THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA EXPOSITION, 1889–1916:

A MICROCOSM OF AMERICAN MUSICAL LIFE

by

VANESSA PRISCILLA TOME

(Under the Direction of David M. Schiller)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a history of the musical activities of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition from 1889 to 1916. The Exposition was established as an annual event to promote and influence the growth of the city's industry and arts. The dissertation focuses on Pittsburgh's development as a leading musical center and on the representation of Pittsburgh composers and musicians in the concerts at the Exposition. It explores the influence of class, gender, race and ethnicity on Pittsburgh's musical culture, and also analyzes Pittsburgh's musical hierarchy. Using data collected from newspapers, concert programs, and souvenir books preserved in regional libraries in Pittsburgh, this dissertation documents the programs presented by the bands, orchestras, and soloists at the Exposition. An analysis of the data reveals that the Pittsburgh Exposition and its music concerts succeeded in entertaining large audiences while also educating audiences and influencing cultural activities in the city.

INDEX WORDS: Pittsburgh; Exposition; American Wind Bands; American Orchestras; Women's Orchestras; Grand Army of the Republic; John Philip Sousa; Victor Herbert; Walter Damrosch; Frederick Neil Innes; Giuseppe Creatore; Modest Altschuler; Dan Godfrey

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Skip and Priscilla Miller, and my grandparents, George and Martha Williams and Thomas and Margaret Tome.

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the day after the dissertation went to my committee for review. Her wisdom and strength have been a source of inspiration as I completed this project and I am grateful for my “guardian angel” who has been my side through the defense and revision. My aunt and uncle, Todd and Stephanie Raffensperger have also provided much needed prayers and support throughout my doctoral studies. Finally I would like to thank my fiancé, Andrew Diehl, who has had faith in me from day one and has been my rock as I navigated through this research journey. I am deeply indebted to all of you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1816, the year of its founding, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was far removed from such rapidly growing and industrialized Eastern cities as Boston and Philadelphia. Although Pittsburgh was one of the largest cities west of the Allegheny Mountains by the mid-nineteenth century, its population was still only 50,000. By the end of the century, Pittsburgh's population had grown to over 200,000 and it had become a main industrial center.

The significant increase in population was due to Pittsburgh's growing economy. The prospering steel industry brought people into the region from around the state. The steel industry benefited from the completion of rail systems that connected Pittsburgh to major Eastern cities. In 1834, the completion of the Allegheny Portage railroad linked the eastern and western portions of the Pennsylvania canal and helped to transport commerce across the state. In 1854, the railroad was completed for passenger railroad cars to cross the state.[1]

The growing economy and population led to the rise of a "middle-class" society in the late nineteenth century. A city that was dominated by a "working class" population and a plebian culture in the 1850s was becoming a sophisticated city with cosmopolitan ambitions comparable to the Eastern cities in the late 1880s.[2] In 1885, the Western Exposition Society of Pittsburgh

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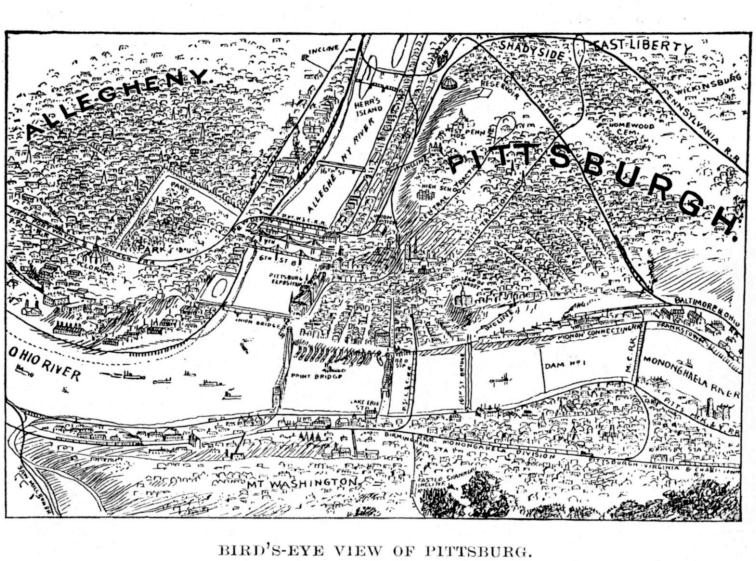
[1] Len Barcousky, "Eyewitness 1854: Pittsburgh to Philadelphia in—gulp—a day," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Sunday, May 17, 2009.

[2] My use of the terms "middle-class" and "working class" is informed by the following essay: Cindy S. Aron, "The Evolution of the Middle Class," in *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney, 178–191 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2001). Aron distinguishes these classes based on manual and non-manual labor. "Middle-class" men were distinguished by high paying jobs that did not require manual labor. Their families enjoyed a more comfortable social lifestyle. The "working class" is distinguished by manual labor and

was formed to promote the city's industrial life through an annual exposition. The society chose the "Point" for the location of the halls and exposition grounds. The "Point," now a state park, is where the Allegheny, Ohio, and Monongahela Rivers meet. The society raised $450,000 for the building of three halls (Main Hall, Machinery Hall, and Exposition Hall), which occupied six acres of land. The first exposition took place in September-October 1889 and ran for eight weeks. The exposition returned every September for eight weeks until 1916, when it was interrupted by the United States entering World War I.[3] The figure below is a bird's eye view of the three rivers with the Exposition buildings on the right side of the Allegheny River.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PITTSBURG.

Figure 1.1: View of the Point with the Exposition Buildings Along the Allegheny River

families did not have opportunities for social advancement. My use of the term "plebian" is informed by the following study: Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919* (Albany, NY: The University of New York Press, 1984). In this study, Couvares states "…plebeian culture was a broad, public inheritance that included citizens of all kinds—save, perhaps, for a small elite too genteel or too scrupulous to indulge in common leisure. Although inclusive, therefore, plebeian culture was also decidedly vernacular, putting working people and their social equals in the center stage of life in Pittsburgh" (31).

[3] The first detailed history of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition (also known as the Pittsburgh Exposition) is George Thornton Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs*, vol. 2 (New York: American Historical Society, Inc., 1922). A modern study is Francis G. Couvares' *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877–1919*, which is cited above.

During the annual expositions, music was an integral part of the daily activities. As George Couvares comments, the exposition was "devoting itself, on the one hand, to the work of the Chamber of Commerce and, on the other, to 'high culture.'" The exposition provided "sophisticated amusement for the city's middle and upper classes."[4] George Thornton Fleming, writing in 1922, mentioned "high culture" attractions such as conductors John Phillip Sousa, Walter Damrosch, Giuseppe Creatore, Arthur Pryor, and ensembles including the United States Marine Band, Philadelphia Orchestra, and Godfrey's Band of England. The Storer College Jubilee Singers and the celebrated African American soprano Sissieretta Jones ("The Black Patti") also appeared at the Exposition.[5]

The Western Pennsylvania Exposition became an avenue for the elite to promote sophisticated programs of music by internationally known musicians and ensembles. It was the place for the "aspiring bourgeois spirit to receive an infusion 'from that Land of Culture, the East.'"[6] This study will argue that the Western Pennsylvania Exposition brought to Pittsburgh ensembles and soloists who were admired and respected by the elite tastemakers, while simultaneously expanding and democratizing the audience for their music.

Objectives

The Western Pennsylvania Exposition was the most successful and longest running annual exposition in the United States. A study of the musical activities associated with the

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[4] Couvares, 101.

[5] For information on Storer College see Vivian Verdell Gordon, "A History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," in *The Journal of Negro Education* 30, no. 4 (Autumn 1961): 445–449. Storer College was the first African American college in West Virginia with a focus on teacher education. The music department promoted many music ensembles, including the Centennial Jubilee Singers. For information on Sissieretta Jones see John Graziano, "The Early Life and Career of the 'Black Patti': The Odyssey of an African American Singer in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 543–596.

[6] Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh*, 102.

Western Pennsylvania Exposition will provide a microcosm of American musical life in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.

The principal objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To establish a chronological history of the music events, including performers, ensembles, and conductors, that appeared at the Western Pennsylvania Exposition (1889–1916).
2. To provide a chronology of new music written for and/or premiered at the exposition.
3. To contribute to an understanding of the complex effects of class, gender, race, and ethnicity on late nineteenth and early twentieth century American musical culture. By examining how the Western Pennsylvania Exposition targeted the emerging middle class while simultaneously expanding the repertoire and professionalizing the level of performances of music in Pittsburgh, it contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the formation of musical-culture hierarchies, and of the social forces that resisted and undermined hierarchy. The presence of women as members of the civic elite and also as performers and audience members provides insights into the issues of class and gender as they impinge on musical life. While a number of prominent African American soloists and ensembles were engaged as performers, it appears that African Americans were largely excluded from participation as audience members despite the existence of a (segregated) black civic elite.[7]

[7] See Laurence A. Glasco, "Optimism, Dilemmas, and Progress: The Pittsburgh Survey and Black Americans," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, 205–220 (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1996). A summary of Glasco's analysis about African Americans in Pittsburgh can be found in the literature review below.

4. It discusses the regional importance of the Pittsburgh Exposition, and examines local performers and ensembles that participated in it.

Literature Review

This dissertation will be informed by a literature that manifests many perspectives on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century culture and music in America. The literature will be discussed under the following headings: Cultural Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century America; Nineteenth Century Music; Studies of Fairs and Expositions in the United States; and Cultural Studies of Pittsburgh.

Cultural Hierarchy in Nineteenth-Century America

Lawrence Levine's seminal study *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* focuses on the development of a cultural hierarchy through the nineteenth century. Levine highlights the changing attitude to entertainment in America, identifying a process that he calls "sacrilization." Levine comments, "The process of sacrilization reinforced the all too prevalent notion that for the source of divine inspiration and artistic creation one had to look not only upward but eastward toward Europe."[8] However, sacrilization was a dynamic and fluid process; when elite music organizations such as the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Theodore Thomas Orchestra included popular airs alongside the great works of the European masters, the popular airs were sacrilized as well. Levine's study also highlights the evolving

[8] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 140.

decorum of the middle class. Levine comments that the emerging middle class and its cultural leaders succeeded in "disciplining and training audiences."[9]

Cindy S. Aron's article, "The Evolution of the Middle Class," cited in footnote 2, reviews the historiography of the middle class. Her study notes the consistent issue of non-manual work as a distinguishing social characteristic.

Kevin Kenny's article, "The Development of the Working Classes" analyzes periods of labor-history historiography. He emphasizes that working-class families were excluded by the middle and upper classes, but possessed their own plebian culture which would shape cultural as well as political history.[10]

Nineteenth-Century Music

The following literature focuses on the relationship between the developing cultural hierarchy and music. H. Wiley Hitchcock's *Music in the United States: A Historical Perspective*, divides the study of music in America into "cultivated" and "vernacular" traditions. The cultivated tradition, representative of the highbrow, is "a body of music that America had to cultivate consciously, music faintly exotic, to be approached with some effort and to be appreciated for its edification—its moral, spiritual or aesthetic values." The vernacular tradition, associated with low-brow culture, is "a body of music more plebian, native, not approached self-consciously but simply grown into as one grows into one's vernacular tongue, music understood and appreciated simply for its utilitarian or entertainment value."[11] Hitchcock emphasizes these

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[9] Levine, 198.

[10] Kevin Kenney, "The Development of the Working Classes," in *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney, 164–177 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2001).

[11] H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music and the United States: A Historical Introduction*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000), 36.

definitions with sections devoted to the music and artists that are most closely associated with these traditions.

Hitchcock briefly mentions how the rise of the middle class bridged the cultivated and vernacular models. The middle class produced a growing cohort of amateur musicians, and the sheet music industry capitalized on their interest. As Hitchcock comments, "Some of this sheet music was music of the vernacular tradition. But much of it (songs and piano pieces for the most part) had an aura of pretentious gentility about it; it derived from and lay within the cultivated tradition rather than the vernacular, although its accessibility to both performer and listener kept it near the vernacular."[12] At the Pittsburgh Exposition, the programs of the wind bands featured music written by "cultivated" composers such as Rossini, Meyerbeer, and Wagner. Arrangements of well-known orchestral pieces for wind band made them accessible to a larger and broader audience.

In the introduction to *American Wind Band: A Cultural History*, Richard K. Hansen confronts the issues that arise from relying on a set framework distinguishing between "high brow" and "low brow." In his discussion about wind band music in America, he recognizes that these terms are "problematic and limiting."[13]

Ralph P. Locke also questions the validity of the highbrow/lowbrow dichotomy. To justify his reasoning that popular music styles were also enjoyed by the elite he writes:

> Despite the snobbish attempts of some critics and academics at the time to marginalize or demonize various vernacular forms of music making, American lovers of "classical music" (as it came to be known) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to enjoy parlor ballads and minstrel songs, Sousa marches, arrangements of favorite tunes from light opera or the early "musical comedy," and (to some extent) rag-time and early jazz. Many enjoyed vernacular repertories in settings other than the

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[12] Ibid., 64.

[13] Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2005), 1–6.

> concert hall and opera house, and with exquisitely differentiated listening behaviors (including tapping the feet, singing along, eating, drinking, or smoking). They enjoyed them precisely for the seemingly artless, unselfconscious delights they provided.[14]

The mix of genres that Locke describes is found in many, indeed most, of the programs presented at the Pittsburgh Exposition.

Studies of Fairs and Expositions in the United States

Pittsburgh was not unique in appreciating the value of fairs and expositions as a means of negotiating class and cultural differences. Studies of other fairs and expositions offer valuable perspectives for comparative analysis. Especially relevant here are studies of the Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893), the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exposition (1904), and the Atlanta Music Festival (1883).

Neil Harris's essay, "Great American Fairs and American Cities: The Role of Chicago's Columbian Exposition," captures the importance of expositions and fairs on the changing urban scene in American cities. Using Chicago's Columbian Exposition as an example, Harris establishes that there are three important features of fairs and expositions. First, they aided in the establishment of new local leadership. Second, they stimulated local and regional pride because they promoted local businesses and organizations. Finally they advanced an "urban idea" because they "suggested an urbanity, a civility, an approach to human experience ideally associated with great cities."[15] These events were "testaments to the power of an urban dream, the first such dream to emerge in our country, for we still celebrated, rhetorically, the virtues of

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[14] Ralph P. Locke, "Music Lovers, Patrons, and the "Sacralization" of Culture in America," *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 164.

[15] Neil Harris, "Great American Fairs and American Cities," *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 127–128.

the countryside." These fairs also "suggested attachment to city living as an emblem of human progress and national greatness."[16]

Harris' study emphasizes that the artistic activities of the fairs and expositions were defined by the "prevailing notions of cultural hierarchy." He comments, " On one end of the spectrum were serious expressions of high culture—great libraries, museums, repertory companies, orchestras, opera houses." However, "At the other end of the spectrum, the fairs were great centers for popular culture. Daily concerts of band music, performed by the leading bands of the world, played to crowds of ten thousand or more, not only marches and patriotic tunes but popular songs and theater music."[17] At the Pittsburgh Exposition both high culture and popular culture were promoted.

Sandy R. Mazzola's essay, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition," explores the emergence of a middle-brow mass culture, which challenged the music activities devoted to an elite audience. Mazzola describes the reception of popular music at the fair:

> Popular music performed by concert bands was the treat of the fair patron, and the ultimate triumph of band concerts both on and off the fairgrounds not only reflected the current tastes of the mass audience but also acted as a tremendous influence on the future of American musical culture, leaving an indelible mark on the type of music performed, the manner of its presentation, the style of musical amusement in general, and the character of the work world in which band and orchestral musicians toiled.[18]

Even the cultivated patrons found it more enjoyable to attend the popular music concerts and did not want to pay the money to attend the artistic programs.

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[16] Ibid., 112.
[17] Ibid., 123–124.
[18] Sandy R. Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition" *American Music* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 408.

The success of popular music styles at the Columbian Exposition influenced the American music scene in the late nineteenth century:

> An even greater legacy, perhaps, was the effect the exposition had upon the business of popular entertainment in general. The decision by exposition authorities to present music as an amusement provided an example to the enterprising capitalist that mass culture had attained a new level of recognition, and after the summer of 1893 music with mass appeal became more attractive than ever as a business venture, further accelerating the development of the music publishing and performance industries. At the close of the Chicago fair, the character of American music and musical employment would never again be the same as it had been six months earlier.[19]

In contrast to the Columbian Exposition, the Pittsburgh Exposition was more successful in presenting artistic music alongside popular music.

John B. Hylton's essay, "The Music of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," discusses the diversity in the programming, which also included artistic and popular music styles. The Exposition board used the music programs as an opportunity to educate the audience. Hylton comments, "Clearly, the planners of the fair's music sought to edify and educate, as well as to entertain those who attended. This was accomplished through numerous daily concerts and recitals presented by a wide variety of soloists and ensembles, the commissioning of musical works, and the sponsorship of contests for musical groups around the country."[20]

The daily concerts were presented by one of the Exposition ensembles, which included a band, orchestra, and chorus. The brass bands "remained the most visible and audible part of the fair's musical programs." The brass bands did acknowledge the audience's musical tastes and the "concerts contained a mixture of serious (specimens of 'high-grade Music') and popular musical styles. The programs were comprised of transcriptions of orchestral works, operatic overtures or

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[19] Ibid., 421.

[20] John. B. Hylton, "The Music of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition." *College Music Symposium* 31 (1991): 60.

excerpts which often featured vocal soloists, and marches and other popular selections, many by American composers."[21] The orchestra and choral concerts followed a similar programming style of artistic and popular tunes. Every Friday there was a symphony concert, which always included works by American composers such as George Chadwick, Horatio Parker, or Edward MacDowell.[22]

Hylton's conclusion summarizes the importance of presenting popular and artistic music programs:

> After discarding the initial notion of presenting brass band music exclusively, the Bureau of Music adopted the wise course of including a wide range of composers, style, periods, and media in its musical program. It is also clear that the intention was not simply to entertain those who attended the programs, but also to educate and edify. This education was meant to refine the tastes of the average fairgoer, and was therefore essentially elitist in philosophy.[23]

Like the Louisiana Exposition board, the Western Pennsylvania Exposition also aspired to educate and edify. However, the tastes of the middle and working classes also influenced programming at the Pittsburgh Exposition.

Steve Goodson's *Highbrows, Hillbillies, & Hellfire: Public Entertainment in Atlanta 1880–1930* focuses on the developing cultural hierarchy in Atlanta. As Atlanta began to capitalize on its economic gains at the end of the nineteenth century, the social elite wanted to prove that it could compete with the Northern cities of New York and Boston. They turned their interest to music because they "held classical music to be morally pure, even sacred, in its beauty and its capacity to provide spiritual enlightenment. And if the music itself had sacred qualities, then the 'better' people who genuinely understood and valued it were elevated as well, portrayed

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[21] Ibid., 61.
[22] Ibid., 62–63.
[23] Ibid., 66.

as a sanctified elect, free to worship at the altar of high culture while passing stern judgment upon the culturally unsaved."[24]

The Atlanta Music Festival was organized to promote classical music and bring well-known American ensembles and orchestras. However, the attendance at these events was not as high as anticipated. These programs featured a mixture of works and the popular pieces received more recognition,

> Reviewers remarked upon the 'wildest of applause' that greeted such standards as "Yankee Doodle," "Coming through the Rye," "Home Sweet Home," "Nearer My God to Thee," and the inevitable "Dixie." This reaction was not surprising given the lingering standards of the day. Whatever their feelings about classical music, most Americans still valued popular favorites as well, so even "refined" artists performed popular tunes, critics accepted them, and audiences responded to them with enthusiasm.[25]

Goodson remarks that Atlanta's concert attendance "responded most fervently to programs that liberally mixed 'middlebrow' with 'highbrow' music rather than to the most purely refined music presented alone." Although the audiences for Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony were respectable, Sousa's band drew the largest crowds. Sousa also offered a variety of music choices and "played classical and operatic selections—he offered a Wagnerian program in 1895—but he performed and fiercely defended popular music as well, sneering at those who disparaged it."[26] Atlanta's music scene is a reminder of the new mass culture of music entertainment and its effect on late nineteenth-century American music.

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[24] Steve Goodson, *Highbrows, Hillbillies, & Hellfire: Public Entertainment in Atlanta, 1880–1930* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2002), 109.

[25] Ibid., 113.

[26] Ibid., 117.

Cultural Studies of Pittsburgh

Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, Pittsburgh emerged as a leading industrial center in the United States. With the industrial revolution, came a significant amount of wealth and the rise of a bourgeois, upper class in Pittsburgh that aspired to a cosmopolitan life-style. Francis Couvares's influential study *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877–1919* examines the movement from a plebian society to one which embraced the cosmopolitan ideals.[27] Couvares notes that "no matter how hard the cosmopolitan might try to find it, no matter how hard the labor reformer might condemn it, luxury was a sin to which the ironmaster seldom had to confess. A deeply puritan and utilitarian sensibility made the fussier sublimations of Victorian respectability seem out of place in Pittsburgh."[28]

A majority of the Pittsburgh population did not attend the cosmopolitan events that were favored by the elite. Among the working class, amateur music making in the form of brass bands and "soirees" were organized by local volunteer fire companies. While most bands were amateur, there were a few professional bands by the 1860s. Most musicians in these bands were "laborers, craftsmen, or shopkeepers."[29] Until the 1890s, the "prosperous Pittsburghers who sought genteel recreation had little to choose from: an occasional concert organized by local talent, a church Christmas concert, a performance by one of the German singing societies."[30]

Robert Bernat's essay, "The Brass Band Tradition in Pittsburgh," discusses the significance of the brass bands in the social development of early nineteenth-century Pittsburgh. It highlights the new bourgeois society, which recognized the importance of developing a

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[27] Couvares, 34.
[28] Ibid., 34.
[29] Ibid., 37–38.
[30] Ibid., 35.

highbrow culture that was distinctive from the brass band traditions.[31] At the Pittsburgh Exposition, bands and orchestras successfully coexisted and drew large audiences of all social classes.

John N. Ingham's essay, "Steel City Aristocrats," is a review of published and unpublished studies concerning the structure of cultural hierarchy in nineteenth-century Pittsburgh. He focuses on studies that deal with immigration, communities, and industrial management. Ingham finds Couvares's study problematic in certain respects, but also recognizes that the basic theoretical framework is a good approach to studies of high-brow culture. Ingham notes that "Couvares is one of few recent historians to examine the whole phenomenon of life-style, and the results of his analysis are pregnant with meanings. He points out that when the Pittsburgh social elite moved to the East End they not only changed residence but also profoundly changed their way of life."[32]

Taking issue with Couvares however, Ingham states, "For reasons that are still not wholly clear, the Pittsburgh social elites decided to remain somewhat separate from the broader national upper class." He also proposes that "their cosmopolitanism was perhaps more of a veneer than Couvares suspected, and this relative provinciality, this rootedness and still rather prudish Calvinism, may have continued to dominate the cultural style of Pittsburgh long after New York, Philadelphia, and Boston had succumbed to an undifferentiated cosmopolitanism."[33] In conclusion, Ingham states that "further innovative work on Pittsburgh's elite should do much to

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[31] Robert Bernat, "The Brass Band Tradition in Pittsburgh," *Carnegie Magazine* 57, no. 10 (July/August 1985): 22.

[32] John N. Ingham, "Steel City Aristocrats," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 277.

[33] Ibid., 285.

help us understand the distinctive life-style which came to characterize the city in the twentieth century."

The history of black Pittsburgh remains understudied. In his essay, "Optimism, Dilemmas, and Progress: The Pittsburgh Survey and Black Americans," Laurence A. Glasco analyzes two pioneering reports on African Americans in Pittsburgh dating back to 1909: "The Negroes of Pittsburgh" (1909) by Helen A. Tucker; and "One Hundred Negro Steel Workers" (1910) by Richard Wright.[34] Unfortunately these early reports generated little or no scholarly interest until Glasco's study. Glasco's analysis focuses on the integration of black male workers in the steel mills and in Pittsburgh social life. These reports were optimistic about the integration of blacks in the Pittsburgh communities. While these reports focus on work, education, and standards of living, there are a few comments on the cultural life. It is known that the black community supported orchestras, choirs, and music clubs, but there is no literature on the participation of African Americans as audience members or performers with other ethnic groups.

Methodology

In addition to published research, this study will rely on archival and documentary research. Primary sources include newspapers, programs, and souvenir books. These sources provide the foundation for developing a narrative and framework for discussions concerning class, ethnic, and gender issues of the Pittsburgh Exposition.

[34] Laurence A. Glasco, "Optimism, Dilemmas, and Progress: The Pittsburgh Survey and Black Americans," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, 205-220 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).

Newspapers

The newspapers with the widest circulation in the Western Pennsylvania region were the *Pittsburgh Post* and the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. These newspapers printed the daily programs and also provided reviews of the musical events at the Exposition. Many of these reviews provided discussions about the audiences and their reactions to the music performed. These newspapers also featured advertisements about upcoming performances. *The Bulletin*, a weekly newspaper, catered to the region's high society.

Programs and Souvenir Books

Published programs provided titles of compositions and composer names; some also contained advertisements. The primary repository for these materials is the Music Department of the Carnegie Library. Programs published in series, such as those of the Philadelphia Orchestra are bound and housed in the Oliver Room. Every year, the Western Pennsylvania Society published a souvenir book as an introduction to the upcoming exposition. It included information about music, art, and industrial exhibits. Souvenir books after the 1903 season were not found in the libraries and archives searched. The primary locations for these books are the University of Pittsburgh's Special Collections department at the Hillman Library and the Western Pennsylvania History Society at the Heinz History Center.

Organization

This dissertation presents a chronological history of the musical activities of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition. Following this introduction, Chapter Two covers the first three years of the Exposition, 1889 to 1891, focusing on Pittsburgh's Great Western Band, Frederick Neil Innes

and the Twenty-Second Regiment Band, and Carlo Alberto Cappa and the Seventh Regiment Band of New York. It summarizes the goals of the Exposition society and discusses the programming of concerts, including special concerts featuring ethnic and classical music. Chapter Three covers the mid-1890s, with a focus on the Exposition's goal of expanding and improving its musical and non-musical entertainments. The musical innovations included a heightened emphasis on Pittsburgh's musicians and composers in concerts and an unprecedented emphasis on female vocalists and musicians with the bands.

Chapter Four discusses the Exposition's Golden Age with special attention to Pittsburgh's development as a musical center. It focuses on a series of notable bands that came to the Exposition beginning with Victor Herbert in 1895, and including John Philip Sousa, Arthur Pryor, Pittsburgh bands like Carlib Hussar's Band and the Greater Pittsburgh Band, and finally the Italian bands, including Eugenio Sorrentino and the Banda Rossa and Giuseppe Creatore.

Chapter Five discusses the orchestras that contributed to the success and development of Pittsburgh's musical taste during the Golden Age of the Exposition. Beginning with Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra in 1898, the chapter outlines the activities of other American orchestras including the Metropolitan Opera House, Theodore Thomas, Victor Herbert, Philadelphia, and the Wassili Leps orchestras. It also discusses the development and appearance of women's orchestras in America and at the Exposition, including the Boston Fadettes and the Bostonia Women's Orchestra. Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of Russian orchestras, including the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York and the Imperial Balailaka.

Chapter Six discusses the final year of the Exposition in 1916 and the Exposition's legacy in Pittsburgh. An appendix provides a sampling of concerts presented at the Exposition,

including the concerts of ethnic and festival nights at the Exposition. The Appendix is based on the programs identified and listed in the *Pittsburgh Post*, and on a number of programs preserved and held by regional libraries.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY BEGINNINGS: 1885–1891

This chapter covers the organization of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society in 1885 and the first three seasons in 1889, 1890, and 1891. The chapter will focus on the Great Western Band of Pittsburgh, Frederick Neil Innes and the Thirteenth Regiment Band, and Carlo Alberto Cappa and the Seventh Regiment Band. This chapter discusses the programming of concerts and the society's initiative to sponsor special concerts featuring classical and ethnic music, which encouraged the participation of Pittsburgh's ethnic groups.

On April 29, 1885, a group of Pittsburgh's leading businessmen and politicians, including H. J. Heinz, S. S. Marvin, and J. J. Gillespie established the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society. [1] The society's objective was "the advancement of the industrial arts and sciences, and of agriculture and horticulture, also the establishment of a polytechnic school."[2] To help secure the finances for the building of the Exposition halls, the Society sold $100 life memberships. The price of membership included free admission to the Exposition.

[1] The standard biography of Heinz is Quentin R. Skrabec, Jr., *H. J. Heinz: A Biography* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2009). S. S. Marvin moved to Pittsburgh in 1863 from New York and established a cracker business. The National Biscuit Company was one of the largest cracker and baking businesses in the United States and later became known as Nabisco. Marvin was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and served as president of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society; see Percy Frazer Smith, *Memory's Milestones: Reminiscences of Seventy Years of Busy Life in Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: Murdoch-Kerr Press, 1918), 61. J. J. Gillespie founded an art shop in Pittsburgh in 1832. As a leading art gallery and supply shop in Western Pennsylvania, it was also the first gallery to import European paintings west of the Allegheny Mountains; see Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania*, 2nd edition (State College: The Pennsylvania State University, 1980), 266.

[2] Western Pennsylvania Exposition charter, quoted in Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *Pittsburgh and its Exposition Souvenir Program*, 18. Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

Prior to the opening of the first Exposition in 1889, the Society released a commemorative program. The first twelve pages were devoted to paid advertisements featuring local businesses and retailers. On page 13, the program continued with a history of the Exposition including an engraving showing a factory and a boat passing under the bridge over the Allegheny River (See Figure 2.1). The words Pittsburgh and Exposition are integrated into the engraving, with large, decorative initials. The "E" of Exposition is decorated by a lightbulb. The "P" of Pittsburgh is decorated to resemble both a musical bass clef and a lyre. The strings of the lyre are electric wires powering the industrial city. The design implies that industrial and artistic progress go together.

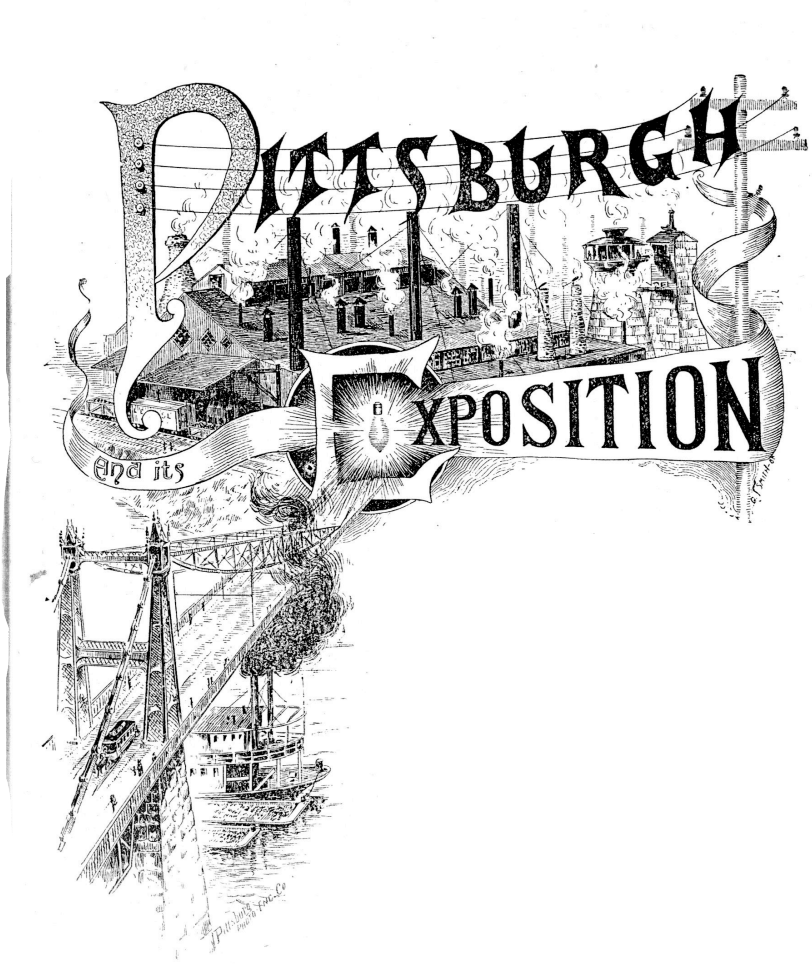

Figure 2.1: Pittsburgh Exposition Engraving from the *1889 Exposition Souvenir Program*

By the mid-1880s, Pittsburgh was a national leader in the manufacturing of iron, steel, and glass. In the Mechanical Hall, exhibits featuring manufacturing innovations and products heightened the importance of these industries to the region. While the Exposition's interest in industry was to be expected, its commitment to the arts was remarkable considering Pittsburgh's musical culture was limited with a few music venues and ensembles.

The 1889 Exposition

When the Exposition opened on Wednesday, September 4, 1889, the exhibits and interior sections of the buildings were not ready. During the first week of the Exposition's opening, exhibits continued to be installed. Many of the exhibits were run by electric motors, a first at expositions. The more popular exhibits included the glass cutting, tile and brick making, and natural gas. The art gallery and floral displays were especially popular among the female patrons at the Exposition. The Exposition management gathered collections of paintings from around the nation. Although these exhibits seemed to be successful, there was little discussion in the *Pittsburgh Post* about the content of the exhibits.

Despite the problems with getting exhibits finished for the opening, the Exposition's opening night concert took place as scheduled. It featured the Great Western Band of Pittsburgh, led by conductor Balthasar Weiss. The Great Western Band, a local organization of seventy-five amateur musicians, provided entertainment for events throughout the city. They were sponsored by the Duquesne Greys, a local volunteer regiment company, which served during the Civil War. Balthasar Weiss, the director, was a barber in the 1860s, a saloonkeeper in the 1870s, and by the

1880s, he was able to support his activities as a musician and music teacher. Under Weiss's direction, the band achieved a "national reputation."[3]

The program that first evening appeared in the *Pittsburgh Post* as follows:[4]

Part I

Overture, American……Catlin
Stabat Mater……...Rossini
Medley, "Blossoms of 1884"…….Boettger
Morcean, "True Eyes"……....Ellenberg
Characteristic, "Russian Carriage Song"……...Thornton

Part II

March, "Pittsburgh Exposition"…….Kaminsky
Overture, "Sylvana"……C.M. von Weber
Bolero, "Esmeralda"……...Levey
Medley, "A Night Off"……...Boettger
Quickstep, "Nadjy"…….Chassaigne

This program was not unlike those presented by the pre-eminent bands of the time in its blending of American popular airs and marches along with European classics. Also typical is the mix of very familiar names of major composers alongside others that are now obscure.

The program included works by well-known European composers Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) and Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826). The second piece on the program was Rossini's *Stabat mater*. Rossini's first version was completed in 1832 and a second and final version in 1842. The piece was composed for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass soloists with a chorus and orchestra. Although it is not stated on the program, it is likely that only the soprano solo, "Inflammatus," was performed; it had been arranged as a popular cornet solo. Later exposition

[3] *History of the Eighteenth Regiment Infantry, "Duquesne Greys" Organized 1831* (Pittsburgh, PA: Eighteenth Regiment Infantry, National Guard of Pennsylvania, 1901), 17.

[4] " Twill Be a Grand Affair," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1889. This concert is also included in the Appendix to facilitate comparison to other concerts.

programs indicate that it was performed regularly in this manner.[5] Another classical piece included on the program was the overture to Weber's opera, *Sylvanus* (*Sylvana*). The opera was completed in 1810 and became popular in German theaters.

The program also included some less familiar, but easily identifiable composers. The program opened with Edward. N. Catlin's, *American Overture*. Catlin (1836–1926) was a conductor at the Tremont Theater in Boston.[6] His compositional output included popular songs, marches, and arrangements from operettas such as *H.M.S. Pinafore*. His *American Overture*, was frequently programmed for festivals and ceremonies.[7] Many of the more familiar composers arranged popular selections for wind band. One selection was an arrangement by E. S. Thornton from a traditional Russian folk tune.[8] His arrangement, "Russian Carriage Song," concluded the first half of the evening's program. The second half of the program featured a work by William Charles Levey (1837–1894), an Irish composer and music director at many well-known English theaters, including Drury Lane and Covent Garden. His compositions included songs and operettas. His bolero *Esmeralda* was only heard on the opening night. The final piece on the program was a quickstep from *Nadjy* by Francis Chassaigne (1847–1922). *Nadjy* was a popular production in American theaters in the summer of 1888 when it was the main attraction at New

[5] Gustav Heim (1879–1933), a German cornetist, recorded the "Inflamatus" with the Edison Concert Band in 1913. Heim had moved to the United States in 1904 and performed with many orchestras, including the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Symphony Orchestra.

[6] William H. Rehrig, "Edward N. Catlin," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:133–134.

[7] Although Catlin's "American Overture" is not a part of the contemporary band repertory, its popularity and frequent performances is represented by its inclusion on programs. See Michigan Semi-Centennial, *Words and Music of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the State of Michigan* (East Saginaw, MI: H.B. Roney & Hoyt Block, 1886), 8.

[8] Although E. S. Thornton is relatively obscure, a few known works are identified by William H. Rehrig. See William H. Rehrig, "Thornton, E. S.," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:759.

York's Casino Theater, a Broadway theater which featured many operettas and musical comedies.[9]

Only a few of the composers on the evening's programs are more obscure and remain unidentified, including E. Boettger and R. Ellenberg. Boettger's works *Blossoms of 1884* and *A Night Off*, were performed on the opening concerts. Ellenberg was frequently programmed on concerts, including *True Eyes* on opening night.

The second half began with the *Pittsburgh Exposition* march written for the opening ceremony by Kaminsky. The march was never published, and the composer and his relationship to Pittsburgh is unknown. It is one of many occasional pieces written for and dedicated to an exposition. In 1876, for example, the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition commissioned choral works from John K. Paine (1839–1906) and Dudley Buck (1839–1909). Paine's musical setting of John Greenleaf Whittier's poem, *Centennial Hymn* and Dudley Buck's *The Centennial Meditation of Columbia* were performed on the opening program.[10] Paine also wrote *Columbus March and Hymn* for the dedication of the buildings for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. On the same dedication program, George Chadwick (1854–1931) wrote the music for a poem, *Ode*, by Chicago native, Harriet Monroe.[11] John Philip Sousa's famous *King Cotton* march was written for Atlanta's Cotton States Exposition in 1895 and became the official march.[12] In 1915, Amy Beach (1867–1944) was commissioned by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to write a work for orchestra and chorus. Her work, *Panama Hymn*, was

[9] Bordman, Gerald Martin, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 106.

[10] Homer L. Calkin, "Music During the Centennial of American Independence," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100, no. 3 (July 1976): 377-378.

[11] Ann McKinley, "Music for the Dedication Ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892," *American Music* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 42-44.

[12] Hoyt F. LeCroy, "Music of the Atlanta Expositions: 1881, 1887, 1895," *Journal of Band History* 30, no. 1 (1994), 64.

performed for the opening ceremonies.[13] Some of these works, like Sousa's, were regularly performed by wind bands. Others have remained relatively obscure and many were not published, such as Kaminsky's march.

Potpourri Concerts

The first season of the Exposition featured four daily concerts, two in the afternoon and two in the evening, known as "potpourri" concerts for the variety of musical selections. The Great Western Band was the primary music attraction of the first exposition, until later in the season when Frederick Neil Innes and his Thirteenth Regiment band arrived. The concerts by these bands included a variety of light classical music, usually overtures and arrangements of arias from operas, as well as marches and arrangements of popular songs. As Richard K. Hansen observes, "The time-honored practice of imparting its heritage of diverse music from the vernacular and cultivated traditions in potpourri concerts is a distinctive staple of the American band."[14]

Many of the "potpourri" concerts opened with overtures from well-known operettas. Overtures by Franz von Suppé (1819–1895), an Austrian composer and conductor, were frequently performed by the Great Western Band. Many of Suppé's well-known overtures include *Poet and Peasant*, *Light Cavalry*, and *Morning, Noon, and Night in Vienna*, and *Die Irrfahrt um's Glück*.[15] These overtures were arranged for wind band and included on many programs.

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[13] Raoul Camus, "Music at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," in *Music, American Made*, ed. John Koegel (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2011), 97.

[14] Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: Gia Publications, Inc., 2005), 2–3.

[15] Peter Branscombe and Dorothea Link, "Suppé, Franz," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27130 (accessed September 22, 2011).

The "potpourri" concerts presented many marches and dances of the time period. One of the featured composers was Theodore Moses Tobani (1855–1933), who also published under the name Theodore Moses and pseudonym Andrew Herman. Tobani's numerous publications included arrangements and original tunes for wind band. In this first season the Great Western Band presented a few of his published pieces. Two gavottes, *Our Little Nestling* and *Rose of Erin*, and a march, *Castino*, were performed.

The Great Western Band performed compositions by Philipp Fahrbach, Jr. (1843–1894), an Austrian composer, musician, and conductor. He performed with the Twenty-Third Regiment band in Germany and published over 500 works and arrangements for wind band. Fahrbach's works were regularly programmed by other bands in later seasons at the exposition. In this first year, the Great Western Band performed three waltzes: *Deutsche Gruesse*, *Visions of a Beautiful Woman*, and *Woman's Love*.

Classical Nights

The Exposition management initiated a series of Classical music concerts on Friday nights. These concerts included music by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), Richard Wagner (1813–1883), Weber, and Rossini. The first classical night began with the overture from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*. Other works on the concert featured selections from two popular operas by Wagner, the "Pilgrim Chorus" from *Tannhäuser* and the "Bridal Chorus" from *Lohengrin*. Another well-known chorus, "Hallelujah Chorus" from George Frederick Handel's *Messiah* was also on the program that evening. A reviewer for the *Pittsburgh Post* concluded that "The fatal charm of classics has so taken hold of Conductor Weiss that last night he kept his band from a greatly needed rest and had them practice Mozart, Schumann, Wagner, until long

after honest men are asleep."[16] The classical night also included the "Inflammatus" from Rossini's *Stabat mater*, and "Fackeltanz," No. 3 by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864). Another review discussed that these evenings catered to high society and that Friday night "…is fashionable night, as usual, and the very finest of this city and the country will turn out to look at the exhibits and exhibit to the lookers."[17]

People's Day

In 1889, every Saturday at the Exposition was known as "People's Day." The day was "free to the masses and intended to impress upon working-class Pittsburghers the significance of their city."[18] The music concerts of these days featured popular and light music styles to attract the working class. On October 5, 1889, the program featured a number of marches, waltzes, overtures, and descriptive selections.[19] One of the selections performed was the *Pittsburgh Exposition* march by local instructor and composer of music, John Gernert. It is unknown if this march was published.[20] The featured piece on the program was a descriptive piece, *A Trip to Coney Island*. The *Post* provided a description of the piece: "It embodies the rush to the boat, all aboard, whistle, Italian band playing on board the steamer, jubilee singer, street singers and many other wondrous instrumental effects."[21] The selection, which included a marching band and jubilee singers, would have been quite appealing to the mass audience. As the Exposition

[16] "'Mid Flowers and Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 20, 1889.

[17] "Exposition Gossip," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1889.

[18] Edward Slavishak, *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 122.

[19] See Appendix for the complete program of "People's Day," October 5, 1889.

[20] Like Kaminsky, who wrote a march of the same title for the opening night, John Gernert is relatively obscure except it being known that he was a local music instructor. It leaves to wonder if the *Pittsburgh Post* made a mistake and both occurrences are the same march by Kaminsky or Gernert. William Rehrig does identify eight marches written by John Gernert including the "Great Western March" (1894) and the "Pennsylvania March" (1895). See William H. Rehrig, "John Gernert," *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:275.

[21] *Pittsburgh Post*, October 5, 1889.

moved forward, the People's Days were a highlight of the season and many trains ran excursions from the surrounding cities for these special days.

Ethnic Nights

The Exposition Society initiated a series of evenings devoted to the presentation of music intended to represent and appeal to the tastes of Pittsburgh's ethnic communities. As Nora Faires establishes, the population growth was a result of an increase in immigration to the region:

> Of Pittsburgh's more than three hundred forty thousand inhabitants in 1890, nearly one hundred thousand were immigrants (28.9 percent). Adding those of "foreign stock" (American-born persons of foreign parentage) to this number indicates more clearly the impact of immigration on the city's growth: 65.9 percent of Pittsburgh's residents were either immigrants themselves or the sons or daughters of immigrants.[22]

Most of the immigrants in the nineteenth century prior to the 1880s were Irish, German, or English. From the 1880s to World War I, many of the new immigrants arrived from southern and eastern Europe and Italy.[23] The demographic change in Pittsburgh, as a result of the expansion of the steel industry, led to "rigidly segregated ethnic enclaves."[24] These ethnic enclaves established centers for religious and cultural activities, including choral societies.

