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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Paige Clark Lush

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2009

MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA: 1904-1932

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the

School of Music at the
University of Kentucky

By

Paige Clark Lush

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Ronald Pen, Associate Professor of Musicology

Lexington, Kentucky

2009

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA: 1904-1932

This dissertation addresses the place of music in circuit chautauqua, the place of circuit chautauqua in American culture, and the role of music in defining that place. It takes into account the perception of chautauqua as a conduit by which higher culture and urban intellectual discourse could reach rural Americans, and the implications of this perception on musical programming.

The heyday of the circuit chautauqua movement (1904-1932) occurred during a time of considerable interaction between, and discussion of, entertainment and education in the United States. Music was important to the self-image of those involved in the entertainment and education industries, and especially to those who could not easily be labeled as either entertainers or educators. Chautauqua performers, and the chautauqua movement itself, held an uneasy position on the continuum between pleasing crowds and bettering audience members' lives.

Music helped to define circuit chautauqua, both as an edifying factor and as an empty diversion. Popular music attracted crowds, while art music enhanced chautauqua's image as a valid outlet for high culture. Music's role in defining chautauqua's identity was often more complex, however, as the lines between art and popular music, and thus between education and entertainment, were rarely clearly defined. Much of the programming billed as cultural outreach would have been more accurately labeled as novelty, while the popular music often espoused patriotism, loyalty, piety, and other sentiments that would cause audiences and critics to deem such music as edifying, if not purely educational. This dissertation seeks to clarify music's role in establishing and maintaining circuit chautauqua's reputation as a cultural conduit, an educational force, and an American institution.

KEYWORDS: Chautauqua, Lyceum, Music, American Culture, Education

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MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA: 1904-1932

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To Robert

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and guidance of my advisor, Ron Pen. In the three years since I first mentioned this project to him, his enthusiasm has never wavered. I am grateful to my committee members for their patience with and support of this project. Jonathan Glixon and Diana Hallman provided invaluable feedback throughout the dissertation process. Kevin Holm-Hudson played an amazing game of catch-up in replacing Kate Covington, who was instrumental to the early phases of this work. Jeanmarie Rouhier-Willoughby provided more (and better) support than I could have asked for from an outside member.

I met many great Iowans in the course of this research. First and foremost I would like to thank Fred Crane, who entrusted me with his chautauqua collection and encouraged me to write a dissertation that felt like a book. The Midwest Old Threshers were incredibly supportive of my early research. Kathryn Hodson and the Special Collections staff at the University of Iowa helped me wade through the enormous Redpath Collection. I would also like to thank the State Historical Society of Iowa for allowing me access to their archives.

I would like to thank my dissertation group, the Dissertation Divas of Berea College, who read my first drafts and exposed me to ideas from diverse fields. My parents, Gene and Marijane Clark, have been amazingly supportive of my strange career choices, and I am forever indebted to them for that. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Robert, and my children, Aaron and Sarah, for enduring my absenteeism and chronic distraction for the past five years. It's going to get better soon, I promise.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC

The program for the 1912 chautauqua¹ at Elmwood, Nebraska described the chautauqua as, “the acme of the best cultural instincts in the human thought. It is the stage improved and purified. . . . It is classic music popularized, popular music dignified. . . . It is entertainment having educational value.” The program concluded by imploring citizens to support the chautauqua, “if you believe in making better homes, better churches and schools, better character, better civilization, in making life brighter and happier and in making young men and women less anxious to go to the big city to live but satisfied to stay in the home community.”² While promoters were rarely this explicit about chautauqua’s philosophical underpinnings, ideas of cultural elevation, progressivism, and the desire to disburse urban cultural opportunities while reinforcing rural value systems were integral to the movement. Music would strengthen chautauqua’s image as an educational and cultural institution, and deliberate musical

¹ For the purposes of this study, the proper noun Chautauqua and its derivatives will refer to the Chautauqua Institution in New York. The Chautauqua Institution is also commonly referred to in literature as the “mother Chautauqua.” The common noun chautauqua and its derivatives will refer to activities inspired by the Chautauqua Institution, but not affiliated with it. Such activities include, but are not limited to, ladies’ chautauqua literary circles, independent summer chautauqua meetings, and circuit chautauqua. The term lyceum will refer to an event related to the nineteenth and twentieth-century American lyceum movement. It will not, unless explicitly stated, refer to a performance venue, such as London’s Lyceum Theatre, or to older definitions of the term, such as Aristotle’s lyceum. Despite accepted grammatical conventions, it is standard practice in the field of lyceum research to pluralize lyceum as lyceums.

² J.D. Reed, “Program: Elmwood Chautauqua,” (Elmwood, NE: 1912).

choices were made by promoters, managers, and performers throughout the early twentieth century that would define circuit chautauqua's place in American society.

The circuit chautauqua movement of the early twentieth century was the descendant of two nineteenth-century phenomena, the lyceum movement and the Chautauqua Institution. The lyceum movement would provide the vehicle by which events like those held at Chautauqua Lake could be staged throughout the United States. From the Chautauqua Institution, circuit chautauqua would acquire an ideology that would set the movement apart from similar phenomena of the early twentieth century.

Though there were several earlier informal lyceum attempts, the first formal lyceum in the United States was founded by Josiah Holbrook (1788-1854) in 1826. The National American Lyceum was formed soon thereafter, with the purpose of advancing education among those for whom formal education was not an option.³ Local lyceum societies sought out guest lecturers from a variety of fields to speak for one evening in a public building, with tickets for sale weeks in advance. Usually, no more than one lecture was given per event, and lyceums were conducted weekly (or less frequently, depending on local budget and interest level) throughout the winter and spring. Music was not a part of these first lyceums, and was not a significant presence on the lyceum stage until the second half of the century. Records from antebellum lyceum societies show very little musical activity, and some societies seem to have involved no music at all.⁴

After the American Civil War, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau emerged as the preeminent booking agency for lyceum talent. Communities wishing to book lyceum

³ John Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, Studies in Adult Education (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 104.

⁴ Marjorie Eubank, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901" (University of Michigan, 1968), 208.

performers through the Redpath Bureau did so on an a la carte basis, choosing precisely which lecturers or performers to engage for individual events. These postwar lyceum courses were more likely to involve musicians and other attractions that were not strictly lectures. As the lyceum movement was shifting from its previous reliance on lectures to a more varied philosophy of programming, a similar educational movement was emerging in New York. In 1874, the Reverend John Vincent founded his Sunday School Institute on Chautauqua Lake in the southwestern corner of New York. The Institute soon expanded beyond its religious beginnings to become the Chautauqua Assembly, and later the Chautauqua Institution. Chautauqua hosted a number of assemblies during the summer, providing intensive training for teachers and others seeking educational opportunities not available in their home communities.⁵

The Chautauqua Institution spawned a number of unaffiliated imitators, commonly referred to as “independent chautauquas,” which were established and managed by local committees. Their programs varied in length and content, but they shared a desire to emulate the Chautauqua Institution’s dedication to education and cultural outreach. Unlike lyceums, independent chautauquas involved multiple acts per day, with continuous events from early morning until late evening for several consecutive days. Independent assemblies were generally held once per year, in the summer or early fall, and took place outdoors under large tents.

In 1904, Keith Vawter of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau recognized the similar needs of the independent chautauquas and the local lyceums served by his bureaus. Vawter entered into chautauqua management with a different, more efficient system of

⁵ R.B. Tozier, “A Short Life-History of the Chautauqua,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 1 (1934): 69-73.

operations. His Redpath chautauquas would operate on a system of circuits, wherein each community on a particular circuit would commit to a set program identical to that of every other community on the circuit. The programs would last between five and seven days, and performers would spend one day in each community. Vawter's system, henceforth referred to as circuit chautauqua, was more efficient than previous attempts to secure talent for chautauquas, but it required performers to commit to a rigid and taxing summer schedule and denied local committees the ability to choose which performers they wished to host.

As the Redpath Bureau, and later many smaller circuits modeled after it, came to dominate the summer season, the distinction between chautauqua and lyceum performers became virtually non-existent. The Redpath Lyceum Bureau managed many of the same people, including musicians, as did the Redpath Chautauqua Bureau. Performers would dedicate their entire summer to circuit chautauqua, and use the Redpath agents to book intermittent performances at lyceums in the winter.

Circuit chautauqua reached the height of its popularity during the second half of the 1920s, a time when Americans were reconsidering the relationship between education, entertainment, and culture in American society, especially in rural areas. Radio and motion pictures were rapidly changing the face of American entertainment, and were in direct competition with vaudeville, traveling circuses, and other live entertainments. Circuit chautauqua would compete with all of these movements, though arguably it was set apart because of its educational mission. Vaudeville would often serve as a foil to chautauqua's promotional rhetoric, and chautauqua was often advertised

as a wholesome, educational alternative to the vaudeville and variety acts simultaneously traversing the United States.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

While circuit chautauqua events were certainly entertaining, entertainment was not the primary objective of the movement, nor did the industry view itself as an entertainment outlet. In fact, many in chautauqua management expressed open scorn for vaudeville and similar entertainments. Chautauqua's self-identity was inextricably linked to its educational value.

The heyday of the circuit chautauqua movement occurred during a time of considerable interaction between, and discussion of, entertainment and education in several settings. Notably, radio and motion pictures were establishing themselves as fixtures of American popular culture. Both the radio and motion picture industries were aware of the role music played in their perceived cultural value. Early radio producers struggled to strike a balance between music, which was popular, and spoken word, which was perceived as inherently educational and thus, valuable.⁶ Conversely, the motion picture industry used art music to elevate public perception of the industry, staging live art music performances immediately prior to motion picture screenings, and creating film roles for prominent art music performers.⁷

Music was important to the public perception of these early twentieth-century phenomena, although it meant strikingly different things in different contexts. It was also

⁶ LeRoy Ashby, *With Amusement for All: A History of American Popular Culture since 1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 253.

⁷ Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and America Culture: The Silent Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 203.

important to the self-image of those involved in the entertainment and education industries, and especially to those who could not easily be labeled as either entertainers or educators. Chautauqua performers, and the movement itself, held an uneasy position on the continuum between education and entertainment. Music helped to define circuit chautauqua, both as an edifying factor and as an empty diversion. Popular music attracted crowds, while art music enhanced chautauqua's image as a valid educational outlet. Music's role in defining chautauqua's identity was often more complex, however, as the lines between art and popular music, and thus between education and entertainment, were rarely clearly defined. Much of the programming billed as cultural outreach would have been more accurately labeled as novelty, while the popular music often espoused patriotism, loyalty, piety, and other sentiments that would cause audiences and critics to deem such music as edifying, if not purely educational.

This situation calls into question the core mission of circuit chautauqua. What type (and quality) of education did the audience have the right to expect from a one-hour lecture or performance? Eckman argues that chautauqua educated by exposure to better things, by planting a seed of curiosity rather than by traditional instruction.⁸ If this is the case, then circuit chautauqua's propensity for presenting art music in highly-altered formats is perhaps understandable. This idea also lends credence to the validity of the various exotic musical acts which, like their oratorical counterparts, were far more capable of piquing interest in other cultures than providing useful cultural information. Of course, this theory does not take into account the large number of popular and novelty acts programmed at the height of the movement's popularity. However, if circuit

⁸ James Eckman, "Regeneration through Culture: Chautauqua in Nebraska 1882-1925" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1989), 203-43.

chautauqua saw itself as a form of “distance education” (and this is certainly how it was often billed), then the validity of presenting truncated operas, dance-band transcriptions of symphonic music, and a myriad of novelty musical acts is suspect.

This dissertation will address the place of music in circuit chautauqua, the place of circuit chautauqua on the spectrum between education and entertainment, and the role of music in defining that place. It will take into account the perception of chautauqua as a conduit by which higher culture and urban intellectual discourse could reach rural Americans, and the implications of this perception on musical programming. Finally, the dissertation will address the place of circuit chautauqua in early twentieth-century American culture, its relationship with other entertainment and educational phenomena, and the role of music in setting circuit chautauqua apart from vaudeville and similar entertainments.

REVIEW OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The largest collection of primary sources relating to the circuit chautauqua movement is housed at the University of Iowa. Most of these documents are located in the Redpath Chautauqua Collection. This collection consists of the business records and other documents of the Redpath-Vawter, Redpath-Chicago, and Redpath-Horner agencies. The collection includes over eleven hundred boxes of documents, including thousands of publicity brochures,⁹ hundreds of postcards and photographs, tour schedules, business correspondence, contracts, and program brochures. The collection also includes one hundred fifty-six folders of sheet music. This represents a very small

⁹ These brochures have been digitized and are available online at the Library of Congress American Memory Archive. There, the collection is known as Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the 20th Century <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/chautauqua/index.html>

proportion of the music used by Redpath musicians, as the bureau did not normally supply sheet music to its musicians. Most of the sheet music found in this particular collection was sent to the bureau by publishers, although several pieces show signs of having been used in performance. Although the Redpath Chautauqua Collection is by far the largest collection of chautauqua materials at the University of Iowa, the university also houses several other collections related to the movement. These include the personal papers of chautauqua managers and performers, as well as papers relating to the smaller Lincoln and Radcliffe bureaus.

The Papers of Charles Horner, also housed at the University of Iowa, contain twenty folders of correspondence and business documents relating to Horner's career as a chautauqua manager. Most of the records in this collection pertain to the Redpath-Horner circuit headquartered in Kansas City, Missouri, and the acts employed by that agency. The collection also contains business records relating to musicians on that circuit, as well as information related to the Horner Institute of Fine Arts, which is discussed in Chapter Five of this study.

The Records of the Krantz Family Concert Company, also housed at the University of Iowa, consist of three scrap books chronicling the career of the Krantz Family Concert Company, a string quartet active in circuit chautauqua between 1926 and 1931. The Krantzes spent one season with Redpath-Vawter and the remainder of their chautauqua career with United Chautauquas. The scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings, promotional materials, photographs, and, most important to this study, several handwritten set lists from circuit chautauqua performances.

The Katharine La Sheck Papers, housed at the Iowa Women's Archives, contain materials pertaining primarily to La Sheck's early career, including her years with the circuit chautauqua acts the College Girls and the Marigolds. The collection includes many newspaper clippings and photographs, as well as copies of La Sheck's contracts, several programs, and sheet music from the Marigolds.

The State Historical Society of Iowa-Iowa City¹⁰ houses an extensive collection of chautauqua program brochures, organized by city. These include programs from both circuit and independent chautauquas in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The collection also includes interviews with chautauqua performers, photographs of chautauquas, and the diary of chautauqua performer Helen Katz.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Most of the available literature pertaining to the circuit chautauqua movement focuses on either the educational aspect of the movement or on drama in circuit chautauqua. The emphasis on drama is rather unexpected, considering the relative insignificance of drama to the movement (dramatic works were banned during the early years of the movement, and even by the 1930s it was highly unusual for more than two dramatic acts to be incorporated into a week-long chautauqua). Nevertheless, two books, as well as numerous dissertations, theses, and journal articles are dedicated to the dramatic facet of circuit chautauqua. Several works about education in early twentieth-century America discuss the circuit chautauqua movement alongside not only the lyceum movement, but also phenomena such as reading circles and mail order book-of-the-month

¹⁰ The State Historical Society of Iowa has branches in both Iowa City and Des Moines. Nearly all of the chautauqua-related materials are housed at Iowa City.

clubs. During and shortly after the movement's heyday, there were several books and lengthy articles published discussing the history of circuit chautauqua. There have also been several recent studies of the movement from a sociological perspective.

Two recent publications, James Schultz's *The Romance of Small-Town Chautauquas*¹¹ and Charlotte Canning's *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*¹² provide thorough discussions of circuit chautauqua as theater. Canning also discusses the role of theater in defining the morality of chautauqua in her article, "The Platform Versus the Stage: The Circuit Chautauqua's Antitheatrical Theatre."¹³ Although the article deals exclusively with theater and does not address music, it is useful in its thorough description of chautauqua's self-image and the attempts of bureau officials to maintain an image of respectability and morality in the face of, in their view, declining morality in competing forms of entertainment.

*Actors Under Canvas*¹⁴ by Alan Hedges provides extensive information concerning practical aspects of circuit chautauqua operations. Hedges thoroughly discusses many of the more pragmatic aspects of circuit chautauqua, such as scheduling logistics and transportation of both equipment and performers. Donald L. Graham's dissertation, *Circuit Chautauqua, A Middle Western Institution*¹⁵ approaches circuit

¹¹ James R. Schultz, *The Romance of Small-Town Chautauquas* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 2002).

¹² Charlotte Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, ed. Thomas Postlewait, *Studies in Theatre History and Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press 2005).

¹³ Charlotte Canning, "The Platform Versus the Stage: Circuit Chautauqua's Antitheatrical Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 50, no. 3 (1998).

¹⁴ Alan Hedges, "Actors under Canvas: A Study of the Theatre of Circuit Chautauqua 1910-1933" (Ohio State University, 1976).

¹⁵ Donald Graham, "Circuit Chautauqua, a Middle Western Institution" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1953).

chautauqua from both theatrical and sociological perspectives, and provides an extensive list of circuit chautauqua bureaus active in the United States between 1904 and 1933.

There are numerous biographies and autobiographies of circuit chautauqua performers and managers. Like the available literature as a whole, the biographical literature deals primarily with the theatrical aspects of the chautauqua and lyceum circuits, and most of the subjects are actors. Many of these actors, however, also sang or played instruments on the circuits at some point in their careers.

The State Historical Society of Iowa-Iowa City houses a collection of interviews conducted for the Iowa Music Oral History Project. These interviews took place between 1976 and 1978 and were conducted by students and faculty at the University of Iowa. Several of these interviews involved circuit chautauqua performers. Most of the performers interviewed had been members of vocal quartets and had been involved in the lyceum movement and in other traveling performance opportunities as well. The most well known of these performers were John and Richard Weatherwax of the vocal/brass quartet, the Weatherwax Brothers.

By far the longest and most comprehensive extant autobiographical work by a chautauqua musician is *The First Clarinet*, written by Edwin Harder.¹⁶ Harder played clarinet for Bohumir Kryl's band, and his memoir chronicles the band's 1912 tour with Redpath-Chicago through Tennessee, Kentucky, and Indiana. *The First Clarinet* focuses on rather mundane aspects of circuit chautauqua life, such as sleeping arrangements and food, while neglecting basic information such as the identity of the band or the bureau in

¹⁶ Edwin Harder, *The First Clarinet or Chautauqua Chit-Chat* (Chicago: Mayer & Miller, 1913).

charge of the circuit.¹⁷ Despite its flaws, *The First Clarinet* provides excellent insight into the relationship between musicians, bureaus, and unions in the circuit chautauqua movement.

Two short biographical works feature prominent chautauqua musicians, although they do not focus solely on those musicians' chautauqua careers. Frederick Crane's article "A.F. Thaviu Redux"¹⁸ provides a biography of the Russian bandleader, including his long chautauqua career. Thaviu led several bands on the circuits, and was a favorite at fairs and expositions in the early twentieth century. The article is especially interesting as it addresses Thaviu's attempt to strike a balance between assimilating into American musical culture and capitalizing on the appeal of his exotic background.

"The Cornet's Sole Survivor"¹⁹ examines the career of Bohumir Kryl, cornetist with the Sousa Band and later conductor of his own highly successful bands and orchestras. This article is important in that it represents one of the very few attempts to research Kryl's career and life in a scholarly manner. Kryl was, in many ways, "larger than life," and most available biographical information related to him reflects this, relying heavily on anecdotes. In "The Cornet's Sole Survivor," Nolbert Quayle presents documented biographical facts essential to the profile of Kryl presented in Chapter Five.

Several works dealing with the history of circuit chautauqua and lyceum have proven useful to this study. Broadly, these can be grouped into studies conducted during the era of circuit chautauqua or by authors directly involved in the movement, and historical studies written by outside scholars years after the movement had ended. As

¹⁷ This information has been gleaned from contextual clues. For instance, Harder gives numerous biographical details of the band's conductor that could only apply to Kryl, and the locations mentioned in the memoir correspond to the 1912 Redpath-Chicago circuit.

¹⁸ Frederick Crane, "A.F. Thaviu Redux," *Journal of Band Research* 36, no. 1 (2000): 1-25.

¹⁹ Nolbert Quayle, "The Cornet's Sole Survivor," *Music Journal* 19, no. 6 (1961): 44, 97.

will be discussed in Chapter Two, later historical studies often cite external forces as the cause of chautauqua's decline, while studies written prior to 1940 tended to blame decisions made and events occurring within the movement for circuit chautauqua's waning popularity and eventual dissolution.

Hugh Orchard's book, *Fifty Years of Chautauqua: Its Beginnings, Its Development, Its Message and Its Life*²⁰ is perhaps the most thorough and informative history of the chautauqua movement available, despite being written prior to the end of the movement. Orchard was a lecturer for both independent and circuit chautauquas beginning in the late 1890s. *Fifty Years of Chautauqua* begins with a discussion of the Chautauqua Institution, and then moves to the independent and circuit chautauquas. Orchard also includes an interesting "who's who" of the chautauqua movement, providing short biographies of key figures in the major circuit bureaus and influential independent assemblies.

Paramount among the first-hand circuit chautauqua studies are two studies written by former Redpath managers. Harry Harrison's *Culture Under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*²¹ is part autobiography and part history of the circuit chautauqua movement. Harrison was one of Keith Vawter's first platform superintendents, and would later become a leader in both the Redpath Bureau and the circuit chautauqua movement. *Culture Under Canvas* chronicles the circuit chautauqua movement from the perspective of one involved in its inner workings, and offers the most detailed descriptions available of the logistical operations of the movement. Harrison also acted as

²⁰ Hugh A. Orchard, *Fifty Years of Chautauqua: Its Beginnings, Its Development, Its Message and Its Life* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.,: The Torch Press, 1923).

²¹ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958).

manager for vocalist Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936) during her chautauqua tours, and describes her chautauqua career in detail in *Culture Under Canvas*.

Charles Horner, manager of Redpath-Horner and founder of the Horner Institute-Kansas City Conservatory also wrote a history of the circuit chautauqua movement entitled *Strike the Tents: The Story of the Chautauqua*.²² Horner states early in his work that he was “without any thought of compiling an autobiography,”²³ and his work reflects this, serving primarily as a detailed history of the circuit chautauqua movement, rather than a narrative of Horner’s personal involvement in circuit chautauqua. From the perspective of a scholar of chautauqua music this is unfortunate, as Horner’s personal contribution to the movement was great and his involvement in the musical aspect of the movement unique, while *Strike the Tents* offers little historical information not available from older sources. Horner’s work is, however, the only source to discuss the existence of staff composers for chautauqua bureaus, and also briefly mentions the chautauqua careers of composers Thurlow Lieurance (1878-1963) and Howard Hanson (1896-1981).

Henry Pringle’s article “Chautauqua in the Jazz Age”²⁴ chronicles Pringle’s short career as a platform superintendent and discusses the decline of the chautauqua movement during the late 1920s. Pringle was hired to manage a chautauqua in New York City in an attempt to broaden chautauqua’s audience and thus bolster the flagging movement. The New York City event was a failure, and through that experience Pringle developed a cynical attitude regarding the chautauqua movement as a whole. His generalizations about the movement’s decline in the face of the new technologies and

²² Charles Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1954).

²³ Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua*, 11.

²⁴ Henry Pringle, “Chautauqua in the Jazz Age,” *American Mercury* 16 (1929): 85-93.

attitudes of the jazz age are not necessarily untrue, but many of the problems Pringle discussed were greatly amplified by that particular event's urban location.

Victor Ivan Moore's dissertation "The American Circuit Chautauqua, A Social Movement"²⁵ dedicates a chapter to programming decisions made by circuit chautauqua managers. Moore's work is also valuable because of its chronological proximity to the time period of the study. Most of the scholarly works dedicated to circuit chautauqua were written after 1950. "The American Circuit Chautauqua" offers an analysis of programming decisions that does not include the last years of the movement, during which those decisions were often highly influenced by commercial interests. Thus, Moore's work offers unique insight into the ideology-driven programming decisions of the pre-decline circuit chautauqua movement.

The Redpath Collection at the University of Iowa contains a number of periodicals, published between 1902 and 1944, related to circuit chautauqua and lyceum. These include *The Lyceumite*, *Talent*, *Lyceum and Talent*, *Lyceum Magazine*, *Lyceum News*, *Lyceum Magazine and Leadership*, *Platform World*, and *Program*. The early volumes deal primarily with lyceum, but as chautauqua meetings (and eventually circuits) became more popular, chautauqua figured prominently in publications such as *Lyceumite and Talent*. These periodicals are not indexed, and the University of Iowa holds the only significant collection known to exist. Articles relevant to this study include discussions of musical programming, such as an article analyzing the nearly universal unpopularity of solo piano recitals on the circuits, and debates about the responsibility of musical performances to reflect and uphold chautauqua values.

²⁵ Victor Ivan Moore, "The American Circuit Chautauqua, a Social Movement" (MA thesis, University of Texas, 1927).

Later studies of the circuit chautauqua movement tend to approach the movement more as a cultural phenomenon than as an educational institution. This approach is likely driven by hindsight, in which it seems clear that circuit chautauqua's legacy is linked more to its impact on American rural culture than on its merit as an educational outlet.

The work of John Tapia has been especially useful to this study. His dissertation, entitled "Circuit Chautauqua's Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932,"²⁶ analyzes circuit chautauqua program brochures from a dramatic standpoint in terms of characters, scenes, plots, and themes. In this work, he also divides the brochures into five chronological "rhetorical visions." These include the "pastoral fantasy vision," the "redemption fantasy vision," the "righteous patriotic fantasy vision," the "conspiratorial fantasy vision," and the "modern American fantasy vision." Tapia traces the evolution of the circuit chautauqua bureaus' relationship to the public through these changes in program brochures. Tapia's classification system and assertions about program brochure rhetoric are especially useful to Chapters Six and Seven of this study. Tapia's book, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America*,²⁷ provides the most thorough study of the circuit chautauqua movement available in print. Although music is not the primary focus of the book, Tapia does discuss several circuit chautauqua musical acts in the course of studies of other aspects of the movement.

²⁶ John Tapia, "Circuit Chautauqua's Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978).

²⁷ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997).

Several other later works have been useful to this dissertation. Gould provides an excellent overview of both the Chautauqua Institution in New York and the major circuits in *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*.²⁸ Donald M. Scott discusses early lyceum events in his lengthy article, “The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth Century America.”²⁹ Sandra Manderson’s dissertation, “*The Redpath Lyceum Bureau: An American Critic*”³⁰ addresses programming, advertising, personnel management and audience relations of the Redpath Bureau between 1912 and 1930, and is especially relevant to this study. Marjorie Eubank discusses the Redpath Bureau’s history as a booking agency for speakers in her dissertation, “*The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901*.”³¹ Eubank’s work is interesting as it traces the Redpath Bureau’s evolution from managing public speakers to booking various forms of entertainment and education, a path that would eventually lead to its becoming the largest circuit chautauqua bureau in operation.

The only known published work dedicated solely to music on the chautauqua and lyceum circuits is Frederick Crane’s article, “The Music of Chautauqua and Lyceum.”³² The article, which provides a brief overview of both the chautauqua and lyceum movements and focuses on the contributions of African-American musicians, relies

²⁸ Joseph Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1961).

²⁹ Donald Scott, “The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth -Century America,” *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 4 (1980): 791-809.

³⁰ Sandra Manderson, “The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930 “ (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981).

³¹ Eubank, “The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901”.

³² Frederick Crane, “The Music of Chautauqua and Lyceum,” *Black Music Research Journal* 10, no. 1 (1990): 103-06.

largely on the Redpath Collection at the University of Iowa, a source central to this dissertation.

The University of Iowa's Redpath Collection contains an undated (and presumably never published) fifty-page paper by Dr. Harrison Thornton, professor of history at the university from 1929 to 1952, entitled, "Music and Drama in Circuit Chautauqua."³³ Dr. Thornton was responsible for bringing the bulk of the Redpath Collection to the university, and researched many aspects of circuit chautauqua. Though the paper primarily focuses on drama, Dr. Thornton discussed at length the presence of well-known classical performers on the circuits, and compares this phenomenon to the dearth of "serious" actors on the chautauqua stage. While much of this research is thorough and useful, Dr. Thornton was, by his own admission, not a musician. Thus, several assertions made in the paper are misguided or not adequately informed. For instance, he indicated that he considered Strauss's *Salome* to be an oratorio.

More research has been conducted on music at the Chautauqua Institution in New York. Willard Troth's dissertation is concerned with musical aspects of the teacher training program at Chautauqua.³⁴ Although it does not address music directly, George Ehrlich's article, "Chautauqua 1880-1900: Education in Art History and Appreciation"³⁵ provides useful insight into the place of the arts in the philosophy of the "mother" Chautauqua. It is important to note, however, that there are significant differences between the circuits and the "mother" institution. Among these are the for-profit nature

³³ The library attributes the paper to Dr. Thornton, whose name is on the paper. However, there is evidence to indicate William Beck as co-author.

³⁴ Willard Troth, "The Teacher Training Program in Music at Chautauqua Institution, 1905-1930" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1958).

³⁵ George Ehrlich, "Chautauqua 1880-1900: Education in Art History and Appreciation," *The Art Bulletin* 38, no. 3 (1956).

of the circuit chautauquas, major differences in audience demographics, and entirely separate management structures. Thus, it is important not to draw conclusions about music on the circuits based on the situation at Chautauqua, New York.

There were, of course, other forms of traveling entertainment active in the United States during the time of the circuit chautauquas. Three papers presented at the 1977 Conference on the History of American Popular Entertainment dealt with traveling actors during this time period. Clifford Ashby chronicled a one-man show (“Trouping through Texas”), while Caroline Schaffner discussed a family troupe (“Trouping with the Schaffners”) and William Slout addressed the larger phenomenon of traveling drama in “Tent Rep: Broadway’s Poor Relation.”³⁶

Most helpful to this study has been Frank Wertheim’s recent book, *Vaudeville Wars: How the Keith-Albee and Orpheum Circuits Controlled the Big-Time and Its Performers*.³⁷ Wertheim discusses in great depth the managerial machinations of the vaudeville circuits at a time when vaudeville was in direct competition with chautauqua and lyceum in many areas. Much of Wertheim’s information came from the Keith-Albee Collection at the University of Iowa, a source ancillary to this dissertation. Wertheim has also made available on his website³⁸ the original endnotes as well as a listing of primary sources and complete bibliography, which were cut from the book due to concerns about length.

Several authors discuss the societal implications of vaudeville’s popularity, and are useful for comparison to chautauqua. These include Mintz’s “Humor and Ethnic

³⁶ *The Conference on the History of American Popular Entertainment*, New York, NY, 1977.

³⁷ Arthur Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

³⁸ www.vaudevillewars.com

Stereotypes in Vaudeville and Burlesque,”³⁹ Singer’s “Vaudeville in Los Angeles, 1910-1926,”⁴⁰ and Oberdeck’s *Labor’s Vicar and the Variety Show*.⁴¹ These works chronicle phenomena that were in many ways similar to the major chautauqua and lyceum circuits, and would be implicated by some in the downfall of the circuit chautauqua.

It must be remembered that the circuit chautauqua differed from vaudeville and other traveling entertainments in its emphasis on education. As such, it is important to understand the role, either perceived or real, of education in the chautauqua performance, and the place of music on the entertainment-education continuum underlying circuit chautauqua’s philosophy. To evaluate this, it is necessary to address the educational philosophy of the circuits. John Scott provides an excellent overview of the philosophy of the Chautauqua Institution in, “The Chautauqua Movement: Revolution in Popular Higher Education.”⁴² Andrew Rieser discusses the Chautauqua Institution at length, but also addresses the philosophy of the circuits, in his book, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism*.⁴³ Two books, John Noffsinger’s *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*⁴⁴ and Malcolm Knowles’ *The Adult Education Movement in the United States*,⁴⁵ discuss circuit chautauqua and lyceum as they pertain to the growing emphasis on adult education in the early twentieth century.

³⁹ Lawrence Mintz, “Humor and Ethnic Stereotypes in Vaudeville and Burlesque,” *Melus* 21, no. 4 (1996).

⁴⁰ Stan Singer, “Vaudeville in Los Angeles, 1910-1926: Theaters, Management and the Orpheum,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 61, no. 1 (1992).

⁴¹ Kathryn Oberdeck, “Labor’s Vicar and the Variety Show: Popular Religion, Popular Theatre, and Class Conflict in Turn-of-the-Century America” (Yale, 1991).

⁴² John Scott, “The Chautauqua Movement: Revolution in Popular Higher Education,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 70, no. 4 (1999).

⁴³ Andrew Rieser, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

⁴⁴ Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*.

⁴⁵ Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the United States* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

Circuit chautauqua and lyceum began as primarily educational endeavors. Over the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, competition from new technologies and from vaudeville, as well as changing popular tastes, caused a change in programming that would often emphasize entertainment over education. Several authors chronicle this shift in emphasis not only on the circuits, but in other aspects of American popular culture. LeRoy Ashby's substantial volume, *With Amusement for All: A History of American Popular Culture since 1830*,⁴⁶ provides a thorough overview of early twentieth-century American entertainment. Joan Rubin discusses the role of the arts in bridging—and sometimes dividing—the classes in her book, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*.⁴⁷ She discusses the “sacralization of culture” and the shift in American perception of opera from accessible entertainment to “high art.”⁴⁸ Rubin also discusses early radio programming, and its gradual shift from educational lectures to music and dramas intended for entertainment. Matthew Mooney presents an overview of what he calls the “culture industry” of early twentieth-century America in his article “An Invasion of Vulgarly: American Popular Music and Modernity in Print Media Discourse, 1900-1925”⁴⁹ and in his recently completed dissertation, “‘All Join in the Chorus’ Sheet Music, Vaudeville and the Formation of the American Cinema, 1904-14.”⁵⁰

The idea that circuit chautauqua gradually came to value entertainment over education is not universally accepted, however. In his book, *Cast of One: One-Person Shows from the Chautauqua Platform to the Vaudeville Stage*, John Gentile argues that

⁴⁶ Ashby, *With Amusement for All: A History of American Popular Culture since 1830*.

⁴⁷ See also Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*

⁴⁸ Joan Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁴⁹ Matthew Mooney, “An ‘Invasion of Vulgarly’: American Popular Music and Modernity in Print Media Discourse, 1900-1925,” *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture* 3, no. 1 (2004): 1-19.

⁵⁰ ———, “‘All Join in the Chorus’ Sheet Music, Vaudeville and the Formation of the American Cinema 1904-1914” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2006).

the independent local assemblies and other precursors to the circuits had become focused on entertainment prior to the turn of the century, just as vaudeville was making an effort to become more “refined.” Gentile posits that by the time of the circuit chautauquas, there was no difference in educational or moral value between chautauqua and vaudeville.⁵¹ Although Gentile’s description of general trends is accurate, and it may be true that circuit chautauqua of the early 1930s resembled turn-of-the-century vaudeville, the documentary evidence does not support his assertion that early circuit chautauqua was as entertainment-driven as vaudeville from the turn of the century.

James Eckman devoted one chapter of his dissertation, “Regeneration Through Culture: Chautauqua in Nebraska 1882-1925,”⁵² to circuit chautauqua. In this chapter, he asserts that the circuits were never intended to be educational in the way that the Chautauqua Institution was. The circuit lectures and performances were not meant to be comprehensive, but to kindle in the audience a desire to pursue similar cultural and intellectual endeavors on their own. Eckman also discusses what he calls “culture as entertainment,” the idea that exposure to “high culture” was regarded much like exposure to foreign cultures.

In his article, “‘Dancing Mothers’: The Chautauqua Movement in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture,”⁵³ Russell Johnson addresses several issues central to this study. Johnson received his Ph.D. from the University of Iowa, and much of the research for this article involved the Redpath Collection. Although he does not deal specifically with music, Johnson makes important observations about the role of

⁵¹ John Gentile, *Cast of One: One-Person Shows from the Chautauqua Platform to the Broadway Stage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). 47-51

⁵² Eckman, “Regeneration through Culture: Chautauqua in Nebraska 1882-1925”.

⁵³ Russell Johnson, “‘Dancing Mothers’: The Chautauqua Movement in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture,” *American Studies International* 39, no. 2 (2001): 53-70.

entertainment in chautauqua, and the role of chautauqua in early twentieth-century American entertainment. He discusses the prevalence of acts intended strictly for entertainment (those not involving lectures) after 1920, and the overall increase of entertainment as a percentage of total programming as chautauqua struggled to compete with movies and radio. Unfortunately, the presence of a lecture element seems to be Johnson's sole criterion for distinguishing between educational and non-educational acts. Given the questionable educational value of some of the lectures (many involved ethnic imitations and were more accurately categorized as comedy routines) Johnson should have been more selective in labeling acts as "educational." Furthermore, Johnson grouped all musical acts as entertainment, regardless of musical content. There is no evidence to support the idea that chautauqua managers viewed all music in this way. Despite these flaws, Johnson's conclusions are likely valid. It seems that chautauqua programming did become increasingly entertainment-oriented as the movement faced increasing competition from movies and radio.

David Mead offered an unusual perspective on the relationship between chautauqua and musical culture in his article, "1914: The Chautauqua and American Innocence."⁵⁴ Mead's primary thesis is that chautauqua's message remained static during an era of considerable social turbulence, and that this message, which was considered progressive at the turn of the century, would be dismissed as antiquated by 1929. Similarly, Mead asserts that while circuit chautauqua was an efficient way to spread musical culture, it also served to "level" it by incorporating acts such as yodelers and bell-ringers into ostensibly educational programs.

⁵⁴ David Mead, "1914: The Chautauqua and American Innocence," *Journal of Popular Culture* 1 (1968): 339-56.

The studies dealing most directly with the issues central to this dissertation have been conducted by non-musicians, and address music only peripherally. There have been studies on the role of music in shaping American culture of the era, and studies of the place of circuit chautauqua and lyceum in American cultural education. This dissertation will address the role of music in defining circuit chautauqua as both an educational and entertainment phenomenon.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Theodore Roosevelt called the chautauqua movement “the most American thing in America.”⁵⁵ Music was an integral part of the lyceum and chautauqua circuits. Many of the prominent figures on these circuits were musicians in some capacity, and large musical ensembles, including opera companies, bands, choirs and orchestras, traveled the circuits. Despite the centrality of music to the circuits, and the significance of the circuits to American culture in the early twentieth century, there has been little scholarly study of music on the chautauqua circuits.

This may be due in part to the lack of a definable genre of “chautauqua music.” Chautauqua audiences heard art music as well as popular songs, and the platform was well-suited for instructional songs, both sacred and political. The music of circuit chautauqua, while varied, was rarely original. The majority of the repertory was not composed for the platform, but rather adapted for it.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*. See also Harrison Thornton, “The Roosevelts at Chautauqua,” *New York History* 28, no. 1 (1947): 33.

While the music of circuit chautauqua is not unique, the performance context is. Music helped to define chautauqua and to differentiate circuit chautauqua events from other available entertainments. Chautauqua meetings had a reputation, whether deserved or not, as a more wholesome, edifying alternative to vaudeville and tent shows, and later motion pictures. Promoters capitalized on rural American perceptions of “high culture” and incorporated European art music into programs that often included birdsong imitators and off-season vaudeville performers.

Promoters were well aware of chautauqua’s favored standing among summer amusements, as an examination of promotional materials of the time will reveal. The chautauqua experience was presented as morally uplifting, educational, and wholly superior both to the enticing entertainments of the city, which rural elders feared would lure their young people away, and to the rival summer activities such as tent vaudeville and repertory theater. These latter amusements were often operationally similar to the circuit chautauquas, but were generally less concerned (and sometimes entirely unconcerned) with promoting themselves as being educationally or morally beneficial to the communities.

That this differentiation between circuit chautauqua and similar movements was real and significant is taken for granted by most modern scholars, and the writer does not necessarily disagree. However, there is considerable evidence that critics of the era, including many affiliated with the Chautauqua Institution, were skeptical of the educational and moral value of the circuits. Furthermore, at least one modern author has postulated that the differences between circuit chautauqua and circuit vaudeville were largely imagined. The focus of this study will be the programming of circuit chautauqua

music, the selection and training of musicians, and the place of music within the business philosophies of the major bureaus, and to determine the role of music in circuit chautauqua's self-identification as an educational and cultural outlet.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The scope of this study spans the years between 1904 and 1932. 1904 represents the first large-scale attempt to organize a circuit of chautauqua events and performers. 1932 was the year of the last chautauqua circuit in the United States (a small circuit persisted in Canada until 1934).

In order to construct a meaningful narrative of music in circuit chautauqua, it was necessary to choose a sampling method that excludes as many as possible of the variables that could have led to misrepresentation of music on the circuits. For instance, the study did not focus on one specific location and compare repertoire performed at that local chautauqua from year to year, because local taste or community restrictions may have affected programming for that location in ways that are not readily apparent to the outside observer. Conversely, it would have been just as problematic to attempt to study all circuit chautauqua companies active during a particular timeframe or in a certain area. Many of the smaller bureaus left incomplete records, and any reconstruction based on available documents would be highly speculative. The study focuses on the largest and most organized of the chautauqua and lyceum bureaus, the Redpath Bureau, because of the scope and relative completeness of its records. Also, the study relies on official, bureau-generated documents as much as possible when discussing programming, as locally generated advertisements rarely list specific repertoire.

No geographical limitations, other than those defined by the territories of the chautauqua bureaus, restrict this study. It does not focus on one specific territory (although bureaus did subdivide their operations geographically), or in a specific state or municipality. There are many publications focusing on chautauqua in specific communities, and a study that is both geographically limited and concerned only with music would be exceedingly narrow. Regional tastes are discussed, however, when they were found to affect programming significantly.

This study uses historical methodology; its goal is to present an objective, informative, coherent narrative of music in circuit chautauqua. The study does not attempt to draw correlations to modern movements, or to address the legacy of chautauqua music. Most of the information needed for this study was gleaned from documents. The largest collection by far of materials related to circuit chautauqua and lyceum are housed at the University of Iowa. The bulk of this collection relates to the Redpath Lyceum Bureau (also known as the Redpath Chautauqua Bureau). The university also houses several smaller collections of chautauqua-related materials, donated by former performers, managers, and chautauqua enthusiasts. Of central importance to this study is the collection of sheet music donated to the university by the Redpath Bureau, which consists of 156 folders of music. Some folders contain a single piece of music, while others contain hymnals, complete concerts, religious services, and other large collections of sheet music. Furthermore, the Redpath Collection contains extensive correspondence between the bureau and its performers, periodicals dealing with lyceum and chautauqua, and various business records.

The project did not involve conducting further interviews, as over seventy years have elapsed since the demise of circuit chautauqua. There are several interviews, biographies, and autobiographies of circuit personalities available at this time. While the study occasionally refers to these sources, interviews were not central to the research.

Since very little of the music performed on the chautauqua circuits was composed specifically for the venue, and much of the repertory consisted of standard pieces of art and popular music, the dissertation involves little theoretical analysis of the bulk of the circuit chautauqua repertory. There are, however, several musical works in the Redpath Collection that appear to be unique to circuit chautauqua, and warrant musical analysis. The dissertation also includes brief discussions of thematic and textual aspects of several representative works from the circuit chautauqua repertory.

As circuit chautauquas and lyceum meetings grew in popularity and in number, formal institutions for performer training emerged. These include schools formed by actors focusing on the dramatic aspects of chautauqua, schools for oratory, and institutions incorporating (or devoted to) training of musicians. This project discusses several of the most prominent of these institutions, addressing their role in the broader circuit chautauqua movement.

Circuit chautauqua's validity as an educational and cultural outlet was the topic of considerable discussion in the early twentieth century. Specifically, critics affiliated with the Chautauqua Institution were often highly skeptical of circuit chautauqua's ability to uphold the educational standards set forth by the Institution. Many observers saw little or no difference between circuit chautauqua and various other traveling entertainments. One such critic offered the faint praise that circuit chautauqua was "more intellectual than

a circus.”⁵⁶ Conversely, those within circuit chautauqua were fierce in their defense of its educational validity and morality. This dissertation uses editorials from educational and cultural journals, as well as from publications of the Chautauqua Institution and from the circuit chautauqua community, to address the role of music in defining circuit chautauqua’s identity as an educational and cultural outlet.

HYPOTHESES

Musical programming for circuit chautauqua was a conscious decision made at some level (performer, manager, bureau administration) to reflect an established set of chautauqua ideals, and to uphold or advance circuit chautauqua’s reputation as a legitimate cultural and educational outlet. This programming did in fact affect the public perception of circuit chautauqua. Furthermore, circuit chautauqua’s public image legitimized circuit performance, especially with a major bureau, as a reputable way for established art music performers to tour in the summer months, and for young classical musicians to advance their careers.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. It begins with an overview of the project. This first chapter includes a review of the existing literature and discussion of prior research on the topic, and defines the place of the study within the framework of existing research. Chapter One also defines the scope of the dissertation and outlines the methodology of the research.

⁵⁶ W. Frank McClure, “Circuit or System Chautauquas,” *The Chautauquan: A Weekly Newsmagazine* 72, no. 23 (1914): 2.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the circuit chautauqua movement. It briefly addresses the most important precursor to the movement, the nineteenth-century lyceum. The timeframe of lyceum activity covered in this chapter begins in 1850 and continues through 1932, becoming closely linked with circuit chautauqua at the turn of the century. Chapter Two discusses this interaction, and introduces the reader to the terminology, prominent figures, and management entities common to the chautauqua and lyceum circuits during the era covered by the dissertation.

Although there has been significant research into chautauqua in theater circles, the phenomenon has largely been forgotten outside of the realm of theater. As such, it is necessary to provide an appropriate context for a discussion of music in chautauqua. In addition, this chapter will discuss the history of the Redpath Bureau, an agency central to this study. Finally, Chapter Two will serve to clarify some potentially confusing terminology related to the chautauqua movement.

Chapter Two is intended primarily to acquaint the reader with an unfamiliar topic. As such, it involves relatively little original research. The bulk of the original research included in Chapter Two is devoted to the Redpath Bureau. The study requires detailed descriptions of several factors involved in the daily operation of this bureau.

Chapter Three focuses on the musical repertory of circuit chautauqua. It addresses the proportion of popular, art, and novelty musical offerings available through the Redpath Bureau between 1904 and 1932. Since most of the music performed on the circuits was not composed specifically for chautauqua, there will be extensive discussion of the effect of performance context on this music. For instance, a section of Chapter Three discusses alterations necessary to perform music with smaller, more portable forces

than the composer originally intended. This chapter also addresses trends within chautauqua relating to popular composers, publishers, and genres as they relate to parallel trends in vaudeville and in American society as a whole.

Chapter Four addresses music in the context of the larger chautauqua program. It discusses the role of musical acts in a typical five or seven-day program. Chapter Four also examines programming choices within a single performance, and the role of the bureau and circuit managers in programming decisions. Furthermore, the chapter includes a section devoted to music as part of lectures, plays, and other acts not generally considered to be musical. Lectures about Native Americans involving brief songs and dances would be an example of this, as would plays with incidental music. Finally, Chapter Four discusses the role of religious music in circuit chautauqua. The nature of a seven-day circuit dictates that chautauqua events would occur on Sundays, and religious services were often included in programs on this day. Sunday programs were also likely to include lectures by Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish speakers. This section includes discussion of liturgical music intended for chautauqua use, as well as the non-liturgical sacred music popular among chautauqua audiences. The importance of religious music to circuit chautauqua can be traced to the early days of the Chautauqua Institution, and reinforces chautauqua's place among early twentieth-century entertainment and educational venues.

Chapter Five is a discussion of the musicians involved in the circuit chautauqua movement. It addresses the procedure for becoming a chautauqua musician, including recruitment and formal instruction, where applicable. This section includes discussion of several career paths within the realm of chautauqua music, including art music, popular

music, and novelty acts, as well as a study of the recruitment and formation of the various “ethnic” musical companies prevalent on the circuits. The chapter addresses the perception of chautauqua musicians by the larger musical community, as well as the impact of chautauqua affiliation on the performer’s career. To this end, Chapter Five profiles musicians who opted to perform on chautauqua circuits at various phases in their careers, and discusses the effects, intended and actual, of that decision.

Chapter Six explores the role of music in defining circuit chautauqua as an educational and cultural institution. It briefly discusses the interactions between entertainment and education, various attempts to combine the two, and the frequent use of one to justify or legitimize the other. The chapter discusses the role of music in cultivating and solidifying the chautauqua’s relationship with the community, in terms of financial and community support.

Chapter Seven focuses on the role of music in defining circuit chautauqua as an American entity. It analyzes advertising methods used to cultivate an “American” image for the movement, and discusses the use of “authentically American” art forms, specifically Native American music and African-American singing groups, to strengthen that image. The chapter also discusses chautauqua’s involvement in the anti-German sentiment common in the United States in the years surrounding World War I, and the role music played in this phenomenon. Finally, Chapter Eight is the conclusion of the dissertation, and discusses possible directions for further study.

Long-Range Consequences of the Study

Eubank remarked that any mention of music in the lyceum movement was likely to be met with, “Oh yes, the hand-bell ringers.”⁵⁷ While such novelty acts were certainly a part of the lyceum and circuit chautauqua movements, their presence has overshadowed a significant body of both art and popular music crucial to the movements. This study brings that neglected music to the fore, and will hopefully change public and scholarly perception of music as a whole in circuit chautauqua. The study also emphasizes the role of music in a phenomenon that was once a pervasive and dominant force in large segments of American society. The study of the role of music—and art in general—in “legitimizing” chautauqua will add to, and hopefully prompt further study of, the role of the fine arts in perception of popular culture.

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⁵⁷ Eubank, “The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901”, 211.

CHAPTER TWO

CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA: AN OVERVIEW

In 1826, Josiah Holbrook published a letter in the *American Journal of Education* presenting guidelines for organizations he deemed “societies for mutual education.” Holbrook outlined the aims of such a society, inspired by the mechanics’ institutes forming in England, and suggested an organizational hierarchy stretching from local boards to a unified national organization.⁵⁸ This organization met for the first time in May 1831 in New York City, and was called the National American Lyceum. It involved delegates from roughly one thousand local lyceum societies, and addressed issues such as government involvement in education, women’s education, and the validity of manual labor colleges.⁵⁹

The National American Lyceum was never as successful as the local lyceum movement. The one thousand local lyceum delegates present at the inaugural meeting represented a fraction of lyceum committees in existence.⁶⁰ There were eight annual meetings of the National American Lyceum; the organization ceased to exist in 1840.

⁵⁸ Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 8-14. An expanded version of this document was printed as a pamphlet in 1829 under the title *American Lyceum, or Society for the Improvement of Schools and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. See Bibliography.

⁵⁹ John Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, Studies in Adult Education (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 102.

⁶⁰ Noffsinger cites 3,000 local lyceum bureaus operating in the eastern U.S. alone in 1834 (102).

The annual meetings were perpetually poorly attended, in part due to an inability of the national organization to address issues relevant to the local committees.⁶¹

The failure of the National American Lyceum should not be taken as an indication of the health of the movement as a whole. In fact, the lyceum continued to be a driving force behind adult education in the United States until the Civil War. Local lyceums often began by using local lecturers, who generally offered their services at no charge. As a local lyceum became more financially secure, the committee would often seek outstanding lecturers from neighboring areas, and would offer small compensation—often travel expenses or less—to these individuals. By the 1850s it was not uncommon for the more successful lyceums (nearly all of these were in urban areas) to pay a fee above and beyond expenses for a particularly desirable lecturer.⁶²

The use of the term *lecturer* rather than *performer* or *act* is intentional; antebellum lyceums rarely involved anything other than lectures and scientific demonstrations. Holbrook had believed the purpose of the lyceum was to “diffuse rational and useful information throughout the community,” and “to apply the sciences⁶³ and the various branches of education to the domestic and useful arts.”⁶⁴ While he made allowances for non-lecture formats when a lecture was not practical, it is clear from early documents that Holbrook did not, in the early years of the movement, consider the performing arts to be appropriate for the lyceum stage.

⁶¹ Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the United States* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 17.

⁶² Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 190-91.

⁶³ In his writings, Holbrook most often refers to chemistry, biology, and geology as “sciences,” though he does not specifically exclude other fields as “scientific” lecture subjects.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Bode, *The American Lyceum*, 12.

Before the Civil War, a typical local lyceum committee would schedule a series of lectures throughout the winter and spring. Patrons could purchase tickets to the entire course, as the series was generally known, or to a single event for a substantially higher rate. Until 1850, the standard ticket price was twenty-five cents for a single event, while a lyceum membership granting admission to every event cost, on average, \$1.50.⁶⁵ During the early years of the American lyceum, when lecturer compensation was minimal, these ticket sales adequately covered the operating costs of the local lyceum. Because local lyceums did not intend to make a profit, and were relatively content to employ local lecturers for little or no compensation, the economic situation of the American lyceum movement would remain relatively unchanged until the 1850s.

As noted, the early lyceum committees were not interested in profit, and saw theirs as a purely educational movement. By the middle of the nineteenth century, lyceum committees found themselves in competition for popular lecturers, who used a greatly expanded railroad system to broaden their areas of engagement. Having multiple possible venues in which to present their material, lecturers by the 1850s would regularly demand compensation beyond expenses. This increase in operating costs necessitated higher ticket sales, and the need to sell more (or more expensive) tickets drove lyceum committees to attach an unprecedented importance to the popular appeal of prospective lyceum events. This shift in economic and programming strategies would drastically alter the American lyceum movement through the end of the nineteenth century.

Lyceum activity declined sharply around 1857 due to an economic depression. With the onset of the Civil War lyceum lectures became politically polarized. Combined

⁶⁵ Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 188.

with the drastic diversion of resources, manpower, and audience interest caused by the war, the transformation of the lyceum stage from an educational outlet to a political stump would threaten the continued existence of the lyceum movement by the war's end.⁶⁶

In the years immediately following the war, the American lyceum underwent drastic changes in programming and philosophy. Local lyceum committees began forming regional associations, and by doing so were able to attract more popular lecturers through guarantees of multiple bookings in each region. Entrepreneurs took notice of these associations, and by the end of the 1860s commercial lyceum bureaus had formed to intercede between lyceum talent and local committees. Several scholars⁶⁷ point to this development as the death knell of the true American lyceum, arguing that the for-profit nature of the postwar commercial bureaus meant an emphasis on popularity and entertainment over educational value, and an abandonment of Holbrook's original concept of the lyceum as, "meetings for reading, conversation, discussion, [or] illustrating the sciences."⁶⁸

The desire of the commercial bureaus to increase audience size in search of greater profits may have been a departure from earlier lyceum philosophy, but the postwar American lyceum could offer a broader array of experiences to its audience than could its predecessor. Dramatic reading, introduced to the lyceum in the 1850s, became a popular feature of the lyceum season after the war. The late 1860s also saw the gradual introduction of drama to the lyceum stage, though generally presented as one-man shows

⁶⁶ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 13.

⁶⁷ See Noffsinger and Knowles.

⁶⁸ Josiah Holbrook, *American Lyceum, or Society for the Improvement of Schools and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1829), 3.

without staging or costumes. Perhaps the most dramatic departure from Holbrook's concept of the lyceum was the establishment of the musical act as a staple of the lyceum beginning in the late 1860s.⁶⁹

The first commercial lyceum bureau was founded by James Redpath, a journalist and activist, in the fall of 1868. Known as the Boston Lyceum Bureau, and later as the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, it was the first commercial organization to act primarily on behalf of lyceum talent, whereas the existing regional lyceum association had represented the interests of local lyceum committees.⁷⁰ Redpath soon realized that the demand for lyceum programs in the Midwest was so great that management from Boston was not feasible, and in 1871 he opened a regional office in Chicago. Although his name would become synonymous with the lyceum business, James Redpath's career as a lyceum booking agent was brief. In 1875, Redpath resumed his journalism career, becoming managing editor of the *North American Review*, and sold the Redpath Lyceum Bureau to George Hathaway and Major J.B. Pond.⁷¹

Hathaway had been an administrator in the bureau for several years at the time of the purchase; he had initially been hired as an administrative assistant, was for a time in charge of the Chicago office, and at the time of Redpath's retirement had complete control of the bureau's business correspondence. Pond, however, was only tenuously associated with the bureau prior to 1875. He was an independent booking agent focused on celebrities whose fame was likely to be brilliant but short-lived. For instance, at the time of his initial interaction with Redpath, Pond was managing the lecture tour of Eliza

⁶⁹ Marjorie Eubank, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1968), 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁷¹ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 14-15.

Young. Young was recently divorced from Brigham Young; her fame stemmed from the sensation caused by the divorce and her subsequent campaigns against polygamy and Mormonism.⁷² Pond focused on markets that could bring large audiences for his performers, and he handled most of the publicity personally. His portfolio of talent was hardly diversified, and relied on the popularity of a few celebrity clients. Pond's business model was far riskier than the Redpath model followed by Hathaway, which incorporated both celebrities and unknown talent, and supplied lyceum acts to established urban markets as well as struggling rural communities.

Although their partnership would dissolve after five years, the business strategies of Hathaway and Pond would shape the course of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, and set a precedent for the circuit chautauqua movement of the next century. In the late 1870s, the Redpath Bureau began offering "star courses," prescribed lyceum courses built around popular and expensive lecturers such as Mark Twain and Henry Ward Beecher.⁷³ The introduction of star courses created within the Redpath Bureau a two-tiered system of lyceums. Smaller, less affluent communities could book any number of solid, but not famous, lyceum attractions through the Redpath Bureau, while urban and wealthy areas often opted for a fixed slate of well-known lecturers and performers through a star course. Circuit chautauquas, also booked through the Redpath Bureau, would eventually take the place of these star courses, leaving the lyceums to provide attractions to smaller and less affluent communities.

⁷² Marjorie Eubank, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1868-1901" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1968), 107-09.

⁷³ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 15.

By the late nineteenth century, a typical small town would strive to book a lyceum season, or “course,” consisting of five events. Of these, only one would be a lecture, one would be a variety evening, one would be a dramatic performance, and two would be musical acts.⁷⁴ By the turn of the century, critics would charge that the lyceum bureaus had emphasized entertainment to the point that they were not fit to be called “lyceums,” and were no different than vaudeville, medicine shows, and any number of other traveling entertainments available to the American public.⁷⁵ This claim seems to be an exaggeration, however, as there is evidence of educational material even in the musical segments of a Redpath lyceum. For instance, Henriette Weber gave lecture recitals and “opera talks” on a wide variety of musical subjects. A flyer from 1917 lists six lectures on modern music, six on Richard Wagner, three miscellaneous lectures “with stereoptican views,” and lecture-recitals on subjects ranging from nationalism and folk music to the place of music in religious worship.⁷⁶ Weber could be booked for a single lecture, or for a course of several related lectures. Such an attraction would certainly have been out of place in vaudeville or at a circus, and would perhaps be too academic even for circuit chautauqua.

While the Redpath Bureau was laying the foundation for the postwar lyceum movement, another important antecedent of the circuit chautauqua was taking shape at Chautauqua Lake in New York. The first “Chautauqua Assembly” was held between August 4 and August 18, 1874, and was essentially a training seminar for Sunday school teachers. The Chautauqua Assembly was established by John Heyl Vincent, a minister

⁷⁴ John Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, Studies in Adult Education (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 113.

⁷⁵ See Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, 141.

⁷⁶ “Opera Talks and Lecture-Recitals by Henriette Weber,” Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

and later bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Lewis Miller, a wealthy Methodist layman. Both men shared interest in Sunday school; Vincent had created the curriculum for the Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, and Miller had been a Sunday School Superintendent. Miller was also an official in the group that held evangelical camp meetings on Chautauqua Lake in the 1860s.⁷⁷

The first Chautauqua Assembly lasted two weeks and consisted of lectures, sermons, and church services, as well as pedagogical exercises for Sunday School teachers.⁷⁸ There is no record of the precise musical works performed at that first meeting, but records indicate it most likely consisted of group singing of hymns. The 1875 Chautauqua Assembly included two full concerts and five praise services with music.⁷⁹ Later, the Chautauqua Assembly became known as the Chautauqua Institution, and expanded to offer a variety of educational, cultural, and religious activities throughout the summer.

As early as 1876, communities began to host summer events modeled on the activities at Chautauqua Lake.⁸⁰ In the eastern United States these events, generally called “chautauquas,” were usually sponsored by specific religious denominations, primarily Methodists and Baptists. In western communities, however, sponsorship tended to be more ecumenical and community-based.⁸¹ These local chautauquas focused

⁷⁷ Jeanette Wells, “A History of the Music Festival at Chautauqua Institution from 1874 to 1957” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1958), 8.

⁷⁸ Joseph Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1961).

⁷⁹ Jeanette Wells, “A History of the Music Festival at Chautauqua Institution from 1874 to 1957” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1958), 10-12.

⁸⁰ John Scott, “The Chautauqua Movement: Revolution in Popular Higher Education,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 70, no. 4 (1999): 394.

⁸¹ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 22.

on literature, elocution, and Bible study. Like the Chautauqua Institution, community chautauquas presented programs intended to instruct individuals so that they might in turn instruct others. The influence on (informal) teacher training set the community, or *independent*, assemblies apart from the local lyceums, and from the circuit chautauqua of the twentieth century. Like the Chautauqua Institution, independent chautauquas were normally held on chautauqua grounds, in permanent structures erected by the community. The independent chautauquas also emulated the Chautauqua Institution in scheduling, preferring summer for the vast majority of meetings, and concentrating instruction into an event of several consecutive days, rather than the sporadic lectures of a lyceum course lasting several weeks.

Although they emulated the Chautauqua Institution in many respects, none of the independent assemblies could claim an official relationship with the “Mother Chautauqua.” John Vincent wrote of the independents, “Many of them are closely modeled after the parent assembly; others have simply taken the name and adopted a part of the plan, usually the so called [*sic*] ‘popular feature’ which are chiefly important as a source of revenue. For any shortcomings of these independent assemblies Chautauqua should not be held responsible.”⁸² Years later, leaders of the commercial chautauqua bureaus would express similar concerns about the independent assemblies, fearing that the perceived amateurism of the independent chautauquas would ruin the movement’s reputation.⁸³ The independent chautauquas leveled similar charges at the commercial bureaus, arguing that they had cheapened the movement by commercializing it.

⁸² John Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Boston: Chatauqua Press, 1886), 267. Quoted in Jeanette Wells, “A History of the Music Festival at Chautauqua Institution from 1874 to 1957” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1958).

⁸³ Sandra Manderson, “The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic:

Independent chautauqua committees faced many of the same challenges encountered by the local lyceums decades before. In order to secure popular attractions, they needed to form regional associations and guarantee multiple bookings to star performers. While they did allow communities access to more popular attractions, these associations also restricted the ability of individual committees to set their own programs.

Many independent chautauqua committees, rather than join associations, turned to the commercial lyceum bureaus to provide talent for their events. By the 1900s, it was not uncommon for a lyceum bureau to provide a complete chautauqua, consisting of several days of attractions, to an independent chautauqua committee. A 1909 advertisement for the Redpath Bureau stated that Redpath would “sell talent to independent assemblies” and would “consider operating chautauquas for local committees or managers.”⁸⁴ By 1919, the majority of independent assemblies were in fact run by commercial agencies. The agency’s name would not appear on the program or any promotional material, however, with credit for operation of the chautauqua still given to the local committee.⁸⁵

The independent chautauqua at Ames, Iowa had no connections to commercial booking agencies, and advertised this fact in its 1915 program:

There are a large number of so-called chautauquas being run by the bureaus, and we submit to you the fact that they care nothing for the town

Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930 “ (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981), 216.

⁸⁴ “George C. Rheinfrank: Popular Lecturer,” (Chicago, IL: The Lyceumite Press, 1909). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa.

⁸⁵ See John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 26. Often the only evidence of production by a commercial bureau is a program consisting of the same acts as nearby chautauquas that readily admitted to commercial affiliation. A prime example of this phenomenon is the Waterloo, Iowa “independent” chautauqua, which was produced by Midland Chautauquas.

or community where they show, nor do they care for their patrons, except for the profit they can make out of them, as you will readily see if you take the time to investigate their programs and prices. The Ames Chautauqua Association runs its chautauqua for an altogether different purpose. It is an unincorporated body, organized for the purpose of running the Chautauqua only, and all revenue derived from the assemblies can be used for the purpose of perpetuating the Ames Chautauqua and for nothing else, so you can readily see that all money paid in by you will be RETURNED TO YOU IN ENTERTAINMENT, and will not go to make up a profit for some bureau.⁸⁶

The Ames program is interesting not only in its opposition to the commercialization of the booking process, but also for its emphasis on the entertainment facet of the chautauqua. The program does not assure the patron that his or her money will be returned in education, enlightenment, culture, or any of the high-minded terms found so often in earlier chautauqua literature. An analysis of programs from the Ames Chautauqua Association supports the assertion that entertainment had become increasingly important in independent chautauquas as the twentieth century progressed. The same analysis will show a significant decline in popularity of the Ames chautauqua, indicated by a markedly shortened schedule, as well as a dramatic shift in programming, leading to the cancellation of the chautauqua program at Ames in 1927. This pattern

⁸⁶ “Twelfth Annual Assembly: Ames Chautauqua Association,” (1915).

repeated throughout the United States and Canada during the 1920s, affecting the independent and, to a lesser extent, commercial circuit chautauquas.

The sixth annual Ames chautauqua took place from August 11 until August 20, 1909. It began on Wednesday evening, with a concert by the Cleveland (Ohio) Ladies' Orchestra, and ran through the next Friday, closing with a "concert extraordinary" by the Ernest Gamble Concert Party. The event was, at ten days, exceptionally long, and involved sixty-one distinct events. Every full day (the opening Wednesday was a half day, as was Sunday) began with a morning Bible hour at nine o'clock, followed by either an educational hour or children's hour. The afternoons began with a concert, and included one more musical act as either the final or penultimate event of the evening. Evenings also included one or two lectures or demonstrations of new technology. Of the sixty one scheduled events, twenty were musical, six were dramatic readings (called "recitals" in the program), nine were events specifically for children and mothers, two could be considered strictly entertainment (performances by Pamahasika and his Performing Pets) and the rest would be classified as lectures. Musical acts of note included the Cleveland Ladies' Orchestra, The Royal Hungarian Orchestra, the Dunbars, and the Ernest Gamble Concert Party.⁸⁷ These groups were well known in chautauqua and lyceum circles and traveled throughout North America. The only clearly local musical group listed in the program is the Norwegian Choral Union of Story County (Iowa), although the program also includes a group that was likely local, the Choral Union of One Hundred Voices, and two listings for non-specific musical performances, which may have included local musicians.

⁸⁷ "Ames Chautauqua Program," (1909). Available online at <http://www.ameshistoricalsociety.org/exhibits/events/chautauqua.htm>

The 1915 chautauqua at Ames followed roughly the same format and involved a similar array of events in similar proportion. It was eight days long, and consisted of forty five listed events.⁸⁸ The most obvious difference between this program and that of 1909 is the inclusion of five motion pictures, four of which are listed as “educational.” The films are not named in the program, and are used as postludes to conclude the evening. The 1915 program includes popular professional musical acts as before, but also featured the Ames Band, which opened the chautauqua on Thursday afternoon, played a concert Thursday evening, and also played two concerts on closing day.⁸⁹

The final Ames program to be discussed in this study is that of the last Ames chautauqua, which took place August 2 through 6, 1926. The assembly lasted five days, but began at three o’ clock on each of those days. The program lists thirteen events. Of these thirteen, ten are musical, one is a magician, and two are lectures. The opening concert was not performed by a famous professional orchestra, or even the town band, but by Emory Parnell, “The One Man Band.” The headlining musical act of the 1926 chautauqua was Goforth’s Black and Gold Band, a nine-member dance band led by percussionist George Goforth. These inclusions represent a monumental departure, in both scale and programming, from the previous decade, and show the final struggle of the independent chautauqua movement against not only motion pictures, radio, and other changing cultural factors, but also against the commercial circuit chautauquas that will be discussed in greater detail later in this study. On March 9, 1927, the Ames Chautauqua Committee announced that the chautauqua was no longer viable, and would be

⁸⁸ This figure may be misleading, as no mention of events for children and mothers is made in the program. These almost certainly took place, and would have added eight or more events to the program had they been listed.

⁸⁹ “Twelfth Annual Assembly: Ames Chautauqua Association,” (1915).
<http://www.ameshistoricalsociety.org/exhibits/events/1913chautauqua1a.htm>

discontinued effective immediately. The committee cited several factors responsible for the declining interest in the chautauqua, including an increase in summer travel among local residents, summer programs offered by the college, and apathy among the younger residents of Ames. The committee concluded by stating that, “there will be something to take its place.”⁹⁰

The independent chautauquas were not alone in drawing inspiration from, and co-opting the name of, the Chautauqua Institution. There were “chautauqua reading circles,” traveling carnivals calling themselves “amusement chautauquas,” and even a circuit of “Klantauqua” meetings operated by the Ku Klux Klan.⁹¹ Although a variety of activities were called “chautauquas,” the early twentieth-century circuit chautauqua would become the most popular and influential incarnation of the chautauqua idea.

The development of circuit chautauqua in many ways mirrors the shift from local lyceum committees to commercial bureaus forty years earlier. The circuit chautauqua system was a streamlined, standardized, commercial alternative to the independent chautauqua, just as the commercial lyceum bureaus offered an efficient, if restrictive, alternative to the struggling independent lyceums. Ultimately, the impetus behind the creation of circuit chautauqua would come from within the leader of the commercial lyceum movement, the Redpath Bureau.

Keith Vawter, a manager for the Redpath Lyceum Bureau responsible for the territory west of Pittsburgh, had become familiar with the independent chautauquas through the local committees’ frequent use of the Redpath Bureau to book talent for their chautauquas. Vawter realized that the inefficiency of the booking methods employed by

⁹⁰“Chautauqua Era Ends, No Show This Summer,” *Ames Tribune*, March 9 1927.

⁹¹ “Klantauqua Goes over Despite Bad Weather,” *McLeansboro Times*, May 29 1924.

the independents caused operating costs, and thus ticket prices, to be unnecessarily high, and performers were spending excessive amounts of time in transit between far-flung independent chautauquas. After several years of observing the independent assemblies, Vawter devised a plan to offer a standardized chautauqua program, similar to the star courses pioneered by Redpath in the nineteenth century, to several pre-existing chautauqua committees in a given geographic area. Vawter would manage all logistics, and the communities could count on a complete chautauqua at a substantially reduced cost.

Vawter's self-contained traveling chautauqua, henceforth referred to as a *circuit chautauqua*, involved complex travel, business, and programming logistics. While circuit chautauqua was advertised and delivered to communities as a complete multi-day event, much like a circus, circuit chautauqua presented logistical challenges beyond those of a circus or other traveling show. Most important among these was the speed of the chautauqua circuit. Chautauquas, as a rule, did not involve repetition. If a lecturer appeared twice at a given chautauqua, he or she presented two unique lectures. Similarly, a musical group booked for multiple performances at a single chautauqua (a phenomenon considerably more common than multiple appearances by one lecturer) would be expected to offer an entirely new program for each performance. This reluctance to repeat programs was primarily because chautauqua patrons, unlike patrons of other traveling shows, were expected to attend multiple performances throughout the course of the event.

Because chautauquas consisted of a string of distinct performances presented over the course of several days, rather than one day of programming repeated for several

consecutive days, circuit chautauqua performers did not travel as a complete unit, but rather traveled the circuit according to their place in the program, moving only with those slated to perform on the same day. For instance, a lecturer booked to speak on the first day of the chautauqua would lecture in the first community on the circuit and then immediately proceed, along with the other first-day performers, to the second community, where another tent and crew were waiting, arriving in time to perform on the first day of that community's chautauqua. Second-day performers would follow the same circuit, one day behind the first-day acts. This pattern would continue for three to seven (rarely eight or nine) days, depending on the length of the chautauqua. At the close of the first chautauqua on the circuit, the tent and crew from the first community would "leap frog" the performers, traveling to the eighth community on the circuit (assuming a seven-day chautauqua), arriving a day before the first-day performers arrived.⁹² Figure 2.1 depicts the 1925 Redpath-New York-New England circuit, which lasted six days and traveled to seventy-two communities.

Vawter was reluctant to use the Redpath name for his new venture for fear that it might fail and damage the reputation of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. Instead, Vawter chose to call his circuit operation the Standard Chautauqua Bureau of Chicago.⁹³ In 1904 Vawter and partner Roy Ellison proposed their circuit chautauqua to thirty independent chautauqua committees in Iowa. Of these thirty, only nine signed on with the newly formed Standard Chautauqua.

⁹² This description assumes an ideal situation. Long distances between chautauqua communities often necessitated an extra tent and crew, as it might be impossible for the first-community tent to cover the distance between the first and eighth communities in time to set up for the eighth chautauqua. In addition to this extra tent, many bureaus stored a spare tent within reasonable distance of the communities on a circuit, in case a tent became delayed in transit or damaged during the season.

⁹³ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 52.

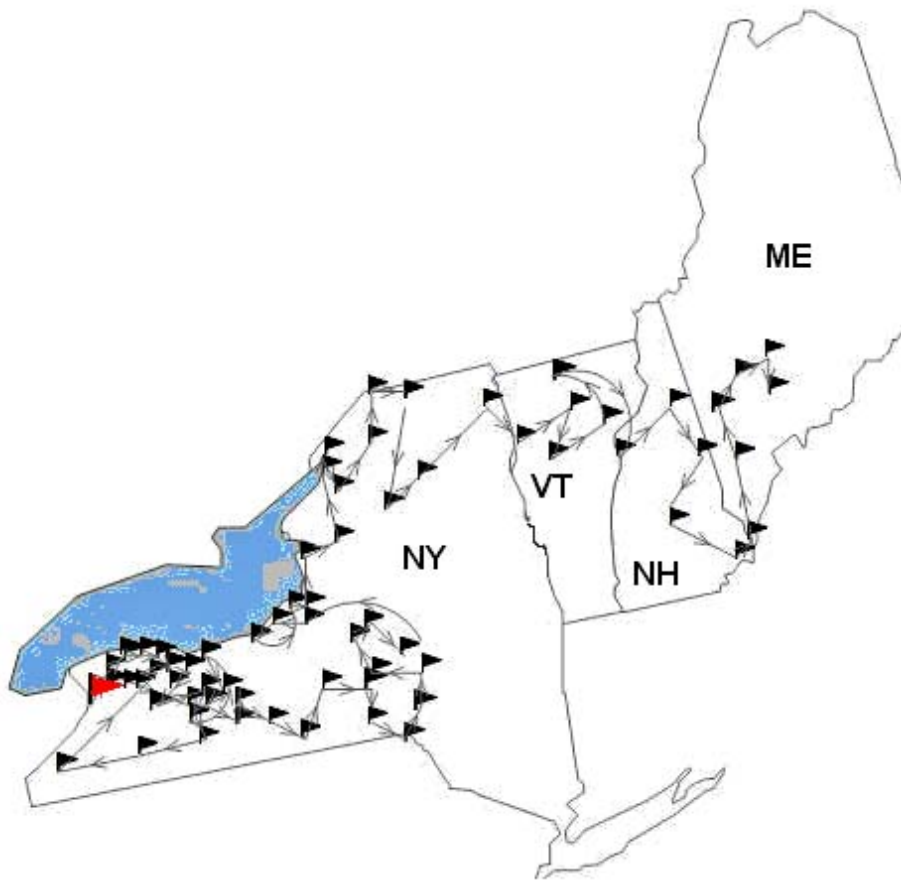


Figure 2.1. The 1925 Redpath-New York-New England circuit, derived from a schedule housed at the Pelletier Library, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA. The first community on the circuit, Niagara Falls, NY, is denoted by the red pennant. For a list of communities on this circuit, see Appendix A.

The small number of bookings was insufficient to be fiscally viable, and the distance between locations was too great. In order to salvage the inaugural season of the Standard (Redpath) Chautauqua, Vawter and Ellison contacted leaders of communities without established independent chautauquas that could bridge the gaps between contracted communities. Six more communities signed on in this manner, creating a circuit that, while feasible, was smaller than Vawter had imagined. Since these new communities had no pre-existing chautauqua grounds and lacked public meeting places suitable for a chautauqua, Vawter provided circus tents in which the events could be held.⁹⁴ These tents would soon be standard for circuit chautauquas, and would become an icon of the movement. In addition to the standardized program, Vawter offered local committees the option of booking any of twenty-five additional acts from his Redpath lyceum roster. This supplementary list consisted primarily of lecturers, most of whom were religious leaders or prominent figures within the Democratic Party.⁹⁵

The inaugural program of Vawter's new circuit lasted nine days and included thirty-five events. Eighteen of these events were primarily musical in nature, and were performed by four different musical acts. Three of these were vocal quartets, the fourth a one-man band. In a pattern that would become standard for circuit chautauquas, the 1904 program began with a concert. Throughout the chautauqua, quartets performed their own concerts as well as shorter preludes before featured lectures. For the 1904 circuit, each quartet spent three days in a town before moving to the next town on the

⁹⁴ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 28.

⁹⁵ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 60.

circuit, while the lecture and novelty acts appeared only once in a given location. The practice of engaging musical acts for several consecutive days originated in the independent chautauquas, and became less common as the commercial circuit chautauqua evolved.

The one-man band, George W. Garretson, was also a juggler and was billed as both for the 1904 season. He gave two short performances on consecutive afternoons, one billed as “musical novelties” and the other as “musical novelties and juggling.” The vocal quartets on the program included the Chicago Lady Entertainers, the Giant Colored Quartette, and the Temple Male Quartette. The Chicago Lady Entertainers performed popular numbers such as “Grandfather’s Clock”⁹⁶ and “The Old Oaken Bucket,”⁹⁷ as well as hymns, ballads, and songs from the Civil War. The Giant Colored Quartette performed primarily Stephen Foster songs.⁹⁸ The oldest and most famous of the quartets on the 1904 program, the Temple Male Quartette, performed music from the standard art music repertory of the day. A profile of the group in *Talent* stated, “Their standard for songs is probably higher than any other quartet in the country. Their idea is, that if they commence with humorous songs, the audience will soon fail to enjoy the productions of the best composers. So the entire program is made up of comparatively heavy music, and they trust to the encores to lighten it up.”⁹⁹

While innovative, Vawter’s initial attempt at a chautauqua circuit was a logistical failure. The distance between communities was too great (see figure 2.2) and the

⁹⁶ Henry Clay Work, 1876.

⁹⁷ Matt Damon, 1826.

⁹⁸ It is unclear why the group was given this name, and no ephemeral evidence of the Giant Colored Quartet aside from the 1904 program has been found. It is possible that the members of the quartet were simply large men of color. Similarly, another early chautauqua group was named “The Auburns” and consisted entirely of singers with red hair.

⁹⁹ Anna Curtis, “A Quartet with a History,” *Talent*, November 1903, 10.

discrepancy in size and quality of chautauqua facilities among the towns severely complicated Vawter's travel logistics. The ability of communities to book supplemental talent and otherwise alter the standard program negated many of the benefits gained from Vawter's efforts to streamline the chautauqua process. Finally and most importantly, communities that had hosted independent chautauquas in years past were reluctant to move the date of their chautauqua to accommodate Vawter's schedule. Thus, the initial circuit chautauqua was hardly a circuit; performers, equipment, and crews backtracked across the Midwest incurring significant unnecessary rail fare and other travel expenses.

The 1904 season was also a financial failure: Vawter lost \$7,000 on the venture.¹⁰⁰ Despite the staggering financial loss, Vawter resolved to attempt another circuit. He had come to the realization that the failure of the 1904 season was not due to flaws in the circuit chautauqua idea, but rather was caused by multiple departures from that idea, including allowing local committees to alter programs and dictate chautauqua dates.¹⁰¹ Vawter's second attempt at a circuit chautauqua, launched in 1907, was a truly standardized operation. Local committees could not alter the standard program. They were required to guarantee \$2,000 in pre-sold season tickets, and to give the first \$2500 in gate receipts and half of anything beyond that to the bureau. Finally and most importantly, local committees could not dictate the date of a Vawter chautauqua. Vawter set the dates according to the needs of the bureau, and once set, the dates could not be

¹⁰⁰ Using the Consumer Price Index, \$7,000 in 1904 equates to \$168,180 in 2007.

¹⁰¹ Charlotte Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, ed. Thomas Postlewait, Studies in Theatre History and Culture (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press 2005), 9.

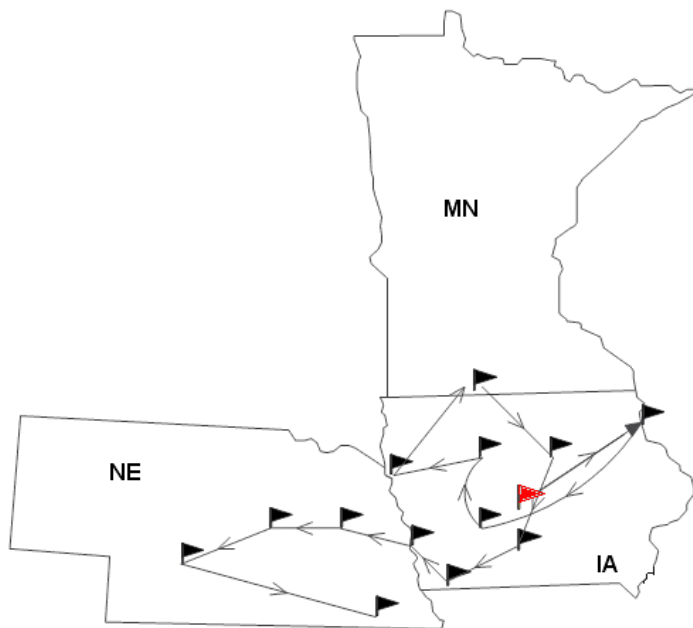


Figure 2.2 The 1904 Standard Chautauqua circuit. Derived from Harry Harrison's description in *Culture Under Canvas*. For a list of communities on this circuit, see Appendix A.

changed. This new strategy, which Redpath manager Harry Harrison called, “program as whole, take it or leave it,”¹⁰² proved successful. The 1907 Standard Chautauqua traveled to thirty-three communities in three states.¹⁰³

The success of the Standard Chautauqua encouraged other entrepreneurs, especially lyceum managers, to establish chautauqua bureaus across the United States. No longer afraid to use the Redpath name, Vawter called his circuit Redpath-Vawter. Eventually, there would be five bureaus operating as Redpath Chautauquas, including Redpath-Vawter, Redpath-Chicago, Redpath-Horner, Redpath-Columbus, and Redpath-New York-New England. These chautauqua bureaus operated independently, with no direct connection to the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. The “Redpath” bureaus were managed by regional Redpath lyceum managers who paid a three percent fee to use the Redpath name for their chautauqua organizations. Several other prominent chautauqua bureaus formed during the 1910s, including Ellison-White Chautauquas, Swarthmore Chautauquas, and Alkahest Chautauqua. To curb disputes over territory and talent, the managers of the major bureaus formed the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Managers Association in 1914.¹⁰⁴

Circuit chautauquas were promoted as wholesome, educational, and entertaining. Emphasis was placed on circuit chautauqua’s role as a stabilizing force in a rapidly changing society. Promotional materials stressed that circuit chautauqua enforced rural

¹⁰² Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 78.

¹⁰³ John Tapia, “Circuit Chautauqua’s Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978), 36.

¹⁰⁴ Charlotte Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, ed. Thomas Postlewait, *Studies in Theatre History and Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press 2005), 9.

values and preserved accepted societal norms while providing access to educational and cultural outlets previously limited to urban areas. The 1920 Redpath-Horner circuit program brochure described the chautauqua as, “For American Ideals. In support of Honor, Law and Order: Against Idleness, Waste, Anarchy, Lawlessness. A Happy, Purposeful Week.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, circuit chautauqua promoters welcomed—and often created—the public perception that circuit chautauqua was linked to the Chautauqua Institution or to the established independent assemblies.¹⁰⁶

The commercial bureaus grew in part by selling their chautauqua programs to communities that had not previously held chautauquas. By the 1920s, however, the commercial bureaus had taken over chautauqua production in many communities in which independent assemblies had been held for years. With the lyceum bureaus, which had previously done much of the booking for the independents, now selling entire chautauqua circuits, it had become increasingly difficult for local committees to independently book the quality and quantity of talent necessary to hold an independent assemblies. Furthermore, the efficiency of the commercial bureaus allowed them to offer programs comparable to the independents at significantly less cost to the community. In 1914, ten years after Vawter’s first attempt at circuit chautauqua, fifteen commercial chautauqua bureaus provided chautauquas to 2,400 communities. Independent assemblies were held in six hundred communities that year, although there had been 1500 independent chautauquas annually at the height of the independents’ popularity.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Program, Redpath-Horner, 1920.

¹⁰⁶ John Tapia, “Circuit Chautauqua’s Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978), 35.

¹⁰⁷ Donald Graham, “Circuit Chautauqua, a Middle Western Institution” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1953), 37.

The summer of 1924 is considered the pinnacle of the circuit chautauqua phenomenon. It is estimated that up to 12,000 communities hosted chautauquas in 1924.¹⁰⁸ That year, known as circuit chautauqua's "jubilee year," was followed by a steep decline in both attendance and community commitments for upcoming seasons. In 1925 there were fifteen bureaus operating fifty circuits across the U.S.; in 1930 five bureaus operated fifteen circuits. It is estimated that fewer than 300 communities hosted chautauquas in 1932. After 1932, the commercial bureaus in the United States¹⁰⁹ ceased operation and fewer than twenty communities continued to hold (independent) chautauqua assemblies.¹¹⁰

The decline of the chautauqua movement has been the topic of extensive discussion. In recent years, scholars have largely attributed it to broad cultural shifts such as changes in public taste, economic climate, and technological advances.¹¹¹ Those with closer connections to the movement, both temporally and in terms of involvement in the chautauqua business, pointed primarily to problems within the chautauqua movement. In all likelihood, both opinions have merit. Scholars evaluating the movement from a distance of fifty years or more may have greater insight into societal trends that were not at all clear to the observer of the 1930s. Conversely, someone with firsthand knowledge

¹⁰⁸ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 178.

¹⁰⁹ As mentioned in Chapter One, a circuit persisted in Canada until 1934.

¹¹⁰ R.B. Tozier, "A Short Life-History of the Chautauqua," *The American Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 1 (1934): 71.

¹¹¹ See Tapia and Canning. Interestingly, the Great Depression, while coinciding with the decline of the circuit chautauqua movement, is not directly blamed for the decline by either modern scholars or first-hand observers. For a brief discussion of the Depression's effect on circuit chautauqua, see Patricia Wardrop, "Chautauqua," in *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, ed. Giles Potvin Helmut Kallmann, Kenneth Winters (Toronto, ON: Historica Foundation, 2008).

of the chautauqua movement may have assigned great significance to events and trends that seem inconsequential to the outside observer.

Technological and infrastructure improvements are often blamed for circuit chautauqua's ultimate failure. Scholars point especially to the increasing popularity of radio and the improvement of roads in the rural United States. Keith Vawter was quick to dismiss the effect of radio on circuit chautauqua, writing, "I still insist that the radio did not materially affect lyceum and chautauquas, but rather the advent of country clubs and dancing mothers."¹¹² Less attention is paid to the dramatic increase in newspaper publication during the 1920s and 1930s, though it certainly affected circuit chautauqua programming. The independent assemblies, like the lyceum before them, had initially centered on lectures. As more rural Americans gained access to timely national news, much of the appeal of the chautauqua lecture was lost. Chautauqua reacted by booking fewer lectures in favor of programs emphasizing entertainment.

This change in programming is often cited as a major factor in circuit chautauqua's rapid decrease in popularity. While the circuit bureaus were unsurpassed in their ability to bring major intellectual, political, and cultural figures to rural Americans, they were ill-equipped to compete with the various entities dedicated solely to bringing entertainment to these communities. Harry Harrison, manager of the Redpath-Chicago circuit, wrote that carnivals intentionally followed his circuit in the later years.¹¹³ Russell Johnson asserts that after 1925, local movie theaters deliberately scheduled their most

¹¹² Keith Vawter, January 17 1929. The term "dancing mothers" is a reference to a Broadway play and film by the same name about a woman who embraces the jazz-age lifestyle and moves to Europe, leaving her husband and daughter behind.

¹¹³ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 248.

attractive offerings to compete with chautauqua week.¹¹⁴ Aside from carnivals and other traveling shows that made no claim to educational merit, by the mid 1920s the major bureaus found themselves competing with a number of smaller bureaus offering shorter, less expensive chautauquas filled with entertainment acts. In 1923 the All-American Circuit presented a three-day “Chautauqua Festival and Jubilee.” This chautauqua consisted of just eight events, only three of which were lectures. Of these lectures, two were travelogues by speakers whose advertised credentials included pleasing accents. One concert was given by Brown’s Jubilee Singers, and the Rocky Mountain Warblers performed twice. The latter was a male quartet that did impersonations, sang, and performed on various percussion instruments. The remaining two events of the All-American chautauqua were dramatic productions by the Wales Players.¹¹⁵ The All-American Circuit program seems to have been typical of those produced by the smaller bureaus of the 1920s. While retaining the basic chautauqua format and advertising itself as “a canvas-covered temple of joy and inspiration,” the All-American Circuit’s offering did little to advance the goals set forth by the major bureaus in the previous decade.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, these small bureaus competed—with increasing success—with the well-established circuit organizations. This was especially true in smaller communities or those with limited capital, where cost was perhaps more important than quantity or quality of offered chautauqua events.

Just as the independent assemblies had blamed the commercial circuits for lowering the quality of the chautauqua movement, the major bureaus blamed the smaller

¹¹⁴ Russell Johnson, “Dancing Mothers!: The Chautauqua Movement in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture,” *American Studies International* 39, no. 2 (2001): 63.

¹¹⁵ Program, Sidney, IL, 1923.

¹¹⁶ “A Lyceum and Chautauqua Platform,” *The Lyceum* 26, no. 2 (1916): 1.

chautauquas for damaging the reputation of circuit chautauqua. In truth, however, it is unlikely that the Midwest could have sustained the number of circuit chautauquas operating by 1924, no matter their quality. The market had become so saturated that it was not uncommon for a community to host two chautauquas in one summer, one sponsored by the county and one by the town. In areas where the chautauqua movement was most popular, patrons in the early 1920s could choose from several chautauquas within a reasonable traveling distance. In 1924, the circuit chautauqua movement reached critical mass in most of its target regions; both the talent pool and audience population had been stretched too thin.

Keith Vawter divested from the circuit chautauqua business in 1926. By 1927 Charles Horner and Harry Harrison had begun to do the same.¹¹⁷ Crawford Peffer's Redpath-New York-New England circuit fared better than most, and Peffer was convinced his bureau would survive through the 1930s. Despite Peffer's optimism, the Redpath-New York-New England circuit closed after the 1932 season.¹¹⁸ In 1933, C. Benjamin Franklin of Associated Chautauqua attempted to launch a circuit, but it failed after its first engagement of the season.¹¹⁹

Those independent chautauquas that had managed to fend off competition from the circuits were able to survive for some time after the circuit chautauqua movement failed. Mediapolis, Iowa, for instance, hosted a six-day independent chautauqua in 1944. The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, which had continued to produce winter lyceums throughout the circuit chautauqua era, booked lyceum acts through the 1940s and also

¹¹⁷ John Tapia, "Circuit Chautauqua's Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978), 51.

¹¹⁸ James R. Schultz, *The Romance of Small-Town Chautauquas* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 2002), 150.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 151.

supplied lecturers, musical acts, and other entertainers for a variety of clients. In recent years, communities throughout the United States have hosted independent chautauquas reminiscent of those of the early twentieth century, and the Chautauqua Institution in New York has been in continuous operation for 134 years.

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CHAPTER THREE

MUSIC IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA

INTRODUCTION

Music was integral to circuit chautauqua from the very inception of the movement, though its role in the movement was not static. As the twentieth century progressed and the movement was born, grew, and eventually collapsed, both the repertoire of music performed and the perception of that music among audience members and within the circuit chautauqua movement would evolve, influenced by changing societal conditions and divergent philosophies regarding the place and purpose of music.

Musical acts obtained sheet music primarily from commercial sources, though some acts performed original compositions. Bureaus sometimes provided music for special events within a chautauqua, such as religious services and community sing-alongs. Furthermore, commercial publishers seized on the chautauqua movement as both a customer base and a means of advertising. While there was considerable variety in chautauqua music, musical selection within the movement was not haphazard. In fact, forces from both within and outside circuit chautauqua influenced musical selection and performance practice.

PRECURSORS: MUSIC AT THE CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION AND IN THE LYCEUM MOVEMENT

While the Chautauqua Institution cultivated a reputation as an art music venue in the last century,¹²⁰ art music was not a prominent feature of the Institution during the years that the “Mother Chautauqua” exerted influence on the circuit chautauqua movement. As discussed in Chapter Two, early meetings of the Chautauqua Assembly (the original name of the Chautauqua Institution) involved group singing of hymns, other religious music, and by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, occasional art music concerts. By this time, local (independent) chautauqua assemblies, which were direct precursors to the circuit chautauqua movement, were forming across the United States. These assemblies more closely resembled the early Chautauqua Assembly, rather than the Chautauqua Institution of the twentieth century.

Music’s second-class status within the lyceum movement was never questioned. Statements in trade publication about music’s inferiority to the lecture were couched in language suggesting that the established hierarchy of lyceum acts was part of the natural order. Even the musicians involved in the early lyceum were reluctant to defend music’s value to the movement. Nineteenth-century bias against music in the lyceum persisted well into the twentieth century, to the point that lyceum courses involving music (by this time, the vast majority of courses) were denigrated as entertainments no better than cheap traveling shows.¹²¹

¹²⁰ See Jeanette Wells, “A History of the Music Festival at Chautauqua Institution from 1874 to 1957” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1958).

¹²¹ John Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, Studies in Adult Education (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 141.

While decision-makers within the lyceum movement at the turn of the century exerted much time and effort selecting lecturers and monitoring lecture content and reception, there is little evidence that such attention was paid to music on the lyceum platform. To the contrary, several key figures in the lyceum movement placed the burden of musical quality control on the audience. Edward Amherst Ott, writing in *The Lyceumite*, contended that, “As long as a poorly selected course will be bought and paid for, it will be sold. The moral and financial responsibility rests with the buyers.”¹²² The lyceum movement’s disregard for musical oversight and reliance on market-driven programming speaks to the commercial nature of the lyceum, and points to a key difference between the lyceum and its successor, circuit chautauqua. The chautauqua bureaus, although they were commercial enterprises, used moral and pedagogical, rather than strictly economic, criteria for selection and programming of musical acts. This was due not to a fundamental difference in mission between the circuit chautauqua and lyceum movements—both espoused moral and educational principles—but to the way music was viewed in each movement. The lyceum movement was initially openly hostile to music, and music never reached a point of equality with the lecture in the eyes of lyceum managers. Circuit chautauqua bureaus, whose task it was to craft an entire week of continuous, appropriate programming, worked to integrate music as a part of the broader mission of the movement, rather than as diversion from it.

¹²² Edward Ott, “Some Practical Needs of the Lyceum,” *The Lyceumite*, August 1906, 315.

MUSIC IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA

Preceding American cultural movements, including the Chautauqua Institution, the lyceum movement, and the independent chautauqua movement of the late nineteenth century, would shape circuit chautauqua's attitude towards and relationship with music in the movement's early years. From the lyceum movement, circuit chautauqua would inherit a business model for effectively managing and promoting musical acts. From the independent assemblies, the circuit bureaus gained an appreciation for music as a legitimate companion to the lecture in a varied program. Finally, although it came largely filtered through the lens of the independent assemblies, circuit chautauqua inherited from the Chautauqua Institution an awareness of responsibility to the audience to provide a program that was educational and in keeping with turn-of-the-century progressive ideas of morality and culture.

While the circuit chautauqua movement's original concept of music may have been heavily influenced by preceding phenomena, as the movement matured it would establish a relationship with music unique to circuit chautauqua, largely influenced by forces within the circuit chautauqua sphere. This concept of music reflected a set of values and circumstances unique to the movement, and became clearly distinct from the values of previous movements as circuit chautauqua came to prominence in the 1920s. The struggle to define the role of music in the circuit chautauqua phenomenon will be discussed in this chapter.

Once established, circuit chautauqua's concept of musical propriety and mission would not remain static; as the movement's fortunes declined in the 1930s, rhetoric about music focused more on economic factors and popularity, and concerns about educational

value and “uplift” (previously a driving factor in selection of acts) were diminished. This evolution of musical philosophy among decision-makers resulted in a shift in musical programming away from art music and older popular forms, and towards a more relevant and exciting musical repertoire designed to attract crowds. This shift is discussed briefly in this chapter and more thoroughly in Chapter Four.

SOURCES OF MUSIC PERFORMED IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA

In most situations, the musical sources used by the circuit chautauqua movement were little different than those of other commercial musical ventures of the early twentieth century.¹²³ For instance, a band performing in circuit chautauqua would not perform music that was strikingly different than a band engaged by an exposition or amusement park. There was no musical form unique to circuit chautauqua, nor was the distribution of musical forms and genres within it vastly different from that of competing movements of the era.¹²⁴ Since there was very little chautauqua-specific music on the platform, and no musical attributes connecting the musical works performed by musical acts, the purpose of the musical analyses presented in this chapter is not to define or discuss one genre of “chautauqua music,” but rather to show the breadth of the circuit chautauqua musical repertoire. Works chosen for analysis and discussion in this chapter were selected either as representative types of chautauqua music or as examples of specific phenomena. For example, “Goodbye, Shanghai” was chosen as an example of the popular music that had made its way onto the platform in the movement’s declining

¹²³ For an example of one circuit chautauqua musical act’s complete repertoire, see Appendix B.

¹²⁴ Musical programming in circuit chautauqua is discussed at length in Chapter Four.

years, while “There’s a Long, Long Trail” is discussed because of the heavy promotion of that particular work by its publisher in chautauqua trade publications.

Circuit chautauqua musical acts performed from commercially-published scores, from manuscripts, and from published song books. Some performers composed or arranged music specifically for their acts, while others employed composers or arrangers for this task or relied on composers and arrangers employed by chautauqua bureaus and management firms. Circuit chautauqua’s musical repertoire also included music created specifically for use in the circuit chautauqua movement. This included music referring to the chautauqua movement, music composed for use in chautauqua religious services, and music distributed to performers for performance during circuit chautauqua programs. This last category includes several song books.

Several repositories of circuit chautauqua documents contain song books. These books were often used for specific events involving community singing, a practice held over from the Chautauqua Institution and the independent chautauqua movement. They were frequently used for brief religious services incorporated into circuit chautauqua programs (usually a vespers service on Sunday evening), although at least one bureau, Ellison-White, seems to have incorporated non-religious community singing events into some programs.

The vespers service performed most often in circuit chautauqua was the service compiled for the Chautauqua Institution or an adaptation thereof.¹²⁵ In a rare gesture of cooperation with the circuit chautauqua movement, the editors of the *Chautauqua Hymnal and Liturgy* prepared for use at the Chautauqua Institution stated on the

¹²⁵ This service and its place in the circuit chautauqua program is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four.

copyright page that the hymnal was compiled “in the hope that it would be generally used by chautauqua assemblies.”¹²⁶ The *Chautauqua Hymnal and Liturgy* was in fact widely used by both independent assemblies and circuit chautauqua bureaus, as evidenced by its presence in the records of several organizations. The hymnal contains eighty-eight hymns in four-part arrangement. As in many Protestant hymnals, hymns in the *Chautauqua Hymnal and Liturgy* appear to be grouped informally by function in the liturgy, though the text of the liturgy itself is not provided in the congregation’s hymnals. Hymns are also identified by tune and indexed by first line, a common practice in hymnals of the time. The hymnal differs very little from a typical Protestant one of the era, and neither the texts nor music appear to have been altered for use by the Chautauqua Institution in the way that was common for the Salvation Army and other groups of the time. The first eight hymns in the collection are intended for a Sunday evening service, and were most likely the ones used by the circuit chautauqua bureaus for circuit performance, as Sunday morning services were not common in circuit chautauqua.

The Redpath-Vawter bureau published a short vespers service complete with songs for use on its circuits. The three religious songs used in the service (“Day is Dying in the West,” “Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me,” and “Abide with Me”) were published with both text and music, while the two patriotic songs (“The Star Spangled Banner” and “America”) were published as text only. The provided music is arranged in conventional four-part harmony (SATB), and the texts do not seem to have been altered for use in circuit chautauqua.

¹²⁶ *Chautauqua Hymnal and Liturgy*, (New York Novello, Ewer and Co., 1903).

The Ellison-White bureau published its own song sheet for community singing. The *Ellison-White Community Song Sheet* contained twenty-one popular and patriotic songs which appear to have been published as texts only. The song sheet—in reality an eight-page booklet—credits Walter Jenkins as director and Ruby Lloyd as accompanist, implying that piano accompaniment was available, although the piano version does not seem to have survived. The song sheet carries the instructions, “Save this booklet for use in the evening.” The only known surviving copy of the *Ellison-White Community Song Sheet* belonged to circuit chautauqua musician Katharine La Sheck, indicating that these evening community singings may have been led by musicians employed by the bureaus, rather than by local musical leaders as was common in independent chautauquas.

Most of the musical collections—in fact most of the sheet music in general—in the collections of the circuit chautauqua bureaus were not published by the bureaus or specifically for circuit chautauqua. Chautauqua bureaus often used song books from other institutions as well as commercially-available collections. The records of the Redpath bureau contain the *West Virginia Institute Program and Songbook* published by the West Virginia Department of Schools for use in public school assemblies. The records also contain the collection *18 Songs for Community Singing*, a commercially-available song book published by C.C. Birchard and Company. The songs are popular and patriotic in nature and are arranged for four voices (SATB) and piano. *Patriotic Songs of America and the Allies*, a commercial publication of twenty-four national airs in three-voice arrangement (SAB) with piano, is also housed in the Redpath archives.

Song books and part books for various musical ensembles are found frequently in the collections of individual chautauqua musicians. This indicates that it was common

for musical acts to use music from commercially published collections. There is no indication, however, that these song books were distributed by the bureaus. On the contrary, similar ensembles employed by the same bureau most often took their repertoire from entirely different sources, with no more overlap than would be expected due to the influence of popular taste. While bureaus did occasionally distribute vocal music for events involving audience participation (Ellison-White's song sheet and Redpath-Vawter's vespers service are two such collections), there is no reason to believe that bureaus either published or distributed collections intended for performance by professional musical acts. Individual musical acts had considerable freedom to select their own music, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Many chautauqua musical acts performed music either composed or arranged specifically for the group, often by a group member or someone affiliated with the group. An advertisement for the Dunbar Company read, "Most of their music is in manuscript, not published, much of which is composed or arranged by members of the company."¹²⁷ Such an advertisement spoke to both the originality of the music performed, assuring audiences of fresh material, and to the musical abilities of the performers. The latter was especially important for groups such as the Dunbar Company, which were often comprised of young musicians unknown outside of the circuit chautauqua movement.

For some musical acts, skepticism regarding musical competence was certainly valid. Many groups, especially the vocal quartets, employed performers with little musical training or performing experience. To combat this lack of experience and musical knowledge, circuit chautauqua acts (or their bureaus) sometimes hired musical

¹²⁷ "An International Musical Success: The Dunbar Company," (Chicago, IL: Manz).

directors. These musical directors would select, arrange, and compose music for the group, and would sometimes act as vocal coach as well. It was not uncommon for one musical director to work with several groups employed by the same bureau or managed by the same agent. The College Girls, a popular circuit chautauqua act, employed George Madden and Clarence Pearsall (successively) as musical director. When members of the College Girls left to form a new quartet, the Marigolds, they chose not to employ a musical director. This choice coincided with a shift away from art music and towards popular, commercially published vocal quartets, possibly because the members of the Marigolds were not comfortable selecting or arranging art music.¹²⁸

While it does not seem to have been the norm, it was not entirely unheard of for chautauqua bureaus to employ staff arrangers or composers. Thurlow Luerance and Howard Hanson both worked as staff composers for Redpath-Horner. Charles Horner took an extraordinary interest in the musical side of his operation, as evidenced by his employment of staff composers and by his operation of a training school for chautauqua musicians.¹²⁹ There is no record of another bureau employing a staff composer, but many bureaus employed musical directors or music managers to select and manage musical acts.

Circuit chautauqua musical acts routinely used commercially-published sheet music. Much of this repertoire was purchased by musical acts or bureaus through retail outlets. Some publishers targeted performers, advertising in chautauqua trade

¹²⁸ Sister Victorine Fenton, "Katharine La Sheck," 15-16. This unpublished biography is housed in the Katharine La Sheck papers at the Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa.

¹²⁹ This school, which would eventually expand in scope to become a conservatory and later the School of Music at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, is discussed in Chapter Five.

publications and creating divisions to supply music to chautauqua acts. Commercial publishers also printed music specifically for some bureaus.

While most circuit chautauqua music did not specifically reference the circuit chautauqua movement, several bureaus did incorporate music composed for or mentioning the Chautauqua Institution. A few bureaus had songs and marches composed specifically for the bureau, citing the bureau by name. The scarcity of bureau-referencing music in collections, even among those bureaus that employed full-time composers, may seem conspicuous. This could be due, however, to the reluctance of some communities to acknowledge the commercial production of their local chautauqua. As discussed in Chapter Two, it was common, especially in the 1920s, for circuit chautauqua bureaus to furnish complete or partial programs for “independent” assemblies, making no mention of the bureau in advertising or program brochures. Thus, the same group of performers and lecturers that had appeared in one community under the Redpath banner might constitute all or part of the next community’s independent chautauqua. This phenomenon can be seen in newspaper advertising, with nearly identical advertisements appearing for consecutive chautauquas, one prominently featuring the bureau’s name and the next omitting it completely.

Some bureaus did incorporate bureau-branded music, presumably for use on circuits in which each chautauqua was openly acknowledged to be commercial. “The Coit-Alber Chautauqua March Two-Step” was composed and published in 1916 by Frank Barone of Boston. The title is a reference to the Coit-Alber chautauqua bureau, a major bureau that supplied assemblies to over 150 communities in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The labeling of the piece as both a

march and a two-step was common for similar pieces of the early twentieth century; many well-known marches of the era were published as both marches and two-steps. The extant copy of “The Coit-Alber Chautauqua March Two-Step” was published in piano score. It is highly likely, however, that the work was also published in band or orchestra form, since the solo piano was rare on the chautauqua circuits.¹³⁰ Furthermore, those solo piano acts that did exist on the circuits were more likely to perform art music works than dances or marches.

The march is in 6/8 meter, beginning in F major and moving to Bb major.¹³¹ Its form is a slight modification of the most common American march form of the era. It begins with a four-measure introduction in F, moving to a repeated sixteen-measure first strain followed by a repeated sixteen-measure second strain. The third strain is, predictably, a trio of thirty-two measures in Bb. It is followed by a sixteen-measure fourth strain which functions as a “break strain” leading to a repetition of the trio. Thus, the form of the march is: I-AA-BB-C-D-C. This form is a truncated version of the more typical I-AA-BB-CD-CD-C march form. The form of “The Coit-Alber Chautauqua March Two-Step” was the preferred form of march composer E.F. Goldman and was used occasionally by Sousa.

The records of the Redpath bureau contain dozens of commercially-published musical scores in popular, art music, and sacred genres, including the following works:

Popular

“Aggravatin’ Papa”

“The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise”

¹³⁰ See Belle Squire, “The Unpopularity of a Popular Instrument,” *The Lyceumite*, October 1904, 340-41.

¹³¹ This piece is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix C.

“American Violet”
“Arcady”
“After the Storm”
“Coal Black Mammy”

Art

“Triumphal March” from *Aida*
“Gypsy Love Song” from *The Fortune Teller* (Herbert)
“The Radiance in Your Eyes” (cornet solo)

Sacred

“Hallelujah Chorus” from *Messiah*
Selections from *Messe Solennelle* (Gounod)
“Ave Maria” (Bach-Gounod)

The collection also contains a compilation of religious musical works apparently intended to constitute a complete performance. It began with *Magnificat No. 2* by American composer and organist Dudley Buck for four voices (SATB) and organ. The organ introduction is marked through, indicating that in performance the piece would begin with the vocal entrances in the fourth measure. Measures thirteen through nineteen are omitted. After the twenty-eighth measure, a piece of manuscript paper is inserted with “Dan’s Bass Recital” written at the top and the first seven measures of the hymn “O Come All Ye Faithful,” apparently cut from a hymnal, glued to the bottom, followed by the word “text.” The recto page of the inserted manuscript paper begins with a hand-written soprano solo, “See Now the Dusk is Falling,” ending with three unison repetitions of the phrase “Ave Maria.”¹³² This hand-written closing material may have been adapted from the 1912 edition of the Boosey & Company publication, *Mezzo-Soprano Songs*, in

¹³² This work is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix D.

which “See Now the Dusk is Falling” was followed by Joachim Raff’s setting of the Ave Maria.

Such compilations and heavily-altered versions of large musical works were not uncommon in circuit chautauqua. The archives of the Redpath Bureau contain several other large works modified in a similar manner. One such work is John Stainer’s oratorio *The Crucifixion*, into which the hymns “When Wilt Thou Save the People?”¹³³ and “Just As I Am”¹³⁴ were inserted. These extensive alterations and additions seem to have been most prevalent in the religious music housed in the Redpath collection. Little consideration seems to have been given to theological integrity or textual cohesiveness, as the inserted texts seem unrelated to the primary work, and in several cases the movements of larger works seem to have been rearranged in performance. Although it is not discussed in the trade publications or in extant bureau documents, it seems probable that these modifications were done in order to make these relatively unfamiliar musical works more palatable to rural audiences.

Many popular compositions can be found in the surviving records of the major chautauqua bureaus. While the published works usually supply copyright information, and thus publication dates, copyright dates alone are not sufficient to place these compositions on a timeline of circuit chautauqua performance. While they do indicate the earliest possible year a work could have been performed on the circuits, the bureaus’ proclivity for programming older popular music makes the latest possible date of performance impossible to garner from publication information. Detailed programs from

¹³³ Josiah Booth, 1888

¹³⁴ William Bradbury, 1849

circuit chautauqua musical programs are exceedingly rare,¹³⁵ and thus much of the chronology of circuit chautauqua musical selection is imprecise. Nevertheless, analysis of broad programming trends such as those discussed in Chapter Four indicate that most of the popular music found in bureau collections was most likely performed in the later years of the movement. Much of this later popular repertoire consisted of dance-based works for modified dance orchestra, with or without vocals. It should be noted that while much of the later musical repertoire consisted of dances, there is no indication that dancing ever occurred as part of a circuit chautauqua event, and it is unlikely that the moral climate of circuit chautauqua permitted it.

The archives of the Redpath Bureau contain a copy of “You Gave Me Your Heart,” composed by Ted Snyder and orchestrated by Arthur Lange. This score was a complimentary copy, furnished by the Lyceum, Chautauqua, and Home Talent Department of the publisher, Waterson, Berlin and Snyder Co. of New York and Chicago. The score included a letter from Arthur Lange, dated October, 1922, explaining tempo markings, interpretation, and instrumentation. Lange noted that the piece has a “Spanish atmosphere,” but feared an actual tango would prove unpopular with audiences unaccustomed to the tango. Lange stressed the piece’s flexible instrumentation. For instance, he provided saxophone parts in five different keys to accommodate for the multiple combinations of saxophones used by bands in the early twentieth century. The published copy included a piano score, parts for two violins, viola, cello, bass, flute, clarinet, three alto saxophones, C Melody saxophone, tenor saxophone, two trumpets, trombone, drums, timpani, and tenor banjo.

¹³⁵ See Chapter Four. Chautauqua performers did not, as a rule, supply printed programs for audience consumption, and bureaus did not normally keep repertoire lists.

“You Gave Me Your Heart” begins with a twelve-measure introduction followed by a sixteen-measure A section. The primary melody is found in the repeated thirty two-measure B section, which is followed by a short (twelve-measure) transition back to an altered A theme. It concludes with a final strain consisting of new material and lasting thirty six measures. The piece is labeled “fox trot,” and the repeated rhythmic figure of alternating measures of long and short notes (see figure 3.1) would be well suited for that dance.

Many of the popular musical numbers housed in the Redpath records dealt with exotic subjects, most often in a superficial manner. Most of the pieces with titles invoking the exotic are in fact common American dance forms for standard dance band or orchestra. It should be noted that there is no evidence of such pieces being performed by exotic acts—those specializing in music from a particular foreign culture—but rather they seem to have been performed solely by popular acts.¹³⁶ Examples of this genre include “Dreams of India” (fox trot), “Spain” (tango fox trot), and “Goodbye Shanghai” (Chinese fox trot).

¹³⁶ For a thorough discussion of the various types of common chautauqua acts, see Chapter Four.

YOU GAVE ME YOUR HEART¹
 FOX TROT

Piano Orch. by Arthur Lange By TED SNYDER

Not too fast

The musical score is written for piano and orchestra. It consists of six systems of music, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score begins with a piano (p) dynamic and a tempo marking of 'Not too fast'. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are several dynamic markings throughout, including piano (p), mezzo-forte (mf), and fortissimo (ff). The score concludes with a final cadence.

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Figure 3.1 “You Gave Me Your Heart.” Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

“Goodbye Shanghai” was composed by Joseph Meyer with lyrics by Howard Johnson. It was scored for three voices, strings, flute, clarinet, two cornets, two horns in f, trombone, drums, and piano. It is composed in contrasting verse-chorus form, with the verses. The first two verses are musically identical and in the key of G, while the chorus and last verse are in C. The text reads:

Verse:

Lonesome little love-sick Chinaman,
Packing up his grip, ready for a trip
on a great big ship.
How he hates to leave his native land,
after all these years. Time for sailing nears.
He sings through his tears:

Chorus:

Goodbye, Shanghai, across the sea I've got to fly to fair America.
Oh my, Shanghai, sweet China girl waits there that's why a pig tail must sail and
go to her.
She wrote a note to me, said that we would
start a tea room, Chop Suey room,
later build a home with one two three room.
Just sigh, if I don't get there soon I'll die.
Goodbye, Shanghai, goodbye.

Verse:

As the great big liner leaves the pier,
steaming out to sea,
there stands young Chineese, lonesome lad is he.
Waving to the shores that disappear,
you can hear him say, “Tho' I'm far away,
in my heart you stay.

Chorus

Verse:


If you hit the pipe, law catch you quick.
Smokee opium no more.
'Merican police man swing big stick,
hop head drop dead.
Wear no more kimono made of silk,
wear no more pagoda hats.
Dress up like a dude in pitch black suit,
wear a little cane and spats.

“Goodbye Shanghai” was one of many Chinese-themed popular pieces composed in the 1910s and 1920s. It is similar, both musically and textually, to compositions such as “Chinatown, Our Chinatown,” “Wing Lee’s Rag-Time Clock,” and many other “Oriental” pieces composed for film, Broadway, and for sheet music publication. The vocal music for “Goodbye Shanghai” relies heavily on “Oriental” clichés, involving parallel fourths and the rhythm Garrett dubs the “Asia trope”¹³⁷ (see figure 3.2). This is the dominant rhythmic figure of “Goodbye Shanghai, serving as the basis for the introduction and the verses. The orchestral accompaniment is rhythmically simple and incorporates considerable chromaticism, the former being a characteristic of dance band arrangements of the era and the latter a common tool of composers writing popular music in an Orientalist vein.



Figure 3.2 Opening vocal motive of “Goodbye, Shanghai”

¹³⁷ Charles Hiroshi Garrett, “Chinatown, Whose Chinatown? Defining America’s Borders with Musical Orientalism,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 1 (2004): 131.


ARTIST'S COPY

Words by **HOWARD JOHNSON** **Goodbye Shanghai** Music by **JOSEPH METZ**

Moderato

Loo-some-ee-Ge-lee-sick Chi-na-man, pack-ing up his grip, read-y for a
 As the great big Lin-er leaves the pier, Steam-ing out to sea, There stands young Chi-

-na, on a great big ship. How he hates to leave his na-tive land,
 -nee, lone-some lad is he, Wav-ing to the shores that dis-ap-pear,

af-ter all these years, Time for sail-ing nears, He sings through his tears
 you can hear him say, "That I'm far a-way, In my heart you stay."

CHORUS 8

"Good-bye, Shang-hai, a-cross the sea I've got to fly to fair A-mar-
 -ca, Oh my, Shang-hai, sweet Chi-na girl wait there, hold on my pig-tail must wait

go to her, She wrote a note to me, said that we would
 start a tea room, Chop Su-ey room, La-ter build a home with one, two, three room.

sigh, if I don't get there soon I'll die Good-bye, Shang-hai, Good-bye." "Goodbye."

PATTER

If you hit the pipe, law catch you quick, smoke op-i-um no more, Mei-i-can po-lice-man
 swing big stick, hep-head drop dead, Wear no more ki-mo-no made of silk, Wear no more Pogo-de
 hats Dress up like a dude in pinchback suit, Wear a lit-tle cane and spats.

D.S. to C.

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 International Copyright Secured and Reserved
 London-England, Francis, Day & Hunter 138-140 Charing Cross Road

Figure 3.3 "Goodbye Shanghai." Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

The text of “Goodbye, Shanghai” incorporates several stereotypical depictions of Chinese culture and of the relationship between Chinese-Americans and broader American society. The protagonist is referred to synecdochically as “a pig tail.” Reducing the Chinese man to his pigtail was a dehumanizing tactic common in Chinese-themed American popular compositions of the time.¹³⁸ The final verse of “Goodbye, Shanghai” abandons the narrative of the protagonist and his love, instead offering instructions to new Chinese immigrants. The immigrant (possibly the protagonist) is warned to “smoke opium no more.” Chinese culture and opium were often linked in songs of the early twentieth century, although rarely this explicitly.¹³⁹ Finally, the immigrant is urged to abandon the kimono (conflation of Chinese and Japanese culture was also very common in American popular culture at this time) and pagoda hat, dressing instead in American fashions.

“Goodbye, Shanghai” represents a vein of popular music rarely seen in circuit chautauqua until the late 1920s. Its lyrics are at odds with the movement’s ideals concerning racial and economic equality.¹⁴⁰ It was also a relatively new composition (copyright 1921) by the standards of popular music on the chautauqua circuits. The fact that a piece of recent popular music of questionable moral or educational value was included in the Redpath bureau’s repertoire speaks to the increased emphasis on entertainment in late 1920s and early 1930s, as circuit chautauqua struggled to compete

¹³⁸ For a thorough discussion of dehumanizing and emasculating stereotypes in popular depictions of Chinese men, see Judy Tsou, “Gendering Race: Stereotypes of Chinese Americans in Popular Sheet Music,” *Repercussions* 6, no. 2 (1997).

¹³⁹ Garrett and Tsou discuss frequent allusions to opium, both in lyrics and in cover art, during this period.

¹⁴⁰ See Andrew Rieser, “Canopy of Culture: Chautauqua and the Renegotiation of Middle-Class Authority, 1874-1919” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1999), 328-31.

with traveling shows and other musical venues whose sole or primary concern was entertainment.

Music publishers seized on the market for sheet music created by the circuit chautauqua movement. Not only did it provide many performer/consumers for published music, but the nature of circuit chautauqua as a musical venue and its focus on rural audiences meant that through circuit chautauqua, publishers could reach a broader audience. Several publishing companies created divisions specializing in chautauqua music. In addition to providing sheet music to chautauqua performers, these divisions also provided programming consultants, custom arrangements, and even in-house accompanists and coaches to help performers select and learn purchased music.

M. Witmark and Sons, a leading publisher of popular and stage music throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, entered into the chautauqua business in 1915 by establishing “Department C,” a comprehensive publishing and consultation services catering to lyceum and chautauqua performers. Witmark offered those performers engaged by lyceum or chautauqua bureaus a selection of sample works from its catalog gratis, including:

“In Pillowtown”	Elliot
“If”	Vanderpool
“Who Knows?”	Ball
“Spring’s a Loveable Lady”	Elliot
“Beyond the Sunset”	Tours
“Evening Brings Rest and You”	Bishop
“There’s a Long, Long Trail”	Elliott
“Too-Ra-Loo-Ra-Loo-Ral, That’s An Irish Lullaby”	Shannon

Witmark offered to customize packages for any voice or combination of instruments, and invited musicians to visit the Witmark offices in New York and Chicago to work with musical consultants and staff accompanists.

“There’s a Long, Long Trail” (see figures 3.4 and 3.5) was labeled “the song of melody that captured the chautauquas.” Witmark ran full-page advertisements in lyceum and chautauqua trade publications offering “There’s a Long, Long Trail” to “any recognized artist.”¹⁴¹ Witmark required the musician to send a business card stating bureau affiliation or a program from a lyceum or chautauqua performance, and would then send the “recognized artist” an arrangement of “There’s a Long, Long Trail” for any solo voice with piano, several vocal duet combinations, vocal solo with band, vocal quartets (male, female and mixed voices) orchestra in the key of F, G, Ab, Bb, or C, cornet solo with orchestra or band, or trombone solo with orchestra or band in published form. The publisher also offered an arrangement for vocal trio, brass quartet, or saxophone quartet in manuscript form. Furthermore, Witmark offered custom arrangements of “There’s a Long, Long Trail” for any ensemble at the request of a recognized chautauqua or lyceum musical act (see figure 3.5).

Witmark’s heavy promotion of a song seen as a chautauqua favorite, and the company’s willingness to provide (and advertise) free sheet music to chautauqua performers, indicated that circuit chautauqua was viewed as an effective means of advertising sheet music. Circuit chautauqua programs, as a general rule, did not include the printed advertisements common to musical programs of the time (though advertising was commonly seen in independent chautauqua programs). It is not known whether it

¹⁴¹ Advertisements for Witmark’s “Department C” and this particular package of sample songs appeared frequently in *The Lyceum Magazine* from 1915 through 1917.

was common (or permitted) for performers or platform superintendents to announce the commercial availability of a performed arrangement.



Figure 3.4 John McCormack, “There’s a Long, Long Trail,” Victor 64694.¹⁴²

It was uncommon—but not unheard of—for the lyceum and chautauqua trade publications to include sheet music. In general, the music was included in these publications if the publishers felt a song was especially suited for the lyceum or chautauqua platform. For instance, in 1917 *The Lyceumite* published a version of “America” with a new tune composed by Albert Liefeld, director of the Pittsburgh Ladies’ Orchestra. This new “America” was accompanied by a note entitled “American Music for America” which implied that it was not fitting for “America” to be sung to the tune of “God Save the King,” and stating that the new version would stimulate patriotism.

The September 1914 issue of *The Lyceum Magazine* included the soprano solo with piano, “If I Knew You and You Knew Me” by James MacDermid. The song includes no explanatory note, and does not appear to be an advertisement for a publisher. In fact, no publisher is listed, although a British copyright is listed. It is unclear why this particular song should have been published in *The Lyceum Magazine*, as it does not appear to have held any special significance to the lyceum or chautauqua movements, nor was it unusually popular on the circuits.

Attitudes about Music

¹⁴² There are no known recordings of musical performances on the chautauqua platform. The recordings used in this dissertation are commercial recordings from the same era. Whenever possible, recordings of musicians known to have performed in circuit chautauqua were chosen.

As discussed previously, attitudes within the circuit chautauqua movement concerning music were generally more positive than those within the lyceum movement. Circuit chautauqua involved music heavily beginning with the very first circuit in 1904, and as such did not suffer the difficulties of integrating music into an established, lecture-based format as did the lyceum. Furthermore, circuit chautauqua presented itself as a cultural outlet as well as an educational movement. This emphasis on culture, which was inherited from the Chautauqua Institution and its descendents and not present in the lyceum movement, made music an essential part of circuit chautauqua's identity. Circuit chautauqua needed music—good music—to distinguish itself from competing traveling shows and to solidify its relationship with the communities it relied on for financial support.¹⁴³

Not only were circuit chautauqua decision-makers more supportive of music than their lyceum counterparts, they were also more invested in presenting an appropriate musical product. The major chautauqua bureaus especially took great interest in the musical side of their programs, carefully screening prospective musical acts and debating various musical issues as they related to the circuit chautauqua movement. These debates, which are documented in trade publications and in the correspondence of chautauqua bureau managers, center around discussions of which types of music were appropriate for the platform, and what the purpose of music should be in the chautauqua context.

¹⁴³ This relationship is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

The Song of the Chautauquas

There's a Long, Long Trail

REFRAIN

Bravely, but not hurriedly

There's a long, long trail a - wind - ing In to the land of my
 dream - Where the night - in - gales are sing - ing And a white moon
 beams - There's a long, long night of wait - ing Un - til my
 dream all come true - Till the day when I'll be
 en - ter - ing down That long, long trail with you. There's a you

Lyric by Stoddard King
 Music by Zo Elliott

The Tremendous European Success

The Song that Lingers in Heart and Memory and Haunts with Its Sweetness

We will gladly mail a copy of this beautiful song to any recognized artist upon request. We have published it in the following forms to meet the requirements of all.

There's a Long, Long Trail

Published as

- SOPRANO Solo.
- TENOR Solo.
- CONTRALTO Solo.
- BARITONE or BASS Solo.

Orchestrations in Keys of F, G, Ab, Bb and C.

VOCAL DUET for Contralto and Soprano (or Baritone and Tenor).

VOCAL DUET for Tenor and Soprano (or Baritone and Contralto).

VOCAL SOLO with BAND Accompaniment.

VOCAL QUARTETTE for Male, Female or Mixed Voices.

CORNET SOLO with Orchestra or Band Accompaniment.

TROMBONE SOLO with Orchestra or Band Accompaniment.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS (MSS.)

VOCAL TRIO FOR ALL VOICES.

BRASS QUARTETTE (Four Cornets).

SAXOPHONE QUARTETTE.

We will arrange this Song for any Special Combination desired upon request of any booked Artist or Organization.

Kindly notify us which of the above arrangements you can use, and we will forward you same with our compliments. Enclose programme or other credentials with your request.

M. WITMARK & SONS

Dept. "C"; Witmark Building
 New York

Figure 3.5 Witmark advertisement featuring "There's A Long, Long Trail"

Those within the movement seem to have seen a great difference between art and popular music. Trade publications and inter-bureau communications clamor for more or less popular or classical music, with little acknowledgement of the spectrum of music between these labels. As with many aspects of the circuit chautauqua movement, the connotations of a particular musical genre and the audience's perception of the music and musicians were often as important as the reality of the music programmed. For this reason, performers and their managers were reluctant to let published programs speak for themselves, instead often choosing to label musical acts explicitly. Art music acts were often advertised as "real" or "authentic classic music" with the performer's musical pedigree clearly stated.¹⁴⁴ Popular acts were often advertised as "fun" or "diversions."

While this dichotomy between art and popular music was at the forefront of many discussions regarding music in circuit chautauqua, the reality of chautauqua programming was more nuanced. Many of the movement's musical staples, especially the vocal/instrumental quartets and small orchestras, performed a repertoire consisting primarily of light classical and older popular music. Ralph Dunbar, an influential chautauqua performer and impresario,¹⁴⁵ emphasized his ability to provide music between the contested extremes of popular and "classic" music in his advertisements. An advertisement for one of his namesake ensembles stated, "Ralph Dunbar is neither a long-haired 'fad,' who pretends to abhor everything but Beethoven and Brahms, nor a fiddler of tunes."¹⁴⁶ Dunbar and his many successful chautauqua musical acts are important to

¹⁴⁴ For examples of art music advertisement, see Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁵ Ralph Dunbar and his musical ensembles are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Five.

¹⁴⁶ "An International Musical Success: The Dunbar Company."

remember when considering the selection of music for chautauqua performance, as Dunbar's success speaks to a reality that was rarely acknowledged in the decades of debate surrounding popular versus art music on the circuits.

Arguments over the purpose of music in chautauqua were directly linked to arguments concerning the type of music appropriate for the platform. Those who felt music's purpose was to elevate the audience's tastes or to provide some educational or moral benefit argued that art music was the preferred genre for circuit chautauqua. Those in the industry who were more concerned with financial viability expressed concerns that too much art music would hurt attendance, and that popular music served a purpose by attracting a broader audience to the chautauqua. Finally, the more pragmatic among bureau officials worried that many circuit chautauqua musical acts simply did not possess the level of musical proficiency required to perform high-quality art music, and thus argued primarily for music that fit the abilities of the performers the bureaus were able to hire.

Pianist Luella Keller, writing in *The Lyceum Magazine*, spoke to chautauqua committees directly: "Committeeman, the day for shying at classical music is passing. If you continue to put all entertainment on your course and put on no music of high appeal, you are not doing your duty to your community." Keller argued her position by pointing to the success of the Century Opera Company of New York, which offered operas in both English and the original language targeted to audiences unfamiliar with opera.¹⁴⁷

B.C. Boer, a platform superintendent, argued that it was because of music's obligation to elevate the popular taste that overly technical art music should be avoided.

¹⁴⁷ Luella Keller, "Good Music Winning the Masses," *The Lyceum Magazine*, September 1914, 34.

In his article, “Keep Unpopular Music off Popular Programs,” he declared “not only that the musical programs should be varied so as to relieve the audiences part of the time from ‘classical agony,’ but that a great percentage of the classical music has no proper place upon the chautauqua or lyceum platform at all.” Boer was not alone in objecting to much of the art music on the platform. His rationale, however, was unusual. He went on to state, “The great object of the [music] profession now, as I can see it from a layman’s point of view, is to arouse and to stir up in the Great Depraved, by the use of music, those very better and more noble emotions to which the aforementioned Great Depraved finds itself unable to give vent in that particular manner. That this very thing can be and often is accomplished cannot be gainsaid.” While admitting that music could and did accomplish this goal, Boer felt that classical performers tended to be self-absorbed, performing music they found challenging with little or no regard to audience interest. He continued, “With that, then, as the great object of the profession of music, I am ready to assert that the musician who stands up before an audience of plain human beings and gives a demonstration of pure technique has utterly confused the means with the end and is not true to his profession.”¹⁴⁸

A.A. Thornburg, a musician with the Castle Square Entertainers, argued that the typical lyceum or chautauqua audience lacked the musical education to appreciate a lengthy program of classical music, and that such programs should be avoided. In an article in *The Lyceumite and Talent*, he stated that only “about two percent” of the population of a small town has a musical education, and that “we may talk all we want about uplifting the people to a higher musical level; it will never be done by putting on

¹⁴⁸ B.C. Boer, “Keep Unpopular Music Off Popular Programs,” *The Lyceum Magazine*, April 1914, 21.

long concerts of Beethoven, Myerbeer [*sic*], Wagner, Verdi, Chopin, etc., but by starting children to studying music.” Thornburg advocated the inclusion of some art music into a program, but did not believe small-town audiences possessed the musical sophistication to enjoy an entirely classical program. He wrote, “There is no audience, no matter how unmusical, but what will appreciate a certain amount of the best music, yet is a mistake to give an audience a two hour program of classical music, unless the audience is a select musical audience. Where will you get a select musical audience in a small town? The population is too small.”¹⁴⁹

Frank Morgan believed that art music was beyond the understanding of the lyceum or chautauqua audience. “I am as anxious as anyone to hasten the day when high-class music will be appreciated by the masses, but it is useless to try to elevate people musically if we remain on a musical platform so high above them that we cannot reach them.” Morgan did not believe the performers’ ability level was at issue, stating “I still insist that one’s success depends more (mark the exact words), more upon what is sung, played or read, than how one does it.” He combines his two principal arguments—that art music is over the audience’s heads and that the performers’ ability is largely irrelevant—by stating that “a large majority of the most distinct successes is by companies of the popular class, and even by those with comparatively uncultivated voices.”¹⁵⁰

The May 1916 edition of *The Lyceumite and Talent* featured a transcript of a roundtable discussion of chautauqua committee members from across the United States.

In a section entitled “Art and the Musician,” an unnamed committee member stated, “Our

¹⁴⁹ A.A. Thornburg, “What the Lyceum May Learn from Vaudeville,” *The Lyceumite and Talent*, August 1912, 22.

¹⁵⁰ Frank Morgan, “An Explanation,” *The Lyceumite*, December 1905, 50.

people always say they want something popular; but we find that the best music, played by high grade artists, is the most popular. When we engage a concert company of players who are not famous and not strong as individual performers, we arrange in advance for a program that is not above the capacity of the players, and when they do medium class music very well the people like it; but high grade music played by people who are not capable of comprehending it becomes a punishment alike to the critics and to the unmusical listeners, so we have this as our rule—high grade music only by high grade players; middle music by people of lesser experience; and low class music never.”¹⁵¹ The committee member expressed an unusual awareness of and sensitivity to the ability of the chautauqua performers available.

CRITICAL RESPONSE TO MUSIC

Analysis of critical response to circuit chautauqua musical performance reveals a striking difference between local critiques of individual acts and evaluations of circuit chautauqua music as a whole written for national publications. Local reviews were generally vague and avoided harsh criticism, while evaluations of the broader state of circuit chautauqua music—and of the movement as a whole—were often much more critical. It is tempting to dismiss this disparity simply as a lack of musical education on the part of the local critics, to believe that these reporters were unable to appreciate a superior performance or recognize musical inferiority. This assumption, however, ignores a complex set of circumstances surrounding the critic, both on a local and national level.

¹⁵¹ “Art and the Musician,” *The Lyceumite and Talent*, May 1916, 8.

Local newspapers exerted great influence on small-town culture in early twentieth-century America. A negative review in a respected local newspaper could be disastrous for any recurring event. Circuit chautauqua was not affected as directly by this influence as were traveling plays or carnivals, since the chautauqua itself was guaranteed not to lose money. Of course, the financial loss from an unsuccessful chautauqua was shouldered by the community guarantors, who might refuse to guarantee the chautauqua for the next year. In this way, local newspaper coverage could affect the likelihood that the chautauqua would return.

Chautauquas were often considered status symbols for rural communities. The ability to hold a chautauqua showed the community was solvent enough to make the guarantee, and that its citizens were educated enough to recognize the need for the chautauqua as a cultural opportunity.¹⁵² Furthermore, neighboring communities competed to host the best possible assembly. As discussed in Chapter Two, there was considerable variance between chautauqua bureaus in length, quality, and cost of supplied programs. Communities that could afford a more well-known chautauqua than those hosted by neighboring towns would often highlight this fact in advertising leading up to the event. In areas where several communities would host chautauquas in close proximity, it was common to see the chautauqua advertised by both the community name and the name of the bureau (for instance, “come to the Cedar Rapids Redpath Chautauqua”) while this type of advertisement is less common in areas with fewer competing chautauquas. In light of this relationship between the chautauqua and the

¹⁵² Circuit chautauqua’s role as an indicator of community maturity is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Six.

community's image, the local newspapers' reluctance to speak ill of the chautauqua is not surprising.

Reviews in local newspapers tended to focus on headlining musical acts, and often featured lengthy discussions of performers' personalities, biographies, and non-musical attributes such as costumes and appearance. A local review of the Kaffir Boys made no specific musical observations, noting only that, "The program rendered by the African Boys delighted all. It was exceedingly unique in its nature." The remainder of the review discussed the weapons displayed on stage, the boys' appearance, and their individual personalities.¹⁵³

One local review reads more like an advertisement, and may have been derived from one. A reporter for *The Thomson Review* of Thomson, IL wrote:

The Music Box Girls not only is a fun-loving group of entertainers but includes brilliant musical artists capable of doing justice to the best works of the masters. One of the specialties of the company is the adaptation of great compositions to modern tastes. The Music Box Girls are carrying on the splendid chautauqua tradition of bringing the great musical compositions to all the country and presenting them so that they can be understood and enjoyed by everyone. During the last quarter of a century, other agencies have been helping in the crusade for making good music popular. The great increase in musical knowledge through use of graphophone¹⁵⁴ and radio, attendance at concerts and study at universities has given a field for organizations which can interpret in an artistic way the most appealing music of classic works and the most worthwhile of popular present day productions.¹⁵⁵

One of the more detailed, while still self-consciously positive, reviews of a circuit chautauqua musical performance was written in the *Coshocton Weekly Times* of

¹⁵³ "Opened with Large Crowd," *Waterloo Daily Times Tribune*, July 5 1906, 5.

¹⁵⁴ The graphophone was a recording/playback device that used wax cylinders as the recording medium. The author appears to have used "graphophone" as a generic term for devices capable of reproducing sound.

¹⁵⁵ "Chautauqua Revue Easy to Listen To," *Thomson Review*, June 10 1926, 5.

Coshocton, Ohio, by reporter S.W. Sibley. Sibley's review of the Wesleyan Singers discusses multiple performances given by the act at the local chautauqua. He remarked that overall, "the quartet is well balanced and each voice is particularly adapted to the part he sings." Sibley noted that, "...perhaps the first tenor's tone had a slightly uncouth and strained effect and made suspect the so-called falsetto in the high tones, if not a decided thinness of tone. They may have been due to the fatigue of travel or some off-day condition, for he got bravely over it, and a more magnificent first tenor is seldom heard." Sibley's rush to excuse the tenor's flaws is striking, and such mitigation returns later in the review in a discussion of the baritone's performance. Sibley writes, "The first bass is characteristically baritone. A certain velvety quality of voice, while it has its charm, slightly mars the tone." Sibley's choice of "velvety" to describe a timbre he clearly viewed as undesirable seems intentionally muddled. Sibley discussed each member of the quartet individually and, with the exceptions noted above, in positive terms. He finished by reviewing the act as a whole, stating, "The blend of the quartet is fine, its harmony good and the ensemble perfect. They are equally at home in serious or comic, plain song or artistic, sacred or secular music. Their enunciation was excellent. They were very agreeable and responded to many encores. The Wesleyans have a repertoire of 125 pieces, of which at least 80 are committed. The gentlemen all have interesting personalities."¹⁵⁶

One local review began with a broad positive assessment, yet most of the specifics mentioned were negative: "The Mathisen Concert Party was very good. The soprano singer in this company was about the best of it and her work made the company

¹⁵⁶ S.W. Sibley, "Makes Critical Estimate of the Wesleyan Singers," *Coshocton Weekly Times*, July 26 1906, 8.

really what it was. However it is too small for concert work and in putting on the Bohemian girl [*sic*] was handicapped by lack of numbers.” The review continued by lamenting the excess of patriotic music performed, noting that audiences had grown tired of patriotic music by that time (1919).¹⁵⁷

As circuit chautauqua’s popularity declined, it seems it became more acceptable to for local newspapers to criticize the movement. An article in the August 7, 1930 issue of the *Terril (Iowa) Record* spent eleven paragraphs criticizing several local assemblies held that summer, and questioning whether the benefit of a chautauqua was worth the cost to the community. It described the assembly at Odebolt as “a total failure” and noted that, “as a whole the programs were not up to the standard of chautauqua years ago.” The article noted that some of the communities mentioned were either considering or had already decided not to host a chautauqua in 1931, and the author seemed to sympathize with those decisions.¹⁵⁸ This article represents a distinct departure from earlier local coverage, in which unconditional community support of the chautauqua was openly advocated.¹⁵⁹

Critiques of chautauqua music in national publications were generally less positive, if not less vague. The laudatory generalizations of the local reporters were replaced by negative stereotypes of chautauqua music on the national level. An article in *The North American Review* described art music in circuit chautauqua as Chopin, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky played on “an old piano that is moved every seven days in a

¹⁵⁷ “The Chautauqua Closes,” *Palo Alto Reporter*, July 24 1919, 1.

¹⁵⁸ “More Lowdown on Chautauqua,” *Terril Record*, August 7 1930, 8.

¹⁵⁹ Examples of local newspapers advocating financial support of chautauquas as community responsibility are discussed in Chapter Six.

baggage-car” while the audience sits enthralled and demands four or five encores.¹⁶⁰

Prominent chautauqua and lyceum trade publications were often the harshest critics of chautauqua music; one editorial proclaimed the platform to be the realm of washed-up musical celebrities surviving on reputation alone.¹⁶¹

CONCLUSION

Historically, circuit chautauqua’s relationship with music was influenced most by the independent chautauqua movement, which in turn derived its incorporation of music from the Chautauqua Institution. Although the lyceum movement was in many ways the predominant influence on circuit chautauqua (especially in the areas of business and logistics), circuit chautauqua’s relationship with music was far more akin to that of the independent chautauqua movement.

Circuit chautauqua’s musical repertoire was far from homogenous. Musical acts performed music spanning several centuries, ranging from art and sacred music of the Baroque era to popular dance music. This music reflected—and evolved along with—musical tastes of the era, and the repertoire of a given chautauqua musical act would likely not be exceedingly different from that of a similar act performing in another venue.¹⁶²

While most of the music performed in circuit chautauqua consisted of relatively standard fare, programming of circuit chautauqua music was influenced by forces specific to the movement. For instance, managers had to take into account the musical ability of the players and the itinerant nature of the venue, and balance these challenges

¹⁶⁰ Harry Hibschan, “Chautauqua Pro and Contra,” *North American Review*, no. 225 (1928): 602.

¹⁶¹ “The Lyceumiteman Talks,” *The Lyceumite* 4, no. 9 (1906): 275.

with their desire to program high-quality music in order to maintain the movement's reputation as a cultural and educational outlet. This balance was complicated by conflicting ideas about the purpose of music in circuit chautauqua, which led to debates surrounding the proportion of art and popular music on the platform. By the end of the circuit chautauqua movement, economic pragmatism generally outweighed philosophical rhetoric in the eyes of bureau managers, and the proportion of newer popular music on the circuits increased significantly.

Audience perception of circuit chautauqua music, especially as expressed in local news media, was significantly influenced by the idea that the chautauqua was good for the community, and thus should not be openly criticized. This allegiance to the chautauqua ideal waned in later years, and the public, through local newspapers, began to look at chautauqua music—and the movement as a whole—more critically. This criticism had always existed in the (urban-centered) national press, where opinion of the value of circuit chautauqua music was often negative.

The relationship of the circuit chautauqua movement to its music acts as a lens through which the history of the movement itself may be viewed. Circuit chautauqua's philosophy of music was initially heavily influenced by preceding phenomena, and evolved as the movement came to prominence. The abandonment of hard-fought musical principles in favor of ticket sales in the late 1920s and early 1930s shows the desperation of a movement in steep decline. The reluctance of the audience to critically assess circuit chautauqua's musical product speaks to the reverence given the movement by the community, and the disparity between local and national media coverage of the movement underscores differences in perception between chautauqua's largely rural

audience and its urban critics. It is for this reason that the study of music in circuit chautauqua is particularly valuable. The music itself was often unremarkable, but the way the music was viewed from within the movement, by the audience, and by the critics speaks volumes about the circuit chautauqua movement as a cultural institution.

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CHAPTER FOUR

MUSICAL PROGRAMMING IN CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA

Programming a chautauqua circuit was a deliberate—and often formulaic—endeavor. Bureaus began with programming patterns that had been successful in the independent chautauqua movement and adapted them to the singular needs of circuit chautauqua. While the bureaus orchestrated programming on the event level by scheduling acts in time-tested patterns, musical programming decisions *within* each performance were most often left to the performers.

The records of the Redpath bureau contain hundreds of promotional brochures advertising musical acts. While some of these brochures were produced by Redpath or other agencies for musicians with whom the bureaus had contracts, many were produced independently by the acts and sent to bureaus in hopes of acquiring a contract. Potential chautauqua musical acts could be called upon to audition by performing their entire program, rather than selected works, and would be expected to present at the audition a program ready for public performance.¹⁶³ This indicates that, at least on the individual performance level, each act had considerable input in programming. The bureau made programming decisions not by dictating what pieces individual acts would perform, but by choosing which acts to hire and where to place them on a program. Thus, considerable pressure was placed on prospective chautauqua acts to create a suitable program prior to soliciting bureaus.

¹⁶³ Sandra Manderson, “The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930 “ (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981), 116.

EVENT-LEVEL PROGRAMMING

It was the bureau's responsibility to assemble several days of programming in a manner suited to the platform. Each bureau had specific programming conventions and restrictions to consider, along with broader concerns about striking a balance between education and entertainment. To discuss programming in the context of bureau-specific conventions, it has been necessary to analyze programs from bureaus representing opposite ends of the circuit chautauqua spectrum. For this purpose, programs from the Redpath Bureau were chosen to represent major bureaus, while programs from Radcliffe Chautauquas were used to represent smaller bureaus.

The core sample includes six programs presented by various Redpath divisions between 1910 and 1931.¹⁶⁴ The Redpath Bureau was chosen because of its prominence in the circuit chautauqua community, and also because of the availability of twenty-eight complete programs spanning the existence of the Redpath chautauqua circuits. From these twenty-eight programs, six were chosen as representative of Redpath chautauquas. These programs represent several divisions of Redpath spanning much of the United States, and do not include added "star attractions"—famous speakers and musical acts who would appear in a limited number of high-profile chautauquas for which increased admission was charged. Programs analyzed for the study include two generic programs used by Redpath, programs from Mt. Pleasant, Charles City, and North English, Iowa; and one program from Canandaigua, New York. The earliest program analyzed is the North English, Iowa program of 1910, and the latest is from Canandaigua, New York,

¹⁶⁴ These programs are reproduced in Appendix E.

from 1931. The 1910 program was chosen rather than 1904 or 1907 because the earliest Redpath chautauquas were experimental in nature and geographically limited in scope, thus making the earliest Redpath programs less useful for detecting standard patterns that may have developed within the bureaus.

1931 was well into the decline of the circuit chautauqua movement, and near the end of Redpath chautauquas. The 1931 program is from Crawford Peffer's Redpath New York-New England circuit, which survived through 1932, several years past the divestment of the major circuit chautauqua managers in the Midwest. Just as it seemed inappropriate to draw programming conclusions based on the very earliest Redpath chautauquas, the study did not include the program from the final 1932 Redpath New York-New England circuit.¹⁶⁵ Rather, the study ends with a program from 1931, when Peffer was still confident in circuit chautauqua's ability to weather the 1930s and programming was not yet influenced by the inevitability of the movement's collapse.

Of these six chautauquas, two were five-day events, one lasted six days, and three lasted seven days. While it is true that chautauquas in general shrank in scale after 1925, this trend is not necessarily reflected across the spectrum of Redpath chautauquas, as this sample shows. The Redpath bureau was considered by many—and certainly considered itself—to be the flagship organization of the chautauqua movement, and communities who chose Redpath chautauquas were generally highly supportive of the chautauqua, even in the declining years of the movement. The same is true for Ellison-White, Midland Chautauquas, and other major bureaus. The statistical decline in length of the average chautauqua is due more to the increase in smaller chautauquas presented by

¹⁶⁵ As noted in Chapter Two, Crawford Peffer's Redpath New York-New England circuit outlasted the rest of the Redpath bureaus, which had begun to fold in the late 1920s.

bureaus catering to less affluent or less supportive communities than to shortening of programs offered by the major bureaus.

Radcliffe Chautauquas specialized in providing chautauquas to smaller (or less supportive) communities and produced shorter events. Radcliffe chautauqua programs are discussed in the study for comparison to the major bureaus' programming practices. Radcliffe programs analyzed for the study include those from Corbin, Kentucky; Maquoketa, Iowa; St. Augustine, Florida; and Las Cruces, New Mexico. The Radcliffe bureau was chosen for study in this section because of the availability of several complete programs spanning the most successful years of the circuit chautauqua movement.

DAY-LEVEL PROGRAMMING

In general, commercially-produced circuit chautauquas concentrated musical programming and lectures in the afternoons and evenings. Mornings most often featured programs for children, and these children's programs did not, as a rule, involve professional musicians. Children did participate in musical activities led by the "Junior Girl," who was most often a childcare professional on summer break. Children's activities often included performances on the chautauqua platform, including pageants and mock weddings, which could involve music.¹⁶⁶ Although independent chautauqua assemblies frequently held choir rehearsals during the mornings with the goal of a community chorus performance at the end of the assembly, there was no such event in circuit chautauqua, and the "Junior Chautauqua" performances, while involving music, were not primarily musical in nature.

¹⁶⁶ Canning discusses the role of the "Junior Girl" and the Junior Chautauqua in *The Most American Thing in America*, 42-46.

Musical events and lectures were primarily reserved for afternoons and evenings for several reasons: Crowds would be bigger after standard work hours, as those who were not able to use vacation time to attend the chautauqua (newspaper advertisements often suggested this as the ideal situation) could attend evening events after work. The program could not be adjusted to account for the weekend due to the nature of the circuit, and thus every day of a chautauqua had to be programmed as if it were a weekday. The nature of a chautauqua circuit dictated that any day's program would occasionally fall on a Sunday, causing scheduling conflicts for any morning program. In addition, those traveling a great distance to the chautauqua site would find an early morning event difficult to attend. Finally, the independent assemblies had set a precedent by featuring professional musicians and lecturers in the afternoons and evenings, and using mornings to showcase local talent. It is natural, then, that the commercial bureaus, who dealt solely with the professional performers, would structure their chautauquas in a similar fashion. Presumably, communities could have supplied local talent for morning programs to augment commercial chautauquas, but such events are not listed in any official programs.

Afternoon circuit chautauqua events usually began at 2:30 or 3:00 pm. Each of the representative Redpath programs analyzed in this section began with a musical event on the afternoon of the first day. All but one of the Redpath chautauquas began the second afternoon with a concert (the exception, from 1929, featured a magician as the sole afternoon event) and only one chautauqua began the third afternoon with a non-musical event (in this case, a lecture as the sole afternoon event). In both of the aforementioned exceptional programs, the non-musical opening act is followed by a play. Plays were lengthy events by chautauqua standards; one play would usually take the

place of two other events on a chautauqua schedule. Further analysis within this chapter will show that bureaus generally followed clear programming patterns of alternating musical and lecture events, and that aberrations from these patterns were often caused by the insertion of plays into a format not designed for them.

The fourth and fifth days of every Redpath program in the sample began with a concert. Most of these concerts were followed by lectures. These afternoon lectures were generally on lighter or pragmatic subjects, and were often billed as “popular lectures.” The same was often true of afternoon musical performances, the earlier musical event being consistently shorter and often lighter in character than the evening performance.

In circuit chautauqua, especially in the movement’s mature years, it was most common for a musical ensemble to perform both the afternoon and evening concerts on a day’s program. This is perhaps circuit chautauqua’s most dramatic musical departure from the patterns established by the earlier independent chautauqua movement. Independent assemblies would often contract with one “headliner” musical ensemble to perform evening concerts for several consecutive days, if not the duration of the assembly. Afternoon “prelude” concerts would be performed by local musicians or lesser-known professionals. Early circuit chautauqua managers attempted a modified version of this strategy. For instance, Vawter’s 1904 program kept the same musical acts in each community for several days. As the time and distance between circuit stops decreased, it became impossible for any act to spend more than one day in a community. For this reason, it became the norm in circuit chautauqua to feature a different musical act each day, and for that act to perform both the afternoon and evening concerts.

Afternoon concerts were considerably shorter than those performed in the evenings. Harry Harrison stated that these “prelude”¹⁶⁷ concerts could last anywhere between fifteen minutes and an hour,¹⁶⁸ while Victoria and Robert Case wrote that these preludes lasted twenty to forty minutes.¹⁶⁹ Most afternoon concerts were allotted thirty minutes according to published programs. The contrast between afternoon and evening concerts is best exemplified by an analysis of programs from both events.

The New York City Marine Band toured with the Ellison-White bureau throughout the western United States in 1914. Their afternoon concert program for that tour was as follows:

Stars and Stripes Forever	Sousa
Overture: <i>Poet and Peasant</i>	Suppé
Sextet from <i>Lucia</i>	Donizetti
Trio from <i>Faust</i>	Gounod
---Intermission---	
Selections from <i>Tales of Hoffman</i>	Offenbach
Selections from <i>Madame Butterfly</i>	Puccini
“The Rosary”	Nevin
Medley: Popular Airs ¹⁷⁰	

The band’s evening program was as follows:

March from <i>Tannhäuser</i>	Wagner
Overture: <i>William Tell</i>	Rossini
Quartet from <i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi
“La Donna è Mobile” from <i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi
---Intermission---	
Selections from <i>Il Trovatore</i>	Verdi
Selections from <i>The Firefly</i>	Friml
<i>American Fantasies</i>	Herbert ¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ The term “prelude” had several meanings in the circuit chautauqua movement. While it could refer to any musical performance prior to a lecture, it was often used specifically to denote shorter afternoon concerts in particular.

¹⁶⁸ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 58.

¹⁶⁹ Victoria Case and Robert Case, *We Called It Culture* (New York: Doubleday, 1948), 46.

¹⁷⁰ Reproduced in Case and Case, *We Called It Culture*, 47-48.

Although both concerts feature operatic transcriptions, the evening concert includes one more selection from grand opera. The afternoon concert begins with Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever" and ends with a medley of popular songs, while the evening concert is bookended by the relatively heavier march from *Tannhäuser* and *American Fantasies*. The use of "Stars and Stripes Forever" to open the afternoon concert may have had more to do with the concert's function of opening the day's program than with the programmer's desire to open the concert with a march. Although neither concert was especially short or placed considerable emphasis on popular music of the day, the evening concert would likely have been longer¹⁷² and did draw more from the grand opera and tone poem traditions.

Fink's Hussars Militaire, one of several musical Hussar groups touring the chautauqua circuits, published an undated sample program sheet to be sent to booking agents and local committees. This sheet gives two separate sample programs, one suited for afternoon, and one for evening. The afternoon sample program consisted of seven pieces:

"Choral March"	Chambers
Overture: <i>Il Guarany</i>	Gomez
"Meditation"	Morrison
Cornet Solo	
(a) "Fancies" Fiesta Polka	Perkins
(b) Stabat Mater	Rossini
"Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep"	Walbridge
"Crème de la Crème" Fantasia	Moses-Tobani
"Star Spangled Banner"	Sousa [<i>sic</i>]

¹⁷¹ ———, *We Called It Culture*.

¹⁷² It is impossible to know for sure, due to the vagueness of the term "selections."

The evening sample program consisted of nine musical works, two of which appear in the afternoon program as well:

“Glory of the Trumpets” March	Brockenshire
Overture: <i>William Tell</i>	Rossini
“The Old Church Organ”	Chambers
Euphonium Solo	
(a) “My Old Kentucky Home” Air Varie	Goldman
(b) The Rosary	Nevin
“The Glow-Worm” Idyl	Lincke
(a) “Hark the Herald Angels Sing”	Mendelssohn ¹⁷³
(b) “It Came Upon the Midnight Air”	Gabriel
“Crème de la Crème” Fantasia	Moses-Tobani
Nibelungen March	Wagner
“Echoes from the Metropolitan Opera House”	Moses-Tobani
“Star Spangled Banner”	Sousa [<i>sic</i>]

While it was not unusual at that time for musical groups on the chautauqua circuits and elsewhere to end a program with “The Star Spangled Banner,” and thus it is not surprising to see that piece on both programs, the repetition of “Crème de la Crème” seems contrary to the circuit chautauqua idea of two distinct concerts per day. It should be noted, however, that this concept of two entirely different performances by the same group on the same day is supported primarily by the literature, as very few extant programs of specific chautauqua musical events have been found.¹⁷⁴ This is not to say that the notion of two distinct concerts is incorrect or not the norm, but of only two programs discovered in the course of this project listing both afternoon and evening concerts, one contains a repeated number.

Most Redpath chautauqua evenings began at 8:00 pm, usually with a concert.

The evening concert was sometimes the final event of the day, but it was often followed by a lecture. The last event of the day would sometimes be an “entertainment” comprised

¹⁷³ While the carol “Hark the Herald Angels Sing” predates Mendelssohn by nearly a century, the melody commonly used for the song today is derived from a section of a cantata by Mendelssohn, and he is often credited as composer with credit for the text given to Charles Wesley.

¹⁷⁴ This issue is addressed more thoroughly later in the chapter.

of music, costumes, drama, and light lectures around a central theme. This event would often take the place of the evening lecture and concert, and thus would constitute the entire evening's program. Exotic acts were frequently featured as "entertainments" in circuit chautauqua. Redpath's 1929 Premier Circuit included full-evening entertainments by The Cossack Chorus and Vierra's Hawaiians. The Cossack Chorus's performance was billed as a "gorgeous singing pageant and entertainment supreme." The program for Vierra's Hawaiians, dubbed "A Night in Hawaii," was billed as "the most ambitious spectacle ever attempted in chautauqua."¹⁷⁵

The Raweis, a popular and long-lived act on both the chautauqua and lyceum circuits, offered an entertainment entitled "The New Zealanders in Song, Story and Picture: From Cannibalism to Culture." The program involved Wherahiko Rawei, a Maori raised by English adoptive parents, his wife, Hine Taimoa, and their daughter, Rae. The Raweis sang, gave demonstrations of Maori customs, and gave a lecture billed as "an illustrated trip through the North Island."¹⁷⁶ Although the promotional flyer for "The New Zealanders" does not elaborate on the specifics of the musical aspect of the performance, the Raweis did publish a musical program to accompany one of their lyceum acts. Selections included music from across Polynesia, from New Zealand to Hawaii, a sextet from Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and a "Polynesian version" of the hymn, "Calvary."^{177, 178}

The archetypal Redpath chautauqua daily program opened the afternoon with a musical event followed by a lecture, and resumed in the evening with another musical

¹⁷⁵ "Chautauqua: Abilene," (Redpath, 1929).

¹⁷⁶ "The New Zealanders in Song, Story and Picture: From Cannibalism to Culture," (Chicago: Manz Engraving Company, 1916).

¹⁷⁷ Presumably this is a reference to "At Calvary" by William Newell and Daniel Towner (1895).

¹⁷⁸ "The Lyceum Committee Present: The Raweis."

event, often a larger program by the very same act that had performed in the afternoon, that either concluded the evening or was followed by a lecture. Mornings during a Redpath chautauqua usually involved activities for children, or were left open for logistical reasons. Twenty-one of the forty-three days represented in the Redpath sample follow the pattern of *morning-music-lecture-music-[lecture]* exactly.

The Radcliffe programs analyzed for this section were more uniform than Redpath programs of the same time period. Much of this uniformity can be attributed to the scope of the bureau. Radcliffe was a smaller organization managing fewer circuits. Radcliffe chautauquas, at three days in length, were also considerably shorter than those produced by the major bureaus. None of the Radcliffe chautauquas studied presented events in the morning. Newspaper advertisements for Radcliffe chautauquas indicate, however, that local committees sometimes provided morning programs for children. The three earliest Radcliffe chautauquas studied followed nearly identical programming patterns. The first afternoon began with a concert followed by a lecture, while the evening began with a lecture followed by a concert. The second day began with a lecture, followed by a concert. The evening program consisted of two lectures followed by a concert. The third and final day consisted of an afternoon concert followed by a lecture, and an evening lecture followed by a concert. The only aberration from this pattern occurred on the last evening of the 1919 Las Cruces, New Mexico chautauqua. In that case, the evening began with a lecture followed by a concert, rather than a concert followed by a lecture.

Later Radcliffe chautauquas, much like their Redpath counterparts, show a struggle to integrate plays into the established daily formula. Plays most often occurred

on the second day of a Radcliffe chautauqua, and displaced the concerts normally scheduled for that day. For instance, the second day of the 1924 chautauqua in St. Augustine, Florida consisted of only one lecture and a play. The second day of the 1926 chautauqua in Corbin, Kentucky involved two one-act dramas followed by a lecture in the afternoon, followed by another lecture and a three-act play in the evening.

Alternation between musical events and lectures seems to have been the norm for bureaus across the United States and throughout the era of circuit chautauqua. Harry Harrison cited this practice of opening each segment of a circuit chautauqua day with music, stating, “We pre-luded.” Harrison claimed that “to pre-lude” became a standard term in the chautauqua business for preceding a lecture with music, and that the vast majority of lecturers supported the practice, believing the musical prelude helped set the proper tone for the lecture.¹⁷⁹

Drama carried with it a stigma that originated long before the circuit chautauqua era. Rural Americans—especially the leaders of rural communities—associated theatre troupes with the lowest forms of traveling entertainment. Medicine shows and traveling troupes might visit the town, but these strictly-commercial ventures were not supported by or associated with the community’s religious and social leaders. A chautauqua reflected upon the character of those who had invited (and usually financially guaranteed) it. The unseemly connotations of theatre made bureaus cautious about programming strictly dramatic acts for several years. It was not until 1913 that Crawford Peffer booked

¹⁷⁹ Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*, 58.

the Ben Greet Players¹⁸⁰ to tour his circuit performing Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.¹⁸¹

Opera did not carry the stigma of drama and was a fixture on the chautauqua circuits from the early years of the movement. When an opera was staged on the chautauqua platform, it was always in the evening and usually the only attraction on the evening program. It was common for individuals or small groups from the opera company to give a recital for the afternoon program, or for the opera orchestra to give a short concert. Opera companies would occasionally be prepared to present an oratorio or a recital of sacred songs in lieu of an opera if the performance fell on a Sunday and prevailing local sentiment dictated it, but this varied by bureau.

PERFORMANCE-LEVEL PROGRAMMING

Although some acts were clearly presented as “concerts,” the term was often used loosely, and is not terribly useful to indicate the actual nature of the performance. What, precisely, was involved in a typical concert on the chautauqua circuits? The real challenge for the researcher lies here, as published programs did not list individual works performed. Furthermore, there are very few indications of circuit chautauqua musical acts distributing programs for a performance to the audience. This lack of occasion-specific programs combined with the absence of live audio recordings from circuit chautauqua musical events prompt the researcher to rely on other sources for information regarding specific programming. These sources include sample programs sent to bureaus

¹⁸⁰ The Ben Greet Players were also billed as the Shakespeare Players for their chautauqua tours, possibly to add legitimacy to the venture.

¹⁸¹ Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*, 199.

and printed in publicity materials, programs provided by the acts for performances at lyceums, fairs, and other events, and unpublished set lists.

Although chautauqua audiences did not expect to be given a printed program at a performance, it appears that at least some lyceum audiences did. The Redpath Collection at the University of Iowa contains many detailed programs from lyceum performances, as do many of the smaller archives and personal collections of chautauqua performers. There was considerable overlap between rosters of circuit chautauqua and lyceum performers, and many acts were managed by the same bureau for both the chautauqua and lyceum seasons. Many of those who performed at Redpath chautauquas, for instance, booked winter performances through the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, and copies of programs from those lyceum performances (as well as school assemblies, fairs, and other occasions booked through Redpath) were kept on file by the bureau. The principal flaw in using sample programs and programs from non-chautauqua venues is that these programs do not represent concerts constructed with the need to produce two different concerts per day in mind. These programs are likely more representative of an evening chautauqua performance, rather than a shorter, lighter afternoon performance. While these programs cannot tell us exactly what the program of an act's chautauqua performance would be, they do give a reasonable indication of the repertoire and overall aesthetic of the act.

The largest source of sample programs and set lists, the collection of the records of the Redpath bureau, makes no distinction between performers who toured on the chautauqua circuits, those who sent audition materials but were not hired, and those who were engaged by the Redpath bureau strictly for lyceum work. For this reason, it was

necessary first to determine which performers actually toured the chautauqua circuits before analyzing the available sample programs. This process was initiated by cataloging one hundred forty-three complete chautauqua programs gleaned from various library and historical society collections and newspapers. Most of these programs were from independent chautauqua meetings or cite no commercial bureau affiliation, and as such were not directly applicable to this study. Forty-two of the programs were produced by commercial chautauqua bureaus. These forty-two chautauqua programs listed one hundred sixty-nine distinct musical acts.¹⁸²

Most of these one hundred sixty-nine acts can be placed, by analysis of sample programs or advertising materials, into one of five categories. The first category, *novelty*, comprises groups that billed themselves as novelties, or that placed great emphasis on non-musical aspects of performance and non-musical abilities of the performers. Examples of non-musical aspects include dramatic reading, costume dramas, juggling, magic, and giving “chalk talks.”¹⁸³ While the presence of one dramatic reader with an ensemble or the use of costumes in performances does not conclusively brand an act as a novelty, in situations where several (or all) members of a group are advertised first as dramatic readers, or the beauty of the costumes is emphasized over the nature of the music, the group is rightly categorized as a novelty. Other groups were labeled as novelties by their managers, and were sometimes billed as novelties in program brochures. Finally, it is important to note that no group was labeled as a novelty based on

¹⁸² It should be noted that there were several instances of different incarnations of the same act under different names. For instance, Vierra’s Hawaiians and Vierra’s Royal Hawaiians were two different acts, although they shared common management and incorporated several of the same personnel.

¹⁸³ The term “chalk talk” refers to a lecture accompanied by real-time illustrations, often done on a chalkboard, by the lecturer. Chalk talks were very popular on the chautauqua circuits, especially in later years. Harrison discusses this phenomenon in *Culture Under Canvas*.

analysis of a sample musical program, as none of the groups in the novelty category provided sample programs to the Redpath Bureau. This failure to provide details regarding the music performed is another hallmark of the novelty acts.

The second category of musical acts on the chautauqua circuits comprises the exotic acts. This category is perhaps not as straightforward as it might seem; there are several factors to consider beyond national origin when assigning the “exotic” label. As was the case throughout the United States in the early twentieth century, many chautauqua musicians, especially those in the wind bands and orchestras, were not originally from the United States.¹⁸⁴ These musicians, however, performed a repertoire not specifically linked to their cultures of origin. Exotic acts on the chautauqua circuits usually included a cultural indicator in their name. Examples include The Russian Cossack Chorus, The Spanish Serenaders, and The Alpine Singers and Yodelers. These groups often performed in costume and performed works from their identified culture and, occasionally, standards from the light classical and popular repertoires. Loseff’s Russian Orchestral Quartet performed selections including Russian folk songs, pieces from the Russian art music repertory, Italian opera transcriptions, and popular numbers including a fantasia on “My Old Kentucky Home.”¹⁸⁵

Popular acts were least prevalent in the sample. This is not to say that popular music was rare on the chautauqua circuits. On the contrary, popular music was a staple for many of the quartets and novelty acts engaged by commercial circuit bureaus. One

¹⁸⁴ This fact would become a sticking point in the years surrounding World War I, and smaller chautauqua bureaus would try to capitalize on the major bureaus reliance on foreign musicians by labeling their own bands and orchestras as “American.” Harrison discusses the stigma against foreign bands in *Culture Under Canvas*.

¹⁸⁵ “Losseff’s Russian Orchestral Quartet.” Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

chautauqua musical act made a point of taking requests during its afternoon performance for numbers to be performed in the evening. The leader of the group kept a record of the most often requested pieces. His list of the nineteen most requested pieces was reproduced by Allen Albert in his article, "Tents of the Conservative." The list contained the following pieces: "Annie Laurie," "Love's Old Sweet Song," "The Palms," "One Fine Day" from *Madame Butterfly*, "Goodbye" (Totsi), "My Heart at Thy Dear Voice" from *Samson and Delilah*, "Aloha Oe," "Song of the Evening Star," "Absent," "I Hear You Calling Me," "Cujus Animam" from *Stabat Mater*, Minuet in G (Beethoven), Melody in F (Rubenstein), "Humereske," (Dvořák), Largo from *Xerxes* (Handel), "Pilgrims' Chorus" from *Tannhäuser* (Wagner), "Spring Song," (Mendelssohn), "Meditation" from *Thais* (Massenet).¹⁸⁶ This list of the most popular selections in the repertoire of an unnamed quintet reflects a common phenomenon among chautauqua musical acts: while popular music was common on the circuits, it often fell to performers of light classical, exotic, or other genres to provide popular tunes by integrating them into their acts.

There were very few acts whose repertoires consisted solely or primarily of popular music. Those groups who did perform popular music primarily or exclusively usually employed a recognizable theme to the act and limited musical selections to (or at least emphasized) those fitting the theme. For instance, the Four College Girls performed medleys of popular college fight songs and songs about college life and sports, as well as standard popular songs of the era. Jubilee singers also sang popular songs around a

¹⁸⁶ Allen Albert, "The Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, July 1922, 56.

central theme, that of African-American folk music.¹⁸⁷ Another such group, The Old Home Singers, was a musical company formed by Charles Horner, manager of Redpath-Horner, to capitalize on nostalgia for popular music of the past. The Old Home Singers, discussed at length in Chapter Seven, sang popular songs from the 1850s while dressed in period costumes.

A number of art music performers toured on the chautauqua circuits. These acts included opera companies, wind bands, small orchestras, choirs, vocal soloists, violinists, and flexible groups presenting chamber music. Art music performers often supplied sample programs or repertoire lists, and were presented in serious poses in advertisements. These acts were often “headliners” of their circuits, occupying the most desirable and well-attended spots on the program.

It was not uncommon for the orchestra of an opera company to perform a prelude concert in the afternoon prior to the evening’s opera. This is not surprising, considering the chautauqua tradition of musical attractions performing twice each day and the logistical problems associated with staging two operas per day. These orchestras were usually billed by the title of the opera. For instance, The Gondoliers Orchestra appears often in chautauqua programs. This was not a specific group—there were likely several orchestras using the name “The Gondoliers Orchestra” simultaneously--but rather denotes the orchestra touring with a company performing Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Gondoliers*.

Of course, a sizeable number of musicians touring the chautauqua circuits do not fit squarely into any of the above categories. Many acts combined several genres of

¹⁸⁷ Jubilee Singers are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 7.

music, or were advertised and billed so vaguely as to render accurate categorization impossible. There was, however, a combination of genres so popular in circuit chautauqua as to necessitate a separate category. Chautauqua's idea of "classic music popularized, popular music dignified"¹⁸⁸ is exemplified by the abundance of musical acts performing a combination of what could be termed "light classical" and "heavy popular" music. The Edna White Quartette, an instrumental group composed of two trumpets, a trombone, and euphonium, published a partial repertoire list divided between "classic" and "popular" pieces, also noting that the group was prepared to offer a "very lovely sacred repertoire" (see figure 4.1). The most telling aspect of this program is the group's "popular" repertoire, which included works by Verdi and Donizetti along with pieces more akin to the standard popular repertory of the era.

This combination was especially favored by vocal/instrumental quartets, themselves a staple of the circuit chautauqua movement. The Oxford Company, a group formed and coached by chautauqua and lyceum impresario Elias Day, published a sample program consisting of two halves (see figure 4.2). The first half consisted of popular pieces, while Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* comprised the second half.

Extant sample programs have been located for forty five of these confirmed circuit chautauqua musical acts. It is difficult to generalize about a "typical" circuit chautauqua musical program for many reasons, not the least of which is the total lack of detailed programs for novelty acts.

¹⁸⁸ J.D. Reed, "Program: Elmwood Chautauqua," (Elmwood, NE: 1912).

Partial Repertoire



CLASSIC

Andante Cantabile.....*Tchaikowsky*
Liebesträume.....*Liszt*
Prelude.....*Rachmaninoff*
Nocturne.....*Mendelssohn*
Liebeslied.....*Kreisler*
Pomp and Circumstance.....*Elgar*
Pilgrims Chorus.....*Wagner*
Largo (from New World Symphony).....*Dvorak*
Minuet.....*Beethoven*
Early Spring.....*Mendelssohn*
Traumerai.....*Schumann*
Serenade.....*Schubert*
Lullaby.....*Mozart*
Romance.....*Rubinstein*
Valse in A Major.....*Brahms*
Waltz from Copellia.....*Delibes*
Cavatina.....*Raff*
To a Wild Rose.....*MacDowell*
 Selections from
Madame Butterfly.....*Puccini*
Lohengrin.....*Wagner*
Carmen.....*Bizet*

POPULAR

Sextette from Lucia.....*Donizetti*
Quartette from Rigoletto.....*Verdi*
Raymond Overture.....*Thomas*
Scherzo.....*Carbonara*
Morning, Noon and Night.....*Suppè*
Medley.....*Victor Herbert*
Kerry Dance.....*Molloy*
Bells of St. Mary's.....*Old English*
Washington Post.....*Souza*
Barcarolle (from Tales of Hoffman).....*Offenbach*
I Hear You Calling Me.....*Marshall*
Carmena Waltz.....*Wilson*
Negro Spirituals
Sliding Jim.....}.....*Trombone*
Serio Comique.....}.....*Novelties*
 Etc., etc., etc.

SACRED

The quartette has also a very lovely sacred repertoire, and is prepared to do the entire scores of Handel's *Messiah* and Gaul's *Holy City* in conjunction with church choirs.

Figure 4.1 Repertoire list from an undated promotional brochure of the Edna White Quartette. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

Sample Program

PART I

Quartette: (a) Bridal Chorus (from the Rose Maiden) Cowen
(b) Lullaby Kate Vannah

Contralto Solos: Love's Trinity Reginald DeKoven
VERAE ROSS COBURN

Quartette: (a) The Miller's Wooing Eaton Fanning
(b) Song of the Peddler C. Lee Williams
(From Shakespeare's Winter Tale)

Soprano Solo: Yesterday and Today Chas. Spröss
STELLA SEBASTIAN OGDEN

Quartette: Seven Nursery Rhymes:

1. Lullaby
2. Willie Winkie
3. Valentine
4. T'other Little Tune H. Walford Davies
5. Thomas & Annis
6. If all the Seas were one Sea
7. The White Paternoster

Piano Solo: Staccato Etude Rubenstein
HARRISON W BURCH

PART II

Comic Opera: Mikado Gilbert & Sullivan

Cleveland - WHITE, Boston - MUTUAL, Chicago - ALKABEST, Atlanta -
E. Dallas - ELLISON-WHITE, Boise - Portland - COIT - ALBER CHAU-
QUA CO., Cleveland - THE COIT-NEILSON LYCEUM BUREAU, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Figure 4.2 Sample Program, Oxford Company. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

Because of this lack of representation of novelty acts in the program sample, as well as the over-representation of extant art music programs relative to the number of art music acts on the circuits, it is impossible to make assumptions about programming trends based on available sample programs. Rather, it is necessary to discuss detailed musical programming on a genre-by-genre, and ideally act-by-act, basis.

As previously mentioned, no extant programs have been found detailing the musical content of a novelty act on the chautauqua circuits. From descriptions and advertising ephemera it is possible, however, to discern what often occurred during a novelty musical performance, even if we cannot know precisely what music was performed and in what order. The Dearborn Concert Party, for instance, advertised its program as “pleasing entertainment, consisting of ensemble numbers of harp, violin, and flute; vocal trios, duets, vocal trios in Spanish costume accompanied by mandolin and guitars, and sketches. Their individual work consists of American harp solos, Irish harp and Irish character songs, whistling solos with short talks on birds, violin solos, and readings.”¹⁸⁹ While this description is not as informative as a sample program, it does give an indication as to the breadth and character of the group’s performances.

One novelty musical act, the Van O. Browne Novelty Trio, did provide sample programs to the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, and performed under the bureau’s management on the lyceum circuits, but does not appear on any of the commercial chautauqua programs analyzed in this study. A later group led by Van Browne, known as the Van Browne Entertainers, toured with Acme Chautauquas in 1921. The Van O. Browne Novelty Trio seems to have provided a more subdued program than those described by

¹⁸⁹ “Dearborn Concert Party,” (Chicago, IL: International Lyceum Bureau).

other novelty groups, although it is impossible to assert this definitively, given the lack of programs for comparison. The Van O. Browne Novelty Trio's program for a benefit concert at a Congregational church in Wauwatosa, WI follows:

"Come Where the Lilies Bloom"	Thompson
Overture: <i>Modiste</i>	Herbert
Male Trio	
(a) "Bells of St. Mary's"	Adams
(b) "Nights in Dixie"	
Novelty Rag Pictures ¹⁹⁰	Mr. Browne
Flute Solo- "The Whirlwind"	Kranz
Duet- "Awake Dearest One"	Ball
Duet- "Call Me Back, Pal o' Mine"	Dixon
Accordion Solo- Prison Scene from <i>Il Trovatore</i>	Verdi
Male Trio	
(a) "Round the Fire"	
(b) "Tomorrow"	
Flute and Clarinet Duet	
(a) "Angel's Serenade"	Braza
(b) "Three o'Clock"	
Tenor Solo	
(a) "I Don't Know How I Do It"	Herbert
(b) "Pretty As A Picture"	
Novelty Piano Solo	Mr. Browne
Saxophone Solo (selected)	Mr. Dalin
Impression of Edwin Boothe in Bulwar Lytton's Poetical-Romantic Drama <i>Cardinal Richelieu</i>	
Bass Solo (Selected)	Mr. Dalin
Male Trio, sacred, "The Recessional"	De Koven
Novelty Trio, instrumental, popular	
Closing Goodbye	Male Trio ¹⁹¹

Another program from 1920, which appears to have been altered by someone affiliated with the group (see 4.3) includes an added "up to date magic-including a 'study' of the ancient Hindoo [sic] art of 'crystal gazing.'"¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ "Rag pictures" likely refers to a short talk illustrated by the use of felt shapes on a board combined in novel ways.

¹⁹¹ "Van O. Browne Novelty Trio," (Wauwatosa, WI: Wauwatosa Playground Fund, 1920).

¹⁹² "Van O. Browne Novelty Trio," (Young Calvinist Program Committee, 1920).

The Browne program consists of many short selections, a pattern common to circuit chautauqua performances regardless of genre. A program from the 1913 American tour of the Russian Balalaika Orchestra, a popular exotic act on the circuits, consisted of fifteen short pieces:

Tzarina	Russian Folk Song
Butterfly Valse	W. W. Andreeff
Beer-Berry	Russian Wedding's Song [sic]
Russian Folk Song	
(a) Echo of the Forest	
(b) On the River	
Rondo Capriccioso	Saint-Saens
Passe-Pied	Delibes
Souvenir Valse-The Moscow	W. W. Andreeff
Jocelyn	Godard
Serenade	Pierne

—Intermission—

Finale	
(a) Romance	Rachmaninoff
(b) Gavotte et Musette	Tar Sulin
Tshardasch	W. W. Andreeff
Mosquito Dance	Russian Folk Song
Gatschino Valse	W. W. Adreeff
The Volga's Boatmen Song	Russian Folk Song
The Bright Moon	Russian Dance ¹⁹³

¹⁹³ "American Tour: Russian Balalaika Orchestra," (1913).

PROGRAM



8. (a) Travesty on "Comin' Thro' the Rye" G. O'Hara
(b) "Sittin' Round the Fire" Anon.
MALE TRIO

9. Accordion Solo Selected
MR. VAN BROWNE

10. (a) "Hawthorne" H. A. Vander Cook
(b) "Who's Sorry Now" Ted Snyder
Cornet Solos, MR. DESMOND

11. Master Impersonation of Edwin Booth as "Cardinal Richelieu"

12. *up to date magic - including a "study" of the ancient Hindoo art of "Crystal gazing"*
MR. VAN BROWNE
13. Accordion & Saxophone Duet
Original "Operatic Burlesque"

14. "The Holy City" F. E. Weatherly
"The Rosary" E. Nevin
MALE TRIO

15. Military March "National Emblem" .. E. E. Bagley
INSTRUMENTAL TRIO

Closing



Figure 4.3 Program Van O. Browne Novelty Trio with hand-written alterations. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

The program consists primarily of Russian music, but also includes non-Russian works from the Western art music repertory. The Russian Balalaika Orchestra, like many large ensembles of the era, sometimes toured with a singer. In 1915, the orchestra performed with soprano Pauline Donald. A 1913 program lists Gregory Besrodny as violin soloist, while other programs list no soloists aside from the conductor, Alexander Kiriloff, who also performed as featured balalaika soloist. It seems natural to conclude that the inclusion of Western standards might be due to the employment of non-Russian singers and instruments other than the balalaika. Analysis of programs, however, does not support this theory. There is no significant difference in the proportion of non-Russian music between programs featuring non-balalaika soloists and those programs performed exclusively on balalaikas.

Popular acts, as previously mentioned, often programmed entire concerts (or their entire repertoire) around a central theme. The College Girls, who toured with impersonator and entertainer Walter Eccles, were a staple of the chautauqua and lyceum circuits. The group, like many circuit chautauqua acts, weathered several changes in both personnel and focus throughout its existence. A 1908 promotional brochure lists ten members performing in various ensembles including a Scotch quartet, a Spanish-themed guitar ensemble, a dramatic troupe, and a drum corps. Later incarnations of the College Girls are smaller and more focused on the theme of college, although non-musical performances, particularly by Eccles, remain. An undated program of Walter Eccles and the Four College Girls (the most popular and longest-lived incarnation of the College Girls) under the management of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau contains the following musical numbers:

Medley of College Songs	Arr. Pearsall
“The Miller’s Wooing”	
Telephone Song from <i>Havana</i>	
“The Raggedy Man”	
Mandolin Quartet	
Duet from <i>Hansel and Gretel</i>	
Medley of Scotch Songs	
“Rose of my Life”	Rose
“Ching a Ling a Loo”	Hoffman
Song	
“The College Boat Race”	Kobbe
“Foot Ball”	Gilman
“Hiram Soule”	Gilman
Dutch Character Song	
Motor Song	
“The Soldier Boy”	Pearsall

Several pieces on the program reference the group’s primary theme (college), although the program also contains several popular and ethnic caricature songs having nothing to do with college. This is a common pattern for acts specializing in popular music on the chautauqua circuits. Also included in the program were several non-musical events, most of which served as vehicles for Walter Eccles’ impersonations and oratory.

The Schumann Quintet, a group comprised of two violins, a cello, and two pianos, provided two sample programs, one for “those desiring purely classical expression,” and one for “committees desiring more popular classics.” The “purely classical” program consisted of ten pieces as follows:

Overture to <i>The Marriage of Figaro</i>	Mozart
Andante from “Pastoral” Symphony	Beethoven
Concerto for Violin, first movement	Beethoven
<i>Invitation to the Dance</i>	Weber
Hungarian Rhapsody No. 12	Liszt
Concerto for Cello	Saint-Saens
“Caro None” [sic] from <i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi
“Cradle Song”	Brahms
Agnus Dei	Bizet
Waltz from <i>Dornröschen</i>	Tchaikovsky

The program of “popular classics” included eight works:	
Overture to <i>Der Freischütz</i>	Weber
Selection from <i>Tannhauser</i> [sic]	Wagner
Aria, “a fors e lui” [sic] from <i>Traviata</i>	Verdi
Cello Solo	Schumann
Nocturne	Chopin
<i>The Loreley</i> (Paraphrase)	Nesvadba
<i>Liebesfreud</i>	Kreisler
Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2	Liszt

An undated program from a performance of the Music Makers Quartet, a brass/vocal quartet, in Daytona, Florida, shows a typical mix of light classical and relatively subdued popular songs:

Prelude- “If I Had My Way”	
March- “Honey Boy”	
Overture- <i>Inspiration</i>	
“A Chip of [sic] the Old Block”	
Medley of Remick’s Hits	
Trombone Solo- “Wings of the Morning”	
Priests’ March from <i>Athalia</i>	Bebe
Saw Specialty	
Barcarolle from <i>Tales of Hoffman</i>	Offenbach
“The Typical Tune of Zanzibar”	
Cornet Solo- Selected	
Humorous Song	
Medley of Operatic Airs	
“Mosquitoes”	
March- “The Music Makers” ¹⁹⁴	

In 1910, the chautauqua committee at Charles City, Iowa, took the unusual step of printing souvenir programs specifically for a performance by contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink. This program is very valuable to this study, as it is the only known printed program for a single chautauqua musical event¹⁹⁵ (see figure 4.4). Schumann-

¹⁹⁴ “Music Makers Quartet,” (Daytona Beach Lyceum).

¹⁹⁵ It appears that the Redpath bureau at one point printed a program for chautauqua appearances by mezzo-soprano Julia Claussen. This program, however, lists three options for each number of the program,

Heink performed with an accompanist, and shared the program with a piano soloist (not the accompanist), Sara Suttel. The program lists eighteen short pieces, with Schumann-Heink being featured in thirteen and the remainder performed by Suttel. At first glance, the program seems to indicate that Schumann-Heink and Suttel would perform a selection from each numbered grouping. However, sections II and IV are labeled “piano soli” and section V is labeled “Five English Songs.” This would seem to indicate that each piece listed on the program was to be performed that night. If this was the case, the program would have been exceptionally long. However, a program consisting of five short pieces would be much shorter than the norm for an evening performance as described by Harrison and exemplified by the evening programs discussed earlier in this chapter.

Sunday presented a special problem for circuit chautauqua operators. Independent chautauqua committees had freedom to schedule programs to fit the needs of their communities, while circuit chautauqua communities had little flexibility in this regard. Independent assemblies, especially in the eastern United States, were often affiliated with religious groups, and as such could supply religious speakers, services, and sacred music for religious holy days that would fall within the chautauqua week. Commercial bureaus

and as such is not useful in reconstructing a specific program for a single performance. The program is on file in the Redpath Chautauqua Collection at the University of Iowa, Box 68.

Mme. SCHUMANN-HEINK

Assisted by

MRS. KATHERINE HOFFMAN, Accompaniste

MISS SARA SUTTEL, Piano Soloist

PROGRAM

I.

- a. Arie from "Sapho" - - - - - Gounod
- b. Arie from "Samson and Dalilah" - - - - - Saint Saens
- c. "O Rest in the Lord" (From Elijah) - - - - - Mendelssohn

MME. SCHUMANN-HEINK

II.

Piano Soli—

- a. Three Etudes - - - - - } Liszt
- b. Scherzo - - - - - }

MISS SARA SUTTEL

III.

- a. Gretchen am Spinnrad - - - - - } Schubert
- b. Haideroslein - - - - - }
- c. Erl-Konig - - - - - }
- d. Das Erkennen - - - - - } Loewe
- e. Wiegenlied - - - - - } Hans Herrmann

MME. SCHUMANN-HEINK

IV.

Piano Soli—

- a. Dance-March - - - - - Suttel
- b. Gnomenreigen (Dance of the Elf's) - - - - - Liszt
- c. Campanella - - - - - Paganini-Liszt

MISS SARA SUTTEL

V.

Five English Songs—

- a. The Rosary - - - - - Nevin
- b. O Let Night Speak of Me - - - - - } Chadwick
- c. Danza - - - - - }
- d. His Lullaby - - - - - } Bond
- e. Love in a Cottage - - - - - } Rudolf Ganz

MME. SCHUMANN-HEINK

The Steinway Piano Used.

Figure 4.4 Program of chautauqua performance by Ernestine Schumann-Heink. State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).

contracted with committees that were most often composed of local business leaders or a broad spectrum of community (including religious) leaders, but circuit chautauquas were not, as a rule, engaged by specific religious groups.

Deferring to the religious sensibilities of an entire community was not as feasible as catering to the needs of one sponsoring religious group, and circuit chautauqua bureaus struggled to create a Sunday program acceptable to a variety of belief systems.

This problem was compounded by the nature of the circuit chautauqua system, which did not guarantee that the same program would regularly fall on a Sunday. For instance, if a chautauqua circuit began in Community A on a Sunday, the Sunday acts from community A would be the Monday acts for Community B, and would not perform again on a Sunday until Community H, assuming a tight circuit with venues less than one day of travel apart. It was not possible, then, for the bureaus to designate one group of acts as the Sunday program, since each act on the circuit would most likely be performing every Sunday.

The first step in assuring that a circuit chautauqua program complied with prevailing sentiment regarding Sundays was to avoid direct time conflict between chautauqua programs and church services. This primarily necessitated leaving Sunday morning free of activities. Bureaus did not usually program musical performances or lectures in the mornings, reserving mornings for children's activities or local events. It was not difficult, then, for circuit chautauqua bureaus to clear Sunday mornings, as doing so most likely involved nothing more than suspending the children's chautauqua for a day.

Children's chautauquas were not a drawing card of the week, and were usually held every day (aside from Sunday) throughout the event, so suspending the children's chautauqua in deference to Sunday would not cause a major disruption to the program or draw complaints from the ticket-buying community.

The approach to Sunday afternoon and evening programming varied from bureau to bureau and changed through the years. Early circuits were more likely to conduct religious services on Sunday evenings, often based on the vespers published for use at the Chautauqua Institution. These services were conducted in addition to other programming, which may or may not have been sacred in nature. The 1913 chautauqua in North English, Iowa, produced by Redpath-Vawter, offered a Sunday program consisting of an afternoon performance by the Lilliputian Entertainers followed by a lecture by Robert Vessey, former governor of South Dakota. The "Chautauqua Vesper" service was added to the program at 4:30 p.m., a time left open for dinner on other days. The evening program began with the Lilliputian Entertainers, and concluded with a lecture entitled "The Rich and the Poor" by Hugh Orchard.¹⁹⁶ The addition of the vespers service did not disrupt the program, and could have been inserted into any of the daily programs.

While some chautauqua bureaus used the vespers service prepared and published by the Chautauqua Institution,¹⁹⁷ the Redpath-Vawter bureau published its own short vespers service for use during its chautauquas. The service began with "Day is Dying in the West," a hymn composed for and most commonly associated with the Chautauqua Institution, followed by a short prayer by the leader and the "Our Father" by the

¹⁹⁶ "Chautauqua: North English, Iowa," (Redpath-Vawter, 1913).

¹⁹⁷ This was done with the blessing of the Institution, as indicated in the published services.

audience. Next came the hymn “Jesus, Saviour, Pilot Me,” by Edward Hopper and John Gould, followed by a responsive reading of Psalm 103. This was followed by congregational singing of “The Star Spangled Banner” and “America.”¹⁹⁸ The final hymn was “Abide With Me,” by Henry Lyte to the tune “Eventide” by William Monk, followed by a spoken benediction.¹⁹⁹

There is also no indication in the 1913 North English program that either the music or lectures were altered to accommodate for Sunday. It was not unusual, however, for bureaus to combine a vespers service with sacred musical programs, religious lectures, or both. The 1915 program for North English, also produced by Redpath-Vawter, presented a “high grade musical” by the El Dorado Grand Opera Company to begin Sunday afternoon, followed by a “business talk” by lecturer S.A. Baker. Like the 1913 program, a vespers services is inserted during the dinner break (this one at 4:15). The evening program consisted solely of “oratorio music” by the El Dorado Grand Opera Company; there was no lecture or other event in the evening.²⁰⁰

It was also common for chautauqua bureaus not to alter the program schedule at all, but rather to assure audiences that the scheduled acts would provide lectures and music appropriate for Sunday. The program for the 1922 Midland Chautauquas circuit was generic, listing events in the program by “First Day,” “Second Day,” etc., rather than specifying dates. Doing so allowed Midland Chautauquas to produce one program for distribution to the entire circuit, rather than producing programs for each community. At the end of the program was the statement, “All Sunday programs appropriate to the

¹⁹⁸ The texts for these songs are printed side by side, indicating that it may have been intended for one to be selected and sung, rather than both.

¹⁹⁹ “Vesper Service as Conducted on Redpath Vawter Chautauquas,” (Redpath-Vawter).

²⁰⁰ “Chautauqua North English Iowa,” (Redpath-Vawter 1915).

day.”²⁰¹ Such a statement indicated that Midland either considered each act on the program to be appropriate for Sunday in its usual state, or that each act could alter its program to be appropriate for Sunday if needed.

As the chautauqua movement declined, bookings became fewer and scheduling became less tight. With fewer dates to fill, it was possible for even the major bureaus to build a day off into the circuit schedules. Considering the accommodations often needed for Sundays, it was logical to make Sundays the “dead day” on the schedule, and this is precisely what bureaus often did in the late 1920s.

Of course, each of these approaches assumes that the host community is predominantly Christian, that they worship on Sunday, and that they are willing to accept musical and dramatic performances of any kind on Sundays. There were certainly communities for which these assumptions would prove false. For instance, in the eastern United States there were chautauquas produced by and for Jewish communities. There were also communities throughout the United States in which the predominant form of Christianity forbade non-church activities of any kind on Sunday. These communities were unlikely to contract with a circuit chautauqua bureau because of the inability of the bureaus to accommodate their needs, and as such were likely to produce their chautauquas independently rather than host a commercial circuit chautauqua.

THE CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

Although the lack of detailed programs for many chautauqua musical acts makes it impossible to reconstruct an entire week’s program, it is possible to approximate the musical experience of an average chautauqua-goer using available evidence. The first

²⁰¹ “Midland Chautauqua: Pocahontas, Iowa,” (Midland Chautauquas, 1922).

step in musically reconstructing a “typical” chautauqua was to select a program intended for wide distribution, that is, one produced by a major bureau for a large circuit. It was also important that the selected program be a “base” program free from added “star” attractions, musical or otherwise. To ensure that the program reflected the base program offered by that particular circuit, the printed program used was selected from the generic programs published by bureaus which could be printed with the name and chautauqua dates of any community on the circuit. For these reasons, the 1929 Redpath De Luxe²⁰² program was chosen as the basis for reconstruction of a circuit chautauqua musical experience.

The program lasted seven days and involved six musical acts in ten performances. Not surprisingly, detailed programs from chautauqua performances of each of the six acts do not survive. The Filipino Collegians published a sample repertoire in the group’s advertising brochure, while the Redpath bureau published a program to be distributed at lyceum performances of the Cathedral Choir. It appears the remaining four musical acts on the 1929 Redpath De Luxe circuit left no programs from which to extrapolate possible chautauqua programs. However, this is not entirely the case, as the group labeled “Edna White and Her Trumpeters” in the Redpath program appeared under at least two other monikers in lyceum and other venues. Programs from this group performing under the two other names survive and can be used to create possible programs for morning and evening chautauqua performances.²⁰³ The third day of the chautauqua involved an afternoon concert by the Jackson concert artists and an evening performance by contralto

²⁰² By the late 1920s, it was not uncommon to see Redpath circuits labeled “deluxe” or “premier” rather than bearing the name of the bureau manager (e.g., Redpath-Vawter) or location of bureau headquarters (e.g., Redpath-Chicago).

²⁰³ Despite the “trumpeters” name, the group was in fact a brass quartet involving two trumpets, a trombone, and a baritone horn.

Lorna Doone Jackson. Programs do not survive for either act. For purposes of this study, similar acts were selected for whom programs do survive. An short program of the Rahm Family Concert Orchestra was used in place of the Jackson Concert artists, and a program from a chautauqua performance of Edna White, contralto, was substituted for Lorna Jackson's solo evening performance. Finally, two chautauqua playlists—one from an afternoon concert and one from an evening performance—found in the records of the Krantz Family Concert Company,²⁰⁴ are substituted for missing programs of the Blue Danube Orchestra. Using these substitutions, it is possible to create an approximation of the musical experience of an audience member at the 1929 Redpath De Luxe chautauqua.

The chautauqua began with a popular concert by the Filipino Collegians, which might have included “The Indian Love Call,” “Blue Skies,” “Miami Shore,” and the popular Philippine march, “Katikas.” The evening concert would have included sketches about Philippine life interspersed between musical numbers including “The Philippine Overture,” Schubert’s “Serenade,” and *Philippine Bolero Overture*. The evening concluded with a lecture by Montaville Flowers entitled “What Young America is Thinking.”

The second day of the 1929 De Luxe circuit was indicative of the late-1920s programming shifts discussed earlier, in that involved neither music nor a lecture. The afternoon consisted of a performance of “magic and mystery” by escape artists Mardoni and Company. *Sun-Up*, billed as the “great drama of the Carolina mountains” performed by a “New York cast” was the evening offering.

²⁰⁴ These records are housed in Special Collections at the University of Iowa, Iowa City. They are located alongside, but are not part of, the Redpath collection.

The third afternoon began with a prelude concert by the Jackson Concert Artists, which likely resembled this program presented by the Rahm family:

Coronation March	Meyerbeer
Intermezzo	Mascagni
Trombone Solo	
Prize Song	Wagner
Violin Duet	
Intermission	
Calif of Bagdad	Bieldica
Cornet Solo	
Spring's Awakening	Bach
Miserere from <i>Il Trovatore</i>	Verdi
Pizzicata Polka	Strauss

The prelude concert was followed by a lecture-recital of poetry by Anne Campbell entitled "Everyday Poetry."

The evening "grand concert" by Lorna Doone Jackson would have been rather substantial, being the only offering on the evening program, was probably similar to this program by Edna White:

Aria "O Don Fatale"	Verdi
"She Never Told Her Love"	Haydn
"Come and Trip It"	Handel
"When Love is Kind"	
"In an Old Fashioned Town"	Squire
"Good Morning Brother Sunshine"	Lehman
"The Brownies"	Leoni
Sanctuary	LaForge
Three Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes	
Christ in Flanders	Stephens

The fourth afternoon of the chautauqua began with a prelude concert by Edna White and Her Trumpeters. Based on other programs and the group's published repertoire list, such a program likely included:

Quartet from <i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi
Medley	Victor Herbert
Trombone Solo	
"I Hear You Calling Me"	Marshall
Barcarolle from <i>Tales of Hoffman</i>	Offenbach

This concert was followed by a travel lecture by aviator Denis Rooke.

Edna White and Her Trumpeters also gave the evening musical performance, which was most likely more serious in nature than that of the afternoon:

Faust Fantasy	Gounod
Serenade	Schubert
Romance	Rubinstein
Cavatina	Raff
Nocturne	Mendelssohn
Intermission	
Pomp and Circumstance	Elgar
Valse in A Minor	Brahms
Prelude	Rachmaninoff
"To a Wild Rose"	MacDowell
Pilgrims Chorus	Wagner

The evening concluded with a lecture by Governor Nellie Tayloe Ross, the first female governor in United States history.

The fifth afternoon of the chautauqua began with a concert by the Cathedral Choir, which likely included:

Processional—The God of Abraham Praise	Noble
Savior, When Night Involves the Skies	Shelley
Soprano Solo	
Sanctus	Gounod
Baritone Solo	
No Other Guide Have We	Tachesnokoff

This concert was followed by a lecture by Theodore Graham entitled “Making America American.” The evening concert of the Cathedral Choir featured a musical program entitled *The Chimes of Brittany*.

The only afternoon event on the sixth day of the chautauqua was a concert by the Blue Danube orchestra, which likely resembled this program by the Krantz family:

Fanfare	J. Worth Allen
Light Cavalry Overture	Suppé
Violin Solo	
“Annie Laurie”	Scott-Parker
Dramatic Reading	
Bell Solo	
Bells of St. Mary’s	Adams
	Intermission
Sophien March	Lorenz
El Capitan	Sousa
The Rosary	Nevin
Cornet and Violin Duet	
Medley	Sunday
Stars and Stripes Forever	Sousa

The Blue Danube Orchestra’s evening concert functioned as a prelude to a lengthy lecture by Frederick Snyder. This inversion of musical programming—placing the “grand concert” in the afternoon and the prelude in the evening—was not entirely unheard of. The Krantz family’s archive contains an “evening prelude” program from an engagement with Redpath:

Weiner Welt March	Hoch
Violin Solo	
“When You and I Were Young”	Goldman
College Days Medley	
Dramatic Reading	
Quartet—”Kentucky Babe”	Geibel

The seventh and final day of the De Luxe circuit involved no music. The afternoon featured animated cartoons by Beckewitz, with “electrical effects. The evening consisted of a popular Broadway comedy, *Skidding*. The absence of music or lectures in two of the seven days of the chautauqua was not typical of the circuit chautauqua movement as a whole, but was not uncommon in the later years of the chautauqua movement, especially among bureaus that did not truncate later chautauquas to five (or even three) days.

CONCLUSION

While the lack of detailed program information for the vast majority of circuit chautauqua performances makes it impossible to accurately reconstruct a program for an entire chautauqua event, the extant ephemera provide a solid general description of such a program. It is possible to discern from these sources that individual musical acts were largely responsible for creating programs that would then be presented in their entirety as an audition for booking by a circuit chautauqua bureau. The bureau would then construct a multi-day program that fit their particular programming strategy. This would usually entail engaging musical acts to give two performances per day, the second of which was nearly always longer and often consisted of “heavier” musical selections. Musical acts on the chautauqua circuits could combine works from several genres, but usually

specialized in particular styles of music. Vocal/instrumental quartets, a standard on the circuits, performed a combination of “heavy popular” and “light classical” compositions that reflected circuit chautauqua’s ideas about music and society. Finally, Sundays were problematic for circuit chautauqua managers, and several methods were employed to address programming issues related to Sunday.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA MUSICIANS

INTRODUCTION

In thirty years of involvement in the circuit chautauqua movement, the Redpath bureau alone employed approximately six thousand acts.²⁰⁵ This figure includes both musical and non-musical acts, and acts involved in both lyceum and chautauqua. While it is not possible to know the exact number of musicians involved in the movement, an approximate number can be figured using the data available for 1924. 1924 was the peak year of the circuit chautauqua movement, and in that year there were fifteen major bureaus operating fifty separate circuits in the United States.²⁰⁶ The average chautauqua at that time was five days long, and incorporated five different musical acts at minimum. Thus, counting solely those chautauquas operated by major bureaus, at least 250 musical acts were touring the circuits in 1924. The majority of these acts were ensembles, and many would have been bands, orchestras, or choruses involving a dozen or more musicians. Thus, while the exact numbers cannot be known, it is certain that a great many musicians found employment in circuit chautauqua.

²⁰⁵ Sandra Manderson, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981), 115.

²⁰⁶ R.B. Tozier, "A Short Life-History of the Chautauqua," *The American Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 1 (1934): 70.

Several paths could lead to a career as a circuit chautauqua musician. Many of these were not dissimilar to the career paths of other musicians, while others were more specific to chautauqua. Some musicians found chautauqua work through talent agencies, while others booked through lyceum bureaus or were trained in institutions specializing in cultivating and promoting lyceum and chautauqua musical acts. Some musicians viewed circuit chautauqua as an opportunity for exposure at the beginning of a career, while established performers used the circuits as a way to supplement income or generate publicity in the face of declining popularity. Others spent their entire careers on the circuits or were most famous for their chautauqua work.

TRAINING AND PROMOTION OF CHAUTAUQUA MUSICIANS

Several educational institutions specialized in training lyceum and chautauqua performers. These institutions varied greatly in both scope and quality, ranging from short courses more aptly described as workshops to full-fledged conservatories offering courses in music theory and history as well as applied instruction. One such institution was the Horner Institute of Fine Arts. Its founder, Charles Horner, had been an early pioneer of the circuit chautauqua movement and managed a large circuit under the Redpath banner. His Redpath-Horner chautauquas covered nine states with headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri. Horner was not a musician or performer of any sort, but he recognized the need for formal training of musicians for chautauqua. Interestingly, he considered lecturing to be an inborn talent, while musicians could be trained.²⁰⁷ This philosophy may explain why Horner's chautauqua training institution focused on music,

²⁰⁷ Charles Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1954), 174.

while others offered (and usually featured) elocution and lecturing courses. In 1914, Horner joined with conductor and vocalist Earl Rosenberg to found the Horner Institute of Fine Arts in Kansas City.²⁰⁸ In its first years of operation, the Horner Institute served largely as a training institute for performers on Horner’s own circuit, though it would eventually outgrow this purpose and outlive the circuit chautauqua movement.

The Horner Institute offered applied lessons in piano, voice, and violin. Students paid tuition based on ability level, major professor, and frequency of private lessons. All students enrolled in applied lessons also took courses in harmony, counterpoint, and music history. Chamber ensembles were available for advanced string players, as were coached accompanying opportunities for advanced pianists. The Horner Institute’s promotional brochure clearly states that the institute’s primary objective was to train those who intended to pursue music professionally, though, “if they have the means to study the fine arts for cultural advancement they will be encouraged to remain for that purpose.”²⁰⁹ The faculty of the Horner Institute was initially drawn from local professional musicians acquainted with Rosenberg, who had held various positions in Kansas City including conductor of the Kansas City Symphony Chorus. A partial listing of faculty during the tenure of Rosenberg and Horner follows:

<u>Piano</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Violin</u>	<u>History/Theory</u>
Floyd Robbins	Earl Rosenberg	Forrest Schulz	Forrest Schulz
Clara Blakeslee	Roland White	Hans Peterson	Floyd Robbins
Anna St. John	Margaret Von Glaubetz		
Harriet Olin	Winifrede Repp		
Pearl Wideman			

²⁰⁸ See Russell Wilson, “100 Years of Leadership: University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory of Music,” <http://conservatory.umkc.edu/100/leadership.asp>. for a detailed history of the Horner Institute/UMKC Conservatory and its leaders.

²⁰⁹ Brochure archived online at “Horner Institute of Fine Arts,” Vintage Kansas City, <http://www.vintagekansascity.com/education/hornerinstituteofarts/>.

During the period in which the Horner Institute's primary focus was providing musicians for Horner's circuits, the faculty and curriculum were dominated by applied music, especially voice and piano. The Horner Institute was successful beyond its original purpose, however, and in 1926 Horner agreed to absorb the failing Kansas City Conservatory of Music and Art, renaming the merged organization the Horner Institute Conservatory of Music. By the end of Horner's involvement, the Horner Institute had an enrollment of more than 3,000 students.²¹⁰ The Horner Institute eventually became the music department of the University of Kansas City, which is now known as the University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory of Music.

The Horner Institute was an unusually large, stable, and active chautauqua training institute. In general, organizations dedicated to the training of chautauqua performers were more akin to workshops in scope and, not being directly linked to any bureau, were often more concerned with attracting tuition-paying students than with producing working chautauqua musicians. For instance, prolific chautauqua and lyceum actor Elias Day ran an institution, the Elias Day School of Lyceum Art, which advertised itself as "not in the interest of any one lyceum bureau or group of bureaus." Day operated several terms, ranging from four weeks to eight weeks, with instructional time of up to fifteen hours per week.²¹¹ One of the school's booklets stated that, "Mr. Day does not teach vocal culture in his classes, but his interpretation of concert manners, both of vocalists and instrumentalists, will be found of exceptional value."²¹²

²¹⁰ Wilson, "100 Years of Leadership: University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory of Music."

²¹¹ Less expensive courses consisted of two lessons per week over a span of six weeks.

²¹² "The Elias Day School of Lyceum Art," (Chicago, IL: Shirley Press, 1913).

By 1915, Day had expanded his school to offer instruction in piano, voice, organ, all orchestral instruments, and public school music. In fact, a 1915 advertisement for the rechristened Lyceum Arts Conservatory lists eighteen instructors of music and only four instructors of drama. The Lyceum Arts Conservatory was billed as “a thorough education in music and dramatic art to prepare for concert work or teaching” and promised “exceptional opportunities to those who are talented.”²¹³ The school, however, made no guarantee of future employment, and remained unaffiliated with any lyceum or chautauqua bureau.

Some training institutions more closely resembled talent agencies, and indeed many of them functioned as such. The Boston Lyceum School conducted a two-year program for beginners seeking a diploma, as well as a “finishing school for lyceum and chautauqua attractions.” The school also offered help in arranging programs and “general coaching.” and listed six musical companies available for lyceum and chautauqua work.²¹⁴ It is unclear whether these groups were formed from a pool of Boston Lyceum School students or alumni, or if the management of musical attractions was entirely separate from the school’s educational mission.

There were also agencies dedicated not to training, but to promoting and securing work for chautauqua musicians. The Chicago Bureau Agency of Music, for instance, provided musicians and small ensembles for lyceum and chautauqua work, and also small orchestras for festivals and other community events. The agency dealt only with musical acts, rather than booking lecturers, dramatic acts, or complete chautauquas or lyceum courses. The Dunbar Chautauqua Bureau supplied independent chautauquas with all

²¹³ “The Lyceum Arts Conservatory,” *The Lyceum Magazine*, April 1915, 49.

²¹⁴ “Boston Lyceum School,” *The Lyceum Magazine* February 1916.

manner of acts, including musicians. The bureau, which replaced the Independent Chautauqua Department of the Redpath Bureau when Redpath opted to focus entirely on its own chautauqua circuits, advertised that its musicians, “transform the ‘I don’t like classic music’ and the slapstick applauders into music lovers.” In an introductory letter, Harry Dunbar, president of the bureau, trumpeted the originality of his musical offerings, announcing that “we have several companies that *do not* play the ‘Sextette from *Lucia*,’ the ‘Quartet from *Rigoletto*’ and the ‘Prison Scene from *Trovatore*’ with sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, but have brought out other less venerable and less frazzled art gems.”²¹⁵

Recall that many circuit chautauqua performers spent winters touring the lyceum circuits, and were managed by lyceum bureaus. Many of the circuit chautauqua bureaus, most notably Redpath and Coit-Alber, were affiliated with lyceum bureaus and drew some chautauqua talent from the ranks of lyceum performers. The drawing-card attractions on a chautauqua circuit would often be acts who booked through the bureau only for summer chautauqua work, while the lesser-known acts would be those who used the lyceum agents to book dates year round for chautauquas, lyceums, state fairs, and other engagements managed by lyceum bureaus.

In some cases there was no intermediary organization—either educational or promotional—between the performer and the bureau. Performers sometimes approached bureaus directly, and bureaus would occasionally advertise in trade publications to fill specific needs for performers. Impresarios and circuit managers placed advertisements in trade publications such as *The Lyceumite* in search of specific instruments, voices, or

²¹⁵ Harry Dunbar, “The Dunbar Chautauqua Bureau,” (Chicago, IL). This document appears to have been intended to be the cover or preface to a brochure (it refers to “the sixteen following pages”). However, no such document seems to have survived.

ensembles to fill their rosters. One advertisement in *Lyceumite and Talent* read, “Artist Wanted: Vocalist, entertainer, or instrumentalist who can play two or more instruments wanted to join high class concert party for tour of western Canada season ‘10 and ‘11.” Such advertisements were common, as were advertisements placed by performers (and agencies working on their behalf) looking for chautauqua work.

Successful chautauqua performers sometimes became impresarios as they advanced in years, forming acts designed to either replace them or to capitalize on their success by imitating a proven formula. Brothers Ralph and Harry Dunbar, who had made names for themselves as lyceum bell-ringers and have been credited with popularizing bell-ringing among American audiences,²¹⁶ formed several lyceum and chautauqua acts bearing the Dunbar name. One or both brothers or other relatives sometimes performed in these groups, but often acts labeled “Dunbar” were so named only because they were created or managed by one of the brothers. Several quartets of bell-ringers toured the chautauqua circuits under the Dunbar banner, as did various other musical acts. Ralph Dunbar promoted musical acts for major vaudeville circuits as well as lyceum and chautauqua, and was also involved in the production and promotion of comic opera. Groups bearing his name ranged from jubilee singers to Hussar bands, and were drawn from a constantly changing pool of young musicians. A group bearing the name “Dunbar’s Male Quartet and Bell Ringers,” for instance, may have had entirely different personnel from one year to the next or from one venue to another.

In 1926, Ralph Dunbar offered sixteen acts for chautauqua engagements. They included musical groups first made popular on the Keith and Orpheum vaudeville

²¹⁶ Charles L. Wagner, *Seeing Stars* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 80.

circuits, groups with a prior history of chautauqua work, a comic opera by Victor Herbert (*Sweethearts*) for which the community would need to supply an orchestra (or pianist), and two of Dunbar's jubilee groups: Dunbar's Dixie Chorus and Dunbar's Tennessee Ten. In the foreword to this 1926 attractions list, Dunbar reminds the reader of his previous vaudeville success and hopes that his experience "will assist me now in creating some new and progressive ideas for the chautauqua—at least I shall make a heroic effort in that direction with these attractions, which will be produced at Chicago."²¹⁷ While he produced and managed his chautauqua acts from Chicago, Dunbar's main office was located in New York.

SALARY AND CONTRACTS

Salaries for circuit chautauqua musicians varied significantly from bureau to bureau and among acts within each bureau. Headlining musical acts could command extraordinary salaries and benefits such as private custom-built train cars, while lesser-known acts faced low wages, uncertain futures, and difficult traveling conditions. Circuit chautauqua bureaus encountered the same realities of the music business as did any booking agency, including slim profit margins and tense negotiations with performers' unions. These difficulties were amplified by the logistics of moving every act to a new city nearly every day, often in rural areas where travel could be unpredictable.

Katharine La Sheck's²¹⁸ 1913 contract with Redpath seems to be typical of contracts secured by lesser-known musicians. 1913 was La Sheck's third season with the College Singing Girls, alternately known as the College Girls, a female vocal quartet.

²¹⁷ Ralph Dunbar, "Ralph Dunbar Attractions: Available for Chautauquas of 1926 and Lyceum Season of 1926-27," (Chicago: 1926).

²¹⁸ A biographical sketch of Katharine La Sheck appears later in this chapter.

The quartet contracted with Redpath for a seven-week season beginning in July, with La Sheck and the other members receiving \$32 per week.²¹⁹ This represented a substantial raise over the 1912 season, during which La Sheck had received \$20 per week for a full twenty-week season. It is unclear why La Sheck's 1913 contract began in July, since April was the standard start date for chautauqua circuits. It is also notable that La Sheck's contract, while guaranteeing seven weeks of performances, required La Sheck to keep her schedule open without guarantee of payment through September 15 (nearly four weeks beyond the guarantee) for bookings made at the bureau's discretion.²²⁰ Similar conditions favoring the bureau appear in contracts of other musicians, often requiring performers to commit to a far longer engagement than the contract guaranteed and thus shielding the bureau from financial damage in the event of an unsuccessful circuit or unsatisfactory act.

Major bureaus could set their own terms with most musicians—especially singers—due to a glut of musicians applying for nearly every opening. Charles Horner remarked that, at the peak of the circuit chautauqua movement, “There was no dearth of applications. If we needed a hundred new singers, for instance, perhaps as many as a thousand applications were heard.²²¹ The chautauqua job market was considerably better for most instrumentalists. A 1913 editorial in *The Lyceum Magazine* stated, “Young people who confine their musical education to theory, piano, and voice are limiting their possibilities. There is always an oversupply of singers and an undersupply of orchestral musicians. The lyceum, chautauqua, and entertainment fields each year call for more

²¹⁹ \$32 in 1913 equates to \$679.36 in 2007, using the Consumer Price Index.

²²⁰ La Sheck's contracts and other papers are housed at the Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²²¹ Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua*, 175.

musical organizations. Those who will learn to play violin, clarinet, cornet, flute, saxophone, trombone, horn, cello, etc., will find increasing demand for their services. The supply is short. Young ladies who are good orchestral players are especially hard to find while pianists wait in rows.”²²²

In 1926, the seven-member Royal Gypsy Orchestra was engaged by the Redpath bureau for a fifteen-week chautauqua season at the rate of \$385 per week.²²³ The Royal Gypsy Orchestra would give seven prelude concerts and seven evening concerts per week, and would be required to furnish their own costumes.²²⁴ In contrast, Julia Claussen’s contract²²⁵ with Redpath for the twenty-week chautauqua season of 1916 stipulated that she would be paid \$13,000 in installments of \$650 per week²²⁶ plus forty percent of single-ticket admission receipts²²⁷ to her performances in excess of \$24,000. Claussen would give six performances per week, compared to the fourteen (seven evening concerts and seven afternoon preludes) required of less famous musicians. Redpath also agreed to furnish Claussen and her assisting performers with a private rail car in which to travel.²²⁸

²²² “From Our Viewpoint,” *The Lyceum Magazine*, July 1913, 1.

²²³ \$385 in 1926 equates to \$4519.33 in 2007, using the Consumer Price Index.

²²⁴ Contract between Harry Harrison, representing the Redpath Musical Bureaus, and B. Csillag, representing the Royal Gypsy Orchestra. Dated January 9, 1926. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City)

²²⁵ Claussen’s Redpath contracts are located in the Julia Claussen file, Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City)

²²⁶ \$13,000 in 1916 equates to \$263,429.23 (or \$13,171.46 per week) in 2007 according to the Consumer Price Index.

²²⁷ Season ticket sales were guaranteed by the sponsoring community, and would be used to recoup the community’s investment and pay the bureau’s expenses. It was not uncommon for headlining attractions to negotiate a portion of single-ticket admission receipts as part of a contract.

²²⁸ Contract between Harry Harrison, representing the Redpath Musical Bureau, and Julia Claussen. Dated January 22, 1916. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City)

The chautauqua bureaus' relationship with musicians' unions, both local and national, was complicated by the nature of the chautauqua movement. Bureaus employed a great number of musicians, both full-time and seasonally. While many of these musicians performed exclusively for chautauqua and lyceum and booked solely through chautauqua bureaus, others devoted most of their year to more mainstream musical organizations, such as theater orchestras and opera companies.

It does not appear that union membership was either a requirement of or a hindrance to chautauqua employment. Bureaus did, however, have to weigh the cost of paying union salaries against the drawing ability of an act and the availability of less expensive non-union alternatives. This was especially an issue for larger ensembles, which were often simultaneously the most popular and most expensive attraction on a chautauqua circuit. Travel and lodging expenses alone for a large musical ensemble would account for a significant portion of a circuit's talent budget, and it was not financially feasible for bureaus to pay union wages on top of these expenses for more than a few of the most popular large ensembles.

Bandleader A.F. Thaviu recognized the precarious situation of the unionized large ensemble and sought to reach a compromise with the American Federation of Musicians, of which he and his band were members. He had led a series of popular bands in chautauqua, and had been successful at expositions, fairs, and in independent tours as well. His band was large by chautauqua standards, and he feared that the band's size coupled with its union affiliation would make chautauqua engagements cost prohibitive. Thaviu's goal was to make union acts competitive with non-union groups in seeking chautauqua work, and also allow the chautauqua bureaus to set salaries of union

musicians at a level reflecting the added travel expenses inherent to circuit chautauqua. To this end, Thaviu wrote to Harry Harrison telling of his efforts to convince the A. F. of M. to reduce the minimum salary of chautauqua musicians, announcing his intention of addressing the national convention with his proposal, and urging Harrison to write to the union supporting Thaviu and his efforts.

It is unclear whether Thaviu's efforts bore fruit. He launched his campaign in 1922, not long before shrinking profits would force chautauqua bureaus to reduce the size of musical ensembles to the point that bands the size of Thaviu's no longer appeared on the circuits. While no evidence of a successful union-chautauqua bureau compromise over pay scales exists, efforts such as Thaviu's underscore two important points concerning the relationship between the union and bureaus. First, the chautauqua bureaus did deal with the union, although not exclusively. Second, union pay scales represented an obstacle to chautauqua engagement, especially for larger ensembles.

Union membership was never a requirement for employment with any major chautauqua bureau. In fact, the Redpath bureau worked with clients to provide specifically non-union talent on at least one occasion. In 1926, the Phoenix Hotel in Lexington, Kentucky had been boycotted by the local musician's union due to a disagreement with the hotel's chief executive officer, who was also president of the firm operating the Lexington Opera House. This boycott impaired the Phoenix's ability to book musicians for events held at the hotel, including its large New Year's Eve celebration. The manager of the Phoenix contacted the Redpath bureau (Redpath was well known in Lexington, having provided the city's chautauqua for many years) in search of a small non-union orchestra to play the event. Harry Harrison replied that the

bureau could send the Adriatic Tamburica Orchestra for between \$100 and \$125, plus room, board, and train fare from Chicago to Lexington and back. The Tamburica Orchestra was engaged for the celebration, and the hotel manager later wrote to Harrison to express approval of the group.²²⁹

BUREAU-MUSICIAN RELATIONSHIPS

Once a musician found employment through a chautauqua bureau, he or she entered into an involved and close relationship with bureau management. The chautauqua bureaus' need to present their product as wholesome and educational meant that most bureaus exerted substantial control over their acts. As discussed in Chapter Four, bureaus exercised control over musical programming at the point of choosing to hire an act and deciding where to place the act on a program. Once an act was on the circuit, its performance was constantly evaluated by the platform superintendent.²³⁰ Furthermore, the bureaus kept strict guidelines for appearance and conduct of "talent" while on the circuits, both onstage and off.

While rules set forth by employers for employee dress and behavior--especially in the entertainment industry--were not uncommon in the early twentieth century,²³¹ the rules governing performers for the major chautauqua bureaus were inordinately involved and enforced. Dress codes varied by community, and it was not uncommon for a bureau to send a memorandum to talent stipulating specific dress to conform to local sensibilities. In one instance, the Redpath bureau sent notice to talent that a particular

²²⁹ These correspondence can be found in the Lexington, Kentucky file in the Redpath Chautauqua Collection at the University of Iowa. They are dated between December 16 1926 and January 3, 1927.

²³⁰ This position will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

²³¹ Similar rules for performer appearance and behavior existed in vaudeville. See Arthur Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

community was very religious, offering as evidence the fact that the town had no movie house and no theater. The memorandum went on to advise women not to wear a décolleté (low-cut) gown or short-sleeved dress.²³²

The Redpath bureau had strict policies against both drinking and smoking, in public view and in private. When any Redpath employee (the policy applied to performers as well as those working behind the scenes) was rumored to have broken these rules, Redpath launched a thorough investigation. Witnesses, often bar employees, would be interviewed by Redpath personnel. If proof of a transgression was found, the bureau's policy was to terminate the employee. In practice, it was not unusual for employees to be given a second chance, but never a third.²³³

Rules forbidding specific behaviors and styles of dress were common to many musical venues of the time period.²³⁴ Because of chautauqua's favored place among entertainments in the minds (and pocketbooks) of community leaders, chautauqua bureaus were also obliged to attempt to regulate some of the more abstract qualities of their talent. A pleasing appearance and sociable demeanor were often cited in advertising and in internal bureau communications as important positive attributes. True to the bureaus' emphasis on crafting and maintaining a certain image, performers' looks and demeanor were commonly referred to as "wholesome." The Redpath bureau even quantified these qualities in reports under the label of "personality." Redpath was also

²³² Manderson, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930", 118.

²³³ ———, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930", 119-20.

²³⁴ Similar rules existed for vaudeville performers on the major circuits. See Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars*.

careful that its performers conformed to accepted gender roles of the era, and noted deviations in the form of aberrant dress or behavior in internal correspondence.²³⁵

Quality of performance was also monitored closely while a performer was on the circuit. This evaluation was conducted by the platform superintendent, an employee whose job it was to remain in a community for the duration of a chautauqua (usually arriving several days before to supervise site preparations and advertising), serving as the highest-ranking bureau official at the chautauqua and as liaison between the bureau and the community. The platform superintendent filed daily reports with the bureau, detailing receipts, weather, crew behavior, audience reception, and talent performance. Performers were assigned letter grades, and these grades could be explained in a comment box next to the letter. It seems that most acts performed satisfactorily most of the time, with the most common complaint about musical acts being failure to fill the allotted time slot.²³⁶

LIFE ON THE CIRCUITS

Several lengthy memoirs written by circuit chautauqua lecturers and managers survive. Only one account by a musician, however, has been found. Written by clarinetist Erwin Harder, it chronicles the 1912 Redpath-Chicago tour of Bohumir Kryl's band.²³⁷ Kryl's band consisted of twenty-six musicians and gave sixty performances in

²³⁵ Manderson, "The Redpath Lyceum Bureau, an American Critic: Decision-Making and Programming Methods for Circuit Chautauquas, Circa 1912 to 1930", 116-17. Manderson postulates that certain terms, such as "dilettante" were in fact code used in bureau correspondence for deviations from gender expectations.

²³⁶ A complete week of Platform Superintendent's Daily Reports (from 1926) is housed in the Lexington, Kentucky box at the Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City). Other platform reports are available in the collection, but the Lexington records are extraordinarily complete.

²³⁷ Harder never refers to the band or the bureau by name, but gives tour dates that correspond to the 1912 Redpath-Chicago circuit. Harder also gives biographical details of his conductor indicating it must have been Kryl, specifically that the conductor was a sculptor who had created a specific statue known to be

thirty cities on a circuit beginning in Tennessee, traveling through Kentucky, and closing in Indiana.

Harder indicated that many of the musicians in Kryl's band were Europeans, including several Germans and Italians. The band was based in Chicago, and consisted of forty musicians while in the city. The musicians' pay scale was reduced when on tour, owing to the added expense of traveling, which was paid for by the conductor out of the money paid to the band by the chautauqua bureau.²³⁸

Band members were responsible for room and board, and also for laundering and care of their own uniforms. Much of Harder's memoir chronicles the challenges faced by him and his two roommates searching for accommodations in small towns whose boarding houses were already filled by chautauqua-goers. Harder also lamented the food available to musicians,²³⁹ noting that the Italians in the band were greatly troubled by the lack of Italian food in chautauqua towns.

Harder mentions several incidents of drinking, and notes rampant gambling among band members. This indicates that Redpath was not overly concerned with monitoring the band, which may have been a function of the band's relative autonomy. Since Kryl's band already had a leadership structure in place and performed together year-round, Redpath may have trusted the band's leadership to manage band personnel independent of the bureau. It could also indicate lax enforcement of rules due to an embryonic management system on that circuit as a whole, as this was one of Redpath-Chicago's earliest circuits.

Kryl's. Programs from the 1912 Redpath-Chicago circuit indicate that Bohumir Kryl and his band were the featured act on the fifth day (of seven) of that circuit.

²³⁸ Edwin Harder, *The First Clarinet or Chautauqua Chit-Chat* (Chicago: Mayer & Miller, 1913), 11.

²³⁹ Specifically, Harder was not fond of Southern food, celebrating the band's crossing into Indiana as deliverance from "the biscuit zone." (p. 43)

From Harder's account, it seems several of the musicians in Kryl's band struggled to save money while on the circuit. While acknowledging that this insolvency could often be blamed on gambling, Harder mentions many expenses levied on the musicians that also contributed to financial hardships. For instance, he notes that the musicians were occasionally made to pay a surcharge out of pocket for a sleeping berth on an overnight train, and had to have uniforms laundered quickly, resulting in an additional fee for a rush order.²⁴⁰ Harder notes that some musicians ceased staying in hotels and slept in a tent on the chautauqua grounds intended to house equipment, and that a number of the musicians "did not save twenty dollars on the whole trip."²⁴¹

ABILITY OF CHAUTAUQUA MUSICIANS

An editorial in *The Lyceumite* opined that "the platform has exploited too many passé celebrities" and that platform work represented "the last pull on the pursestrings [*sic*] of the public."²⁴² The author felt that the situation was improving, but that the reputation of the platform was tarnished by a string of aging performers—especially musicians—selling an inferior product for a cut-rate price to rural audiences who had little or no point of reference by which to judge the performer against his or her reputation.

If audiences shared the editorialist's opinion that they were being supplied with inferior performances by performers past their prime, they do not seem to have expressed that sentiment in print. Local reviews of chautauqua performances—especially by headliners—were nearly always laudatory. This phenomenon can likely be explained by

²⁴⁰ Harder, *The First Clarinet or Chautauqua Chit-Chat*, 23.

²⁴¹ ———, *The First Clarinet or Chautauqua Chit-Chat*, 61.

²⁴² "The Lyceumiteman Talks," *The Lyceumite* IV, no. 9 (1906): 275.

the pressure placed on local newspapers to support the chautauqua unconditionally in the name of supporting the community.²⁴³

While it may have been true that some aging performers saw the chautauqua circuits as a way to extend their careers beyond what would be tolerated in urban circles, not all of the famous musicians on the circuits were past their prime, nor is it accurate to assume that headliners put less effort into chautauqua or took chautauqua work less seriously than their other endeavors. Ernestine Schumann-Heink performed sporadically on the Redpath circuits from 1913 through 1916 as part of her extensive cross-country touring schedule. Though she was never contracted for a complete circuit, she filled many dates for Redpath, and her chautauqua performances were highly publicized. In 1916, for instance, she performed at eight chautauquas. A single-admission ticket to one of her chautauqua concerts cost \$1.00—half of the price of a season pass for the entire chautauqua and double the next most expensive single-admission ticket on the Redpath-Vawter circuit (Vawter charged \$.35 for single-admission tickets to most acts, and \$.50 for the circuit's regular headliners, Quintano and his band).

Despite the relatively high ticket price, Schumann-Heink was highly sought-after as a chautauqua performer. Her performances were well received and well attended²⁴⁴ and there is no indication that she either intentionally or unwittingly gave inferior performances on the circuits. To the contrary, Schumann-Heink appears to have been conscientious about her chautauqua performances. Harry Harrison, who traveled with Schumann-Heink acting as manager for her Redpath engagements, wrote that the contralto experienced anxiety to the point of physical illness before her chautauqua

²⁴³ The reluctance of local media to criticize chautauqua performances is discussed in Chapter 3.

²⁴⁴ Crowds in excess of 1,000 were reported by Redpath platform superintendents.

concerts, just as she did for operatic performances. Harrison also wrote of Schumann-Heink's great concern for her reputation as both a musician and an attraction, claiming that once, when inclement weather caused a performance in Ohio to sell far fewer single-admission tickets than anticipated, Schumann-Heink offered to pay the difference between the community's investment of one thousand dollars and the box office receipts for the evening. When Harrison objected to Schumann-Heink's offer, she supposedly replied, "Never let them lose money on you."²⁴⁵

Schumann-Heink's chautauqua performances were not motivated solely by financial gain, as evidenced by her willingness to suffer financially in order to preserve her relationship with a chautauqua community. Nor did her chautauqua performances occur in the twilight of her career. In the summers of 1913 and 1914, for instance, she performed in chautauquas and at the Bayreuth Festival. While Schumann-Heink was neither passé as a performer nor indifferent to the quality of her chautauqua work, the perception that well-known musicians used the circuits to make money while giving inferior performances certainly existed. Furthermore, lesser-known chautauqua musicians were often viewed as second-rate performers, both within the chautauqua and lyceum movement and by outside critics. In the absence of live recordings of circuit chautauqua musical performances,²⁴⁶ it is difficult to assess the musical ability of chautauqua performers or to compare them to competitors in other venues. A study of musical acts on the circuits, and of those who chose not to participate in circuit

²⁴⁵ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 114.

²⁴⁶ Several recordings were made of popular chautauqua lectures, yet there is no indication that musical acts were recorded live at chautauqua events. Many of the more popular chautauqua musical acts did release studio records, however, and a collection of these recordings is located at the University of Iowa.

chautauquas when given the opportunity, will provide insight into the musical ability (as well as the public perception of musical ability) of chautauqua musical acts.

The Redpath Bureau managed tours for musicians and musical groups that did not appear on either the chautauqua or lyceum circuits. These musical acts, which included the Chicago Symphony, were not interested in or suited for chautauqua or lyceum tours, but rather opted for shorter tours in other venues, such as universities and large churches. John Philip Sousa and his band appeared at several of the more prominent independent assemblies, but never booked through a chautauqua bureau and never made a chautauqua circuit. It is telling that major musical groups such as the Chicago Symphony and the Sousa Band had relationships with chautauqua organizations and toured sporadically in the summers without committing to a complete circuit tour. The opportunity certainly existed; Sousa was courted by the major bureaus during the most successful years of the circuit chautauqua movement, when it was financially feasible to hire large ensembles.²⁴⁷ The reluctance of groups like Sousa's band and the Chicago Symphony to participate in circuit chautauqua could be interpreted as an indictment of the quality of chautauqua music or of the reputation of acts already associated with the movement. In the case of Sousa, however, this interpretation would be unjustified. There is no indication that Sousa sought to avoid association with the chautauqua movement. His participation in prominent independent assemblies contradicts the assumption that Sousa disdained the musical reputation of chautauqua.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Harry Harrison wrote that his bureau, "never was able to tie [Sousa] to a contract." Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*, 99.

²⁴⁸ It should be remembered that although this study, along with most recent chautauqua scholarship, differentiates between independent and circuit chautauquas, this distinction would not have been made by the majority of the public. Thus, it is highly unlikely that Sousa would have seen the independent

CASE STUDIES: CHAUTAUQUA MUSICIANS

Performers in every phase of life and career traveled the chautauqua circuits. For some, circuit chautauqua was an entrance into life as a full-time professional musician. Composer Howard Hanson, for instance, joined a Redpath concert company at the age of fifteen, playing piano and cello. Some years later he toured the Redpath Premier circuit with star lecturers Glen Frank and Opie Read. Hanson forged a close relationship with Redpath manager Charles Horner, and the two remained friends long after Hanson ended his relationship with Redpath.²⁴⁹ Other musicians, especially those who toured the circuits as children or young adults, pursued non-musical careers after leaving chautauqua. Some chautauqua musicians were best known for their chautauqua work, while others viewed chautauqua as secondary to a previous or concurrent career in another musical venue.

KATHARINE LA SHECK

Katharine La Sheck began her full-time musical career with Redpath, and parlayed her chautauqua experience into a career as a singer and professor of voice. La Sheck was born Rachel Katharine Lasheck in Iowa City, Iowa in 1891.²⁵⁰ Her father, an immigrant from Bohemia, moved the family several times while Katharine was in high school. She finished high school in Revere, Massachusetts, where she sang in several amateur and school groups. La Sheck's first musical engagement under professional

chautauquas as positive publicity while avoiding negative associations with circuit chautauqua, as the audience and media would not have made the distinction.

²⁴⁹ Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua*, 178.

²⁵⁰ Unless otherwise noted, biographical details are taken from an unpublished biography by Sister Victorine Fenton, entitled *Katharine La Sheck*, housed in the Katharine La Sheck papers at the Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa Library (Iowa City).

management came as a member of the Ideal Quartet, a touring women's quartet managed by a small firm out of Boston. The group performed around the Boston area, but did not embark on any long-term tours or perform in high-profile venues. La Sheck and other quartet members spent most of their time pursuing other professional and educational interests, as the Ideal Quartet was a decidedly part-time and local endeavor. At this time La Sheck was still known primarily as "Rachel," and had not yet altered the spelling of her surname. Once she began her chautauqua career, she preferred to be billed as "Katharine La Sheck," opting to use her middle name and altering the spelling of her surname, feeling that "La Sheck" sounded French and was thus a more desirable name for a singer than the Bohemian "Lasheck." It should be noted that in her native Iowa, newspapers insisted that the name change was not an attempt to distance herself from her Bohemian roots but rather a capitulation to the constant misspellings and mispronunciations of the Boston media.²⁵¹

La Sheck's entry into the chautauqua field was spurred by her sister Adelaide, who contacted the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston on Katharine's behalf in 1910. Adelaide stated in her letter that her sister was a talented contralto interested in chautauqua work, preferably in the Midwest. The bureau responded that the upcoming season was already booked.²⁵² There must have been further communication between the bureau and the singer, however, because La Sheck signed on with Redpath for a chautauqua tour in 1912. Redpath seems to have paid no heed to La Sheck's preference for Midwestern work, as she spent much of her early chautauqua career in New England. This lack of concern for a performer's preference was the rule with Redpath rather than

²⁵¹ "Iowa City Friends of Miss Rachel Lasheck," *Des Moines Register and Leader*, October 24 1911, n.p.

²⁵² This wire correspondence is apparently lost, but is quoted in Fenton's biography.

the exception, especially when dealing with young, unknown, and easily-replaced singers.

La Sheck's initial chautauqua engagement, and most of her chautauqua career, was with a group known as the College Girls. The group originally consisted of four female singers accompanied by seasoned lyceum and chautauqua performer Walter Eccles. At this point the group was usually billed as Walter Eccles and the Four College Girls, although the name would change as more members were added to the group. Several newspaper accounts of early College Girls performances often noted La Sheck's unusually deep voice, sometimes referring to her as "the female baritone." The College Girls' repertoire would be considered typical for a circuit chautauqua vocal quartet, consisting of older popular and folk songs, comic songs, light classical arrangements, and sacred music when required for Sunday performances. The College girls also danced and played mandolin and xylophone. This instrumental doubling was normal and often expected of circuit chautauqua quartets.

The College Girls toured the chautauqua and lyceum circuits for the Redpath bureau, and were even booked through Redpath for a tour of the Panama Canal Zone in 1913. Although the group was very popular, it suffered from internal disagreements that would eventually cause La Sheck and two other members to leave and form a new group, known as the Marigolds, in 1915. The Marigolds were managed by La Sheck and booked through the Redpath bureau. Unlike the College Girls, the Marigolds had no outside musical director. Perhaps because of this, their repertoire was largely devoid of classical numbers and heavily favored popular songs. The Marigolds began each performance with one or two signature songs introducing the group and often closed with

a patriotic song. The most popular of the Marigolds' opening numbers was "Come Hear the Marigold's [*sic*] Sing." (see 5.1) The manuscript copy of this song housed in the Katharine La Sheck papers is inscribed, "Written by Luke [illegible] Gluck, a snow shoveler." The manuscript also included a short "Ultra Modern Song," obviously intended as a joke at the expense of atonal music (see figure 5.2). La Sheck left the Marigolds, and the chautauqua and lyceum platforms, in 1920. She settled in Buffalo, New York, where she performed in local opera and oratorio productions, and was a regular broadcast radio personality. In 1944 she returned to Iowa, joining the faculty of the University of Iowa to teach voice and elementary music until her retirement in 1959. Nearly all of La Sheck's formal musical training took place during or after her chautauqua career. She had little professional experience prior to signing on with Redpath, yet was able to parlay her chautauqua experience into a successful commercial and academic musical career. Although she did not go on to great musical fame, La Sheck was able to use circuit chautauqua to enter the world of full-time professional music.

Come AND hear the MARI-GOLD'S SING

This image shows a handwritten musical score on aged paper. The score is written in ink and consists of six systems of music. Each system has a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 7/8. The lyrics are written in cursive below the treble clef staves. The lyrics include: "Come around and hear the Marigold's sing, They just sound like pretty little bells when they ring and sing like birds upon the wing, ting-a-ling, ting ting ting a-ling/ling/ling/Heaven singing right a-round the corner over there But you must be quiet and have a care and sit very silent in your chair When the Marigold's ring ting a ling ting ling When the Mari-gold's ring ting ting! Brou-tá-tá-tá-tá Brou-tá-tá-tá-tá-tá-tá-tá-tá-tá Come and hear the Mari-gold's ring!! Bing!!". There are various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals throughout the score. A "Slow" marking is present above the final system. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.

Figure 5.1 “Come and Hear the Marigold’s Sing,” the most popular of the Marigolds’ opening numbers. Katharine La Sheck Papers, Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

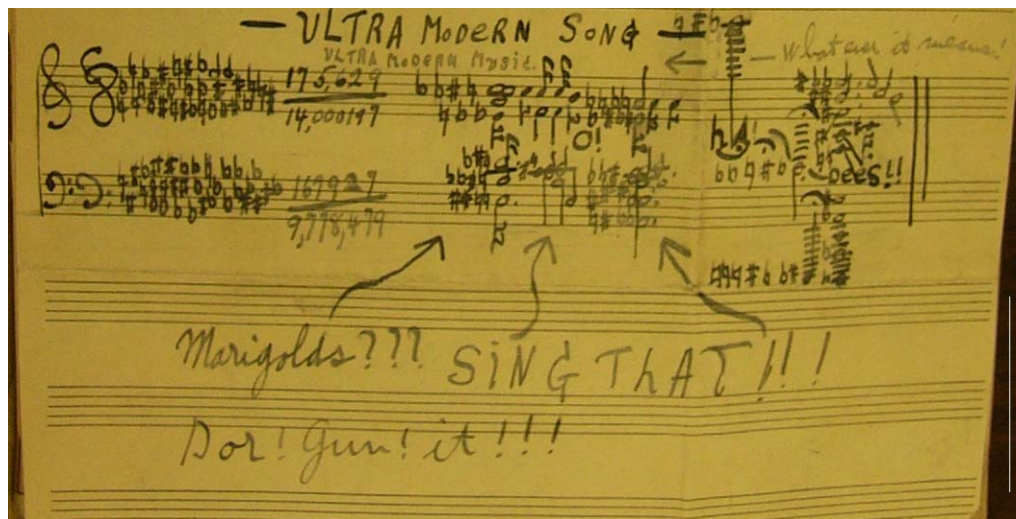


Figure 5.2 “Ultra Modern Song,” Katharine La Sheck Papers, Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

BOHUMIR KRYL

In the peak years of the circuit chautauqua movement, large bands toured with nearly every major circuit. While the bands, like all chautauqua acts, could vary greatly in size and quality from one circuit to the next, several of them were—or would become—famous beyond the chautauqua and lyceum movements. One such band was led by Bohemian cornetist Bohumir Kryl. Kryl, touted as “the world’s greatest cornet virtuoso,”²⁵³ began his career outside of the chautauqua movement, but rose to prominence as a circuit chautauqua soloist and bandleader. Despite his considerable acclaim as a cornet soloist and the popularity of his recordings and compositions for brass instruments, Kryl is best remembered as a conductor, and more specifically as a conductor on the chautauqua circuits.

Kryl was born in Prague in 1875, and immigrated to the United States at the age of fourteen. Upon arrival in the United States, Kryl settled in Chicago, where he studied both music and sculpture. In 1894, Kryl moved to Indianapolis where he established himself as a sculptor. Although he was well regarded as a sculptor and had been commissioned for a high-profile project for the city of Indianapolis, Kryl had come to the U.S. primarily in hopes of becoming a cornet soloist.²⁵⁴ To that end, when John Philip Sousa’s band came to Indianapolis, Kryl sought an audience with Albert Bode, cornet soloist with the band and former star of Patrick Gilmore’s band. Bode was impressed by

²⁵³ “Kryl and His Band,” (Tarpon Springs, FL: 1927).

²⁵⁴ Several contradictory biographical accounts of Kryl’s life were published during the twentieth century. Specifically, there is debate as to the circumstances surrounding Kryl’s appointment to the Sousa band. Also, some sources, notably Howard Schwartz, *Bands of America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957)., cite Kryl’s chautauqua career as being considerably shorter than evidence from the Redpath Collection suggests.

the young Kryl and invited him to join Sousa's band. Within the year, Kryl had replaced Bode as cornet soloist with the band.²⁵⁵

Kryl served as soloist for several prominent American bands, including the Chicago Marine Band and the Innes Band. In 1903, he was appointed assistant conductor of the Inness Band, and in 1906 Kryl left to organize his own band, in which he filled the positions of both conductor and soloist. Kryl's band gave lyceum performances in that same year, and was performing in chautauquas, traveling with eight opera singers, by 1909.

Kryl was unimposing in stature, overweight for most of his career, and did not fit the image expected of an American bandmaster at the turn of the century. Perhaps realizing this, Kryl crafted a stage persona unlike those of his contemporaries (see figure 5.3). His conducting was emotional and enthusiastic, and his appearance was far less militaristic than his contemporaries. Although like most bandmasters of the time, he wore a uniform, Kryl's was relatively subdued and rarely involved the elaborate decorations common at the time. He let his hair grow, and his shock of coarse blonde hair became his trademark. His promotional photographs often showed him alone in brooding poses, as opposed to those of his peers, which typically invoked military imagery and featured the conductor in front of the entire band (see figure 5.3).

Although he was best known for his band, Kryl toured with several other musical groups. He performed in lyceums in the winter of 1914 with his two daughters, Josephine (violin) and Marie (piano) as Bohumir Kryl and Company. His daughters studied music in New York and London as children, and made concert tours in their early

²⁵⁵Nolbert Quayle, "The Cornet's Sole Survivor," *Music Journal* 19, no. 6 (1961).

teens. During World War I, Bohumir Kryl held a paramilitary position with the U.S. Army, similar to that held by Sousa with the Navy.²⁵⁶

Kryl organized many musical groups, including the Chicago Novelty Quartet, the Chicago Orchestral Choir, Kryl's Orchestral Sextette, and the Roumanian Orchestra. All of these groups were managed by Redpath. It is unclear if Kryl had an active role, either musically or managerially, in any of these groups, and it is entirely possible that the use of his name was his only contribution to them. Kryl also managed the 1910-1911 tour of Bohemian violinist Jaroslav Kocian.

Kryl's career outlasted the circuit chautauqua movement. In the late 1940s, he conducted the Women's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago. A shrewd businessman, Kryl amassed a considerable fortune in his business ventures and in the stock market.²⁵⁷ He is said to have offered each of daughters \$100,000 if they would refrain from marrying until after age thirty, in order to pursue their musical careers.²⁵⁸ Neither daughter lived up to the agreement. Josephine Kryl married composer Paul Taylor and Marie married conductor Michael Gusikoff. Although Kryl was an accomplished musician prior to his chautauqua career, it was through circuit chautauqua that acquired he his fame (and much of his wealth).

²⁵⁶ Though the exact nature of this appointment is unclear (a C.G. Conn publication referred to Kryl as "bandmaster of all the military camp bands in the county) it is likely that Kryl served as an unpaid leader of a reserve band in or near Chicago.

²⁵⁷ Obituaries and newspaper articles from later in Kryl's life often list "bank president" among his titles.

²⁵⁸ This offer is one of the most often repeated anecdotes about Kryl. It is mentioned in several sources, including Marie Kryl's obituary in the *New York Times* (October 27, 1987) and in both sisters' wedding announcements.

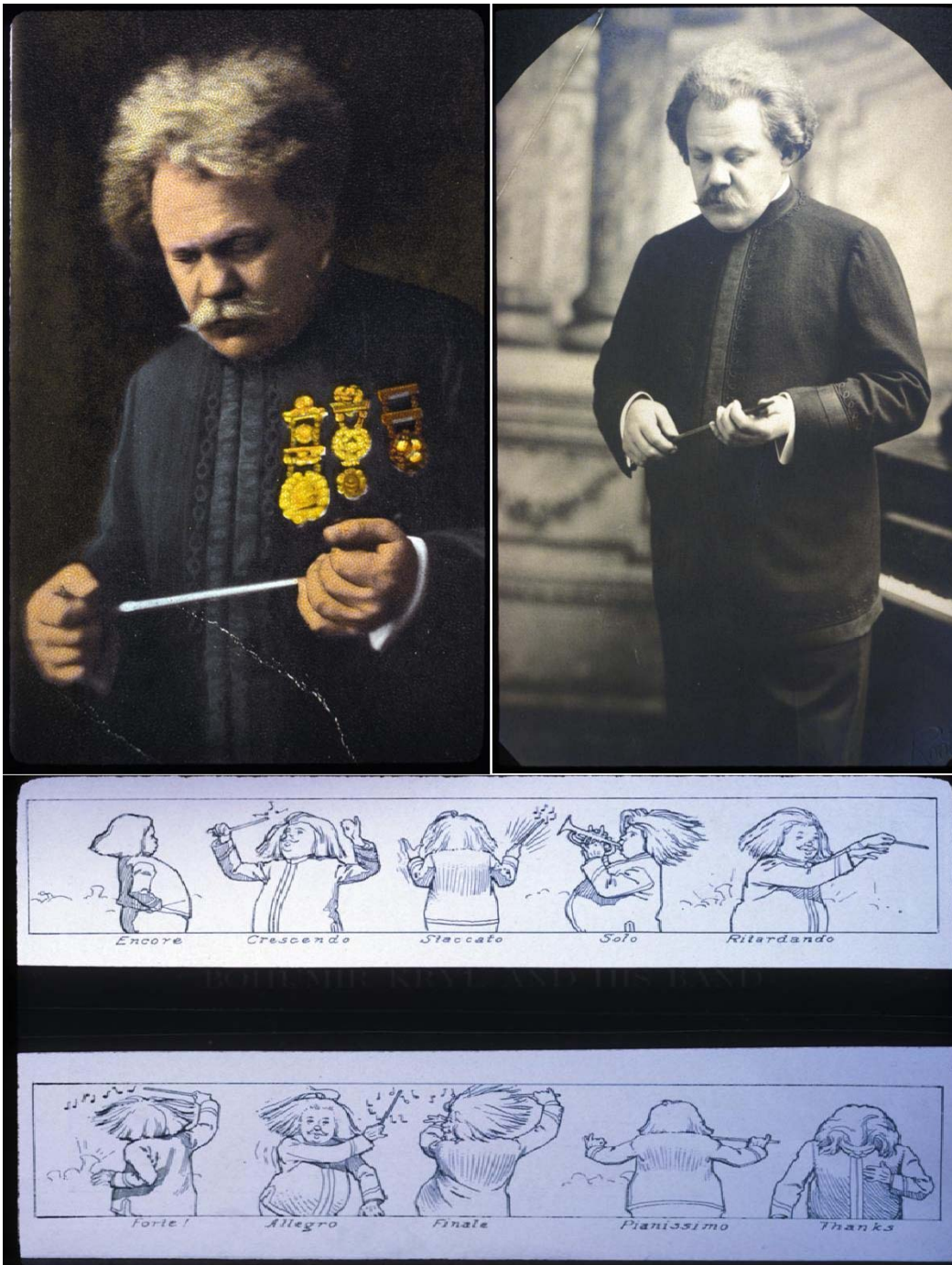


Figure 5.3 Two promotional photographs of Bohumir Kryl, and a cartoon, most likely by chautauqua cartoonist Fred Craft, illustrating Kryl's conducting demeanor. From the author's personal collection.

While “home grown” musical celebrities like Kryl were often headliners on the circuits, the rise in popularity and credibility of the circuit chautauqua movement throughout the 1910s spurred an interest among the major bureaus in acquiring established stars from the art music world to headline the larger chautauqua circuits.

ALICE NIELSEN AND JULIA CLAUSSEN

Ernestine Schumann-Heink’s chautauqua appearances had been risky ventures for the Redpath bureau. Redpath had no way of knowing prior to 1913 if chautauqua communities would pay a premium to bring in an opera star, or if audiences would attend in the numbers required to recoup the community’s extra investment. The Schumann-Heink experiment proved successful, however, spurring the Redpath managers to pursue opera stars from New York and Chicago for full seasons of chautauqua work. In 1915, Harry Harrison of Redpath-Chicago booked Alice Nielsen for a circuit of 120 towns. The following year, he booked Julia Claussen for the same circuit.

Correspondence between Nielsen (or her representative) and Harry Harrison reveals a strained relationship between the soprano and the bureau. Although she was contractually obligated to make a full 120-town circuit with Redpath, Nielsen attempted to cancel or reschedule several appearances. While this may have been feasible on a regular concert tour, it was not possible on a chautauqua circuit. Nielsen’s insistence on cancelling a scheduled chautauqua date in Indianapolis and instead performing in Boston caused a heated exchange between Thomas Nielsen, her de facto manager, and various Redpath representatives. In a letter dated March 24th, 1916,²⁵⁹ Nielsen wrote, “I have

²⁵⁹ The incident concerning the Indianapolis date took place during Nielsen’s second chautauqua tour, which focused on Ohio and the surrounding area.

fired my last gun. Miss Nielsen insists on doing Boston in Indianapolis. Please arrange accordingly. Sorry about this but the lady insists and I am not her manager.”²⁶⁰

Nielsen wired Harry Harrison early in her first circuit from Greensboro, North Carolina, threatening to cancel the remainder of her performances due to the quality of pianos supplied by the bureau. Nielsen objected to the Kimball pianos used by Redpath for that circuit, and insisted that a grand piano be supplied for each of her performances, beginning ten days after the date of the telegram.²⁶¹ Charles Horner wrote to Nielsen in March of 1916, asking for definite confirmation for a performance about which he had been inquiring “for a couple months.”²⁶² Nielsen seems to have cancelled, attempted to reschedule, or avoided committing to performance dates with a frequency not usually tolerated by Redpath management.

Nielsen was between managers in the months preceding her chautauqua tour. In correspondence between Thomas Nielsen²⁶³ and Harry Harrison, Mr. Nielsen alternates between stating that he is acting as Ms. Nielsen’s manager until a manager can be found, and stressing that he (Nielsen) is not Ms. Nielsen’s manager and cannot be expected to influence her in the way a manager could. This lack of a manager to act as intermediary may explain the unusually adversarial tone of the correspondence between Nielsen and the Redpath managers.

Nielsen’s 1915 circuit was heralded as the beginning of a new era for circuit chautauqua music. An article in *Musical Courier* trumpeted her upcoming tour as a

²⁶⁰ Thomas Nielsen, March 24 1916.

²⁶¹ Alice Nielsen, May 8 1915.

²⁶² Charles Horner, March 18 1916.

²⁶³ It is unclear if Thomas Nielsen and Alice Nielsen were related, although the rarity of that name would seem to make it likely. It should be noted, however, that neither of Alice Nielsen’s two documented husbands used Nielsen as a last name or was named Thomas. Thomas Nielsen, therefore, may have been a brother to Alice, but this has not been verified.

demonstration of, “the practicability of the appearance of the greatest artists in a new and rapidly developing field.” The article also claimed that while Nielsen’s concerts would be given in tents with a seating capacity of 2000, the canvas would be “properly stretched and sprinkled” so that “the acoustic properties [were] made superior to any hall one-half the size.” In its conclusion, the article praised Harry Harrison for booking Nielsen stating, “By his enterprise and willingness to try out new fields and educate the people to an appreciation of the best in music, Mr. Harrison is doing a much greater service for the musical world than can yet be fully appreciated.”²⁶⁴

Predictions of a shift in chautauqua programming toward well-known professionals from the art music world never came to fruition. Despite the successful tours of Claussen and Nielsen, along with several other well-known singers and instrumentalists, such high-priced musical headliners would never become the norm in circuit chautauqua. This failure of the introduction of nationally-known performers to significantly affect the circuit chautauqua movement would seem to indicate that circuit chautauqua’s detractors might have been right in arguing that chautauqua audiences either could not distinguish between first and second-rate musical performances or simply were not willing to pay a premium for a superior musical product. It is true that chautauqua audiences did not seem to differentiate greatly between headliners from the operatic and symphonic spheres and those, such as Kryn, for whom chautauqua was a primary focus. To assume that audiences should have made a great distinction, however, is to assume that the famous opera singers touring the major circuits were objectively musically superior to chautauqua-focused headliners. This is an inaccurate assumption,

²⁶⁴ “Alice Nielsen, Prima Donna Soprano,” *Musical Courier*, March 3 1913, 9.

at least when comparing headliners. Kryl's band, for instance, was consistently compared to Sousa's in quality, and Kryl himself was world-famous as a cornetist. Furthermore, when comparing like attractions, chautauqua audiences certainly did differentiate between those operatic acts formed by chautauqua impresarios using unknown talent and famous performers such as Julia Claussen.

The failure of famous art music headliners to become a mainstay on the circuits is more likely attributed to several of the same factors blamed for the overall decline of the chautauqua movement in the 1920s, as well as to logistical and economic factors specific to circuit chautauqua. The advent of radio broadcasts of art music likely detracted from the allure of touring high-profile art music acts. Shifting American musical tastes may also have contributed, with bureaus being forced to orient programming towards emerging popular musical genres as discussed in Chapter Two. Finally, just as the chautauqua movement reached critical mass in the mid 1920s, with more communities hosting chautauquas than the local economies could bear, it may have been the case that a similar phenomenon negated the effectiveness of high-profile chautauqua musical acts as drawing cards. Bureaus may have realized that at the height of circuit chautauqua's popularity, the major chautauquas were already attracting the vast majority of those interested in and financially able to attend the chautauqua. The increase of attendance generated by a famous opera singer would not necessarily be great enough to justify the increased cost of presenting the chautauqua in smaller communities. Headliners' fees were generally recouped from single ticket²⁶⁵ sales, a practice that assumed there would be those in a community who would be interested in hearing the

²⁶⁵ tickets for one event, rather than for the entire chautauqua.

headliner, but would not attend the rest of the chautauqua. In small communities with high levels of chautauqua support and attendance, the box office receipts for single tickets might not approach the cost of bringing the famous headliner to the community. Traveling a complete chautauqua circuit required acts like Claussen and Nielsen to give performances in areas that would have sold nearly the same number of tickets without them, at a considerably lower cost to the community and bureau. For this reason, the system of scattered “special dates” for star attractions such as Ernestine Schumann-Heink and William Jennings Bryan proved more profitable for the bureaus.

CONCLUSION

Circuit chautauqua was a large movement, encompassing dozens of organizations ranging from large, highly organized transnational bureaus to underfunded and unstable regional operations. Even within a single bureau there was great variety in musical acts in terms of training, background, and musical ability. Bell ringers with little or no musical training traveled under the same banner as world-famous art music performers. For this reason, it is unreasonable to make generalizations about circuit chautauqua music or musicians, as some non-musician scholars of the movement have done. Furthermore, one cannot use the presence of lesser quality musical acts on the circuits as proof of the musical illiteracy on the part of bureaus or audiences. Although they traveled the same circuit, famous art musicians and unknown novelty acts were subject to highly disparate treatment (and payment) by the bureaus. Musical discernment on the part of audiences is evidenced by their heightened support—both in enthusiasm and in ticket purchases—for high quality musical acts. Circuit chautauqua music was not a monolithic entity, but

rather a musical venue employing many musicians representing a variety of genres and backgrounds.

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CHAPTER SIX

MUSIC DEFINES CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA AS AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTION

Circuit chautauqua enjoyed a special place among traveling shows in early twentieth-century America. Unlike the circus, vaudeville circuit, or medicine show, it came to every community with the blessing--and more tangibly the financial backing--of community leaders. This support was essential to the survival of chautauqua, and the bureaus were careful to cultivate and maintain an image of the movement as more than a simple diversion for entertainment-starved rural Americans.

The circuit chautauqua was presented first and foremost as educational, emphasizing ties—both real and implied—to the Chautauqua Institution and its various educational outreach efforts. Bureaus also invoked the term “culture” in promotional rhetoric, presenting circuit chautauqua as a much-needed link between rural communities and urban “high culture” of the era. These definitions of chautauqua served to differentiate it from competing movements and to justify the high level of community support necessary to produce a chautauqua.

Circuit chautauqua communities were overwhelmingly rural and not especially wealthy. Promoters were often in the position of asking communities with very little infrastructure and no cultural budget to assume a significant monetary risk in order to

host a chautauqua. In order to convince communities to “guarantee” a chautauqua,²⁶⁶ promoters advanced the idea that the presence of a chautauqua, and the perceived quality of that event, spoke to the character of the community. Community leaders, religious organizations, and businesses in turn promoted the chautauqua as a means of strengthening the community and boosting civic pride. It was not uncommon for local businesses to alter their regular newspaper ads in support of the coming chautauqua (see figure 6.1). It should be noted, however, that the commercial circuit chautauqua bureaus did not print advertisements in their programs. In contrast, many of the independent assemblies, even those whose promotional rhetoric decried the commercialism of circuit chautauqua, printed programs containing extensive advertising from corporate sponsors.

Circuit chautauqua’s public support was heavily dependent on the movement’s image as an educational outlet. The early twentieth century saw an explosion of reading circles, public lectures, libraries, and other educational and self-improvement activities intended for adults.²⁶⁷ An article in *Talent* contended that, “anything labeled ‘education’ will go in the United States.” The columnist noted the phenomenal breadth (if not depth) of the adult education movement stating, “If there is anything, for example, in the line of education unadvertised as possible to secure by correspondence, from sermonizing down to sand-bagging, you may be sure it will be blazoned for patronage before the present era of prosperity is over.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter Two, circuit chautauqua contracts usually required the sponsoring community to guarantee a set dollar amount of advance ticket sales, and to make up the deficit should that sales goal not be reached.


²⁶⁷ Joan Rubin discusses the growth of non-traditional educational movements in the first half of the twentieth century in *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*.

²⁶⁸ Frank Bray, “The Educational Value of Chautauquas,” *Talent*, December 1906, 19.

Hurrah for the Chautauqua!

Everybody Should Attend It

While in the city don't forget to take in our June sale. We have many bargains for you and will save you the price of your ticket and also railroad fare. "LIVE AND LET LIVE" is our motto.




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\$25.00 Suits	\$21.98
\$22.00 Suits	\$18.98
\$20.00 Suits	\$16.98
\$18.00 Suits	\$14.98
\$15.00 Suits	\$11.98
\$12.50 Suits	\$9.98

Hayden Special for Friday, June 23

100 Dress Shirts, **75c**
E. & W. for . . .

Ten per cent off on all Hats and Caps



50 pair Army Shoes, large sizes
\$3.50 values, large sizes
\$1.75

Fine Dress Low Shoes
all sizes
\$3.50 Shoes . . . **\$2.75**
\$4.50 Shoes . . . **\$3.50**
\$5.00 Shoes . . . **\$4.00**


Three good work shirts for
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Boys' and men's tennis and oxford shoes, black and white, 75c value . . . **50c**
\$1.00 tennis shoes . . . **75c**
The Strollers, white, \$1.25 value . . . **\$1.00**
Rubber heel and sole, white, \$1.50 value . . . **\$1.25**

18 inch black walrus grained steel frame, fibre covered, good substantial lining, special
\$2.85


Genuine Jap matting, 24 inch. This is made over a steel body, fibre edge, reinforced corners and good handle, value \$1.50.
95 cents

This sale commences June 20 and ends July 4



Hats

Panama and straw hats from 5 cents to \$8.00. Hurry up, because we have made a big cut on them.




Luggage

The biggest and best line in city and you will agree with us if you come and see. Guaranteed all sole leather stamp on the bottom of suit cases and bags.

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Let us give you an over hauling Finck's Detroit-Special for
\$1.00
Other good overalls at 75 cents



FINCK'S
DETROIT-SPECIAL
OVERALLS
"LIVE AND LET LIVE"
ASK YOUR DEALER

O. C. Hayden & Co.

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH IN EVERY PURCHASE

THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND

Figure 6.1 Local newspaper advertisement encouraging chautauqua attendance. Published in *The Evening Tribune*, Albert Lea, MN. June 19, 1916.

The sheer size of the tent, combined with the minimal cost and time commitment required to attend a chautauqua, made it the most visible and popular form of adult education available to a community. The tents were called “the canvas colleges of the common people”²⁶⁹ and “the intellectual circus of America.”²⁷⁰ The 1910 Redpath-Vawter program included several references to the movement as an educational and cultural institution, including, “The chautauqua is the people’s university. Have you enrolled?”²⁷¹

The invocation of the university in reference to chautauqua troubled many academics. George Vincent, in a 1908 article defending the educational merit of the movement, wrote, “Many of my academic colleagues are not only skeptical, but derisive about the chautauqua movement, in which they profess to see a pseudo-intellectual hippodrome where all manner of absurd, grotesque, and irrational performances are conducted.”²⁷² Academics challenged the educational value of chautauqua based not only on the presence of non-lecture acts, but also on the educational value of the lectures themselves. One professor stated that “chautauqua is not associated with the highest academic scholarship.”²⁷³

Some of the acts that critics found objectionable due to perceived lack of educational merit could be excused based on their relative scarcity in the chautauqua program. A magician, a promoter might argue, may not be educational. But he is one act

²⁶⁹ Brooks Fletcher, “Bury Your Hammer and Buy a Horn,” *The Lyceum*, July 1916, 16.

²⁷⁰ Frederic Haskin, “Our Intellectual Circus,” *The Portsmouth Daily Times*, July 30 1921, 12.

²⁷¹ “Chautauqua: Mount Pleasant, Iowa,” (Redpath-Vawter, 1910). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²⁷² George Vincent, “How to Make an Assembly Truly Educational,” *The Lyceumite and Talent*, November 1908, 12-13.

²⁷³ Davis Dewey, January 10 1892. Quoted in Andrew Rieser, “Canopy of Culture: Chautauqua and the Renegotiation of Middle-Class Authority, 1874-1919” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1999), 196.

of fifteen on the program, and who would begrudge one hour of frivolous entertainment surrounded by an entire week of intellectual stimulation? With half of the program or more involving music, however, promoters were forced to address community and critical concerns about the educational value of music in circuit chautauqua.

The role of music in the creation and maintenance of circuit chautauqua's image is complex. The inclusion of art music in a program emphasized circuit chautauqua's role as conduit of culture to rural areas. Even popular music—as long as it was deemed wholesome and inoffensive—was a credit to the chautauqua, as it might keep the youth from seeking amusement in less structured settings. There were, however, those who believed that the best music would always be inferior to the worst lecture in terms of educational value. To these critics, music was at best a necessary evil, and at worst the downfall of the movement. Official publications of major chautauqua and lyceum organizations stressed the movement's loyalty to the lecture. The first page of the July 1916 edition of *The Lyceum Magazine* outlined “A Lyceum and Chautauqua Platform” consisting of fourteen pronouncements, apparently compiled by the International Lyceum Association.²⁷⁴ The eleventh item of the “platform” is entitled “The Lecture Vital” and begins: “The Lyceum and Chautauqua give welcome and necessary place to the musical arts, the concerter, the reader, the impersonator, the entertainer, the dramatic company, the band, the orchestra, the magician, the film and to all other exponents and vehicles of art and entertainment that conform to our standards, but recognize the lyceum lecture as fundamental.”²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Although there is no direct attribution to the I.L.A., the “platform” references the association specifically, and one pronouncement is a mission statement for the I.L.A.

²⁷⁵ “A Lyceum and Chautauqua Platform,” *The Lyceum Magazine* 26, no. 2 (1916): 1.

There is historical precedent for such attitudes toward music, especially among those whose focus was on the lyceum; the typical early nineteenth-century lyceum was entirely devoid of music. The addition of music to the lyceum program coincided with the commercialization—and many would argue corruption—of the lyceum movement. That certain lyceum “purists” would be critical of music in chautauqua is not surprising. Denial of music’s educational merit on the platform, however, existed within the chautauqua community and persists in some modern scholarship. Russell Johnson, in an article published in 2001, categorized chautauqua acts as educational or non-educational based solely on the presence of a lecture component to the act.²⁷⁶ Thus, all lectures, regardless of content, were deemed educational, while no performance, musical or otherwise, could be.

Lecture-recitals and lectures about music satisfied critics’ need for obviously educational musical acts, although such acts were relatively rare on the circuits. Musical lectures were more prevalent in the lyceum, but these acts rarely appear on chautauqua programs. Pianist and composer Felix Heink²⁷⁷ advertised lecture-recitals for performance at both lyceum and chautauqua events, including one entitled “Music, the Language of the Emotions.” The lecture recital was billed as “help to those who are laboring in behalf of stimulating interest in music among the general public in their localities.” The program included the following works, “interspersed with short, impressive, explanatory remarks”:

Romance in F sharp
Impromptu , Op. 90, no. 4

Schumann
Chopin

²⁷⁶ Russell Johnson, ““Dancing Mothers”: The Chautauqua Movement in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture,” *American Studies International* 39, no. 2 (2001).

²⁷⁷ Heink was the brother-in-law of Ernestine Schumann-Heink, and was billed as the former court pianist to the prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.

Ballroom Scene from <i>Mirabeau</i>	Heink
Funeral March	Chopin
Wedding March	Heink
Military March	Heink
Reverie, "Isolee"	Heink
Minuet in A Major	Heink
Slumber Song	Heink
Grande Valse de Concert, "The Joy of Life"	Heink ²⁷⁸

Pianist Edward Steckel gave a lecture-recital entitled "Music for Today" to chautauqua assemblies in the southeastern United States. Steckel's promotional materials emphasize his skills as an entertainer and the humor of his presentation. His lecture-recital included segments about "permanent" music (his term for art music and traditional folk music) as well as "familiar" music (his term for short-lived popular music). Although no program listing specific musical works for a Steckel lecture-recital has been found, one review noted that the high point of the performance was when Steckel played "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie" simultaneously on the piano.²⁷⁹

Winter lyceums hosted more (and more academic) lecture-recitals and lectures about music. Many of the lecturers managed by the lyceum bureaus held year-round employment and were not able to travel full-time for summer chautauqua work. They contracted with the lyceum bureaus to book local engagements for lyceums, school assemblies, and clubs. One such lecturer was Henriette Weber of Chicago. Weber was billed as the Director of Opera Concerts, Art Institute of Chicago, and as a lecturer for the Lecture Association of the University of Chicago. Weber offered several lecture series, including a six-part series on "modern tendencies in music" and a six-part series on

²⁷⁸ "Heink's Famous Lecture Recital." Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²⁷⁹ "Music for Today," (Streator, IL: Anderson Printing). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

Richard Wagner. Sponsoring organizations could request the entire series, or any combination of lectures. Weber also offered several single lectures on topics including folk music and nationalism, program music, dance forms, and music in religious worship.²⁸⁰

When a lecture about music appeared on the circuit chautauqua platform, the subject was most often the music of non-western cultures. These lectures often included the art, folklore, history, or dance of the subject culture as well as discussion of music. Albert and Martha Gale offered lecture-recitals on both “music and myth of old Japan” and “songs and stories of the red man.” In both presentations, the Gales dressed in elaborate costumes, sang, and played renditions on both western and traditional instruments. The Gales also gave dramatized presentations of daily life in Japanese and Native American cultures on a stage strewn with folk art and artifacts.

Some musical lectures focused on the music of American subcultures, though this phenomenon was surprisingly rare considering the chautauqua movement’s frequent invocation of its American identity.²⁸¹ In 1917 Lorraine Wyman and Howard Brockway solicited single engagements for lecture-recitals based on their recently-published collection, *Lonesome Tunes: Kentucky Mountain Balladry*.²⁸² Wyman sang the tunes and appears to have done the majority of the lecturing, while Brockway accompanied her on the piano, playing his own published arrangements. One critic remarked, “Miss

²⁸⁰ “Opera Talks and Lecture Recitals: Henriette Weber,” (1917). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²⁸¹ See Chapter Seven for a thorough discussion of music’s role in forming this American identity.

²⁸² Although there is no definitive evidence of bureau management or a large-scale chautauqua tour by Wyman and Brockway, their promotional materials and songbook were on file with the Redpath bureau. This may indicate sporadic short-term bookings through Redpath, as was the case with Ernestine Schumann-Heink and other prominent figures not able to commit to an entire chautauqua season. Wyman also has promotional materials for a 1914 performance of “old French and English folk songs in costume” on file with Redpath.

Wyman told the folks about the people in the mountains, imitated their way of singing, and then sang songs with her own witching charm.”²⁸³ The Wyman’s presentation of their subject seems strikingly akin to lecture-recitals on exotic cultures popular on the circuits. The Kentuckians from whom the songs were collected are referred to as “natives,” their singing as “howling.”²⁸⁴ Wyman and Brockway were clearly presented as outside observers, their subject as an exotic other. The heavy lecture component of the act differentiates it from standard presentations of African-American music, as does the fact that the performers in the Wyman-Brockway recitals were not members of the subject culture.²⁸⁵ Also in contrast to standard chautauqua performance of American folk music,²⁸⁶ which most often took the guise of concerts, the Wyman-Brockway lecture-recitals were clearly presented as educational events.

Some chautauqua musical acts invoked the university without involving a strictly educational component. Musical groups such as the University Four and the College Girls incorporated college fight songs and songs about university life into their acts. They occasionally appeared in university regalia, or wearing clothing bearing the names of well-known college and universities. The College Girls’ act was constructed around the premise that they were natives of whichever town they were currently entertaining, freshly returned from Vassar, recalling in song and story their college careers. Interestingly, none of their promotional photos invoke Vassar, but rather Michigan,

²⁸³ From the *New York Sun*, reprinted in “Lonesome Tunes: Kentucky Mountain Balladry,” (New York: 1917). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²⁸⁴ “Lonesome Tunes: Kentucky Mountain Balladry.”

²⁸⁵ Chautauqua’s presentation of African American music is discussed at length in Chapter Seven.

²⁸⁶ These primarily involved African American and Native American music, although there were also concerts of music of the American Southwest),

Chicago, other universities likely to be more familiar to Midwestern audiences (see figure 6.2).

The College Girls were a popular and long-lived chautauqua act. Though not especially educational, the act relied on the music and imagery associated with American higher education. The College Girls performed primarily in the Midwest, and it is unlikely that many in the chautauqua audiences of that region would have shared the College Girls' (feigned, as they were not actually connected with the institution either) nostalgia for Vassar. If the goal of the act was to tap into shared experience and forge a connection with the audience, the College Girls would likely have chosen one of the large coeducational Midwestern universities whose alumni were much more likely to attend a Midwestern chautauqua. Since the College Girls were not actually alumni of Vassar, it seems strange that a group performing in the rural Midwest would choose a small northeastern women's college with which to identify. This reasoning is based, however, on the mistaken assumption that the College Girls expected the audience to identify with college life as portrayed in the act. In reality, the College Girls represented an idealized stereotype of the northeastern college experience. They presented the liberal arts education and life at a small, elite college as they would have presented a foreign culture. The audience was not expected to connect to the songs and stories of life at Vassar, but rather to experience such a life vicariously through the College Girls as a break from their rural Midwestern existence. This theme of escapism and of presenting non-Midwestern American cultures as exotic is recurrent in the literature concerning circuit chautauqua, and is addressed as it relates to music later in this chapter. Despite the importance of

THE COLLEGE GIRLS



Figure 6.2 Cover of a 1912 promotional brochure of The College Girls. Although purported to be graduates of Vassar, they hold pennants from Michigan and Chicago. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

circuit chautauqua's reputation as an educational outlet, very few musical acts were explicitly billed as educational. Language invoking "culture," "sophistication," and "quality" is common in programs and promotional materials, and the term "education" appears frequently in reference to lectures, but acts consisting solely of a musical performance were seldom presented as educational.

It could be argued, based on the strong bias towards the lecture in chautauqua and lyceum trade publications, that musical performances were seen as an unfortunate necessity detracting from the movement's educational value, and were thus indefensible as an educational asset. It is unlikely that those involved in chautauqua planning and promotion were this dismissive of music. Bureaus were very conscious of presenting music as high-quality and morally uplifting, and were wary of any music with "lowbrow" connotations.²⁸⁷ Had they written music off as a necessary evil, it seems unlikely the bureaus would have gone to such extents to enforce standards in musical programming.

Another--perhaps more likely--scenario is that circuit chautauqua decision-makers felt no need to justify music's educational merit, assuming the audience believed in the educational value inherent to good music. In this situation, the bureau had only to program music conforming to the audience's perception of "high quality," and the audience would infer the educational element. Of course, certain novelty musical acts were beyond justification as educational, uplifting, patriotic, or any of the associations common to musical acts on the circuits. These novelty acts were written off, as were the jugglers and magicians common in later years of the movement, as light-hearted breaks

²⁸⁷ Chautauqua bureaus avoided booking jazz musicians nearly completely, and generally preferred popular music to be several years old, so as to appeal to a wider audience and avoid associations with youth culture. This trend can also be seen in the selection of dramatic acts and lectures, in which certain volatile subjects, such as current national politics, were not programmed.

from the intense intellectual experience of the chautauqua, and were not central to the movement's self-definition as a cultural and educational force.

The belief in the inherent educational value of certain types of music is a complex phenomenon incorporating rural views of urban culture, American ideas about European art, early twentieth-century class dynamics, and the philosophical underpinnings of the movement. It seems that it was not the music itself that held the educational value, but rather the culture that the music represented. Music defined as "quality" by circuit managers and accepted as such by audiences usually came from the standard western art music repertory, from exotic cultures, or from the popular repertory of years past. Older popular music served to define circuit chautauqua as a reinforcer of older values, a role discussed in Chapter Seven. The perceived educational value of circuit chautauqua music was derived primarily from the movement's incorporation of art music and exotic musical acts.

Taken in the context of the movement as a whole, the educational role of exotic musical performances is clear. Exotic musical acts often involved a lecture component and discussion of the music's culture of origin. Many exotic musical acts, however, made no pretense of a lecture and were strictly recitals. Often, the music was authentic to the culture of origin and was played by native performers or those with considerable experience in the style, while the lecture component was delivered by an English-speaking "expert" with a rather superficial knowledge of the culture and its music.

Balmer's Kaffir Boy Choir of Africa was such an act. The group was formed and managed by Jason Balmer,²⁸⁸ a British traveler and impresario who had, in the 1890s, formed an "African Native Choir," which he had taken on a tour of Europe and the United States, where he abandoned them to be raised by members of several African-American churches.²⁸⁹ Balmer formed the Kaffir Boys around 1904, and the group toured Great Britain sporadically and with many personnel changes for several years. The Aborigines' Protection Society of England campaigned against the Kaffir Boys' British tour of 1910-1911, citing the abandonment of the African Native Choir as cause for concern.²⁹⁰ Despite the society's objections, Balmer and the Kaffir Boys toured Great Britain and later the United States, appearing in larger chautauquas and in urban engagements under the management of the Coit Lyceum Bureau. The group Balmer brought to the United States consisted of five South African boys of unknown tribal affiliation. Although their ages were not recorded, the youngest appears to be no more than six or seven years old, while the oldest appears to be a teenager. The group toured with pianist Elsie Clark, who was billed as a white native of South Africa and the daughter of "pioneer missionaries."²⁹¹ Balmer sang bass for the group, and he and Clark lectured about South African culture in between songs and staged scenes of African life such as a "Kaffir wedding scene" and various battle scenarios (see figure 6.3).

²⁸⁸ Jason Balmer is sometimes referred to as John Balmer in secondary sources, for unknown reasons. No primary source referring to the Kaffir Boys or any of Balmer's other ventures uses the name "John," and Balmer consistently billed himself as Jason H. Balmer.

²⁸⁹ Jeffrey P. Green, *Black Edwardians : Black People in Britain, 1901-1914* (London ; Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 1998), 103.

²⁹⁰ Bernth Lindfors, *Africans on Stage : Studies in Ethnological Show Business* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 214.

²⁹¹ "Balmer's Kaffir Boy Choir of Africa," (Cleveland, OH: Britton Printing Company). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

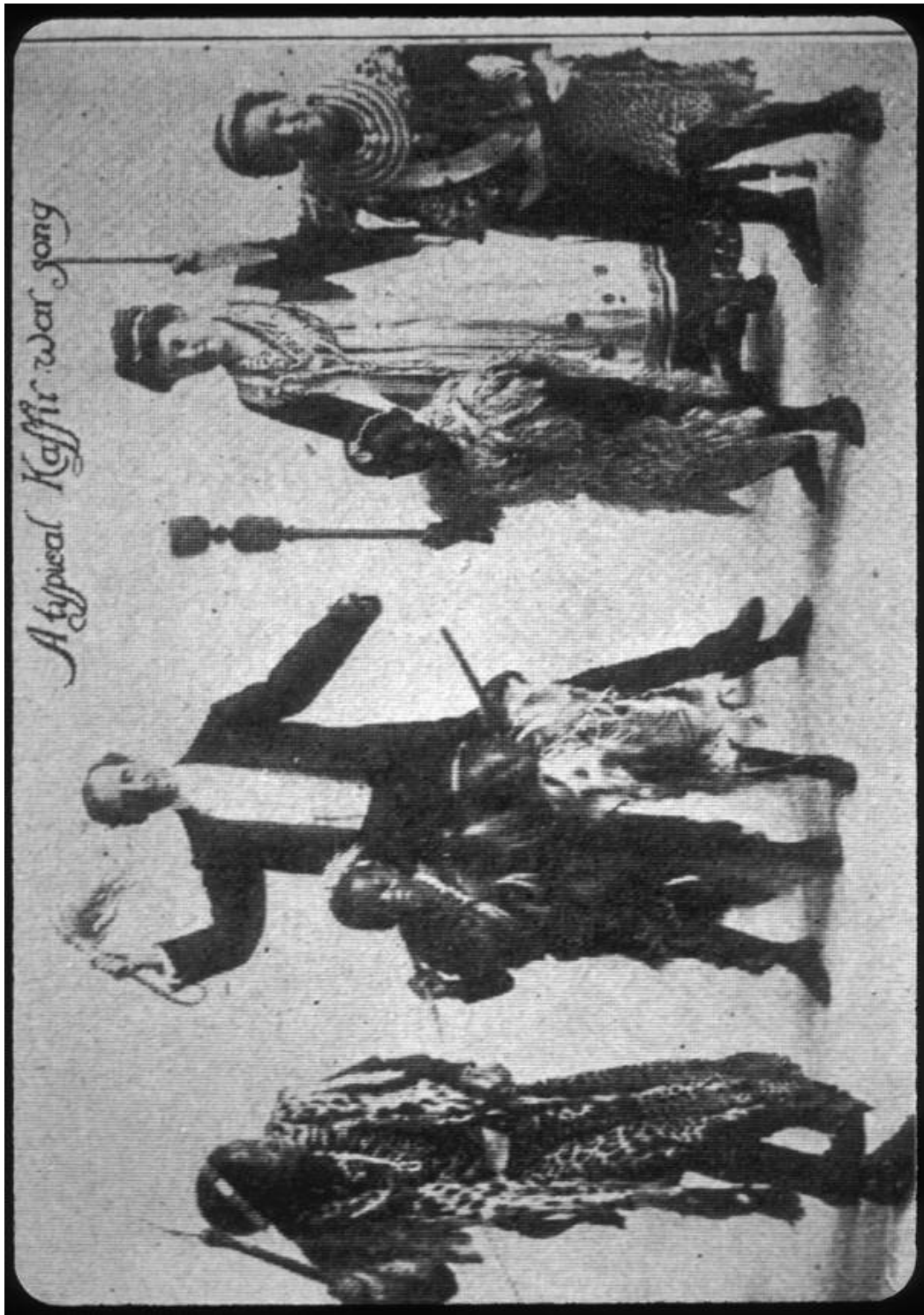


Figure 6.3 “A Typical Kaffir War Song,” promotional photograph featuring Balmer, Clark, and several Kaffir Boys. Several such scenes were incorporated into the Kaffir Boys’ act. From the author’s personal collection, gift of Fred Crane.

Advertisements claim that the songs were performed “mainly in English, although reviews of performances mention songs performed in English, Dutch, Kaffir, and Hottentot.”²⁹² A promotional brochure for the group stated that, “it is a novelty that [is] united to the highest type of musical art... Their countenances are beaming with delight as though they are glad to get into the light of civilization.”²⁹³ Although the Coit Bureau emphasized the effect of bringing the Kaffir Boys “into the light of civilization,” much of the rhetoric of the chautauqua and lyceum bureaus focused on using groups like the Kaffir Boys to bring “culture” to chautauqua audiences.

The presentation of music from remote lands to a predominantly rural American audience typifies the escapist strategy employed by circuit chautauqua bureaus. Eckman argued that this escapism was a defining component of the circuit chautauqua movement, one that was largely absent from the Chautauqua Institution and the independent assemblies.²⁹⁴ The view of the audience as starved of culture, education, and even entertainment was prevalent within the circuit chautauqua industry. Lyceum and chautauqua trade publications contain many unflattering characterizations of chautauqua audiences. They are often depicted as borderline illiterate and uncultured, with references to being dragged to the “Chee-Tau-Quay” by a sole enlightened family member or neighbor.²⁹⁵ Exposure to other cultures, even in the form of stylized,

²⁹² “Balmer’s Kaffir Boy Choir of Africa.”

²⁹³ “Balmer’s Kaffir Boy Choir of Africa.”

²⁹⁴ James Eckman, “Regeneration through Culture: Chautauqua in Nebraska 1882-1925” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1989), 204-13.

²⁹⁵ One example of such characterization is Charles Grilley’s short story, “The Chee-Tau-Quay,” which appeared in the December 1907 issue of *The Lyceumite and Talent*. Similar portrayals of chautauqua audiences, some with accompanying unflattering cartoons, appear in other industry publications.

sanitized, commercialized, and often highly idealized musical performances was seen as bringing the world to people who would have no chance of learning about it otherwise.

This same rationale was often employed to justify the educational value of art music on the chautauqua circuits. In many ways, urban “high culture” was presented to audiences as something exotic, and the audience was assumed to have no more connection to or familiarity with European art music than it did with the music and culture of the Kaffir Boys. Art music performers’ connections—however tenuous—with famous institutions and urban centers were emphasized in promotional materials. Performers from New York and Boston were often billed as if their city of origin was itself a musical credential. Musical group names were often chosen to invoke urban or European culture, even if the group had no discernable ties to the famous city, institution, or person implied in the name. For instance, nineteen different musical groups with names including the word “Chicago” are documented to have performed in chautauquas.²⁹⁶ These included groups with potentially deceptive names likely intended to be confused with established major art music ensembles, such as the Chicago Symphonic Orchestra, which performed in Iowa in 1923, and the Chicago Operatic Company, which toured extensively on the circuits in the early years of circuit chautauqua.²⁹⁷ Seven groups invoked Boston in their names, one called itself the Manhattan Opera Company, and twelve groups’ names began with “New York.”

Several groups invoked the names of well-known art music composers. Three “Mozart” groups had sample programs on file with Redpath. Interestingly, none of these programs lists any composition by Mozart. There were also several “Schubert” groups,

²⁹⁶ See Appendix F for a list of musical acts known to have performed at chautauquas.

²⁹⁷ Although the year of the Chicago Operatic Company’s last chautauqua circuit is unknown, promotional materials indicate that the group began touring in 1907 and toured every year until at least 1918.

including one named “The Schuberts” in which none of the members was named “Schubert” and none of the works on the sample program were Schubert compositions.²⁹⁸

Another “Schubert” group, The Schubert Serenaders, explained their use of the Schubert name thusly: “The name ‘Schubert Serenaders’ denotes appropriate regard for the incomparable Franz Schubert, whose works, ranging from the simplicity of folk songs to the height of symphonic power, form the basis of all programs.²⁹⁹ However, compositions representative of the masters of many lands are presented by this company.”³⁰⁰

This presentation of urban culture as an arbiter of artistic merit occurred alongside circuit chautauqua’s presentation of American rural culture as morally superior. Brochures of the years prior to 1913, years in which the circuit chautauqua movement was largely confined to the Midwest, especially emphasized the role of the American small town as defender of moral values.³⁰¹ The chautauqua was advertised as a way to bring enough of the urban experience to a community’s youth that those youth would not be tempted to leave home in search of urban opportunities.

Charles Horner spoke of the uneasy relationship between chautauqua audiences and urban culture in his 1913 address to his assembled employees: “The big city to which the small city has ever looked for its standards of life, overrun with cheap shows and blasé with burlesque, gave it no help, and in fact is just beginning to understand what

²⁹⁸ “The Schuberts: Singers and Entertainers,” (Cleveland, OH: The Britton Printing Co.). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

²⁹⁹ This particular group furnished no sample programs, and no programs from performances have been found.

³⁰⁰ “Schubert Serenaders: Vocal and Instrumental Artists,” (Kansas City: Horner, 1934). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

³⁰¹ John Tapia, “Circuit Chautauqua’s Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978), 133.

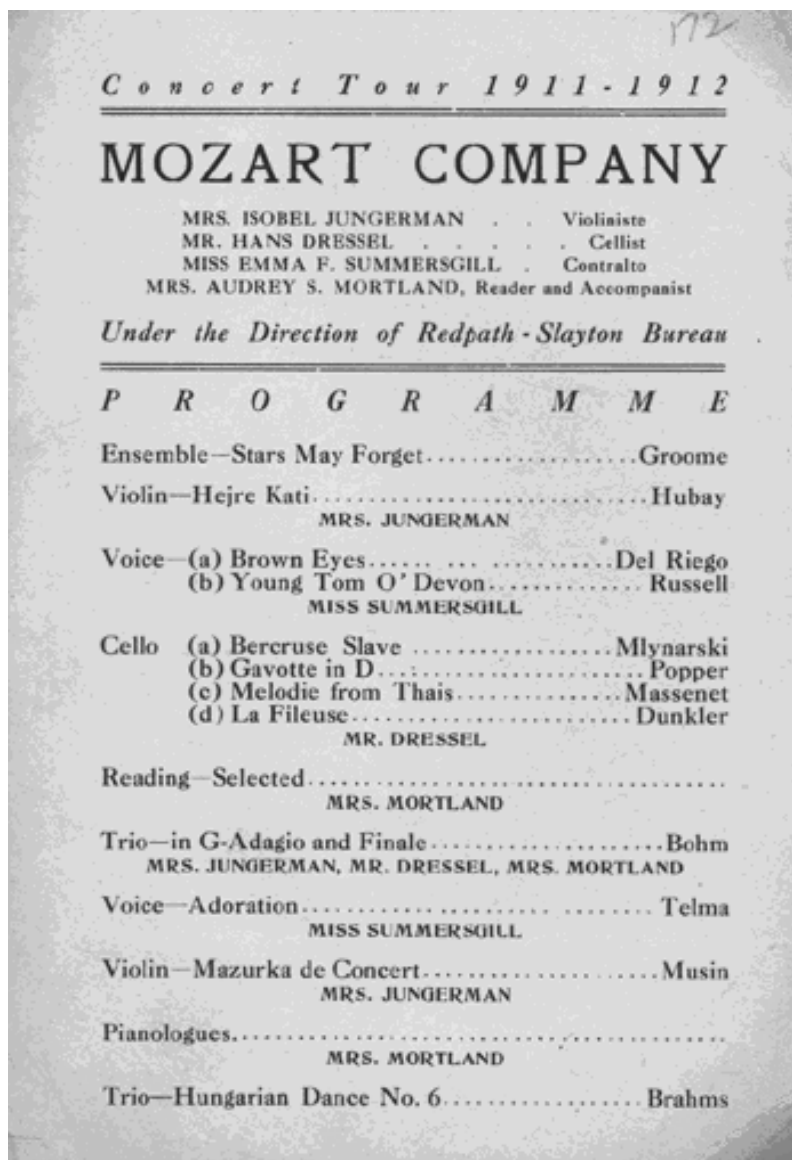


Figure 6.4 Program from the 1911-12 concert tour of the Mozart Company. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City). Note the lack of Mozart compositions.

a powerful thing the chautauqua really is.”³⁰² Moreover, urban audiences, accustomed to a variety of readily-available educational and entertainment opportunities, never embraced the circuit chautauqua.³⁰³ Despite the cities’ lack of interest in the chautauqua phenomenon, circuit chautauqua audiences continued to look to urban centers as a source for art and culture, and bureaus capitalized on this fascination with urban “high culture.”

The idea of circuit chautauqua as a vehicle for “culture” was frequently invoked in advertising, in the rhetoric surrounding the debate over the validity of the chautauqua movement, and in the memoirs of those involved in it. The *Denton Journal* of Denton, Maryland lauded the chautauqua movement as the flagship of humanistic education in the face of utilitarianism in the universities. The article also opined that a chautauqua “cannot be rendered in a community for a week without having some cultural effects hostile to the uncensored motion-picture show and peripatetic vaudeville company.”³⁰⁴ Circuit chautauqua was one of many outlets for the phenomenon Unitarian theologian William Ellery Channing dubbed “self-culture” in early twentieth-century America. Channing stressed that self-culture was not about acquisition of knowledge as much as the cultivation of an inquisitive and critical mind. This idea, also espoused by the “New Haven scholars” around Yale in the late nineteenth century, stressed the acquisition of culture as a means of thwarting materialism and creating a better person.³⁰⁵ Perhaps the

³⁰² This speech was reprinted in the August 1913 issue of *The Lyceum Magazine*, 26.

³⁰³ Henry Pringle recalled a disastrous attempt at promoting a circuit chautauqua in New York City in his article, “Chautauqua in the Jazz Age,” *American Mercury* 16 (January 1929), 85-93.

³⁰⁴ “Chautauqua Movement and Culture,” *Denton Journal*, July 3 1915, 2.

³⁰⁵ Joan Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 6-7.

most crucial role of music in defining circuit chautauqua was its ability to define the circuit chautauqua as a vehicle for “culture,” however one might define the term.

The assumption that exposure to art music was an inherently educational experience reflects chautauqua industry perceptions of a lack of musical and cultural education among Americans. Charles Dixon, writing for *The Lyceumite and Talent*, stated that, “Americans as a rule are fond of music, but it has not been a part of their general education, consequently many are able to enjoy only the simpler forms. Their tastes have not been developed, but stultified and degraded by cheap vaudeville singing, rag-time records, and by the dilettante sister who refuses to study except for her own amusement, but from whom morning till night tears from the old piano some mysterious rag, or beats out some wild Indian tom-tom.”³⁰⁶

Proponents of the circuit chautauqua movement and of inclusion of the arts in the chautauqua contended that it served to elevate the tastes of the audience (see figure 6.5). An editorial in *The Lyceumite* stated that, “The platform is cultivating an upward taste in music in the towns throughout the country just as the big orchestras are doing in the big cities.”³⁰⁷ Harry Hibsichman contended that, “there is ample evidence that thousands of young people have been inspired to emulation by hearing some great artist on a chautauqua programme.”³⁰⁸ Whether or not Hibsichman’s assertion that thousands were inspired to actually emulate chautauqua performers is accurate, inspiring audiences to consume better art was certainly a selling point for circuit chautauqua. The idea that brief exposure to reasonably well executed, carefully selected art music would pique an

³⁰⁶ Charles Dixon, “Can Music Win on Its Merit?,” *The Lyceumite and Talent*, April 1923, 17.

³⁰⁷ “The Lyceumiteman Talks,” *The Lyceumite* 4, no. 9 (1906): 275.

³⁰⁸ Harry Hibsichman, “Chautauqua Pro and Contra,” *North American Review*, no. 225 (1928): 599.



Figure 6.5 Cartoon published in the July 1913 edition of *The Lyceum Magazine*, 32.

interest in art music and possibly inspire citizens to expand their listening habits beyond the popular and folk styles to which they were accustomed bolstered circuit chautauqua's image as both an educational and cultural institution. The success of the chautauqua movement was seen as evidence that the American public had evolved, demanding enlightenment and uplift even in entertainment and rejecting the cheap amusements of the traveling shows.³⁰⁹ Those within the movement were quick to differentiate between the quality of their musical offerings and those of the traveling amusements.

Hugh Orchard wrote, "Every time the lyceum [bureau] sends a Kellogg-Haines Singing Party or Schildkret's Orchestra into a community it grows a little more difficult for cheap musical talent to amuse the people."³¹⁰ While chautauqua managers and promoters were adamant about distancing themselves from vaudeville, several acknowledged that the distinction was, in some cases, not entirely clear. The best vaudeville musicians were, they argued, generally of higher quality than the worst chautauqua musicians. There were successful chautauqua acts (magicians were often invoked as an example) more suited for the vaudeville stage. Some opined that the real difference between circuit chautauqua and vaudeville was a matter of proportion and intent.³¹¹ Chautauqua might involve popular music, but not as much as vaudeville. Vaudeville might be educational and uplifting, but that was not the intent of its promoters. This idea is exemplified by a cartoon published in *The Lyceum Magazine* in 1919. In it, "the lyceum and chautauqua" are contrasted with "their imitators." The

³⁰⁹ O.W. Coursey, "Chautauqua Vs. Street Carnival" *Lyceum Magazine*, May 1916, 14.

³¹⁰ Hugh A. Orchard, "The Lyceum Course Versus the Cheap Show," *The Lyceumite and Talent*, August 1912, 23. Reprinted from *The Lyceum News*.

³¹¹ Russell Bridges, "The Relation between Lyceum and Vaudeville," *The Lyceumite and Talent*, July 1912, 31-33.

primary concerns of lyceum and chautauqua, including art, education, inspiration, religion, and reform, are personified by five (female) muses, while lesser concerns, including pecuniary success and entertainment, are personified by children in the foreground. The “imitators” scene is nearly reversed, with pecuniary success, entertainment, and amusement, joined by a drummer labeled “sensation” and a businessman wearing a sash reading “quantity not quality,” portrayed as (male) adults, with the concerns formerly personified by the chautauqua muses represented by children cowering in the background (see figure 6.6).

The presentation of circuit chautauqua as an educational and cultural outlet and the differentiation of the movement from traveling entertainments were necessary to justify community support for circuit chautauqua. Communities supported it not only out of genuine interest in providing educational and entertainment opportunities to citizens, but also because community leaders felt that supporting a chautauqua reflected well on the community. An article in *The Salt Lake Tribune* of 1907 argued that the sponsoring of a chautauqua brought religious harmony to a community, as leaders of various religious groups worked together to support the chautauqua, and that the increased interest in reading spurred by the event would increase support for the free public library.³¹² *The Mansfield News* of Mansfield, Ohio made the unusual assertion that the chautauqua would indirectly benefit the community economically. The article stated that, “It is impossible to better a community intellectually and morally and not at the same time better that community commercially.”³¹³ The article then asserts that a person who

³¹² Frederic Haskin, “The Chautauqua Movement,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 17 1907, 8.

³¹³ “Community Improves as People Improve,” *The Mansfield News*, June 2 1915, 5.

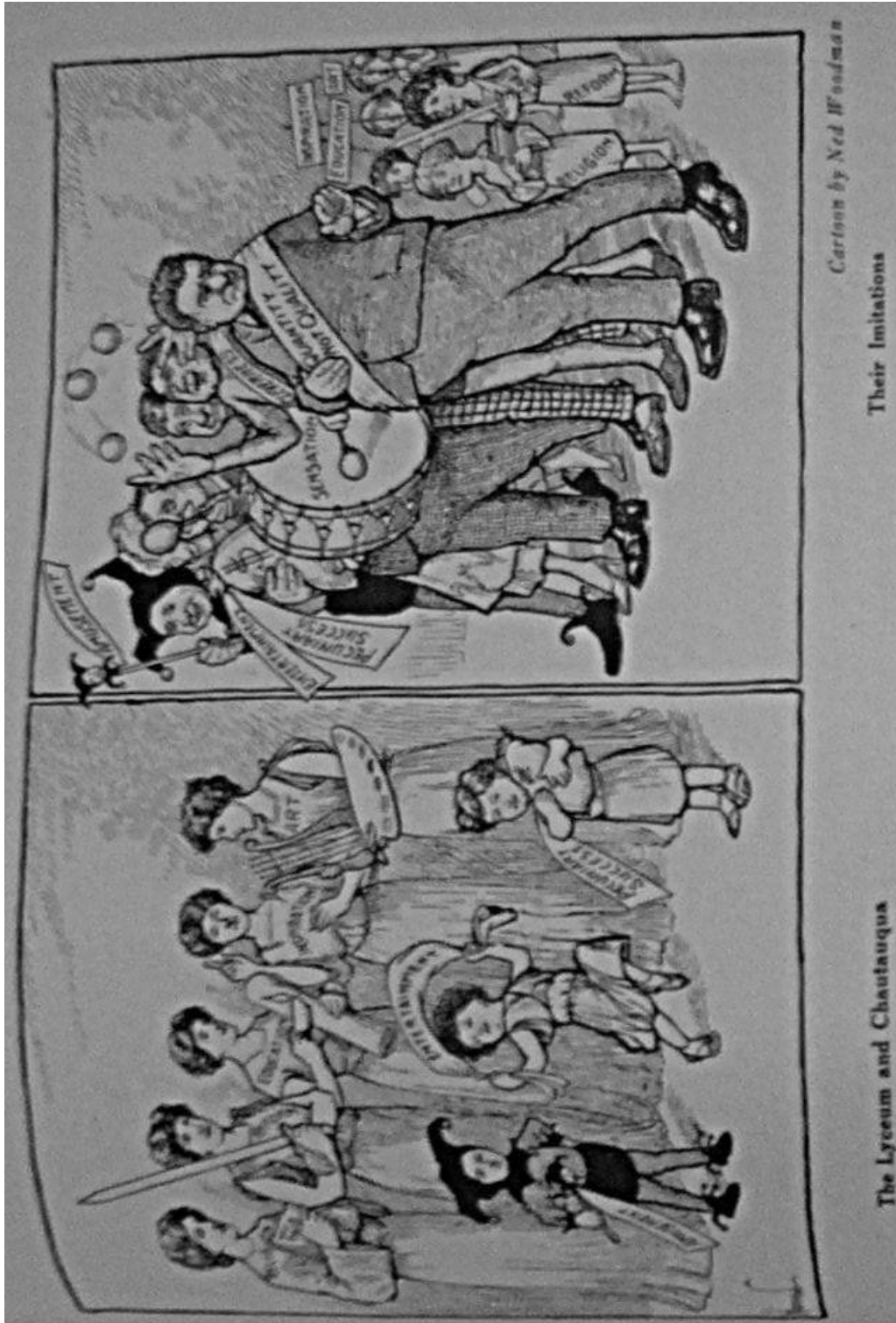


Figure 6.6 The lyceum and chautauqua as compared to “their imitators.” Published in *The Lyceum Magazine* (April 1917), 19.

learns to take more pride in him or herself will strive for better possessions and a better quality of life, thus boosting the local economy.

The *Thomson Review* of Thomson, Illinois ran a full-page advertisement urging the community to support the local chautauqua, a circuit event produced by the Cadmean Bureau³¹⁴ of Topeka, Kansas. The advertisement contained photographs of chautauquas and articles about the movement in general as well as specific acts that would be appearing on the 1925 circuit. The page also contains a short article entitled “Why Boston Signs a Guarantee,” comparing municipal funding of opera companies in Boston and Chicago with the need for community support of the local chautauqua. The article argued that if the opera was worthy of support in urban centers despite its nearly perpetual financial insolvency, smaller communities owed the same support to the chautauqua. Furthermore, the community should be prepared to absorb a financial loss in order to bring “the sort of chautauqua that will be a credit to the town.” The article closes by asserting that “Boston is not satisfied with the sort of an opera season they would have if only the actual receipts were put into the program.”³¹⁵

CONCLUSION

Music was important to circuit chautauqua’s public image as an institution worthy of community support. Circuit chautauqua asked a great deal of host communities in terms of advertising, financial guarantees, attendance, and infrastructure. These communities were often not in a position to absorb the financial loss they were risking by signing the guarantee. In order to convince communities to take the extraordinary

³¹⁴ The Cadmean Bureau was one of several chautauqua bureaus owned or managed by C. Benjamin Franklin, an important figure in the declining years of the movement.

³¹⁵ “Why Boston Signs a Guarantee,” *Thomson Review*, June 25 1925, 5.

measures required to secure a chautauqua, the circuit bureaus had to sell it as a worthwhile—even necessary—educational and cultural endeavor.

Although circuit chautauqua was often promoted as an educational outlet, few musical acts were promoted as educational. The majority of musical acts did not involve a lecture component and made no reference to education. Instead of explicitly arguing for the educational merit of music in circuit chautauqua, promoters relied on the implicit educational value of “good” music and advertised music as such. Music served as a means of exposing chautauqua audiences to other cultures, including foreign cultures and urban American “high” culture, a recurrent theme in industry literature and a primary facet of circuit chautauqua’s educational strategy.

Music also helped define chautauqua as an important cultural outlet, an important factor in distancing it from vaudeville and other traveling amusements. The quality of music offered by the circuit chautauqua was cited as an indicator of not only its superiority over competing amusements, but also of its legitimacy as a cultural institution. While legitimacy as an educational and cultural outlet was most often linked to the performance of art and exotic music in circuit chautauqua, popular music was carefully programmed to reinforce specific—usually older—values associated with the movement.

Although music was an important part of circuit chautauqua’s image, it was rarely explicitly promoted as either educational or as a vehicle for high culture. Instead, promoters of musical acts relied on implied associations and iconography associated with these traits. This was due in part to internal bias within the chautauqua movement, inherited from the lyceum movement, against non-lecture acts. The fear of damaging

chautauqua's image as educational by emphasizing non-lecture elements caused promoters to rely on audience perceptions of the educational and cultural value of music. While promotional materials are largely silent regarding the redeeming value of music on the circuits, there was considerable discussion of this value in internal publications, especially citing high-quality musical offerings as a distinction between chautauqua and traveling shows. All of these factors contributed to circuit chautauqua's appeal for community support, and are reflected in local newspaper reports and advertisements.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MUSIC DEFINES CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA AS AMERICAN

The circuit chautauqua movement was unquestionably an American phenomenon. Its predecessor, the Chautauqua Institution, included many references to American identity and patriotism in its official publications. Daniel Howell, an official with the Institution, wrote in his guidelines for independent assemblies wishing to emulate the Chautauqua Institution that, “the genuine chautauqua should stand squarely and always for three things: a true patriotism, a consistent Christianity, and an improved intellect.”³¹⁶

The circuit chautauqua movement rose to prominence as the United States was entering World War I. Promoters embraced the American identity inherited from the Chautauqua Institution and, especially during the years surrounding the war, worked to brand the circuit chautauqua as an essential American institution. A program from 1917 called the chautauqua “one of the greatest forces for patriotism among American institutions today” and stated that, “to hold chautauqua this summer is patriotic.”³¹⁷ The same bureau included in its 1918 programs a quote from Woodrow Wilson calling the movement a “patriotic institution that may be said to be an integral part of the national defense.”³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Daniel Howell, “Assembly Ideals and Practice,” *The Chautauquan*, July 1908, 251.

³¹⁷ *Chautauqua Program: Kimball, Nebraska*, (Lincoln, NE: Standard Chautauqua System, 1917).

³¹⁸ *Chautauqua Program: Kimball, Nebraska*, (Lincoln, NE: Standard Chautauqua System, 1918).

MUSIC DEFINES CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA POSITIVELY AS AMERICAN

Bureaus used music to reinforce circuit chautauqua's American identity through nationalistic musical programming and through musical acts that reinforced a nostalgic image of American culture. Overtly nationalistic themes are common in circuit chautauqua programming and advertising from the years around World War I. Tapia refers to this phase of circuit chautauqua promotion as the "righteous patriotic fantasy vision," which was prevalent in advertisements and program brochures from 1917-1918.³¹⁹ At that time, bureaus were also employing militaristic and nationalistic musical acts and promoting existing acts as "patriotic" and "American" (see figure 7.1).

In 1918 Midland Chautauquas featured the Overseas Military Quartet. Advertised as "back from hell with a song," the group consisted of four soldiers discharged for their injuries. The four members sang and one member told stories based on their war experiences. The group was billed as "the real thing, both musically and as valiant soldiers."³²⁰ In 1918, the Junior Chautauqua on the Midland circuit also performed a patriotic pageant entitled "Liberty's Torch."³²¹ Other patriotic or nationalistic musical groups appearing in circuit chautauqua at that time included the American Girls and the Military Girls. The Military Girls performed musical sketches depicting both military life and Midwestern culture. An article about the Military Girls claimed that they "revived

³¹⁹ See John Tapia, "Circuit Chautauqua's Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1978). The discussion of the righteous patriotic fantasy vision rhetoric begins on page 142.

³²⁰ "Midland Chautauqua: Wabasha, Minnesota," (Des Moines, Iowa: Midland Chautauquas, 1918). State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

³²¹ "Midland Chautauqua: Wabasha, Minnesota."

frontier life.” Furthermore, they would “appear as a fife and drum corps in military drills, they appear with lariats, and they do a killing ‘feminist’ travesty.”³²²

Although the article does not provide any detail regarding the “feminist travesty,” it is safe to assume that the Military Girls’ performance did not portray the feminist movement positively. That the first mention of this particular act came in 1914 is interesting. Mead points to 1914 as a pivotal year in the relationship between the chautauqua movement and American society.³²³ He contends that the goals and culture of the movement remained largely static throughout the existence of the movement, while America culture changed dramatically in those same years. Mead contends, therefore, that after 1914 many of the previously progressive tenets of the circuit chautauqua movement, especially the religious and social ideals inherited from the nineteenth-century Chautauqua Institution, seemed outdated or conservative.

It is true that, especially during the 1910s, many circuit chautauqua acts reinforced older societal norms and romanticized America’s past. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, managers preferred to program older popular songs which they deemed less likely to cause offense, and avoided newer and dance-based musical forms—especially jazz—almost entirely. Although nostalgia for the past may have been implied by such programming choices, promoters were rarely explicit about the movement’s preferences for older, “safer” forms of popular music. By the 1910s, however, managers and promoters began to form “purpose groups”—musical and dramatic companies charged with advancing a particular cause or conveying a specific message. Purpose groups often presented musical narratives of the people or time they represented.

³²² n.a., “The Lyceum ‘Purpose Companies’,” *The Lyceum Magazine*, August 1914, 13.

³²³ David Mead, “1914: The Chautauqua and American Innocence,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 1 (1968): 339-56.

Common themes included various ethnic groups and historical figures (American and English history were especially popular).

The Old Home Singers were a purpose group created by Charles Horner to perform an act consisting of a short concert and a two-act play. Horner wrote the play and Thurlow Lieurance, a composer and impresario heavily involved in the circuit chautauqua movement, wrote original music and arranged older popular songs for the program. Horner called the act “pretty much Mother, Home, and Heaven.”³²⁴ “Mother, Home and Heaven” was a term used within the circuit chautauqua movement, usually in reference to lectures, applied to acts that focused on “uplift” to the detriment (some argued exclusion) of substance. Harry Harrison called it “chautauqua’s version of ‘God, home and mother,’” rhetoric of the early twentieth century.³²⁵ William Jennings Bryan’s famous “Prince of Peace” lecture is considered an archetype of this genre, as was Russell Conwell’s “Acres of Diamonds,” an amazingly long-lived and popular lecture delivered over 5,000 times between 1900 and Conwell’s death in 1925.³²⁶ “Mother, Home and Heaven” was often used derisively by circuit chautauqua’s critics to highlight particularly shallow aspects of the movement, and subsequently was used by those affiliated with circuit chautauqua to describe acts that fit that negative stereotype of empty “uplift.”

The theme of the Old Home Singers was nostalgia for antebellum America, though the songs of the concert half of the program were occasionally drawn from later in the nineteenth century. The play, which Horner admitted was primarily a vehicle for the

³²⁴ Charles Horner, *Strike the Tents: The Story of Chautauqua* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1954), 176.

³²⁵ Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958), 136.

³²⁶ “Acres of Diamonds” was published in book form by Temple University Press in 2002, the full text and an excerpt recording of Conwell delivering the speech can be heard at American Rhetoric’s “Top 100 Speeches,” <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rconwellacresofdiamonds.htm>.

music, was set in the early twentieth century and featured a group of friends (the singers—usually a mixed group of four or five) returning home after an evening of musical theater. The composer of the work they have just seen is among the group, and as they congratulate him on his success, he condemns the “so-called popular music and ragtime.” The composer, usually named Harwood, laments the popularity of music he considers vulgar and encourages his friends to instead sing older songs such as “The Old Oaken Bucket.” Speaking of the old songs, Harwood exclaims, “This is the music that will live, while the popular and rag time stuff is the music of the midnight revelers and will die.”³²⁷ No fewer than twenty incarnations of the Old Home Singers were sanctioned by Horner for Redpath, and several imitators performed similar acts on other circuits.

MUSIC DEFINES CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA AS NON-FOREIGN

While circuit chautauqua managers did employ overtly patriotic and nostalgic acts to bolster the movement’s American identity, bureaus also worked on a more subtle level to ensure that audiences associated circuit chautauqua with appropriate American attributes. In the wake of rising anti-foreign (and particularly anti-German) sentiment among American audiences in the years surrounding World War I, promoters seized on the commonly held belief that “truly American” music could be found among African-Americans and Native Americans, promoting Black and Native American musical groups in opposition to foreign art music.

³²⁷ “The Lyceum Purpose Companies,” *The Lyceum Magazine*, August 1914, 12-14.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN MUSIC

An article by A.L. Curtis in *Talent*, one of several periodicals dedicated to the lyceum and chautauqua movements, began, “It has been said that the only truly national music in the United States is that given us by the Negro race during their dark days of bondage and despair.”³²⁸ Of course, this idea was not original to A.L. Curtis or to the lyceum or circuit chautauqua movement. Dvořák had famously stated thirteen years prior, “In the Negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music.”³²⁹ Chautauqua managers seized upon the idea that African-American music, especially spirituals, represented something uniquely and truly American.

Chautauqua bureaus sought to incorporate African-American music into programs in a way that was respectful of the black performers and in keeping with the spirit of the movement. The nature of circuit chautauqua made it impossible for individual communities to refuse an act, although some tried. One community threatened to cancel its contract with Swarthmore Chautauquas if a black group, the Tuskegee Singers, appeared as scheduled. Paul Pearson, founder and manager of Swarthmore Chautauquas, refused to cancel the Tuskegee Singers, and the group performed in front of a larger than average crowd for the community, a phenomenon Pearson attributed to curiosity generated by the controversy surrounding the performance.³³⁰

³²⁸ A.L. Curtis, “The Fisk Jubilee Singers,” *Talent* 16, no. 9 (1906): 1.

³²⁹ “Real Value of Negro Melodies,” *The New York Herald*, May 21 1893. Quoted in Michael Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer’s Inner Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

³³⁰ Charlotte Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, ed. Thomas Postlewait, *Studies in Theatre History and Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press 2005), 84. Although the town in question is not named, Swarthmore Chautauquas was based out of Philadelphia and operated circuits in the northeast.

Jubilee groups³³¹ like the Tuskegee Singers eventually became popular on chautauqua circuits throughout the U.S. At least fifteen such groups are documented to have traveled the circuits.³³² At least one incarnation of the Fisk Jubilee Singers made circuit chautauqua appearances. Walker's Famous Fisk Jubilee Singers billed themselves as "Acknowledged Lyceum and Chautauqua Favorites." The group was managed by Eliza (Walker) Crump, one of the founding members of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. According to their promotional brochure, Walker's Famous Fisk Jubilee Singers was one of "two jubilee companies in the world representing Fisk University," the other being the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, led by Professor John Work III of Fisk University.³³³ Although the brochure is undated, it must have been published prior to 1916, as Work stepped down from managing the Nashville-based Fisk University Jubilee Singers in that year.³³⁴ While Walker's Famous Fisk Jubilee Singers were likely not Fisk students, the group did claim to raise money for the university. Another Fisk group, this one billed as "Fisk Jubilee Singers: The Original" toured under the management of the Central Lyceum Bureau prior to 1910. This group's pedigree is less clear, however, as none of their three listed managers seems to have been associated with known university-affiliated incarnations of the Fisk Jubilee Singers.

³³¹ The term "jubilee singers" was applied to many groups modeled on the Fisk Jubilee Singers, both in circuit chautauqua and elsewhere. It usually denoted a group that performed spirituals and light classical music, performing in formal dress and without comedy or drama.

³³² Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, 83. It is unclear if Canning's figure represents major bureaus, one specific bureau, or the movement as a whole.

³³³ Eliza Crump, "Walker's Famous Fisk Jubilee Singers," (Chicago, IL: 191?). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

³³⁴ In 1916, management of the group was taken over by James Meyers, at which point the group had no connection to Fisk University. For a thorough history of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, especially those incarnations of the group involved in commercial recordings, see Tim Brooks, "'Might Take One Disc of This Trash as a Novelty': Early Recordings by the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Popularization of 'Negro Folk Music,'" *American Music* 18, no. 3 (2000).

Jubilee groups were the most popular representation of African-American music in circuit chautauqua. The stated missionary aims of the jubilee singers phenomenon fit well with circuit chautauqua's spirit of education and moral uplift. In fact, managers saw jubilee groups as a way to attract the minstrel show audience to the lyceum and chautauqua. An article in *The Lyceumite* stated that, "the jubilee company will bring the single admissions, possibly help sell more course tickets, and--who knows?--may educate the 'other element.'" By "the other element" the author may have meant either poor white southerners or African-Americans, as his endorsement of jubilee groups was preceded by the observation that, "in the Southland, you know, there are three classes of people: the real, refined, educated lady and gentleman, the 'po' white trash' and the Negro."³³⁵

The use of jubilee groups as a substitute for blackface minstrelsy and to attract a "lower class" audience demographic is interesting, as these were not regularly cited motives for programming jubilee groups outside of the lyceum and chautauqua spheres. Brooks cites "northern liberals" as the Fisk Jubilee Singers' target audience,³³⁶ a far cry from Burdette's target of southern "po' white trash" and "Negroes." Of course, it could be that outside of chautauqua and lyceum, no one involved with jubilee singers was concerned with the minstrel show audience demographic. Promoters outside of chautauqua and lyceum had no need to find a substitute for minstrelsy, while chautauqua and lyceum bureaus certainly did.

True blackface minstrelsy was virtually nonexistent in the chautauqua movement. The only documented example of a group billed as blackface minstrels performing in circuit chautauqua occurred in the 1922 Redpath-Vawter circuit. The group was billed

³³⁵ Robert Burdette, "Worth Trying," *The Lyceumite*, February 1903, 51.

³³⁶ Brooks, "'Might Take One Disc of This Trash as a Novelty': Early Recordings by the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Popularization of 'Negro Folk Music'," 280.

simply as “Black-Face Minstrels” and labeled “a masterpiece of fun and frolic.” No further information concerning the group is given in the program, and the Black-Face Minstrels are not mentioned elsewhere in the records of Redpath-Vawter or any other Redpath bureaus. Tapia states that the Black-Face Minstrels were a white group performing jubilee songs in blackface, rather than a true minstrel show, but his basis for this assertion is unclear.³³⁷ Given the absence of other possible minstrel shows on the circuits, it does seem likely that the Black-Face Minstrels were an instance of “blackface jubilee” rather than true blackface minstrelsy. There is no indication of any African-American troupe performing in blackface, or performing skits involving standard minstrel plots or characters, on the chautauqua circuits. Despite this lack of overt minstrelsy, Canning argues that the Redpath bureau relied on “racist iconography” to invoke minstrelsy when advertising some African American acts. For instance, African-American performers were sometimes depicted in minstrel-like poses incongruous with their formal setting and attire, and with exaggerated facial expressions (see figure 7.2).

Despite turn-of-the-century efforts within the lyceum movement to replace blackface minstrelsy with jubilee singers and the resultant absence of minstrel shows on the chautauqua circuits, vestiges of blackface minstrelsy could be seen in circuit chautauqua musical programming. For instance, several former blackface minstrels created nostalgic acts using minstrel show material for chautauqua performance.

³³⁷ John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997), 173. Tapia cites this group, which also performed as the All College Glee Club when not in blackface (in fact, they performed as the All College Glee Club for the afternoon prelude on the Vawter circuit), as “Caucasians made up in grease paint perform[ing] as jubilee singers.”

THE ETHIOPIAN SERENADERS



Singers and Players

SMITH-BIGELQW & KEENEY-CHI.

Figure 7.2 1912 promotional flyer for the Ethiopian Serenaders. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City). Cited in Canning, *The Most American Thing in America*, 98.

These acts featured minstrel songs but did not incorporate drama, costumes, or blackface. Banjoist D.L. Leftwich advertised his act as “An evening with the old-time darkey. Ninety minutes of good cheer with story and song. No lecture.” Billy Armstrong, billed as an “old-time minstrel,” presented a humorous monologue with song (Armstrong sang and played banjo) entitled “Minstrel Reminiscences.”

Minstrel songs were not relegated to nostalgic performances by former minstrels. The records of the Redpath bureau contain an orchestra/band ³³⁸score entitled *The Sunny South: Selection of Southern Plantation Songs*. The medley, arranged by J. Bodewalt Lampe and published by Remick of Detroit, included “Old Folks at Home,” (listed as “Way Down Upon the Swanee River”) “Listen to the Mocking Bird,” “My Old Kentucky Home,” “Arkansas Traveler,” “Massa’s in the Cold Ground,” “Zip Coon,” “Old Black Joe,” and, “Dixie’s Land,” and concluded with “The Star Spangled Banner.” From markings on the piano score, it appears that the group omitted “My Old Kentucky Home” and “Massa’s in the Cold Ground” in performance. It also seems likely that the instrumental forces available for chautauqua performance were insufficient to execute the work as written, as evidenced by several indications in the piano score to play melodic material assigned to orchestra instruments.

³³⁸ The piece was published in both orchestra and band versions in the same key so that multiple combinations of instruments could be used effectively.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC

Native American music served a dual and seemingly terribly conflicted purpose within the circuit chautauqua movement. Not surprisingly, Native American society was exhibited, discussed, and imitated on the platform in the same manner (and sometimes by the same lecturers) as were the exotic cultures of Asia and Africa. By the early twentieth century, most Americans were sufficiently distanced from Native American culture that this presentation of indigenous peoples as other would have seemed appropriate to chautauqua audiences and promoters. As the twentieth century progressed and Americans tried to distance themselves from European—especially German—associations, Native American culture would be presented to chautauqua audiences as “pure” or “truly” American. This presentation occurred alongside, and sometimes in conjunction with, the depiction of Native Americans as *other*. The use of music to define Native Americans as both foreign and American is one of the more fascinating aspects of the study of music in circuit chautauqua.

It seems fitting that “Chautauqua” is one of a slew of American place names of vaguely “Indian” origin. Many of the older histories of the chautauqua movement begin by asserting that “Chautauqua is a Native American word meaning...” and go on to assign one of a number of purported meanings and tribal linguistic origins for the word. That this obvious inconsistency between sources did not seem to trouble those early scholars of the chautauqua movement is telling; the word was “Indian” and no one disputed that generic authenticity. The specific origin and meaning of the word was not important; the image conjured by it and the broader implications of its Indian identity were. This emphasis echoes Eckman’s assertion that the chautauqua movement, and

circuit chautauqua in particular, served to expose the audience to other cultures with the hope of piquing curiosity, rather than to impart specific information regarding the subject culture.³³⁹

The circuit chautauqua phenomenon came on the heels of the popular World's Fairs of Chicago and St. Louis, and circuit chautauqua's presentation of Native Americans was undoubtedly influenced by these expositions. Circuit chautauqua's early years overlapped the end of the "Indianist" movement in American composition, in which the use of Native American music was seen as a rejection of or alternative to the undeniably European heritage of American art music. This movement, which reached its peak in the early twentieth century and involved composers such as Edward MacDowell, Charles Wakefield Cadman, Arthur Farwell, and Thurlow Lieurance, strove to use Native American themes within the framework of art music and parlor songs.³⁴⁰ Finally, the halcyon days of circuit chautauqua coincided with World War I and the anti-German sentiment prevalent at the time. Each of these factors would significantly affect circuit chautauqua's presentation of Native American music and culture, and how Native American music was used by performers and promoters to reinforce established chautauqua ideals.

It is impossible to pinpoint the very first (independent) community chautauqua to present a Native American performance or lecture. Lectures on Native American subjects and performances on Native American themes were present in the lyceum movement and were doubtless supplied to independent assemblies by the lyceum

³³⁹ James Eckman, "Regeneration through Culture: Chautauqua in Nebraska 1882-1925" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1989), 203-43.

³⁴⁰ Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and The 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," *American Music* 15, no. 3 (1997): 265-84.

bureaus. While we cannot state unequivocally that a certain independent chautauqua was the first to present Native American subject matter, records indicate that Keith Vawter's initial circuit of 1904 included a performance billed as, "Drama, 'Hiawatha,' Illustrated by Moving Pictures."³⁴¹ Of course, the Hiawatha epic was immensely popular, and performances derived from it were prevalent throughout the United States, so its inclusion in Vawter's first program is not surprising.³⁴² As the movement came to prominence in rural American culture, the role of Native Americans (and those presenting Native American cultural elements) in circuit chautauqua would extend far beyond *Hiawatha* and its derivatives.

Circuit chautauqua programs and promotional materials chronicle a variety of Native American performers and lecturers, including bands, chamber ensembles, dramatic companies, straight lectures, lecture-recitals, motion pictures, and acts that defy categorization. Performers include Native Americans, European Americans, Europeans, and those whose ethnicity is either unclear or intentionally obscured through "adoptive" tribal affiliations. Performances ranged from all-Indian groups in military-style uniforms reminiscent of the Sousa band performing sets of European art music to groups of classically-trained white people performing stylized "Indian" songs and dances in full ceremonial regalia.

Three concert bands composed of Native Americans were popular on the chautauqua circuits in the early twentieth century. The oldest of these was the Onondaga Indian Concert Band, conducted by David R. Hill. Hill (see figure 7.3) was billed as a

³⁴¹ Standard Chautauqua Bureau, "Program: Iowa Falls Chautauqua," (1904). reproduced in Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*.

³⁴² By the late nineteenth century, the Hiawatha epic had become so prevalent that one critic deemed it a "public nuisance." Quoted in Harlowe Hoyt, *Town Hall Tonight* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1955), 216.

“fullblooded [*sic*] Onondaga chief, of long and noted family” and a graduate of the Hampton Normal School in Virginia. The band advertised that it had been organized in 1840, and emphasized that it was not affiliated with the government or with any school. For this reason, the band billed itself as, “the only real professional Indian band in the world.” The band’s promotional flyer also stated, “This Indian band comes with no apologies for the character and quality of its concerts, either on account of blood or age of its members, but is willing to be judged on its merits as a musical organization.”³⁴³

The Onondaga Indian Concert Band was composed of fifteen musicians representing several tribes. Unlike other Indian bands on the chautauqua circuits, the Onondaga Indian Concert Band performed in traditional Onondaga clothing (see figure 7.4). Although no program listing specific musical pieces has been located, the promotional flyer for the band describes a typical program as consisting of three distinct sets. The first set consisted “principally of classical numbers.” The second set began with “the descriptive life of the American people, especially that of the Indian” and concluded with a solo or small ensemble performance of an art music transcription. Finally, the third set consisted of an Indian war dance.

The program promised the audience that they would, “see just as the dance really was when the band plays the weird, death-like, sullen strains and gradually fades away only to be retreated and enlightened by the grand old number of the Star Spangled Banner.”³⁴⁴ “The Star Spangled Banner” was a staple of many bands across the United

³⁴³ “David Russell Hill and His Onondaga Indian Concert Band,” (Syracuse, NY: Empire Lyceum Bureau). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City)

³⁴⁴ “David Russell Hill and His Onondaga Indian Concert Band.”



Figure 7.3 Promotional photograph of conductor David Hill. From the author's personal collection.



Figure 7.4 Promotional photograph of the Onondaga Indian Concert Band. From the author's personal collection.

States during the early twentieth century,³⁴⁵ and was used as either an opening or closing number by several Native American groups on the chautauqua circuits. The gradual transition from the “death like” war dance to the “enlightened” anthem echoes a theme of evolution often present when Native American groups performed art music on the chautauqua circuit. The Government Official World’s Fair Indian Band was formed as part of the Indian Exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. After the exposition, the band contracted with the Central Lyceum Bureau of Chicago. The band was led by N.S. Nelson, who is listed in promotional materials as an “old employee of the Indian service.”³⁴⁶ It is unclear whether Nelson was himself Native American. It seems likely that he was not, since the band’s promotional brochure lists the tribal affiliation of every member except Nelson and the band’s assistant manager, Ray McCowan. The band advertised its membership as drawn from tribes across the United States, and included a short biography of each member in its promotional materials.

The band, including conductor, appeared in green military-style uniforms and relied primarily on brass instruments augmented by clarinets, saxophones, and percussion. In the illustration in its promotional brochure, the band is seated as if for a performance. While the band’s appearance is typical of any community or military band of the era, the stage on which the band is seated is draped in bright Native American tapestries. On either side of the band are placed teepees occupied by long-haired Native

³⁴⁵ Though a fixture of band programs throughout the era, the performance of “The Star Spangled Banner” by American orchestras was the source of considerable controversy during and after World War I. See Barbara Tischler, “One Hundred Percent Americanism and Music in Boston During World War I,” *American Music* 4, no. 2 (1986).

³⁴⁶ “The Government Official Indian Band,” (Chicago: Hollister Brothers). Redpath Chautauqua Collection Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

American women. One of the women appears to be embroidering a tapestry, the other weaving a basket.

This juxtaposition of stereotypical “Indian” imagery with the standard turn-of-the-century American appearance of the band echoes the proposed presentation of another Native American band, the Carlisle Indian Band, at the 1904 Exposition. Commissioner Thomas Morgan wanted the Carlisle Band to be preceded in the opening day procession by a large group of Native Americans dressed in “native costumes, feathers, paint, moccasins, etc.” Morgan reasoned that the procession of Native Americans in traditional dress followed by the Carlisle Band would represent the “conversion” of Native Americans into American citizens.³⁴⁷

The Carlisle Band also toured under commercial management after its World’s Fair commitments had been met. It is unclear whether the band remained affiliated with the Carlisle Indian School, but the band was known as the U.S. Indian Band during its commercial tours. The band was led by Lt. J. Riley Wheelock, an Oneida Indian, and consisted of 45 members of various tribal affiliations. Princess Tsianina, the celebrated Cherokee-Creek mezzo-soprano, also joined the band for its commercial tour. The band billed itself as “the only Indian concert band in classical and popular programs,” and its promotional flyer stated that “people who went to hear the Indian musicians chiefly to see the Indians do the war dance and satisfy their curiosity about Indians being wild, were disappointed, but agreeably surprised to hear high-class music rendered in an artistic manner by the Indian Band.”³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Robert Trennert, “Selling Indian Education at World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904,” *American Indian Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1987).

³⁴⁸ “The U.S. Indian Band,” (Philadelphia: Hammond and Harff). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

The band's promoters seem to have been torn between emphasizing the exotic appeal of an all-Indian band and downplaying that difference in order to stress the group's musical skill and training. Promotional materials include a quote from the *Philadelphia Ledger* stating that, "The music furnished by these red musicians is in a class by itself in that you cannot describe the quality—you like it you enjoy their selections, and you keep going back to hear them, but why, you can't tell, their rendition is not any different probably than what any other good band plays, but there is something attractive about the Indians."³⁴⁹ The sample program provided, taken from the U.S. Indian Band's performance at Carnegie Hall, would not have been out of the ordinary for any community or military band of the time. The only "Indian" pieces on the program are the "Carlisle March" and a piece entitled "Indian War," both composed by Lt. Wheelock.

Although the U.S. Indian Band certainly was not ashamed of its Indianness, its promotional materials seem to emphasize the band's musical and (American) cultural normalcy. On the cover page of the band's promotional brochure, immediately below the words "U.S. Indian Band," are the phrases "fifty American musicians" and "members of A. F. of M."³⁵⁰ The band's American identity and union affiliation are placed above any other information. They appeared in red military-style uniforms for a posed photograph in front of an unidentified building. The only indication in the photo of a Native American identity is the bass drum, which reads "U.S. Indian School—Carlisle."³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ "The U.S. Indian Band."

³⁵⁰ American Federation of Musicians

³⁵¹ "The U.S. Indian Band."

These three bands share several characteristics. Each used a conventional instrumentation and presented concerts in typical turn-of-the-century format. Most importantly, the bands' performances consisted primarily of pieces from the standard American band repertoire of the time, including orchestral transcriptions and marches. A study of the bands' promotional materials, however, exposes key differences in the way the bands and their management dealt with issues of Indian identity. The Government Official World's Fair Indian Band surrounded itself with Native American imagery while performing from the standard American band repertoire. The Onondaga band dressed in Native American costume while performing "without the characteristic of Indian music."³⁵² The U.S. Indian (Carlisle) Band treated its Native American identity as a novelty to attract an audience, who would then be impressed by the group's musical abilities.

Carlisle Indian School alumnus Fred Cardin was a popular attraction on the chautauqua circuits during the peak years of the movement. Cardin, a member of the Quapaw tribe, graduated from the Carlisle School in 1912 and studied the violin at Dana's Musical Conservatory in Ohio. Cardin later became a member of the orchestra at the Chautauqua Institution, but was forced by illness to resign. In 1916 he joined the Indian String Quartet as first violin. The quartet had been formed by Ruthyn Turney, a composer on the faculty at the Chemawa School in Oregon. Turney wrote primarily "Indianist" compositions, and by 1917 was composing exclusively for the Indian String Quartet. Each member of the quartet held a different tribal affiliation. Cardin, as previously mentioned, belonged to the Quapaw tribe of Oklahoma. Alex Melodivov,

³⁵² "David Russell Hill and His Onondaga Indian Concert Band." Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

second violin, was an Aleut from Alaska. The violist, William Palin, was from the Flathead tribe of Montana, and William Reddie, the cellist, was a member of the Hydah tribe of Alaska.³⁵³ The quartet toured the chautauqua and lyceum circuits under the management of the Redpath Bureau. They were accompanied by lecturer Richard Kennedy, who spoke on a variety of Native American subjects. Kennedy seems to have given lectures on Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* and Hugo's *Les Misérables* during performances with the Indian String Quartet. While such lectures might seem incongruous with the accompanying musical performance, they shed light on the chautauqua bureaus' idea of mission. Managers felt an obligation to bring "culture" in many forms to the (primarily rural) chautauqua audience. If managers and performers believed that Tennyson was just as foreign to the average audience member as the Indian String Quartet would be, it is understandable that those in charge of programming would have no qualms combining the two.

The quartet would typically play a program divided into halves. One half would consist of standard string quartet repertoire with the musicians dressed in tuxedos. The other half was performed in Native American dress and consisted of "Indianist" compositions by Turney and others, memorized for a more "authentic Indian" effect. Kennedy would often introduce the set of Indianist music by explaining that Native American music was the only music that had not been "Germanized."³⁵⁴

After the dissolution of the Indian American String Quartet, Cardin formed another musical group, The Indian Art and Musical Company. The group's

³⁵³ "Indian String Quartet," (1917). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

³⁵⁴ John Troutman, "'Indian Blues': American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1890-1935" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2004), 206.

instrumentation was flexible and its personnel roster unstable. William Reddie (billed as Reddy) played cello for the group, Cardin played violin, Wanita Cardin was the group's pianist, and vocalists Sansa Carey and Te Ata were, at times, members.³⁵⁵

The Indian Art and Musical Company offered a program consisting of “songs with orchestra,” “primitive songs with drums,” “Pueblo songs,” “modern harmonized songs,” and a piano solo. The “songs with orchestra” consisted primarily of Indianist compositions by Lieurance, Kreisler, and Cadman. The group also performed compositions by Rachmaninoff, MacDowell, and Brahms during this portion of the program. The “primitive songs with drums” and “Pueblo songs” are listed by individual titles, with no composer given. The “modern harmonized songs” are all Indianist compositions by Thurlow Lieurance, and the piano solo is listed as “Indian Rhapsody” with no further information. While it is not specified, it seems likely that this was Lieurance's *Indian Rhapsody*.

The Indian Art and Musical Company differed from Cardin's previous venture in its emphasis on Native American attributes. The performers wore Native American clothing in all promotional photographs and likely during all performances. In contrast, most promotional photographs of the Indian String Quartet show them in tuxedos. Promotional materials refer to Reddie as “a typical story book Indian.” The group's promotional brochure features on its cover a large profile photograph of Cardin, in headdress and holding a violin. Under the picture is the caption, “do you know that

³⁵⁵ Troutman, “‘Indian Blues’: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1890-1935”, 276.

Indians are natural-born musicians?”³⁵⁶ The text on the cover is printed in a script invoking a “primitive” hand (see figure 7.5).

Solo vocalists—especially women—were also popular Native American acts on the chautauqua circuits. These women toured with larger groups like the U.S. Indian Band, as part of smaller companies like the Indian Art and Musical Company, and often with white Indianist composers and lecturers. Unlike their male counterparts, who were nearly always known by Anglo (or Russian, in the case of some Native Alaskans) names, female musicians on the circuits were billed by Native American names, sometimes accompanied by loose English translations. Also, it was common to use the title of “princess” for female performers, although Native Americans had no such concept.³⁵⁷ The “Indian princess” myth, however, was so firmly entrenched in American society by the early twentieth century that it is not at all surprising to find it on the chautauqua platform.

Two “Indian princesses” were especially popular on the circuits. Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone was born December 13, 1882, in Eufaula, Oklahoma. She was of Cherokee and Creek descent, although newspapers often identified her as Choctaw or Omaha. Although she used the title “princess,” there is no indication that Tsianina’s father held any leadership role in their community. She attended the Eufala, Oklahoma Government Indian School, where she learned to play the piano. School officials took note of her musical talent, and suggested that Tsianina move away from the reservation to pursue further study. A local family was moving to Denver, and Tsianina was sent with

³⁵⁶ “Indian Art and Musical Company,” ([191?]). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

³⁵⁷ For a discussion of the Indian Princess phenomenon, see Rayna Green, “The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe,” *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1988).

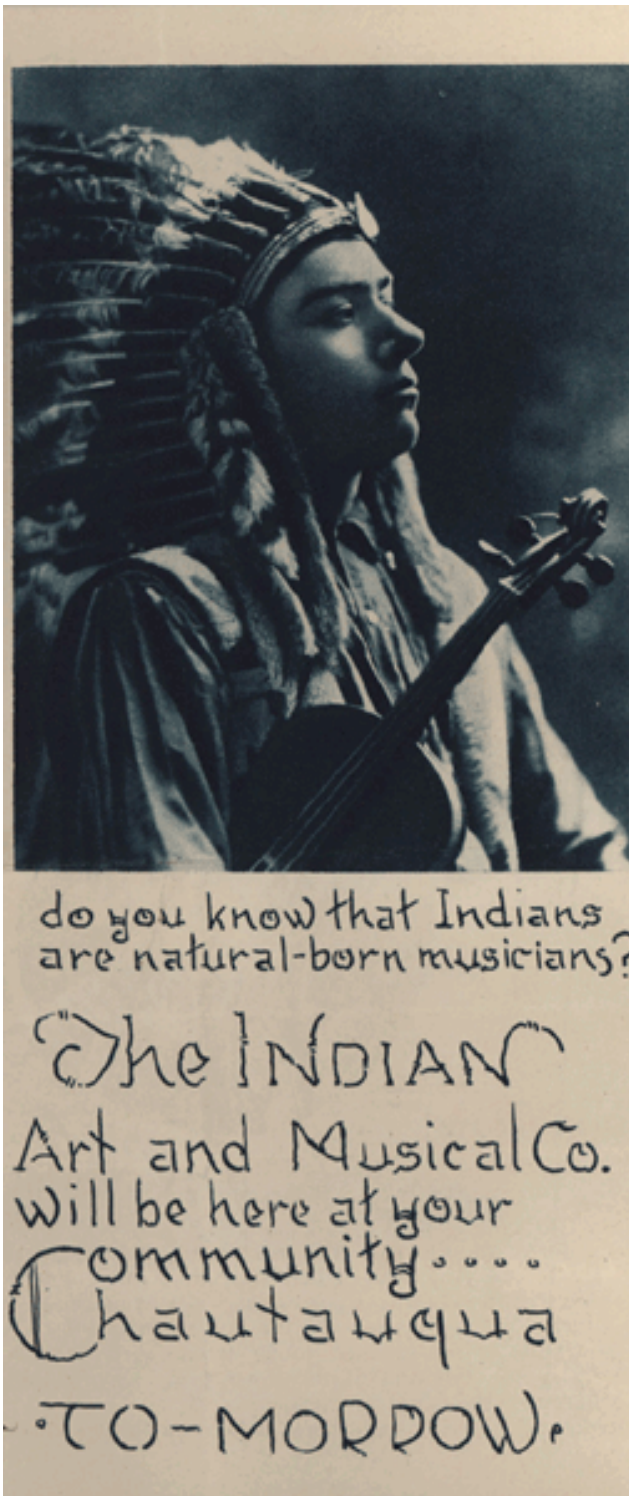


Figure 7.5 Cover of a promotional flyer for the Indian Art and Musical Company. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

them to study piano with Edward Fleck. Soon after beginning studies with Fleck, Tsianina was introduced to voice teacher John Wilcox, who introduced her to composer Charles Wakefield Cadman. Wilcox believed that the teenaged Tsianina was the perfect performer and “interpreter” of Cadman’s Indianist compositions, and convinced Cadman to audition her for a national tour.³⁵⁸

This was the beginning of a long and fruitful collaboration between the Indianist composer and the Indian “princess.” Tsianina and Cadman toured under the management of several bureaus, performing at chautauquas, expositions, and in independent concerts. During World War I, Tsianina traveled to Europe to entertain the American army. Back in the U.S., she was billed as part of an “All-American program” in which, “in her native costume, she makes a picture.” Tsianina toured the chautauqua circuits with Cadman, performing his compositions, and also with the U.S. Indian Band.

Cadman’s opera *Shanewis*, or *The Robin Woman*, was loosely based on Tsianina’s life. *Shanewis* was performed at the Metropolitan Opera during the 1918 and 1919 seasons. Tsianina was in the audience at the Metropolitan premiere and sang the role of Shanewis in her operatic debut at a performance in Denver.



Figure 7.6 Elsie Baker, “Her Shadow” from *Shanewis*, Victor 45495-B.

(Princess) Watahwaso was born Lucy Nicolar June 22, 1882, on Indian Island, Maine. Her parents were prominent figures in the Penobscot community, and several of her ancestors were famous Penobscot chiefs. Her father, Joseph Nicolar, was tribal

³⁵⁸ Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone, *Where Trails Have Led Me* (Santa Fe, NM: Vergara, 1970), 20-25.

representative to the state legislature, and was considered highly intelligent by his peers.³⁵⁹ As a child, Lucy often accompanied her father as he gave lectures on Native American customs, songs, and dances.³⁶⁰ She attended the local Catholic primary school as a child, and had ambitions to attend public high school on the mainland. After the death of her father in 1894, Lucy and her sisters helped their mother craft baskets for sale to tourists. Lucy also performed in seasonal productions designed to promote “rustic” Maine vacations and to sell outdoor equipment. These events gave her the opportunity to interact with a variety of travelers, and at one such event Lucy came to the attention of Harvard administrator Montague Chamberlain. Chamberlain would become Lucy’s patron, hiring her to be his assistant, welcoming her into his household, and providing her with musical and educational experiences in Boston and New York. It was during her time in Boston and New York that Lucy began using the name “Watahwaso,” capitalizing on the novelty of her heritage in those social circles.³⁶¹

In 1913, Watahwaso moved to Chicago to study the piano at a conservatory for lyceum and chautauqua performers.³⁶² She gave her first public performance in Chicago in 1916, and in 1917 signed with the Redpath Bureau, with whom she would remain until 1919. By this time, she was using the stage name “Princess Watahwaso.” She often toured with Indianist composer Thurlow Lieurance, and his songs were featured on her programs. Her 1917 program consisted of two sets: the first half of the program was a mix of Indianist pieces by Cadman and opera arias, and the second half included Indianist

³⁵⁹ Bunny McBride, “Lucy Nicolar: The Artful Activism of a Penobscot Performer,” in *Sifters: Native American Women’s Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 143.

³⁶⁰ John Koon, “Indian Musicians in the Modern World,” *The Etude* 38, no. 10 (1920): 665.

³⁶¹ McBride, “Lucy Nicolar: The Artful Activism of a Penobscot Performer,” 144-47.

³⁶² McBride identifies this as the Music School of Chautauqua. I have found no other reference to this particular school, although there were several conservatories in Chicago dedicated to training chautauqua and lyceum performers.

pieces by Lieurance and Cadman as well as Native American pieces arranged by Troyer. The program notes emphasized that Watahwaso would tell the stories behind the pieces of the second half, and would sing them in costume while doing traditional dances.³⁶³ It is unclear whether the first half was performed in native dress, or if Watahwaso, like the Indian String Quartet, changed clothes at intermission to delineate between the “classical” and “Indian” portions of the program.

After her tours with Redpath, Watahwaso performed regularly in New York. In 1927 she joined a troupe of Native American performers on the Keith Vaudeville Circuit, with whom she travelled until 1929. It was on this tour that she met Kiowa performer Bruce Poolaw, who would become her third (and last) husband. Watahwaso and Poolaw would eventually return to Indian Island, where they were active in the Penobscot community and ran a successful tourist attraction until her death in 1969.³⁶⁴

Despite the “fullblooded” Native American status of the most prominent circuit performers of Native American music, the repertory consisted primarily of Indianist pieces by white composers. Of twenty-one pieces of music with acknowledged composers performed by Native Americans on the chautauqua circuits, twelve were composed by Thurlow Lieurance and five were composed by Charles Cadman. The remainder included compositions by MacDowell, Bergen, Wheelock, and Kreisler, whose *Sonata in G Major, Op. 100: II* was performed by Fred Cardin with the Indian Art and Musical Company under the title “Indian Lament.” The Lieurance compositions performed on the circuits were primarily short songs for voice and piano with an obbligato part most often performed on the flute or violin.

³⁶³ “Song Recital in Costume--Princess Watahwaso,” (1917). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

³⁶⁴ McBride, “Lucy Nicolar: The Artful Activism of a Penobscot Performer,” 149.

It was not uncommon for Native American groups to perform works from the standard art music concert repertory of the era. Some groups, such as the Indian String Quartet, featured art music prominently. Others, like the Indian Art and Musical Company, seem to have performed art music as a way to legitimize themselves as musicians. The program notes from one Indian Art and Musical Company performance state, “To prove their versatility, the Indians will play the Rachmaninoff prelude. This Russian composition is one of the most difficult ever written...You’ll be surprised at the remarkable talent of the quartet who play this piece.”³⁶⁵

Most Native American chautauqua acts avoided implications of novelty or comedy in their advertising. Although some promotional materials did mention the novelty of an all-Indian group, that novelty is usually limited to the ethnicity of the performers, and does not extend to the musical material. The Official Government World’s Fair Indian Band advertised, “To committees looking for ‘something new,’ the novelty of this band will commend itself. To thoughtful men and women, interested in development and advancement of the Indians, the wonderful results obtained will be an encouragement and a triumph.”³⁶⁶

The majority of music performed by Native American musicians on the circuits was serious in nature. In fact, the proportion of novelty music performed by Native Americans seems to have been smaller than in circuit chautauqua as a whole. This serious tone did not always extend to “Native American” performances by non-Indians. The Musical Maids, a six-member, all-white, orchestra, vocal group, and novelty act managed by the Redpath Bureau, performed popular songs as well as “Indian songs and

³⁶⁵ “Indian Art and Musical Company.”

³⁶⁶ “The Government Official Indian Band.”

legends and stories of the woods,” and also gave archery and fencing demonstrations. The group dressed for their “Indian” segments in buckskin smocks and single-feathered headbands, outfits very similar to those worn by the Campfire Girls organization at that time (see figures 7.7 and 7.8). The Musical Maids’ performance seems to have had more in common with the Campfire Girls and other popular forms of “playing Indian” than with the Native American performances discussed previously.

Circuit chautauqua depictions—musical and otherwise—of Native Americans differed in several key aspects from Wild West shows, medicine shows, and other popular venues in which Native American culture was portrayed. First, there is no indication that so-called “Indian intermezzi” popular during the early twentieth century were performed in circuit chautauqua. These works, generally crafted by popular songwriters, were billed as “translations” of the Indianist art music works of composers such as Farwell, Cadman, and MacDowell. In reality, these “intermezzi” bore no musical relation to the Indianist works, and were in fact based on popular song forms of the time with the addition of stereotypical “Indian” melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic devices.³⁶⁷ Circuit chautauqua was certainly not above using stereotypical depictions of other cultures couched in popular songs,³⁶⁸ but “Indian intermezzi” were apparently absent from the major chautauqua circuits.

Another striking difference between circuit chautauqua and other venues presenting Native American subjects relates to the performers involved. Medicine show acts were often populated by whites masquerading as Native Americans, or by Native Americans misrepresenting their tribal affiliations. McNamara asserts that the Kickapoo

³⁶⁷ William Schafer and Johannes Riedel, “Indian Intermezzi (“Play It One More Time, Chief!”)” *The Journal of American Folklore* 86, no. 342 (1973): 382-83.

³⁶⁸ See the discussion of “Good bye Shanghai” in Chapter 3.

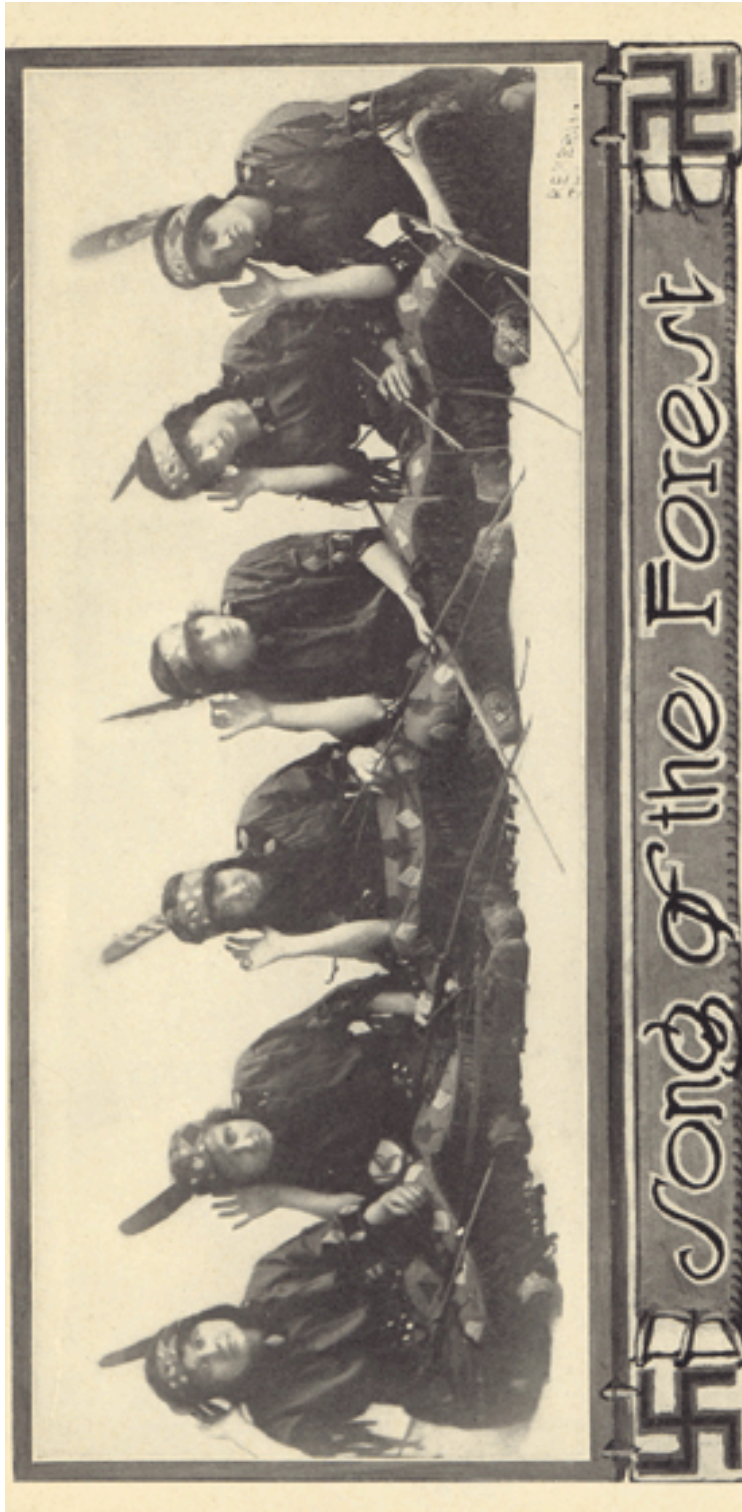


Figure 7.7 Photograph of the Musical Maids, taken from a brochure describing their variety act. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).



Figure 7.8 Campfire Girl uniform ca. 1913. Taken from *The Book of the Campfire Girls*. New York: Doran, 1913.

Medicine Show, which claimed to have employed almost eight hundred Indians, involved no members of the Kickapoo tribe. Rather, the shows employed Iroquois, Pawnees, Creeks, Blackfeet, and even native Peruvians.³⁶⁹ Chautauqua performers were generally forthcoming with their biographical information. White performers of Native American music did not present themselves as Native Americans, but rather emphasized work in Indian territories or adopted affiliation with specific tribes. Native American performers most often listed their actual tribal affiliation, although these sometimes conflicted with the affiliations listed in non-chautauqua promotional materials.³⁷⁰

Also absent from the chautauqua circuits was the popular depiction of Native Americans at war with white settlers. This scenario, the foundation of the Wild West show and popular in medicine shows as well, only appears in circuit chautauqua through musical allusions (musical works based on “war dance” themes being the most common). Circuit chautauqua’s depiction of the Native American was more akin to the Victorian image of the Indian struggling to find and maintain a place in the drastically-altered North American landscape.

Finally, it should be noted that while some who lectured on Native American music also studied the music of other cultures, and Native American music was occasionally presented alongside Western art music or other European art forms, circuit chautauqua programmers did not group Native American and African American performances together, as did Wild West and medicine shows. Accounts of such shows frequently mention banjo solos, minstrelsy, spirituals, and ragtime performed alongside Native American acts, sometimes performed by the Native Americans (or those claiming

³⁶⁹ Brooks McNamara, “The Indian Medicine Show,” *Educational Theatre Journal* 23, no. 4 (1971): 437.

³⁷⁰ “Princess” Tsianina is the most famous example of this phenomenon.

to be Native Americans). One observer of an Indian medicine show described the climactic sales pitch as follows, “The Indians kept chanting monotonously and beating their tom-toms, the doctor himself roaring like a bull, while the minstrels kept up a furious ragtime dancing until the sweat rolled down their black faces.”³⁷¹ There is no evidence of such conflation of Native American and African American themes on the chautauqua circuits.

The emphasis on an assimilationist portrayal of Native American culture by the majority of chautauqua performers is evidenced by the preponderance and popularity of lectures devoted to Native American topics. Many of these lectures addressed Native American music, whether as the focus of discussion or as part of a larger performance including folklore, art, dance, and song. Lecturers on Native American subjects ranged from ethnographers to Native Americans to professional lecturers with limited knowledge of the topic beyond the script of the lecture. This gamut of backgrounds and qualifications is seen in lectures focusing on Native American music, as well. Prominent Native American musicians such as Princess Watahwaso lectured in conjunction with Indianist composers and ethnographers, white lecturers and art music performers presented “musical travelogues” of their experiences among Native Americans, and more eclectic lecturers presented Native American music as one item in a large collection of exotic musical artifacts.

Of all the lecturers who traveled the chautauqua circuits discussing Native American music, none was more active or more invested in the chautauqua movement than Thurlow Lieurance. Lieurance was born in Iowa, raised in Kansas, and attended the

³⁷¹ David Edstrom, “Medicine Shows of the ‘80s,” *Reader’s Digest*, June 1938, 78.

Cincinnati College of Music before embarking on a career as a music teacher and band leader. In 1911 he traveled to Montana to visit his brother, who was employed in the Indian Service.³⁷² There he became interested in Native American music, and made the first of many field recordings of Native American songs. This experience in Montana changed the course of Lieurance's career; he began to compose Indianist music, became an advocate for recording and study of Native American music, and formed or managed several groups dedicated to the performance of Native American music. Lieurance also created, managed, and performed in other musical groups ranging from brass ensembles to small string orchestras. These groups toured on both the chautauqua and lyceum circuits. Through this activity, Lieurance would build relationships with many prominent Native American musicians. It was also through his chautauqua activities that he met his wife, Edna Wooley.³⁷³ Wooley was a veteran chautauqua performer, and appeared with her husband as "Nah Mee—soprano and interpreter." Lieurance composed many Indianist pieces, primarily for voice and piano, which were published by Theodore Presser. The most popular of these, "By the Waters of Minnetonka," was recorded by several prominent musicians, including Glenn Miller and Ernestine Schuman-Heink, and was a staple of circuit chautauqua performances (see figure 7.9).



Figure 7.9 Ernestine Schumann-Heink, "By the Waters of Minnetonka," Victor 1198.

³⁷² Several details of Lieurance's life are subject to conflicting information, including his first encounter with Native Americans in Montana. The most reliable biographies can be found at Wichita State University, where Lieurance was department head and where his collected papers are housed.

³⁷³ "Thurlow Lieurance Collection: Wichita State University," http://library.wichita.edu/music/thurlow_lieurance.htm.

Although his name was attached to several chautauqua and lyceum acts, Lieurance's greatest personal investment was in his own lecture tour. Lieurance toured for several years with his wife and a flutist (either George Tack or Hubert Small, depending on the season) giving lectures with titles such as "Songs, Stories and Legends of the American Indian." Mrs. Lieurance was billed as Edna Lieurance, Edna Wooley, Mrs. Thurlow Lieurance, and Nah Mee on various programs. One promotional brochure explained that "Nah Mee" meant "little sister," and was the name given her when she was "christened and adopted into the [Chippewa] tribe in March, 1915."³⁷⁴

The program of a Lieurance lecture consisted entirely of pieces composed by the lecturer, interspersed with "analyses of Indian themes" and explanations of the stories that inspired the compositions. Lieurance played piano, Nah Mee sang and told stories, and every lecture involved a demonstration of Native American flutes and often a flute solo (also one of Lieurance's compositions). Each program ended with a selection "from the Fire Dance." Within a program, songs were usually grouped by either theme or geography.

There is no indication of novelty in the Lieurance lecture ephemera, nor in Lieurance's several articles published in *The Etude* or his self-published newsletters. Lieurance was deeply invested in Native American music, and his reputation as a composer and scholar was tied directly to public perception of his chautauqua activities. It is clear from his writings and promotional publications that Lieurance was concerned with issues of educational value and authenticity. Like many chautauqua performers, Lieurance reprinted complimentary articles and correspondence in his promotional

³⁷⁴ "Songs, Stories and Legends of the American Indian." Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries (Iowa City).

materials. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Lieurance focused on praise from educators and government officials, using the more standard newspaper reviews and personal correspondence only when they praised the lecture's educational value or authenticity. The most telling correspondence reprinted in Lieurance's programs read as follows:

To Our Best Friend:

We, the undersigned, want to thank you for the great work you are doing in preserving the songs of our people. You are the musical mouthpiece of the American Indian. You are the one good and BIG MEDICINE and friend to our people. We owe all to you. We want the world to know that you are genuine and we Indians want this fact known.³⁷⁵

The letter was signed by Fred and Wanita Cardin, Sensa Cary, William Reddie, Princess Te Ata, Elizabeth Thompson, J.B. Shunatona, and Princess Oyapela.

Albert and Martha Gale, veteran chautauqua lecturers who also lectured on the music of Japan, were careful to distance their lecture from the novelty performances present on the circuits, and also from medicine and Wild West shows. Gale was billed as "the ethnologist of music," and his lecture, entitled "Songs and Stories of the Red Man," focused on the performance of songs recorded by Gale and others, as well as short lectures on Native American mythology and art. The Gales advertised their lecture as "instructive," "full of life and action without resort to claptrap," and "not the usual 'Wild West' type of Indian entertainment." Promotional materials feature the Gales in elaborate Native American costumes with photographs of "old Indians who have assisted Mr. Gale in his research work" and the Gales on their research expeditions.

³⁷⁵ "Songs, Stories and Legends of the American Indian."

Lecture recitals such as those presented by Lieurance and the Gales were in many ways similar to Arthur Farwell's lecture recitals on Native American music, which he first presented in 1903 as a means of promoting his primary Indianist endeavor, the Wa-Wan Press.³⁷⁶ Farwell's lectures, like those presented on the chautauqua circuit, included a combination of Native American music and Indianist compositions (usually his own). Farwell designed his lectures for an audience of musicians, however, and thus focused more on music theory and methods of incorporating Native American music into both art and popular musical compositions.³⁷⁷ Circuit chautauqua lecture recitals involving Native American music, in deference to the broad scope of musical abilities present in the audience, tended to avoid musical details and focused more on cultural significance of the music discussed.

That most performers and lecturers involved in Native American music, especially the most visible and popular among them, presented the subject in a serious manner speaks to the important function of Native American music within the circuit chautauqua movement. Circuit chautauqua needed to be perceived as educational in order to maintain its edge over competing forms of entertainment. Presenting Native American topics in a lecture-recital setting and allowing Native American musicians to perform in ways that challenged popular stereotypes set circuit chautauqua apart from Wild West shows, medicine shows, and other venues where Native Americans were represented musically.

³⁷⁶ For a discussion of the Wa-Wan Press and its significance to the Indianist movement, see Evelyn Culbertson, "Arthur Farwell's Early Efforts on Behalf of American Music, 1889-1921," *American Music* 5, no. 2 (1987): 156-75.

³⁷⁷ Michael Pisani, "From Hiawatha to Wa-Wan: Musical Boston and the Uses of Native American Lore," *American Music* 19, no. 1 (2001): 48.

Native American music, especially when used as the basis of or inspiration for art music, filled another important need for circuit chautauqua: it was perceived as purely American in a way that most of the art music—and many of the classically-trained performers of the time—could not be. The peak of the circuit chautauqua movement coincided with the anti-German sentiment of the years surrounding World War I. Even decades prior to the war, American composers struggled with issues of musical identity. Arthur Farwell, having had his Indianist music rejected by publishers, claimed that the American art music public “saw everything through German glasses.”³⁷⁸ Others, such as Walter Spalding, believed that America lacked a folk music tradition, and that Americans could not produce art music until they had a folk music tradition on which to base it. Spalding wrote in *The Musical Quarterly* that the absence of American folk songs was “a severe indictment that the people have so long relied upon music made for them by others that their natural emotional and expressive powers have become seriously impaired.”³⁷⁹

It is clear that at least one important musical figure within the chautauqua movement viewed Native American music not merely as an exotic alternative to German (and Germanic) music, but as the folk music needed for the foundation of an American art music tradition. Charles Wakefield Cadman, whose Indianist compositions were popular on the chautauqua circuits and who toured as a lecturer with Princess Tsianina, wrote:

It is true, as I have pointed out in times past, that the brief span of years so far allotted our nation, with the struggle for survival and physical development, has not permitted any sudden outburst of folk song....However, the folk song we

³⁷⁸ Arthur Farwell, “Introduction,” *The Wa Wan Press* 2, no. 1 (1903). Quoted in Culbertson, “Arthur Farwell’s Early Efforts on Behalf of American Music, 1889-1921,” 159.

³⁷⁹ Walter Spalding, “The War in Its Relation to American Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1918): 7.

have attempted to idealize has sprung into existence *on American soil!*...Indian themes, at least, are as much the heritage of American music and the musicians of America, as the music of the barbaric hordes of Russia is the heritage of cultured Russians and Russian composers.³⁸⁰

Whether they railed against German influence or upheld it as the only option for a new nation somehow devoid of its own folk culture, everyone involved in art music in America recognized that German music was a large part of American musical life. As World War I approached, most recognized this as a delicate situation, if not a problem. Many musical organizations, including those on the chautauqua circuits, shied away from or downplayed the importance German music in their programs. Even in the realm of orchestral music, which was inextricably tied to German musical culture, performance of music by German composers declined dramatically after 1917. For instance, Barbara Tischler determined that during the 1916-17 season, the Boston Symphony Orchestra's repertoire was 62% German. The following season it dropped to 42.6%, and in the 1918-19 season only 29.7% of pieces performed were by German composers. Tischler noted a similar trend in the programming of the New York Philharmonic during those years.³⁸¹

The scope of the chautauqua movement and the lack of complete program records make it impossible to conduct such a precise study of chautauqua programming. Furthermore, the smaller size of touring ensembles created an aversion to programming many of the larger German works throughout chautauqua era that had nothing to do with politics. For these reasons and others, it is impossible to quantify anti-German sentiment in chautauqua movement by clear percentages. One can, however, point to sentiments

³⁸⁰ Charles Cadman, "The American Indian's Music Idealized," *The Etude* 38, no. 10 (1920): 660.

³⁸¹ Tischler, "One Hundred Percent Americanism and Music in Boston During World War I," 172.

such as Kennedy's aversion to "Germanized" music and the U.S. Indian Band's billing as "Fifty American Musicians" as assertions of the "100 percent Americanism" philosophy prevalent during the Wilson Administration.³⁸²

Chautauqua audiences did not want to be reminded of American music's debt to Europe and to Germany in particular. Their thirst for the exotic was in direct conflict with their distrust of the foreign, and Native American music was the perfect resolution to this problem. Native Americans were different and romantic, but American. Native American performances were a way for chautauqua audiences to experience another culture without feeling un-patriotic, and their American identity garnered Native American acts a respect not consistently afforded to other "exotic" chautauqua acts.

CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA'S AMERICAN IDENTITY IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

After the patriotic fervor surrounding World War I, circuit chautauqua bureaus dramatically altered their promotional strategies. Their focus shifted from portraying the United States in a struggle against foreign forces to a narrative in which the individual American confronted local and domestic issues. Germany ceased to be portrayed as the primary threat, and was replaced by Bolshevism. Tapia labeled this the "conspiratorial fantasy vision."³⁸³ During this phase of circuit chautauqua's history, which lasted from 1919 until the mid-1920s, international issues were once again relegated to a few lectures by specialists in foreign affairs. Furthermore, promoters did not draw correlations between Bolshevism and Slavic culture as they had between German culture and the

³⁸² The origin of the phrase "100 percent Americanism" is discussed by Tischler in ———, "One Hundred Percent Americanism and Music in Boston During World War I," 164-65.

³⁸³ Tapia, "Circuit Chautauqua's Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932", 149.

German government during World War I. Thus, there was no significant anti-Slavic sentiment in chautauqua musical programming during the post-war period. In the absence of a looming German threat, it was no longer necessary to bill musical acts as “American” or to have them perform patriotic music in order to ensure that the audience would accept the act.

The declining years of the movement (1926-1934) saw yet another promotional reinvention of the circuit chautauqua movement. In this last incarnation of circuit chautauqua, technology and new value systems were embraced as “progress.”³⁸⁴ Circuit chautauqua—its music in particular—was promoted as a healthy diversion from the pursuit of business success, which replaced overt patriotism as the defining American ethos. In circuit chautauqua’s quest to remain relevant in the face of competition from technological advances, musical acts were increasingly billed as “entertaining” and “fun.” The idea that music could be used to convey any message—patriotic or not—was largely abandoned in order to meet audience expectations of entertainment in an attempt to keep the movement alive. Furthermore, the embrace of “progress” forced circuit chautauqua to accept newer forms of popular music, formerly avoided whenever possible, which were largely void of patriotic and nostalgic references. Thus, in the final years of the circuit chautauqua movement we see very little assertion of American identity, musical or otherwise, other than the promotion of circuit chautauqua as part of the ambiguous zeitgeist of “progress.”

³⁸⁴ _____, “Circuit Chautauqua’s Promotional Visions: A Study of Program Brochures, Circa 1904 to 1932”, 157.

CONCLUSION

It should be remembered that circuit chautauqua's identity as an American institution was never questioned. Assertions of its American identity, therefore, were not reactions to external challenges or criticism leveled directly at the movement, but rather represent attempts by bureaus to maintain chautauqua's connection with its audience in a changing social and political climate. Initially, circuit chautauqua's ideas regarding patriotism and expression of American identity were inherited from the Chautauqua Institution, and music was used positively to assert that identity in much the way it had been in the early years at Chautauqua Lake.

Circuit chautauqua incorporated both African American and Native American musical acts during a period in which these cultures were represented musically to white audiences primarily as novelties. While musical representations of African American and Native American cultures outside of chautauqua focused on cultural differences and perpetuated the idea of these groups as *other*, circuit chautauqua, following the model of the Indianist musical movement of the turn of the century and of late nineteenth-century efforts to codify and construct an American musical identity, presented African American and Native American music not as *other*, but as American, and eventually as essentially American, in opposition to European art music.

World War I served as a catalyst for change in circuit chautauqua's expression of nationalism. During the war, patriotic expression became a near necessity for all chautauqua acts, including music, and music was used to define chautauqua's American identity negatively, setting "truly American" musics against German or German-influenced art music. Rather than capitalizing on the (by then waning) novelty of African

American and Native American cultures, circuit chautauqua managers promoted the idea central to Farwell's early lectures, that the advancement of the music of "Negroes, Indians, and cowboys" was necessary for the United States to attain the musical independence he dubbed "the margin of the Un-German."³⁸⁵

Finally, the end of the circuit chautauqua era saw entertainment become paramount in a quest for a new American ideal rooted in technology and financial success. During these last years of circuit chautauqua, less consideration was given to the message conveyed by musical acts, and subsequently music became less important to the maintenance of circuit chautauqua's American identity.

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³⁸⁵ Arthur Farwell, "Aspects of Indian Music," *Southern Workman* 31, no. 4 (1902): 211-17.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EPILOGUE, CONCLUSIONS, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

EPILOGUE

Eduard Lindeman, writing for *The Bookman* in 1927, declared, “Lyceums and chautauquas belong to our pioneering days and those days are over.”³⁸⁶ That statement reveals much about the prevailing sentiment among American cultural critics of the late 1920s. The chautauqua movement, long considered by rural Americans to be a conduit for high culture and progressive thought, was by that time frequently derided in the national press as “banal,” “empty,” and “conservative.” Sinclair Lewis’s *Main Street* (1920) depicted the Gopher Prairie chautauqua as, “a combination of vaudeville performance, Y.M.C.A. lecture, and the graduation exercises of an elocution class.”³⁸⁷ Many in the national press saw the movement’s growing distance from its turn-of-the-century progressive ethos as the result of capitalistic catering to the rural audience. Allen Albert, himself a circuit chautauqua lecturer, wrote in 1922 that, “The very foundation of the home guard, which musters under chautauqua tents, is the most old-fashioned conservatism and morality. If ever you wonder what counterweight America has to the growing volume of radicalism, think of the chautauqua.” He went on to declare that the chautauqua was, “the most monotonously moral agent I have ever observed among

³⁸⁶ Eduard Lindeman, “After Lyceums and Chautauquas, What?,” *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life* 65, no. 3 (1927): 247.

³⁸⁷ Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1920), 237.

men.”³⁸⁸ It should be noted that Albert, writing from inside the movement, did not seem to view this conservatism as entirely negative, and spoke approvingly of circuit chautauqua bureaus’ policing of lecture content and offstage performer behavior.

In retrospect, it appears that the chautauqua movement did not actually become more conservative as the twentieth century progressed, but rather it remained relatively static both in terms of prevailing morality and of aesthetic and literary tastes, despite gradual shifts in these areas among much of the American public.³⁸⁹ This phenomenon can be seen in circuit chautauqua’s opposition to jazz. Early in the movement, many American cultural institutions rejected jazz and its “lowbrow” connotations. Circuit chautauqua persisted in this attitude into the 1930s, as jazz was gaining acceptance in many mainstream American venues.³⁹⁰ Thus, chautauqua’s attitude concerning jazz—much like its perceived moral and political conservatism—was more a result of stagnation than of influence by the predominantly rural audience.

Although criticism of the chautauqua movement was common in the national press during the movement’s declining years, circuit chautauqua did not fail—either as a cultural movement or as a commercial enterprise—due to criticism from outside the movement. The chautauqua movement, and circuit chautauqua in particular, had faced criticism from urban progressives and educators since its inception. That these voices became louder as the movement waned speaks more to changes in the American social climate than it does to the decline of chautauqua. Nevertheless, the increasing prominence of these dissenting voices, and the public’s increasing access to these

³⁸⁸ Allen Albert, “The Tents of the Conservative,” *Scribner’s Magazine*, July 1922, 55.

³⁸⁹ See David Mead, “1914: The Chautauqua and American Innocence,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 1 (1968).

³⁹⁰ The acceptance of the jazz idiom at this time can be seen in the proliferation of jazz in venues such as dance halls and concert settings, as well as a marked rise in radio airplay.

viewpoints through increased availability of national print media and radio, likely contributed to a decrease in civic support for circuit chautauqua. It did not necessarily affect ticket sales, but as community leaders became disillusioned with the chautauqua ideal, communities questioned the necessity of the chautauqua, and especially the need to guarantee its financial success with civic funds.

Other factors did in fact contribute to a decline in circuit chautauqua ticket sales. As discussed in Chapter Two, competing media such as radio, motion pictures, and phonographs contended with circuit chautauqua for audience attendance, and also called into question the need for chautauqua, especially concerning musical, dramatic, and other “entertainment” aspects of the movement. The lecture, considered by many to be the core of the chautauqua movement, struggled in the 1920s as well. Lindeman asserted that the chautauqua lecture was not alone in its struggle to survive the 1920s, but that lecturing as a whole was becoming less popular. Education—especially adult education—was becoming increasingly interactive. Adults, Lindeman reasoned, were more interested in dialog than the lecture, and it would be impossible for the chautauqua lecture to adapt to this new format.³⁹¹

Circuit chautauqua musical programming adapted to the challenges of this new era, but in doing so fundamentally changed the function of music in the movement. In many instances, music became circuit chautauqua’s drawing card, along with magicians, dramatic acts, and other features that had been previously marginalized or forbidden by bureaus. The movement as a whole distanced itself from educational associations and

³⁹¹ Lindeman, “After Lyceums and Chautauquas, What?,” 248.

references to “high culture” in the late 1920s, instead emphasizing entertainment.³⁹²

Music could more easily make this adaptation, whereas the lecture was more difficult to present as lighthearted or entertaining. For this reason, among others, music increased in prominence within the circuit chautauqua movement as the movement itself declined in popularity.³⁹³

CONCLUSIONS

It is important to remember that the “Mother Chautauqua” was originally religious in nature, and began as a training institute for Sunday School teachers. Although Christian outreach was not a central tenet of the circuit chautauqua movement, vestiges of the Chautauqua Institution’s original religious mission survived in the missionary attitudes expressed by circuit chautauqua leaders. In the context of circuit chautauqua, however, religion was largely replaced by culture and education as the message conveyed by the missionaries, and rural America became the target culture.

Rieser states that “the shrillest attacks [against the chautauqua movement] came from intellectuals uncomfortable with their own Midwestern upbringing.”³⁹⁴ While some of chautauqua’s critics may have intentionally distanced themselves from Midwestern culture, that distance also existed between those involved in the production of circuit chautauqua and those in the audience. Most of the key administrators in the movement were either from or had spent considerable time in the Midwest. The bureaus, however, were headquartered in Midwestern urban centers, and most of the upper-level

³⁹² Tapia asserts that chautauqua advertising in these declining years framed circuit chautauqua in terms of diversion from daily life and work, rather than as an endeavor of self-improvement.

³⁹³ See Chapter Four for a discussion of the increase in musical programming in circuit chautauqua’s waning years.

³⁹⁴ Andrew Rieser, “Canopy of Culture: Chautauqua and the Renegotiation of Middle-Class Authority, 1874-1919” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1999), 366.

administrators had some college education. Many leaders in the circuit chautauqua movement harbored genuine concern and respect for Midwestern culture, while simultaneously endeavoring to “elevate” Midwestern tastes to align with those of early twentieth-century East Coast American urbanites.

The audience’s role in the chautauqua event was not static, and varied with the content of the act. As discussed in Chapter Six, chautauqua’s presentation—and thus the audience’s perception—of art music was often tied to urban culture. Ties to New York and Boston, however tenuous, were frequently invoked as indicators of artistic and cultural merit in performer advertisements. Music served as a vehicle not only for European “high art,” but also for American urban culture, to the predominantly rural audience. Within the missionary model established by the Chautauqua Institution, circuit chautauqua musicians often took on the role of cultural missionary, bringing European art and folk music, “native” American musics (including Native American, African American, and to a lesser extent, the music of the American South and Southwest) as well as the music of Africa and the East, to rural audiences. This phenomenon occurred alongside popular chautauqua lectures recounting the travels of explorers and Christian missionaries to Africa and Asia. In these lectures, the audience was not the target of the mission as in musical performances, but rather identified with the lecturer/missionary. This audience identification with the (nearly always white) lecturer extended to African American audience members as well, since African Americans in chautauqua audiences were predominantly middle class and Protestant, much like the majority of the chautauqua audience as a whole. For the most part, especially prior to circuit chautauqua’s decline in the late 1920s, bureaus were careful not to book too many

popular musical acts, preferring instead acts with connotations of high culture.

Audiences were not expected to identify with these musical acts, but rather to learn from (or be inspired by) them.

This dynamic between music and the circuit chautauqua audience reinforced early twentieth-century ideas about the inherent value of “high culture” and the need to spread that culture to the expanding American frontier. Although music’s validity on the circuits was frequently brought into question, in many cases it was music that truly embodied chautauqua’s idea of a cultural hierarchy and the chautauqua movement’s obligation to spread or reinforce progressive norms. While many chautauqua lectures dealt with topics familiar to the audience such as American politics and Christianity, and bureaus strove to cultivate a sense of superiority regarding Midwestern morality,³⁹⁵ musical programming in circuit chautauqua frequently focused on less familiar European art music and exotic musical acts as a means of establishing the uplifting, rather than the popularizing, role of music as a cultural missionary tool.

Despite accusations—largely from within the movement—that music was not a “serious” facet of the chautauqua movement, there is ample evidence to indicate that decision makers were well aware of music’s role in shaping the movement’s identity as a cultural, educational, and American institution. Musical programming in circuit chautauqua was not haphazard, and for most of the movement’s life was driven by ideological factors rather than by monetary factors or popular demand. Furthermore, circuit chautauqua’s public image legitimized circuit performance, especially with a

³⁹⁵ Tapia refers to this as the “pastoral fantasy vision” of chautauqua advertising.

major bureau, as a reputable way for established art music performers to tour in the summer months, and for young classical musicians to advance their careers.

Suggestions for Further Study

There are several interesting aspects of music in the circuit chautauqua movement that could not be addressed within the scope of this study. These include philosophical questions, such as music's ability to act as a conduit for the ideals espoused by the chautauqua movement and the legacy of circuit chautauqua as a cultural force. The need also exists for more positivist studies involving music in the workings of the circuit chautauqua industry. In addition to possibilities for expansion of ideas introduced in this study, it is important to consider broader works to which this study might contribute. These include music's role in furthering chautauqua ideals and the long-term musical effects of the chautauqua movement.

Although considerable research has been conducted relating to the ideology of the Chautauqua Institution, relatively little discussion exists concerning manifestations of those ideals in the circuit and independent chautauqua movements.³⁹⁶ No research has been undertaken to determine how (or if) music supported professed chautauqua ideals concerning gender and race.³⁹⁷ For instance, did circuit chautauqua bureaus actively promote female and minority musicians in atypical roles such as conductor or impresario? Were female composers more prevalent in the chautauqua repertoire than in

³⁹⁶ Rieser and Canning devote several pages of discussion of race and circuit chautauqua. Both are critical of the chautauqua movement's (including the Chautauqua Institution and the independent chautauquas) inability to manifest the progressive goals espoused in chautauqua literature and promotional rhetoric. See especially Rieser, "Canopy of Culture: Chautauqua and the Renegotiation of Middle-Class Authority, 1874-1919", 328-31.

³⁹⁷ See Andrew Rieser, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). For historical perspective on issues of race and gender in chautauqua, see also Gay MacLaren, *Morally We Roll Along* (Boston,: Little, Brown and Company, 1938).

other contemporary movements? Were attempts made to foster interest in the movement among African Americans?

This study's time delimitation ends with the cessation of the last chautauqua circuit in North America. It does not address how the movement may have shaped later musical experiences. Did the circuit chautauqua spur communities to support local musical institutions, or to seek out other opportunities to bring professional musical ensembles to the community?

This study does not address the effects of the circuit chautauqua movement on audiences' musical taste or understanding. Although shaping the audience's relationship to music was certainly a stated goal of many within the movement, it is unclear to what extent the chautauqua movement actually affected the public's understanding or appreciation of the music presented on the circuits. A study of the effect of chautauqua attendance on musical understanding and taste would help define the chautauqua movement's legacy.

It would also be useful to study the circuit chautauqua movement as a business model for later traveling musical venues. These could include variety shows incorporating music, as well as tours consisting solely of musical acts. Several of the larger chautauqua organizations—most notably Redpath—outlived the circuit chautauqua movement by years or decades. How was the business model of such bureaus affected in later ventures by their chautauqua experience, and what influence did the chautauqua movement exert on the practices of other post-chautauqua musical agencies? Another related line of inquiry could include non-chautauqua musical tours operated by chautauqua bureaus during the years that the chautauquas were in operation. These could

include tours to entertain overseas military personnel, as well as winter tours to universities and large religious institutions. These tours often involved chautauqua musicians, but were not multi-day events and did not, as a rule, involve a lecture component. The College Girls' tour of the Panama Canal Zone discussed briefly in Chapter Five is an example of such an endeavor.

The lack of research connecting circuit chautauqua to subsequent movements points to a larger problem of continuity of research. The circuit chautauqua movement, having such a definite end, has been largely treated as an isolated phenomenon with little work devoted to studying connections between it and later movements. This does a disservice to both chautauqua research and to studies of movements influenced by chautauqua. Finally, this study could be included in a broader work investigating the role of the fine arts in shaping public perception of early twentieth-century American culture.

A cursory glance at virtually any circuit chautauqua program would reveal that music held a place of prominence in circuit chautauqua. The mere preponderance of musical events within a chautauqua program, however, only speaks to the popularity of music with chautauqua audiences and does not indicate the importance of music to the movement's image as an educational and cultural institution. It is hoped that this study will clarify music's role in defining the chautauqua movement as an American cultural phenomenon, and that it will contribute to a better understanding of broader issues of music, culture, education, and class structure in early twentieth-century American society.

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APPENDIX A

CIRCUIT CHUATAUQUA ITINERARIES

1925 SCHEDULE REDPATH CHAUTAUQUAS OF NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND

CRAWFORD A. PEPPER, MANAGER

WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK

ITINERARY

1. Niagara Falls, N. Y.	June 16	17	18	19	20	22
2. Ransomville, N. Y.	June 17	18	19	20	22	23
3. Attica, N. Y.	June 18	19	20	22	23	24
4. Perry, N. Y.	June 19	20	22	23	24	25
5. Arcade, N. Y.	June 20	22	23	24	25	26
6. Dunkirk, N. Y.	June 22	23	24	25	26	27
7. Batavia, N. Y.	June 23	24	25	26	27	29
8. Akron, N. Y.	June 24	25	26	27	29	30
1. Williamsville, N. Y.	June 25	26	27	29	30	July 1
2. North Tonawanda, N. Y.	June 26	27	29	30	July 1	2
3. Lockport, N. Y.	June 27	29	30	July 1	2	3
4. Olcott, N. Y.	June 29	30	July 1	2	3	4
5. Lendonville, N. Y.	June 30	July 1	2	3	4	6
6. Albion, N. Y.	July 1	2	3	4	6	7
7. Brockport, N. Y.	July 2	3	4	6	7	8
8. East Rochester, N. Y.	July 3	4	6	7	8	9
1. Honeoye Falls, N. Y.	July 4	6	7	8	9	10
2. Genesee, N. Y.	July 6	7	8	9	10	11
3. Canandaigua, N. Y.	July 7	8	9	10	11	13
4. Naples, N. Y.	July 8	9	10	11	13	14
5. Williamson, N. Y.	July 9	10	11	13	14	15
6. Newark, N. Y.	July 10	11	13	14	15	16
7. Clifton Springs, N. Y.	July 11	13	14	15	16	17
8. Ovid, N. Y.	July 13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Waterloo, N. Y.	July 14	15	16	17	18	20
2. Moravia, N. Y.	July 15	16	17	18	20	21
3. Cortland, N. Y.	July 16	17	18	20	21	22
4. Cazenovia, N. Y.	July 17	18	20	21	22	23
5. Hamilton, N. Y.	July 18	20	21	22	23	24
6. Norwich, N. Y.	July 20	21	22	23	24	25
7. Walton, N. Y.	July 21	22	23	24	25	27
8. Oneonta, N. Y.	July 22	23	24	25	27	28
1. Cobleskill, N. Y.	July 23	24	25	27	28	29
2. Cooperstown, N. Y.	July 24	25	27	28	29	30
3. Herkimer, N. Y.	July 25	27	28	29	30	31
4. Dolgeville, N. Y.	July 27	28	29	30	31	Aug. 1
5. Fort Plain, N. Y.	July 28	29	30	31	Aug. 1	3
6. Oneida, N. Y.	July 29	30	31	Aug. 1	3	4
7. Fulton, N. Y.	July 30	31	Aug. 1	3	4	5
8. Wolcott, N. Y.	July 31	Aug. 1	3	4	5	6
1. Oswego, N. Y.	Aug. 1	3	4	5	6	7
2. Camden, N. Y.	Aug. 3	4	5	6	7	8
3. Adams, N. Y.	Aug. 4	5	6	7	8	10
4. Carthage, N. Y.	Aug. 5	6	7	8	10	11
5. Theresa, N. Y.	Aug. 6	7	8	10	11	12
6. Ogdensburg, N. Y.	Aug. 7	8	10	11	12	13
7. Gouverneur, N. Y.	Aug. 8	10	11	12	13	14
8. Potsdam, N. Y.	Aug. 10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Massena, N. Y.	Aug. 11	12	13	14	15	17
2. Malone, N. Y.	Aug. 12	13	14	15	17	18
3. Tupper Lake, N. Y.	Aug. 13	14	15	17	18	19
4. Saranac Lake, N. Y.	Aug. 14	15	17	18	19	20
5. Plattsburg, N. Y.	Aug. 15	17	18	19	20	21
6. Burlington, Vt.	Aug. 17	18	19	20	21	22
7. Hardwick, Vt.	Aug. 18	19	20	21	22	24
8. Montpelier, Vt.	Aug. 19	20	21	22	24	25
1. Lyndonville, Vt.	Aug. 20	21	22	24	25	26
2. Newport, Vt.	Aug. 21	22	24	25	26	27
3. Woodsville, N. H.	Aug. 22	24	25	26	27	28
4. Berlin, N. H.	Aug. 24	25	26	27	28	29
5. Lancaster, N. H.	Aug. 25	26	27	28	29	31
6. North Conway, N. H.	Aug. 26	27	28	29	31	Sept. 1
7. Laconia, N. H.	Aug. 27	28	29	31	Sept. 1	2
8. Portsmouth, N. H.	Aug. 28	29	31	Sept. 1	2	3
1. Kennebunk, Me.	Aug. 29	31	Sept. 1	2	3	4
2. Auburn, Me.	Aug. 31	Sept. 1	2	3	4	5
3. Rumford, Me.	Sept. 1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Farmington, Me.	Sept. 2	3	4	5	7	8
5. Skowhegan, Me.	Sept. 3	4	5	7	8	9
6. Waterville, Me.	Sept. 4	5	7	8	9	10

Paul M. Pearson Papers, 1890-1969, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania).

Itinerary: Standard Chautauqua Bureau, 1904

Marshalltown, Iowa

MacGregor Heights, Iowa

Des Moines, Iowa

Iowa Falls, Iowa

Sioux City, Iowa

Albert Lea, Minnesota

Chariton, Iowa

Bedford, Iowa

Glenwood, Iowa

Fremont, Nebraska

Fullerton, Nebraska

Lexington, Nebraska

Auburn, Nebraska³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ This circuit began on July 1, 1904. The itinerary above was derived from accounts in Harry Harrison, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House 1958). Due to the considerable distance between chautauquas on this circuit, it is safe to assume that most chautauquas did not begin on consecutive days. The exact dates for this circuit are unknown, although the circuit order listed above is accurate according to Harrison.

APPENDIX B

REPERTOIRE OF THE ROYAL VENETIAN BAND, 1915

THE PUBLIC IS INVITED TO MAKE SELECTIONS

1. Overture, "Fra Diavolo"	<i>Humber</i>	96. Intermezzo, "Cavaliere Rusticana".....	<i>Mascagni</i>
2. Overture, "Stradella"	<i>Flotow</i>	97. Overture, "Oberrn"	<i>Meber</i>
3. Overture, "Zanetta"	<i>Auber</i>	98. Overture, "If I Am King"	<i>Luder</i>
4. Overture, "The Bridal Rose".....	<i>Lavallee</i>	99. Sextette from "Lucia"	<i>Donizetti</i>
5. Overture, "Semiramide"	<i>Rossini</i>	70. Duet, Finale from Opera "Aida".....	<i>Verdi</i>
6. Overture, "Zampa"	<i>Orold</i>	71. Grand American Fantasia	<i>Spica</i>
7. Medley Overture, "Town Talk".....	<i>O'Hare</i>	72. Selection, "The Newlyweds"	<i>Brown</i>
8. Overture, "William Tell"	<i>Rossini</i>	73. Selection from "Opera Favorite".....	<i>Donizetti</i>
9. Overture, "Morning, Noon and Night in Vienna".....	<i>Suppe</i>	74. Variation Cavatine, "Barber of Seville".....	<i>Rossini</i>
10. Overture, "Poet and Peasant"	<i>Suppe</i>	76. Quartet from "Rigoletto"	<i>Verdi</i>
11. Overture, "Gazza Ladra"	<i>Rossini</i>	77. Selection from the Operetta "Rose Maid".....	<i>Granichtaedten</i>
12. Overture, "Songs from the Sunny South".....	<i>DeWitt</i>	78. The Love Dance, "Every Little Movement" (Madame Sherry)	<i>Hoschna</i>
13. Overture, "Orpheus"	<i>Offenbach</i>	79. "The Glow Worm"	<i>Lincke</i>
14. Overture, "Dreams of Erin".....	<i>DeWitt</i>	80. German Potpourri	<i>Tobani</i>
15. Overture, "Just One, Dearie"	<i>Motel</i>	81. A Vision of Salome, "Fantasia".....	<i>Lampe</i>
16. Overture, "Haviland's, No. 9".....	<i>Halle</i>	82. Fantasia on "My Old Kentucky Home".....	<i>Lanczy</i>
17. Medley Overture	<i>Halle</i>	83. Clarinet Solo Variation, "Aria Vasia".....	<i>Strong</i>
18. "Raimond" Overture	<i>Thomas</i>	84. Clarinet Solo, "Fantasia Sonnambula".....	<i>Dellini</i>
19. Overture, "Belle Rose"	<i>Spica</i>	85. Clarinet Solo, Variation from Opera "Lucia".....	<i>Donizetti</i>
20. "Fest" Overture	<i>Laten</i>	86. "New York Concert Polka"	<i>Spica</i>
21. Overture, "Rosemunde"	<i>Shubert</i>	87. "Pizzicato Polka"	<i>Strauss</i>
22. "Massaniello" Overture	<i>Offenbach</i>	88. Overture, "Salute to Eary".....	<i>DeWitt</i>
23. "Snyder" Overture	<i>Shulz</i>	89. Selection from the "The Pink Lady".....	<i>Tyers</i>
24. Overture, "Marianello"	<i>Fugich</i>	90. Duet, Opera "Norma"	<i>Bellini</i>
25. Overture, "Norma"	<i>Bellini</i>	91. Costanza Dello, "Norma".....	<i>Bellini</i>
26. Overture, "Lustspiel"	<i>Bello</i>	92. "Dream Picture of the Old South".....	<i>Lampe</i>
27. Medley Overture No. 15, "Remick's Hits".....	<i>Remick</i>	93. "Uncle Tom's Cabin"	<i>Lampe</i>
28. Overture, "Freischütz"	<i>Meyerbeer</i>	94. "American Patrol"	<i>Meacham</i>
29. Overture, "Nabuchodonosor"	<i>Verdi</i>	95. "Pagliacci," Grand Opera	<i>Covailo</i>
30. "Mignon Opera" Overture	<i>Sahburg</i>	96. "La Tosca," Grand Opera	<i>Buccini</i>
31. Original Symphonia, Grand Selection	<i>Spica</i>	97. "La Bohemia," Grand Opera	<i>Buccini</i>
32. Selection from R. DeKoven's Comic Opera, "Robin Hood,"	<i>Wiegand</i>	99. "Barcarola," Opera	<i>Hoffman</i>
33. Selection, "Chocolate Soldier"	<i>Strauss</i>	100. "Momento Musicale"	<i>Schubert</i>
34. Selection, "Adele"	<i>Lampe</i>	101. "Minuet"	<i>Mozart</i>
35. Selection from the French Operetta by Jean Briquet and Adolf Phillip. From the French Operetta by Jean Briquet and Adolf Phillip.....	<i>Meyrellez</i>	102. "Celebrated Minuet"	<i>Paderewski</i>
36. Selection from Verdi's Opera, "Traviata".....	<i>Meyrellez</i>	103. "Granny Song," Comet Solo	<i>Bearead</i>
37. Grand Selection from "Bohemian Girl".....	<i>Balle</i>	104. "Omaggia Bellini," Maestro.....	<i>Mercandante</i>
38. Selection from "Tannhäuser"	<i>Wagner</i>	105. "Outing Scene"	<i>Bucalozzi</i>
39. Selection, "Memories of Faus"	<i>Gounod</i>	106. "Band Strike"	<i>Spica</i>
40. Selection, "Naughty Marietta"	<i>Herbert</i>	107. Serenade, "Egyptiema"	<i>Lincke</i>
41. Selection, "Prima Donna"	<i>Herbert</i>	108. "Spring Song"	<i>Mendelssohn</i>
42. Selection, "The Fair Co-Ed"	<i>Luders</i>	109. Toreador from Opera "Carmen".....	<i>Bizetti</i>
43. Selection, "Amina Medley," a Potpourri.....	<i>Lincke</i>	110. "For Killarney and You".....	<i>Troedale</i>
44. Symphonia, "Giorama D'Arco"	<i>Verdi</i>	111. Duet, Clarinet Solo	<i>Spica</i>
45. Medley Overture, "The Delight".....	<i>Witmark</i>	112. "La Paloma," Spanish Serenade	<i>Vradier</i>
46. Grand Selection of Scottish Folk Songs and Dances.....	<i>Lampe</i>	113. "Kisses," Intermezzo	<i>Hubel</i>
47. Grand Fantasia, "Albich"	<i>Bacten</i>	114. "Turkish Intermezzo"	<i>Lincke</i>
48. Introduction and Bridal Chorus from Third Act of "Lohengrin"	<i>Wagner</i>	115. "Amo," Intermezzo	<i>Ingraham</i>
49. Pilgrim Chorus from "Tannhäuser"	<i>Wagner</i>	116. "La Bella Argentina"	<i>Roberts</i>
50. Evening Star from "Tannhäuser".....	<i>Wagner</i>	117. "Mexican Kisses," Intermezzo	<i>Roberts</i>
51. Finale from Opera "Carmen".....	<i>Bizetti</i>	118. Characteristic Piece, "Traumbild" (Fairy Dream).....	<i>Von Blon</i>
52. Potpourri, "A Night in Berlin".....	<i>Hartmann</i>	119. Serenata from "Eternal City".....	<i>Mascagni</i>
53. Duet, "Due Foscare"	<i>Verdi</i>	120. "Hearts and Flowers"	<i>Tobani</i>
54. "St. Augustine Serenade"	<i>E. Sodano</i>	121. "Traumerel and Romanza"	<i>Schumann</i>
55. "Plantation Echoes"	<i>Coates</i>	122. Humoresque	<i>Dvorak</i>
56. "Songs of the Nation"	<i>Lampe</i>	123. "Angels' Serenade"	<i>Braga</i>
57. Selection of "Southern Plantation Songs".....	<i>Lampe</i>	124. "L'Addio a Napoli".....	<i>Cottrau</i>
58. Selection, "Round the World".....	<i>Witmark</i>	125. "Home Song"	<i>Mozzkowsky</i>
59. Selection from "The Time, the Place and the Girl".....	<i>Howard</i>	126. "The Holy City"	<i>Adams</i>
60. Overture, "Light Cavalry"	<i>Suppe</i>	127. "Cantique de Noel"	<i>Adam</i>
61. Grand Selection, "Il Trovatore".....	<i>Verdi</i>	128. "Pregbiera"	<i>Tosti</i>
62. Selection, "Martha"	<i>Flotow</i>	129. "The Rosary"	<i>Nevin</i>
63. Miserere from "Il Trovatore"	<i>Verdi</i>	130. "Stabat Mater"	<i>Rossini</i>
64. Italian Selection, "Middle of the Night".....	<i>Spica</i>	131. "Ave Maria"	<i>Gounod</i>
65. Fantasia from "Maritana"	<i>Wallace</i>	132. "The Coquette," Gavotte.....	<i>Boccalari</i>
		133. "The Guard Mount," Characteristic Piece.....	<i>Eilenberg</i>
		134. "Maori," a Samoan Dance	<i>Tyers</i>

Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

Number of Each Selection Will Be Announced Before Playing

135. "In the Shadows," Dance.....	Finck	200. Waltz, "Daughter of Love".....	Bennett
136. "Loin du Bal".....	Gillett	201. Waltz, "Flower from Italy".....	Deafano
137. Intermezzo "Love's Dream".....	Moses	202. Waltz, "Jolly Fellow".....	Greisinger
138. "Lady Angeline".....	Christie	203. Waltz, "La Bella France".....	Tobani
139. "If All My Dreams Were Made of Gold I'd Buy the World For You".....	Christie	204. Waltz, "Lysidrade de Operette".....	Lincke
140. "Imam," a Mohammedan Serenade.....	Mann	205. Waltz, "Truling do de Schion".....	Lincke
141. Minuet from the Opera "Don Juan".....	Mozart	206. Waltz, "Golden Sunset".....	Hall
142. "Moment Musical".....	Schubert	207. Waltz, "Wedding of the Winds".....	Hall
143. "Peace Hymn of the Republic".....	Converse	208. Waltz, "Night of Gladness".....	Stein
144. "Harmony Bay".....	Sherman	209. Waltz, "Adyline".....	Hall
145. "After Sunset," Intermezzo.....	Pryor	210. Waltz, "Spanita".....	Rosey
146. "In The Garden Of My Heart".....	Ball	211. Waltz, "Ciripirigi".....	Waldosti
147. "While The Rivers Of Love Flow On".....	Ball	212. Waltz, "Flower Field".....	Lander
148. "I Love The Name Of Mary".....	Witmark	213. Waltz, "Oriental Roses".....	Panovece
149. "Do It With Me".....	Armstrong	214. Waltz, "When Knighthood Was In Flower".....	Gustin
150. Hungarian Dance No. 5.....	Brahms	215. Waltz, "Ocean Breezes".....	Victor Herbert
151. Hungarian Dance No. 6.....	Brahms	216. Waltz, "First Love".....	Holzman
152. "Turkish Patrol".....	Michaelis	217. Waltz, "Castellano".....	Frantzen
153. "Ten Minstes With the Minstrel".....	Brown	219. Patrol Comique.....	Hedley
154. "La Feria," Suite Espagnole, No. 1, Los Toros.....	Lacome	220. Medley Overture No. 14.....	Remick
155. Serenade, No. 2, La Reja.....	Lacome	221. "Silenzio Militaire".....	Greco
156. No. 3, La Zarzuela.....	Lacome	222. "Carmen," Pont Poery.....	Briest
157. Spanish Dances, No. 1 (Original).....	Tobani	223. "Tosca Fantasia".....	Puccini
158. No. 2 (Original).....	Tobani	224. Concerto per Cornetto.....	Gatti
159. No. 3 (Original).....	Tobani	225. "Atto and Rigoletto".....	Verdi
160. "After The Roses Have Faded Away".....	Ball	226. Selection from "Norma".....	Bellini
161. "Roll On, Beautiful World, Roll On".....	Ball	227. "Rapparaside Ungherese" (1 and 2), Concert March.....	Liszt
162. Orientale, "Zigarella".....	E. Sodeno	228. "Wedding March".....	Mendelssohn
163. Selections from "The Midnight Sons".....	Bubbell	229. "Coronation," Concert March.....	Megulus
164. Selection from "The Red Widow".....	Gebest	230. "Tannhauser," Concert March.....	Wagner
165. Nineteen Irish Songs, "The Minstrel Boy".....	DeWitt	231. "Florentine March".....	Spica
166. "Celebrated Organ Offertoire".....	Batiate	232. "Doges' March".....	Rossi
167. "Mavourneen Delish".....	DeWitt	233. "American Volunteers," March.....	Spica
168. "Killarney".....	DeWitt	234. "Colts Armory, March.....	Smith
169. "Come Back To Erin".....	DeWitt	235. "Battleship New York, March.....	Fulton
170. "Believe Me If All Those Endearing Young Charms,"	DeWitt	236. "Right Forward," March.....	Sousa
171. "The Meeting Of The Waters".....	DeWitt	237. "The Stars and Stripes Forever".....	Sousa
172. "The Last Rose of Summer".....	DeWitt	238. "The Diplomat," March.....	Sousa
173. "The Pretty Girl Milking Her Cow".....	DeWitt	239. "Guide Right," March.....	Sousa
174. "The Dear Little Shamrock".....	DeWitt	240. "Victory for the American Warships," March.....	Spica
175. "Wearing of The Green".....	DeWitt	241. "The Lamb's March".....	Sousa
176. "The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls".....	DeWitt	242. "Hands Across the Sea," March.....	Sousa
177. "The Cruiskeen Lawn".....	DeWitt	243. "The Invincible Eagle," March.....	Sousa
178. "Irish Airs".....	Weigand	244. "The Fairest of the Fair," March.....	Sousa
179. "The Irish Tango".....	Brewer	245. "LaBelle Italy," March.....	Spica
180. "In the Candle Light".....	O'Hare	246. "Willow Grove," March.....	Sorrentini
181. "The Rose Of Erin," Irish Cavotte.....	Moses	247. "Boccacio," March.....	Suppe
182. "Irish Patrol".....	Puer	248. "Norma," Supper March.....	Bellini
183. Selection from Opera "Faust".....	Goussod	249. "Carmen March," from G. Bizet's Opera.....	Bizet
184. "Celebrated Minuet".....	L. Bocherini	250. "Aida," March.....	Verdi
185. "Dance of The Hours".....	A. Ponchielli	251. "National Emblem," March.....	Bagley
186. "What's the Matter With Father".....	Lampe	252. "My Maryland," March.....	Mygrant
187. "Serenade".....	Moskowsky	253. "Kaiser Frederick," March.....	Friedmann
188. "Songs of the Nation," Selection of American National Songs.....	arr. by Spica	254. "The Boy Scouts," March.....	Henneberg
189. Grand Concert Waltz, composed for and by all the greatest Composers in the world.....		255. "DeMolay Commander," March.....	Hall
190. Waltz, "Lesirens".....	Waldteufel	256. "Durch Kampf Zum Sieg," March.....	Von Blon
191. Waltz, "Espansa".....	Waldteufel	257. "Road to Victory," March.....	Spica
192. Waltz, "Souvenir d'Amour".....	Waldteufel	258. "Skyrocket," March.....	Grafulla
193. Waltz, "The Skater".....	Waldteufel	259. "Real Estate," March.....	Spica
194. Waltz, "Tout Paris".....	Waldteufel	260. "Electric," March.....	Spica
195. Waltz, "Larichezza," e lapovera.....	Spica	261. "Washington Grave," March.....	Grafulla
196. Waltz, "Riva Danube".....	Strauss	262. "Home Coming," March.....	Chambers
197. Waltz, "Blue Danube".....	Strauss	263. "College Chaps," March—Twostep.....	Frantzen
198. Waltz, "The Merry Widow".....	Williams	264. "Salute to Washington," March.....	Kiefer
199. Waltz, "La Granvis".....	Lincke	265. "Daughters of America," National March.....	Lampe
		266. "Spirit of Independence," Military March.....	Holmann
		267. "The Enterpeizer," Military March.....	Lampe
		269. "Down by the Old Mill Stream," March.....	Taylor

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

270. "Operatic Rag"	<i>Lenzberg</i>	287. "Lady Angeline"	<i>Christie</i>
271. "Hungarian Rag"	<i>Lenzberg</i>	288. "The Island of Roses and Love" (Song for Cornet).....	<i>Morct</i>
272. "Lost and Won," Medley March No. 1.....	<i>Carl</i>	289. "Longing For You, Sweetheart," Serenade.....	<i>Chapel</i>
273. "Gippsland," March	<i>Lithgrow</i>	290. "After All That I've Been To You".....	<i>Smith</i>
274. "American Medley," March No. 3.....	<i>Brooks</i>	292. "After The Roses Have Faded Away".....	<i>Ball</i>
275. "Club Galop"	<i>Laurendeau</i>	293. "Laughing Love" (L'Amour Qui Rit), Polka.....	<i>Christine</i>
276. "Automania," Galop	<i>Laurendeau</i>	294. "La Guapa"	<i>Buisson</i>
277. "The Jolly Tramps," March Twostep.....	<i>Spica</i>	295. "Imperial Bandmaster March".....	<i>Casey</i>
278. "The Anvil," Polka	<i>Barlow</i>	296. "Automania"	<i>Laurendeau</i>
279. "Di Mari," March	<i>S. Giorgiano</i>	297. "Club Galop"	<i>Laurendeau</i>
280. Duet, Baritone and Tenor	<i>Stroll</i>	298. "National Melodies"	<i>Beyer</i>
281. Baritone Solo	<i>Stroll</i>	299. "The Marselles Hymn".....	<i>Beyer</i>
282. "American Patrol"	<i>Meacham</i>	300. "Hail Columbia"	<i>Beyer</i>
283. "Winter Fantasia"	<i>Lampe</i>	301. "Star Spangled Banner"	<i>Beyer</i>
284. Grand Selection from "Girl of the Golden West".....	<i>Puccini</i>	302. "On the Bosphorus"	<i>Lüncke</i>
285. Selection, "Madame Butterfly"	<i>Puccini</i>	303. "Fermicoli-Fermicola," Neapolitan Air	<i>arr. by Spica</i>
286. "Marzucca La Zarrina"	<i>Canne</i>	304. "Love's Entreaty," Waltz	<i>Fred Huffer</i>

Hours of Band Concerts

Under Auspices of CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, St. Augustine

MORNING	9:30 to 11:00 o'clock
AFTERNOON	2:30 to 4:00 o'clock
EVENING	7:30 to 9:00 o'clock

Note—On Wednesday and Friday evenings concerts will be from 6:45 to 7:45.

SUNDAY CONCERTS	2:00 to 4:00 P. M.
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Points of Interest in and around the City

FORT MARION	THE PLAZA
THE CITY GATES	THE OLD SLAVE MARKET
ST. GEORGE STREET	THE CATHEDRAL
MEMORIAL CHURCH	ST. JOSEPH'S ACADEMY
HIGH SCHOOL	DEAF AND BLIND SCHOOL
LIBRARY	NEPTUNE PARK
HOTELS	ORANGE GROVES
LEWIS POINT	VARIOUS OLD HOUSES
	LIGHT HOUSE

ALLIGATOR FARM AND MUSEUM, VIA ELECTRIC CAR

NORTH, SOUTH AND CHAUTAUQUA BEACH, VIA BOATS AND ELECTRIC CAR

LEWIS PARK AT END OF SOUTH STREET CAR LINE
Watch the papers for announcement of games

REGISTER AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
And Look Up Your Friends


THE STORES AND SHOPS OF ST. AUGUSTINE ARE AT YOUR DISPOSAL

GOOD ATTRACTIONS ARE ON AT ALL THEATRES

APPENDIX C

THE COIT-ALBER CHAUTAUQUA MARCH TWO-STEP

The Coit-Alber
CHAUTAUQUA
MARCH
TWO-STEP



FOR
PIANOFORTE
BY
FRANK BARONE

— PRICE 50 CENTS —

PUBLISHED BY
FRANK BARONE
31-33 NORTH SQ. BOSTON, MASS.

Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

CHAUTAUQUA

MARCH — TWO STEP

By F. BARONE

Copyright, 1916, by F. Barone

The first system of music consists of two staves. The treble staff begins with a series of chords, each marked with an accent (>). The bass staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is placed above the treble staff in the fifth measure.

The second system continues the piece with similar chordal textures in the treble and eighth-note accompaniment in the bass. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the fifth measure.

The third system includes first and second endings. The treble staff has a long note in the fourth measure. The first ending (marked '1') leads to a repeat sign, and the second ending (marked '2') leads to a different section.

The fourth system features chords in the treble and eighth notes in the bass. Dynamic markings of *p* and *sf* (sforzando) are used to indicate changes in volume.

The fifth system continues with chordal accompaniment and eighth-note bass lines, including dynamic markings of *p* and *sf*.

The sixth system concludes the piece with similar textures and dynamic markings of *p* and *sf*.

Chautauqua 3

Handwritten musical score for piano, consisting of six systems of two staves each. The music is in a minor key and features complex harmonic textures with many chords and arpeggios. The paper is aged and yellowed.

Chautauqua 3

APPENDIX D

MAGNIFICAT NO. 2—DUDLEY BUCK

MAGNIFICAT. (N^o 2.)

DUDLEY BUCK.

Sop - Solo

Allegro con spirito.

SOPRANO. My soul doth

ALTO. My soul doth magni-

TENOR. My soul doth

BASS. My soul doth

Allegro con spirito. (♩ = 63.)

ORGAN. Sw. f. Man. Gr. f. Ped.

mag-ni - fy, doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spir-it hath re -
fy, doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my spir-it hath re -
mag-ni - fy, doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spir-it hath re -
mag-ni - fy, doth mag-ni - fy the Lord: and my spir-it hath re -

Copyright, 1887, by G. Schirmer
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Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

joic - ed in God my Sav - iour. For he hath re -

joic - ed in God my Sav - iour. For he hath re -

joic - ed in God my Sav - iour. For he hath re -

joic - ed in God my Sav - iour. For he hath re -

Sw. *f*

Man.

mp gard - ed the low - li - ness, the low li - ness, the low - li - ness of

mp gard - ed the low - li - ness, the low - li - ness, the low - li - ness of

p gard - ed the low - - - li - ness, the low - li - ness of

p gard - ed the low - - - li - ness, the low - li - ness of

his hand - maid - en. For be - hold, for be - hold, from

his hand - maid - en. For be - hold, for be - hold, from

his hand - maid - en. For be - hold, for be - hold,

his hand - maid - en. For be - hold, for be - hold,

Gr.

hence - - - forth: all gen - e - ra - tions shall

hence - forth, from hence - forth: all gen - e - ra - tions shall

from hence - forth, from hence - forth: all gen - e - ra - tions shall

from hence - forth, from hence - forth: all gen - e - ra - tions shall

Sw.

dim. *p*

call me, shall call me bless - ed.

dim. *p*

call me blessed, call me bless - ed.

dim. *p*

call me blessed, call me bless - ed.

dim. *p*

call me bless - ed, bless - ed.

Man.

dim. *p*

SOPR. SOLO. Poco meno mosso. (♩ = 99.)

For he that is might - y hath mag - ni - fi - ed

Sw.

poco rall. Ch. and Sw.

Ped.

17

Davis (bass recit.)

~~Slower~~ Omit

moderato

The origin of this grand old hymn is unknown, but the words come from an old Italian hymn of the 13th century. The tune has been variously attributed to Reading, Thurley, and to the Cisterian monks. The verses in italics are from the hymn "How Firm a Foundation," frequently sung to this tune, and said to have been the favorite hymn of the late Theodore Roosevelt.

65. O Come, All Ye Faithful

Tr. F. Oakeley, 1841
George Keith

John Reading

1. O come, all ye faith-ful, Joy-ful and tri-um-phant, O come ye, O come ye to
 2. Sing, choirs of An-gels, Sing in ex-ul-ta-tion, Sing, all ye cit-i-zens of
 1. *How firm a foun-da-tion, ye saints of the Lord, Is laid for your faith.. in His*
 2. *'Fear not, I am with thee, O be not dis-mayed, For I am thy God... and will*

Beth - le - hem; C
 heav'n a - bove: G
 ex-cel-lent Word! W
 still give thee aid; P!

Text

Supra

SEE, Now The Dusk Is Falling

Handwritten musical score for the song "See, Now The Dusk Is Falling". The score is written on ten staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte), and articulation like accents and slurs. A red box highlights a section of the score between the fifth and sixth staves, containing the lyrics "A - - - - ve Ma - - - - ri - - - - a!". The word "Marian" is written in parentheses above the notes in this section. The score concludes with a double bar line and a fermata on the final note.

See, now the dusk is --
fall -- -- ing On mead-ow vale -- and
hill, -- And through-the air -- so --
still -- A dis-tant bell is --
call -- -- ing A -- -- ve Ma --
- ri - - - - a! A -- --
- ve -- Ma - ri - - - - a!
A -- -- ve Ma -- ri - - - - a!

APPENDIX E

REPRESENTATIVE CIRCUIT CHAUTAUQUA PROGRAMS

J. R. ELLISON
King Arthur's Court Convenes at 9:00 a. m.



Concert
2:30 p. m.
KIRKSMITH ORCHESTRA
Presenting only genuine musical treats. Ensemble, solos, duets, trios, and quartets. Choicest product instrumental and vocal. Every detail of the art fully developed. Lady flute player the finest in America. This Orchestra has the Chautauqua spirit.

Popular Lecture
3:00 p. m.
"Why?"
DR. MATTISON W. CHASE
Dr. Chase has "been somewhere." Finds nothing the equal of our own country. Glorifies her great natural scenic wonders. His gems of thought well worth remembering. Infidelity, Humbugs, Race Suicide get attention. Some hot shots for malefactors of great wealth.




Concert
7:30 p. m.
KIRKSMITH ORCHESTRA
The famous Kirksmith Orchestra today. Orchestra composed of six sisters of the blood, Agnes, Maude, Marguerite, Lillian, Pauline, Gertrude. Piano, violin, cornet, flute, saxophone, and viola. Masterful music rendered without the aid of man. Universal response of the people is: "Come back."



Special Entertainment
8:00 p. m.
An evening of rare fun.
MISS EVELYN BARGE
Cartoonist—Reader
Superb Entertainer
Artistic talent of the highest order. Accompanied with wit and choice humor. Also a reader of the first rank. Gets the heart to hear touch with all. Laughter and tears attest her power.
The Chautauqua is the people's University.
Have you enrolled?

CHAUTAUQUA



MT. PLEASANT, Iowa.

August 5 to August 11

1910

REDPATH-YAWTER

CHAUTAUQUA

SYSTEM

1910

Chautauqua Program, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, 1910. State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).

J. R. ELLISON **Superintendent**
 King Arthur's Court Convenes at 9:00 a. m.
 Lecture—"The Story of Babel and the Tablets" 10:45 a. m.
 J. GEORGE, A. M., D. D.

Concert 2:30 p. m.
ROYAL ITALIAN GUARDS BAND
 Today

One of the treats of the season. To miss this would be a sacrifice. Twenty-four pieces with great volume. Soloists of the very highest type. Under the leadership of a real master. The peoples' favorite musical number.

Popular Lecture 3:00 p. m.
 "The Ministry of Laughter"
WILLIAM A. COLLEDGE,
 D. D., F. R. G. S.

Three years with Stanley in Africa. Editor-in-chief "Standard Encyclopedia." Author and instructor of renown. His lectures stand in the very forefront. His style leaves nothing to be desired.

Concert 7:30 p. m.
 A Humorous and Popular Entertainer with the Big Band
MR. WALTER ECCLES





Clever, versatile, generous, and snappy. His numbers all have the proper "go." Never ordinary or commonplace or slow. A top notcher in all he essays. His popularity knows no bounds. His genuine merit a sufficient reason.

Concert 8:05 p. m.
 A Great Band Concert
SIG. PASQUALE FERRANTE,
 Bandmaster

Director Royal Italian Guards Band

One of the world's leading musicians. Choice taste in program building. Inspires men to highest musicianship. Has played in all the great centers. Once seen, a favorite everywhere.

The community's best people are the Chautauqua's best friends. Are you in?

J. R. ELLISON **Superintendent**
 King Arthur's Court Convenes at 9:00 a. m.
 Lecture—"Among the Temples and Tombs of Egypt" 10:45 a. m.
 J. GEORGE, A. M., D. D.

Concert 2:30 p. m.
MRS. RUTHVEN McDONALD
 Accompanist

Mr. Ruthven McDonald, Canada's leading baritone, sings divinely. Once heard is never forgotten. Increases the love of music in his auditors. His rich, full voice will fill any auditorium. He is fat and jolly, genial and kindly to all. Ranges from richest classics to "Bibbity Bob."

Lecture 3:00 p. m.
 "How The People Rule"
CONG. HENRY T. RAINEY
 of Illinois

Great lawyer and constructive statesman. He is a fighter of most approved style. Last member of Roosevelt's Ananias Club. Was sat down on by President Taft. A great debater and gifted orator.

Concert Recital 7:30 p. m.
RUTHVEN McDONALD
 The Canadian Baritone

A voice of wonderful richness and compass. The kind of songs that please the people. A song for every proper variety of taste. Rendered only in the most pleasing manner. An artist of perfectly artless mannerisms. Generous alike in proportions and responses.

Illustrated Lecture 8:05 p. m.
 "The Story Beautiful"
REV. PATRICK J. MAC CORRY
 Paulist Missionary

Is an orator of first grade abilities. His masterpiece is "The Story Beautiful." With over a hundred charming illustrations. Every one a gem—a revelation—a delight. Picturing the earthly life of the Christ. To miss this would mean a decided loss.

To miss this Chautauqua program would be self inflicted punishment.






J. R. ELLISON Superintendent
 King Arthur's Court Convenes at 9:00 a. m.
 Lecture—"The Temple" 10:45 a. m.
 J. GEORGE, A. M., D. D.

Concert Recital 2:30 p. m.
LEE-LATHROP-FULLEN-
WIDER
 Miss Myrtle Lee, Vocalist. Graduate Syrens Conservatory of Berlin. Finished voice under Mme. Corelli. Heard with enthusiasm through Europe. Complimented by critics and composers. One of the greatest concert artists. Very accomplished on the pianoforte.

Lecture 3:00 p. m.
 "The Yellow Peril"
HON. DUNCAN E. MCKINLAY
 of California
 Livest congressman from the coast country. Shows encroachments upon labor by Orientals. The peril to western interests through them. Lecture replete with startling revelations. Western flavor to his thought and expression.

Concert Recital 7:30 p. m.
LEE-LATHROP-FULLEN-
WIDER
 Mr. P. H. Fullenwider, violinist. Master of the King of Instruments. Graduate of Cincinnati Conservatory. Endowed with unusual native ability. Everywhere a great popular favorite. Adapts his program to popular needs. A musician of the very highest type.

Special Entertainment 8:05 p. m.
 A Full Program
 Mystery and Mirth
FLOYD,
 The world-famous magician
 Inventor of new and strange mysteries. Carries \$2,000 worth of properties. An hour of magic, music and fun. The only strictly original entertainer.
 Oratory, music and entertainment—and all the best. Don't miss it.



Concert 3:30 p. m.
FOX SISTERS ORCHESTRA
 The Fox Sisters, famous musicians. Present a program of great variety. Their music both artistic and popular. Winsome girls with a wish to please. Each one is a splendid soloist. Many combinations of rare excellence.

Concert 3:00 p. m.
BOHUMIR KRYL,
 the world renowned
BAND MASTER
 The recipient of many distinguished honors. Inspires his players to heroic flights. One of the world's greatest musicians. His programs festivals of pure delight. Introducing the great Anvil Chorus with sensational electrical effects.

Concert 7:30 p. m.
FOX SISTERS ORCHESTRA
 The Fox Sisters, musical organization. A whole family of rare artists. The family genius expressed in melody. Favorites at the great musical centers. Instrumentation is choice and numerous. Volume sufficient for largest assembly.

Concert 8:05 p. m.
KRYL
 And His Band
 A band abounding in great specialists. Stirring all the heroic emotions. The last expression of band achievement. The biggest thing in Chautauqua today. A master whose fame will never perish. His selections the acme of artistic taste. To music what Napoleon was to war.
 The Chautauqua is an educational and inspirational picnic. Come.



PROGRAM

NORTH ENGLISH, IOWA

August 9 to August 13

H. L. JORDAN—Superintendent

Programs Begin Promptly

Children's Hour	10:00 A. M.	Afternoon Lecture	2:00 P. M.
Afternoon Music	2:30 P. M.	Evening Lecture	8:15 P. M.
Evening Music	7:30 P. M.		

SATURDAY

AFTERNOON—Opening Exercises and Important Announcements

Music by THE DUNBAR SINGING ORCHESTRA

Popular Lecture
"The Whirl of the Press" ALBERT L. BLAIR
Boston Journalist
Admission 25 cents

4:00 P. M.—Organization of Seton Indian Work for the Children and Preparation for the Jaunts and Games. All Children with Child's Season Tickets Eligible to Enrollment.

EVENING—Grand Popular Concert
THE DUNBAR SINGING ORCHESTRA
Vocal and Instrumental Selections
Admission 25 cents

SUNDAY

AFTERNOON—Entertainment by
THE LILLIPUTIAN ENTERTAINERS

Address
"Think it Over" GOV. ROBERT S. VESSEY

Chautauqua Vesper Services, 4:30 P. M.
Admission 20 cents

EVENING—Entertainment by
THE LILLIPUTIAN ENTERTAINERS

Lecture
"The Rich and the Poor" HUGH A. ORCHARD
Admission 25 cents

MONDAY

10:00 A. M.—Seton Indian Work for the Children

AFTERNOON—Music by
THE MENDELSSOHN QUARTET

Popular Lecture
"Washington's Message to This Century" GEO. R. LAIRD
Admission 25 cents

EVENING—Musical Entertainment
THE MENDELSSOHN QUARTET
Instrumental and Vocal by the Quartet of Action
Admission 35 cents

TUESDAY

10:00 A. M.—Seton Indian Work for the Children

AFTERNOON—Music by
THE RUTHVEN McDONALD COMPANY

Human Interest Lecture
"A Thousand Million Men" Chaplain W. H. LOUGHER
Admission 25 cents

EVENING—Music by
THE RUTHVEN McDONALD COMPANY

Illustrated Lecture on Government Life Saving Service
"Storm Heroes of Our Coasts" HON. ARTHUR K. PECK
Beautiful Slides and Motion Pictures
Admission 35 cents

WEDNESDAY

10:00 A. M.—Seton Indian Work for the Children

AFTERNOON—Popular Concert by
VICTOR'S ITALIAN BAND
Admission 35 cents

EVENING—Grand Musical Festival
VICTOR'S ITALIAN BAND
Admission 50 cents



Chautauqua Program, North English, Iowa, 1914. State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).

THE PROGRAM DAY BY DAY

CHARLES CITY, IOWA, JULY 10-16

H. D. KIES—Superintendent
LAURA TRIPP—Supervisor

Musical programs begin at 2:30 and 8:00.
Lectures begin at 3 and 8:45.

Children's work begins at 9 a. m.
Morning lectures begin at 10 o'clock.
Programs Begin Promptly. Be on Time

WEDNESDAY

Opening Exercises and Important Announcements at half past two
Entertainment by **JESS PUGH**
A Foretaste of the Week's Enjoyment

Afternoon Address
"Through Trench and German Prison Camps"
PRIVATE LOVELL
Of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces
Admission 27c, War Tax 3c, Total 30c
Followed by organization of Children for Circus Building

High Class Evening Entertainment
By **JESS PUGH**
The Only One of His Kind

Evening Lecture
"How to Live 100 Years"
DR. CHAS. E. BARKER
Physical Director to President Taft
Admission 36c, War Tax 4c, Total 40c

THURSDAY

Children Learning to Build Animals
Afternoon—Melodies by **KNIGHT MACGREGOR**
The Great Scotch Baritone

Afternoon Lecture
"MOONSHINE"
A Rare and Novel Treatment of Shams
HON. B. F. McDONALD
Admission 27c, War Tax 3c, Total 30c

Evening Music and Mirth
KNIGHT MACGREGOR
Specially Costumed and Brilliant

Evening Address
"THE MAN FOR NOW"
DR. CHAS. S. MEDBURY
One of the Country's Foremost Orators
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

FRIDAY

Children Building Their Menagerie
10:00 A. M. Morning Lecture "PERSONALITY PLUS"
FRANK WELLS ALLEN
A Character Builder Who Strengthens and Inspires

Grand Afternoon Concert
THE BOSTONIAS
Led by Belle Yeaton Renfrew
The Leading Women Players of the World

Lecture
"What I Saw in France"
FRANK COLE
Just returned from a six months' experience with the boys "over there"
Admission 36c, War Tax 4c, Total 40c

Evening Musical Extravaganza
THE BOSTONIAS
Sublime Music in Every Shade of Soulful Sweetness
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

SATURDAY

Children Training to Build Animals

Afternoon—Jubilee Music
WILLIAMS JUBILEE SINGERS
Oh, How You Will Like This Music!

Afternoon Lecture
"A Voice from the Black Belt"
Thrilling Address by a Great Negro Educator
L. C. JONES
Admission 36c, War Tax 4c, Total 40c

Grand Evening Festival of Harmony
WILLIAMS JUBILEE SINGERS
The World's Premier Combination of Colored Artists
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

SUNDAY

Afternoon—Sacred Concert
THE WESTMINSTER CHOIR

Afternoon Address
"FINANCING THE WAR"
A Masterful Treatise Full of Valuable Information
FRED DALE WOOD
Admission 36c, War Tax 4c, Total 40c

A Brief Vesper Service in Which All Are Invited to Participate

Evening—Grand Concert
THE WESTMINSTER CHOIR
Vocal Music in Great Volume and Surpassing Charm
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

MONDAY

Children Rehearsing Circus Acts

Morning Lecture
"The Crescent and the Cross"
A Scholarly Treatise, Loyal, and Inspiring
L. T. GUILD

Afternoon Address at half past two
"The World War—Why We Are In It"
"CYCLONE" **DAVIS**
A Unique Character, Rugged, Plain, Forceful and Convincing
Admission 36c, War Tax 4c, Total 40c

Evening—Business Travesty "It Pays to Advertise"
A Stirring Comedy Abounding in Wholesome Fun and Innocent Amusement
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

TUESDAY

Children Finishing Their Circus
At half past one Grand Parade through streets by Kiddies' Menagerie, followed by Circus Performance at Big Tent
Assisted by **RENO**, the Great Magician
Admission 27c, War Tax 3c, Total 30c

Grand Musical Finale at eight o'clock
THE ROYAL GRENADIERS
An Orchestral Singing Band, Masterful Music in Rich Variety
Admission 45c, War Tax 5c, Total 50c

Chautauqua Program, Charles City, Iowa, 1918. State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).

Program

1st DAY

FIRST AFTERNOON

Introductory Exercises
Concert..... National Male Quartet
Admission 50c—Children 25c

FIRST NIGHT

Grand Concert..... National Male Quartet
Featuring Charles Cox
Admission 50c—Children 25c

2nd DAY

SECOND AFTERNOON

Popular Entertainment..... The American Entertainers
Admission 50c—Children 25c

SECOND NIGHT

Concert..... The American Entertainers
Lecture—"The Four-Square Builder".....
..... Capt. T. Dinsmore Upton
Admission 50c—Children 25c

3rd DAY

THIRD MORNING

Children's Entertainment..... Ade Duval, