KO-KO'S GARDEN, by H. L. Reid

Musical Director,	Mr. John Mullaly
Stage Manager,	Mr. F. A. Leon
Business Manager,	Mr. Maze Edwards

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it was often difficult to persuade exceptional artists to come to Vermont, Walker circumvented the problem with a policy of advance ticket subscriptions. For example, 400 tickets were subscribed almost immediately after the sale began for the Minnie Hauk Opera Co., which would not appear at the Howard without a guaranteed audience.³¹

The 1888-89 season was one of rapid growth in the operation of the theatre, especially with regard to equipment, public relations, and ticket policy. In 1888 Walker persuaded the merchants in the Howard Block to invest in a new gas machine, which became the foundation of future improvements. In addition to retouching the scenery and repairing the decoration of the building, in the summer of 1888 Walker installed new gas burners which could be electrically ignited. Further, the musicians were pleased by the purchase of several new instruments.³²

Staging performances for the benefit of the ushers was instituted in that eleventh season. The production of *He, She, Him, and Her* in June 1889 proved to be quite lucrative for the young boys who served the opera house. Another group of boys who frequented the lobby of the theatre were not as highly appreciated as the ushers. These lads thought it amusing to congregate in the foyer after the beginning of a performance and indulge in boisterous horseplay. They refused to yield to frequent warnings from the theatre staff until the police arrived to emphasize that the offenders might be prosecuted for disturbing the peace.³³ Even the billboards advertising opera house attractions were not immune to adolescent vandalism; a few boys thought it a daring escapade to strip the colorful posters from the display boards. Constables apprehended one of the culprits through an undercover agent, and in lieu of imprisonment the lad agreed to pay the costs and to refrain from further destruction.³⁴

Walker's ticket policy did not differ drastically from that of previous years, with the exception that the box office was opened on a regular basis. Hitherto, only special attractions were booked at the theatre, and most tickets were sold in local drug stores. After August 1889 all tickets were vended at the ticket window of the Howard. The change suggests that revenues warranted a full-time employee to manage sales. Walker also continued the policy of subscribing major attractions in advance. A managerial coup was his booking one of the most spectacular attractions then available, *The Water Queen*. Walker met producer Bolossy Kiralfy in New York and persuaded him to present the extravaganza in Burlington. Carloads of special scenery and equipment were shipped to Vermont, and days were spent preparing the production. Burlingtonians responded in great numbers and with great satisfaction.³⁵

Walker's ability to make 1888-89 such a significant season is more remarkable in view of his being out of town for most of the year. He

had met many advance agents during his brief career; the pages of the *Burlington Free Press* are salted with notices of the comings and goings of these indefatigable workers who preceded a company into a town, reserved accommodations, managed publicity, and represented the troupe to the resident manager. In March, 1889, Walker became the advance man for a show called *The Fat Men's Club*, which was about to begin a western tour.³⁶ He returned to Burlington for the summer, then rejoined his touring group the next season. During the entire time, the fortunes of the Howard surged, mostly because of Walker's excellent planning, but partly because he could rely on his father to tend the theatre in his absence. By the end of the season his stature as an enterprising entrepreneur was remarkably enhanced.

The Howard operated without a resident manager during the 1889-90 season as well, but Walker, still working as an advance agent for the fat men, had made all the necessary arrangements before once again leaving the theatre in his father's hands. The twelfth season is noteworthy only because it featured the first presentation offering a money-back guarantee. One of New England's favorite delineators of Yankee characters was Denman Thompson. In 1889 Thompson was scheduled to play in Burlington, and the newspapers carried a joint statement of Thompson and Walker to the effect that any dissatisfied patron could get his admission fee refunded. Since Thompson's work was so highly regarded, the guarantee posed no threat to the profits of the theatre.

Walker resided in Burlington during the 1890-91 season; perhaps his presence accounts for a number of interesting events. Ticket orders from out-of-towners, always significant to opera house revenues, increased significantly in 1891. When Henry Dixey presented his *The Seven Ages of a New Yorker* in January, 1891, over 200 out-of-town reservations were received. (Parenthetically, the Dixey Company carried its own calcium lights which created unusual scenic effects and an interesting conversation. A lady who had never seen such effects turned to her escort and asked their cause. Quite condescendingly, he answered, "Oh, they are kalsomine lights."³⁷ In March when Walker advertised George Wilson's Minstrels, he received eighty-four ticket orders from surrounding towns.³⁸ These indications of far-ranging interest in the programs of the opera house bore striking results the following season.

Meanwhile Walker suffered an accident which removed him from the public eye for a month, thus allowing his father to take the blame for an unpleasant policy.³⁹ At the end of March, 1891, Lily Clay's Operatic Burlesque Co. was slated to appear at the Howard, not an unusual attraction in that day when burlesque meant travesty rather than stripping. Unfortunately some ladies of Burlington took exception to the posters advertising the troupe; the problem was complicated by the fact that they appeared during Passion Week. A

Burlington matron denounced the offensive bills as "posters expressly" intended to "invite the curious male public to front seats and, in order to excite the male animal to anticipated relish of the 'colossal' display. The picture," she continued, "represents a throng of bald-headed bachelors crowding to the front and with eagerness and lecherous leer peering at the graceless creatures posturing half-naked before them, to see what they can see."⁴⁰ The elder Walker, speaking as interim manager, responded that the posters were displayed before he had a chance to approve them, that he had covered the portions of the bills that offended the public's sensibilities. He then added that the posters in no way indicated the moral tone of the production, which had enjoyed great success throughout New England. The indignant ladies were not mollified. Since the posters were still indecent, they said, even after Walker's cosmetic treatment, the directors of the Home for Destitute Children should ban the performance. Mrs. Sarah P. Torrey, the head of the Home, agreed with the criticism and expressed her wish that the presentation be cancelled on the grounds that it was not "decent, respectable, and of legitimate character." But Mrs. Torrey realized that Walker would maintain precisely the opposite, so any potential discussion would be mooted in advance. The show was produced — with more women on stage than in the audience — and the uproar gave way to the consensus that there was nothing objectionable in the production. In spite of Lily Clay, it was a good season for both the opera house and for Willard Walker.⁴¹

During the 1891-2 season Walker concentrated on attracting audiences from outlying districts. Working with railroad officials, he inaugurated a policy of excursion trips to Burlington which was continued until the demise of the theatre. Someone in Vergennes, for example, who wished to see a performance could purchase a ticket that provided round-trip rail transportation and admission to the opera house. Later Walker sent salesmen to the surrounding towns to sell the excursion tickets door to door.

The season of 1892-93 was not a dull one since it involved both the police and the fire-fighters. In February, 1893, the renowned actress Fanny Janauschek presented Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in Burlington, announcing that it was her last performance before returning to her native Germany. She was received with respectful appreciation, but there were such long waits while the ponderous scenery was changed that an uproar in the gallery erupted. It reached such proportions that the police had to be called in to preserve order. Soon after this event fire threatened to destroy the opera house. A conflagration was kindled in a nearby building on College Street, and the wind spread the fire to the southwest corner of the theatre. There was no great concern until the firemen learned that they could not direct water to the precise area in which it was needed. Luckily the building was of such sound construction that it resisted damage long enough for the

firemen to find a way of extinguishing the flames.⁴²

Thomas Keene, the tragedian, brought his own kind of fireworks to town that year. In April, 1893, Walker and Keene's agent presented the public an attractive option. A week before Keene and his company were scheduled to appear, a ballot printed in the *Free Press* gave theatre-goers the opportunity to choose what play they preferred to see. The votes were duly counted, and Keene appeared in *The Merchant of Venice*.

In 1894 Walker proved himself more adept than his father in dealing with the public. The announcement of the engagement of the Duff Opera Co. provoked the widespread presumption that an entertainment bargain was to be had because of the relatively cheap tickets. Burlingtonians thought that lavish scenery, renowned principals, and a prodigious chorus were to be theirs for a nominal fee. When Walker discovered that his patrons had misapprehended the situation, he corrected them in print. Actually, the company featured no chorus at all; each role was sung by a gifted leading singer. The scenery was excellent, however. His offer to refund the money of patrons who bought tickets in anticipation of a full-fledged production won public esteem.⁴³

The appearance of prizefighters in vaudeville shows and legitimate dramas presented Walker with another test of his public relations skill. John L. Sullivan, James J. Corbett, and other stars of the ring prolonged their productive lives by touring the country in light entertainments, Isaac Jacobs, a Vermonter, along with others wondered if the talents of pugilists were worthy of the Howard.⁴⁴ Wrestling matches were first held in the Howard in 1896, and moving pictures introduced in the next year may have provoked similar doubts.

Will Walker was a lad when his father was criticized for his management of Joe Jefferson's appearance in 1879. When the revered actor returned as Rip Van Winkle in April, 1896, there was no appreciable criticism of the theatre manager even though he charged the highest prices ever levied — \$1.00, \$1.50, and \$2.00. Walker was able to exact these fees because Jefferson's advancing years persuaded people that this would be their last chance to see him. The engagement was a success as were the new pictures of stage personalities in the lobby. However, the attempt to make attendance at matinees, long dominated by children, more fashionable was doomed to failure.⁴⁵

The nineteenth season, 1896-97, brought no significant change in policy. Walker did arrange a *soirée* at the theatre on the night of the national elections; the Sherman Military Band performed, and an onstage telegraph receiver delivered up-to-date reports of the balloting. Thus the marvel of modern communication invaded the opera house. Another great force of the nineteenth century, transportation, had ramifications for Burlington's theatre life, too. The expansion of the system of railways at mid-century nurtured the

growth of touring theatrical companies, and efficient local railroads and macadamized roadways enabled patrons to travel to theatrical centers more easily. One charming aspect of the opera house publicity was the announcement that "carriages may be ordered for 10:30." In winter the chief mode of transportation was the sleigh. Special arrangements to accommodate Howard customers were made with K.B. Walker's horse-drawn tramline, which connected Burlington to more remote districts. This convenience was increased when the trolley system was electrified in 1893. By 1896 bicyclists comprised such a significant proportion of his audience that Walker arranged to keep those conveyances in H.E. Spear's storeroom across the street from the theatre.⁴⁶

Throughout his management W.K. Walker demonstrated that he was an inventive, highly industrious promoter, but the nature of his relations with the Home for Destitute Children is unclear. They may have been minimal because his father continued to hold the lease. The participation of the Home in opera house affairs was made public only in time of stress (the burlesque poster debacle) or in times of amity, such as Walker's annual shows for the residents of the Home. He usually invited the children to the opera house on an afternoon when a suitable attraction, such as a horse show or a canine melodrama, was playing.⁴⁷ The fortunes of the Home were not seriously affected by the revenues of the opera house since a flat rental fee was paid by K.B. Walker. This amount fluctuated slightly; in 1882 it was \$500, but by 1891 it was increased to \$525. In 1899 it was again set at \$500.⁴⁸ In 1892-93 about \$11,000 was collected at the ticket window during part of the season. A large percentage of that gross income was paid to various company managers; some funds went for operating expenses of the theatre, including salaries; and part was profit. The exact proportions are not known. At the end of his tenure as manager, W.K. Walker was not wealthy, but he had amassed a comfortable estate. He was financially successful, but personal disaster was about to befall him.

In February, 1898 Walker returned to Burlington after seeking medical treatment in New York. On March 1 he returned to the metropolis, but he had been healthy enough beforehand to execute a complicated subscription campaign to assure the appearance of the Andrews Opera Co. By August he had despaired of doctors in New York and entered a sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan, where he died on August 13, 1898, of complications resulting from typhoid.⁴⁹

As the legal lessee, K.B. Walker directed the opera house one last year. He continued his son's policies but typically ran headlong into difficulties with the public. At the end of a successful engagement, the Robinson Comic Opera Co. announced a sacred concert to be held in the Armory on Sunday. Local ministers marshalled their forces, excited the state's attorney, and caused the presentation to be cancelled, but not before drawing much unfavorable publicity on the

Howard. Walker's past experience with Sunday concerts should have taught him better, but at least this time he advised the musicians to perform at the Armory and not in the theatre. Though not responsible legally, he was held morally accountable for another desecration of the sabbath.

In his years of managing the Howard, W.K. Walker was more ambitious and was more skillful in handling the public than was his father. Between 1885 and 1899 there were about 76 bookings in each season, which averaged about 319 days. The younger man booked seventy-one percent more shows in a somewhat shorter season, opening the doors twice as often as had his father. The attractions engaged by Walker generally followed his father's policy. Musical presentations, including the ever-popular minstrel shows, were preferred by Burlington audiences, while melodramas and serious plays were slightly more attractive to the public than comedies. Thus both Walkers perceived the public's appetite for entertainment in about the same manner.

The managerial tasks of both men were made easier by a loyal staff. Bert Waterman and George Sherman continued in the orchestra, and Waterman joined Sherman in the ranks of published composers.⁵⁰ Charles Sanders, Sr. served as janitor and stage carpenter during the whole of W.K. Walker's tenure; he died one year after his employer, presumably having enjoyed the \$100 bequeathed to him by Walker. Arthur Voegtlin (1858-1948) continued to serve as the scenic artist until the new management hired another painter. Voegtlin first attracted notice as scenic artist at the Madison Square Theatre (New York) under Charles H. Hoyt, the playwright who had once lived in St. Albans. Then Voegtlin worked as a booking agent prior to becoming associated with New York's Hippodrome Theatre, where he wrote plays, directed, and designed.⁵¹ On occasion Voegtlin visited the Walkers, who must have been pleased to have attracted a designer of Voegtlin's gifts. It is possible that Walker's wife Lena Belle was an unofficial member of the staff too, because when she assumed the management in May, 1899, she proceeded with a firm sense of direction.⁵²

Lena Belle Walker (1867-1943), a Pennsylvanian by birth and a New Yorker by residence, came to Burlington in 1891 as a bride. Little was heard of her until her husband's death, though as an amateur singer, she occasionally performed in local musicales. Mrs. Walker emerged as a determined businesswoman. On May 1, 1899, she literally descended upon the opera house with a new broom energetically wielded by fifteen scrubwomen, an electrician, and a group of helpers. As a result, the opera house fairly shone with cleanliness and an air of new beginnings.⁵³ In quick order she made a number of changes: complete electrification of the building, distribution of a handsome printed program with pictures and advertisements, removal of overhead stage grooves to accommodate

taller scenery, and the engagement of Arthur N. Johns as treasurer. In 1900-01 she added a ladies' cloak room, and Charles Andrus provided new scenery which brought commendatory words.⁵⁴

The new regime also brought a slightly altered ticket policy as well. Subscription tickets continued to be sold for outstanding attractions, but the proportion of budget shows was increased. Accompanying the increase in popular-priced entertainment came a number of new marketing devices. Newspaper coupons entitled the bearer to a cut-rate admission, which in any case was ten, twenty or thirty cents. This gimmick usually was directed toward the ladies, who, it was assumed, would encourage the men and children to attend. Much was made of "ladies' night" at the opera house.

There was excitement, moreover, from a number of other sources. Near the end of the first season, a fire broke out in the opera house annex; it reached the scenery room but was put out before any damage was done to the public portions of the theatre.⁵⁵ The fire excited less interest than the billboards. From her husband, Mrs. Walker inherited the Burlington Bill Posting Co., which she managed with zeal. Prior to acquiring the lease of the opera house, she erected four new billboards in prominent places.⁵⁶ Her aggregation of display spaces was a bone of contention between her father-in-law and herself and became the talk of the town as their disunity exploded in municipal court.

In spite of her confrontation with K.B., Mrs. Walker was roundly appreciated at the end of her first successful season. She often travelled to New York to interest booking agents in Vermont and established a reputation as a manager who insisted upon quality attractions. She had no compunction against cancelling a production that had been dishonestly represented. Often she had to guarantee a fixed sum to company managers or give them a higher percentage of the gross receipts than they were entitled to in order to entice them to Burlington.⁵⁷

Mrs. Walker instituted amateur nights as a means of attracting audiences; after a performance by a budget company, local artists were invited to compete for prizes. This practice, along with ladies' nights and coupon tickets, kept the opera house solvent. She added coupon tickets with puzzles printed on the backs to her bag of promotional tricks. The matrons who correctly completed the puzzle were awarded season's passes. She also attracted large audiences to special performances for the benefit of the city's poor. A full house at one of these charity presentations might raise twenty dollars for the needy through nickel and dime contributions.

Mrs. Walker's public relations gimmicks were surpassed by a new one in 1904, when members of the audience who could predict the time of the final curtain were given watches as prizes. This sort of trickery, though standard practice everywhere, was far-removed from the high tone envisioned by John Howard so many years before.

These procedures are mooted, however, by events that occurred at Christmastide, 1903-04.

In spite of the fact that the Howard was twice threatened by fire and withstood the danger both times, the fear of fire and concern for safety contributed to the closing of the theatre. Chicago's Iroquois Theatre burned that Christmas with a tragic loss of life, and across the country theatres were shut down by panic-driven authorities. The fear enveloped Vermont also; Rutland's opera house was closed, and throughout the state, theatres and public buildings were carefully inspected. The building inspector visited the Howard in January, 1904, and found it basically sound. He checked the electrical wiring and the lighting equipment, most of which was no more than four years old. It was, he judged, safe. He noted that firemen were present in the building during every performance and suggested a few minor structural changes. Mrs. Walker provided hearty cooperation, and the public was assured that there was no cause for concern.⁵⁸

However, local and state authorities argued over who had the power to enforce fire regulations. The State of Vermont dispatched its own health officer, Dr. F.F. Clark, to examine the opera house, and he found it sadly deficient. He pronounced the plumbing woefully antiquated and unsuitable. The exits were not constructed in such a way as to allow quick and safe egress in the event of fire; there was no asbestos curtain to contain an onstage conflagration. Most of his scorn, though, was reserved for the gallery, which, he maintained, was a public health hazard. It looked as if it had not been cleaned in years, and the floor was loathsome because of expectoration. He further declared that even if the gallery were occasionally swept, the germs would be borne aloft and spread throughout the house. In his opinion, the building should be shut down at once.⁵⁹ Mrs. Walker received this news with commendable rancor.

She pointed out that the theatre was thoroughly cleaned under her personal supervision after every performance. The patrons of the gallery might have been less than sanitary exemplars, but the floors were scrubbed with brushes, soap, and water — not swept — on every performance day. As to the charges of inadequate plumbing, she could only reply that it had been installed three years previously by one of the city's most respected artisans. Her arguments carried the day, for the opera house was not closed. In about a month she announced that the suggested structural changes had been made in the interests of safety. After careful observation it was reported that the theatre could be emptied of people in three minutes.⁶⁰

There must have been an aura of pointlessness in this whole affair because the Whalen brothers had already announced that they were going to build a handsome new opera house to be called the Strong Theatre. That news caused the merchants of the Opera House Block to approach Mrs. Walker with a proposition of purchasing her lease. For years insurance rates on the stores had been exorbitant owing to

the vast space and flammable materials above their places of business. Mrs. Walker had been well provided for by her husband, and she was not forced to work. Indeed, she had been one of Burlington's largest taxpayers for several years. With her decision to sell the lease, the opening of the 1904-5 season assumed an air of finality.

The Strong Theatre was to open at the end of October, 1904, and the Howard to close at the end of November. Most of the performances of those remaining months were by a Canadian stock company, but for the farewell presentation, a beloved actor, Daniel Sully, was asked to present his version of *Our Pastor*. On November 30, 1904, an audience gathered in the Howard Opera House for the last time. At the conclusion of the play, Sully came before the curtain and reminisced about his experiences in the old house. Then he called Mrs. Walker before the audience and warmly extolled her accomplishments as manager. While the audience applauded nostalgically, the orchestra played "Auld Lang Syne." The air was redolent of carnations, both from the extract with which the room had been sprayed and from the cut flowers which had been given to the ladies. With souvenir programs in hand, the audience withdrew for the last time from the Howard Opera House.⁶¹

Although Mrs. Walker's career was short, she brought her own stamp to the Howard. The length of her seasons did not deviate from those of her husband, but the number of attractions increased gradually. Her average season included 98 attractions over 317 days, or roughly one performance every three days. The interesting element of her management in terms of productions is the growing proportion of melodramas and serious dramas, possibly because that sort of drama was the mainstay of budget repertory companies.

The Walker triumvirate, father, son, and daughter-in-law, presided over the birth, growth, and decline of a significant part of Burlington's cultural environment. Each in their time was shrewd enough to adapt personal preferences to the temper of the time, and each had the business acumen to manage the theatre in a financially productive way. The problems of the first management were not identical to those faced by Mrs. Walker at the threshold of the twentieth century. Between 1879 and 1904 there was a trend to present a greater number of attractions more frequently. Contrary to John Howard's expectations, musical shows were scheduled less frequently as the years passed, possibly because of the expense involved in securing good ones. The ability of comedies to attract audiences declined almost imperceptibly while melodrama grew more popular. There were fewer lectures and concerts at the opera house as there appeared more suitable (and more economical) places in which to hold them. On the other hand, the theatre was used more for non-theatrical presentations such as movies, wrestling, and exhibitions. These changes were partly due to national economic factors, partly to changing taste.

The calendar of presentations at the Howard reflected current tastes over a twenty-five year period. There were 1,816 productions, and some plays were extremely popular and returned again and again, while others were seen but once. (See Table No. 1, pages 218-219)

The most popular of the most frequently produced shows were melodramas (19) and musicals (14). Although they were not performed as regularly, the classics were fairly well represented, especially the plays of Shakespeare. Prior to 1905 Burlingtonians saw *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Othello*, *As You Like It*, *Julius Caesar*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. A few plays by Nicholas Udall, Ben Jonson, Oliver Goldsmith, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan were seen as well. But what of the trendsetters of the new age? What of the disciples of the dreaded "modernism"? Where were Ibsen, Chekhov, Shaw, Zola, and Hauptmann? Their works were not being produced in Burlington. The very sorts of plays against which the modern playwrights rebelled were the mainstays of the Howard's repertory: old-fashioned, highly Romantic pieces that upheld a strict moral code while providing an abundance of music and escapist situations.

The actors in these productions included many of the finest actors of the age — Joseph Jefferson, Robert B. Mantell, James O'Neill, Helena Modjeska, Fanny Janauschek, Lawrence Barrett, Henry Dixey, DeWolf Hopper, Dion Boucicault, Charles Wyndham, Aubrey Boucicault, E.H. Sothorn, Clara Morris, and Hortense Rhea, to name but a few. The only American actor of olympian attainment in this age who did not perform in Burlington was Edwin Booth, the great tragedian whose health was already failing in 1879 when the Howard opened. The roster of great players who acted in Burlington demonstrated that the Queen City was no cultural backwater.

Daniel L. Cady, a frequent member of the throng at the Howard and a student at UVM, captured the significance of John Purple Howard's gift to Burlington's cultural life in the last quarter of the nineteenth century:

Thanks to the man whose generous heart
Went out to Culture and to Art,
Nor from the lowly stood apart;
Who so adorned fair Learning's seat,
Gave Art a temple so complete,
Nor left the poor upon the street.⁶²

These lines surely echo the gratitude of thousands of spectators at Burlington's first opera house.

Table No. 1
Productions Presented Five or More Times

Key To Abbreviations In Chart:

- MUS: includes musical dramas of all types, such as musical comedies, operettas, comic operas, grand operas, revues, pantomimes, extravaganzas, and minstrel shows.
SD: includes tragedies as well as serious dramas
C: includes all types of comedy and farce
M: includes all types of melodrama, the most popular of dramatic forms. Most of the plays listed as SD actually would be considered melodramas today. Even in 1879 some playwrights sought to avoid the censure that was attached to inferior melodramas by calling their works serious dramas, sensational dramas, or comedy-dramas.

ALL IN THE FAMILY (1891)	Peck & Fursman	MUS	5
BEACON LIGHTS (1887)	George Learock	M	
THE BLACK CROOK (1866)	M. Barras & G. Operti	MUS	5
THE BURGLAR (1885)	Augustus Thomas	C	5
THE DUKE'S DAUGHTER (1869)	John Brougham	M	5
EVANGELINE (1874)	E.E. Rice & J.C. Goodwin	MUS	5
HELD BY THE ENEMY	William Gillette	SD	5
JIM, THE PENMAN (1886)	Charles L. Young	C	5
THE LOST PARADISE (1891)	Henry C. DeMille	SD	5
M'LISS (1878)	Greene & Thompson	M	5
MY FRIEND FROM INDIA (1894)	H.A. Du Souchet	C	5
PIRATES OF PENZANCE (1880)	Gilbert & Sullivan	MUS	5
SHADOWS OF A GREAT CITY (1884)	L.R. Shewell	M	5
THE 2 JOHNS (1883)	J.S. Crossy	C	5
THE 2 SISTERS (1888)	Thompson & Ryer	C	5

CAMILLE (1852)	Alexandre Dumas, <i>films</i>	SD	6
THE DAZZLER (1890)	Willie Edouin (?)	MUS	6
10 NIGHTS IN A BAR ROOM (1858)	W.W. Pratt	M	6
UNCLE JOSH SPRUCEBY (1898)	Russell Graham	M	6
UNDER 2 FLAGS (1901)	Paul M. Potter	SD	6
THE WIDOW BROWN (1900)	Nettie Black	C	6
A BUNCH OF KEYS (1882)	Charles H. Hoyt	MUS	7
THE DEVIL'S AUCTION (1883)	W.J. Gilmore	MUS	7
FRA DIAVOLO (1830)	Daniel Auber	MUS	7
JOSHUA SIMPKINS (1895)	C.R. Foulk	M	7
THE OLD HOMESTEAD (1886)	Thompson & Ryer	C	7
RIP VAN WINKLE (1865)	Boucicault & Jefferson	SD	7
THE 2 ORPHANS (1874)	D'Ennery & Cormon	SD	7
WANG (1891)	Goodwin & Morse	MUS	7
WAY DOWN EAST (1897)	Parker & Grismer	M	7
THE MASCOT (1880)	Edmond Audran	MUS	8
CHIMES OF NORMANDY (1877)	Robert Planquette	MUS	8
THE COUNTY FAIR (1889)	Barnard & Burgess	C	8
EAST LYNNE (1863)	Wood & Tayleure	M	9
SIDE-TRACKED (1892)	Walters & Rawson	M	9
FAUST (1866)	W. Bayle Bernard	M	10
JED PROUTY (1889)	Gill & Golden	SD	10
THE BOHEMIAN GIRL (1843)	Michael W. Balfe	MUS	12
THE MIKADO (1885)	Gilbert & Sullivan	MUS	12
H.M.S. PINAFORE (1879)	Gilbert & Sullivan	MUS	12
UNCLE TOM'S CABIN (1852)	Harriet B. Stowe	M	30

NOTES

¹*Burlington Free Press & Times* (hereafter *BFPT*), 12 October 1877.

²*Ibid.*, 17 November 1877.

³*Biographical Encyclopedia of Vermont of the 19th Century* (Boston, 1885), pp. 209-295.

- ⁴Hamilton Child, comp., *Gazetteer & Business Directory of Chittenden County, Vermont, for 1882-83* (Syracuse, 1882), p. 146.
- ⁵City of Burlington, "Deeds," XIX, 194-196, City Hall, Burlington, Vermont.
- ⁶Charles E. Allen, *About Burlington, Vermont* (Burlington, 1905), p. 82.
- ⁷*BFPT*, 17 January 1879; 14 August 1894.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, 18 February 1879.
- ⁹*Democrat & Sentinel* (Burlington), 15 February 1879.
- ¹⁰*BFPT*, 21 February, 24 February, and 25 February 1879.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, 27 February and 25 February 1879.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, 10 June 1879.
- ¹³*Ibid.*, 22 February 1879.
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*, 30 October and 1 November 1879.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, 31 October and 1 November 1879; 14 December, 15 December, 16 December, and 17 December 1880.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, 10 December 1880.
- ¹⁷*Annual Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Home for Destitute Children for the Two Years Ending November 1st, 1881* (Burlington, 1881), n.p.
- ¹⁸City of Burlington, "Deeds," XIX, 194-196.
- ¹⁹*BFPT*, 4 January and 24 January 1882.
- ²⁰Lilian Baker Carlisle, (ed.), *Look Around Winooski, Vermont* (Burlington, 1972), p. 13.
- ²¹*BFPT*, 26 February and 20 February 1879.
- ²²*Ibid.*, 19 January 1882; 16 January 1884; and 25 February 1884.
- ²³*New York Mirror*, 12 September 1885.
- ²⁴*BFPT*, 4 December 1885.
- ²⁵*New York Mirror*, 12 September 1885.
- ²⁶*BFPT*, 17 February 1886.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, 5 August 1886; 12 August 1886; and "The Howard Opera House," 27 August 1886.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*, 28 September 1886.
- ²⁹*New York Mirror*, 9 October 1886.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*, 23 October 1886.
- ³¹*BFPT*, 24 November 1886.
- ³²*Ibid.*, 21 March 1888; 17 August 1888; and 5 August 1889.
- ³³*Ibid.*, "A Warning to Boys," 5 December 1888.
- ³⁴*Ibid.*, 24 September 1888.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, 12 August and 13 March 1889.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*, 13 March 1889.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*, 19 January 1891.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, 28 February 1891.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, 5 March 1891.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, "Pictures for Passion Week," 25 March 1891.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, 25 March 1891; "That Show!" and "The Coming Show," 26 March 1891.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, "An Early Fire," 14 March 1893.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, "To Burlington Theatre-goers," 19 January 1894.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 20 August 1894.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 2 April 1896; 9 August 1895; and 18 May 1896.
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 19 August 1896.
- ⁴⁷*Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Home for Destitute Children for the Year Ending September 30, 1888* (Burlington, 1888), n.p.
- ⁴⁸"Account Books of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund of the Home for Destitute Children," *passim*. These records were made available to me through the generosity of Mr. Levi Smith, Jr.
- ⁴⁹*BFPT*, 28 February, 2 April and 15 August 1898.
- ⁵⁰*BFPT*, 16 February 1899.
- ⁵¹Morman Clarke, *The Mighty Hippodrome* (New York, 1968), *passim*.
- ⁵²*BFPT*, 23 January 1899.
- ⁵³*Ibid.*, 3 May 1899.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, "Improvements at Opera House," 2 October 1899; 20 August 1901; and "Opening of New Season at Opera House," 21 August 1900.
- ⁵⁵*Ibid.*, "Stubborn Fire," 24 April 1900.
- ⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 15 April 1899.
- ⁵⁷*Ibid.*, "The Theatrical Season," 10 May 1900.
- ⁵⁸*Ibid.*, "For Better Protection," 1 February 1904.
- ⁵⁹*Ibid.*, "Health Officer's Report," 1 February 1904.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*, "A Vigorous Denial," 1 February 1904; "In Three Minutes," 4 March 1904.
- ⁶¹*Ibid.*, "Farewell to Opera House," 1 December 1904.
- ⁶²D.L. Cady, "Howard Opera House," *The Ariel* (University of Vermont, 1890), pp. 124-6.