The evening concerts devoted to music of the nations featured popular airs and melodies. The *Pittsburgh Post* advertised the evenings of national music and encouraged attendance at these concerts. The first national concert was an evening of English melodies presented by the Great Western Band. The following evening was devoted to Scotland and the band played favorites such as "Auld Lang Syne," "Within a Mile of Edinboro," "The Devil's Tongue," and

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[22] Nora Faires, "Immigrants and Industry: Peopling the 'Iron City'" in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 10.

[23] Ibid., 10.

[24] Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877–1919* (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 1984), 89.

"Annie o' the Bank o' Dee." Below is the advertisement from the *Pittsburgh Post* announcing a night of Scottish melodies (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Advertisement for Scotland Night at the Exposition, *Pittsburgh Post*, September 17, 1889

Pittsburgh critics praised the successful start to these concerts: "The Scottish melodies attracted large crowds yesterday and set the seal of success on the project of devoting certain evenings to the rendition of national airs."[25]

The evening devoted to melodies and airs of Germany was one of the most anticipated concerts, and the railroads ran excursions to accommodate the German population surrounding Pittsburgh. Although the Irish community outnumbered the Germans in Pittsburgh at the end of the nineteenth century, the Germans were more influential in Pittsburgh's musical institutions. As Faires writes, "Pittsburgh Germans quickly founded an array of social organizations ranging from fraternal associations and reading societies to labor unions and 'oom-pah' bands."[26] The involvement of Germans in the musical activities of the city symbolizes the pre-eminence of German musicians and composers. Many fraternal organizations sponsored male singing societies. These *Männerchöre* performed in the evening at the Exposition. They were preceded

[25] "Crowds Keep Coming," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1889.
[26] Faires, 8.

by afternoon band concerts that included music by well-known German composers such as Robert Schumann, Anton Rubenstein, and Richard Wagner, and prepared the audience for the evening festivities. The German evening was a great success and the *Pittsburgh Post* commented the following day that it "was certainly one of the most successful in the history of the institution," as the "delightful airs took them back to the fatherland."[27]

The Irish population in Pittsburgh and in urban centers throughout the United States suffered the highest poverty rate among these pre-1880s ethnic communities. The Irish men were mainly unskilled laborers and many worked in the coal mines and factories.[28] Within these communities, musical activities took the form of popular songs and dances, and there was little formal education in music. Typically, Irish-American popular music centered around "nostalgic songs about Ireland…that looked back at a lost homeland, a place of beauty and innocence where everything was wholesome."[29] The popularity of Irish songs on vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley created a secondary market for arrangements of Irish songs and character pieces for wind bands. Figure 2.3 is the advertisement from the *Pittsburgh Post* for the Irish night at the Exposition.

Many of the composers featured on the first Irish night programs were not of Irish descent.[30] The program opened with a polonaise by J. Price Swift, *The Royal Decree*.[31] The only

[27] "At the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 4, 1889.

[28] A general history of the Irish in America is a collection of essays: J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casoy, ed., *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). A general history of Irish immigration and culture in Pittsburgh is: Nora Faires, "Immigrants and Industry: Peopling the 'Iron City'," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays, 3–32 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

[29] Mick Moloney, "Irish-American Popular Music," in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, edited by J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casoy (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 393.

[30] "Crowds Keep Coming," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1889. The full program is included in the Appendix.

[31] A recording of "The Royal Decree" appears on the Old Arizona Brass Band's 2010 album, *Music from the Western Frontier*, vol. 2.

Irish composer featured on the programs was William Vincent Wallace (1812–1865). The selection was an arrangement from his opera *Lurline*.[32] Two German composers were featured

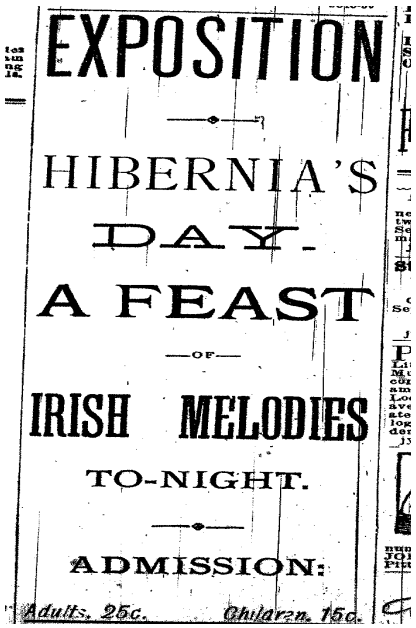

Figure 2.3: Advertisement for Irish Night at the Exposition, *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1889

on the program, George Wiegand (1834–?) and Gustave Patz (1835–c. 1912).[33] Their selections were reminiscent of Ireland in their titles. Wiegand's selections included a fantasy, *Erin*, and a quickstep, *Emerald Isle*. Patz's selection was *The Shamrock, Rose, and Thistle*. This program also included a medley overture of Irish airs, *Salute to Erin*, by Thomas Coates (1818–1885), a

[32] William H. Rehrig, "William Vincent Wallace," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:800.

[33] Wiegand performed with many bands and orchestras in the United States, including the Thomas Coates' Metropolitan Band, Theodore Thomas Orchestra, and the Seventh Regiment Band of New York, see William H. Rehrig, "George Wiegand," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:820. Patz performed with the Gilmore Band and led the Fitchburg Band. He also played the viola and French horn with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. See William H. Rehrigh, "Gustave A. Patz," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:581.

New York-born composer and director.[34] Another American composer and bandmaster, Charles William Bennet (1849–1926), was featured on the programs with his waltz, *Sounds from Erin*.[35] The program ended with a march entitled *Patrol*[36] by Hendley, who remains unidentified.

In the nineteenth century, leaders of American coal industries recruited Welsh to help establish the American coal industry. The knowledge and skills of the Welsh workers from the successful coal industry in their homeland were beneficial to help in the new American industry. Many of the Welsh immigrants settled in the Pittsburgh region. To accurately estimate their numbers, some inferences must be made. Ronald L. Lewis explains that they were counted as part of a group including "English and Welsh" ancestry. Lewis writes:

> In the eight largest coal-producing counties of western Pennsylvania there were 26,589 "English and Welsh," and if the Welsh are generously estimated at one-quarter of this group, the Welsh population would have been 6,647, including women and children. Assuming male breadwinners were one-third of the total, again a generous estimate, there would have been 2,216 Welshmen. It is most likely that most of these men worked in the iron industry because they were overwhelmingly located in Allegheny County in which Pittsburgh is located.[37]

Despite these relatively small numbers, the importance of Welsh workers in the early stages of the coal industry gave them, for a time, a significant cultural role. As the industry matured, and more American workers were able to fill various roles within it, the Welsh found themselves "in a losing struggle to maintain their privileged position in the industry."[38] The inclusion of a "Welsh Night" in 1889 reflects the prominence of Welsh workers in the mining industry at this time.

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[34] William H. Rehrig, "Coates, Thomas," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:151.

[35] Brad Glorvigen, "Charles William Bennet," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:62–63. In the *Pittsburgh Post*, Bennet's last name was misspelled as Buemett.

[36] The "Patrol" was a concert march genre that imitated the passing of a parade by starting softly, and gradually getting louder as the band approaches, and getting softer as the parade band moves on.

[37] Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 58.

[38] Ibid., 2.

In America, the Welsh immigrants continued to perform the music and songs of their homeland. Similar to the German *Sängerfest*, the Welsh formed choirs and participated in competitions, known as *eisteddfod*. The *eisteddfod* began in the Middle Ages and featured music and literature. Most festivals occurred on the local level and were held in churches and community halls. The largest *eisteddfod* of the nineteenth century was at the Columbian Exposition of 1893.[39] The Cambrian choirs in Pittsburgh, although not as popular as the German choirs, were well-received by the Pittsburgh natives: "The well-known Cambrian chorus, composed of the best Welsh vocalists in Western Pennsylvania is perhaps too well known to need any introduction."[40]

Representations and Misrepresentations of Black Music

Along with the ethnic nights, the Exposition featured authentic representations and minstrel stereotypes of black culture in composed popular music. On the one hand, the attendees were treated to the music of the "famous colored Centennial Jubilee Singers" from Storer College, located in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. Following the Civil War, the Fisk Jubilee singers from Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, toured throughout the United States introducing white audiences to the traditions and culture of African American spirituals. The format of their concerts was "similar to that of concerts presented by white artists of the time, except that a large number of spirituals were included."[41] Spirituals such as "Go Down, Moses" would be paired on the same program with popular songs, especially Stephen Foster's songs like "Old Folks at Home." In the discourse and music publications of the 1880s, the term "plantation

[39] Michael Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, edited by David Nicholls (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148.

[40] "Music at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1889.

[41] Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 228.

song" could refer either to African American spirituals or to composed "plantation songs" in the minstrel-show tradition.[42] The success of the Fisk Jubilee Singers in raising money for their school inspired other black colleges to organize similar groups. These groups made appearances in concert halls and at expositions, and followed the model established by the Fisk Jubilee Singers in their programming.[43]

Storer College was founded in 1865 and primarily served as a Teacher's College until it closed in 1955. The appearance of their Centennial Jubilee Singers at the 1889 Exposition received much praise from the audience:

> Every song was heartily applauded (a thing very rare in any really great affair). It was noticed yesterday the genuine was preferred to any sham, and the strident tenor or the shrill high notes of the females were received with more genuine applause when a tender "Swanee River" was being rendered than when all the artificial melodies in the world were given. That "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin" was shown last night when a typical Southern song was given, and every individual in the vast crowd of listeners kept up a faint, uneasy, unconscious shuffle, in perfect time with the quaint, catching old tune direct from the little cabin in the clearing.[44]

This review demonstrates the conflation of spirituals and composed "plantation songs." The "quaint, catching old tune" did *not* come "direct from the little cabin in the clearing"; in all probability it was a composed "plantation song" from the minstrel show tradition, like "Swanee River," itself. Further, it can be inferred that the "little cabin" is an allusion to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its effect on popular culture of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Eric Lott discusses the influence of the book and play on Stephen Foster's tunes, for example "'My Old Kentucky

[42] For a collection of these spirituals and "plantation songs" see *Jubilee and Plantation Songs. Characteristic Favorites, as Sung by the Hampton Students, Jubilee Singers, Fisk University, and other Concert Companies* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1887).

[43] Southern, 227–231.

[44] "Those Southern Singers," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1889.

Home, Good-Night!' (1853), with its Kentucky cabin and separating family."[45] "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Old Folks at Home" became featured songs in the plays on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. As Lott mentions, the influence of the play gave Foster's "blackface songs a more respectable gloss than they or even his genteel compositions had previously received."[46] The jubilee choirs took the success of these songs from the minstrel stage to the concert stage, giving them an acceptable and genteel performance style. The coexistence of authentic representations of black culture by groups like the Storer College Jubilee Singers and minstrel stereotypes of black culture in composed popular music would remain a feature of musical performance at the exposition.

On the other hand, the Great Western Band performed minstrel stereotypes that included both nostalgia and ridicule. As Alexander Saxton observes, "When the wandering minstrels carried their fragments of African music back to Northern and Western cities, they took them encased in a mythology of the South as a region fascinatingly different, closely wedded to nature, and above all, timeless." In these songs and shows, the plantation and the South were not viewed as a site of slavery and corruption, but as their "old home: the place where simplicity, happiness, all the things we have left behind, exist outside of time."[47] This nostalgia for the South and plantation life was reflected in many of Stephen Foster's songs, such as "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home." Among the plantation songs on the Exposition programs was L. Conterno's *Southern Plantation*, a medley of songs.

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[45] Foster was inspired by the Kentucky cabin and separating family of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and originally titled it, "Poor Uncle Tom, Good Night." See, Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 218.

[46] Ibid., 218.

[47] Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," *American Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (March 1975): 14.

A number of the performances reflected the minstrel show performances and its characters. In the Exposition programs, audiences heard works such as Ellis Brooks' *The Jolly Minstrels*, a medley overture called *Ten Minutes with the Minstrels*. This overture, by G. Bowron, was identified as "an old time minstrel first part with opening, songs, etc., and a grand finale."[48] Samuel Hosfield's *Echoes of Minstrelsy* was also performed. Hosfield was a member of two minstrel groups, Carncross and Dixey's Minstrels and Skiff and Gaylord's Minstrels, and was the orchestra director for Harris and Clifton's Minstrel troupe.

Frederick Neil Innes and the Thirteenth Regiment Band

The final two weeks of the exposition in 1889 featured the Thirteenth Regiment Band directed by Frederick Neil Innes (1854–1926). Frederick Innes, a trombonist, was invited by Patrick S. Gilmore (1829–1892) to join his 22nd Regiment Band in 1880. From the 1870s to the 1890s, Gilmore's band was considered the best band in the world and he held his musicians to high performance standards, which influenced many conductors and musicians. His bands toured extensively throughout the United States and performed regularly at festivals and expositions. The Peace Jubilee concerts in Boston, which brought classical music to the masses with large orchestras and choruses, are a part of Gilmore's legacy.[49] Innes departed from Gilmore's band in 1887 to direct the Thirteenth Regiment Band of New York.

Although Innes' band was associated with the Thirteenth Regiment of New York, the band primarily functioned as a professional organization participating in festivals and concert

[48] "New Year Day Concert," *The San Francisco Call*, December 31, 1912.

[49] Jere T. Humphreys, "Strike Up the Band! The Legacy of Patrick S. Gilmore," *Music Educators Journal* 74, no. 2 (October 1987): 22–26.

tours.[50] Upon their first performance at the Pittsburgh Exposition, the *Pittsburgh Post* proclaimed:

> The new attraction has caught on and will be the means of drawing thousands to the great show who perhaps would not have gone. The music rendered last night was of a very high order and the best judges of music in the two cities were there, as impartial judges, and they left delighted. Director Innes was given encore after encore and he in turn complimented the people by stating that they fully appreciated his best efforts.[51]

Innes continued to be the drawing card for the final two weeks of the first exposition and secured his band's spot as the primary attraction for the following season. As the reviewer recognized, the appearance of a nationally celebrated band was a major cultural event.

In this first season, the Pittsburgh Exposition proved to be a successful endeavor for the Exposition Society. The industrial and agriculture exhibits recognized Pittsburgh's achievements and the music programs gave an opportunity for the people of Pittsburgh to hear music. The special concerts succeeded in representing Pittsburgh's diverse ethnic groups and were very popular. The success of the first Exposition helped to guarantee a return for a second season in 1890.

The 1890 Exposition

The return of the Exposition in the fall of 1890 was a highly anticipated event. The widely circulated souvenir program opened with the following statement: "Pittsburgh in one brief year has fully tested the potency of an Industrial Exposition as a promoter of trade and social intercourse, and as a general educator of the masses. The second season of the Exposition

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[50] James D. Mandeville, *History of the 13th Regiment, N.G., S.N.Y.* (New York Press of George W. Rodgers, 1894),163.

[51] "Music at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1889. The reference to "the two cities" reflects the fact that prior to 1905, the Allegheny River was the boundary between Pittsburgh City to the south and Allegheny City to the north. In 1905, the area became known collectively as Pittsburgh, see Benjamin John Lossing, ed., *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History* 7 (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1905), 220.

is now upon us, and a brighter, more promising season never loomed up before a hopeful people."[52] The *Post* added that the Exposition would be "pleasing and instructive to visitors from the surrounding counties, as well as a daily pleasure available to our own people. Year by year we hope to see the Exposition take on the more instructive features of local exhibits of our progress in science, art, and mechanics, and less of the mere mercantile-advertising show-window idea."[53]

The exhibits in Mechanical Hall featured the progress and achievements in industry and mechanics demonstrating that Pittsburgh was "…the greatest industrial and commercial city in the country." The most popular attraction was the glassblowing exhibit where visitors could watch skilled glassblowers make lamp chimneys and bottles.[54] Exhibits by the Westinghouse Electric Company featured displays of electrical apparatus and appliances.[55] Outside the Exposition buildings, the Oil Well Supply Company had an oil well drill on display, boring for oil.[56] In the first few weeks of the Exposition, the *Post* reported that it had reached 60 feet and many people hoped that it would reach oil.

Many exhibits promoted the beauty and charm of the city's leisure culture.[57] The art gallery and its collections were better than the first season and a skylight was installed to help with more natural lighting and viewing. The art exhibit featured the famous Albert Bierstadt

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[52] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *1890 Souvenir Program*, p. 28, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

[53] "Exposition Opening," *Pittsburgh Post* September 5, 1890.

[54] Pittsburgh's location west of the Allegheny Mountains was ideal for supplying window glass for the high demand in the West. It became the glass capital of America and after the Civil War, demands rose for other glass works. By 1880, Pittsburgh supplied 27 percent of the nation's glass. See Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh*.

[55] George Westinghouse founded the Westinghouse Airbrake and Westinghouse Electric Companies. The electric company focused on the transmission of alternating current, which could be carried over larger land areas and was more economical than the direct current, promoted by Thomas Edison, which could not be carried as far.

[56] The Oil Well Supply Company was one of the leading global manufacturers of machinery and supplies for oil-boring and factories.

[57] My definition is shaped by Francis G. Couvares discussion about the leisure class of Pittsburgh which sought after a cosmopolitan culture with private clubs and theaters suited to providing social activities appropriate for the middle and upper classes of Pittsburgh. See Couvares, "Leisure Class, Ruling Class" in *The Remaking of Pittsburgh*, 96–119.

(1830–1902) collection and other oil and watercolor works.[58] Bierstadt, a German-American painter was well known for capturing the beauty of the Western mountains and lands. The large panoramas of the West "had an immediate appeal to a nation nursing the ambition to become Europe's equal in all aspects of national experience."[59] In the final decades of the nineteenth century, musicians and composers looked to the works of American painters and poets for inspiration in an American music movement. As Laurence Scherer states, "…the postwar third of the nineteenth century saw the first attempt by composers to establish a genuine American school to stand as a musical counterpart to the work of American painters such as Albert Bierstadt…"[60]

The Exposition also promoted displays of floral arrangements. In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, domestic manuals gave advice about of the fashioning of the house, including the arrangement of flowers. In 1869, *The American Woman's Home* by Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe was published to train women for in domestic duties; it discussed issues of maintaining the household, caring for children, and nurturing of a Christian home, among other topics.[61] One of the chapters in this book was devoted to the growing and maintenance of flowers: "One of the most useful and important [arts], is the cultivation of flowers and fruits. This, especially for the daughters of the family, is greatly promotive of health and amusement."[62] At the end of the nineteenth century, English aesthete Rosamund Marriott Watson discusses the values of the fashioning of flowers in her manual, *The Art of the House*, "Flowers are flowers, we say, and everybody knows that a love for flowers is indicative of a

[58] A standard study of Bierstadt's paintings is Matthew Baigell, *Albert Bierstadt* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1981).

[59] Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., "Albert Bierstadt and the Emerging San Francisco Art World of the 1860s and 1870s," *California History* 71, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 75.

[60] Laurence Barrymore Scherer, *A History of American Classical Music* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc, 2007), 37.

[61] See Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (New York: J. B. Ford and Company, 1869).

[62] Beecher and Stowe, 294.

refined and poetic cast of mind."[63] The publication of such manuals in New York and London reveals that Pittsburgh's exhibition of "refined" tastes was equal to that of the great cities of America and Europe.

Throughout the United States, as a result of the recent treaty signed between the United States and Japan in 1855, exhibitions began to incorporate Japanese architecture and art into their displays. One of the first such pavilions was the Japanese pagoda and teahouse at the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia (1876), and followed by the Imperial Japanese Gardens at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1903) and Panama-Pacific Exposition (1915), including buildings and tea houses.[64] The Pittsburgh Exposition was a part of the trend with an exhibit featuring a Japanese pagoda and tea house. A model dragon, lit up with red lights at night, greeted visitors to the pagoda.

The late nineteenth century witnessed the development of a tradition of public spaces known as "pleasure gardens."[65] Prior to the 1890 season, the management made many improvements to the Exposition grounds leading from the Exposition buildings to the riverbank:

> Walks and flowerbeds have been laid out, grass has been planted and benches set about in convenient places for the people to rest. Steps lead from the promenade down to a little wharf on the river bank and every day during the time the Exposition is open a handsome little steamer will make hourly trips to points of interest, up the Allegheny and down the Ohio. Visitors will be given an opportunity to see Davis Island Dam, McKees Rocks and the great mills and picturesque scenery along the Allegheny.[66]

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[63] Rosamund Marriott Watson, *The Art of the House* (London: George Bell and Songs, 1898), 123.

[64] For more information and descriptions about the Japanese influence in American see Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1983).

[65] "Pleasure gardens" served the society as a popular setting for social activities. Heath Schenker describes the "pleasure gardens" as popular settings for social activities: "Enthusiasts saw the eclecticism of pleasure gardens as a strength. Offering a medley of statues and busts, architectural monuments, trompe l'oeil panoramas, and changing entertainments, the pleasure garden landscape was varied, exciting, and cosmopolitan. It provided a stage for cultural events and for various festivals and social gatherings." See Heath Schenker, "Pleasure Gardens, Theme Parks, and the Picturesque," in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 70.

[66] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *1890 Souvenir Program*, p. 36, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

These new improvements were accented by the addition of an electrical fountain, similar to the one of the Paris Exposition of 1889. The fountain played every night with a colored light display created by colored glass. As Manager Johnston was quoted in the *Post*: "The fountain and embellished river bend will probably be the nucleus of a regular park-embankment….[it] will be the rialto of Pittsburgh and one of the most unique parks in America. Even now one cannot help noticing from the deck of any incoming boat what a wonderful improvement has been made on the appearance of our city by the addition of the grass plot on the western side of the Exposition building and the erection of this river terrace."[67] Like Venice, Pittsburgh and the Point is surrounded by rivers and bridges. The Rialto bridge, the oldest and longest bridge across the Venice Canal, is surrounded by shops and walkways. As the Society redesigned the grounds surrounding the Exposition buildings, the "rialto of Pittsburgh" was inspired by the Rialto Bridge of Venice.

The organizers of the second Exposition in 1890 hoped to build upon the success of the opening year. The Exposition was bringing in more visitors from the city and the region. Trains ran excursions throughout the season from the countryside to the city. It was also an attraction for school groups, and city orphanages and local children set up displays of writing and art works.

The success of the exhibits at the Exposition did not take the attention away from the concerts. The exhibits provided more entertainment for the Exposition visitors between the band concerts. The popularity of the Innes band at the end of the opening year guaranteed the band the recognition as the main attraction for the 1890 Exposition season. The Innes band continued with the "potpourri" concerts mixing classical and popular music. The fondness of the Pittsburgh

[67] "Discontented Exhibitors" *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1890.

people for Innes and his band was captured in the following review: "One of the gems of last night's program was Director Innes's rendition on trombone of Faure's 'Psalms.' It was loudly applauded. Last season he showed what he could do with the trombone and now his solos on that instrument will be awaited with interest."[68]

During this season, Innes and his band continued upon the success of the concerts of the first season in 1889. While the Exposition continued with the "ethnic nights" that were popular, new special concerts were added to season's programs. Innes established "Wagner Nights" devoted to the music of Wagner and "American Days" filled with patriotic tunes.

Innes initiated the first "Wagner Night" at the Exposition on the first Friday night of the season. Evenings devoted to the music of Wagner began in 1853 when Carl Bergmann led the Germania Musical Society of Boston in a concert of overtures and excerpts from Wagner's operas. The popularity of "Wagner Nights" was a part of America's continuing affection with German music, as Joseph Horowitz comments: "And, to a remarkable degree, America remained a musical colony of Germany until World War I—which suggests both a predisposition to Wagner and the absence of a strong native heritage to stand in the way."[69] The program for the evening featured selections from *Parsifal*, *Rienzi*, *Tristan and Isolde*, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Meistersinger*, *Lohengrin*, and *Tannhauser*, as well as the "Kaiser March."[70]

The Exposition continued hosting days devoted to the ethnic groups of Pittsburgh. Many groups were represented throughout the season: Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and German. The German nights continued to be the most popular and "the very best drawing card of the season" with the largest crowds. Train excursions were run from the German communities surrounding

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[68] *Pittsburgh Post*, Thursday, September 11, 1890.

[69] Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 34.

[70] See Appendix for the complete Wagner program.

Pittsburgh.[71] As suggested, the "*Männerchöre* have unquestionably contributed to the growth of choral singing in the United States."[72] In Pittsburgh, the *Männerchöre*, were part of the earliest forms of organized music culture. As Morrow discusses, "Regular concerts almost invariably included a wide variety of pieces from the expected choral number to instrumental and vocal solos to symphonic works generally played by a hired orchestra."[73] The concerts at the Exposition followed a similar programming style. On October 2, 1890, the Cecilia, Robert Blum, and Germania Männerchöre presented a concert featuring works by Hermann Mohr, Moehring, and Wriede:

> "Am Altare der Wahrheit"…… Mohr
> "Wie Hab Ich Sie Beliebt"…….Moehring
> "Nachtlied der Krieger".....Wriede[74]

The band played selections by German composers throughout the day and during the evening programs. Some of the composers featured throughout the day included Meyerbeer and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

This 1890 Exposition initiated the first "American Day." A large advertisement in the paper marked the event and encouraged attendance at the concerts: "Let every patriotic American turn out and make this day one to be long remembered in the history of the Exposition."[75] The large crowds were treated to patriotic tunes such as "The Star Spangled Banner," "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and "Hail Columbia." Below is the advertisement for the "American Day" at the Exposition.

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[71] "Giving Vocal Music" *Pittsburgh Post*, October 2, 1890.

[72] Mary Sue Morrow, "Somewhere between Beer and Wagner: The Cultural and Musical Impact of German Männerchöre in New York and New Orleans" in *Music and Culture in America, 1861–1918*, ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998): 79.

[73] Ibid., 93.

[74] Herman Mohr was a German composer residing in Philadelphia, while Moehring and Wriede are relatively obscure composers.

[75] "Drawing to a Close," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1890.


EXPOSITION.

AMERICAN DAY.

"The Star Spangled Banner."
"My Country 'Tis of Thee."
"Hail Columbia."

Let every patriotic American turn out and make this day one to be long remembered in the history of the Exposition.

Only three days left in which to take in the wonderful attractions to be seen ONLY at the

EXPOSITION.

Figure 2.4: Advertisement for American Day at the Exposition, *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1890

The program also featured some of the emerging popular songs of the Post-Civil War era and Tin Pan Alley. One of the selections on the program, *Parlor and Street*, was an introduction to "all the popular songs of the day from 'Down Went McGinty' to 'Annie Rooney.'"[76] Often, comic songs of the Irish were caricatures of the urban Irishman. In the 1880s, there was an increase in references to fighting in comic Irish songs. In "Down Went McGinty" by Joseph Flynn, the character was the victim of random violence.[77] In contrast, the song "Annie Rooney" provided evidence of the upward mobility of the Irish-American and presented Irish-American girls as "beautiful, gracious, well-mannered, and of good character" and marketed to a mass audience.[78]

The continued success of the Exposition paved the way for future seasons at the Point. The Exposition Society continued to make changes and add new exhibits and displays to enhance and improve upon what had been established. The popular "Wagner Nights" show that the Pittsburgh audience was receptive to the trends of major East coast cities and programs. Although the Society worked to improve the programs, there was still an emphasis on the ethnic

[76] "Mechanics Out in Force," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 16, 1890.
[77] William H. A. Williams, *'Twas Only an Irishman's Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800–1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 146.
[78] Moloney, 393.

nights to encourage participation in the Exposition by Pittsburgh's ethnic communities. The improvements in the second season made the Exposition more accessible, while instructing and educating the Pittsburgh audience.

The 1891 Exposition

The 1891 season continued to build upon the success of the previous two seasons of the Exposition. In this season, many of the same exhibits from previous seasons were probably. Some of these exhibits had improvements to make them more appealing to the Exposition patrons. The oil well located outside of the Exposition halls was rebuilt and was a permanent fixture. The art gallery was still very popular and more paintings were added to the collection. During the third season, a new band was introduced to the Exposition audience. Carlo Alberto Cappa and his Seventh Regiment Band from New York headlined the Exposition during its third season. Cappa continued with a similar programming style of Innes and his band. During the season, the Exposition audience was treated to a performance by the famous Fisk Jubilee Singers.

Carlo Alberto Cappa (1834–1893) and the Seventh Regiment Band of New York headlined the 1891 season. Born in Italy, Cappa enlisted in the United States Navy and settled in the United States in 1858. He started playing trombone with many local bands and was the first trombonist from 1869 to 1876 with the Theodore Thomas Orchestra. In 1881, he became the director of the Seventh Regiment Band. The band performed regularly at Central Park and Brighton Beach, and went on national tours.[79]

[79] Frank J. Cipolla, "Cappa, Carlo Alberto," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/47785 (accessed September 23, 2011).

One of the most popular members of Cappa's ensemble was Walter B. Rogers, the celebrated cornet virtuoso. Along with his celebrated playing style, many of his compositions for cornet were featured on the programs. On the opening night, he was well-received by the people of Pittsburgh, which was noted in the following review of the evening's performance: "When Walter Rogers, the famous cornet virtuoso, took his position on the leader's stand for his solo, 'Souvenir of Naples,' he was warmly applauded. His rendition of the 'runs' and of the entire numbers was very expressive and Mr. Rogers was loudly encored. He retuned and gave the very popular selection, 'Comrades.'"[80]

The opening program featured a newly composed march for the exposition, *The Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society*. A reviewer for the *Pittsburgh Post* commented on how the march sounded in the building, "the strains of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society Grand March floated through the building in all their harmony and fullness. It was a splendid effort and was composed by Cappa for the occasion. The people were pleased with it, and rendered hearty applause."[81] Other compositions and arrangements by Cappa appeared on the program.

Cappa highlighted many American music styles throughout the third Exposition. One of his most frequently performed works was his descriptive overture, the *Battle of Gettysburg*. As described in the *Pittsburgh Post*:

> It opens with the reveille call and all is supposed to be lively in camp. A cannon shot from the enemy in the distance causes the assembly to be given; then quickly follow the advance the calls incident so the formation of the line. Then the line advances and the battle begins. A peculiar effect was brought out here by the very clever imitation of musketry firing and the occasional boom of a cannon. Above the din can be heard he shrill orders by trumpet and the music of the army band. At length the call of "cease firing" is given. The musketry is silent. The roll

[80] "Opened in a Blaze of Glory," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 3, 1891. See Appendix for a concert featuring Walter Rogers.

[81] "Opened in a Blaze of Glory," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 3, 1891.

> is sounded and after striking tents the soldiers are homeward bound. In the distance the train is heard approaching and arriving at the station three cheers are given and the band plays "When Johny Comes Marching Home." The great battle piece ends with the "Start Spangled Banner."[82]

Its warm reception among the Pittsburgh public was also documented in the same article: "The music was excellent and the attention of every person within hearing distance was closely kept. Loud applause followed the close and 'There is No Place Like Home' was given as a finale. The *Battle of Gettysburg* is a masterpiece, and is Cappa's own composition and arrangement."[83]

In continuing with the tradition of emphasizing patriotic medleys, Cappa's band performed the musical medley, "Tar and Tartar." *The Tar and Tartar* was a comic opera with a libretto by Harry B. Smith and music by Adam Itzel, Jr. The opera was about the planned disappearance of a "Moroccan" prince and the sailor who takes his place on the throne. Exoticism was a central theme in nineteenth century musicals, beginning with the reliance on Asian subjects such as in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado*. The characteristics of the "Other" were somewhat blurred, grouping together many unrelated music cultures, such as Turkish, Middle Eastern, and East Asian.[84]

In the *Tar and Tartar*, exotic elements were intermingled absurdly with American patriotic songs. The *Pittsburgh Post* provided a description of the work:

> In it the band played 10 pieces at once, beginning with "America" and "The Campbells are Coming" and interspersing "Dixie," "Yankee Doodle," "St. Patrick's Day," "Wacht am Rhine," and ending with the "Star Spangled Banner." It was a lovely piece. No other band has played this medley and Mr. Soloman, manager for Cappa, arranged the music from the original scroll since he came here.[85]

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[82] "Crowding into the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1891

[83] Ibid.

[84] Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity (*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 249.

[85] "Had Complete Possession," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1891.

The description of the overture in an early twentieth century music magazine discusses the three episodes of the overture and the third episode as "the intertwining of national airs."[86] The third episode becomes the foundation for the conclusion of the opera and was arranged for wind bands.

Cappa also paid tribute to Stephen Foster (1826–1864), a son of Pittsburgh, and a well-known author and composer of many popular American tunes. Cappa arranged a work, *Reminiscences of Stephen C. Foster's Songs*, which incorporated many melodies of Foster's most popular songs. It has not been identified if the arrangement was published. The following poem by Francis S. Saltus and John F McCann accompanied the program printed in the *Post*:

> Thy humble lute was simply strong
> The chords of joy on happy fears;
> And yet, through all the coming years,
> The song will be by mothers sung.
> And by the old and by the young,
> To banish heartaches sights and fears,
> When grief in lonely hearts appear,
> While memory's bells are softly rung.
>
> And yet you sighed, and suffered so,
> Walking the streets while lacking bread
> Unconscious that the world today
> Would ever care to sew or know
> The man, for thirty years now dead,
> Who gave it faithful "Old Day Tray." [87]

When the selection was performed for a second time at the Exposition, the *Post* commented, "A Pittsburgh audience always welcomes Foster's selections."[88]

The Exposition management continued sponsoring the ethnic evenings in the third season. In the first two seasons, the Welsh evenings received very little attention. In 1890, the

[86] "Things Here and There," in *Music: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Art, Science, Technique, and Literature of Music* 20 (May-November 1901): 135.
[87] "Had Complete Possession," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1891.
[88] "Cappa to Play," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1891.

only indication about an evening of Welsh music was through an advertisement. However, the Welsh music was grouped into a British night. As discussed earlier, the Welsh were frequently grouped with English ancestry. The advertisement headline read: "Choir Musical Program consisting of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh Patriot Airs."[89]

In 1891, the Welsh Night was an independent event and not grouped together in a more generalized "British Night." However, the Welsh night received little attention from the *Pittsburgh Post*. In preparation for the evening's event, the *Post* commented: "The little country of Wales will be remembered in a musical way today. The music this evening will be, as far as possible, by Welsh composers." The only selection discussed in the announcement was a medley of Welsh music, titled *Cambria*, by a relatively unknown composer, Bonniesseau.[90] This medley included two marches associated with the Welsh Guard, *Rising of the Lark* and *March of the Men of Harlech*. The other songs featured in the medley were battle songs, including "The War Song of the Men of Glamorgan" and "Forth to the Battle."[91]

Although the Storer College Jubilees singers had been well received in the first season of the Exposition, the second season did not include an African-American Jubilee choir. However, a highlight of the 1891 season was a one-night performance by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, now known as Loudin's Fisk Jubilee Singers. For reasons unknown, this concert was not reviewed or listed in the newspaper, but the popularity of Loudin's Jubilee Singers is well documented. Information about their program can be inferred from primary sources like Loudin's history of

[89] "Tonight, Exposition, British Night," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 23, 1890.

[90] Bonnisseau was included in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music* with no first name given and only a few known works listed. This medley was not listed. See William H. Rehrig, "Coates, Thomas," *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, ed. Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:90.

[91] "A Good Monday," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1891.

the Jubilee Singers.[92] This concert marked an important step in the authentic representation of African American music.

In contrast to the authentic representations of African American music by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Cappa's band presented exaggerated and demeaning representations of Black music culture. Cappa's arrangement of *Southern Jollification* by Charles Kunkel and popularized by Patrick Gilmore's band was originally written for piano, which imitates a minstrel banjo. The cover page of the sheet music is an "exaggeration" of black musical life at the end of the nineteenth century. The cover page of the sheet music is a sketching of a black man playing the banjo and dancing under a tree in a field while other people watch and dance. In the background is a river, probably the Mississippi River with a riverboat in the distance (See Figure 2.5).

A description of the music by the *Post*:

> Darkies gathering at twilight after a day of cotton picking in the fields. Uncle Joshua leads off with his favorite song, "I'm a Happy Little Nig," which is responded to by all the darkies in a grand hallelujah. Then follow the irresistible "breakdown" and banjo solo, while the dusky queens are up and tripping light fantastic steps to the pride of their enraptured swains. The enthusiasm is catching, and all join in a grand wind-up.[93]

These exaggerated depictions enhance the mystical views of Southern plantation life, while creating a demeaning caricature of African American music culture.

Another caricature, the *Darkies Jubilee*, was a "descriptive scene" with spoken dialogue and quartet singing, framing an instrumental march. Originally written by John M. Turner,[94] it was rearranged as an instrumental piece without dialogue by George Wiegand, and in this form it

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[92] See J. B. T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers*, with supplement by F. J. Loudin (Cleveland: The Cleveland Printing and Publishing Co., 1892). Frederick J. Loudin became manager and director of the Fisk Jubilee singers in 1882.

[93] "Crowding into the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1891.

[94] William H. Rehrig does list this work as the one known work by John M. Turner. See William H. Rehrig, "Turner, John M.," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music*, ed. Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:769.

was recorded by the Majestic Military Band in 1917, under the alternate title, *Pastimes on the Levee*.

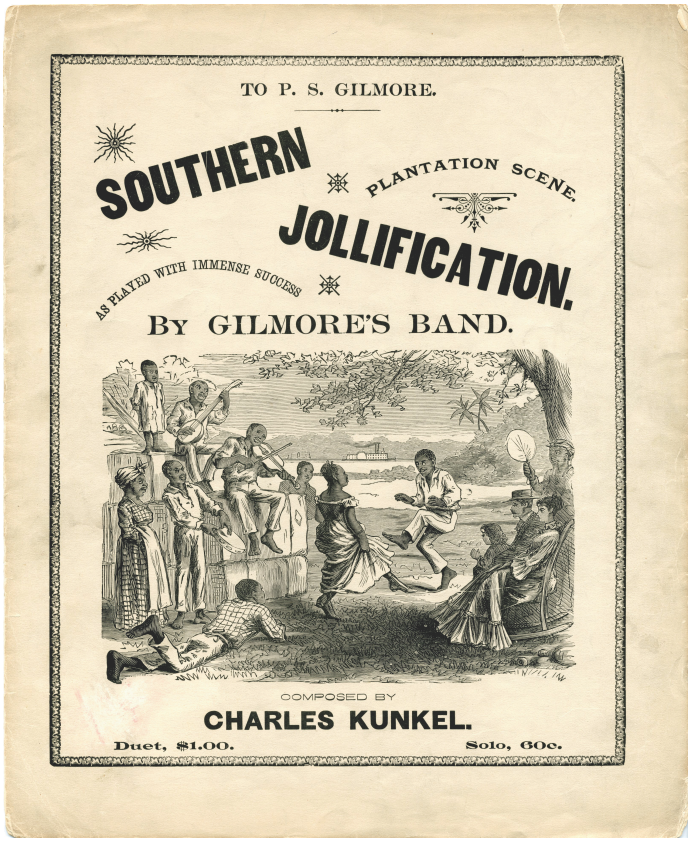

Figure 2.5: Cover of Piano Arrangement to Charles Kunkel's *Southern Jollification*

In 1891, there was more evidence of participation of women as audience members at the Exposition. Adrienne Fried Block has suggested women as "bearers of musical culture within home" had more opportunities and "access to public musical events."[95] The Exposition Society named September 16 as "Ladies Day" and as the headlines reveal the following day, "It was Fair

[95] Adrienne Fried Block, "Matinee Mania, or the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City," *19th-Century Music* 31, no. 3 (2008): 193.

Woman's Day" followed by a subheading, "The Gentle Sex Given the Freedom of the Big Exposition Buildings." The article reported, "The fair sex was out in large numbers, and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. They made many raids with nickels upon the popcorn stands."[96] There was also a growing presence of ladies in attendance for the customary Classical Friday nights, which the *Post* commented that "an unusually large number of ladies were there."[97] Block discusses that women at the beginning of the century were not permitted to attend concert events at night without an escort, but by the end of the century "women felt free to go to any performance they wished, with or without escorts."[98]

By the end of this third season, the Exposition's objective of linking musical and cultural arts with industrial progress had been achieved. The pre-eminence of the wind band in drawing patrons to the exposition had been established. Highlights from the programs of the wind bands included a blend of popular and Western art music and evenings devoted to Classical music. The music of specific ethnic communities that were important in the demography and industry of the area was recognized in ethnic nights. These evenings were well attended and showcased some of Pittsburgh's best choirs. As the Exposition expanded, the programming of music would retain these basic concepts that were presented in these first three years, but continue to grow and raise the standards of Pittsburgh's musical taste.

[96] "It Was Fair Woman's Day," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 17, 1891.
[97] "Yesterday at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1891.
[98] Block, 193.

CHAPTER 3

HIGHER AMBITIONS (1892–1897):

PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE AND REMEMBERING THE PAST

In its first three seasons, the Pittsburgh Exposition established itself as a leader among Expositions. The management successfully maintained a balance between middle- and high-brow entertainments while elevating the cultural activities of the Pittsburgh region. The Exposition continued popular attractions, such as the art gallery and floral displays. As the annual event continued to expand, so did the need for more ambitious exhibits and entertainment. Inside the main hall, local industries and retailers appealed to men and women with large, elaborate displays of their latest products. Lectures, the cinematograph, and attractions that replicated exotic places, took the Exposition patrons on a journey to other parts of the world. Outside of the main hall, people gathered on the promenade for walks along the river, children took advantage of the new amusement park rides, and many gathered for the sideshow exhibits of Jim Key, the educated horse, and Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show.

This chapter covers these developments, together with the expansion of music performances at the Exposition, which took place during the seasons of 1892 through 1897. During the 1890s, the Pittsburgh Exposition management saw in increase in musical activities at the annual event. More bands traveled to the Exposition and the concert programs became increasingly popular with the Pittsburgh audiences. The addition of female vocalists and musicians making appearances with the bands also contributed to this increased popularity. A number of concerts and bands honored Pittsburgh and its composers and musicians. In 1894,

Pittsburgh hosted the Grand Army of the Republic Encampment. In honor of this event, Frederick N. Innes composed his "great historical musical spectacle," *War and Peace*. Many other events and music during these years honored veterans and active military. Pittsburgh musicians, including the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus, and composers, notably Stephen Foster were well represented on the Exposition programs, showing that Pittsburgh was working hard to develop a musical community comparable to those of the East coast cities.

New Exhibits and Entertainment Offerings

The Pittsburgh Exposition became a popular destination for the city's inhabitants to be informed about the city's progress in industrial endeavors. The beautiful displays, the promenade, and the music, provided the Exposition patrons an opportunity for socializing. The exhibits at the Exposition grew with larger displays and more items and more appealing decorations. The entertainment at the Exposition was highlighted by the addition of amusement rides, which were especially appealing to the children.

Exhibits

Each year, more exhibits were added to the Main and Mechanical Halls and with each year, these exhibits became more elaborate. In the first three years, the halls initially featured displays by local retailers and industries. Some of the more popular industrial displays were those by the glass and lighting companies, as well as displays featuring household items. Many of these displays continued to remain a popular stop for Exposition patrons. The increase in displays is representative of the economic growth from the city's industrial revolution.

One of the most detailed displays was a showcase for the H. J. Heinz Company. The company provided a display every year in the big hall, but the presentation in 1893 was exceptional:

> Of all the displays in the building, that made by Heinz is the most beautiful and interesting. Through a cave, which is lined with rock and ferns, the visitor is led to an open space, which represents an underground palace. The ceiling is rough to represent hewn stone, and the walls are likewise rough. The back of the space is entirely of plate glass mirror, which gives an effect of immense space. In the center a large fountain throws a jet of water, and in the basin are two smaller fountains with electric effects of colored lights. This is surrounded by ferns and growing plants, and vines clamber over the stone work of the fountain. Orange and lemon trees are set about the enclosure. The whole place is lined with pyramids of the products of the firm, pickles, preserves, fruit in all states of preservation, and vegetables, which are arranged in glass jars to the best advantages. The lights are seemingly coming from huge inverted bottles of catsup suspended from the ceiling.[1]

H. J. Heinz (1844–1919) did not limit his presentations at expositions to the Pittsburgh Exposition. A part of the success of the Heinz Company was his devotion to the distribution of Heinz products beyond the Pittsburgh region. In 1889, Heinz won first place at the Paris Exposition for his pickles, the first medal given to an American pickler. One of his most successful displays at an exposition was the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. To get people to come up to the second floor where Heinz's display was located, he handed out souvenir pickle pins. Throughout the duration of the Columbian Exposition, he handed out over one million pins. In Chicago, Heinz's exhibit won a gold medal and he won eighteen awards for his products.[2] Heinz later had displays at regional and international expositions in St. Louis, Jamestown, and Cincinnati. Heinz would continue to have a major presence as a member of the Pittsburgh Exposition board, along with his displays, at the annual event.

[1] "It Opened Successfully," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 7, 1893.
[2] Quentin R. Skrabec, *H. J. Heinz: A Biography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2009), 125–126.

Agricultural exhibits continued to be a feature of the annual Exposition. In 1895, a cotton picker was on display. Angus Campbell, a Pittsburgh native, invented the first machine in 1889. The machine on display at the Exposition was given trial runs on the Exposition grounds: "The test was eagerly watched by a large number of people, who were anxious to see the work the Pittsburgh invention would do."[3] The cotton picker had yet to be introduced to the Southern cotton states, but Pittsburgh critics said it was "as important an invention to the cotton industry as was the cotton gin."[4] Upon Campbell's death in 1911, the obituary in *The Gazette Times* discussed that his mechanical cotton picker "revolutionized the cotton-picking industry of the South."[5]

The Exposition halls were flooded with displays by local retailers, which attracted the female patrons of the Exposition. Many local furniture, clothing, and jewelry retailers featured their latest products. Local furniture stores set up staged room displays to promote the latest in home décor. At the 1892 Exposition, an exhibit of gas appliances held cooking demonstrations. Many of the local clothing and jewelry retailers focused on decorative displays, which appealed to the Exposition patrons. In 1891, the Jos. Horne & Co.[6] display at the Exposition featured a boat made of linen, including 25 dozen doilies, 25 dozen napkins, and 200 yards of damask, which was lit with tiny electrical lights.[7] In 1893, they had "a handsome little room fitted up at the entrance representing a yellow parlor, and opening from this a bedroom with a brass bedstead of delicate pattern, covered with pale yellow, and beside the bed a tiny crib of white enamel, with

[3] "Local Voices Appreciated," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1895.
[4] Ibid.
[5] "Agnus Campbell's Cotton Picker," *The Gazette Times*, August 27, 1911.
[6] Jos. Horne & Co. was a major shopping destination in Pittsburgh from 1849 until 1994 when it was bought out by the Lazarus department and later Macy's. See "Places Now Gone but Not Forgotten," *Pittsburgh Tribune Live*, December 1, 2002.
[7] "Classical Day a Success," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 12, 1891.

cover and curtains of pale blue, looking dainty and cozy enough for the white house baby."[8] Pittsburgh's other major clothing retailer, Kaufmann's,[9] provided a display, which represented the early manufacturing process: "The wheel of Kaufmann's big mill was turning during the evening, and the effect of the pearl beading which represents the drops of water falling from the edge was especially natural." [10]

Many music stores set up displays of pianos and instruments at the Exposition. One of the stores to furnish a supply of pianos at the Exposition was Crawford & Cox. There were a number of pianos on display by various makers, but most notably the Steinway piano because it was "the standard of the world."[11] One of the most popular pianos on display made exclusively for Crawford & Cox was a white enamel Steinway piano.

With every annual Exposition, more local industries and businesses added displays to the Exposition halls. While these displays promoted products and encouraged patrons to visit their stores, they were also a symbol to the outside world that Pittsburgh had proven itself to be an industrial competitor to the major East coast cities.

Instructive Entertainments

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a goal of the Exposition Society was to create an annual event that was "pleasing and instructive to visitors" and an "educator of the masses." In addition to the art and floral displays, the management promoted "high art" entertainment which became popular with the Exposition audiences. These entertainments often led audiences on a journey to

[8] "The Exposition Yesterday," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 13, 1893. On September 9, 1893, President Grover Cleveland (1885—1889 and 1893—1897) and his wife Francis welcomed a baby daughter, Esther. Esther has been the only baby to be born to a President while in office.

[9] Kaufmann's was founded in 1871 and its flagship store in downtown Pittsburgh opened in 1887. Kaufmann's was related to the May Department Stores, while keeping its name. The Kaufmann brand dissolved in 2006, and the Kaufmann's stores were taken over by Macy's.

[10] "The Exposition Yesterday," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 13,1893.

[11] "Local Voices Appreciated," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1895.

exotic and far away destinations. The entertainment continued to enhance the Exposition patron's experience at the annual event between the music programs.

In 1893, Professor (George Reed) Cromwell added "pleasing and instructive" lectures for the Exposition visitors. Born in New York, Cromwell traveled to London and Germany to study music, focusing on composition. Upon his return to America, he organized an ensemble for the purpose of performing his compositions. During his travels as a musician and conductor, he studied and took pictures of the places he visited:

> The duties of conductor and manager did not, however, prevent him from closely studying with an artist's eye the social, pictorial, and historical aspects of the cities and communities in which he resided. Thus accumulating with the painter's eye and the poet's sense a fund of valuable material, it is not strange that the desire grew to be able to present to the American an adequate account of varied and eventful journeys.[12]

His studies and records led to presentations about his journeys throughout the United States, including colleges and universities, and art and historical societies. His lectures were illustrated through pictures he presented on a stereopticon, an early device that presented pictures similar to a slide show. Through the stereopticon "…his entertainments differ from the exhibition of paintings, in that his representations present the minute details of a subject as it really exits, not a flat mono-chromatic picture…"[13]

At the beginning of the season, Cromwell presented four daily lectures that were recognized by critics as "delightful illustrated lectures," which provided guests opportunities to learn about cities and cultures around the world. His first lectures, "Rome, the Eternal City" and "Paris, the Magnificent," were "greeted by a large audience, and the lectures were greatly

[12] A. C. Wheeler, *Descriptive Catalogue of Antique and Modern Sculpture, Represented at Professor Cromwell's Art Entertainments with Biographical Sketch* (Liberty, NY: Evening Post Steam Presses, 1870), 3.
[13] Ibid., 7.

appreciated" and the cities were "described in an exceedingly entertaining way."[14] A part of the attraction to Professor Cromwell's lectures was "his pleasant way of speaking, his graphic descriptions, and his humor." [15] The audiences for his daily lectures in the new art hall continued to grow, and his lectures included "London, the Modern Babylon," "Italy, the Art Center," "The Alps and the Rockies," "Palaces of the Kings," "Homes of England, the Castle of the Monarch and the Cottage of the Peasant," "Glasgow and the Lake District, and Edinborough, the Modern Athens," "Salt Lake and the Mormons," and "Castles on the Rhine."[16]

Displays and replications of exotic places also served as opportunities for patrons to learn about other cultures. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Japanese pagoda continued to be a popular exhibit. In 1893, a Dutch house was a featured display: "Among the exhibits which rank as novelties this season may be mentioned the facsimile of a Dutch cottage. From an architectural standpoint this is very pretty, but even if it were not for this it would naturally attract considerable attention as exhibiting the style of residences used by the natives of Holland." [17] In the same year, a display representing Niagara Falls was constructed:

> One of the most beautiful sights in the exposition is a miniature representation of Niagara Falls and the suspension bridge crossing the Niagara River. It is situated in the gallery opposite the bandstand. Beneath the falling water is placed colored glass of all descriptions and shades, and back of these incandescent electric lights. The beautiful colors reflected through the water lend a most picturesque view to the scene, and those who have seen the original say it is a splendid facsimile of it.[18]

[14] "It's Going in Full Blast," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1892.
[15] Ibid.
[16] In the 1890s, American Mormons were still considered an exotic entity. Described as Christians, the Mormons still subscribed to polygamy and established their home church in Salt Lake City, which was still rather difficult to access. The Mormon Tabernacle, which was a feature of the lecture, was completed in 1867, only 25 years prior to these lectures.
[17] "Saturday at the Big Show," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1893.
[18] Ibid.

Many innovations such as the phonograph and the cinematograph were popular at the Exposition. In 1897, a cinematograph was set up in the art gallery.[19] Patrons were treated to film coverage of many events throughout the world and nation:

> In the art gallery hundreds of visitors witnessed the wonderful exhibition of the cinematograph, which was in excellent working order, producing scenes from the queen's jubilee in London, the recent duel between representatives of the royal families of France and Italy, the inauguration of President McKinley and attendant scene and many sights taken from snap shots at seashore and mountain resorts. These exhibitions were given hourly.[20]

The cinematograph continued to grow in popularity and throughout the years of the Exposition it to show newsreels and films.

Amusements and Sideshows

During the mid-1890s, the Exposition management added amusement rides that were popular among the children. The Exposition first added the merry-go-round, which was "busy all day long with loads of laughing young folks, who make frantic efforts to catch the rings as they go."[21] The merry-go-round competed with the music programs to gain the most attention at the Exposition: "The merry-go-round and Levy's band vied with each other to attract the more attention, with the 'flying horse,' as long as the nickels lasted, leading. The older scholars were very much pleased with the music, though, and applauded lustily."[22] In 1895 a "switchback railway," an early form of a rollercoaster, was built on the Exposition grounds. In its first night

[19] In 1894, Thomas Edison introduced the Kinetoscope. This early form of cinema could only be viewed individually. In 1895, Louis Lumière introduced the cinematography which could be projected. The cinematograph was first introduced in Paris in 1895. See Louis Lumière, "The Lumière Cinematograph," in *A Technological History of Motion Pictures and Television: An Anthology from the Pages of the Journal of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers*, ed. Ramond Fielding, 49-51 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

[20] "Thousands saw the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1897. The reference to the duel was between Prince Henry of Orleans, part of the Royal House of France and the Count of Turin of Italy. The duel grew out of the criticism Prince Henry made towards the unsuccessful campaign of the Italian army in Abysinnia region in Northern Africa. The Count of Turin won and the Italian army was vindicated.

[21] "Schools to Attend," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 14, 1892.

[22] "At the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 16, 1892.

of operation, "It worked to perfection and every car that went over the dizzy curves was full of laughing humanity, whose utterances as the they felt the delight of rushing swiftly downward and upward again often rose into screams."[23] Figure 3.1 is a drawing of the switchback railway in the *1895 Pittsburgh Exposition Souvenir Program.*

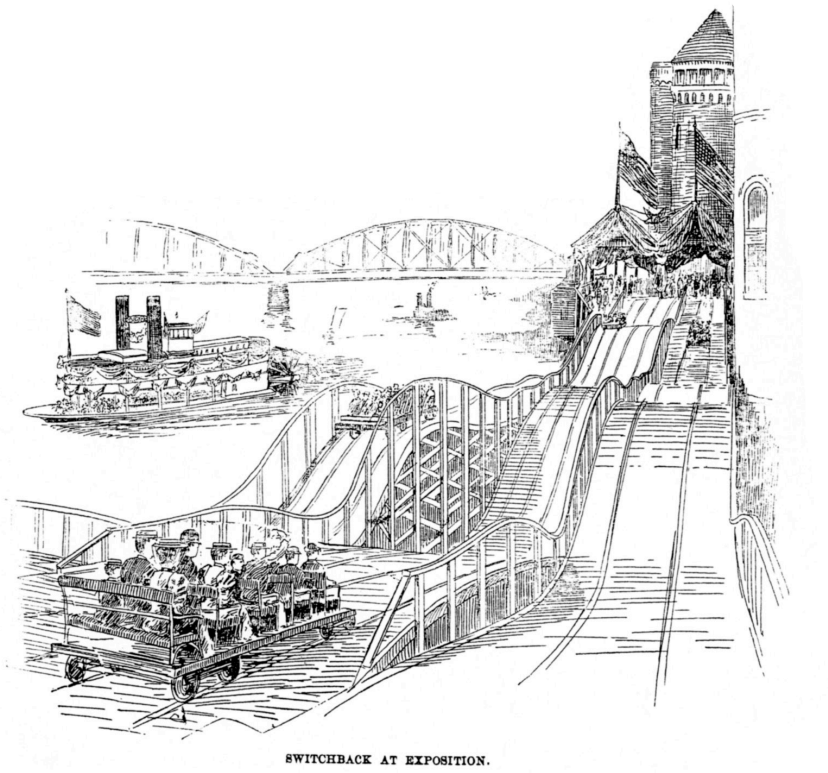

Figure 3.1: Drawing of Switchback Railway from *1895 Exposition Souvenir Program*

One of the largest attractions, added in 1893, was the Ferris Wheel. Early in the year, George Washington Gale Ferris, Jr. (1859–1896), a native of Pittsburgh, erected the first Ferris Wheel at the World's Fair in Chicago. Ferris went to Chicago to build something that would

[23] "Thronged to the Point," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1895.

outdo the Eiffel Tower, which was built for the 1889 Exposition in Paris. The Columbian Exposition Committee thought he was crazy and did not want to go through with his plans. Ferris returned later with engineers who confirmed that it could be constructed safely.[24] A similar Ferris Wheel was built in Pittsburgh following the construction of the Wheel in Chicago. Along with being a fashionable destination for observation of Pittsburgh skyline, it was also popular among young lovers: "As a resort for flirtation this seems to be the favorite among those inclined that way, and cautious mamas will learn to accompany their daughters when they express a desire to canter in that direction."[25]

Another feature of the Exposition was the traveling sideshow attractions. For the first two weeks in 1897, Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show made an appearance at the annual event.[26] Pawnee Bill's goal was to instruct people about the inaccuracies with the Wild West stories, which he said "bear but a slight resemblance to the actualities of life beyond the frontier, the realities of which are vastly more romantic, picturesque, and extraordinary than were ever dreamed of or painted by the untutored and inexperienced botches who have had the hardihood to launch volumes of putative sketches of 'life and those who enjoy it in the Wild West' upon the much-polluted sea of literature."[27] Pawnee Bill instructed the public about the "noble red men" and the pioneers of the West, including his "lovely Western girls, cowboys, rangemen, great horseman, and unerring marksmen." The people in his show came together to "contribute their share of instruction to the public by enacting before the spectators some famous episode, tragic, domestic and historical, familiar to the readers of the newspapers and to the students of history

[24] Inventer of the Week, "George Ferris," http://web.mit.edu/invent/iow/ferris.html (accessed February 28, 2012).

[25] "Saturday at the Big Show," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1893.

[26] For a history of Wild West shows see Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

[27] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *1897 Souvenir Program*, p. 36, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

itself."[28] The Pawnee Bill Wild West Show opened with a grand parade through downtown Pittsburgh and ended at the show's arena with its first program. The show brought many visitors to the Exposition, drawing about 2,000 visitors for the first evening performance.

Following the Pawnee Bill Wild West Show, the Society arranged for "Jim Key," an Arabian-Hambletonian horse, to appear at the Exposition for two weeks. William Key, also known as "Dr." Key, was an ex-slave and Civil War veteran from Tennessee and trained Jim Key. Dr. Key, a self-taught veterinarian, was a supporter of animal rights and proceeds from Jim Key's exhibitions were given to local and national animal rights foundations.[29] A highly respected man, Dr. Key would always dress in equestrian attire and "stood with the bearing of an aristocrat and took in the audience with a piercing intensity—all creating an aura of a tall, powerful man, even though his wiry frame was average to slight."[30] Jim Key was introduced at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in the late summer of 1897 and shortly thereafter, he appeared at the Pittsburgh Exposition. Dr. Key taught Jim how to "read, write, spell, do math, tell time, sort mail, use a cash register and a telephone, cite Bible passages, and engage in political debate,"[31] all of which were demonstrated in their programs. They traveled throughout the nation for seven years, performing for over 10 million people at many expositions and fairs, including the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. Jim Key returned to the Exposition in 1901 and 1902.

In moving into the twentieth century, the Exposition Society continued to add more exhibits and amusements to draw large crowds into the Exposition. Although popular, many of the sideshows, such as Pawnee Bill, only appeared for one season in Pittsburgh. The music

[28] Ibid.

[29] Mim Eichler Rivas, *Beautiful Jim Key: The Lost History of a Horse and a Man Who Changed the World* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2005), xiii

[30] Ibid., 7.

[31] Ibid., xiv.

events at the Exposition and new ensembles remained a consistent drawing card for the Exposition management.

Golden-Age Bands and Female Superstars

Richard K. Hansen observes that the Golden Age of the Bands begin in the 1860s, following the end of the Civil War, with the establishment of the Irish-born Patrick Gilmore (1829–1892) as a bandleader in the United States and lasting until World War I.[32] The peak of the Golden Age of the bands began in the 1890s as many bandleaders organized yearly tours throughout the United States performing at major expositions and festivals. Many bandleaders invited female vocalists and musicians to tour with their ensembles. The addition of the females provided an added attraction to the band concerts with the hope of attracting larger audiences.

The females that joined the bands in concerts and on tours were part of a larger group of women that were moving their music making from the domestic into the public sphere. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the concert tours of Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti inspired many aspiring women artists to pursue professional careers. As Adrienne Fried Block discusses, the appearance of women on the stage created "an ideology that offered an alternative to domestic feminism, empowering women to move into the public sphere."[33] When the female vocalists and musicians moved into the public arena, many of them were engaged by the leading bands in America to join them on tours. When the female superstars arrived in Pittsburgh with the bands, Pittsburgh's critics and newspapers gave less attention to the bands and more to the female stars.

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[32] Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2005), 42–62.

[33] Adrienne Fried Block, "Women in American Music, 1800–1918," in *Women & Music*, ed. Karin Pendle, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 193.

Jules Levy Introduces Sisserita Jones, the "Black Patti"

In 1892, Jules Levy (1838–1903), the celebrated cornetist, traveled with his band to the Exposition with the African-American prima donna, Sisserita Jones (1868-1933). Levy came to America in 1869 from England and joined Theodore Thomas' Orchestra. During the 1870s he had made concert tours to Russia, Australia, and New Zealand, and performed as a soloist with Patrick Gilmore's band from 1875 to 1880. Upon leaving Gilmore's band, he traveled around the United States with his own organization in the 1880s.[34] At the Exposition, Levy's programs featured a variety of overtures, marches, and fantasias. Many of these selections were popular in previous years. The Exposition audiences were delighted with Levy's solos, including Rossini's "Inflammatus," which had been introduced to Exposition audiences in 1889. Levy also performed Arthur Sullivan's song, "The Lost Chord," which become a regular selection in the repertoire of cornet players at the Exposition.

One of the greatest achievements of Jules Levy at the Exposition was the introduction of Sisserita Jones to the Pittsburgh audience. Known to her admirers as the "Black Patti," after the famous soprano Adelina Patti, Jones rose to fame traveling with minstrel troupes and jubilee choirs prior to her appearances with all-white, male ensembles. Although it is not clear where Jones studied in Boston and no records remain of her registration, it is likely she studied with a faculty member from the New England Conservatory of Music or Boston Conservatory of Music.[35] John Graziano's study of Jones provides a detailed account of her world tours and international acclaim, "During her years as a prima donna, Jones had received numerous

[34] George C. Foreman. "Levy, Jules," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*,http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2085296 (accessed March 2, 2012).

[35] John Graziano, "The Early Life and Career of the 'Black Patti': The Odyssey of an African American Singer in the Late Nineteenth Century" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 3 (Autumn 2000), 549.

accolades from a wide range of critics, from her audiences, and from the many royal personages and American politicians who showered her with expensive tokens of their appreciation."[36] The picture of Jones in Figure 3.2 shows her with a lot of medals that she earned from her performances around the nation.

BLACK PATTI.

Figure 3.2: Photo of Sisserita Jones from the *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir Program, 1893*

The *Pittsburgh Post* announced the arrival of Sisserita Jones in its daily Exposition article, which was headlined: "Black Patti, the Noted Negro Vocalist, Is Scheduled to Sing." The article described her as a "wonderful colored vocalist" who "has been favorably received wherever she appeared, and is a very clever women."[37] Following the first day of her appearance at the Exposition, the *Post* commented favorably on her vocal technique:

> She was under a great disadvantage, in having so immense a place to fill with her voice; considering this, the clearness and fullness of her tones and the utter absence of any straining after effect was astonishing. The high and low notes are almost perfect, rich, resonant and full of that sympathetic quality which

[36] Ibid., 543.
[37] "Black Patti, the Noted Negro Vocalist, Is Scheduled to Sing," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 24, 1892.

> appeals to all listeners. The middles tones, once or twice were slightly nasal, but this may probably be attributed to the hall.[38]

Jones quickly gained approval of the Pittsburgh audience: "She became the favorite of her audience from the moment she appeared on account of her modest bearing and the entire absence of affectation. Two enthusiastic encores were given to which she responded graciously, singing popular airs which were well-known and therefore well liked."[39]

Although a classically trained singer, Jones struggled throughout her career with audiences expecting her to sing melodies made famous by blackface minstrel shows. John Graziano elaborates on the audience expectations for popular music, "There is a sense that they expected the Black Patti to be some kind of Barnum sideshow; when the demure, attractive, well-dressed prima donna was brought on stage, their review sometimes register shock that she was a real singer with a trained voice."[40] When traveling with the minstrel troupes, Jones would not sing minstrel show tunes and instead sang arias from popular operas.

Although Jones had proven to the Pittsburgh audience her mastery of classical art forms, the audience still encouraged her to sing popular minstrel show tunes that they associated with Black performers, mainly due to the recent appearances of the Storer College and Fisk Jubilee Singers. She was encored many times and encouraged by the audience to "sing 'Suwanee River,' or one of the many other beautiful airs generally so well interpreted by her race." [41] Her performances of these tunes represented the nostalgia of the "old home" and "simplicity." Pittsburgh critics commented on her performance of these nostalgic stereotypes, "Her rendition of the sweet, simple airs familiar to every hearer is simply unexcelled."[42] Jones's appearance

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[38] "Black Patti a Success," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1892
[39] Ibid.
[40] Graziano, 573.
[41] "Black Patti a Success," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1892.
[42] "At the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 28, 1892.

with Levy's band was her first appearance at the Exposition in the 1892 season. When Ellis Brooks and his New York Band visited Pittsburgh for the second half of the Exposition season, Jones made a second appearance with the band at the end of its engagement in Pittsburgh.

Ellis Brooks, the Ladies' Man

In 1892, Ellis Brooks (1848–1920) and his New York Band followed the engagement of Jules Levy.[43] Brooks formed his band in 1888, following a tour in Europe as music director of the Haverly Minstrel Troupe.[44] During the engagements in 1892 and 1893, Brooks's band performed a variety of classical and lighter music to appeal to the audiences. The main feature of his concerts was the many females that performed with the band. Brooks' engagements featured vocalists, Sisserita Jones, Mademe Sofia Scalchi, and Clementine De Vere, as well as the cornetist, Alice Raymond.

Jones made a second appearance at the Exposition for the 1892 season with Books and his band. She sang classical numbers such as *Ave Maria* by Charles Gounod (1818–1893) and popular selections such as "Home! Sweet Home!" by Sir Henry Bishop (1786–1855). When Brooks returned in 1893 to Pittsburgh, Sisseritta Jones joined Brooks for part of the band's engagement. Prior to Jones's arrival for the season, the souvenir program discussed her strong vocal technique and her ability to captivate her audience:

> Voice of great compass, power, purity, and flexibility, she stands without a peer in her own race, and it is an open question whether the great Patti [Adelina Patti] or Black Patti is entitled to the diadem of the Queen of Song…We who

[43] Robert Hoe, Jr., "Brooks, Ellis," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:106.

[44] The Haverly Minstrels (Haverly's Mammoth Mastodon Minstrel's) were founded by John Haverly. Haverly also controlled the Callender Minstrels, originally known as the Georgia Minstrels. Haverly was one of a very few people who had white and black minstrel troupes, having control in both markets. The minstrel troupes had success in recruiting a large number of people, and he frequently toured with the groups outside of America. See, James E. Brunson, III, *The Early Image of Black Baseball: Race and Representation in the Popular Press*, 1871–1890 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2009), 133.

> have had the pleasure of listening to her, remember how filled we were with wonder and emotion, and how the great audiences, even before the sound of the last note had died, burst into deafening applause. [45]

The return of Jones to the Exposition in 1893 was a triumph for the management because Jones quickly became a national star following her appearance during the 1892 season: "That she is to sing here again is surely cause for many congratulations for ourselves and words of commendation for the management of our Exposition."[46]

During the engagement in 1893, Jones continued to perform a mixture of classical and popular songs. One of her featured solos was Rossini's "Inflammatus," which had been made popular in previous seasons as a cornet solo. She captivated audiences with her "wonderful expression and purity of tone." Her popular songs included "Old Folks at Home," also known as "Swanee River," which produced "numerous requests" before her departure.[47]

In the first four years of the exposition, there had been many black singers, including the Storer College Jubilee Singers and the Fisk Jubilee Singers and in the 1892 and 1893 seasons, Sisseretta Jones. Although there were African Americans performing at the Exposition, there had been no mention in the *Pittsburgh Post* of African Americans in the audience until the appearance of Jones in 1893. The *Post* described a black women in attendance for Jones's final concert as, "a colored woman of large proportions, standing in the jam with a pickanniny perched upon her hand above the heads of the crowd, was heard to exclaim 'Now that beats anything that I have heard, and to think Patti is the same color as I am. I'd never 've believed it before.'"[48] At this time, Pittsburgh had the sixth largest black community in the nation with

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[45] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir, 1893,* Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

[46] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir, 1893,* Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

[47] "After New Attractions," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 14, 1892.

[48] "Closed Her Engagement," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 17, 1893.

20,300 people.[49] This would be the only mentioning of a black person in attendance, so one wonders if blacks were present at the Exposition and just not mentioned.

Alice Raymond, a virtuoso cornet player, performed with Ellis Brooks and his band after Jones's appearance. Unlike many female musicians of the late nineteenth century, Alice Raymond took care of her own business arrangements. She also performed with Sousa's band in 1893 at the St. Louis Exposition and joined Thomas Brooke's Chicago Marine Band as a guest soloist for the 1902 and 1903 seasons.[50] Prior to her first appearance, the *Pittsburgh Post* wrote that she "has long been considered the finest woman cornetist." However, most of the feature concerned her appearance: "Every evening she appears in elegant costumes that will furnish talk for ladies for weeks and weeks. In the afternoons she wears street costumes. Miss Raymond is also a very nice looking woman, quite attractive. Her home is in Washington, D.C., where she is known as a belle."[51]

As female musicians made their entrance into the public sphere in the nineteenth century, it was more acceptable for women to play instruments, such as piano, violin, and guitar, which would not distort a woman's features. These instruments were "relatively soft and delicate sounding, and the melody was in a high range, corresponding to the soprano voice. The posture the lady assumed while playing was natural and graceful; she did not have to sit awkward or distort her features."[52] Although Miss Raymond did not conform to these standards of instrument choice, the reaction to her performances was positive and many reviews also focused on her appearance and stage presence to embellish her femininity.

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[49] Laurence Glasco, "The Black Experience," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 74.

[50] Robyn Dewey Card, "Women as Classically-Trained Trumpet Players in the United States," DMA diss., West Virginia University, 2009, 14–15.

[51] "Now the Expo. Will Boom," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1892.

[52] Beth Abelson Macleod, "'Whence comes the Lady Tympanist?' Gender and Instrumental Musicians in America, 1853-1990," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 2 (Winter 1993): 292.

Alice Raymond performed a variety of popular and classical selections including Levy's *Young American Polka*, a medley of national airs, and the ever popular Rossini "Inflammatus." Her encores, mostly popular, included a Scotch melody, "Within a Mile of Edinborough" which she played "so feelingly," and "O, Hear Dem Bells," a spiritual. The *Pittsburgh Post*'s review of Raymond's performances continued to emphasize her effortless performances and pleasing manners: "As for Miss Raymond, she scored quite a hit, indeed, not only by her clever playing, but by her pleasing manners and appearance. Her cornet playing is smooth and clear and shows very little sign of effort." As well as her "charming personality put her on excellent terms with the audience, and she was encored repeatedly."[53]

Figure 3.3: Photo of Madame Sofia Scalchi from the *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir Program, 1893*.

When Jones finished her engagement in 1893, Madame Sofia Scalchi (1850–1922), a contralto, joined Brooks' band (Above in Figure 3.3). Scalchi performed in leading roles throughout Europe, including Amneris in *Aida* and Maddalena in *Rigoletto*. In America, she performed with

[53] "The Raymond and Brooks," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 4, 1892.

the Metropolitan Opera House and played the part of Emilia in the 1888 American premiere of Verdi's *Otello* at the Academy of Music in New York.[54] Prior to Scalchi's arrival, it was announced, "The coming of Madame Scalchi is eagerly awaited by the many warm friends and admirers she possesses in Pittsburgh. The scope of the hall will afford her admirable space to show the compass of her voice."[55] Scalchi's engagement with Brooks's band was probably one of her first appearances at an exposition in the United States. Her selections were primarily from popular operas including "Noble signor" from Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* and "Eccomi alfine" from Rossini's *Semiramide*. Scalchi received many praises by the Pittsburgh audience and critics:

> The coming of Madame Scalchi, who is regarded by the music world as the best contralto now before the public was the greatest venture, as she sings no English and confines her selections to the classical school, but the hall has been crowded at every concert, and the applause tendered her is evidence of the esteem in which she is held in Pittsburgh. The singing with band accompaniment is a new experience for Madame Scalchi, but to the credit of Mr. Brooks, be it said, there has been no perceptible hitch, during all the music, although both he and the singer acknowledge the difficulty of the task.[56]

The final female vocalist to join Brooks at the conclusion of his engagement in 1893 was Clementine De Vere (Sapio). De Vere (1864–1954) became well known in the United States and Europe as a regular concert and oratorio singer. She appeared at the New York Metropolitan Opera from 1895 to 1900, frequently appearing in operas by Bizet, Wagner, and Verdi. De Vere was well-admired by the Pittsburgh audience for her passionate performances, but harshly criticized for her physical appearance:

> There is not the slightest evidence of affectation about her singing or bearing, and though her selections were not familiar to the great portion of the

[54] Elizabeth Forbes, "Scalchi, Sofia," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24689 (accessed March 8, 2012).

[55] "Patti's Last Week, *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1893.

[56] "Daily Exposition Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 21, 1893.

> people, the silence which reigned when she began, and the tumultuous applause which brought a second solo, after almost five minutes duration, proved conclusively that she is appreciated by the people, if only for the rare beauty and sweetness of her voice.[57]

Her programs featured the Prayer and Finale from Wagner's *Lohengrin*, "Chi mi frena" from Gaetono Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and the "Inflammatus" from Rossini's *Stabat mater*. Her programs also generated a lot of support from the society crowds: "Even last night, though unfashionable, a string of carriages was seen at the entrance, proving that the society people are not slow in recognizing what will give them most pleasure."[58]

Her performances of popular songs such as Stephen Foster's "Swanee River" and Scotch melodies were greatly appreciated by the Exposition audiences:

> If the simpler ballads such as Foster's and the ever loved Scotch melodies are to be among Miss De Vere's renditions, it is fair to prophesy that even the Exposition will scarcely hold the crowds who will flock to hear. It is not every prima donna, used to the trills and cadenzas of operatic music, who can give these simple, sweet airs in all their beauty, but this singer's forte seems to be just such things as will win all her hearers' hearts without reserve.[59]

"Swanee River," performed earlier in the season by Jones, was expected by the audience to be performed by black and white artists alike.

D.W. Reeves Introduces Amalie Materna, Lillian Blauvelt, and Italo Campanini

In 1893, Gilmore's Band under the direction of David Wallis Reeves (1838–1900) arrived at the Exposition. Reeves took over the leadership of the band following the death of Patrick Gilmore in 1892. Reeves met up with the band for performances at the World's Fair in St. Louis. The Gilmore Band's 1893 tour of expositions and festivals included the Columbian

[57] "De Vere at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1892.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

Exposition in Chicago and the Pittsburgh Exposition.[60] Reeves introduced three internationally known singers, Madame Amalie Materna, Lillian Blauvelt, and Italo Campanini, to the Exposition audiences. Black Patti also returned at the end of Reeves's engagement, which of course boosted attendance.

Figure 3.4: Photo of Madame Amalie Materna from the *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir Program, 1893*

Madame Amalie Materna (1844–1918), pictured aboved (Figure 3.4) was a highly acclaimed Wagnerian soprano: "That she was Wagner's favorite soprano and the recogized exponent of his music is well known. Dramatic and magnetic, a voice of magificent power, range and sweetness, he chose her in preference to all others to interpret him."[61] From 1869 until 1894, she was a member of the Vienna Court Opera. She made her debut in the role of Brünnhilde for the first complete *Ring* cycle in Bayreuth in 1876 and later in Berlin in 1881. Other important

[60] Loren Geiger, "Reeves, David Wallis," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:619.

[61] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *Pittsburgh Exposition Columbian Souvenir, 1893,* p. 39, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

roles include Kundry in *Parsifal* and Amneris for the Vienna premiere of *Aida*.[62] The anticipation of Materna's performances was highlighted in the *Post*: "The singing of Frau Materna at the exposition this week promises to attract more attention than any other singer yet there. The world-wide reputation of this great singer is probably responsible for this, but her pleasing manners have won the hearts of everyone who has seen her."[63] Her rendition of Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria* was "sung as it probably has never been sung in Pittsburgh."[64]

It was during Materna's appearance that the managers expressed disappointment in the continuing decline in attendance. This was not a result of the exceptional talent that the management secured, but a reaction by the audience who wanted more "popular" music. Quoted by the *Post*, Manager J. H. Johnston reflected on the lower attendance, "Of course if the public prefer mush and milk we will give it to them, but when the best attractions in the musical world are brought here it seems strange that more appreciation is not manifested."[65] According to one *Pittsburgh Post* critic, the Pittsburgh audience had "an idea that the Exposition should present attractions only of the so-called 'popular' order, which means strictly second class. This is a mistake and really reflects on the people who attend the entertainment."[66] The problems caused by the presentation of "high-brow" and "popular" music were not limited to the Pittsburgh Exposition. At Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Theodore Thomas cancelled his orchestra concerts due to lack of interest. While his concerts had poor attendance, the concerts by

[62] Elizabeth Forbes, "Materna, Amalie," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18053 (accessed March 8, 2012).

[63] "Late Exposition News," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 4, 1893.

[64] Ibid.

[65] "Materna at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1893.

[66] "Expo Items of Note," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 5, 1893.

the bands drew thousands of spectators in the outdoor venues.[67] Following the discussions in the *Post* about the concerns with attendance, the audience began to grow through the week. Materna continued to captivate the audience with her succesful solos, including the "Ocean, the Mighty Monster" from Weber's *Oberon*, which took "the house by storm."[68]

Lillian Blauvelt's appearance at the Exposition was highly anticipated by the Pittsburgh audience because she was American and could perform "popular" selections for the visitors. Blauvelt (1873–1947) studied at the New York Conservatory and later in Paris. Her opera debut was in 1891 in Brussels, but she returned to America in poor health. She traveled throughout the United States, performing with many orchestras, including concerts with Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony. She traveled to Italy in 1898 for more studies and performed in Verdi's Requiem.[69] In Pittsburgh, she was able to win "all hearts by her rendition of popular songs as encores, as on Monday evening the applause continued for almost 10 minutes after she had sung 'Comin' Thro' the Rye'."[70] "Comin' Thro'the Rye," a popular poem by Scottish poet Robert Burns, was set to the melody of a Scottish minstrel tune. She also sang "Swanee River" which was "listened to vigorously." The journalistic trend to provide a description of the singer continued with Blauvelt: "The vocalist is a pretty woman of slender build, with dark eyes and hair, and a peculiarly sweet expression. She sings with a great deal of dramatic fervor, and gives the meaning of her words in her face and movements."[71] These reviews also provided clear

[67] For a discussion about the highbrow/lowbrow controversy at the Pittsburgh Exposition see Sandy R. Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition," *American Music* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 407– 424.

[68] "An Immense Attendance," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 7, 1893.

[69] "The Etude Gallery of Musical Celebrities," *Etude Magazine* (July 1909).

[70] "A Good Crowd Last Night," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1893

[71] "Madame Blauvelt's Singing," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1893.

descriptions of her vocal skills: "Her voice is a clear, pure soprano, well fitted to the florid cadenzas and trills in the solo."[72]

The addition of Lillian Blauvelt helped to increase the attendance at the concerts. The management was happy with these results: "It seems that the crowds are increasing daily, so that the two weeks which were termed 'off weeks' by the managers will be amply made up before the close of the Exposition."[73] The audience would continue to grow at the end of the 1893 season with the return of Sisserita Jones and the addition of the famous Italian tenor, Italo Campanini.

During the engagement of Reeves and the Gilmore Band, the Italian tenor Italo Campanini (1845–1896) performed at the Exposition. Campanini had toured throughout Europe, including performances at La Scala and Drury Lane. In America he sang the role of Don José in the New York premiere of *Carmen*.[74] In Pittsburgh, Campanini included selections and encores that were more familiar to the Pittsburgh audiences. He was "greeted with an enthusiasm which was most surprising." Many of his familiar opera selections were from *Carmen* and *Rigoletto*. One of his popular encores, "Goodbye, Sweetheart," was an "old favorite" of the Exposition audience. Reviews from the East indicated that Campinani's voice was failing; the *Post* claimed that these reviews were "without foundation."[75]

Reeves and the Gilmore Band, along with the accompanying soloists, were popular at the Exposition. Unfortunately, Reeves's tours with Gilmore's Band were not successful, despite the excitement that was built around his first appearance with the band at the St. Louis Exposition in

[72] "A Good Crowd Last Night," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1893.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Elizabeth Forbes, "Campanini, Italo," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/04679 (accessed March 8, 2012).
[75] "Two Exposition Singers," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 18, 1893.

1892. The *Pittsburgh Post* confirmed the departure of Reeves from the Gilmore Band at the end of the 1893 season:

> The news that Reeves, the popular leader of Gilmore's band, will resign his leadership in a few weeks has been received with regret by his many friends in this vicinity. Victor Herbert, who is to succeed Reeves, is a well-known musician, and will no doubt keep up the high standard of the band as well as Mr. Reeves has done since the death of the great bandmaster, but there is regret at the parting. Among the musicians Mr. reeves is very popular, and most of them feel a personal friendship for him. The prospective conductor is also a popular man, and is known to most of the players.[76]

At this time, Victor Herbert was a cellist and assistant conductor with the Metropolitan Opera House orchestra. Herbert would first visit the Exposition as leader of Gilmore's Band in 1895.

Luciano Conterno and Nina Humphreys

In 1895, Luciano Conterno and Sons' Ninth Regiment Band of New York arrived at the Pittsburgh Exposition for their first trip to the city. As a bandleader, Conterno was first a leader of the Twenty-third Regiment Band of New York. Conterno's summer band performed at Brighton Beach and alternated seasons with Patrick Gilmore at Manhattan Beach. As a composer, Conterno was the first person to arrange the works of Arthur Sullivan for military band. Victor Herbert also studied under Conterno.[77] Conterno's programs featured a variety of selections from popular overtures and waltzes to heavier classical numbers, such as Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony. Conterno said that he planned his programs to benefit the cosmopolitan crowds: "In his programs Conterno is peculiarly happy, and out of his long experience claims to comprehend the tastes of the multitude, and to know how to select from schools, composers, races, and epochs up-to-date so as to charm cosmopolitan assemblages."[78]

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[76] "At the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 28, 1893.
[77] "A New Attraction," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 16, 1895.
[78] Ibid.

Luciano Conterno and Sons' Ninth Regiment Band of New York introduced Miss Nina Bettina Humphreys, soprano, who had been touring with the Marie Tavary Grand English opera company.[79] One of her selections included the prison scene and "Miserere" from *Il Trovatore* and Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*. Humphreys was joined by Victor Clodio, a tenor from Paris, who sang with Abbey's Grand Opera Company. They sang solos and duets at the band concerts. One of the duets they sang was from *Cavalleria rusticana* by Pietro Mascagni (1863–1945).

T. P. Brooke and the Chicago Marine Band Introduce Sybil Sammis

In 1896 and 1897, the Chicago Marine Band under the direction of Thomas Preston Brooke (1856–1921) visited the Pittsburgh Exposition. Brooke started the band in 1893 and at first the band only gave concerts on Sundays during the winter. The band became popular and started touring throughout the United States.[80] Brooke's concerts were a well-balanced mixture of classical and popular selections. The addition of the soprano Sybil Sammis added to the appeal of Brooke's band.

In 1896, Sybil Sammis appeared with the Chicago Marine Band. Her first concerts were met with pleasing reviews:

> Miss Sibyl Sammis, the charming mezzo-soprano fo Chicago, made her debut before a Pittsburgh audience contemporaneous with the Marine band. Miss Sammis possesses a magnificent physique and a very attractive stage presence. She is a young lady with an ambition to gain laurels in the lyric art, and this I her third season. Her voice has great range, with a novel brilliancy so potent and beautiful that it makes the effect doubly charming. Her volume of feeling and dramtic meaning lend body to unstable places, and her wealth of rich tone would give strenth to even a trivial score, and sustain it in all its phases, so that the music gains a new semblance of weight and dramatic variety. In her rendition of the Page's aria, from *Les Huguenots* by Meyerbeer, she completely captured her auditors and was compelled to answer several recalls. Taken all in all, Miss

[79] See Appendix for a concert featuring Nina Humphreys on a Classical night event.

[80] Robert Hoe, Jr., "Brooke, Thomas Preston," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:105.

> Sammis has gained a great popularity in her first appearance, and the future will show her as one of Pittsburgh's warmest favorites.[81]

Other selections provided a variety of classical and popular music. Many of her encores were popular with the Pittsburgh audience. Her program repertory included the "Flower Song" from *Faust*. She "showed excellent judgment" with her encore of a popular song, "One, I Love."[82] She also sang popular selections by the Italian composer Angelo Mascheroni, including "For All Eternity" and "Love's Sorrow." Prior to her departure from the Exposition, it was mentioned that, "She will leave behind her the best impression of any exposition vocalist the management has yet secured."[83]

Sammis returned with the Chicago Marine Band in 1897. Her selections were described as difficult, and she was credited with a "voice of remarkable power, yet remarkably sweet and resonant."[84] Some of her favorite selections included Luigi Arditti's "Se saran rose" and "Love in Springtime." She was "more of a favorite than ever" among the Pittsburgh crowd.[85] She continued to illustrate her large repertoire and "her mingling of classical vocals with popular melodies excites applause nightly."

As women gained attention on the concert stage, more women The focus on the involvement of women at the Exposition is not only limited to the vocalists and musicians. In the late nineteenth century, women frequently attended concerts. In New York City, the New York Philharmonic and many other theaters opened their matinee concerts to women, and many "went to considerable lengths to attract women by taking the steps needed to control audiences by

[81] "Opened with a River Parade," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1896.
[82] "Attractions at the Point," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 11, 1896.
[83] "Brooke's Last Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 17, 1896.
[84] "Brooke Comes Tomorrow," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1897.
[85] "Maccabees at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 30, 1897.

changing their repertory and décor."[86] Most theatres made changes to exclude any repertoire with a trace of burlesque and vaudeville entertainment which had attracted large, and mainly lower class, male audiences to the theatres. These changes made to the theatres and repertoire made it possible for "women to attend unescorted without risk to their reputations or their safety."[87] These concerts ranged from classical, which appealed to the music literate women, to popular music. The significance of souvenir nights, in New York City and at the Pittsburgh Exposition, showed the importance of women as music literate and the primary source of music education in the house. On souvenir nights, women received piano arrangements of a band's popular march. As the Exposition moved forward, females became the piano soloists with the visiting orchestras.

In future seasons, female vocalists and musicians would continue to be a featured attraction at the Exposition. John Philip Sousa would bring many women on tour with him and Walter Damrosch would invite women to perform with his orchestra.

The Exposition and the G.A.R.

As the Exposition continued to move forward, the Exposition management continued to honor local regiments and veterans. In the 1890s, the memories and horrors of the Civil War still resonated among the people of Western Pennsylvania. To honor active military and veterans, the Exposition Society established Veteran's Days. For these days, the Society invited local brigades and volunteer regiments to present colors and participate in drills at the Exposition. The bands often performed patriotic tunes in recognition of the festivities.

In 1894, Pittsburgh hosted the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.). The G.A.R. was organized following the end of the Civil War to bring together the

[86] Block, 197.
[87] Ibid., 197.

men that fought. The national encampment meeting was a multi-day event featuring formal dinners, parades, camping, and memorial events. While the encampment occurred at the same time as the Exposition, many events and exhibits at the Exposition attracted G.A.R. visitors. The souvenir program book for this year has an illustration (Figure 3.5) of the Point in the background with an American flag and the flags of the Grand Army of the Republic coming out of a shield with three American eagles on the front of the shield.

Figure 3.5: Front Page of the "G.A.R. Year" 1894 Souvenir Book

In preparation for the G.A.R. encampment, the annual Exposition souvenir book discussed the advantages of the event for Pittsburgh:

> In the seasons past it has striven to please our citizens and the thousands who look upon Pittsburgh as their metropolis, but this year our visitors assume national form, for ever state in the union, and almost every town in every state, will have its representative here who will be numbered among the Exposition attendants. Local pride will strive to excel in all exhibits, that all who come will go away satiated with exhibit that cannot be excelled.[88]

In recognition of the G.A.R. encampment in Pittsburgh, Innes presented many patriotic musical selections. He also conducted a piece he composed and dedicated to the 28th National G.A.R. Encampment in Pittsburgh. Innes' new march, *The Chronicle Telegraph*, was published by H. Kleber & Brothers, a local Pittsburgh firm, as an arrangement for piano or band. The two-step march was given three encores at the opening concert. Innes' critics enjoyed his new composition and its patriotism: "It is a lively piece, ending with a hint of the stirring war song, 'Red, White, and Blue'."[89]

The signature piece of the 1894 Exposition was Innes' *War and Peace* spectacular. The work in three parts was composed for military band, artillery, and chorus. For the grand performance, the artillery of the Ranson Post, G.A.R. of St. Louis, a vocal quartet of singers from New York, and the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus of 335 voices assisted Innes. The vocal quartet included the soprano Miss Martha Garrison Miner, a master of the repertoire of Rossini; contralto Miss Louis Engle, who traveled with Adelina Patti on her last American tour; tenor Mr. C. C. Ferguson, a member of the Bloomingdale Choir in New York; and bass Mr. Bowman Ralston, a featured concert singer throughout the East Coast. The front page of the program is below (Figure 3.6).

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[88] University of Pittsburgh, *G.A.R. Year 1894 Souvenir Book*, Hillman Library and Archives Division, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA.

[89] "The Exposition Open," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1894.

Figure 3.6 Front Page of Program for Frederick Neil Innes' *War and Peace*

The artillery used in the production of *War and Peace* was made especially for Innes and the evening. Innes' program provides a detailed description of the artillery and how they were used in the performance:

> To add emphasis to the punctuation of the national airs, and to render more exciting and realistic the battle scenes in the "War and Peace" Spectacle, Mr. Innes has brought into use a battery of the several magnificent bronze cannons. These were made particularly for this work, after the latest and most approved pattern, and fitted with a patented breech loading device and electric firing attachment which permits the firing of twenty shots or more per minute with perfect ease and safety. Brass blank cartridges are used, with copper wires penetrating the powder chamber and the points so placed that when the electric current is turned on the connecting spark ignites the powder. Electric wires are run to the stage and connected with a keyboard, which is operated by a musician. At every indication of the Conductor's baton a key is touched, and "boom" thunders the distant cannon in exact time with the playing of the band, just as a bass drum is sounded, but with a thousand fold more power and thrilling effect.[90]

[90] "Frederick Neil Innes *War and Peace* Program," Music Department, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA. Innes' *War and Peace* is not musical adaption of Leo Tolstoy's novel, *War and Peace*, published in 1869. However it could be assumed that the popularity of this novel and the first American edition, translated by Clara Bell in 1885–1886, may have served as inspiration for Innes' title.

The *Pittsburgh Post* advertised the event as a "Grand History Musical Spectacle." Innes' *War and Peace* was a musical retelling of the American Civil War. A description of Innes' composition was printed in the souvenir program for the concert:

> Mr. Innes has spent some months in the preparation of this great work, which vividly recalls the trials and triumphs of the American Civil War. He has succeeded in working out in regular order the story of the war in strains of music, which tell the tale as plainly as words, and with vastly more thrilling effect. The national and characteristic airs of both the North and the South are sung by the fine vocal artists who accompany the band on this tour, and by the assisting choruses; and the real military life is to be infused by the assistance of the companies of the National Guards and the Veterans of the G.A.R.[91]

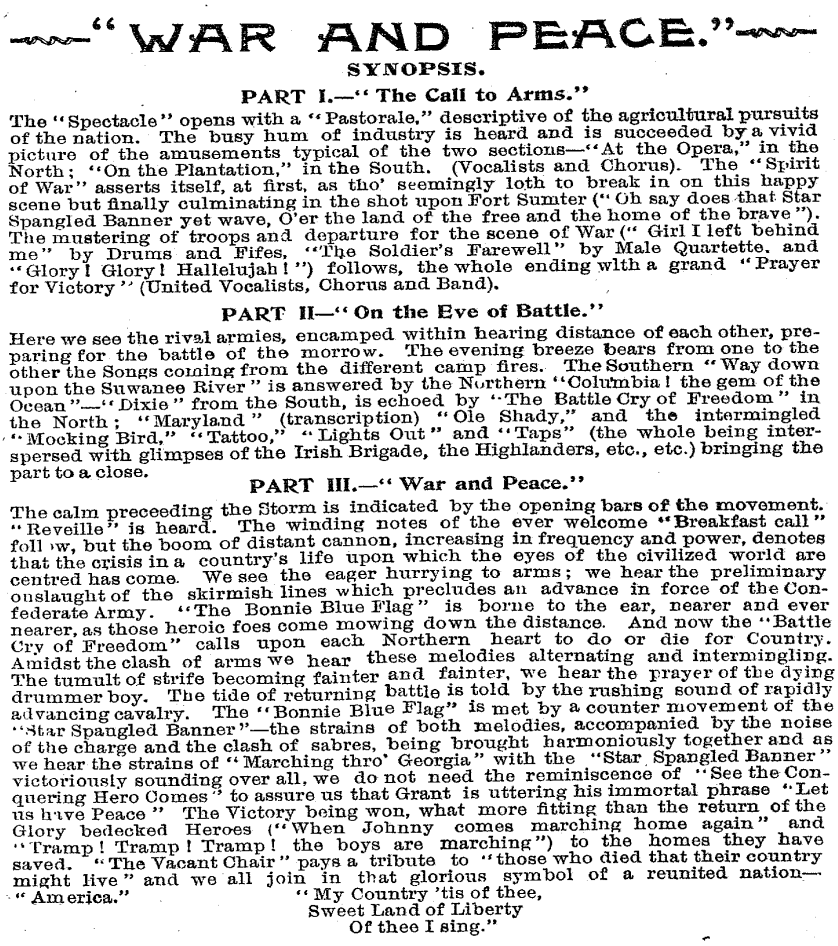
The production included popular Civil War songs: "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "Dixie," "Marching through Georgia," and "The Bonnie Blue Flag." Figure 3.7 is the synopsis.

The first performance attracted 18,000 people and it continued to be a popular attraction every evening during the G.A.R. Encampment:

> The *War and Peace* collection, which has been praised to a great extent by the G. A. R. visitors during the last week, as a musical novelty is remarkable. It is a mixture of the most prominent and familiar music used in the war, and is a good example of harmonious adaptation. Musically speaking, its merit is open to doubt. Any selection of the kind must of necessity become monotonous, and this is no exception, though probably the best ever given. The contrasts between the shooting, the roaring of the cannon, the blare of war trumpets, and the sentimental home songs, is a little too sharp for beauty, and there is a great deal too much "curtain music" throughout the piece. Only the artistic spirit of Mr. Innes, which struggles for expression even in the midst of such difficulties as must exist in the arrangement of a piece like this, save it from being a failure.
>
> The excellence of the band, also, brings out all there is in it, and the chorus is well trained. It was intended chiefly for the week of the encampment and the associations connected with the stirring familiar airs appealed strongly to the heart of the old soldiers. This was the mission, and this has been accomplished, so that further review is unnecessary.[92]

[91] Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, "Frederick Neil Innes *War and Peace* Program," p. 15, Music Department, Pittsburgh, PA

[92] "The Music of the Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 16, 1894.



"WAR AND PEACE."

SYNOPSIS.

PART I.—"The Call to Arms."

The "Spectacle" opens with a "Pastorale," descriptive of the agricultural pursuits of the nation. The busy hum of industry is heard and is succeeded by a vivid picture of the amusements typical of the two sections—"At the Opera," in the North; "On the Plantation," in the South. (Vocalists and Chorus). The "Spirit of War" asserts itself, at first, as tho' seemingly loth to break in on this happy scene but finally culminating in the shot upon Fort Sumter ("Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave, O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave"). The mustering of troops and departure for the scene of War ("Girl I left behind me" by Drums and Fifes, "The Soldier's Farewell" by Male Quartette, and "Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!") follows, the whole ending with a grand "Prayer for Victory" (United Vocalists, Chorus and Band).

PART II—"On the Eve of Battle."

Here we see the rival armies, encamped within hearing distance of each other, preparing for the battle of the morrow. The evening breeze bears from one to the other the Songs coming from the different camp fires. The Southern "Way down upon the Suwanee River" is answered by the Northern "Columbia! the gem of the Ocean"—"Dixie" from the South, is echoed by "The Battle Cry of Freedom" in the North; "Maryland" (transcription) "Ole Shady," and the intermingled "Mocking Bird," "Tattoo," "Lights Out" and "Taps" (the whole being interspersed with glimpses of the Irish Brigade, the Highlanders, etc., etc.) bringing the part to a close.

PART III.—"War and Peace."

The calm preceeding the Storm is indicated by the opening bars of the movement. "Reveille" is heard. The winding notes of the ever welcome "Breakfast call" follow, but the boom of distant cannon, increasing in frequency and power, denotes that the crisis in a country's life upon which the eyes of the civilized world are centred has come. We see the eager hurrying to arms; we hear the preliminary onslaught of the skirmish lines which precludes an advance in force of the Confederate Army. "The Bonnie Blue Flag" is borne to the ear, nearer and ever nearer, as those heroic foes come mowing down the distance. And now the "Battle Cry of Freedom" calls upon each Northern heart to do or die for Country. Amidst the clash of arms we hear these melodies alternating and intermingling. The tumult of strife becoming fainter and fainter, we hear the prayer of the dying drummer boy. The tide of returning battle is told by the rushing sound of rapidly advancing cavalry. The "Bonnie Blue Flag" is met by a counter movement of the "Star Spangled Banner"—the strains of both melodies, accompanied by the noise of the charge and the clash of sabres, being brought harmoniously together and as we hear the strains of "Marching thro' Georgia" with the "Star Spangled Banner" victoriously sounding over all, we do not need the reminiscence of "See the Conquering Hero Comes" to assure us that Grant is uttering his immortal phrase "Let us have Peace" The Victory being won, what more fitting than the return of the Glory bedecked Heroes ("When Johnny comes marching home again" and "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! the boys are marching") to the homes they have saved. "The Vacant Chair" pays a tribute to "those who died that their country might live" and we all join in that glorious symbol of a reunited nation—"America."

"My Country 'tis of thee,
Sweet Land of Liberty
Of thee I sing."

Figure 3.7: Synopsis of Frederick Neil Innes' *War and Peace*

Although popular with the public, the work was quickly criticized by *Pittsburgh Post* writers for its lack of artistic merit. This was one of the first records of *Post* critics recognizing the need for music of artistic merit that was appealing to the general masses. Following the end of the encampment, *War and Peace* had a few revivals throughout the remainder of the season. The Exposition season concluded with a final performance of Innes' grand war piece.

Following the year of the G.A.R. encampment in Pittsburgh, the Exposition management continued to plan events honoring local soldiers and veterans. On one occasion, during an evening to honor a local G.A.R. post, "the Abe Peterson Post, No. 88 will march down in

uniform and with music."[93] Other evenings featured military drill demonstrations by local boys' brigades.

Local Musicians and Composers

The success of the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus with Innes' *War and Peace* led to an interest of visiting bands to include Pittsburgh musicians and composers in their programs. The Festival Chorus continued to be featured in programs with choral works. Along with the chorus, John Duss, a local bandleader of the Economy Band was invited to the Exposition to conduct one of his compositions with his band. Works by Pittsburgh's notable composers, including Stephen Foster, were included on many of the concerts presented by visiting bands. While there was an increased interest in Pittsburgh's musicians, the visiting bands continued to compose marches dedicated to the Pittsburgh Exposition.

The Exposition management established Festival Nights, with performances by the Festival Chorus. These Festival Nights featured a variety of popular classical choral works. The first Festival Night in 1894 was quickly arranged following the end of the G.A. R. encampment in Pittsburgh. Accompanied by the Innes Band, the chorus performed Verdi's "The Anvil Chorus" from *Il trovatore* featuring brawny musicians in blacksmith costumes to perform the anvil parts. Other selections included "The Heavens Are Telling" from Haydn's *Creation* and Charles Gounod's "Here by Babylon's Wave" and "Unfold, Ye Portals" from his oratorio *La rédemption*. The Society continued to sponsor the Festival Chorus evenings in 1895. The chorus' performances were appreciated by the Exposition audiences and they received high praise from Pittsburgh critics: "The chorus came up to the expectations of the auditors, displaying

[93] "Several New Pieces," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1896.

considerable skill and training in its rendition of classical works."[94] Other selections in their repertoire included the "Gloria" from Mozart's Twelfth Mass.[95] On a non-festival night they joined Innes and the principal cornetist for a performance of the "Il Miserere" from Verdi's *Il trovatore*.

It was quickly becoming apparent that Pittsburgh was becoming successful in its own music endeavors and that the city's musicians and composers were demonstrating that they could compete with Eastern cities. During the engagement of Conterno's Ninth Regiment Band of New York, local musicians and composers were heard on his programs in 1895. On his opening concerts, Miss Augusta Guenther performed a flute transcription from Verdi's opera *La traviata*. Miss Guenther was the daughter of K. F. W. Guenther, a well-known bandleader and musician in Pittsburgh. His band would appear at the Exposition in 1898. Miss Guenther was "one of America's greatest performers on the flute." Along with Conterno's band, she made appearances throughout the nation with Sousa and Patrick Gilmore's bands.[96]

In 1895, a "Foster Night" was organized for the performance of Pittsburgh's favorite composer, Stephen Foster. The annual souvenir program discussed the importance of Stephen Foster's music to the Pittsburgh and American public:

> With the lapse of time has come recognition of the great worth of Pittsburg's famous song writer, now sleeping calmly in "de cold, cold ground." Stephen C. Foster created a melody all his own. He gave to the American people a form of ballad that at once struck the popular chord and differing from so many latter day songs thy have never lost their sweetness, and are as pleasing to the ear as when first sung from the minstrel stage.[97]

Visiting bands had frequently performed popular Foster melodies for the Exposition audience. For the evening in 1895, the Festival Chorus was selected to sing several airs and melodies. A

[94] "Local Voices Appreciated," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1895.
[95] This Mass, the Mass in G major K. Anh. 232, is now generally attributed to Wenzel Müller (1759–1835).
[96] *Up Town: Greater Pittsburgh's Classic Section* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Board of Trade, 1907), 96.
[97] *Greater Pittsburgh Exposition 1895*, 31.

local Pittsburgh singer, Mr. A. J. Baernstein, gave "Old Black Joe" as a solo. Baernstein, a tenor, performed with local Pittsburgh choral societies.

One of the earliest contemporary composers to be featured at the Exposition was John S. Duss, a local cornetist, bandleader, and composer. John S. Duss (1860–1951) was a member of the Harmony Society, a Utopian society located in Economy to the north of Pittsburgh.[98] In 1892 he was elected a senior trustee of the Harmony Society. Duss who had grown up playing cornet in the Harmony Band, now had power as a senior leader to take over the band. The band regularly performed throughout the Pittsburgh region for social and civic events.[99]

Exposition audiences first heard Duss's compositions in 1894. On the Exposition's "Beaver Valley Day," which included excursions from the Beaver Valley to the north of Pittsburgh and the Harmony Society, Innes's band performed Duss's *The Limited Mail* march and an unnamed waltz.[100] In 1895, John Duss was invited with his Economy Band to perform his new composition, *The G. A. R. in Dixie*, with the Innes Band and the Festival Chorus. According to the *Post*, "The composition is a pleasing one, consisting first of an instrumental prelude, second the new "Dixie" song, words and music by Duss, and lastly the march."[101] The local G.A.R. of Allegheny County escorted the bands to the concert.

Along with the increased interest in Pittsburgh's musicians and composers, many visiting bandleaders continued composing works, which they dedicated for the Exposition. In 1892, Jules Levy composed a march, *The Pittsburgh Exposition*. In recognition of the coal and steel industry

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[98] For a detailed description of the founding of the Harmony Society, see Donald E. Pitzer, *New Harmony: Then and Now* (Bloomington, IN: Indian University Press, 2012).

[99] John Duss' autobiography provides a discussion about the music, as well as a discussion about the Harmony society. See John S. Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Book Service Publishers, 1943). For a biography of Duss' musical activities see Richard D. Wetzel, "Duss, John S.," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2083901 (accessed February 29, 2012).

[100] "The Exposition Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1894.

[101] "Economy Night," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1895.

Luciano Conterno wrote a two-step waltz, *The Iron City*. On souvenir nights, piano arrangements of *The Iron City* march and the *Beaux and Belles of Pittsburgh* were distributed to the females in attendance.[102]

During the mid-1890s, Pittsburgh continued to be led by its industrial progress, particularly its steel industry. Growing concurrently with the steel industry, the Exposition continued to present more quality exhibits and musicians, including female singers and soloists. As the Exposition and Pittsburgh's cultural life continued to grow in the 1890s, the Society and visiting bands began to include local musicians and composers. The abilities of these musicians led many bands and orchestras to engage Pittsburgh musicians and to program Pittsburgh composers.

A significant goal and part of the success of the Exposition was to include all people in Pittsburgh. A *Pittsburgh Post* review captured the diversity of the daily audience:

> Probably in no other place in Pittsburgh could be seen such a thoroughly mixed gathering. The admission price places the possibility of attendance within the reach of the poorest, and the wealthy class goes to hear the good music and meet friends, so that all kinds and classes may be seen. Many foreigners go this year, and in former years it was a rare sight see them. However, they have learned of the music, and almost any night may see parties of Italians roaming through the building and listening to the band.[103]

The Exposition was a contributing factor in the development of a musical community that would blossom in the mid-1890s with the introduction of a permanent orchestra, and the establishment of other cultural venues dedicated to building a diverse musical center.

[102] Although the *Pittsburgh Post* indicates that piano arrangements of these publications were published, there is no significant evidence about the publications of any of these works.

[103] "Fine Exposition Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 16, 1893.

CHAPTER 4

THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF THE EXPOSITION, PART ONE: THE WORLD'S GREATEST BANDS, 1895–1914

By the end of the nineteenth century, Pittsburgh had proven that it was a leading industrial city, no longer a frontier town limited by its geographic location. In the midst of its own industrial transformation, Pittsburgh's downtown area was filled with pollution and smog from the steel furnaces. Despite the city's smoky appearance, industrial magnates, such as H. J. Heinz and Andrew Carnegie, continued to finance the building of cultural institutions and parks to provide centers of learning and entertainment for the city's residents. In 1895, Andrew Carnegie built a complex with a library, museum, and concert hall with the agenda "to define, create, and disseminate 'the highest culture' and thereby to civilize the inhabitants of the city."[1] The same energy and aspirations that led to the establishment of the Exposition were also inspiring the establishment of other musical institutions that would have a lasting effect. The Carnegie complex was a public institution with free admission and the goal of attracting Pittsburgh's wageworkers. In the same year, the Pittsburgh Orchestra was established with Frederic Archer, a British composer and conductor, as its leader. From the 1890s until the entry of the United States in World War I, Pittsburgh flourished in the industry and the arts.

Concurrently, the Exposition became a destination venue on the touring schedules of the world's greatest wind bands. This chapter focuses on the performances given by these elite

[1] Francis G. Couvares, "The Triumph of Culture: Class Culture and Mass Culture in Pittsburgh," in *Working Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society*, ed. Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983): 130.

ensembles from the first appearance of Victor Herbert with the Gilmore Band in 1895, to the final appearance of the Sousa Band at the Exposition in 1914. It also addresses the continued popularity of band music in the Exposition's last two seasons, even as the Exposition planners were devoting increased efforts to presenting orchestras.

The "Golden Age" of the Pittsburgh Exposition from 1895 to 1916 coincided with Pittsburgh's vigorous economic and cultural growth. During this period, the Exposition society built a new and separate music hall in 1901, following a fire that destroyed some of the original Exposition buildings. The original music hall was located in the Main Hall and the noise from the crowds would often interfere with the performances. The new Music Hall, which seated around 6,000 people, was unfinished when it opened in 1901. A reporter at the time expressed admiration for the management's skillful use of drapery to enhance the hall's acoustics:

> While it is to be expected that in a hall as large as the new music hall, and in its unfinished condition there would be some reverberations when the brasses of the band played there has been surprisingly little of this and when it comes to the finest and daintiest orchestral effects, the carrying power of even the faintest tones is simply perfect. By the lavish use of bunting and draperies the management has enhanced the acoustic qualities of the hall, and they now leave little to be desired, crescendos and pianissimos being equally effective. The advantages of the separate music hall are becoming daily more apparent.[2]

In 1904, Walter Damrosch concluded his concerts at the Exposition with a speech. In it he expressed his hope for the future of the hall: "Let us hope that by this time next year this grand music hall will have been finished."[3] However, due to lack of funding, progress was slower than expected, and the hall was not completed until 1907.

[2] "Gala Week at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1901.
[3] "Wants Finish on Music Hall," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 21, 1904.

Victor Herbert and the Gilmore Band

In 1895, Victor Herbert (1859–1924) arrived in Pittsburgh for the opening of the Exposition with Patrick Gilmore's Twenty-Second Regiment Band. A native of Dublin, Ireland, Herbert came to America in 1886. He was principal cellist of the Metropolitan Opera orchestra and later served as an assistant conductor. In 1893, following the death of Patrick Gilmore, Herbert became the leader of the Twenty-Second Regiment Band. Already acclaimed for his operettas and his years as an orchestra conductor, Herbert now led what had been considered America's greatest band since the 1860s.[4] In late nineteenth century America, musical hierarchy was not dictated by class, but by popularity. Wind bands were at the top of this musical hierarchy because they "reflected the current tastes of American massed audiences."[5] At the peak of the Golden Age of the bands, the bands provided music and entertainment for rural towns where orchestras could not reach and became a vehicle for music education. The Golden Age of the bands, not to be confused with the "Golden Age" of the Exposition, is what scholars identify as the period from the 1860s to 1920s and the formation of many successful touring bands, including those led by Patrick Gilmore, John Philip Sousa, Arthur Pryor, Giuseppe Creatore, among others.

As the new conductor of the Twenty-Second Regiment Band, Herbert had to rebuild the ensemble after many members left following the death of Gilmore. While Gilmore's bands were "show bands" and primarily featured popular entertainment, Herbert's programs presented a

[4] Most recognize Herbert as the composer of famous operettas, such as *Babes in Toyland* and *Naughty Marietta*. But few remember Herbert as the cello virtuoso and bandleader before his rise to fame as a theatre composer. Two biographies recount Herbert's life and each offer a chapter on Herbert's years as a bandleader. See: Edward N. Waters, *Victor Herbert: A Life in Music* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), and more recently, Neil Gould, *Victor Herbert: A Theatrical Life* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).

[5] Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2005), 54.

mixture of cultivated and vernacular music styles.[6] He led the ensemble in marches, waltzes, opera overtures, and complete symphonies, creating appealing programs for all concert attendees.

Herbert quickly became a favorite of the Pittsburgh crowd and was recognized by Pittsburgh's local society paper, *The Bulletin*:

> Victor Herbert with the new Gilmore's band has been at the Exposition one week. The artistic memories of the work of the band and its new conductor of one year ago in the same place has been revived by its admirable work since Monday, and the concerts have been counted the greatest success. In the first place Victor Herbert is an educated musician, a man who has the technique of a severe school of composition and of the study of special instruments, on also who for years in leading European capitals was in the atmosphere, as a student and conductor, of the best music embracing all classical and modern orchestral works down to the present time and of these he has made personal study. In other words, he is familiar with the literature of the orchestra from which, it need not be said, all the best compositions that appear on his programs are drawn, but they must of necessity be presented in the form of transcriptions or arrangements. This in itself is a guarantee that such arrangements will not only do justice to the composer, but that in the interpretation the composer's idea will be authentically presented. In the second place, the vehicle upon which Mr. Herbert, the musician plays, is a body of about fifty chosen players, men who would do honor to first places in any of the leading orchestras of the country.[7]

While bands were considered the elite ensembles, orchestral repertoire represented the artistic peak of composition for these ensembles. Entering his third season as bandleader, Herbert had refined the band's programs. Herbert's orchestral studies in Europe helped him in arranging large orchestral works for the band and gradually elevate the quality of the ensemble's performances. Herbert was the first bandleader to introduce full-length symphonies to the Pittsburgh Exposition.

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[6] Gould, 70–77.

[7] *The Bulletin*, October 10, 1896. Victor Herbert took over the band beginning in the 1893–1894 season from David Wallis Reeves. At the time when Herbert went to the Pittsburgh Exposition with the band, he was entering his third season with the organization. See Gould, 68–69.

During his visit to the Exposition in 1895, Herbert demonstrated his success as composer and a cellist. On opening night, Herbert presented his own composition, *The Belle of Pittsburg*, dedicated to the Exposition.[8] This two-step march received multiple performances during his visit. The front page of the piano sheet music features an elegantly dressed woman representing Pittsburgh and high society (See Figure 4.1). Selections from his first operetta, *Prince Ananias*, were frequently programmed on the concerts, including the overture and a march. Other music included his arrangements of songs, such as "The Silent Rose" and "Belle O'Brien," and light orchestra music, such as his 1895 composition, the *Badinage*. His cello solos were very popular as this was the first time that a string instrument was featured with a band at the Exposition. Herbert performed popular and classical music on the cello, including a Serenade by Franz Schubert arranged for cello. The serenade performed was unidentified by the *Pittsburgh Post*.

Victor Herbert's successful classical nights often included his arrangements of symphonic works performed by the band. His first program included Schubert's *Unfinished* Symphony, Haydn's Symphony No. 6, an arrangement from the first movement from Beethoven's "Moonlight" sonata, and a movement from Beethoven's Eighth Symphony. The *Pittsburgh Post*'s review about Schubert's symphony identifies Herbert's talents as an arranger:

> The supreme beauty of Schubert's symphonic torso was brought out in fine relief; such delicacy of nuance in a brass and reed band is indeed rare. With eyes closed one would have sworn at times that he was listening to strings. The basses especially succeeded in imitating the low strings in delicate passages. It would be difficult to over-praise the finish and the feeling of this performance.[9]

To at least one Pittsburgh music critic, Herbert's programs represented an ideal synthesis of wind band musicianship and orchestral repertoire: "There is every reason to expect Victor Herbert,

[8] See Appendix for a program containing "The Belle of Pittsburg."
[9] "The Music World," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1895.

with his personality and musicianship, to show us that the modern concert band can do work indefinitely beyond and above the march and quick-step plane of the past."[10]

Figure 4.1: Cover Sheet to Victor Herbert's *The Belle of Pittsburg* March

Victor Herbert and the Gilmore Band returned to the Exposition in 1896 with programs that were "attractive, abounding, as they do, in music of the best composers."[11] Herbert's first day of concerts included one of the best composers of the late-nineteenth century, Pittsburgh native Ethelbert Nevin (1862–1901). Ethelbert Nevin's primary education in music began in

[10] Ibid.
[11] "Victor Herbert Succeeds Innes," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 4, 1896.

Pittsburgh. After furthering his study in Boston, he returned to Pittsburgh to teach and perform his own works. In 1884, Nevin left for Europe to study and teach and would travel back and forth between Europe and Boston.[12] In the first concert of the afternoon he performed an arrangement of Nevin's "Country Dance" from the *Three Duets*.

As Herbert built on the success of his first season, the band continued to be a popular attraction with programs that "demonstrated a superiority of playing that is nothing short of masterful."[13] Mr. Herbert's popularity did not go unnoticed by the Pittsburgh media. Many thought that his programs were a benefit to the music education of the city, because "They will delight, educate, and help along the musical progress of the town."[14] The *Pittsburgh Post* emphasized that "Such a band as this ought to be studied by all the band directors and musicians in this part of the country. It is the best possible education for local players."[15]

The band's virtuoso musicians were, of course, an essential factor in its success. Some of the members were with the organization under Gilmore and others were hired by Herbert. Cornet virtuoso Herbert Clarke (1867–1945) and his brother Ernest Clarke (1865–1947), a trombonist, were featured in many concerts along with the piccolo player, Signor de Carlo. Clarke had first joined Gilmore's band in 1892 and Sousa's band in 1893, and returned to the Gilmore band in 1894. Among his popular solos was his own composition, *The Canadian Patrol*. In addition to the three featured wind soloists, Herbert also employed a harpist, Hegner, to accompany him in harp and cello duos.[16] On one of the concerts they performed Schubert's *Ave Maria*.

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[12] Deane L. Root, "Nevin, Ethelbert," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxyremote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19803 (accessed January 24, 2012).

[13] "The New Gilmore," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1896.

[14] Ibid.

[15] "Many Saw the Show," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1896.

[16] The *Pittsburgh Post* only mentions the last name of the obscure harp player.

While promoting the great composers of earlier periods, Herbert did not hesitate to include much of his own music in the programs. In 1895, selections from his first operetta, *Prince Ananias*, were an audience favorite. In his second season at the Exposition, Herbert added selections from another operetta, *The Wizard of the Nile* (1895). He regularly performed a two-step march, "Am I a Wizard?," from the operetta. Other marches by Herbert included *The Baltimore Centennial* and *Salute to Atlanta*, both of which were composed and dedicated to these cities and their expositions.

During the afternoon concerts, a large number of the audience consisted of women. Herbert recognized the increasing number of women in attendance and emphasized that his afternoon concerts were "prepared especially for the ladies and Pittsburgh society is only now realizing the fact."[17] These women-friendly programs, were designed for the music-literate women. As the New York Philhamonic did with their afternoon mantinees, Herbert's programs also consisted of many selections of cultivated music including movements from symphonies, concertos, and a few pieces of lighter music to appeal to a larger audience.[18]

Although Victor Herbert did not appear at the Exposition in 1897, he would soon become a household name in Pittsburgh as the new director of the Pittsburgh Orchestra beginning in early 1898. Herbert was selected because his "unique mix of personality and talent proved well suited to a city with the reputation for being industrious, vital, and somewhat rough around the edges."[19] In the midst of Pittsburgh's industrial revolution, labor disputes, and ethnic divide, Herbert successfully entertained large audiences. While his programs were well received by the

[17] "Several New Pieces," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1896.

[18] Adrienne Fried Block's essay on matinee audiences in New York City gives attention to the New York Philharmonic selection of music and the composition of these audiences. See Adrienne Fried Block, "Matinee Mania, or the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City," *19th-Century Music* 31, no. 3 (2008): 193–216.

[19] Robert F. Schmalz and Ronald F. Schmalz, "From the 'Idol's Eye' to 'Tristan': Victor Herbert in Pittsburgh," *Pennsylvania History* 57, no. 4 (October 1990): 340.

Pittsburg audiences, some critics believed that the concerts heavily featured popular works, mostly from his operettas. However, Herbert wanted his concerts to appeal to many people and believed that "those unable to understand the beauties of 'heavy, symphony numbers' should have their taste gradually cultivated by listening to 'pieces of simpler construction although of high musical standard.'"[20] His mixing of popular music with classical repertoire was well received even beyond Pittsburgh and "contributed to making his ensemble one of the most successful and well-traveled touring orchestras of its time."[21]

Herbert also had a reputation for including music of American composers on his programs. His eagerness to include these works was criticized by people within the organization. The orchestra's manager, George H. Wilson, was "unconvinced that the music could be profitably performed."[22] However, Herbert's view prevailed, and he provided an important arena for the programming of works by many American composers. He programmed works by some of Boston's "Big Six" composers, including George W. Chadwick (1854–1931), Edward MacDowell (1860–1908), Horatio Parker (1863–1919), and Arthur Foote (1853–1937). Other composers included on Herbert's concerts were Henry Hadley (1837–1931), Arthur Whiting (1861–1936), Henry Holden Huss (1862–1953), and Frank Van de Stucken (1858–1929), founder of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. He also performed Arthur E. Nevin's Suite, *Love Dreams*. Arthur Nevin (1871–1943), a native of Pittsburgh, was the younger brother of Ethelbert Nevin.[23]

In 1898, Herbert returned with the Twenty-Second Regiment Band for the final three weeks of the Exposition promoting similar programs with a mixture of popular and classical

[20] Ibid., 342.
[21] Ibid., 342-343
[22] Ibid., 344.
[23] Ibid., 350.

repertoire. For the final week, he planned a series of special programs in the evenings. The first evening on October 17, 1898, featured all ballroom music with a "fine collection of pretty waltzes, polkas, and two-steps perhaps . . . never before heard in one evening by such a fine aggregation of players."[24] Tuesday night featured many of the soloists in the ensemble. Wednesday night was opera night, featuring French and Italian operas in the evening's first concert and German operas, with several selections by Wagner, in the second concert. Thursday evening was a patriotic night featuring patriotic music from multiple countries. The evening began with Weber's *Jubel* Overture. The Overture which was written for the fiftieth jubilee of the ascension of Frederick Augustus I of Saxony ends with the British national anthem, also known as "My Country 'Tis of Thee." The evening also featured selections of Stephen Foster's great works. The evening closed with a composition by Herbert, *Grand American Fantasie*. This piece includes the following well-known melodies: "Hail Columbia," "The Girl I left Behind Me," "Dixie," and "The Star Spangled Banner." As became a custom at the Exposition, the Friday night evening was a "Classical Night." Herbert and his ensemble performed Schubert's overture to *Rosamonde*, Handel's "Largo" from *Xerxes*, and Liszt's second Hungarian Rhapsody. There were also a number of popular selections from Wagner's operas.

After the close of the 1898 Exposition, Victor Herbert remained in Pittsburgh for his duties as the conductor of the orchestra. He also retired from the Gilmore Band that same year. Due to financial problems in the Pittsburgh Orchestra, Herbert would leave the orchestra in early 1904. He left for New York to devote more time to writing operettas. However, he would return in 1904 to the Exposition leading his own orchestra.

[24] "Crowd Listens to Herbert," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1898.

John Philip Sousa

In 1892, John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) left the United States Marine Band after twelve years of service to the organization and formed his own band under the management of David Blakely.[25] Blakely believed Sousa would give him the opportunity to create the best band in America, which in turn would be financially fruitful. However, this partnership did not come without its doubts from Blakely's supporters. Manager J. H. Johnston of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society wrote a letter to Blakely warning that Sousa needed some coaching on how to be a celebrity:

> I am glad you have secured Sousa; you ought to find him a good drawing card. A great deal depends upon his manner with the public, upon his *personal* popularity as well as his musical ability, success or failure depends. Gilmore's secret is simply his *methods* with his audiences. He has a taking way personally which "catches them." Do not let Sousa bring with him the stiffness and sternness which military men acquire, and which is apt to stick to them even when in private life. Every musical Director must be in *sympathy* and *accord* with the people who are his patrons, as you well know. Personally Sousa has all the qualifications necessary to make him successful, but I simply suggest that *you* see to it that he *unbends* before his audiences like the great *Patrick*, otherwise, he will fail. I looked Sousa over completely when he played in our building over a year ago, and think I could give him some points, *not as a musician*, but in other ways equally important.[26]

H. W. Schwartz provides clarity concerning the differences between Sousa and Gilmore: "Comparisons between Gilmore and Sousa were inevitable. Gilmore had been more warmly human, more dramatic, and colorful. While Sousa was quiet and businesslike in front of the band, every player felt his sincerity and respected his artistic honesty."[27] Johnston is right in

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[25] David Blakely had already successfully served as a local manager when the Theodore Thomas Orchestra visited Minneapolis from 1883 to 1885 and later in 1889. He also served as manager to Patrick Gilmore beginning in 1886. In 1889, he established an office in New York City. See Patrick Warfield, "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble," *American Music* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 31–32.

[26] Johnston to Blakely, June 29, 1892, General Business Correspondence, Blakely Papers, in ibid., 40. The Marine Band's performance in Pittsburgh, which Johnston referred to in the letter, was not associated with Exposition. During the year, many music events were held in the Exposition hall including the Marine Band's performance in May, 1891.

[27] H. W. Schwartz, *Bands of America* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 159.

principle or in theory, but in the case of Sousa, he was wrong; Sousa had a charisma of his own, altogether different from Patrick Gilmore.

Sousa's first tour in 1892 under Blakely's management was not as successful as anticipated. Much of the criticism came from Sousa's choice of programming which relied on performances of "heavier numbers" and reserving popular works for encores. His critics thought the band lacked talent and Sousa was too reserved. Despite a financial loss from the 1892 season, Blakely continued to work on a touring schedule for 1893, which would include the major expositions and fairs. Following the death of Gilmore, Blakely secured the contracts with Manhattan Beach and the St. Louis Exposition, which were previously held by Gilmore. Blakely also secured a contract with the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago and continued to work on a contract with the Western Pennsylvania Exposition, although unsuccessful. Manager Johnston did not want to give money to a band that was not established. He wrote to Blakely about his concerns:

> You know Gilmore owned that town [St. Louis], and it will be very difficult for any one, be he ever so capable, to please its people. It may be if they engage some other Band for a year or two (which will have the effect of taking the curse off) and preparing them to appreciate Sousa, that eventually he may gain a strong foot-hold in that city, but my dear fellow, that will take time, for you well know that it was Gilmore's strong personality that carried the day there *not his Band*. In this city it is different. Pittsburgh has made the reputation of several musical organizations which have played at our Exposition; keep this fact in mind. Of Sousa's *personal characteristics*, I know absolutely nothing. That you have gathered around him a thoroughly competent body of musicians I have not the slightest doubt, but you know as well as I do that everything depends upon the *personal magnetism of the Leader*. He may indeed possess all the qualifications of a popular and successful public favorite, but *he has to prove his worth in this respect*.[28]

Sousa's success would not come from a change in personality or style, but from his programming philosophy, which enhanced his 1893 tour. Blakely secured engagements for

[28] Johnston to Blakely, January 5, 1893, General Business Correspondence, Blakely Papers, in Warfield, 46–47.

Sousa's 1893 tour beginning with the Columbian Exposition and later with the St. Louis Exposition and Manhattan Beach, both of which had been popular attractions for Gilmore's Band. At the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Sousa's concerts averaged 10,000 people, while Theodore Thomas and his orchestra had difficulty attracting audiences of 100 people. Sousa's popularity was enhanced by his programs, which varied with "transcriptions of orchestral works, well-known light selections, and longer descriptive piece" and encores featuring his marches and other popular selections.[29] Following the success of the 1893 tour, Sousa's band became a popular feature throughout the nation at festivals and expositions. Sousa and his band finally appeared at the Pittsburgh Exposition in 1897, four years after Blakely's initial contact. Sousa and his band did perform in Pittsburgh three times prior to their first presentation at the Exposition: Silver Lake George (1893), Carnegie Music Hall (1896), and the Alvin Theater (1897).

Sousa's Programs and Soloists

By the time Sousa arrived at the Exposition, he had already been bestowed the title of "The March King." His popular marches *Washington Post* and *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, were regularly performed by bands and his opera, *El Capitan*, was named the "most popular and successful of all American operas" by the Pittsburgh Exposition program.[30] The annual program discussed his development as a young musician to the leader of a band, which had "achieved a

[29] Warfield, 55.

[30] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *1897 Souvenir Program*, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.

world-wide fame and a financial success unparalleled in the history of either military or orchestral organization."[31]

Sousa and his band performed for one week at the Exposition from October 11 to 16, 1897, drawing the annual event to a close. The band attracted the largest audiences at the Exposition for the season: "The great conductor and his renowned band are responsible for the rapidity with which the turnstiles moved yesterday to admit visitors into the industrial display, and the programs which he has arranged bid fair to eclipse any the Exposition patrons have heard this season."[32] Sousa was very liberal with his encores and each "program was almost doubled by reason of the added selections."[33] On one occasion, a Pittsburgh critic discussed the programs and encores:

> To the thousands of Pittsburghers who heard Sousa and his band last evening, the marvel was Sousa's wonderful repertoire from which his great organization draws so freely for encore numbers. No other band in the world can offer such a remarkable wealth of music so varied and so charming. Ripened by years of experience and study of what the people want and how they want it, broadened by facing the audiences of every civilized country. It is hardly to be wondered at that Sousa stands pre-eminent in the music world. Sousa sees music as few others do.[34]

Sousa's audiences benefitted from his encores. While a majority of the programmed music was more cultivated, the encores provided popular music which appealed to all audience members.

The band attracted people from all classes and many society people formed parties "to visit the Point for the purpose of hearing Sousa's band give its talented rendition to various

[31] Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, *1897 Souvenir Program*, Library and Archives Division, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, PA.
[32] "Sousa the Magnet," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 13, 1897.
[33] "Many People Were There," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1897.
[34] "Sousa's Repertoire is Marvel of Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 19, 1912.

popular and classical compositions."[35] The society's local paper, *The Bulletin*, applauded the program choices and discussed the appeal of the band:

> At the concerts this afternoon and evening Pittsburghers will have their last opportunities of hearing Sousa and his famous band this season. Splendid conducting, fine programs, and a band of musicians that play as one man have served to attract big audiences to the Exposition all week, the climax being reached yesterday evening when the congested condition of the pathways at all points made the big building seem inadequate to accommodate the people anxious to hear the Friday night program. The programs arranged for this afternoon and evening are equal to if not better than any yet given, a pleasant sprinkling of popular numbers having their place very properly at each of the concerts.[36]

The carefully calculated mixture of classical (opera overtures and scenes) and popular music (marches, waltzes) was a priority as it cultivated and entertained the masses.

Sousa, the former leader of the Marine Band, also had a flair for programming patriotic selections. In 1898, he opened his Exposition engagement with *The Star Spangled Banner*. Sousa's encores included his marches and patriotic airs and often were the most popular selections of the evening. When Sousa's band "played the music of ordinary popularity it left a little room for other things of interest, but when it struck a patriotic air or one of greatest popularity, everything else was decimated into the background."[37] Figure 4.2 is a cover from a program during the 1898 season and Sousa's second engagement at the Exposition.

Somewhat surprisingly, the Sousa band rarely participated in parades. One notable parade appearance was in Pittsburgh during their engagement at the Exposition. For the return of the Pittsburgh volunteer regiment from Cuba and the Spanish War, Sousa's band led a parade from the train station to the Eighteenth Regiment Armory on Sunday, September 11, 1898.[38] Another notable display of patriotism followed the death of President William McKinley in 1901. For the

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[35] "Sousa the Magnet," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 13, 1897.
[36] *The Bulletin*, October 16, 1897.
[37] "Patriotism Evoked by the National Airs," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1898.
[38] Paul Edmund Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 46.

concerts following McKinley's death, Sousa opened each program with a march he wrote for the funeral of Ulysses S. Grant, *Honored Dead*, which was followed by "Nearer My God to Thee" and *The Star Spangled Banner*.[39]


WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA
Tenth Season.
EXPOSITION SOCIETY.
Wednesday, Sept. 7th, 1898.
CONCERTS DAILY IN NEW MUSIC WING
—BY—
SOUSA AND HIS BAND,
JOHN PHILIP SOUSA, Conductor.
Free Seats for 2,000 in the Music Wing. Entrances on either side of Band Platform.
Reserved Seats for the entire engagement on sale at Hamiltons', 91 Fifth Ave., daily from 9 a. m. to 12 M. Afternoon and evening, seats are on sale at box office in balcony.

Figure 4.2: Cover of Sousa Program from 1898 Pittsburgh Exposition

Sousa's programs and encores often featured his latest compositions. Along with *Washington Post* and *Stars and Stripes Forever*, Sousa's more popular marches included *King Cotton*, a march written for the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition in 1895, and *Hands Across the Sea*, a military march dedicated to the Virginia Tech Regimental Band in 1899. The programs

[39] "Pittsburg Girls to Honor Sousa," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1901.

included many selections and marches from Sousa's operettas, including *El Capitan* (1896), *The Bride Elect* (1897), and *The Charlatan* (1898).

One of the features of Sousa's band was the soloists which came to the band as stars or were made stars touring with the band. One of Sousa's most talented and famous soloists was Herbert L. Clarke, a cornet player, who first became famous with Patrick Gilmore's Twenty-Second Regiment Band. Clarke went back and forth between Sousa and Victor Herbert leading Gilmore's band and finally settled with Sousa's band in 1895. As a featured cornetist, Clarke performed many solos including John Hartmann's *The Favorite*, John Oscar Casey's *Flocktonian Polka*, and Jules Levy's *Grand Russian Fantasia*. One review captured the essence of Clarke's popularity: "Those who have heard Mr. Clarke on his wonderful cornet and who are critics of some note, declare him to be without exception the greatest cornet artist in the world, and the masterful manner in which Clarke brings out the rich melodies with this instrument brings more spontaneous applause than has come to any other artist."[40] He also played duets with his brother Ernest, a trombonist. Although his tenure with Sousa's band was not very long, Arthur Pryor was Sousa's best trombone player. Pryor wrote or arranged a majority of the solos he played with the band. The solos he wrote and performed at the Exposition included *Thoughts of Love*, *Annie Laurie*, and *The Patriot*. Pryor left the Sousa Band in 1903, but returned to the Exposition in 1908 with his own band.

Sousa and Pittsburgh

The Pittsburgh audience eagerly awaited the arrival of Sousa and his band at the annual Exposition. The admiration of the Pittsburgh crowd for Sousa prompted the Exposition management to establish a "Sousa Day" in 1901, which became an annual event, for admirers

[40] "Sousa Arranges Band Programs," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1912.

and friends to honor the great bandleader. This was the first time in the history of the Exposition that a day was dedicated to a conductor of an organization. As part of the celebrations, Sousa was honored by young female pianists from the Conservatory of Music's Piano Ensemble club with a performance of his *Liberty Bell* march. Twelve girls from the ensemble, directed by Simeon Bissell, performed the march with four pianos and three girls at a piano.[41] This twenty-four hand performance was "one of the most striking features outside the superb daily concerts, offered at the Exposition during the season.[42] The following year, in 1902, in recognition of the tenth anniversary of the band's existence, a "Sousa Week" was established. In 1903, the Monday opening for Sousa's week at the Exposition began with a "Sousa" matinee and 500 local school children singing *The Stars and Stripes Forever* during a program which was "beautiful, precise, and effective."[43]

As much as the people of Pittsburgh loved Sousa, Sousa loved Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh's cultural refinement in a working class city proved pleasing for Sousa and his varied programs of serious and light music. His appreciation of the public's refined taste in music of merit was discussed in a *Pittsburgh Post* review: "Sousa said yesterday that Pittsburgh is too far inland to be caught by the glamour of a European trip. The people of inland cities, he said, demand merit, but when once their favor is won the organization which wins it may thereafter expect a hearty welcome."[44] Sousa commended the Pittsburgh Exposition for their hard work in building a good venue for music: "When the concert was over Sousa expressed perfect satisfaction with his reception again in Pittsburg. He highly praised the management of the exposition, said the

[41] Simeon Bissell also served as the Pittsburgh correspondent for the *Musical Courier*. See Henry Brownfield Scott, ed., *Sesqui-Centennial and Historical Souvenir of the Greater Pittsburgh, 1758–1908* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Sesqui-Centennial Committee, 1908), 161.

[42] "Pittsburg Girls to Honor Sousa," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1901.

[43] "Sousa Royally Welcomed," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1903.

[44] "Sousa's Popularity," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 17, 1900.

acoustic properties of the hall are, in his opinion, the best he ever played in, and congratulated the people of this part of the State on the magnificent results that have been attained at the exposition."[45] In an interview for the *Pittsburgh Post*, Sousa discussed Pittsburgh's appreciation for all music styles, as long as it is good: "I can answer that question by saying no bad music for Pittsburghers. Pittsburgh has spent thousands upon thousands of dollars for good music. But whether the music by ragtime or that of the old masters, it must always be good, mark that. No other kind will be accepted permanently by the American people and leastways by the Pittsburgh people."[46]

Sousa showed his appreciation to the Pittsburgh audience and wrote a march exclusively for the Exposition. The *Pride of Pittsburgh* march was written for the dedication of the new music hall at the Exposition in 1901 and performed on the opening night's concert. Sousa used melodies from Stephen Foster's "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming" and Ethelbert Nevin's "Narcissus." The local newspapers ran a contest to select the name of the march. It became popular among the Pittsburgh audience: "Eight thousand pairs of hands applauded its production. It met with instant approval and Sousa was pleased."[47] The march was performed throughout the season. Unfortunately, the march was not published.[48]

Pittsburgh's local composers and musicians benefitted from Sousa. Sousa was the only ensemble leader who regularly programmed music composed by local composers. Every year, Sousa set up a "Pittsburgh Night." The first evening was limited in its number of compositions. He performed Professor K. F. W. Guenther's *Sleigh Bells*, a two-step march dedicated to the Gridiron Club in Washington, PA, a suburb south of Pittsburgh. He also selected J. S. Duss's

[45] "Opening a Success," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1901.
[46] "Only Good Music Here Says Bandmaster Sousa," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 7, 1907.
[47] "Opening a Success," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1901.
[48] Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: A Descriptive Catalog of His Works* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 65.

America up to Date, which had been recently presented at the Buffalo encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. It was performed by Sousa's band under Duss's direction.

The Pittsburgh public was not very keen on an evening of music devoted to Pittsburgh composers, as they did not believe that these composers were as good.

> When the plan was first proposed of having an entire evening at the new Pittsburg exposition devoted to the works of Pittsburgh composers, it was suggested in some local circles that it might be well to take pillows along and "sleep" the evening through. Bandmaster Sousa, having more confidence in the composition of local musicians than some Pittsburgher themselves, arranged two programs solely for their benefit, and the result last night was gratifying in the extreme. Be it said also to the credit of Pittsburg music lovers at large that they did not withhold their generous support nor fail to give evidence of sincere appreciation.[49]

Sousa convinced the audience that the Pittsburgh composers were good enough. For the second evening that Sousa performed music by Pittsburgh composers, there was more appreciation by the public:

> Great multitudes of music-loving and amusement-seeking people attended the exposition last night and listened to one of the most charming programs of melody ever heard in the city. It was a spirited recital by the famous bandmaster and his peerless combination of soloists, and last, but not least, the chief composition rendered were masterpieces from the minds of Pittsburg music writers.[50]

On this concert, Sousa performed a variety of selections including Stephen Foster's "My Old Kentucky Home" sung by Estelle Liebling; Etherlbert Nevin's "Narcissus" and "Country Dance"; Ad Foerster's nocturne, *At Twilight*, and *Dedication March*; and excerpts from Victor Herbert's operetta, *The Fortune Teller*. Sousa introduced composers that while popular at the time, are now relatively unknown. Emil O. Wolff, director of the Bijou Theater orchestra in Pittsburgh, had two works performed, including *Love's Sunshine* and *The Penny Millionaires* march. One of the Pittsburgh composers included on the concert was a woman, Lulu Genet. Prior

[49] "Sousa Honors Pittsburgers," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 13, 1901.
[50] "All Pittsburg Entranced," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 12, 1902.

to the performances of her compositions, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* announced the performance of her works:

> One of Pittsburg's young musical composers, Miss Lulu Marianne Genet, is to be honored by Sousa this week. He is to play two of her compositions at the Exposition on Thursday evening. The one is called "Way Down South" and the other, a religious piece, is entitled "De Profunds." Miss Genet is said to have rare talent. And the compliment paid her by Sousa would indicate it.[51]

The discussion about her "rare" talent indicates that many believed that female composers did not have the same skills to write large works for public performances. The program listed in the *Pittsburgh Post* on September 11 did not include Genet's *De Profunds*. It also lists *Way Down South* as a "Darky Sketch," showing that there was stereotyping of black culture and the music still was popular with the Pittsburgh and American audiences.

As Sousa continued to present these concerts, more composers addressed Sousa about performing their compositions. Sousa programmed many of the works and a *Pittsburgh Post* review discussed Sousa's claims that that Pittsburgh had some of the best composers of music:

> 'Masterpieces' at the rate of two and three a day are being received by Mr. Sousa at the Exposition this week. Sousa has great sympathy for the young composer. At every city he visits he is called upon by incipient geniuses who have, according to themselves, a march or a waltz or a symphonic poem of 'the age' and they plead for a rendering by the band. Pittsburgh, according to Mr. Sousa, has more geniuses of this sort than any other city he has visited so far. Their range is only limited by the limitations of music, and sometimes even that does not altogether confine them.[52]

Although Pittsburgh's critics were unsure about Sousa's faith in their city's composers, Sousa showed that Pittsburgh's musical life was equal to or better than many of the cities in America. As Sousa continued to program the works of Pittsburgh's composers, other ensembles including orchestras noticed the talent available in Pittsburgh.

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[51] "The World of Music," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 7, 1902.
[52] "Pittsburgh Composers Seek Sousa's Aid," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 13, 1907.

Women Soloists with Sousa's Band

As discussed in Chapter 3, many of the bands that visited the Exposition in the mid-1890s featured female soloists. After the 1897 season, women soloists were absent from Exposition programs until 1903, when the Sousa band featured female vocalists and violinists. At this time, Sousa was the only bandleader to regularly engage female soloists in his Exposition programs. Some of these soloists were national and international superstars and others became stars because of their success with Sousa. Among the most acclaimed were vocalists Estelle Liebling and Virginia Root, and violinists Jeannette Powers and Nicoline Zedeler. Based on contemporary reviews, they were among the best of Sousa's soloists, women and men alike, and received enthusiastic responses from audiences.

The female vocalists performed a variety of music ranging from arias and scenes from well-known operas to waltzes to popular songs written by Sousa. The first vocalist to join Sousa's band was Estelle Liebling (1880–1970). [53] She toured with the ensemble from 1902 to 1905, performing in over 1,000 concerts. At the Exposition, her variety of solos included cultivated music such as "Ô légère hirondelle" from Gounod's *Mireille* and "Voce di primavera," a waltz by Johann Strauss, Jr. Her popular selections included a performance of Stephen Foster's "The Old Folks at Home" for Pittsburgh composers' night. She also performed many of Sousa's songs, including "Maid of the Meadow," "The Snow Baby," and "Will You Love When the Lilies are Dead." Pittsburgh's critics described Liebling as a "peerless coloratura artist"[54] and

[53] Karen Monson, "Liebling, Estelle," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, edited by Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu /subscriber/article/grove/music/O002275 (accessed February 1, 2012). During her tenure with the Sousa band, Liebling also performed at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. She started her opera career in Europe performing the title role in Domenico Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor* (performing the mad scene at the Exposition in 1903). She performed at the Metropolitan Opera three times between 1902 and 1904, debuting in the role of Marguerite in *Les Huguenots*. She was later on the faculty of the Curtis Institute. One of the nation's great vocal pedagogues, her private studio in New York included famous singer, Beverly Sills.

[54] "Sousa Royally Welcomed," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1903.

"electrifying to exposition audiences."[55] She was "an attractive feature afternoon and evening, and received an ovation each time that she made her appearance."[56]

Lyric soprano Virginia Root (1884–1980) was a regular soloist with Sousa's band from 1909 until 1917 and made her first appearance at the Exposition in 1910 along with the violinist, Nicoline Zedeler. Root and Zedeler became a strong drawing card for Sousa's band and as one critic said, "The solo department is stronger this year than it has been in a long time."[57] Virginia Root traveled with Sousa throughout the nation and on his 1911 world tour. She became well known for her introduction of Sousa's songs on programs, including "The Carrier Pigeon," and introduced excerpts from his operettas such as *The Free Lance*. She also performed more classical selections including Gounod's *Romeo and Juliette* and the "Prayer" from Puccini's *La Tosca*. She also introduced the Pittsburgh audience to "Spring's Singing" by Scottish composer Alexander MacFaydn (1879–1936) and "La valse d'amour" by French composer Octave Crémioux (1872–1949). Her singing was welcomed by the Pittsburgh audience and each year brought her "new honors and applause from the large audiences that gathered nightly at the Exposition."[58]

Many other soloists performed with Sousa at the Exposition, but none were as widely popular as Estelle Liebling and Virginia Root. In 1905, Elizabeth Schiller, the German soprano visited Pittsburgh. In 1906, Ada Chambers performed primarily classical music. Another soloist who performed a lot of Sousa's music was Lucy Allen, heard in 1907 and 1908. In 1909, the vocal duet and sisters Frances and Grace Hoyt accompanied Sousa's ensemble on their trip to

[55] "New Triumphs in Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 1, 1903.
[56] "Welcome Sousa and Band," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1904. A program featuring Sousa's songs is in the Appendix.
[57] "March King's Programs are Making a Big Hit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1910.
[58] "Sousa Remains at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 14, 1913.

Pittsburgh. Some of their most popular pieces were selections from *Hansel and Gretel* by Humperdink and Harriet Ware's waltz for sopranos, "Sunlight."

One of Sousa's more popular violinists, Jeannette Powers (?–1942), performed at the Exposition in 1906 and 1907. Her musical selections were a reflection of her studies with Joseph Joachim. At the Exposition, she performed an unidentified nocturne by Chopin, Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, and Brahms's *Hungarian Dances*. She became popular among the audiences and with Pittsburgh's music critics: "Miss Powers demonstrated that she has a good singing tone and also that the hall possesses excellent acoustic properties, for not a note of her music was lost even by one sitting in the last row of seats."[59]

The most well-known of Sousa's soloists was the violinist, Nicoline Zedeler (1890–1961). She joined the band in 1910 on two tours and was selected from over one hundred applicants to join the band on the famous 1911 world tour. A native of Sweden, she toured extensively throughout Europe and Scandinavia, before immigrating to America. At the age of 20, she was one of the youngest soloists to join the ensemble; to her audiences she appeared "to have a brilliant future before her as a violinist."[60] She varied her solos with excerpts from operas such as the "Largo" from Handel's *Xerxes*, movements from Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, and shorter works, such as *Tarantelle* by the Polish violinist and composer Henryk Wieniawski (1835–1880) and *Old Vienna* by American violinist Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962). She married Emil Mix, the Sousa band tubist, and following her work with the Sousa band many violinists studied with her.

Sousa's final year at the Exposition was 1915. During the final year of the Exposition in 1916, Sousa was on a road tour of his *Hip! Hip! Hooray!* show. While Sousa's presence at the

[59] "Sousa and His Band Popular as Heretofore," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1907
[60] "Sousa, His Band and Soloists Make Hits," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 21, 1910.

Exposition continued to cultivate and educate the Pittsburgh audience, his ability to provide opportunities for Pittsburgh's composers to be heard by an internationally known ensemble is also part of his legacy.

Other American Bands

In the early twentieth century, Sousa's success as a leader of a business band encouraged other bandleaders to build their own bands. (Some, like Frederick Neil Innes, had tried before and failed.) Richard Hansen describes the success of the professional business band because they "built upon this admired tradition of programming, buttressing the band's music making with highly developed marketing procedures."[61] These bands followed Sousa's programming style and hired managers to develop tours, that would be financially successful. Although these bands were not associated with the military or local regiments, many continued to promote themselves as military bands. Innes, now successful, made three visits to the Exposition with his band. Arthur Pryor capitalized on his success as a star trombonist with Sousa's band and formed his own band in 1903. Pryor visited the Exposition in 1908, 1909, and 1911. The only military band to perform at the Exposition during this "business band" era was the "President's Own" Marine Band. The band, directed by William H. Santelmann, performed at the Exposition in 1907 and 1909.

The Return of Innes and his Band

In 1896, Innes left the Thirteenth Regiment Band and formed his own band. In 1899, he returned to the Exposition leading his own ensemble. Unlike his previous engagements, which featured popular music such as Tin Pan Alley and minstrel songs, Innes' programs now

[61] Richard K. Hansen, *The American Wind: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2005), 48.

emphasized "heavier" music, such as selections from operas and symphonic works. In an advance notice for Innes's arrival, the *Pittsburgh Post* commented about the change in program selections: "Not alone as a band conductor does Innes tower above the average high-class bandmasters, but as a program maker he has no peer. For the present engagement he arranged a series of programs that are the most complete and remarkable ever offered the music-lovers of Pittsburg."[62]

Following the lead of Victor Herbert and John Philip Sousa, Innes' programs focused on presenting band arrangements of works by the great composers. Prior to the first concert, Innes discussed the focus on the band's orchestra-like effects: "I anticipate a most successful and enjoyable engagement here. The orchestra-like effects which I have succeeded in producing will, I think, prove a revelation to the Pittsburghers."[63] This revelation and new direction in Innes' programs focused more on artistic merit and less on popular appeal. In previous seasons, Pittsburgh's audiences were familiar with Innes' popular programs and music, such as *War and Peace*. As discussed in Chapter 3, *War and Peace*, while popular with the public, was criticized for its lack of artistic merit and excessive emphasis on pomp and circumstance. Now, Innes was applauded for his choice in programs:

> Bandmaster Frederick N. Innes and the musical organization which bears his name have captured musical Pittsburgh. The attendance both the afternoon and evening concerts at the Exposition yesterday was the largest of the season. The programs were generally of a high class, but varied with agreeable consistence. That the audiences were cultured ones was demonstrated by the loud applause which followed the most scholarly works. All given last night were interpreted in a masterly manner.[64]

These concerts not only entertained with their program choice and encores, but also educated the audience.

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[62] "Ovation to Damrosch," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1899.
[63] "Innes' Band Here," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 16, 1899.
[64] "Innes Gains an Ovation," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1899.

Following the 1899 season, Innes did not return to the Exposition until 1910. In the ten years since his last appearance, Innes traveled with his band around the world and presented concerts throughout the United States at many festivals and expositions. During this time period, Innes also added more instruments to the ensemble, including a harpist and bass player. For the first time at the Exposition, he had a female vocalist, Beatrice Van Loon. An American, born in Indiana, she studied in Europe and made her debut in the role of Elsa in a production of *Lohengrin* in Dresden. Van Loon's performances at the Exposition were selections from operas and art songs. At the first concert she sang an aria from Massenet's *Herodiade* with "unusually fine expression"[65] and became a favorite among the Pittsburgh audience. Innes's harpist, Kajetan Attl, was from Bohemia. Along with featured solos, he performed the obligato part, along with the oboist, for Van Loon's performance of Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*. The bass player, Spaniard Anton Torello, joined Innes in 1910 and the Exposition was a part of his first tour in America. He became principal bass player of the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1914 and remained in this position until 1948. One of the featured numbers Torello performed at the Exposition was his own solo composition for string bass, Fantasy in D.

In the 1910 and 1912 engagements, Innes' programs continued to offer arrangements of classical music along with popular tunes. In 1910, he set up evenings of classical music devoted to Russian, French, and German masters, featuring the most popular classical melodies for the audience. He arranged an evening of Russian music including Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slav* [*Slavonic March*, Op. 31] and music from *The Nutcracker*; Anton Rubinstein's *Kammenoi Ostrow* and *Triumphal Overture*; and Alexander Glazunov's *Dance of the Marionettes*. The music of the featured Russian composers had been introduced to Pittsburgh audiences by the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York (discussed in Chapter 5). For the French evening, he

[65] "Big Welcome Accorded Return of Innes' Band," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1910.

programmed music of Berlioz, Bizet, Offenbach, Delibes, Saint-Saëns, and Gounod. Many of these works were frequently performed for Exposition audiences. Innes's evening of German music presented music by Brahms, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Flotow, Schubert, and Strauss. The second concert was devoted to excerpts from Wagner's operas. Critics continued to respond favorably to Innes's programming of symphonic repertoire, as they had done for Herbert fifteen years earlier: "Those who heard Innes and his band yesterday afternoon and evening were impressed with its unusual development, and many expressions of surprise were heard of the superb rendering of the numbers usually allotted to symphony orchestras."[66]

During the engagement in 1912, Innes presented an evening of music devoted to the performances of compositions by Pittsburgh's composers. By this time, audiences were familiar with Sousa's evenings devoted to Pittsburgh composers and critics were recognizing the quality of music offered by Pittsburgh's composers: "Little as the people of the city may realize it, Pittsburgh holds rather a proud position in the world of musical composition."[67] Many of the composers featured on this evening were regularly heard on Sousa's concerts, including Stephen Foster, Ethelbert Nevin, and Albert Foerster. Innes featured one new composer, Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881–1946). Beatrice Van Loon sang Cadman's song, "In the Land of the Sky-Blue Water." Cadman, an organist, composer, and ethnomusicologist, became interested in the music of the Native Americans and recorded the songs of the Omaha and Winnebago tribes. In 1909, early in his studies of American Indian music, he composed the *Four American Indian Songs*, Op. 45, which includes "In the Land of the Sky-Blue Water."[68]

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[66] "Innes and Great Band Charm Many Visitors," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1912.

[67] "Innes and Band to be at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1912.

[68] David E. Campbell and Nicholas E. Tawa, "Cadman, Charles Wakefield," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/04527 (accessed March 4, 2012). The song was frequently quoted in popular culture. It was included in films, *Go West* (1940) and *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), and the melody was used for a 1950s Hamm's Beer commercial with an accompaniment of Indian drums.

Bellstedt-Ballenberg Band

The 1897 season opened with a three-week engagement by the Bellstedt-Ballenberg Band from Cincinnati. The band was led by Herman Bellstedt (1858–1926), an American cornetist, bandleader, composer, and arranger. Bellstedt performed in many bands, including the Cincinnati Reed Band and Patrick Gilmore's Band. In 1892, he formed the Bellstedt-Ballenberg, and toured with the organization as its director and cornet soloist. In 1904 he joined Sousa's band and in 1906 he performed in Innes's band. By 1913, after traveling with many bands, he became a member of the faculty of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.[69]

On the opening concerts, the band performed Bellstedt's new march, *Beaux and Belles of Pittsburgh*, dedicated to the Pittsburgh Exposition. Following the first day of concerts for Bellstedt's band, Pittsburgh critics discussed the unusual, for Pittsburgh, stage presence:

> There is a good deal of comedy in the playing of the band, as well as a number of its compositions. The conductor himself seems fairly bubbling over with good humor, and with unvarying regularity his face is illuminated by a wholesome Teutonic smile. His men whistle and sing as well as play their instruments, and Bellstedt joins lustily in both former occupations.[70]

The comedy-like atmosphere of their concerts can be attributed, in part, to the style of music they were performing.

The Bellstedt-Ballenberg band regularly programmed arrangements of coon songs in their programs and often played them as encores. A national fascination with coon songs beginning in the 1890s led Bellstedt towards these songs as possible selections for his programs. As James H. Dormon explains, the term "coon" in Gilded Age America had come to be known as "black." Dormon also discusses how "coon" songs became popular during the height of the Tin Pan Alley and why they were so well-liked:

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[69] Robert Hoe, Jr., "Bellstedt, Herman," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:59.

[70] "Point Show is Underway," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 2, 1897.

> Almost without exception coon songs were calculated to be hilariously funny. Overwhelmingly they were based in caricature. Over time they also came to share another notable quality. They tended to feature syncopated rhythmic structures—"catchy" rhythms—formerly associated with minstrel material but also with performance styles characteristic of black American folk music.[71]

These songs also emphasized the black stereotype: "In the songs, for example, blacks began to appear as not only ignorant and indolent, but also devoid of honesty or personal honor, given to drunkenness and gambling, utterly without ambitions, sensuous, libidinous, even lascivious."[72]

Some of the "coon" songs featured by Bellstedt at the Exposition were written by blacks, such as "All Coons Look Alike to Me" by Ernest Hogan (1865–1909) and "Dora Jean" by Bert Williams (1874–1922). Other songs written by lesser-known composers, include "Ma Angeline" by Charles Sidney O'Brien and Lee Johnson "Ma Honey Girl" by James H. Davis. Bellstedt also made an arrangement of a song, "Pickaninny Lullaby." While this was a common song title, it is unclear as to who may have written the song that Bellstedt arranged.

Bellstedt wrote his own "coon" song, "The Moketown Whangdoodle Club's Outing," which was performed at the Exposition. A synopsis of the piece was printed in the newspaper:

> Gathering of the merrymakers, girls discussing new bonnets and dresses. Sam Johnson growls about something: chatter continued. A little difficulty between Lize Johnson and Matilda Snow, in which the latter comes out second best. "De proceshun is gwine to move." Debut of the "Moketown Pickaninny Band." Arrived on the grounds, all join in a dance. Lize getting ugly again, this time gets the worst of it from Lucille Ruffin. "Honey, Does You Love Your Man?" Spooning by the brook, with obligato frogs, boh-whites, and whippoorwills. Going home. Quartet, "The Old Oaken Bucket." Village bell tolls the hour, and the evening mall boat is heard coming down the river. Sambo steals away from the party, out on a lark for himself. As he approaches 'Squire Jenkins' chicken house, ole "Tige," the watch dog, gives the alarm. The squire gets his fun, shoots! and lo! Unfortunately wounds his dog and the culprit escapes, thinking, "Au Revoir."[73]

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[71] James H. Dormon, "Shaping the Popular Image of Post-Reconstruction American Blacks: The "Coon Song" Phenomenon of the Gilded Age," *American Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 453. See Appendix for a program with "The Moketown Whandoodle Club's Outing."

[72] Ibid., 455.

[73] "Liberal with His Encores," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1897.

Bellstedt's synopsis of the piece provides clues to his use of stereotypes, including the dialect "pickaninny," young black child, and the "honey." Another clue discussed by Dormon is the "watermelon- and chicken-loving rural buffoon" who is causing problems.[74]

Along with the popular music selections, Bellstedt incorporated "heavier" styles into his programs. Among these selections were the Andante from Beethoven's C Minor Symphony, Grieg's *Peer Gynt* suite, and excerpts from Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*. The rest of the selections were lighter classical music, such as overtures and excerpts from operas. During the Exposition, he also dedicated a piece he wrote, *Oh, Suzanne*, to the Exposition manager T. J. Fitzpatrick. Throughout the engagement, Bellstedt performed cornet solos on daily concerts. One of his more popular solos was the Tin Pan Alley Song, "There'll Come a Time" by American songwriter Charles K. Harris (1867–1930). Harris is well known for his song "After the Ball."

Bellstedt's engagement with the band at the Exposition for three weeks was very popular with his appealing programs for all people. One of the evenings at the exposition was a "Souvenir Night," and copies of his *Everett* march, arranged for the pianoforte, were distributed to the women in attendance. While there may seem to be an emphasis on his popular music, Bellstedt provided a variety of selections which would even please the music-lovers of Pittsburgh.

Arthur Pryor and His Band

After resigning from Sousa's band following the world tour in 1903, Arthur Pryor started his own band. Pryor and his band made six coast-to-coast tours from 1903 to 1909. In 1910, Pryor abandoned these tours and focused on recording. Pryor's records, numbering in the

[74] Dormon, 455.

thousands, include popular band music and instrumental arrangements of opera selections, including overtures, marches, arias, and fantasias. Pryor's band made three trips to the Exposition in 1908, 1909, and 1911.

Pryor's programs included the "grave and serious composition of the classical authors…punctuated with the latest novelties,"[75] with the latter being more attractive to the Pittsburgh audience. Many performances of "high class" music received mixed reviews by local critics. Some thought the music was "artistic and finished" and "beautifully interpreted."[76] However, others thought his arrangements and interpretation of the music lacked the high seriousness that they had come to expect from Herbert and Innes. On one occasion following a performance of *Tannhäuser* overture, one critic questioned if Pryor's ensemble was capable of performing such serious music:

> Mr. Pryor seems to have little conception of the meaning of the *Tannhäuser* music. He led the pilgrims through their march with a debonair spirit wholly out of keeping with the intent of the work. He was more fortunate in his aim to express the march of another set of pilgrims for the encore to the Wagner overture, "Onward Christian Soldiers," was within the scope of the conductor and his men.[77]

On the other hand, Pryor's enthusiasm as a director was popular with the Exposition audience. His "lighter" music was "full of vigor and sparkles with beauty" and his encores were "bright and jingling melodies."[78]

Pryor's popular music selections included a variety of solos, marches, and selections from operettas. He frequently programmed Sousa's marches and Herbert's operettas, including *Babes in Toyland* and *The Prima Donna*. During Pryor's tenure with Sousa's band, Pryor was frequently featured as a soloist on programs. When Pryor formed his own band, he continued to

[75] "Exit Russian Music; Enter Pryor's Band," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 12, 1909.
[76] "Pryor's Enagement Will Close Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 2, 1908.
[77] "Pryor, as Bandmaster, is Popular at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 14, 1909.
[78] "Expo Visitors Take to Pryor and His Methods," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 31, 1908.

perform his popular trombone solos, many of which were his own compositions, including *The Love Kiss*, *The Baby Parade*, and the *Crusader*.

In the beginning of the twentieth century compositions featuring plantation melodies and minstrel show songs were giving way to the ragtime music made popular by Scott Joplin. Pryor took advantage of the growing popularity of ragtime and composed and arranged rag music for the band. One of his most popular selections was *Razzazza Mazzazza*, a two-step ragtime march, which was performed at the Exposition. His rag solos for the trombone, including *Artful Artie*, were a popular feature of his programs.

"The President's Own" Marine Band

In 1907 and 1909, the United States Marine Corps Band, "The President's Own," under the leadership of Lieutenant William H. Santelmann (1863– 1932) performed at the Exposition. Santelmann who took over the position in 1898 was regarded as "a thoroughly fine musician and conductor [who] leads his forces with skill and dignity."[79] A native of Germany, Santelmann left for the United States and performed with the Royal Stuttgart Symphony in Philadelphia. He later auditioned for the Marine Band, led by Sousa, on the violin, clarinet, and baritone in 1887. He joined the band in the fall of 1887, but left in 1895 to perform with local orchestras and direct the Columbia Theater Orchestra in Washington, D.C. In 1897, he took over as the director of the Marine Band, a position he held until 1927.[80]

The Marine Band performed a variety of music on their programs, including overtures, selections from operas, marches, waltzes, and humoresques. The "heavy" numbers included

[79] "President's Own Coming to Exposition Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 30, 1907.

[80] "William H. Santelmann," The President's Own" United States Marind Band, http://www.marineband.usmc.mil/learning_tools/our_history/directors/santelmann_h.htm (accessed February 15, 2012.)

selections from Wagner, Dvořák, and Mendelssohn. In 1909, the ensemble departed from the rule to devote a Friday evening concert exclusively to Wagner. With selections ranging from selections of Puccini's *La bohème* to movements from Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony, the music was varied and popular among the large audience.

The Marine Band also performed many of Santelmann's own compositions. On the opening night in 1907, Santelmann performed his new overture, *Pocahontas*, which according to Pittsburgh critic's "revealed musical skill of a high order."[81] Santelmann's *Pocahontas* reveals that he, like Dvořák, had an interest in composing music inspired by a legendary Native American. Dvořák's "New World" Symphony, composed in 1898, was based on the poem, *Hiawatha*, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1892). Michael Beckerman points out that Dvořák was attracted to Hiawatha because "the subject was exotic, not merely for a Czech, but for any city dweller" and it would be "a potent substance that would strike average Americans as somehow belonging to them."[82] Dvořák's programmatic symphony inspired other composers, such as Santelmann to use Native Americans as inspiration to find an American style. Other compositions by Santelmann performed on these programs included the waltz *The Bachelors*, and the gallop *Ride of the Hussars*.

Patriotism was a key theme during the two engagements of the Marine Band. The ensemble encores were patriotic airs and marches. The band performed many of Sousa's marches, including *Semper Fidelis*, which had become the official march of the Marine Corps. As the *Post* reported, "The patriotic climax was the rendition of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The members of the band, in their brilliant full dress uniform of red coats and blue trousers, stood

[81] Score Board and Music Interest Expo Crowds," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 13, 1909.

[82] Michael B. Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 75.

while the stars and stripes were unfurled over their heads, which the audience arose as one person and the walls of the big hall resounded with handclapping and cheers."[83]

Local Pittsburgh Bands

The first season of the Exposition in 1889 had opened with a four-week engagement by the Great Western Band of Pittsburgh. In 1895, John Duss's Economy Band performed with Innes' band for one concert featuring Duss's *G.A.R. in Dixie*. In 1898, the Exposition management took interest in presenting a local band. The Greater Pittsburgh Band was engaged for nine days. Another ten years passed until the Carlib Hussar Band appeared in 1910 and 1911.

The Greater Pittsburgh Band

Under the direction of Professor Karl Frederick William Guenther, the Greater Pittsburgh Band appeared at the Exposition in 1898. The band had only been organized for one year and had "already proved itself fit to rank with the best bands of the country."[84] The summer before its Exposition appearance, the band presented many free concerts at Pittsburgh's Schenley Park, a popular outdoor concert venue during the summertime.

The programs presented by the Greater Pittsburgh Band emphasized popular airs and lighter classical numbers. The *Pittsburgh Post* announced, "While there will not be a dearth of classical numbers during the engagement, the people's love for lighter music is remembered and much of it will be given."[85] Many of these popular selections were medleys, characteristic pieces, and fantasias. One of the selections was Theodore Moses Tobani's fantasia, *American*,

[83] "Patriotism Thrills Big Exposition Crowds," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 1, 1907.
[84] "Guenther Opens Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 14, 1898.
[85] "Guenther Made a Hit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1898.

which included famous Stephen Foster melodies. Another work, which featured plantation melodies, was *On the Plantation* by Charles J. Puerner (1849–1905), an American composer.

Although most of the musical selections were of a popular order, the band did program music for the "more profound musical minds."[86] The typical classical night at the Exposition featured selections from Wagner's *Rienzi* and *Lohengrin*, Mascagni's *Cavaleria rusticana*, and Meyerbeer's "Fackeltanz No. 2." The evening ended with a performance of the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's *Messiah*.

The appearance of the Greater Pittsburgh band was a testament to the quality of the city's composers and musicians. During the engagement at the Exposition, Director Guenther presented many of his compositions. On opening night, the ensemble performed the *Pittsburgh Exposition March* dedicated to the Exposition. On the evening dedicated to the Eighteenth Regiment volunteers and United Labor League he presented the following marches: *Welcome Home Volunteers* and *United Labor League*. The band's success also recognized the need for more attention by the Exposition management to continue engagements with local bands: "They are giving great satisfaction, and the experiment of having a home band for at least a portion of the exposition season has proved that Pittsburgh has musical talent that deserves more recognition from public enterprises and home institutions than it has been getting."[87] Although this was a one-time engagement at the Exposition for the Greater Pittsburgh Band, the ensemble was a regular attraction at local events and concerts.

[86] "Band Gaining Glory," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1898.
[87] "No Street Parade Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 19, 1898.

Carlib Hussar Band

In 1910 and 1911, the Carlib Hussar Band appeared at the Exposition under the direction of William Leonard Passaquay Mayer. The establishment of a Hussar band in Pittsburgh was a result of the growing popularity of Hussar bands throughout America. These bands were inspired by the uniforms of the Hungarian light cavalry, known as the Hussars. The trademark features of the uniforms of these bands included braids attached to the uniforms, high riding boots, capes, and hats with plumes. In the early twentieth century, Al Sweet and his White Hussars were in high demand throughout the country and many Hussar bands were subsequently formed.[88]

When the Carlib Hussar Band began their engagement at the Exposition, descriptions of their uniforms in the local newspapers were more important than discussions of the band's programs. Pittsburgh critics commented that the band was "the most handsomely uniformed company of musicians that has ever appeared in this city."[89] Some critics questioned if the uniforms were a distraction because the audience's interest was "divided between what attracts the eye and what attracts the ear….the sight of them is enough to make one forget that concerts are to be heard rather than to be seen."[90] Following the discussion about the audience's reaction, a description of the band's uniforms was included in the same article:

> Such stunning red shoulder capes lined with yellow and trimmed with black braid and buttons and yea, verily, even edged with black! Such natty-looking suits made gay with yellow stripes! The cloaks hang sometimes this way, sometimes that, according to the motions of the players, but they are always immensely fetching. And to give a finishing touch to the style of this organization the conductor arrays his hands, a la Sousa, in white gloves.[91]

Unlike the Greater Pittsburgh Band's programs, which emphasized popular selections, the Carlib Hussar Band's programs presented a variety of music ranging from characteristic

[88] H. W. Schwartz, *Bands of America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), 244–245.
[89] "Carlib Huzzar Band at the Expo This Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1910.
[90] "Uniforms are Handsome," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1910.
[91] Ibid.

pieces such as *Plantation Scene* by W. H. Myddleton (c.1858–1917) to selections from Wagner's operas and presentations of symphonies by Haydn.[92] During the engagements at the Exposition, the band presented special matinees and evenings. Mayer continued with the tradition by other bands to dedicate concerts to Wagner. Other evenings included music by German composers, symphony nights, and in the first season, a cosmopolitan night. The cosmopolitan evening appealed to the Pittsburgh audience in which "works of music [by] music masters in practically all the countries of the works were represented."[93] The evening of popular music featuring overtures, humoresques, and favorite opera selections "appealed to the greatest variety of musical tastes, and as a result the large audience present was highly delighted with what they heard."[94]

On completion of the first week of the Exposition, the *Post* recognized the high quality of music and musicianship displayed by the ensemble:

> This organization, composed of Pittsburgh musicians, has been a big surprise for the music-lovers of this city, as the concerts given by it were of a most entertaining character. Director Mayer, president of the Musical union here, has gathered about him a company of musicians of unquestionable ability and the concerts given this week were notable for their attractiveness both in playing and in the programs rendered.[95]

The band's style of programs during the 1911 season remained consistent with the presentations during the 1910 engagement.

Director Mayer, an accomplished musician and composer, presented two of his own works at the Exposition. These compositions were dedicated to the Exposition. In 1910, his

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[92] Although much is not known about W. H. Myddleton, William Rehrig lists known works by Myddleton which includes other nostalgic songs of the South, such as "Breezes form the South," "By the Swanee River," and "Down South." Some of his works have been recorded, including a banjo recording by Vess Ossman of "Down South." See William H. Rehrig, "Myddleton, W. H.," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 1:546.

[93] "Applause and Encores of Carlib Hussars," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 13, 1910.

[94] "Popular Program Pleased the Expo Crowd," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1910.

[95] "Carlib Hussars Band to End Engagement," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1910.

march, *My Gay Hussar*, was performed during the band's opening concert and 1,000 souvenir copies were distributed to the women in the audience. In 1911, he wrote a tone poem, *Celeste*, in recognition of the twenty-third annual Exposition. Unfortunately, there is little acknowledgement to any publication of these compositions by Mayer.

Director Mayer employed many soloists to be featured during the band's engagements in 1910 and 1911. Many of these soloists were local musicians and some had achieved success at a national level. One of the featured soloists during the Exposition in 1910 was Marie Stapleton-Murray, who performed selections from operas, such as "Un bel di vedermo" from Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and the "Flower Song" from Gounod's *Faust*. Another soprano soloist, Grace Hall Rihldaffer, who frequently performed at the Exposition with the orchestras, performed "Caro nome" from Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Mayer was one of the few bandleaders to incorporate male singers into his programs. During the 1910 engagement he featured David Stephens and Clifford Wilkins. Stephens sang selections from *Aida* and Rucca-Pezia's "Gloria." Wilkins sang the Prologue from *I Pagliacci* by Ruggero Leoncavallo (1857–1919). For the final concert, Murray and Stephens were joined by other local Pittsburgh singers, Henrietta Bowlin, T. J. Smith, and Carl Zulauf, in the quartet from Verdi's *Rigoletto* and the sextet from Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*. In 1911, Agnes Kimball appeared with the band, a native of Indianapolis, but now a singer in New York City with a Presbyterian Church. Among her selections were Rossini's "Inflammatus," and "Dich, teure Halle" and "Elizabeth's Prayer," both from *Tannhäuser*.

Dan Godfrey and the British Royal Guards

The first non-American band to perform at the Exposition was Dan Godfrey's British Royal Guards in 1899. Lieutenant Dan Godfrey (1831–1903) was the leader of the Grenadier

Guards from 1856 to 1896, the oldest band in the British army. Following his retirement in 1896, he formed his own band, which he led on tours to America and Canada.[96]

When Dan Godfrey arrived at the Exposition in 1899, he quickly became popular with the Pittsburgh audience. The Pittsburgh critics frequently compared him to Herbert and Sousa:

> "Uncle Dan" Godfrey and his noted band began a ten days engagement at the Exposition on Wednesday. Godfrey's Royal Guards Band has delighted London for two generations and how it was able to do so is apparent to any patron of the Exposition during the latter half of the present week. Lieutenant Godfrey's sixty-three years rest lightly upon his shoulders and as a musician and conductor is a worthy contemporary of Herbert, Sousa, and Innes. For his services to military music in the British Army, Dan Godfrey was raised to the rank of lieutenant of the guards, in distinction never before or since conferred upon any other bandmaster.[97]

Some critics thought he "bids fair to outrival Sousa as a concert attraction at the Exposition."[98]

His programs attracted the attention of the Pittsburgh audience with their emphasis on American composers and their compositions. He opened his first concert series with the national anthem and other patriotic airs:

> The veteran bandmaster of the English army made himself popular at the out start of his engagement here by playing the "Star Spangled Banner" and other strictly American airs as a prelude to his opening program. That he has captured the public is evident from the increasing crowds that assemble daily to hear him. He has honored many American composers with places on his program, notably Sousa, whose marches, two-steps and popular operatic airs the Englishmen play with almost the same amount of spirit and fine musical intelligence of Sousa's own men.[99]

As a compliment to Sousa, Godfrey's encores focused on Sousa's marches and other popular American airs.

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[96] E.D. Mackerness, "Godfrey," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/11340pg2 (accessed March 1, 2012).

[97] *The Bulletin*, September 23, 1899.

[98] "Crowds from the Country," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1899

[99] *The Bulletin*, September 30, 1899.

Most of Godfrey's programs at the Exposition were of a lighter, popular music. According to a *Pittsburgh Post* critic, his performances of "heaver" music impressed the music-lovers of the city: "Among the pleasing features of the first afternoon program was a magnificent rendition of Handel's celebrated 'Largo' in F. Among other good things rendered yesterday was the suite *Peer Gynt* by Grieg, and a fantasia, 'Reminiscences of Weber,' one of Godfrey's own compositions."[100] Godfrey repeated Handel's "Largo" a few more times during his engagement at the Exposition.

Lighter selections by Godfrey's band continued to be the main attraction of the ensemble's performances. Many of these selections were patriotic. The grand American fantasia, *North and South*, by Theodore Bendix (1862–?) featured many popular melodies, such as "Maryland, My Maryland," "Bonnie Elsie," "Tenting Tonight," "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," and "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground." Also featured on the concerts was "The German Fleet," by Leopold Kohout (1857–?) and Godfrey's nautical fantasia, *England and America*. Godfrey's fantasia was a descriptive piece about the visit of a British fleet to America. The work's "international character" with national hymns made it "deservedly popular with the people."[101]

Pittsburgh critics were pleased with the outcome of the success of Godfrey's engagement at the Exposition and the increase in attendance: "The engagement of Dan Godfrey and his British army band at the exposition is proving one of the most successful of any concert band engagement at the big autumnal show in years."[102] In return, Godfrey was impressed with Pittsburgh's cultivated taste in music: "I have never yet appeared in any community in the

[100] "Crowds from the Country," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1899.
[101] "Weather Has no Terrors," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1899.
[102] "Band Continues Popular," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1899

United States or Canada where the people generally show such high regard and appreciation of music as they do here in Pittsburgh."[103]

Italian Wind Bands

From the 1880s until the 1910s, over four million Italians immigrated to the United States. Over 400,000 Italians settled in Pittsburgh during this period, finding work in the coal mines and for the railroads. As Emma Rocco Scogno discusses, skilled professionals immigrating to America and Western Pennsylvania were at a disadvantage in finding jobs because of the language barriers and were forced into unskilled labor. Skilled musicians did not have the same problems: "The most notable exception to this was to be found among the first immigrant musicians who made up about half of all the Italian professional people in the United States."[104]

During the peak of the Italian immigration into the United States, Italian wind bands became popular among American audiences:

> Italian bands stood out from the others because of their leaders who entertained audiences with eccentric, even bizarre histrionics on the podium as well as with opera selections and other Italian music. These all-Italian or nearly all-Italian ensembles were a significant part of the golden age of American bands, and among their contributions to American entertainment was education of the public to their own ethnic music.[105]

The Pittsburgh Exposition management picked up on the Italian band fever and presented the Banda Rossa with Eugenio Sorrentino beginning in 1900. When Giuseppe Creatore and his

[103] "Godfrey's Last Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1899.

[104] Emma Scogna Rocco, *Italian Wind Bands: A Surviving Tradition in the Milltowns of Pennsylvania* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), 16.

[105] Victor R. Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 38.

Italian band appeared at the Exposition in 1902, Creatore had become a national sensation. Other bands to perform at the Pittsburgh Exposition included Francisco Ferullo and Marco Vessella.

Eugenio Sorrentino and the Banda Rossa

The Banda Rossa was formed in 1883 in San Severo located in South Italy. The band was formed from a society of musicians who gathered to promote music in the region. In need of a new director in 1899, the organization hired Sorrentino as its leader. The band won many awards in their native land and was selected as one of the best groups.

In 1897, Eugenio Sorrentino and his Banda Rossa arrived in the United States and embarked on tours to expositions and festivals. The Banda Rossa and other early Italian wind bands to tour the nation "stamped their performances with a flamboyant character and had begun to establish the popularity of a mixed American and European, but especially Italian, repertoire."[106] Known as the "Red Band" for their red hats, the Banda Rossa toured throughout the major Eastern cities including major performing venues and festivals, such as Willow Grove in Philadelphia in 1899.

The ensemble was relatively unknown in Pittsburgh. In 1899, the Banda Rossa appeared in Pittsburgh, but due to little advertisement the first concert was a failure and Sorrentino cancelled the remaining concerts. In preparation for the engagement at the Exposition in 1900, Sorrentino and the Banda Rossa received better advertisement in the *Pittsburgh Post*:

> This band, which is somewhat less known in Pittsburgh than in other parts of the country, is a remarkable organization in many respects, said many of the best musical critics in this country, notably those of Boston agree that Sorrentino is the great classical band conductor of the age. The band is so differently organized from the American idea, and so devoted to the Italian operatic music that Sorrentino has arranged solely for their playing, that comparisons are hardly

[106] Ibid., 39.

> in order, but it is best to regard the band as an organization of its own kind, but full of the highest achievement, especially in its own province.[107]

The Banda Rossa performed at the Exposition in 1900, 1901, 1904, and 1905. Attracting large audiences, Sorrentino became a popular conductor among the Exposition crowd because he "bends more than Sousa to the enthusiasm of his work and reveals by every motion that not his mind but musical heart sways the stick."[108]

Sorrentino programmed a variety of music including Sousa's marches, Herbert's operettas, and popular selections from operas. Sorrentino also presented his own compositions at the Exposition including the *Willow Grove* march he dedicated to the park for his engagement. He also introduced the *Banda Rossa* march and *The Star to the Moon* serenade. Sorrentino's programs were selected to please the Pittsburgh audience: "I was aware before coming to Pittsburgh, because it is an axiom among public entertainers in this country, I am informed that Pittsburgh is the hardest city in the country to please, so much so, in fact, that anything in the way of music or the drama that is successful in your city is sure to take well anywhere."[109] He was also "convinced that the high class music, artistically rendered, will always command attention and patronage in Pittsburgh."[110] According to the *Pittsburgh Post*, the Banda Rossa after one week was popular with the Pittsburgh audience: "The Banda Rossa, under the leadership of Eugenio Sorrentino, has made a name for itself during the past week which culminated last evening in a general outburst of enthusiasm during the Wagner program."[111]

Like many other Italian touring bands, Sorrentino and the Banda Rossa frequently performed the music of their native homeland. During these performances, Sorrentino performed

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[107] "Big Show Opens at Point Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 5, 1900
[108] "Brilliant Fete On First Night," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 6, 1900.
[109] "No Frost This Year for the Banda Rossa," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1900
[110] "Sorrentino's Triumph," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 15, 1900.
[111] "Farewell to Sorrentino," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1905.

opera selections by Rossini, Verdi, Gaetono Donizetti (1797–1848), and Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835). Sorrentino's evenings devoted to the music of Italy brought out Pittsburgh's Italian population to hear their fellow countrymen. These concerts were often followed with receptions for Sorrentino to greet his audience. One of the most popular Italian works presented by Sorrentino was an oratorio by Lorenzo Perosi (1872–1956). In 1904, he presented *La risurrezione di Cristo* (*The Resurrection of Christ*), which was published in 1898 and performed at the Exposition. The piece was quite successful.

> The Banda Rossa at the exposition last night achieved one of the greatest triumphs in exposition history with its rendition of the great 23-minute oratorio by Perosi, *The Resurrection of Christ*. A vast audience sat in music hall spellbound while Sorrentino led his men through the religious themes of this masterwork of devotional music. It was sublime in its magnificence of shading and expression. Nothing ever heard in music hall equaled the massiveness and beauty of the finale last night.[112]

Sorrentino performed this upon request two more times during the 1904 season.

Sorrentino was warmly welcomed among the Pittsburgh public. During the first appearance of the band they were given praise for their interpretation and programs, "His organization, Banda Rossa, is uniquely made up, in that his trumpets dominate the whole band, and it has a field all its own in interpreting the lovely gems of such masterpieces as *Carmen*, *La Tosca*, *La Bohème*, *Mephistofele*, *I Pagliacci*, and *Lucia.* The climaxes of Banda Rossa brought out by Maestro Sorrentino are wonders of strength and intensity."[113] Sorrentino continued to make great progress in the Pittsburgh community and each year they returned they were better known: "Sorrentino, when he first came to Pittsburgh, had not a reputation of long standing to fall back on, but before the week was over he and his Banda Rossa were the talk of the town, and

[112] "Perosi's Great Oratorio," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 5, 1904.
[113] Two More Weeks of the New Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1901.

each succeeding season they have achieved a more brilliant success, until now they rank with the quintet of the leading bands of the world."[114]

Giuseppe Creatore

Giuseppe Creatore (1871–1952) first arrived in America in 1899 as a trombonist in the Royal Marine Band of Italy. When the band's director became ill, Creatore conducted the ensemble's concerts during their engagement at Willow Grove. Following the 1899 season, Creatore left the Royal Marine Band to form his own band. Many members of the Royal Marine Band joined Creatore's new band and he also recruited additional players during a return trip to Italy in 1902. With new members and a larger ensemble, Creatore returned to the United States and he quickly became a national sensation wherever he performed. During his first whirlwind tour of America in 1902, Creatore arrived in Pittsburgh for a week-long engagement.

In general, Creatore's programs focused on heavier numbers and Italian composers. At the Pittsburgh Exposition, Creatore's programs and passionate conducting created excitement among the Pittsburgh audiences and critics:

> To say that his climaxes are hair-raising and heaven-scaling is putting it mild; rather would it be proper to call them volcanoes in the most violent eruption, with an effect on his auditors that is indescribable. Creatore has fire and temperament enough to turn an iceberg into life; indeed, it is almost incredible that a human could give his whole being as he does and not succumb. While directing his band he is absolutely lost to the world, his only object being to bring out of his music all there can possibly be in it.[115]

Creatore delighted fans with his choice of music selections, with an emphasis on music by Italian composers and his series of Verdi nights devoted to selections from the composer's best-known operas. He also performed many selections by French and German composers, and

[114] "Season Soon Ends," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1905.
[115] "Bandmaster Delights Them," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 24, 1902.

contributed to the Exposition's traditional Wagner night series throughout his engagement. From one of his concerts, a Pittsburgh critic discussed the appeal of his concerts:

> To choose the *Tannhäuser* March for the opening number was a happy thought on the part of Creatore, for it is music familiar to the general public, and when well played is always popular and the same time dignified. Creatore led it as though he were inspired, nor were his men a whit behind him in their enthusiaism. It is so rarely that one hears a band master in this country who can eliminate the march rhythm from his baton and wield it so as to bring out the spirit of Wagner's music that when one does hear such a conductor enthusiasm runs high. Creatore is one of that kind."
>
> The orchestral effects he brought out in the March and the two dances from Tchaikowski's Nutcracker Suite were remarkable and made the listener wonder what he might not accomplish with a regular orchestra.[116]

Creatore was well known as a composer and arranger of orchestral music for wind band. One of the highlights from his engagements was his arrangement of Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*. The arrangement of the work was presented in other cities to mesmerized audiences: "It is said to be one of the most powerful things ever attempted by a band. Influencing the most impassive audiences to enthusiasm. Creatore is preparing to give it an exceptionally fine portrayal tonight, for Pittsburgh is the first really important city to hear it."[117]

Creatore always received a warm welcome from the people of Pittsburgh. Many of the city's Italians flocked to hear Creatore's concerts and they presented the bandleader with a gold medal. Pittsburgh's musicians also appreciated and gave high praises to the performances by Creatore and his band: "It is worth noting that the city's trained musicians, without exception, have become Creatore's most ardent supporters and champions. They did not deem it possible

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[116] Jennie Irene Mix, "Creatore Pleases," *Pittsburgh Post*, August 30, 1906. Jennie Irene Mix was a music critic and a book review editor for the *Pittsburgh Post*. She got her start first with the *Toledo Times* (OH). Mix was also an accomplished musician and a supporter of "serious" music. In 1924, she took a job as a columnist and editor for *Radio Broadcast*. During her tenure with the magazine, she often questioned if the radio was promoting "good music" in comparison to the popular dance music. See Donna Halper, "Speaking for Themselves: How Radio Brought Women into the Public Sphere," in *Radio Cultures: The Sound Medium in American Life*, ed. Michael C. Keith (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2008), 84.

[117] "Crowd Record is Broken at Point Show," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 1, 1904.

that works like the *William Tell* and *Tannhäuser* overtures could be so completely transformed as is the case under Creatore's conducting."[118]

The soloists traveling with Creatore's band added to the excitement of his programs. Some soloists with his band were Italian and some joined Creatore's tours in America. Some of the principal players of the ensemble were frequently featured on the daily programs. The cornetist, Signor Pierno, was frequently called upon to perform solos on concerts. The cornet quartets, also featuring Pierno, performed popular selections, such as the quartet from Verdi's *Rigoletto* and Wright's "Violet," while a sextet of cornets played the well- known sextet from *Lucia di Lammermoor*.

From 1902 to 1903, the Italian soprano, Joanna Barili performed with Creatore's band at the Exposition. In her first appearances at the Exposition, she received high praises from her critics: "More than passing mention is due Mme. Barili, the soprano soloist, who appearing unheralded has sung herself into high favor and nightly is accorded ovation that would flatter any artist."[119] Her voice was described as "rich and vibrant, is under admirable control and intones beautifully notably in the high range."[120] Among the audience's favorite selections were "Elizabeth's Prayer" by Wagner, a cavatina from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, "Convien partir" from Donizetti's *The Daughter of the Regiment*, and of course, Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*.

Other soloists to appear included Charles Granville from New York, who was a "singer of more than average ability"[121] Italian soprano, Emilia Bernabo, joined Creatore for a few performances. Bernabo, a member of many Italian and American opera companies, was "one of

[118] "Creatore in His Element," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 30, 1902.
[119] "Maze of Musc at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 28, 1902. See Appendix for a program with Barili.
[120] "Applause for Creatore," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1902.
[121] "New Record in Crowds at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1905.

the most charming of the Italian artists appearing on the concerts stage, possessing a rich and mellow voice, full of expression and sentiment."[122] One of the youngest soloists to appear at the Exposition was a nine-year-old pianist, Collins Smith. He performed Edward McDowell's "Witches Dance." Other than this one performance at the Exposition, there is little known about this prodigy pianist.

Creatore became a favorite among the Pittsburgh audience with appealing concerts for all audiences: "His first appearance here was the signal for an outpouring of the music-loving and lay-men alike, many being attracted by his peculiar leading methods, while the majority were swayed by the excellence of his music."[123] While Creatore caught the attention of the Pittsburgh public, he praised the excellence of the Pittsburgh audience in their appreciation of music: "You could travel the world over and never find a more enthusiastic, more appreciable audience than right in this music hall tonight. When you can pack people into a hall and have them sit as calmly and peacefully as this audience is doing, you can rest assured that it is representative of a music-loving public, whose tastes are above the average."[124]

Marco Vessella and his Royal Italian Band

In 1903, Marco Vessella and the Royal Italian Band were engaged for one week at the Exposition. The young twenty-six-year-old Vessella, was the nephew of Italy's Alessandro Vessella. Alessandro Vessella (1860–1929) was a leader of the Italian band movement and established the standard instrumentation used by all Italian bands. He also introduced many

[122] "Creatore Opens Expo's Last Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 12, 1915.
[123] "Creatore for Two Weeks," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1905.
[124] "Creatore Compliments Local Music-Lovers," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 1, 1906

composers to the band from around the world, especially Wagner.[125] Marco Vessella opened his engagement with a march *Pittsburgh Exposition*, dedicated to the annual event.

Although Vessella's time at the Exposition was brief and very little was written in response to their performances, the band and the Park Sisters' cornet quartet were very popular and attracted large audiences. The Park sisters of New York joined Vessella for the week. They performed a variety of selections for cornet quartet including Jules Levy's *Young America*, which was performed by Alice Raymond in 1893 with Ellis Brooks' band. Other selections by the Park sisters included classical selections, such as Verdi's March from *Aida* and selections from Gounod's *Faust*, as well as popular selections, such as "Swannee River." The Park sisters received high praise for their technique: "The Park sisters played their four silver cornets in a manner that was a delightful surprise to the patrons of the Point show. Sullivan's 'Lost Chord' as a quartet selection was impressive. The difficult 'Birds of the Forest,' as played by the quartet revealed an astonishing blending of passages in double and triple tonguing."[126]

Throughout the engagement, Vessella's popularity continued to increase. Audiences enjoyed his programs, especially his Grand Verdi Night. Vesella's Grand Verdi Night featured excerpts from Verdi's famous operas, *Aida* and *Traviata*, as well as the Overture to *Nabucco*. On the last day of the engagement, the increased number of tickets sold for excursion trains to the Exposition was a result of the popularity of the female quartet: "The crush tonight at the concerts by Vessella and the Park Sisters promises to recall the Sousa Saturday of last week when every previous record went glimmering."[127]

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[125] James R. Herbert, "Vessella, Alessandro," in *The Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music: Composers and Their Music,* edited by Paul E. Bierley (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1991), 2:787.

[126] "Crowning Day of Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1903.

[127] "New Exposition Record," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1903.

Francisco Ferullo

In 1906, Francisco Ferullo (1879–?) arrived at the Exposition as the director of the Ellery Band of Chicago, managed by Channing Ellery. Ferullo, a Neapolitan, had studied oboe at the Royal Conservatory in Naples and graduated in 1898. Ferullo was brought to America by Ellery to join his band as the new oboist and became director of the band in 1904.

At the Exposition he initiated a series of matinee and evening concerts, known as "An Hour with…." and were devoted to the presentation of music of one composer or a selection of composers from the same region. The first evening concert in this series was "An Hour with the Frenchmen." Other concerts included "An Hour with the Slavs," and "An Hour in France," which included works by Auber, Gounod, Massenet, and Berger. Ferullo established other concerts featuring the works of Victor Herbert, Wagner, and evenings devoted to Italian grand opera and German matinees including works by Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, and Schumann. Many of these programs "while heavy, are interspersed with popular encore numbers."[128]

During Ferullo's engagement at the Exposition, Professor John Dauberger directed a chorus of 100 men from the German singing society. They performed two songs by Dauberger, "Violet Under the Snow" and "Singers Love." The ensemble's performance was greatly appreciated by the Pittsburgh audience and critics:

> Yesterday was German day at the Exposition, hundreds of members of the German Beneficial union attending. After the first number of the second programs Mr. Dauberger led a chorus of 200 Germans in two selections of his own composition. Members of the German Singing society filled Musical hall with their strong voices, and encores were demanded.[129]

[128] "Verdi and Wagner on Musical Programs," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 2, 1906.
[129] "Exposition Crowds do not Mind Weather," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 4, 1906.

Ferullo returned to the Exposition leading his own ensemble in 1907. Following his first performances at the Exposition, the *Post* critics commented on his appearance and conducting style in comparison with other Italian bandleaders:

> Ferullo is a typical Italian band leader. He is slender and young, with classical features and jet black hair and moustache. He indulges in a few of the gyrations, which characterize most of the bandleaders of his race, yet he fairy gives himself up to the ecstasy of the music. His band is as a pliant tool in his hand and its works is the acme of harmony and precision, lacking none of that dash and vim, which only Italian or French bands seem to possess.[130]

Ester Adaberto, an Italian singer, was on tour with Ferullo's band. After her first appearance at the Exposition, it was noticed that Adaberto energized Ferullo's concerts: "Much of the success of the band is due to the singing of this operatic soprano, whose voice, face, figure, and showy gowns make her a decided feature"[131] She sang selections from Italy's famous opera composers, including Verdi's *Trovatore*, Bellini's *Norma*, and Puccini's *Tosca*.

Ferullo's concerts at the Exposition emphasized high-class selections, with popular songs as encores or interspersed throughout the performances to appeal to the mass audience. Pittsburgh's critics gave high praises to Ferullo's band:

> Francesco Ferullo, recognized as one of the world's famous band masters, gave a distinctively impressive concert last night in Exposition Music hall. The brilliance of his technique is never superficial or accidental. His nature is musical. His rendition last night of the works of Chopin, Verdi, Mendelssohn, Thomas, and other great composers was excellent. The quartet's technical acquirements were wonderfully displayed in Verdi's *Rigoletto* giving a splendid rendition of this famous number.[132]

Throughout the week long engagement, his evening concerts were frequently attended by members of the society class. Typically, most society members turned out in large numbers on

[130] "Ferullo and His Band at Expo This Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1907.
[131] "Ferullo and His Band Delight Expo Crowds," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1907
[132] "Herbert Compositions on Tonight's Program," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 9, 1907.

Friday nights, but Ferullo's programs of high-class music gained increasing support from the society class throughout the week:

> Devotees of high-class music among Pittsburghers last night at the Exposition showed keen appreciation of the classical works of Wagner, Mascagni, Puccini and others of the old masters. Ferullo has been attracting large audiences during his closing days here carrying them along with him and making them watch his every move. The rendition of Mascagni's "Hymn to the sun" from the Japanese opera, *Iris*, last night was given great applause.[133]

By the end of Ferullo's engagement, the Pittsburgh audience had developed a fondness for his organization and their programs which catered to all people while retaining a high level of artistic merit: "The heavier compositions were interspersed with lighter airs and some of the so-called 'popular' selections were dignified with classical effect in their rendition."[134] This comment, which appeared in 1907 under the headline "Big Crowds Enjoy Classical Programs," illustrates the comfortable balance of popular and classical programming that the wind bands had achieved. Concurrently, the regular appearance of orchestras during this period gave greater exposure and recognition of the classical repertoire.

[133] "High-Class Music Enjoyed by Crowds," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1907.
[134] "Big Crowds Enjoy Classical Programs," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 12, 1907.

CHAPTER 5

THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF THE EXPOSITION, PART TWO: AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ORCHESTRAS, 1898–1915

As seen in Chapter 4, America's wind bands were the leading musical attraction during the "Golden Age" of the Pittsburgh Exposition. Nevertheless the symphony orchestra and its repertoire still represented the pinnacle of elite musical taste. Along with engaging top bands, the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society continued to expand and improve upon its presentation of orchestral music. In 1898, the tenth season of the Exposition, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra performed.[1] This Chapter covers appearances of major symphony orchestras at the exposition from the first appearance of the New York Symphony Orchestra in 1898 to the final appearances of the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York in 1915 and 1916.

The successful engagement of Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra in 1898, led to the Society's invitation to other American orchestras to participate in the annual event. Other orchestras to perform at the Exposition included Emil Paur and the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, Victor Herbert and his Orchestra, the Theodore Thomas Orchestra under the direction of Frederick Stock, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Wasili Leps Orchestra, and the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York. The Exposition also featured two women's orchestras, the Boston Fadette Ladies' and the Bostonia Women's Orchestras.

[1] Actually, this was not the first time an orchestra performed in Exposition Hall. Prior to the opening of the first Exposition, the Society celebrated the completion of Exposition Hall in May, 1889, with a three day festival featuring Anton Siedl and his orchestra of 100 members. However, it was not until 1898 that orchestras began to appear regularly.

Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra

In 1885, Walter Damrosch (1862–1950) took over the New York Symphony Orchestra following the death of his father Leopold Damrosch.[2] When Walter Damrosch met Andrew Carnegie aboard a ship to Europe, he expressed his wishes to the steel magnate about a concert hall in New York City. In 1891, Carnegie Hall was opened because of the generous financial commitment from Carnegie. In 1895, when the Carnegie complex was completed in Pittsburgh, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra performed at the concerts dedicating the new hall. In 1898, the Exposition management secured an engagement from Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra.

The First Season: 1898

In his first season at the Exposition, Walter Damrosch revealed that his programs were selected to educate the masses. Following his first day of concerts, one Pittsburgh critic noted, "His programs are popular, without stooping to the mushroom variety of composition. Mr. Damrosch takes his profession seriously. He aims sincerely at the musical education of the masses."[3] The critic's discussion about "mushroom variety" compositions refers to the commercially marketed polkas and two-steps, regularly programmed by the wind bands. Damrosch did not need to rely on these selections, because he chose music that would be the most appealing for the masses.

Damrosch's programs included a variety of musical styles, including overtures, symphonies, and opera selections. He also programmed a variety of composers including

[2] Damrosch's memoir *My Musical Life* discusses his ascendance as director of the New York Symphony Orchestra, among his other musical activities. In his memoir, he discusses the activities of the orchestra, including primary musicians, tours, and festivals. See Walter Damrosch, *My Musical Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Songs, 1935).

[3] Damrosch Opens Brilliantly," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1898.

Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Herbert, Saint-Saens, among others. During his first season at the Exposition, he established a Wagner series, including a mid-week Wagner matinee and continued with the regular Wagner and Classical Friday night series. Damrosch's Wagner nights became a popular destination for Pittsburgh society: "In consequences of the preponderance of Wagnerism music many society people were found in the audience last night. Many came in carriages to the gates of the Exposition, and perhaps never in its history has a more brilliant audience been seen in the building."[4] In spite of the education and democratization of the Pittsburgh Exposition, the "brilliant audience" confirms that the symphony orchestra was still associated with the elite in society and musical taste.

During the first season, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony orchestra established themselves as leaders among the ensembles at the Pittsburgh Exposition. Many critics commented that Damrosch was "proving a stronger attraction at the Exposition than even the more popular bands."[5] Much of his attraction was due to his program selections and theory that "classical music may be brought within the reach of the musically uneducated to greater purpose and without a great deal more effort than is used by popular band entertainments."[6] Following the successful visit by Damrosch and the orchestra, Pittsburgh's critics also noted: "During his brief stay here Conductor Damrosch has proved that the people have a taste for something besides the popular music that is heard every day on the streets. He has proved that many of the works of the great master composers are just as delightful to the average musical ear as are the marches, two-steps, and polkas [of] the modern writers."[7] While Damrosch did not avoid modern or living composers, most of them were European. The Pittsburgh audience was

[4] "Society Out in Force," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1898.
[5] "20,000 at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1898.
[6] Ibid.
[7] "Damrosch Making Conquests," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 20, 1898.

beginning to show Damrosch that they, too, could generate enthusiasm for the heavier works of the great composers. Damrosch and the New York Symphony orchestra made regular trips to the Exposition, with their final visit in 1914.

Educating the Masses, One Program at a Time

At the opening of Damrosch's second season at the Exposition, he was quoted in the *Pittsburgh Post* discussing his thoughts about the Pittsburgh audience's acceptance of an orchestra's participation in the annual event:

> The people are beginning to appreciate the fact that stringed instruments and woodwinds are essential to bringing out the fine tonal qualities of high-class music. The military bands attempt it, of course, and do very well with the materials they command, but it takes the violin, the cello, the oboe, the flageolet, and all the finer reed instruments to bring out those qualities which we most love in music.[8]

Damrosch continued to build upon the success of his first season and by his third season at the Exposition, an appreciation of "high class" music was not limited to Pittsburgh's elite society:

> The growing appreciation of high-class, or, as Mr. Damrosch puts it, serious music, in this city, has been demonstrated beyond question. Last night there was an audience of representative people and a program designated as "popular," only by reason of the fact that it was made up of the most popular selections from the works of the world's masters of music.[9]

In the first season, many of the concerts of "serious music" attracted "brilliant audiences." By the third season, the concerts attracted a "representative" audience with no social or ethnic boundaries.

A part of the success of Damrosch's programs was due to his presentation of complete symphonies, rarely heard by Exposition audiences. The only exception was Victor Herbert's presentation of a few less technical symphonies with the Gilmore Band in the mid-1890s. One of

[8] "Damrosch at the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1899.
[9] "Climax of Triumph," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 7, 1900.

the more popular composers heard on these programs was Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893). Prior to the presentation of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5, the *Post* reported: "This powerful and overwhelming work, as interpreted by Mr. Damrosch, is calculated to leave memories that will not soon be effaced."[10] In 1894, a few months after Tchaikovsky's death, Damrosch had been the first person to premiere the *Pathétique* Symphony in America. In 1901, Damrosch conducted Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony No. 6, at the Exposition. Along with these popular symphonic works by Tchaikovsky, Damrosch frequently programmed the *Nutcracker Suite*.

On many programs it was customary to select a popular movement from a symphony to perform. While Damrosch did select popular movements for his programs, he continued to present full symphonic works. Other major works on his programs included Mozart's Symphony in G Minor; Beethoven's Symphonies, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6; Felix Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 4, the *Italian* Symphony; and Schumann's Symphony No. 1. He also frequently conducted many presentations of Dvořák's "New World" Symphony No. 9.

In 1899, Damrosch and the orchestra began the practice of performing Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony at their final concert. Just like Haydn's performance, the players had candles on their music racks and when they were finished playing, they blew out the candles and left the stage. Following a performance of the "Farewell" Symphony in 1907, the following was recounted in the *Post*:

> Following his immemorial custom, Mr. Damrosch used Haydn's Farewell Symphony as his closing number. Lighted candles were placed on the rack of each musician. As the musicians one by one finished their score, they extinguished their candles and walked slowly from the platform, leaving none save Mr. Damrosch, has a lighted candle producing a weird glow in the darkness

[10] "Damrosch Will Close Exposition Season," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 19, 1908.

> of the hall. As he walked from the platform there was a low murmur of applause which rose into a tumult as the lights were again turned on.[11]

Damrosch also prepared special concerts to celebrate the centenary of well-known composers. For the centenary of Hector Berlioz's birth in 1903, he programmed *Damnation of Faust* and the overture to *Beatrice and Benedict*. In 1911, an evening recognizing the 100th anniversary of Franz Liszt's birthday featured several works by the celebrated composer. Damrosch programmed three symphonic poems, *Les Preludes*, *Tasso*, and *Mazeppa*. On this concert, Damrosch included local Pittsburgh musicians. Selmar Janson, a pianist, played Liszt's *Hungarian Fantasia* for piano and orchestra.[12] Another Pittsburgh native, Grace Hall-Riheldaffer, sang Liszt's popular song "Die Lorelei."[13]

Damrosch frequently presented new works to the Pittsburgh audience. Some of the works were by well-established composers, such as Tchaikovsky. In 1904, Damrosch conducted the symphony entr'acte, "The Battle of Poltawa," from Tchaikovsky's opera *Mazeppa*. This loud, military fanfare was appealing to the Pittsburgh audience: "Nothing Tschaikovsky has composed exceeds in majesty and volume [than] this battle hymn. The Damrosch orchestra's rendition of it was intensely interesting and impressive."[14]

Damrosch's programs promoted many works by modern composers. Many of the selections had not been heard in Pittsburgh, until the performance by the New York Symphony. Among some of the works presented by Damrosch were the Overture No. 1 on Three Greek Themes, Op. 3, by Russian composer Alexander Glazunov (1865-1936), *Overture Polyeucte* by

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[11] "Damrosch Scores Hit in Farewell Symphony," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 27, 1907.

[12] Selmar Janson was a professor at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon) and a teacher of the famous American pianist, Earl Wild. Janson studied with Eugen d'Albert, a former pupil of Franz Liszt. See Harold C. Schonberg, "Wild, Earl," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/30304 (accessed February 22, 2012).

[13] "'Liszt Night' at Expo Promises Big Crowd," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 19, 1911.

[14] "Damrosch is Welcomed," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1904.

French composer Paul Dukas (1865–1935), and the Scherzo from *Le Jolie jeu de Furet* by Jean Roger-Ducasse (1873-1954). In 1914, Damrosch presented the *Room-Music Tidbits*, newly composed by Australian-born Percy Grainger (1882–1961), who had recently moved to the United States. *Room-Music Tidbits* is a collection of British folk music settings by Grainger.

Damrosch also included his own compositions on the programs and revealed his "splendid qualities as a composer."[15] He first presented selections from his new opera *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Although it did not receive its premiere until 1913, in 1901 he introduced the Exposition audience to the orchestral Prelude to Act II. This was the first time the Prelude was performed for a public audience. One of the most popular compositions by Damrosch was his musical setting of the poem "Danny Deever" by Rudyard Kipling. "Danny Deever" was published in Kipling's collection, *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses.* The poems from this collection were quickly adapted to new music settings. The setting of "Danny Deever" by Walter Damrosch was first sung at the Academy of Music in 1897 by the American baritone, David Bispham. Bispham also stated that this song became a favorite of President Teddy Roosevelt. At the Exposition, Harry Luckstone sang this song with Damrosch providing the piano accompaniment. The song is about a British combatant, Danny Deever, who was charged with the murder of another British soldier. The Library of Congress's database, Songs of America, describes the performance of the song:

> Organized in a "question and answer" sequence, the verses usually begin with questions posed by the Files-on-Parade (a soldier in the ranks), which are then answered by the Color Sergeant in the song's refrain. While the militaristic accompaniment helps distinguish the Color Sergeant from the soldier, the performer must differentiate between these two characters in order for the narrative to be effective.[16]

[15] "Only Two More Expo Days," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1902

[16] Song of America, "Danny Deever," http://www.songofamerica.net/cgi-bin/iowa/song/12.html (Accessed February 23, 2012).

The military accompaniment and folk dialect became popular with the Pittsburgh audience.

One of the most modern of compositions yet to be performed at the Exposition was *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun* by Claude Debussy (1862–1982). While the Pittsburgh public may not have been enthusiastic about the presentation of such a modern work, Damrosch believed that the Pittsburgh audience was ready to be introduced to the work, if only for the benefit of educating the audience:

> Mr. Damrosch showed himself of brave spirit when he put Debussy's *Afternoon of a Faun* on this program. For this modern Frenchman has been heard so little in this city, and scarcely at all in the Exposition, that his music to most listeners is still about as intelligible as a program would be were it printed in Greek. The conductor who will imperil his popularity by playing such music before so mixed an audience as those that attend the Exposition show that he cares more about the advancement of music than the furthering of his own cause. So Mr. Damrosch is to be congratulated on adding such numbers to his program occasionally. The Debussy sketch was played in a manner to hold the close attention of the audience. And the applause which followed necessitated the playing of an encore.[17]

Later in the 1914 season he programmed Debussy's *Nocturne* and *Scottish March* (*Marche écossaise sur un thème populaire*). As more French composers were beginning to be recognized on American programs, Damrosch introduced their works to the Pittsburgh audience. Later in Damrosch's engagement in the 1914 season, he programmed *Mother Goose* by Maurice Ravel (1875–1937).

Throughout the seasons at the Exposition, Damrosch was popular with the masses. Damrosch provided opportunities for all music-loving people to hear enjoyable concerts, including women. The matinee crowds were "seized upon by hundreds of fashionable women and misses as golden opportunities for enjoying the delightful Damrosch music."[18] Damrosch did not limit his concerts to the musical and socially elite: "I am not conducting for the exclusive

[17] "Damorsch Orchestra Plays at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1911.
[18] "Last Week Begins Well, *Pittsburgh Post*, October 18, 1904.

few, but I am what you might term, 'the people's conductor.' My aim is to reach the great public heart, to get as near as possible to the masses and to present music that interests without becoming tiresome."[19]

In 1902, the Exposition management established a day honoring the great conductor. On Damrosch Day, the evening programs were filled with his compositions, including "Danny Deever" and the prelude to his opera *Cyrano*. The *Post* critics continued to celebrate the success of Damrosch in Pittsburgh and throughout the nation:

> Mr. Damrosch is popular throughout this country with the great mass of the people, and in the right way. For in order to gain this popularity he has never catered to the public's musical taste at the expense of good music. He can present a light program that will please all classes without departing from the music, which legitimately belongs in an orchestral concert. In other works, he is always the musician. Because of this he is an important educational factor in National Life and a very enjoyable one at that.[20]

Soloists with the New York Symphony Orchestra

Walter Damrosch's programs were highlighted by a variety of soloists. Some of the soloists were members of Damrosch's orchestra. He also frequently incorporated singers and pianists, many of whom were female. The soloists gave the orchestra's performances an extra star attraction.

In 1891, David Mannes (1866–1959) joined the New York Symphony and later served as its concertmaster from 1903 to 1912. Alongside his position with the orchestra, Mannes promoted music education for underprivileged youth. In 1901 he joined the faculty of the Third Street Music School Settlement and became director in 1911.[21] Mannes also founded the Music

[19] "Damrosch Orchestra to Entertain Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1906

[20] "Damrosch Welcomed Back to the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1910.

[21] The Third Street Music Settlement was founded in 1894. Still in operation, the school is the oldest community music school in the United States. It was founded by Emilie Wagner "to make high quality music instruction the centerpiece of a community settlement house that would also provide social services to the immigrant

School Settlement for Colored Children in Harlem in 1912. Mannes and the school attracted many black musicians to join the faculty. In 1916, Mannes left the school and John Rosamund Johnson was named the new director. John Rosamund, an African American composer and singer, is most notable for his song, "Lift Every Voice and Sing." The school closed months later due to financial trouble and tension between the white school board and the new director.[22] In 1916, Mannes married Clara Damrosch, a pianist and sister of Walter Damrosch. In 1916, they founded the David Mannes Music School (now known as the Mannes College of Music) in New York City. [23]

In his memoirs, Walter Damrosch recalls finding Mannes performing at a New York theatre and inviting him to join the orchestra: "The beautiful quality of his tone, and a fine sensitiveness to the *melos* of the work he was playing, attracted me and I engaged him for the last stand of the first violins. From there he was quickly promoted until he occupied the position at the first stand of concert master."[24] Mannes performed on a seventeenth century Giovanni Paolo Maggini (1580–c. 1630) violin, which was used by Leopold Damrosch.[25] Some of Mannes' most popular solos at the Exposition included Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria* arranged for violin solo, the Romance for Violin and Orchestra by Johan Svendsen (1840–1911), and the "Good Friday Spell" from Wagner's *Parsifal* arranged for violin and orchestra. Mannes and

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population of the Lower East Side." See Third Street Music School Settlement, http://www.thirdstreetmusicschool.org/about_history.htm (Accessed, February 27, 2012).

[22] Maurice Peress*, Dvořák to Duke Ellington: A Conductor Explores America's Music and its African American Roots* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 63–64.

[23] Channan Willner and Deborah Griffith Davis, "Mannes, David," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/17659 (accessed February 21, 2012).

[24] Damrosch, 214.

[25] Maggini, a Brescian violin maker of the seventeenth century. Maggini's violins were known for their larger size and deep, rich sonorities. Maggini's violins later influenced Guarnari and Stradivari. See Charles Beare and Ugo Ravasio, "Maggini, Gio Paolo," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/17440 (accessed February 27, 2012).

Damrosch frequently performed violin and piano duets including Edvard Grieg's Romance for Violin and Piano and Beethoven's Sonata for Violin and Piano in F Major, Op. 24.

George Barrère (1876–1944), a French flutist, joined the New York Symphony Orchestra in 1905 under the invitation of Walter Damrosch.[26] Barrère, a student of Paul Taffanel at the Paris Conservatoire, was influenced by the French school of flute and performed works by many Romantic French composers. Some of the works by French composers heard by Pittsburgh audiences included Cécile Chaminade's Concertino for Flute and the Romance from Charles-Marie Widor's Suite for Flute and Orchestra. Barrère was appreciated "week in and week out by the magnificence of his work."[27] He also performed selections from *Aida* and *La Bohème* arranged for flute and orchestra. Barrère participated in duets with other orchestra members of the orchestra. Barrère and flautist John Roodenburg performed Narcisse Bousquet's duet, T*he Birds*, which requires the performers to imitate birds. He also performed the popular Strauss waltz *Wedding Bells* with cellist George Rogovoy.

Many of the vocalists who accompanied Damrosch on tours were professional singers, singing in recitals, concerts, and operettas in New York City. In 1902, he featured soprano Anna Bussert and baritone Harry Luckstone. Anna Bussert was a professional concert singer in New York. She also had roles in operettas including *The Rose of Panama* by Heinrich Berté (1857–1924) and *The Gay Hussars* by Emmerich Kálmán (1882–1953). During her performances at the Exposition, she sang a variety of selections from popular operettas and operas. Like many reviews of female artists, the *Post*'s gendered discussion of her music focused first on her appearance and feminine attributes:

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[26] Philip Bate, "Barrère, Georges," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02115 (accessed March 8, 2012).

[27] "End of Exposition Comes on Saturday," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1906.

> The beautiful soprano soloist with the Damrosch Orchestra, is a conscientious little artist who uses with rare skill her beautiful, rich voice, was shown in the *Carmen* aria last night, and again in [Edward] German's "Who'll Buy My Lavender." This afternoon she repeats by request [Luigi] Arditi's famous waltz song, "Parla," and tonight sings two of Victor Herbert's choicest works.[28]

The two works she regularly performed by Herbert were "In Dreamland" and "Cupid and I." Bussert performed the most popular pieces in the soprano repertoire, including "Dich, teure Halle" from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*.

Harry Luckstone, a baritone, traveled throughout the country as part of many opera troupes. Some of his notable performances include *Tosca* with the Metropolitan Opera Company and *Il Trovatore*, *Cavalleria rusticana*, and *Robin Hood* with the Aborn English Grand Opera Company.[29] Prior to Luckstone's performance, the *Post* prepared the Pittsburgh audience for a voice, which "boasts a voice of such distinguished quality and tremendous carrying power that he is certain to inflame his audience to highest enthusiasm"[30] One of his signature pieces was the Toreador song from Bizet's *Carmen* and as discussed above, Walter Damrosch's song "Danny Deever."

Many of the pianists who traveled with Damrosch and the orchestra were young female prodigies. In 1902, the fifteen-year-old Augusta "Gussie" Zuckerman of New York City traveled to the Exposition. Zuckerman (1885–1981) was a pupil of Alexander Lambert, a German born pianist and head of the New York School of Music. Zuckerman had recently performed on Damrosch's Young Artist concerts in New York City. At the Exposition, she performed Liszt's *Hungarian Fantasia* and a Piano Concerto by Camille Saint-Saëns. It was not identified in the *Post* which of Saint-Saëns's concertos was performed. Following her performance of the Liszt,

[28] "Expo's Climax of Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1902.
[29] Frank Hamiton, "Opera in Philadelphia: Performance Chronology, 1900–1924" in FrankHamilton.org (Accessed February 23, 1012).
[30] "Closing Week of the Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 12, 1902

the *Post* critics applauded her performance: "Liszt's tremendous Hungarian fantasie was mere child's play under her tiny fingers whose surprising powers swept conductor, players, and audience completely from their moorings and brought her a volume of applause that was nothing if not overwhelming."[31] Zuckerman took up studies later in Europe and changed her name to Mana Zucca. Upon her return to the United States she began to compose. The catalog of approximately 390 works includes compositions for piano, orchestra, and vocal. Her works were premiered by a few of America's leading orchestras, including the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, and the American Symphony Orchestra. [32]

Although Zuckerman was one of the most well-known of the soloists to perform with the orchestra, many other women pianists were featured in Damrosch's programs. In 1903, Miss Ninon Romaine Curry of New York performed Liszt's E-flat Piano Concerto. Curry was a pupil of the Leipzig Conservatory and accompanied leading eastern orchestras. Other soloists included the harpist Regis Rossini in 1905 and 1906. In 1906, she played a solo by the German harpist and composer Charles Oberthür (1819–1895). In 1906 Miss May Doelling, a native of Chicago, played the piano. Doelling was a student at the Dresden Conservatory and won the Mendelssohn Prize in Berlin. In 1907, Hattie Scholder, a 15-year-old prodigy from New York performed at the Exposition. In 1903, to be discussed later in the chapter, she performed with the Boston Fadette's Orchestra. Among some of her performances with the New York Symphony Orchestra were Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 and Waltz Op. 64, no. 2, the first movement from

[31] "Remarkable Piano Player," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1902.

[32] Judith Tick, "Mana Zucca," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/17584 (accessed February 23, 2012).

Chopin's Piano Concerto, and the Liszt Concerto in E-flat. During her performances at the Exposition she "delighted hundreds of trained musicians who formed part of the audience."[33]

Pittsburgh's Musicians

Around the same time that John Philip Sousa programmed compositions by Pittsburgh composers, Walter Damrosch began to feature the city's local musicians. Damrosch included two choral societies, the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus and the Male Choral Society, on his programs. Local vocalists and pianists, male and female, were also heard with the New York Symphony Orchestra.

In his memoirs, Damrosch discussed that it was customary for him to organize concerts with the city's local choral societies. These concerts often featured excerpts from operas and oratorios.[34] In 1902, the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus, the organization previously discussed in Chapter 3, performed Rossini's "Inflammatus" from *Stabat mater* and Gounod's "Unfold Ye Portals" from *La Rédemption*. Local soprano, Henriette Kell, was the soloist. The concert was well received by the Pittsburgh audience:

> The appearance of the Pittsburgh Festival chorus under the direction of Benjamin F. Butts, did his part in enhancing the brilliance of an extraordinary evening. Their rendering of "Unfold Ye Portals" proved a genuine surprise, while the "Inflammatus" given to the accompaniment of the Damrosch orchestra justified the exposition management's declaration that Pittsburgh's vocal talent is of the highest order. Henriette Kell's solo work on this number was most excellent.[35]

The success of this concert resulted in additional concerts featuring the Festival Chorus. The ensemble presented Rossini's choral work "Charity" and Arthur Sullivan's song "The Lost Chord."

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[33] "Crowds Enjoy Music at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1907
[34] Damrosch, 188.
[35] "Damrosch Given a Warm Welcome at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 7, 1902.

In 1907, the Pittsburgh Male Choral Society under the direction of James Martin performed at the Exposition. The Society had only been founded in 1906 for "the study and public rendition of serious works and part-songs for male voices." The membership of the choir was not exclusive to professional singers. Many of the members of the ensemble were singers in local church choirs, as well as "physicians, lawyers, office and business men, and mill workers."[36] The Choral Society was also well recognized for their renditions of Welsh, Dutch, and German folksongs. At the Exposition they performed a Welsh song, "March of the Men of Harlech," and a Dutch song, "Prayer of Thanksgiving." Damrosch also led the chorus in the "Battle Hymn" from Wagner's *Rienzi*.

The success of the choral society performances at the Exposition led to the discovery by Damrosch of Pittsburgh's local singers. Following a solo with the Pittsburgh Festival Chorus, Damrosch engaged Henriette Kell to perform solos with the orchestra. Kell, a soloist at the Church of Ascension in Pittsburgh, began her serious study with Frederic Archer. Archer, an English-born organist and conductor, was the first director of the Pittsburgh Orchestra from 1896 to 1898. Kell also sang for two seasons with the Queen's Hall Orchestra in London under the direction of Henry J. Wood. In 1902, Kell joined Damrosch and the orchestra following her performance with the Pittsburgh Festival Orchestra. She performed the popular aria "Dich teure Halle" from *Tannhäuser*. Damrosch gave high praises to Kell's performances: "You are at liberty to quote me in high praise of Miss Kell, whose artistic singing of Wagner selections has pleased me immensely. Especially impressive are her serious bent and sincere endeavor. I should like to see her in grand opera."[37] In 1904, Kell returned to Pittsburgh to perform with the New

[36] Henry Brownfield Scott, ed., *Sesqui-Centennial and Historical Souvenir of the Greater Pittsburgh, 1758–1908* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Sesqui-Centennial Committee, 1908), 165.

[37] "Damrosch is Simply Amazed," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 19, 1902. A concert in the Appendix include a program featuring Kell and David Mannes, violinist with the New York Symphony Orchestra.

York Symphony Orchestra. Among the selections she performed were the "Dich, teure Halle," an aria from *Der Freischütz* and "Micaela's Song" from *Carmen*. Her fans gave her a warm reception upon her return to the Exposition concert hall: "Her acquaintance in Pittsburgh is most extensive and her hosts of friends were out last night. Several floral tokens were sent up to her and she appeared to be greatly delighted to sing again to a Pittsburgh audience."[38]

A number of other local vocalists joined the orchestra for performances. In 1903, Gertrude Clark (soprano), Christian Miller (contralto), Dan T. Beddoe (tenor), E. E. Giles (tenor, and Edwin T. Fownes (bass), gave two performances of the quintet from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* Quintet. Later in the season, Dan T. Beddoe sang the popular "Prize Song" from *Die Meistersinger*. In 1904, Beddoe returned to the exposition to sing with Damrosch's orchestra. He "will be heard with great pleasure by hundreds of his Pittsburgh acquantances."[39] He sang a selection from Gounod's *Queen of Sheba*. In 1906, Gertrude Clark joined for performances including a Bizet's air from *Carmen*.

Damrosch invited local pianists to perform with the New York Symphony Orchestra. In 1913, Dr. Arthur Reginald Little, a leading pianist and director of music at Beaver College north of Pittsburgh, performed Grieg's Concerto for Piano with Orchestra. Little studied in Europe and gave many concerts with leading orchestras throughout Europe. Also in 1913, Miss Rebecca Davidson appeared as a soloist with the New York Symphony orchestra. Davidson had recently graduated from the Vienna Meister School in 1912 where she studied with Leopold Godowsky. She was also one of a few students selected from the school to perform in leading concert halls of Europe.[40] At the Exposition, she performed the Saint-Saëns Concerto in G Minor. Her performances received high accolades from her critics: "Miss Davidson has all the charms and

[38] "Damrosch is Welcomed," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1904
[39] "Last Week of Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 16, 1904.
[40] "Pittsburgh Girl Has Become Great Pianist," *The Gazette Times*, July 7, 1912.

simplicity of youth, and yet there is in her very attitude when at the piano an inspiration to confidence and an amazing exhibition of the master of her instrument. It is not her technique alone, but her artistic handling of her tasks that astonishes and delights."[41] She returned in 1914 performing Liszt's Concerto in E-flat. Rebecca Davidson gave concerts throughout America, including performances with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Leopold Stokowski.[42]

Damrosch was always an advocate and supporter of Pittsburgh's progress as a leading musical center in the nation. In 1905, he discussed Pittsburgh's development of musical taste: "Mr. Damrosch spoke interestingly of musical matters during the intermission. Pittsburgh audiences, he said, have always been critics of good music and are always improving, and the manner in which they showed their appreciation of last night's program was an evidence that improvement in musical taste is continuing."[43] By the end of his engagement in 1914, Damrosch's final year at the Exposition, he was convinced that Pittsburgh was a leader in the arts: "Conductor Damrosch regards Pittsburgh as one of the strong centers of musical culture in the count. It demands the best that can be given and the demand comes from the widest possible range of popular taste."[44]

Other American Orchestras

With the success of Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra in 1898 and 1899, the Exposition management was led to secure engagements with other leading American orchestras. As Michael Broyles illustrates:

> In the second half of the nineteenth century the symphony orchestra became the very symbol of art music, an institution that universally garnered civic

[41] "Charming Miss Davidson is Expo Feature Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 17, 1913.
[42] "Max Davidson Passes," *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 6, 1952.
[43] "Record Crowd at Point Show," *Pittsburgh Post*, August 31, 1905.
[44] Expo Season Nearing End," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 11, 1914.

> pride even if its supporters were not always versed, knowledgeable, or even interested in its music. The growth of art music in nineteenth-century America correlates closely with the establishment and spread of symphony orchestras.[45]

The growth of the Exposition and the audience's increased appetite for art music and more serious works prompted the Exposition Society to bring the best symphony orchestras for the annual event.

Emil Paur and Metropolitan Opera Orchestra

In 1900, Emil Paur arrived at the Pittsburgh Exposition with the Metropolitan Opera House orchestra. Emil Paur (1855–1932), an Austrian violinist, composer, and conductor, studied at the Vienna Conservatory and following graduation, he was employed as a court musician. He later held conducting posts in many leading European orchestras and opera houses. In 1893, he left Europe for America and accepted the position as director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In 1898 he became director of the New York Philharmonic Society and succeeded Dvořák as director of the National Conservatory of Music in 1899.[46]

The arrival of Paur and the Metropolitan Opera House orchestra was highly anticipated by the Pittsburgh audience and his first concerts received a large crowd of society people. A *Post* review noted the large attendance: "A large and fashionable turnout was at the exposition yesterday, the first appearance of the Metropolitan Opera house orchestra of New York, have attracted great crowds. The larger audience of course attended in the evening, but an appreciative

[45] Michael Broyles, "Art Music from 1860 to 1920," in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 225.

[46] J.A. Fuller Maitland and Malcolm Miller, "Paur, Emil," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/21116 (accessed February 24, 2012).

gathering was present in the afternoon."[47] Paur's control over the orchestra appealed to the audiences:

> One of the features of the orchestra's work is the ready response its members make to the slightest signal from the conductor. M. Paur's wonderful control is regarded as little short of astonishing and to his remarkable faculty in that direction he owes no little of his success. Almost automatically, it would seem, the responses are made, yet the sense of mechanical precision is wholly lost.[48]

Paur's programs during the two seasons at the Exposition in 1901 and 1902 featured a variety of selections to appeal to the masses. The orchestra frequently performed overtures and popular scenes from operas by Mozart, Suppé, Wagner, Verdi, and Friedrich von Flotow (1812–1883). Other popular works included Grieg's *Peer Gynt* Suite, Johann Strauss' waltzes, such as "The Blue Danube," and numerous selections from the repertoire of Liszt, Schumann, and Mendelssohn. These programs were successful because of Paur's particular attention to his interpretation of the music. Following a performance of Flotow's overture to *Martha*, one critic responded that he gave "an interpretation so marvelously clear, and with such attention to accent, and tonal coloring, that it seemed like a new number altogether."[49]

The traditional Classical nights benefitted from Paur's programs and performances of symphonic works. In 1900, for the Classical night he presented Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, which "evoked plaudits of everyone in hearing distance" and "was executed in masterly style."[50] On occasion of the Classical night in 1901, the Exposition audience and critics applauded the mastery of the "serious music" and Wagner program:

> Unbounded enthusiasm, the result of intelligent appreciation of masterly work, marked the rendition of Paur's orchestra at the exposition last night. At no time during what has been a week of triumph were the wonderful abilities of the

[47] "Emil Paur Draws Well at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1900.
[48] Ibid.
[49] "Emil Paur Well Received," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1901.
[50] Ibid.

> members of M. Paur's organization shown to better advantage than in the handling of the strictly classical program then presented. The audience, one of the largest the exposition has ever had, entered into the spirit of the occasion and was thoroughly in sympathy with the effort put forth by the great conductor.[51]

Also in 1901, Paur included Dvořák's "New World" Symphony, which was "famous for the irresistible dash of its first and the poetical beauty of its second movement."[52] Later upon request by the audience, he conducted Beethoven's Eighth Symphony.

Much of the success of the program was due to the members of Paur's orchestras. Many of the principal players were featured with solos throughout the two seasons at the Exposition. In 1901, Paur included two local vocalists on his programs. Two of the soloists were local singers. Miss Nora Ditzler of Greensburg, PA, sang "Because I Love Thee" by an unknown composer, Hanley, on "Suburban Day." C. Norman Hassler, a baritone, and "one of the city's finest baritones and an experienced concert vocalist" sang selections from *My Gay Hussar*.[53] Finally, Arthur Hockman, a Russian pianist and composer, performed the Liszt E-flat Major Piano Concerto.

The Victor Herbert Orchestra

Following Herbert's resignation from the Pittsburgh Orchestra in March, 1904, he set out for New York and devoted his activities to composing numerous operettas and conducting the Victor Herbert Orchestra. The orchestra had been organized in 1901 prior to his resignation from the Pittsburgh Orchestra and performed during the summer months at Willow Grove and other summer festivals. Following his resignation, Herbert officially announced that he would form his own orchestra of the finest players, including former members of the Pittsburgh Orchestra, and

[51] "Aroused Enthusiasm," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1900.
[52] "Closing Week Begins," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 13, 1901.
[53] "Last Day of Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 19, 1901.

create the "foremost musical organization in the country."[54] Despite the tensions following Herbert's departure from Pittsburgh, his orchestra was engaged at the Exposition from 1904 to 1907, and later in 1914.

At the beginning of the his engagement in 1904, Victor Herbert made it clear that he did not want to perform serious music: "…I have avoided the serious class, such as symphonies, and have put on a number of fresh selections from various works, including *Babes in Toyland*, of my own, but in these I have been careful to give what is new. Friday we will give a Wagner night which is the only one that will be of the serious type, but it will be appreciated I know."[55]

Initially, Herbert's popular programs captured the attention of the Pittsburgh audience who rejoiced in his homecoming. Over 15,000 people attended Herbert's opening concerts. Pittsburgh critics accepted Herbert's lighter selections for their energy and spirit: "His programs yesterday were bristling with that characteristic of Victor Herbert that makes his work instantly popular wherever he goes. Everything was life and melody. It was charming and uplifting, appealing to the popular ear and hear, and was eagerly welcomed by the people with delight."[56]

Herbert opened his engagement with the *The Belle of Pittsburg*, a march he had dedicated to the Exposition in 1895 during his visit with Gilmore's Band. He continued to program many selections from his operettas, including *Babes in Toyland*, *The Fortune Teller*, *The Wizard of the Nile*, and *The Singing Girl*. The Pittsburgh audience was quite familiar with Herbert's operettas because he frequently programmed them on Pittsburgh Orchestra concerts and during his engagements with Gilmore's Band in the mid-1890s. Other popular works by Herbert featured at the Exposition included *The President's March*, *Grand American Fantasie*, and *Irish Rhapsody*.

[54] "Victor Herbert Coming Here," *The New York Times*, December 15, 1903.
[55] "Herbert is Welcomed," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 19, 1904.
[56] "Ovation for Herbert," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 20, 1904.

Along with his own compositions, Herbert's lighter selections included a variety of overtures, waltzes, and suites, by Strauss, Wagner, and Grieg, among others.

In the advent of his second season at the Exposition, the Pittsburgh audience was not satisfied with Herbert's lighter programs. Many people believed that he was making his programs too light and wanted more serious music. Jennie Irene Mix, a columnist for the *Pittsburgh Post*, wrote an editorial discussing the audience's displeasure at Herbert's selections:

> The fact that the musical element of the city was not out at these concerts was probably due to the fact that the programs were of so light a character as to be unattractive to the lover of orchestral music. Light music is all very well and it is not the intention to decry if, for it has its place, but it does seem out of keeping for an orchestra of fairly competent men led by a most excellent conductor to spend the most of four hours in playing music that is beneath their ability.[57]

Later in the article, Mix continued her discussion about the audience and its ability to understand and acknowledge serious music: "Mr. Herbert underestimates the musical taste of the Exposition crowd for that people will go there to hear fine orchestral music has already been evidenced this season." Early in the season, Damrosch and the New York Symphony appeared with successful concerts which engaged and appealed to more than just the musically inclined. At the end of her editorial she encouraged Herbert to program more serious music, "Try it, Mr. Herbert. Publish some genuinely good programs from a musical standpoint and see if the people do not go. The orchestra can probably play the music and we all know that you can conduct it."[58] Herbert's predisposition towards programs of lighter music was a common feature of his engagements at other festivals, including Willow Grove. As Neil Gould illustrates in his biography about Victor Herbert: "There have been greater orchestras than the Victor Herbert Orchestra—more polished,

[57] Jennie Irene Mix, "Want Heavier Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 19, 1905. For a discussion about Jennie Irene Mix see Chapter 5, footnote 117, page 135.

[58] Ibid. A representative program of Herbert's popular and light music programs is featured in the Appendix.

more intense, more sophisticated, and refined. But there never was, and has not been since, an orchestra that was more fun to listen to, or to play in."[59]

Despite the editorial in the *Pittsburgh Post* and the audience's negative reaction to programs filled with lighter music, Herbert continued on with his engagement and little change to his programming style. He continued to arrange evenings of his music, a tradition he started with his engagements at Willow Grove. The "Herbert Day" at Willow Grove on Thursdays became a popular feature of the annual visit for Herbert to premiere new compositions and selections of his operettas. Along with the "Herbert Day," he continued with the Exposition's traditional "Wagner" and "society" evenings. Although Herbert did not change his programs, he did try to accommodate all of the requests he received: "Victor Herbert, leader of the orchestra at the Exposition this week, has his hands full attempting to play many pieces that are requested of him and each of his concerts contains several of these numbers. Since returning to Pittsburgh he has received so many requests for old-time favorites that he's hardly able to keep up with the demand."[60] Many of these requests continued to be popular and less serious music.

When Herbert returned to the Exposition in 1906, he promised a repertoire that was "superior to that of the last and included a number of excerpts from the latest operas."[61] Following his first day of concerts, Pittsburgh critics took notice of the change in programs:

> Mr. Herbert has probably realized that exposition audiences do not care to hear as regular program numbers a series of popular operatic excerpts, which any theater orchestra can play acceptably. When a concert orchestra is at the Point the people expect to hear a good amount of legitimate orchestra music, and a glance at Mr. Herbert's programs for the first two days shows that he now appreciates this fact, which is something he missed doing when he was here last year.[62]

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[59] Neil Gould, *Victor Herbert: A Theatrical Life* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 163.
[60] "Herbert a Busy Man," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 21, 1905.
[61] "Many Special Days at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 24, 1906.
[62] "Enjoy Herbert's Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 25, 1906.

Throughout the week's engagement, Herbert made changes in the programs to accommodate the city's music lovers. A custom of the Exposition was to feature Friday nights as "Wagner" and "society" nights. However, Herbert made arrangements for Thursday night to be an evening devoted to the music of Wagner and Liszt. The traditional Friday "society night" was reserved for a "symphony night," which included Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*. The "society night" concerts were "packed by a representative audience," and therefore, they were not exclusive to the musical elite.[63]

Victor Herbert was an advocate for American music. During his tenure with the Pittsburgh Orchestra he provided an arena for the performance of music by American composers, despite the objections of members of the ensemble. He had been recently asked by Oscar Hammerstein to write music for an American grand opera prior to the engagement at the Exposition in 1907. However, Herbert felt that he did not have a clear understanding about American music. Herbert's speech was transcribed in the *Pittsburgh Post*:

> "I only wish I knew what is really American music," said Mr. Herbert, "Then it would be an easier task to execute the commission Oscar Hammerstein has given me to write an American grand opera. The music of all nations has its foundation in the folk songs of that nation. We have none that may be rightly called distinctly native. These folk songs of other nation have their birth among the peasantry. We have no peasantry in this country."
>
> "There is nothing here of that sort to work upon. Perhaps the 'Suwanee River' is as nearly nationally America as any song I can think of. But it is in a class by itself. There is no other like it."[64]

Herbert seems unaware of Dvořák's much greater knowledge of and interest in Indian and African American music. As discussed in Chapter 4, Dvořák's "New World" Symphony was influenced by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, *Hiawatha*. Dvořák's African-American student, Harry Burleigh, taught the Czech composer many spirituals and other "Negro" melodies

[63] "Victor Herbert's Last Day at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 29, 1906.
[64] "Friends of Victor Herbert Turnout," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1907.

that he learned as a child. While Burleigh insisted that Dvořák quoted "Sweet Low" in the first movement, Dvořák claimed that "he composed only in the spirit of those melodies."[65] Along with Dvořák and Burleigh, Will Marion Cook (1869–1944), a black composer, already had a successful run with his Broadway musical, *In Dahomey*. The musical featured black performers and musically identified with the popular ragtime and syncopated rhythms of black music styles.[66]

By Herbert's third season at the Exposition, he understood that the Pittsburgh audience wanted "heavier" music and still included Pittsburgh and American composers on his programs. He presented Ethelbert Nevin's "Venetian Love Song" or known as the "Canzone amorosa" from the suite, *A Day in Venice*. He also programmed "Butterflies" by Arthur Nevin, brother of Ethelbert Nevin. In his initiative to present "serious" works, Herbert programmed two symphonic poems by Saint-Saëns, *Danse Macabre* and *Rouet d'Omphale*, and two symphonic poems by Liszt, *Liebestraume* and *Les Preludes*.

Herbert did not return to the Exposition again until 1914. During his seven-year absence from the Exposition he had around a dozen premieres of his operettas, including the famous *Naughty Marietta* in 1910. During his engagement in 1914, the audience noticed a drastic change in Herbert's style of programs. Although he did retain the popular numbers and promoted a lot of his music, Herbert programmed "heavier" music, including movements from symphonies of the great master composers.

In a similar style to his band programs and concerts he presented with the Pittsburgh Orchestra, he featured new Pittsburgh composers. On the first concert he performed an

[65] Michael B. Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 130-131.

[66] See Marva Griffin Carter's discussion about *In Dahomey* in her book: Marva Griffin Carter, *Swing Along: The Musical Life of Will Marion* Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

orchestration of Cadman's popular song, "From the Land of the Sky Blue Water." The song had been first heard at the Exposition with Frederick Neil Innes' band in 1912 and sung by Beatrice Van Loon. His "heavier" selections included Debussy's *Petite Suite*, Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* Suite and two movements from the *Pathetique*, and Dvořák's *Slavonic Dances*. In grand fashion, Herbert presented the Andante from his Second Cello Concerto composed in 1894. Herbert also programmed many suites from noted and contemporary composers, including Grieg's popular and frequently performed *Peer Gynt* Suite, the *Suite de Concert* by Aimé Lachaume (1871–1944), *Scenes Neapolitaines* and *Les Erinnyes* by Massenet and the suite from the ballet, *Sylvia*, by Léo Delibes (1836–1891).

The 1914 Exposition was Herbert's last visit to the annual event. Herbert continued to tour with his orchestra and was featured annually at Willow Grove until his death in 1924. Pittsburgh is continually reminded of Herbert's legacy. In front of Carnegie Hall in Pittsburgh is a state marker dedicated in 1996, which reads: "Irish-born, educated in Europe as a cellist, Herbert conducted the Pittsburgh Orchestra here, 1898-1904. His compositions ranged from classical orchestral works to popular operettas including *Babes in Toyland* and *Naughty Marietta*."

The Boys' New York Symphony Society

In 1904, the Boys' New York Symphony Society made visited Pittsburgh for a one-week engagement at the Exposition. The orchestra, led by A. F. Pinto, was comprised of sixty musicians ranging from thirteen to eighteen years old. The conductor was barely eighteen years old. The orchestra quickly became popular with the Pittsburgh audience following their first day of concerts: "There was large attendance at the first concert in the afternoon, but the real

reception took place last night. The music hall was filled and the audience was demonstrative in their appreciation of both evening programs. Mr. Pinto, the youthful conductor, very graciously responded to their enthusiastic demand, playing all the latest popular hits of the day."[67]

The orchestra boasted a number of young, virtuoso soloists. The concertmaster and fourteen-year-old violinist Nicholas Garagusi was a popular feature of the orchestra's programs. Garagusi's performance of a violin concerto by Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802–1870) was rendered "with a magnificent touch" and greeted by the Exposition audience with great enthusiasm.[68] Through the orchestra's engagement, Garagusi continued to make a good impression on the audience with his "wonders on his violin."[69] The twelve-year-old harpist Antonio Ungaro performed Pinto's harp solo "Paraphrase de Concert" on the opening concerts. His solo was "played with such dash and brilliancy, that he astonished the crowd."[70]
The clarinetist Nathan Schildkraut, performed Weber's Concertino for Clarinet.

The director, A. F. Pinto, was a harpist and a composer of merit. During the Exposition, the orchestra performed many of his compositions. As already noted, some of his harp solos were already heard. One of Pinto's marches, the *Pickaninnies Festival* reveals that there is still stereotyping of African-Americans because of the popularity of Tin Pan Alley and "coon" songs (See Chapter 4). Other compositions included his marches, *The Kaufmann* and *The Rising Generation*. Other orchestra works included an *Intermezzo Sinfonico* and *Air de Ballet*.

The orchestra's programs focused on the presentation of primarily popular and light music. The ensemble prepared special matinee and evening programs featuring the most popular composers. A comic opera matinee included selections from operettas by Victor Herbert, Alfred

[67] "Boys' Orchestra Wins a Host of New Friends," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1904.
[68] Ibid.
[69] "Exposition is Half Over," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 28, 1904.
[70] "Boys' Orchestra Wins a Host of New Friends," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 27, 1904.

G. Wathall, H. L. Heartz, Ludwig Englander, Alfred G. Robyn, and Gustav Luders. A special evening "College Colors" concert included many popular college marches and melodies, such as Clarke's march *College Days* and *Columbia*. A special Herbert matinee concert included "March of the Toys" from *Babes in Toyland* and excerpts from *The Fortune Teller*. Other works by Herbert included *Lullaby* and *Panamericana*. In the one season at the Exposition, the youth orchestra proved that it was capable of performing technical selections: "The work they have done here has been a revelation to the people of the city and a delight to its musicians and critics."[71]

The Theodore Thomas Orchestra with Frederick Stock

From 1906 to 1910, the Theodore Thomas Orchestra under the direction of Frederick Stock visited the Exposition. The German-born Frederick Stock (1872–1942) studied violin and composition at the Cologne Conservatory. He joined the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1895 after four years of playing in Cologne. He became the assistant conductor in 1899 of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and conducted all of its concerts outside of Chicago beginning in 1903. Following the death of Theodore Thomas in 1905, he took over the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which was renamed the Theodore Thomas Orchestra in 1905.[72]

When Frederick Stock appeared at the Exposition with the re-named Theodore Thomas Orchestra in 1906, he promised the people of Pittsburgh that the orchestra would not repeat any numbers during their stay. Stock chose a vigorous program of 120 selections: "During the week, when Mr. Stock will personally conduct each concert, the orchestra will play about 120

[71] "Give Farewell Concerts," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 1, 1904.

[72] Michael Steinberg, "Stock, Frederick," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26803 (accessed February 24, 2012).

selections, not one repetition being among them. This is extraordinary as every other organization which visits the Exposition has a score or more of repetitions during its engagement."[73]

During his visit, Stock sang praises of the Pittsburgh Exposition and audience for their success and high standards of artistic merit:

> Since taking the leadership of the Theodore Thomas orchestra, I have had the greatest desired to come to Pittsburgh. Your Pittsburgh orchestra we consider one of the finest musical organizations in the country, and I have heard that it has done much toward elevating the Pittsburgh public to the value of classical music. Then you have such fine musical attractions at the Exposition hall each season that the people of Pittsburgh have had perhaps better chances to hear real music than other cities. Pittsburghers are certainly a cultured people as far as music goes. My first concerts here show what Pittsburghers want, and I feel that I have made no mistake and that my work has not been wasted when I set to the task of gathering together 120 selections, no two alike, that would please Pittsburghers.[74]

During Stock's engagements at the Exposition, his programs and selections were similar to those offered by Damrosch and Paur. Stock presented a variety of works including heavier works such as symphonies with a mixture of popular works such as waltzes and overtures from popular operas. The Pittsburgh critics commended him for his stylish programs suitable for the Pittsburgh audience: "Mr. Stock seems to be able to hit the general taste through the selection of the right sort of good music, for he popularizes his programs without in any way cheapening them."[75]

Stock was a promoter of new music throughout his career with the Theodore Thomas and Chicago Symphony Orchestras. In 1907, he opened the newly remolded Music Hall at the Exposition. On his first concert he performed Foerster's *Dedication March*, which was performed during the opening ceremonies for the Carnegie Hall at the Carnegie complex in

[73] "Promise Fine Music at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1906.
[74] "Enjoy Good Concert at the Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1906.
[75] "Music Lovers Enjoy the Opening Concerts," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 3, 1908.

Pittsburgh. Stock performed many works that were rarely performed at the Exposition often because they required a higher degree of technical ability. Some of these works were by more contemporary composers. He performed the *Capriccio espagnol* by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908), the *Moldau* by Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884), the Serenade for Small Orchestra by the Hungarian composer, Leò Weiner (1885–1960), the *Liebesfrühling* Overture by Georg Schumann (1866–1952), and *The Belle in the Enchanted Forest* by French composer Alfred Bruneau (1857–1934). Stock also programmed selections from popular American symphonists. He performed selections from Chadwick's *Symphonic Sketches* and MacDowell's *Indian Suite*.

The Philadelphia Orchestra

In 1911, the Philadelphia Orchestra under the direction of Carl Pohlig visited the Pittsburgh Exposition. Carl Pohlig served as the orchestra's director from 1907 to 1912. During his tenure with the Philadelphia orchestra, Pohlig (1864–1928) performed modern works, even his own compositions. For the engagement at the Exposition, Pohlig selected fifty of his best musicians for the event. This was the first time the Philadelphia Orchestra traveled west of the Allegheny Mountains.

Pohlig, a German conductor, promoted works by fellow German composers. During the orchestra's visit, Pohlig frequently conducted works by Beethoven, including movements from Symphonies Nos. 2 and 7, the overture to *Fidelio*, *Coriolanus Overture*, *Egmont Overture*, and an orchestral arrangement of the "Moonlight" Sonata. The orchestra also performed many works by Tchaikovsky including the *1812 Overture*, *Marche Slav*, *Barcarolle*, *Capriccio Italian*, and movements from the First and Sixth Symphonies. Two of the orchestra's principal players performed solos. Joseph La Monaca, the orchestra's principal flautist for thirty years, performed

the Suite for Flute and Orchestra in E-flat by Benjamin Godard (1849–1895). Later in the week, the concertmaster, John K. Witzemann, performed Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto. The Pittsburgh audience was pleased with this performance: "Music lovers were enchanted with the beauties of Mendelsohn's compositions, which also showed the conductor in a new light."[76]

During Pohlig's tenure with the Philadelphia Orchestra, he frequently conducted his own compositions. During the Exposition, he programmed his suite, *Impressions of America*. While the Pittsburgh critics had little to say about it, following a performance in New York City, *The New York Times* had the following review about Pohlig's composition:

> Carl Pohlig, the leader of the Philadelphia Orchestra, has just brought out his own "Impressions of America" in the form of a suite. This new work of the conductor has just been given for the first time.
>
> Mr. Pohlig, though he has very carefully studied the Indian and Negro so-called indeginous folk music, in this suite has not made any effort to force the theory that any composition reflecting American life should be based on these melodies. The suite consists of four movements: At Home; In the Streets; Sunday Morning in the Country; At the Ball (waltz).[77]

The Philadelphia Orchestra's engagement at the Exposition was very successful and the ensemble became popular with the Pittsburgh audience: "Conductor Carl Pohlig, of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and 50 of the best musicians of that organization brought home with more force than ever yesterday to the great exposition audiences in Music Hall, that a master hand was guiding the magnificent organization before them."[78] A few months after the orchestra's trip to the Exposition, Carl Pohlig left the Philadelphia Orchestra and returned to Germany. The assistant conductor, Wasili Leps, formed his own ensemble with those fifty players who performed at the Exposition. Leps returned to the Exposition with his orchestra the following year.

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[76] "Out-of-Town Visitors Flock to Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1911.
[77] "News of the Musical World," *The New York Times*, January 30, 1910.
[78] "Music Lovers Hear Choice Gems in Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1911.

The Wasili Leps Orchestra

Wasili Leps (1870–1942), a Russian born composer and conductor, was the assistant conductor to Carl Pohlig with the Philadelphia Orchestra. When Pohlig left the Philadelphia Orchestra, Leps formed his own orchestra with the players that appeared at the Pittsburgh Exposition, including the concertmaster John K. Witzemann. Prior to his arrival at the Exposition, Leps commented, "The programs will combine the highest degree of musical art and charm in their arrangement, including renditions of works of Ethelbert Nevin and other Pittsburgh composers."[79]

In his first engagement at the Exposition in 1912, he frequently programmed works of the great Russian masters, including Tchaikovsky and Anton Rubinstein. His programs with compositions by these composers gained a lot of interest from the music lovers in the audience:

> One of the features of the symphony concerts at the Exposition this week by Wassili Leps and his organization has been the strong personality evidenced in the interpretation of several notable numbers presented. Leps views the intent and interprets the Russian works somewhat differently than others of his nationality, and in the difference there is found some interesting development in composition long familiar to the student and musically inclined.[80]

Unfortunately, the critic did not remark on the changes and differences from Leps' interpretations in comparison to the interpretation by other conductors, most notably Modest Altschuler, the director of the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York who appeared at the Exposition.

Leps prepared special evening programs devoted to the works of Tchaikovsky, Massenet, and Wagner. On the Tchaikovsky program he conducted the *Capriccio Italien*, Op. 45, the first movement from the *Pathétique* Symphony, the *Dornröschen* Waltz (*Sleeping Beauty* Waltz), and the *1812 Overture*. The Massenet and Wagner programs featured many selections from these

[79] "Leps and His Players Come for Symphony Bill," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 20, 1912.
[80] "Leps and His Orchestra Different from Others," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 3, 1912.

composers' operas. On the Massenet program he featured the ballet suite and other selections from the opera *Le Cid*, the overture to *Phèdre*, and the orchestra suite, *Scènes pittoresque*. The Wagner program featured selections from *Lohengrin*, *Tristan and Isolde*, *Tannhäuser*, *Meistersinger*, and "Song of the Rhine Daughters" from *Das Rheingold*.

In 1912 and in his return engagement in 1915, Leps kept his promise and featured works by Nevin and Foerster. The orchestra performed arrangements of Nevin's "Narcissus" from *Water Scenes* and the song, "Rosary." These two works were popular on Exposition programs with other ensembles as solos for instrument or voice, or as arrangements for orchestra. Two new works by Foerster also appeared on the programs, "The Robins Lullaby" and "A Blight Has Fallen." In 1915, the Exposition audience heard Nevin's *A Day in Venice* and a new work by Foerster. Foerster's Suite No. 2 in four movements (Prelude, Reverie, Scherzo, Festivity) was "a work recognized as one of the best of that Pittsburgh composer."[81]

Leps returned in 1915 to the Exposition with many new attractions featuring soloists and Pittsburgh's musicians and composers. Traveling with Leps' Orchestra was Gertrude Hutcheson, a singer with the Boston Grand Opera Company. One of her featured roles was in *The Merry Widow*. At the Exposition, Hutcheson performed many selections from operas including Bellini's "Qui la voce" from *I Puritani*, selections from Wagner's *Lohengrin* and *Rienzi*, Friedrich von Flotow's *Martha*, and an aria from the "mad scene" in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. She was popular with the Pittsburgh audience, "The solos of the afternoon and evening by Miss Gertrude Hutcheson seemed to be particularly suited to her own vocal powers and were rendered with unusual brilliancy."[82]

[81] "Exposition Music Covers Wide Range," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1915.
[82] "School Children Visit Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1915.

Leps also included two local pianists during this engagement. Miss Edith Friedman, a pianist from McKeesport, participated in a concert featuring Liszt's Piano Concerto in E-flat. The *Post* gave a brief biography of her music studies:

> Miss Friedman was born in New York City, but was brought to Pittsburgh with her parents when very young and has studied music in Pittsburgh since. As a child she was regarded as a prodigy and traveled in concert work, and in 1909, through the interest of Rev. Dr. J. Leonard Levy, she was placed in charge of W. K . Steiner, organist of the Jewish temple, and trained in the serious studies of the masters.[83]

Another concert featured local pianist Mr. L. E. Johns: "Mr. Johns is one of the promising piano soloists of Pittsburgh. He returned form Berlin last week after some years of study. This appearance will be the first in his native city for a long time."[84] Johns performed Massenet's "La fête" from the orchestra suite *Scènes napolitaines*.

At the end of engagement of Leps' orchestra in 1915, the organization performed two works in memoriam of the death of a Pittsburgh composer, Fidelis Zitterbart, Jr. (1845–1915). Zitterbart was an active musician, composer, and conductor of Pittsburgh's nineteenth century musical history. He was appointed director of the Pittsburgh Philharmonic Society and the Beethoven Society, two early amateur musical organizations, and both of which did not last very long. In the 1880s he formed the Zitterbart Orchestra. Zitterbart's compositions were unknown to his contemporary American audience. He did not publish many of his works and they were rarely performed. In 1960, Zitterbart's heirs gave a collection containing over 1500 of his works and manuscripts to the Hillman Library Special Collections at the University of Pittsburgh.[85]

Zitterbart's works were performed by a few leading orchestras. In 1915, Leps conducted two of his compositions, the "March Funebre" from the Symphony in D Minor and the

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[83] "Pittsburgh Girl to Play Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 9, 1915.
[84] "Exposition Music Covers Wide Range," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1915.
[85] Robert F. Schmalz, "The Zitterbart Collection—A Legacy Unevaluated" *College Music Symposium* 19, no. 2 (Fall 1979): 77–79.

symphonic poem, *Hamlet*. During Herbert's tenure with the Pittsburgh Orchestra, Zitterbart conducted two movements from his symphonic poem, *A Sailor's Life*. Herbert also programmed two overtures, *Richard III* and *Domitian*. In 1916, Modest Altschuler and the Russian Symphony Orchestra performed *King John* and Sousa's band performed the overture, *Columbus*. Except for the few performances of Zitterbart's music following the composer's death, his music remains largely underplayed.[86]

Women's Orchestras in America

By the end of the nineteenth century, female musicians were appearing on public stages as leading singers with bands or opera companies and on occasion playing piano with orchestras. The success in these roles as the singer and pianist were "shaped and defined by gender expectations." And "for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women instrumentalists could succeed as public performers only on certain musical instruments; they were not likely to be accepted in most symphony orchestra; and very few women have held major posts as conductors."[87] Women instrumentalists took the initiative to form their own orchestras beginning in the late nineteenth century. In doing so, many women pushed the boundaries of gender expectations and took up brass and reed instruments, which were typically not played by women. As women's orchestras began touring throughout the country at the turn of the century, they faced ridicule and sarcasm. When the Boston Fadette's and the Bostonia Woman's Orchestra arrived at the Exposition, the Pittsburgh public accepted these ensembles and were impressed by the virtuosity and musicianship displayed by the ensemble.

[86] Ibid., 85–86.

[87] Beth Abelson Macleod, " 'Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist?' Gender and Instrumental Musicians in America, 1853–1990," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 2 (Winter 1993): 291.

The Boston Fadette Ladies' Orchestra

In 1902 and 1903, the Boston Fadette Ladies' Orchestra, organized in 1888, under the direction of Caroline B. Nichols appeared at the Exposition. Caroline B. Nichols (1864–1939) began her studies in violin with notable performers, such as Julius Eichberg, Leopold Lichtenberg, and Charles Loeffler, and composition with Percy Goetschius. The orchestra started with six members with Nicholas as the concertmaster. As the orchestra continued to grow in members and variety of instruments to operate as a chamber orchestra, Nichols gave up the first violin chair and conducted the ensemble.[88] By the time of their engagement in Pittsburgh, the organization had grown to fifty members. In 1902, Benjamin Franklin Keith (1846–1914), a vaudeville theatre owner, engaged the Fadettes for a two-week tryout period. The success of the concerts led Keith to keep them as part of his vaudeville circuit. Along with their music performances, the Fadettes performed comic skits on the vaudeville tours. Their repertory included selections of classical and popular music tastes. When they were not touring, the Fadettes home was B. F. Keith's Theatre in Boston.[89]

The orchestra's performances at the Exposition did not include the vaudeville acts. The orchestra and their exquisite performances quickly became a popular attraction at the Exposition:

> Surprise and delight were pictured on every face at the splendid work of the "Lovely Girls" orchestra at the new Exposition yesterday. Somehow the impression had become prevalent that this organization was nothing more than the ordinary woman's band, with its jumble of harsh and discordant noises, and half-rate repertoire. All the more agreeable then was the astonishment when number after number revealed an ensemble so perfectly balances and so rich as to please ear and heart. Caroline B. Nichols, directress, can justly lay claim to high credit

[88] Anna-Lise P. Santella, "Nichols, Caroline B.," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2085442 (accessed March 8, 2012).

[89] Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870–1900," *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition*, *1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 331.

> for her efforts to plays women's musical ensemble upon a plane of highest excellence.[90]

The *Post* complimented the hard work of the Fadettes and their warm reception in Pittsburgh, although the organization had encountered many prejudices in its early years:

> It is remarkable and highly complimentary to its conductor, Caroline B. Nichols, how this organization of young women aptly styled the "nightingale orchestra." She won its way into Pittsburgh's favor by genuine, honest merit. At the outset they were confronted with the objects of prejudice, for the unthinking ones at once confounded them with the ordinary women's brass band. Then there were opposed to them the narrowness that belittles a woman's music efforts on general principles. An above all the grouping of 50 girls into a grand orchestra aspiring to serious presentations was a unique experiment, in fact, the first of its kind in the history of the world.[91]

The concerts of the Fadette's orchestra in Pittsburgh focused on the presentation of popular music styles. The orchestra performed a variety of selections, including overtures and other selections from operas, marches, and songs. During their engagement, there was very little discussion about the music performed. In one such review, the critic is focused on the feminine qualities of their performance: "Three numbers deserve special mention because of their superb rendition. 'The Little Sandman,' by Ellenberg, was played with daintiness and grace that were irresistibly captivation; the popular 'Cavatina' of [Joseph] Raff, was sung gloriously by the 'Weeping Strings,' while the *Merry Wives of Windsor* overture with its lovely melodies, was perfection itself."[92] Other selections by Tobani, Herbert, Sousa, and Suppé were included on their programs. The orchestra also frequently performed works composers, Gustav Luders (1865–1913), Louis Ganne (1862–1923), and Adam (1803–1856).[93]

During the engagement in Pittsburgh the Fadette's were accompanied by a soprano soloist, Mildred Rogers. Rogers "boasts a mezzo-soprano voice of deep, rich quality, and was

[90] "Orchestra Made a Big Hit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1902.
[91] "Great Crowds at New Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 21, 1902.
[92] "Orchestra Made a Big Hit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1902.
[93] See Appendix for a full program of the Fadette Ladies' Orchestra.

most cordially received in her solos, Nevin's 'Rosary,' sung as an encore to a delicious accompaniment in which the harp was prominent."[94] Rogers's solos included the "Flower Song" from *Faust*, Denza's "Girls of Seville," and "Spanish Serenade" by Gilbert. According to the Pittsburgh critic her performance of Nevin's "Rosary" and the "Flower Song" had "revealed these vocal gems in new light."[95]

By the end of the first season of the Fadettes in Pittsburgh, they had won over the Pittsburgh audience and got them involved in the "Fadette" habit: "The 'Fadette' habit in Boston became so strong that the hall, in which the orchestra played each day proved far too small. In Pittsburgh the "Fadette" habit likewise is taking hold, and now counts its victims by the thousands."[96] Their concerts, and maybe because of the uniqueness of a women's orchestra, had the ability to keep its audience members in their seats until the finale of the concert: "A remarkable feature of the 'Fadette's' audience is their staying qualities. Not until the last note of each program is sounded will they leave their seats, and an encore number given after time fixed for closing brings the gathering to its feet and holds it spellbound."[97]

By the time the orchestra returned to Pittsburgh in 1903, the Fadettes were no longer a unique novelty to the Pittsburgh audience and the programs of this organization caught the attention of the Exposition audience: "The music of the Fadettes has no rival for daintiness refinement, and artistic finish, and is a revelation of woman's accomplishments in the purely instrumental field. In deportment the organization is absolutely flawless; now add the impression of exquisite evening gowning and there comes job and delight at the picture."[98]

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[94] "Orchestra Made a Big Hit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 18, 1902.
[95] "Great Crowds at New Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 21, 1902.
[96] "Getting the Fadette Habit," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 20, 1902.
[97] Ibid.
[98] "Farewell to Creatore," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 16, 1903.

A number of soloists accompanied the Fadettes on their second visit to Pittsburgh. Hattie Scholder, a ten-year-old piano virtuoso, performed the Hungarian Fantasy by Liszt and the first movement of Beethoven's Piano Concerto in C Minor. This young pianist was frequently compared to male pianists, such as Ignacy Jan Paderewski and Mark Hambourg, because the work she performed was a part of their repertoire. "Amazement grows at the whirlwind piano performances of tiny Hattie Scholder. Men practice for half a century and then cannot approximate the work of this girl."[99] The addition of the Carbone sisters: "Adding shift to the performance of the Fadettes are the glorious vocal duets of the Misses Carbone, whose caliber as artists places them among the few chosen ones. With voices that simply melt into one another, coupled to fine musical conception, these singers attain beautiful results."[100]

The Bostonia Women's Orchestra

In 1908, the Bostonia Women's Orchestra arrived in Pittsburgh for a one week engagement at the Exposition. Belle Yeaton Renfrew, a trombonist, directed the organization of 50 members. The orchestra frequently performed in Eastern cities and Canada. Upon their arrival in Pittsburgh, critics discussed the beauty of the orchestra's sound: "Mrs. Renfrew conducts with ease and her players follow her as a rule, with excellent precision. The brass section of the orchestra is particularly good, and the woodwind also. The strings are eminently feminine in tone, which is only what one should expect, for the women who can play a stringed instrument with the power of a man are exceedingly rare."[101]

Judith Tick has noted that female orchestras were expected to perform lighter music for their audience: "The idea that women ought to play only the light repertoire was simply a further

[99] "Fadettes Growing Popular," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 19, 1903
[100] "Fadettes Closing Days," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1903.
[101] "Women's Orchestra Opens Engagement," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1908.

elaboration of prejudice. Consequently, any occasion that demonstrated woman's ability to play the best of the cultivated tradition was celebrated as proof of her musical equality."[102] The Pittsburgh audience did not demonstrate any prejudices towards the women's orchestras that visited. If anything, the audience and critics seemed disappointed that the music was too light: "The programs given yesterday were light in character, far more so than Exposition audiences are accustomed to hear from the orchestras billed there each season. Mrs. Renfrew is generous with her encores and this is a feature always appreciated by Exposition audiences."[103]

Like many of the ensembles, the Bostonia Orchestra featured many of its principal players who demonstrated high skills on their instruments. During the engagement at the Exposition, the orchestra included Gertrude Holt, a soprano. Holt, a Boston native, regularly performed in concerts in Boston and traveled with the Bostonia Orchestra. Although her solos were limited, she was well received among the audience: "Gertrude Holt was the soloist of the evening and her melodious soprano voice was heard to advantage in Wilson's 'Carmena'."[104]

When the Bostonia Women's Orchestra did provide the Exposition audience with more serious music, the critics were delighted with their abilities and quality performances of the selections: "The Bostonia Woman's orchestra has made a distinct hit with the Exposition patrons and music hall is daily crowded with delighted auditors. The orchestra showed its skill last night in the rendition of Mendelssohn's 'Festival March' and was equally at ease in Von Suppe's [sic] overture from *Midsummer Night's Dream*."[105] At the end of the engagement, the orchestra presented an evening of classical music, which received more praise: "Last night the

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[102] Tick, 330.

[103] "Women's Orchestra Opens Engagement," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 6, 1908. One of their popular concerts is included in the Appendix.

[104] "Women Demonstrate Musical Ability," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 9, 1908.

[105] "Boys' Brigade to Give Drill at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1908. The Pittsburgh Post's mention of Von Suppé is most likely a typo. There is no published overture to a *Midsummer Night's Dream* in Von Suppé's repertoire. The likely composer is Mendelssohn.

program was distinctly classical, and in the auditorium many of Pittsburgh's most cultured music lovers were to be seen. Mrs. Renfrew and her associates presented numerous notable composition in a manner that redounds to their credit."[106]

Russian Imports

In the early twentieth century leading up to the Russian Revolution of 1917, many Russians, especially Jewish Russians, left their homeland and shortly thereafter traveled to America. Many of the Russians who arrived in America were musicians, some of them more well-known, including Sergei Rachmaninoff. The new Russians integrated into American musical life, many joining orchestras and studying in music schools. The presence of Russian composers and musicians in America led to an increased awareness of the great Russian composers. The founding of the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York by Modest Altschuler also heightened the programming of Russian music on concerts in America, and in Pittsburgh.

The Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York

In 1904, Modest Altschuler (1873–1963) founded the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York. Altschuler, a graduate of the Warsaw Conservatory of Music, moved to New York during the peak of Russian immigration to the United States in the early twentieth century. A Russian Jew, Altschuler brought together many of his fellow countrymen, mostly Russian Jews, to start the orchestra. The orchestra gave most of their concerts at Carnegie Hall and toured throughout the nation. Although the orchestra was surrounded by other large East coast orchestras, including the New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter Damrosch, and

[106] "Women's Orchestra Ends Engagement," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1908.

appearances by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra at Carnegie Hall, Altschuler retained his players despite the stiff competition from other orchestra and thrived in the New York scene.[107]

The Russian Symphony Orchestra first visited the Pittsburgh Exposition in 1908 and was featured annually until the final Exposition in 1916. During the orchestra's annual trips, they became well known for their presentation of Russian music literature. Prior to their first visit in 1908, the Pittsburgh audience was educated by the *Pittsburgh Post* about the orchestra's performances of the Russian masters: "The Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York will make its first appearance in Pittsburgh at the Exposition tomorrow afternoon, and local music lovers will have an opportunity of learning what really full-blood Russian music sounds like under a Russian leaders and played by Russian musicians."[108]

Following the pomp and circumstance of the first season at the Exposition, when the organization returned, Pittsburgh critics were quick to notice the defaults of the orchestra:

> One could have desired that the tone quality of the orchestra had not been so often sacrificed to produce a brilliant effect. Mr. Altschuler seems over fond of the tympani and the bass drum. The woodwind is not all it should be in smoothness of tone, but despite any defects one may pick in this organization it should be accorded hearty praise for the sincerity and spontaneity of its work.[109]

Altschuler's critics continued to notice that while his Russian programs had outstanding quality and presentation, his performances of music by other great masters failed to live up to the Pittsburgh audience's expectations:

> In both the choice of compositions and their arrangement, the program was one of the best heard at an opening concert this season. The Tchaikovsky "Coronation March" with which this program opened was played with a verve and precision that resulted in a splendid performance. Mr. Altschuler, as the name

[107] Mary H. Wagner, *Gustav Mahler and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra Tour America* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 14.
[108] "Russian Orchestra Comes to Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 2, 1909
[109] "Mr. Altschuler Gets to Hearts of Crowd," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 2, 1909.

> of his organization indicates, makes a specialty of Russian music, and that this is his natural field is always demonstrated when a work from this school is given by him. The same praise, however, cannot be given the performance of Weber's *Oberon* overture that followed this march. While there were charming spots in the playing of this work as a whole it lacked cohesion and was sadly wanting in the exquisite poetry which permeates the entire score. In the brilliant passages the violins slid over many of the notes instead of playing them and the accents were so hard that they resulted in an angularity that was not pleasing.
>
> Far more acceptable were the "Berceuse" by Ilyinsk and Glazunov's Marioneettes which made up the third number, and in order to satisfy his audience Mr. Altschuler repeated the Marionettes. Liszt's "Rhapsody in D" so familiar to every piano student, and a Strauss waltz completed a program which was enjoyed by a good-sized audience.[110]

By 1912, Altschuler had finally won over his critics. His presentations of music by the masters of Europe and Russia were equally as brilliant to his critics: "Modest Altschuler and his Russian Symphony orchestra scored another triumph last evening in Exposition music hall when he presented two superb programs of orchestral music embodying leading works of the greatest masters both native of Russia and of the Old World, and drew forth much enthusiasm and applause."[111] Altschuler continued to receive requests to hear music by Russian composers, because their music was so rarely performed:

> Although this orchestra is national in its name it does not confine itself to the playing of Russian music. But it is in the performance of the Russian works that Mr. Altschuler and his men achieve the best results; and it may not be amiss to drop the hint so Mr. Altschuler that the more Russian music he plays during his week's engagement here the better will his audiences be satisfied. There is that in the music of the modern Russians that exercises a strong fascination and in the communities where orchestral concerts are not a regular feature of each season, opportunities are few to hear the Russian works aside from those that have long been established favorites.[112]

Altschuler and his Russian Symphony Orchestra programmed many works by the Russian masters. Some of these works were new to the Pittsburgh audience, and some had become known through other ensembles and were popular favorites among the Exposition

[110] J. M., "Russian Orchestra in Good Program" *Pittsburgh Post*, October 18, 1910.
[111] "Program Presentations Please Expo Audiences," *Pittsburgh Post*, August 31, 1912.
[112] "Russian Music Starts at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 28, 1915.

audience. Some of the works by Tchaikovsky hear for the first time in the city included the military procession from *Mazeppa* and the suite from *Sleeping Beauty*, while the orchestra's presentation of *Swan Lake* was the American premiere of the suite.

Altschuler continued to promote new works of his native composers. The Pittsburgh audiences were introduced to *Night on the Bald Mount* and the Turkish March (or the "Procession of the Nobles" from *Mlada*) by Modest Mussorgsky (1839–1881). At the time of the orchestra's engagements at the Exposition, Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873–1943) was a popular composer in Russia and America, with his first tour in America in 1909. Works by Rachmaninoff frequently programmed included his Symphony No. 2 and *Caprice bohèmien*. Altschuler programmed his own tone poem, *The Isle of Death*, which received its Pittsburgh premiere. Other works heard for the first time by the Pittsburgh audience included, *Lyric Poem* by Glazunov and the symphonic tableau, *Tri pal'mï* (*Three Palm Trees*), by an Armenian composer Alexander Spendiarov (1871–1928). Another new composer to Pittsburgh audiences was Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859–1935). Two frequently performed works by Ivanov included *Two Caucasian Sketches* and its movements "In the Aul (Mountain Village)" and "March Sardar" and another work, *Intermezzo Russe*.

Instead of the traditional Wagner nights at the Exposition, Altschuler presented many evening concerts devoted to the music of Tchaikovsky. For a program in 1911, he included the *Marche Slav*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Nutcracker Suite*, and the *Coronation March*. On September 6, 1912, he presented an evening of concerts featuring works by Tchaikovsky and Wagner.[113]

Altschuler promoted many of Pittsburgh pianists throughout his annual visits to the Exposition. In 1910, Dallmeyer Russell performed the Saint-Saëns Concerto in G Minor which brought high praise from the critics: "Mr. Russell played this concerto at Carnegie Musical Hall

[113] See Appendix for full evening program on September 6, 1912.

some months ago and it proved to be one of the musical treats of the season."[114] In 1914, he presented a new piano concerto by the young Russian composer, Alexander Tcherepnin (1899–1977). Russell's performance added "embellishment to a program of unusual richness with the rendition of a piano concerto by Tcherepnin to be given for the first time. It is entirely new to musical literature."[115] In 1912, Pittsburgh native Anthony Jawelak, a fifteen-year-old blind boy pianist, performed all movements of Mendelssohn's First Piano Concerto in G Minor. According to the *Pittsburgh Post* his performances were "amazing" and "wonderful"[116]

A few of Pittsburgh's vocalists were included in the programs. Grace Hall Riheldaffer, the Pittsburgh soprano who had been heard previously with other organizations was included in some concerts. On one of the concerts, she sang the waltz song from *Romeo and Juliet*. In 1913, the baritone, George C. Weitzel, who studied abroad under the Italian opera singer, Francesco Lamperti, and sang in leading European opera halls, sang an aria from *La traviata* and the toreador from *Carmen*. He was made a hero at the Exposition by his critics: "No greater tribute to Pittsburgh artists could have been paid by the people of the city that than in Music hall at the Exposition for the splendid work of George C. Weitzel, the Pittsburgh baritone and former grand opera singer."[117] John B. Siefert sang "Lend Me your Aide" from Gounods' *Queen of Sheba*. In 1915, Marie Morrisey sang "My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice" from *Samson and Delilah* by Saint-Saëns.

Altschuler equally recognized Pittsburgh composers. In 1913, Altschuler celebrated the 125th Anniversary of Allegheny Country with a concert devoted to the music of local composers. Although many of the composers were performed by visiting ensembles, many of the

[114] "Local Pianist Soloist with Orchestra at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 19, 1910.
[115] "Solos to Enhance Exposition Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1914.
[116] "Sousa's Band to Follow the Russian Orchestra," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1912.
[117] "Pittsburgh Tenor Next in Expo Special Music," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1913.

works programmed by Altschuler were new to the Pittsburgh audience. Although, some of their works had not been performed at the Exposition. New works presented by Altschuler included Foerster's *Heroic March*, and Cadman's *To a Vanishing Race*. Nevin's most frequently performed works, "Rosary" and "Narcissus," appeared on this program. And of course, the concert featured the *American Fantasie* by the honorary Pittsburgher, Victor Herbert. The concert did recognize one Pittsburgh artist. Dallmeyer Russell performed Tchaikovsky's Concerto in B-flat Minor. The concert was very successful with the Pittsburgh audience: "It was Pittsburgh night at the Exposition last evening. The attendance was large. The Russian Symphony Orchestra under Modest Altschuler presented works of Pittsburgh composers, and the friends of each applauded enthusiastically. Dallmeyer Russell, pianist, was exceptionally brilliant."[118]

The anniversary program also featured a Minuett by Silas G. Pratt (1846–1916). Born in Vermont, Pratt studied piano in Germany for three years. Upon returning to the United States, he became the organist at the Church of the Messiah in Chicago and organized the famous Apollo Club of Boston, an all-male singing society. On a return trip to German, Franz Liszt listened to a matinee concert of Pratt's works providing him with advice and encouragement for his future compositions. In Pittsburgh, Pratt founded the Pratt Institute of Art and Music in 1906. Although it is no longer in existence, he served as its president until his death in 1916.[119] Altschuler also programmed a symphonic suite by Pratt: "One of the more interesting local features was the rendition of a symphonic suite, *Tempest*, after Shakespeare, by S. G. Pratt of Pittsburgh."[120]

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[118] "Pittsburgh Baritone at the Expo Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 24, 1913.

[119] Robert Stevenson, "Pratt, Silas G.," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/22268 (accessed March 8, 2012).

[120] "Credit Men Will Visit Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 11, 1914.

There were a few interesting features of Altschuler's programs. When he opened the Exposition in 1914, he started the tradition of presenting "The Star Spangled Banner" at the opening of every concert:

> One of the pleasing customs inaugurated by Modest Altschuler, conductor of the Russian Symphony Orchestra, at the Exposition, with the opening of the season at the Point, is the introduction of each day's concert series in Exposition Music Hall with the rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner," which in view of the fact that this national anthem is passing its centenary this fall, and that events transpiring abroad are of a character to arouse patriotism makes the custom especially appropriate.[121]

In 1915, the Russian Symphony orchestra incorporated some additional, yet pleasing, features into their concerts. During the engagements, the ensemble enlisted two Pittsburgh dancers, Margaret L. Shaw and Harold Lange, to perform with the orchestra. They performed interpretive dances to selected works with the orchestra on the evening concerts.[122] The other event with the orchestra was the presentation of a photoplay, *Spartacus* with musical accompaniment by the orchestra. The two-hour drama was split between the two evening concerts. As defined by the *Post*, the photoplay was "the synchronized illustration of a beautiful symphony that is being performed by a splendid symphonic orchestra under the direction of Modest Altschuler."[123] The orchestra returned in 1916 for the final season of the Pittsburgh Exposition.

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[121] "Expo Music is Popular," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 4, 1914.

[122] Isadora Duncan (1877–1927) paved the way for a new modern, interpretive style of dance, which was commonly featured with orchestras. Duncan toured regularly with Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony orchestra. In a return trip to Pittsburgh on October 30, 1909, Isadora Duncan performed with Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra. This performance was in Exposition Hall. See Ann Daly, *Done into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1995).

[123] "Roman Photo Play Repeated at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1915.

Balalaika Orchestra of Russia

In 1911, the Balalaika Orchestra of Russia made an appearance at the Pittsburgh Exposition for a one-week engagement. Founded by Vasiliy Andreyev (1861–1918), the Balalaika orchestra was the first professional ensemble to feature folk instruments. First mentioned in the eighteenth century, the balalaika was a popular stringed instrument used by the peasants to accompany dancing. Andreyev standardized the instrument for a professional ensemble.

Although the orchestra was quite different from the ensembles that Pittsburgh audiences encountered at the Exposition, the Balalaika Orchestra made a good impression with the Exposition audience:

> There is so much of delicate charm in the playing of this orchestra that, in a very large hall and before an audience that is not controlled by all the conventional concert rules, it is at a disadvantage. Only in a hall that is exceedingly quiet could the exquisite gradations of tone brought out by these players, tones that at times are of gossamer delicacy, be wholly appreciated.[124]

In the same review a more thorough discussion was presented about the conductor and the orchestra's style:

> Waving his baton over about 25 men who have in their hands nothing but native Russian instruments which for generations have been used by the peasants. Mr. Andreyev can produce effects which in rhythm, in beautiful phrasing, in refined gradations of tone, in well wrought up climaxes; in fact, in general artistic finish, put many so-called fine orchestras to shame. And the precision with which these men play is faultless.
>
> But there is more than all this in their work, for back of their technical perfection is a soul. The Russian spirit speaks in their playing. In nothing given during the opening concert was this national mood revealed more poignantly than in Tchaikovsky's "In Church." The long sustained notes, shaded with an infinite series of shifting lights, were poignant with a feeling that seemed to breathe forth the Russian melancholy. If this music did not wholly reach the audience it was not the fault of the players.[125]

[124] "Russian Orchestra is Well Received," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1911.
[125] Ibid.

Although the organization was popular and even appealed to the Pittsburgh audiences, they were often "assaulted by cultural elitists who detested the renderings of classics on 'primitive village instruments' and by the political right wing who despised the cultural exaltation of the peasant ethos."[126]

The content of the performances varied from folk tunes to arrangements of works by Russian composers, which audiences would have known through the engagements of the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York. Some of the works they performed included excerpts from Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana*, Johann Strauss's *Frühlingstimmung* waltz, and Tchaikovsky's "In Church" from *Album for the Young*. Many of the works performed by the ensembles were waltzes composed by Andreyev, including *The Fawn*, *Meteor*, *Butterfly*, *Caprice*, *Souvenir de Gatchina*, *Rowing*, *Balalaika*, *Impromptu*, *Orchid*, and *Greeting to England*.

The organization also featured the Grand Opera quartet from the Imperial Opera House in St. Petersburg. The quartet appeared in native costumes and sang in their native language on the first concerts. Some of their frequently performed works during the engagements included selections from *A Life for the Czar* by Mikhail Glinka (1804–1857); "Dawn," a vocal duet by Tchaikovsky; "In the Wild North," a solo by Georgi Dimitrov (1882–1949); and "Johnny and Molly," a vocal solo by Alexander Dargomyzhsky.[127]

The Russian Balailaka Orchestra founded by Andreyev eventually merged with the Los Angeles Balalaika Orchestra. Throughout the United States, in particular, many balalaika ensembles have emerged as part of a growing interest in the study of these Russian instruments.

[126] Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society Since 1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20.

[127] See appendix for a full program of music performed by the Balailaka ensemble and the Imperial Opera vocal quartet.

Other ensembles include the University of Wisconsin Russian Folk Ensemble and the Washington Balalaika Society in Washington, D.C.

While the Balalaika orchestras may appear as something of a novelty in retrospect, they like the traditional orchestras represented a fresh infusion of European culture. Although many of the bands performed European concert repertoire in transcription, the orchestras featured a higher proportion of European classics in their programs. Like the bands, many of these orchestras made the Pittsburgh Exposition an annual stop on their touring schedule. The success of the orchestras at the Pittsburgh Exposition continued to impress upon the Pittsburgh audience and the nation that the "smoky city" had established itself as a viable musical center. Furthermore, many orchestras took an active interest in the composers and musicians of Pittsburgh. Many of these musicians and composers studied in Europe and later returned to Pittsburgh and maintained successful musical careers in the city and throughout the United States. Successful performances of Pittsburgh musicians continued to reflect the evolution of Pittsburgh's music culture. In the final season of the Exposition in 1916, orchestras continued to make a lasting impression on the city as representatives of elite musical taste.

CHAPTER 6

THE FINAL SEASON (1916) AND THE LEGACY OF THE PITTSBURGH EXPOSITION

The year 1916 brought the centennial of Pittsburgh's charter. Yet when the Exposition opened in 1916, newspapers around the world, including Pittsburgh's newspapers, were focused on the war in Europe. The Exposition management did not know that it would be the last season of the Exposition. On April 6, 1917, the United States Congress declared war on Germany. With America's focus on the war, and the entry of many of Pittsburgh's male citizens into the military, the Exposition ceased to exist. The Exposition's final season leading into a celebration of Pittsburgh's centenary was the culmination not only of a century of Pittsburgh history, but especially of the last 28 years of progress in technology and the arts epitomized by the Exposition itself. This chapter discusses the ensembles that were presented by the Exposition in its final season and the lasting legacy of the Pittsburgh Exposition.

The Final Season (1916)

From the beginning of the year 1916, the Exposition management anticipated one of the best seasons of the annual event. Engagements were received from top orchestras in the nation, including the Wassili Leps Orchestra, Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, and Russian Symphony Orchestra, as well as three of the best bandleaders in the country, Arthur Pryor, Patrick Conway, and Giuseppe Creatore. The musical attractions and concerts featured some of the best soloists from around the nation, as well as local singers and composers.

The Wassili Leps Orchestra

The Exposition's final season in 1916 opened on August 30, with the Wassili Leps Orchestra. This organization had appeared at the Exposition in 1912 and 1915. During the previous two seasons, Leps' orchestra indulged the high-class musical taste of Pittsburgh with beautiful renditions by the great master composers. Leps also promoted many of Pittsburgh's composers during his engagements, including the performances of works by Zitterbart in memorium.

The orchestra's opening night was one of the most successful openings at the Exposition:

> Not in many a year has the opening night at the exposition been marked by such sincere interest in the music. The atmosphere throughout both concerts was one created by the listeners there to hear music for music's sake, and the greatest numbers received the closest attention. The "Adagio" from Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the "Largo" from Dvořák's "New World" were plainly the favorites.[1]

Leps featured Pittsburgh composers on the opening concerts. He opened the first concert with Adolph M. Foerster's *Festival March*. The second evening concert opened with Fidelis Zitterbart's *Domitian* Overture. The performance of the overture received good reviews from a Pittsburgh critic:

> The performance of Mr. Zitterbart's overture was doubly significant in that it was a premier and occurred on the first anniversary of the composer's death. It proved a work built on classical lines rich in melody, cohesive well orchestrated and throughout full of vitality. It proved that Mr. Zitterbart as a composer had something original to say and said it not only intelligently, but with spontaneity. The work called forth applause that was a tribute to the composer as well as to Mr. Leps and his men.[2]

Wasili Leps also presented Foerster's new orchestral work, Prelude to *Faust*, and Zitterbart's symphonic poem, *A Sailor's Life*.

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[1] J.M., "Pittsburgh Proves Love for Classics," *Pittsburgh Post*, August 31, 1916.
[2] Ibid.

Leps continued to promote Pittsburgh's talented musicians and during the engagement at the exposition. Sue Harvard, was born in Wales, England, but spent her childhood years in Pittsburgh performing with local choirs and studying with American teachers before leaving for Europe to continue her studies. Her concerts with the orchestra were her first performances in Pittsburgh since her return from her studies abroad. Critics noticed the improvement following her studies: "Her singing showed such a marked advance over her former work that much may rightly be expected of her in the future."[3] The review following her first concerts emphasized her technique and the improvements:

> Her aria was "Dich, teure Halle" from *Tannhäuser*. This she sang with sustained legato, excellent appreciation of tone shading, sureness of attack and with the required touch of dignity. Her voice is unusually clear and true and has developed a mellowness that imbues it with the human note. Miss Harvard revealed the surety of one who has progressed intelligently and she bears the mark of artistic aims. She was awarded a warm welcome by her audience and for an encore sang Roger's "The Star."[4]

Throughout her engagement at the exposition, Harvard performed many selections from operas, including "Il est doux, il est bon" from Massenet's *Herdiade*, "Visi d'arte" from Puccini's *Tosca*, and an aria from Ponchielli's *La Giaconda*. Another popular performance was the "Ave Maria" from the cantata *Das Feuerkreuz*, Op. 52 (*The Cross of Fire*), by Max Bruch (1838–1920). Max Bruch's "Ave Maria" with its dramatic and non-liturgical text should not be confused with the sacred text of Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*, which was well known to Pittsburgh's audiences. Bruch's cantata was translated into English by Henry Grafton Chapman and edited by Frank Damrosch, brother of Walter Damrosch. It was published in 1903 by G. Schirmer. Many Pittsburgh critics believed that this was "one of the most difficult and most dramatic arias written

[3] J. M., "Pittsburgh Proves Love for Classics," *Pittsburgh Post*, August 31, 1916.
[4] Ibid.

for the soprano voice."[5] Harvard was the star attraction as the *Post* critics commented that her "work is swelling the audiences at the Point concerts as the close of her engagement draws near."[6] Following her engagement in Pittsburgh, Harvard presented many recitals throughout the country and performed with the Metropolitan Opera Company.

While the success of the Pittsburgh musicians and composers was more important to the Pittsburgh critics and their reviews, Leps continued to present high quality music to the Pittsburgh audience. Among his European selections he conducted Dvořák's "New World" Symphony and the *Eroica* Symphony.

Arthur Pryor

Arthur Pryor returned to the Exposition in 1916 after a four-year absence from the annual event for a two-week engagement beginning on September 11. A review in the *Pittsburgh Post* recalled his performances of popular music: "His swinging rhythms and mighty climaxes achieved with a spirit that few bandmasters attain, have stirred audience after audience in the big auditorium at the Point. His program, ranging from the best the world's music has to give, to the more popular classics and the lightsome airs of the popular musical shows, have been unfailingly popular."[7] Pryor's soloists included violinist Nicoline Zedeler, who had been heard by Pittsburgh audiences on multiple occasions with Sousa's band. The other soloist, soprano Florence Wallace from Los Angeles, California, "has won the praises of critics and public from coast to coast and stands high among concert artists of today."[8]

[5] "Exposition Concerts Featured by Soloist," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 8, 1916.
[6] "Expo Excursions on Six Roads Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 7, 1916.
[7] "Pryor to Open Concert Series at Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 10, 1916.
[8] Ibid.

Following Pryor's opening concerts, Pittsburgh critics commented on his abilities as an arranger and conductor:

> It is in the numbers originally written for band that Mr. Pryor is heard to the best advantage, the adaptations from orchestral scores of long established reputation not proving so enjoyable. But in this respect he does not differ from all the other bandmasters before the public. He has an organization that plays with unanimity, smoothly flowing tone and, when the occasion requires, with great brilliance.[9]

Despite this discussion about Pryor's abilities to render the compositions of the great composers, Pryor did present movements from symphonies, such as the "Largo" from Dvořák's "New World" Symphony and the first movement from the *Unfinished* Symphony by Schubert for a special matinee concert. He also programmed two evenings of Wagner music with great success.

Pryor's programs continued to be popular with excerpts and overtures from favorite operas and lighter classical works. Pryor's trombone solos and compositions, including the premiere of a new march, *The Heart of America*, appealed to the large audiences. One of Pryor's most "rollicking compositions" was *The Whistler and His Dog*.[10]

Throughout Pryor's engagement, Zedeler and Wallace performed frequently with Pryor's band, but Pittsburgh's critics rarely commented on their performances. Among the compositions performed by Zedeler were the last movement from Mendelssohn's E Minor Violin Concerto and Handel's "Largo." On the occasion of her first performance of Handel's "Largo," her critics commented "she revealed a good legato but a small tone."[11] The soprano, Florence Wallace, sang a variety of songs, including Nevin's "Rosary," "Berceuse" by Godard, "Villanelle" by the composer and singer, Eva Dell'Acqua (1856–1930), and selections from operas by Bizet and Puccini.

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[9] "Pryor's Band Opens Engagement at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 12, 1916.
[10] "Pryor's Engagement At Expo Ends Tonight," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 23, 1916.
[11] "Pryor's Band Opens Engagement at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 12, 1916

Henry Kimball Hadley with the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra

Following Arthur Pryor's two-week engagement at the Exposition, Henry Kimball Hadley (1871–1937) with the Metropolitan Opera House orchestra traveled to Pittsburgh for an engagement beginning September 25. An American composer and conductor, Hadley had been conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and the Portland Symphony Orchestra. Neida Humphrey, a soprano soloist and member of the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the young pianist, Marvin Maazel (1899–1989) performed with Hadley and the orchestra during their engagement in Pittsburgh.

Hadley's arrival was highly anticipated by Pittsburgh's music lovers and the arrival of the orchestra would begin "one of the most important orchestral seasons in the history of the Point."[12] Unfortunately, following the first of Hadley's concerts, Pittsburgh critics were quick to point out the orchestra's flaws: "Breadth of imagination and natural rhythm were not in evidence, these defects showing chiefly in the first movement of the Schubert *Unfinished* Symphony." The same review also criticized Hadley's *Oriental Suite*: "It is music of pleasing character, but shows little melodic invention and sounded too thin in texture to justify the term 'oriental.'"[13] Other compositions by Hadley included, *In Bohemia* overture, "Angelus" from Symphony No. 3 in B Minor, and the *Atonement of Pan* Suite.

Neida Humphrey, the soprano soloist, also did not escape the negative critique of Pittsburgh's reviewers: "Miss Humphrey, who sang Dell'Acqua's 'Chanson Provençale,' revealed a voice strong and full in the upper tones but lacking in resonance in the middle and lower registers. Her interpretation showed a tendency to force her contrasts."[14] Humphrey also

[12] "Season at Expo is Lengthened," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 24, 1916.
[13] J.M., "Metropolitan Opera Musicians at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1916.
[14] J.M., "Metropolitan Opera Musicians at Expo," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 26, 1916.

performed Johann Strauss's *Tales from the Vienna Woods*, "Caro nome" from Verdi's *Rigoletto*, and various selections from operas and popular music.

Hadley's programs also featured Marvin Maazel, the young piano prodigy. Maazel was the uncle of the famous American composer and conductor Lorin Maazel. The young Maazel was the only performer that seemed to please Pittsburgh's critics. He "thrilled thousands this week by his performances," which included Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto in B-flat Major, Chopin's Scherzo in B-flat Minor, and Moszkowski's *Caprice Espagnole*.[15]

Patrick Conway and His Band

Patrick Conway (1867–1927) and his band of 50 members was featured at the Exposition for the first time in 1916. Although Conway's band toured many of the expositions throughout the United States, including the Pan-American Exposition and the Panama-Pacific Exposition, it was the first time for the organization to appear in Pittsburgh. Conway's band was engaged annually for concerts at Willow Grove, where he performed for 17 years. During these engagements he became good friends with Sousa and they would often perform together.[16] Conway's band featured a number of soloists who performed with the best orchestras in the United States, including the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, Theodore Thomas Orchestra, and the New York Philharmonic.

Conway's programs featured a variety of popular and classical selections similar to those heard by bands, such as Sousa, in previous seasons. Probably the highlight of the band's engagement at the Exposition was the amazing Irish tenor, John Finnegan (?–1936). The appearance of Finnegan at the Exposition recalls enthusiasm for Irish nights of earlier seasons.

[15] "Metropolitan Closes Engagement Today, Pittsburgh Post, September 30, 1916.

[16] Raoul F. Camus, "Conway, Patrick," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2083875 (accessed March 5, 2012).

Finnegan was a member of the choir at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, but he traveled throughout the United States giving recitals. Prior to the engagement, the *Post* advertised that Finnegan's United States debut was "celebrated from coast to coast for the beauty, humor and sentiment of his interpretations of Irish ballads….and will sing such familiar and popular numbers as 'Killarney,' 'Come Back to Erin,' 'Mother Machree,' and others."[17] Other solos by Finnegan included Herbert's "I'm Falling in Love with Someone"; Ernest R. Ball's songs, "A Little Bit of Heaven" and "Then You'll Remember Me"; and Dermot MacMurrough's "Macushla."

The Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York

By the time Modest Altschuler and the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York appeared at the Exposition in 1916, the Pittsburgh audience was very familiar with their programs emphasizing Russian composers from their engagements in previous seasons. The day before their appearance, the *Post* commented that the organization, which regularly performed premier performances of compositions by Russian composers, "has presented at once the most artistic and the most attractive symphonic programs given in the music hall." The season at the Exposition featured new works by the "ultra modern Russian," Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971).[18]

Throughout the season, the orchestra performed a number of works by Russian composers, many of which were frequently heard in previous seasons. Altschuler also programmed an evening of Wagner for the traditional Friday night series. On the occasion of the program featuring two movements from Stravinsky's Symphony No. 1, the Pittsburgh critics prepared the audience for "futurist music compounded of weird dissonances and eerie

[17] "Conway to Open Expo Concerts," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 1, 1916.
[18] "Russ Orchestra and Dancer at Expo This Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1916.

orchestration."[19] Regrettably on the following day, there was no discussion about the music or the audience's reaction.

The star attraction of the orchestra's concerts was Lada, "one of the greatest of modern dancers." Although she went by her Russian stage name Lada, Emily K. Schupp (1888–1964) was an early American modern dancer from Duluth, Minnesota. She studied in Eastern Europe and traveled throughout the United States dancing with orchestras. During the engagement, Lada performed at the 9:30 shows, so the orchestra could be moved off the stage platform and into the pit, as well as other modifications including a sound board which was "hung with rich, subdued draperies in classical folds, and, under lights that will create the proper atmosphere, the dancer will appear, using the entire stage for her work."[20]

On the first concert, Lada danced to Brahms' "Sixth Hungarian Dance," along with Strauss's *March Militaire* and *Beautiful Blue Danube*. The following day the *Post* discussed her work: "The Hungarian dance and the waltz were interpreted through conventional mediums rather than through emphasis on their moods. In the march, however, the dancer revealed dramatic force, imagination and the power to thrill."[21] Other pieces Lada danced to included Edward MacDowell's "Shadow Dance," Schubert's Scherzo from Symphony No. 7 and an unidentified "Laendler," Glinka's "Kamarinskaya," Liszt's Second Hungarian Rhapsody, and a piece written for her, Lada Ballard Dance, by Russian composer, Reihnold Glière (1875–1956).

Altschuler also featured a few Pittsburgh vocalists on his final day of concerts. Rebecca Hepner, a dramatic soprano, sang the "Luisana Parola" from Verdi's *Aida*. Zoe Fulton, a contralto, sang "O don fatale" from Verdi's *Don Carlos*. Although Altschuler did not program as

[19] "'Futurist' Music at Expo Today," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 12, 1916.
[20] "Russ Orchestra and Dancer at Expo This Week," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 8, 1916. See Appendix for a program featuring Lada with the Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York.
[21] J.M., "Russian Orchestra Wins Expo Crowds," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 10, 1916.

many works by Pittsburgh composers or invite many Pittsburgh musicians to perform, he provided Pittsburgh more opportunities to continue to grow in its musical taste.

Giuseppe Creatore

Giuseppe Creatore and his band had been frequent visitors to the Exposition since their first engagement in 1902. Creatore's passion for music and unconventional conducting style appealed to the Pittsburgh audience:

> Long-haired, eccentric with startling methods of conducting and ability to produce the most unusual effects Creatore adds the final touch of distinction to the present concert series at the Exposition. His repertoire includes brilliant Italian compositions that show the qualities of the various choir of the band at their best. Hew will demonstrate his ability to adapt his band to the fines nuances of expression in the greater symphonic works by the magnetic quality of his conducting, and will express the veritable Latin spirit to the many selections from great Italian operas. He has announced 35 new compositions and all will be played before he leaves Pittsburgh.[22]

Creatore's concerts were very similar to the previous seasons with a heavy emphasis on Italian composers, including excerpts and overtures from their operas. Creatore presented all-Italian programs. He also presented Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*. Although Creatore did not present the works of many Pittsburgh composers, he did include an arrangement of Ethelbert Nevin's "Narcissus," which had become a popular piece to be programmed by visiting ensembles.

One of the features of Creatore's engagement was the addition of the Canadian opera singer, Margaret George. George studied and performed in Europe, including the role of the protagonist in Ezio Camrussi's opera, *La Du Barry*, at Covent Garden. The *Post* commented that Vittorio Gnecchi dedicated his opera, *La Rosiera*, to George.[23] Prior to her appearance, the *Post*

[22] "Creatore Comes to Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1916.

[23] This was a very early mention of *La Rosiera* in 1916 because it was not published until 1927. For comment in *Pittsburgh Post* see "Creatore Comes to Exposition," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 15, 1916. For a discussion about Gnecchi and the publication of *La Rosiera* see Raffaele Pozzi, "Gnecchi, Vittorio," in *Grove Music*

described Margaret George's voice: "With a powerful soprano voice of unusual quality, with the finished art of the trained opera singer, and with a striking stage presence, Miss George has interpreted effectively the major roles both in Wagnerian and in Italian opera."[24]

During the engagement of the Exposition, Margaret George sang two selections written by Creatore, "Dear Song" and "Ave Maria." She performed many selections from operas, such as Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, Bizet's *Carmen*, as well as Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, *Ermani*, and *La Traviata*. She remained a popular attraction throughout the Exposition: "Miss Margaret George, prima donna, soprano who attained high artists repartee in grand opera abroad and whose arias, twice daily at the Point have proved her right to rank with the greatest soloists ever heard there, will add still greater artistic quality to the climactic week of the Exposition."[25]

At the close of the season, Creatore presented a program to coincide with the beginning of the celebration of Pittsburgh's centennial. The final concert of the 1916 Exposition marked the opening of the official celebration. For that program, Creatore arranged a program, which included Mario Salvatore Rocereto's *Serenade*. Rocereto was an Italian-born bandleader, composer, and music instructor in Pittsburgh. Other Pittsburgh selections included Stephen Foster melodies, Foerster's "At Twilight," and Nevin's "Narcissus" and "Rosary," were performed by Margaret George, as well as Victor Herbert's *American Fantasie*. At the conclusion of the concert, the Pittsburgh Society and the people of Pittsburgh did not know that it would be the final season of the Exposition. The opening of the celebration of Pittsburgh's centenary with a concert featuring Pittsburgh's composers seems fitting for what was the final season of the Pittsburgh Exposition.

Online. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/11311 (accessed April 28, 2012).

[24] "Creatore Comes to Exposition, *Pittsburgh Post*, October 14, 1916.

[25] "Expo Closes Next Saturday," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 22, 1916.

The Legacy of the Pittsburgh Exposition

As the longest running and most successful exposition in the United States, the Pittsburgh Exposition served the city and its suburbs for twenty-eight seasons. For almost three decades it had been instrumental in the growth of the city's industrial and cultural institutions. At the close of the season in 1914, the *Post* observed that, "the Exposition, in closing its doors for the year, does so with the knowledge in possession of the society that it has made a new high record for excellent effort in benefiting and bettering Pittsburgh."[26]

As the Exposition continued to make advancements, the management often discussed how the Exposition surpassed the original goals and expectations of its founders: "For 25 seasons the Pittsburgh Exposition has entertained and instructed. That it has not palled on the popular taste was evidenced last night. Age and experience have combined to give a becoming dignity to the exhibition, at the same time eliminating many of the commonplace features."[27] The "commonplace features" which were typical of America's county fairs, were replaced with high culture events and exhibits to develop and enhance the cultural taste of the Pittsburgh public. At the opening of the 1915 Exposition, the *Pittsburgh Post* described the growth of the annual event: "A great contrast is shown between the exposition of 27 years ago and that of today. Then it was an experiment with a kindly but non-understanding public. Today it is a well-developed product, but always pushing forward, and a public mind receptive for its best efforts and influences."[28]

The music programs were at the forefront of the Exposition's development. The music programs and the engagement of the nation's best ensembles and soloists, and the introduction of many of Pittsburgh's talented composers and musicians, served as a reminder of Pittsburgh's

[26] "Today Terminates Exposition Season," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 24, 1914.
[27] "First Day of Exposition is Big Success, *Pittsburgh Post*, September 3, 1914.
[28] "Exposition Opens with Added Charm," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 1, 1915.

advancements in the arts and its acknowledgement as a leading center for American music. Pittsburgh's recognition as an important musical center was due in large part to the developing musical taste of the Pittsburgh audience:

> The education gained through these means is made possible by the character of the organizations engaged to give the concerts and by the programs presented. While these programs are diversified enough to appeal in part to the popular taste, they are nearly always notable for the performance of some great works that are presented, sometimes in part and again in their entirety. By following this policy uninterruptedly for many seasons the management of these concerts has made it possible for those who patronize them to become familiar with and in time admirers of the best music of the best masters.[29]

Although not all repertoire performed met the idealized standard of presenting programs entirely consisting of European masterpieces, the level of virtuosity and musicianship provides ample justification for this critic's enthusiastic assessment.

The Exposition's legacy took the form not only of the music actually performed there, but in the growth of musical institutions that took place concurrently with the success of the Exposition. Prior to the establishment of the annual Exposition, Pittsburgh's public music scene relied on recitals and performances, mainly of choral works, by the Mozart Music Club. These performances were mostly held in local churches. Beginning in 1895, we have seen that the planning and development of the Exposition went hand in hand with Andrew Carnegie's efforts to provide the city with a permanent concert hall. Carnegie provided the financial foundation for the building of the Carnegie complex, which included a museum, library, and music hall. The music hall became home to the Pittsburgh Orchestra in 1895. Along with the concerts presented at the new Carnegie Hall, the Exposition Music Hall remained open for concerts during even during the Exposition's off-season. In 1907, for example, Exposition Hall was the site of the concerts for the sesquicentennial of Pittsburgh. In 1911, having already appeared at the

[29] "Mr Altschuler Gets to Hearts of Crowd," *Pittsburgh Post*, September 2, 1909.

Exposition, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony returned later that fall for another concert series at Exposition Music Hall.

In a city filled with smoke and dirt from its steel mills, the Pittsburgh Exposition offered the people of Pittsburgh an opportunity to see and hear the world's leading musicians and ensembles. It also provided many opportunities for Pittsburgh musicians and composers to prove that they were capable of performing with the best ensembles.

When the Exposition season closed its doors in 1916, America was on the brink of war. Although the Exposition did not reopen in 1917, the buildings remained a part of the Pittsburgh landscape until 1951 when the last hall was torn down. From 1916 until 1920, the Exposition Hall was renovated as an ice skating rink and named Winter Garden. It served as a hockey arena for local Pittsburgh teams. The closing of the annual Exposition and the destruction of its buildings was observed by Richard Baynham in his book about the history of Pittsburgh and music: "When that building was torn down a lot of old Pittsburgh went with it."[30]

The razing of the Exposition buildings did not end the legacy of the Pittsburgh Exposition. In August, 1974, Point State Park was dedicated. With a fountain at the point, the park serves as a focal point at the entrance into downtown Pittsburgh. Among other things, Point State Park hosts the annual Three Rivers Arts Festival, which features many concerts of jazz and popular music. With the establishment of the Three Rivers Arts Festival, the legacy of the Exposition remains very much alive.

[30] Edward G. Baynham, *A History of Pittsburgh Music, 1758-1958* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970) 1:134.

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APPENDIX

A typical day of concerts at the Exposition consisted of matinee and evening concerts. The matinee concerts were divided into two hour-long concerts, Part I from 2:30-3:30 and Part II from 4:30-5:30. The evening concerts began with Part I from 7:30-8:30, and continued with Part II from 9:30-10:30. While a comprehensive guide to all of the concerts and works performed is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a sampling of concerts performed at the Pittsburgh Exposition provides an overview of the variety of music performed at the Exposition. Programs in this appendix include concerts for ethnic and classical nights, concerts featuring female vocalists and musicians, and concerts featuring Pittsburgh musicians and composers. From 1892 to 1894, the *Pittsburgh Post* did not print the daily programs and only commented about the music in reviews. The chapter and page number provided under each entry refers to the relevant discussion in the present dissertation.

Great Western Band
Wednesday, September 4, 1889
(Chapter 2, Page 20)

Evening Concerts

Part I

1. "American," Overture	Catlin
2. *Stabat Mater*	Rossini
3. "Blossoms of 1884"	Boettger
4. "True Eyes"	Ellenberg
5. "Russian Carriage Song"	Thornton

Part II

1. "Pittsburgh Exposition"	Kaminsky
2. *Sylvana*, overture	C. M. Von Weber
3. Esmeralda	Levey
4. "A Night Off"	Boettger
5. Nadjy	Chassaigne

Great Western Band
Tuesday, September 18, 1889
(Chapter 2, Page 29)

A Night of Irish Melodies

Evening Concerts
Part I

1. The Decree	Swift
2. The Shamrock, Rose, and Thistle	Patz
3. Visions of a Beautiful Woman	Fahrbach
4. Erin	Wiegand
5. Emerald Isle	Wiegand

Part II

1. Salute to Erin	Coates
2. Lurline	Wallace
3. Sounds from Erin	Beumett
4. Medley Overture	Braham
5. Patrol	Hendley

Great Western Band
Saturday, October 5, 1889
(Chapter 2, Page 26)

Peoples Day
Matinee Concerts
Part I

1. King Karl, march	Ellenberg
2. Russian Carriage Song	Thornton
3. A Night in Granada	Kreutzer
4. En Passant, waltz	Vagvolgyt
5. The Darkies	Lansing

Part II

1. *Raymond*, overture	Thomas
2. Fear of Madrid	Bachmann
3. The Jolly Minstrel	Brooks
4. The Hunt	Boh
5. Pittsburgh Exposition	John Gernert

Innes and Twenty-Second Regiment
Friday, September 5, 1890
(Chapter 2, Page 40)

Wagner Program
Evening Concerts
Part I

1. Marche	*Kaiser*
2. Vorspiel	*Parsival*
3. Intro. and Prayer	*Rienzi*
4. Grand scene	*Tristan and Isolde*
5. Fisherman's Chorus	*Flying Dutchman*

Part II

1. Vorspiel	*Meistersinger*
2. Reverie	*Ein Albumblatt*
3. Grand Mosaic	*Lohengrin*
4. The Evening Start	*Tannhauser*
Mr. F. N. Innes, trombone solo	
5. Fest March	*Tannhauser*
Mr. F. N. Innes, trombone solo	

Cappa and Seventh Regiment
Tuesday, September 15, 1891
(Chapter 2, Page 43)

Featuring Walter Rogers
Matinee Concerts
Part II

1. *The Barber of Seville*	Rossini
2. Yankee Doodle and Variations	Levi
Walter Rogers, cornet	
3. *Ernani*	Verdi
4. Thousand and One Night	Strauss
5. The Commercial Drummer	D. W. Reeves

Conterno and Sons' Ninth Regiment
Friday, September 27, 1895
(Chapter 3, Page 76)

Classical Night
Part I

1. *Aida*, chorus	Verdi
2. *Oberon*	Weber
3. Paper Noster	Dr. G. E. Conterno
4. *Cavalleria Rusticana*	Mascagni
5. Lanore	Massenet

Part II

1. *Tannhauser*	Wagner
2. Ave Maria	Gounod
Nine Bertini Humphreys, soprano	
3. Rhapsodie Ungoroise, No. 3	Liszt
4. The Last Chord	Sullivan
John Hazel, cornet	
5. *Les Huguenots*	Meyerbeer

Victor Herbert and Gilmore's Band
Friday, September 13, 1895
(Chapter 4, Page 92)

Matinee Concert
Part II

1. *William Tell* Rossini
2. The Darkies Jamboree Puerner
3. *Prince Ananias* Herbert
4. Blue Danube Strauss
5. Reminiscences of Stephen Foster
6. The Belle of Pittsburg Herbert

Bellstedt-Ballenberg Band
Saturday, September 4, 1897
(Chapter 4, Page 118)

Evening Concert
Part II

1. *William Tell* Rossini
2. Crack Regiment Patrol Tobani
3. Solo for Cornet Selected
Herman Bellstedt, cornet
4. The Moketown Whangdoodle Club's Outing Bellstedt
5. Hallelujah Chorus from *Messiah* Haydn

John Philip Sousa
Saturday, September 10, 1904
(Chapter 4, Page 111)

Matinee Concerts
Part II

1. Huldigungs Wagner
2. In the Realm of the Dance Sousa
3. Will You Love When the Lilies Are Dead Sousa
Estelle Liebling, soprano
4. *The Prophet* Meyerbeer
5. Soldier's Chorus from *Faust* Gounod

Giuseppe Creatore
Tuesday, September 15, 1903
(Chapter 4, Page 136)

Evening Concerts
Part I

1. Royal Purple Creatore
2. *Poet and Peasant* Suppe
3. Pas des Fieure Delibes
4. *Attila* Verdi
5. Gloconda Ponchinelli

Part II

1. Baltimore Centennial Herbert
2. William Tell Rossini
3. Parla Arditi
Mme. Barili, soporano
4. Sextette from *Lucia* Donizetti
5. American Fantasie Herbert

Fadette Ladies' Orchestra
Monday, September 21, 1903
(Chapter 5, Page 177)

Matinee Concerts
Part I

1. Tabasco, march Chadwick
2. Die Schoene Galathe Von Suppe
3. Military Symphony, Minuett Haydn
   a. The Rosary Nevin
   b. Country Dance Nevin
4. The Calvary Charge Luders

Part II

1. Marche Russe Ganne
2. Si J'tais Rol Adam
3. Bolero Saint-Saens
Carbone Sisters
4. Down South Myddleton
5. *The Prince of Pilsen* Luders

Walter Damrosch and New York Symphony
Thursday, October 13, 1904
(Chapter 5, Page 155)

Matinee Concerts
Part II

1. Cavalry Ride — Rubinstein
2. Melody in F — Rubinstein
3. Sonata for Violin and Piano in F — Beethoven
   David Mannes and Walter Damrosch
4. Norwegian Artists' Carnival — Svendson
5. Micaela's Air form Carmen — Bizet
   Henriette Kell

Variations on a Russian Theme by Seven Russian composers

The Victor Herbert Orchestra
Saturday, September 23, 1905
(Chapter 5, Page 162)

Matinee Concert
Part II

1. *The Prophet*, Coronation March — Meyerbeer
2. *William Tell*, overture — Rossini
3. The Dragonfly, mazurka — Strauss
   a. Les Contes d'Hoffman — Offenbach
   b. L'Encore — Herbert
4. *Babes in Toyland*, selections — Herbert

Bostonia Women's Orchestra
Thursday, October 8, 1908
(Chapter 5, Page 181)

Matinee Concert
Part II

1. Coronation March — Meyerbeer
2. *Stradella*, overture — Flotow
3. Artist Life, waltz — Strauss
4. *The Fortune Teller* — Herbert
5. By the Suwanee River — Myddleton

Russian Symphony Orchestra
Friday, September 6, 1912
(Chapter 5, Page 185)

Tchaikovsky and Wagner Evening
Part I

1. Norwegian Carnival — Svendsen
2. Symphony No. 6 — Tchaikovsky
   Adagio, Allegro non troppo
   Allegro con grazia
   Allegro molto vivace
   Finale Adagio Lamentoso

Part II

1. Tannhauser, overture — Wagner
2. Meistersinger, Prize song — Wagner
   Arkady Burstine, violin
3. Walkure, fantasie — Wagner
4. Siegfried's Rhine Journey — Wagner
5. Meistersinger, Prelude — Wagner

Russian Balalaika Orchestra
Wednesday, October 11, 1911
(Chapter 5, Page 189)

Evening Concerts
Part I

1. The Torrid Grass Has Caused the Grass to Wither — Folklore
2. I Circled the Globe in Search of my Sweetheart in Vain — Folklore
3. Cradle Song from Josselin — Godard
4. Remember Our Early Love, Dear — Anonymous
5. I Sit on a Rock Holding a Head of Cabbage — Folklore
6. Cavalleria Rusticana — Mascagni
7. The Fawn, Waltz — Andreyev
8. Balalaika Solos — Mr. Pogoreloff
   a. Waltz in D Major
   b. Russian Fantasy

Mr. Pogoreloff, soloist

Part II

1. Vocal with Piano
   a. *A Life for the Czar*, trio — Glinka
   b. Dawn, duet — Tchaikovsky
   c. Johnny and Molly, duet — Dargomyzhsky
   d. In the Wild North, trio — Dimitrov
2. Song of the Boatmen — Folklore
3. Triumphal Polonaise — Andreyev

Russian Symphony Orchestra of New York
Friday, October 13, 1916
(Chapter 6, Page 200)

Evening Concerts
Soloist-Lade, concert dancer

Part II

1. Death of Boris Godunov — Mussorgsky
2. "Lada," Ballad Dance — Gliere

Lada and the orchestra

3. Rouet D'Omphale — Saint-Saens
4. March militaire — Strauss

Lada and the orchestra

5. Dance of the Fairy Dolls — Tchaikovsy
6. Andante Cantabile — Tchaikovsky
7. Easter Holiday — Rachmaninoff-Altschuler
8. Laendler — Schubert

Lada and the Orchestra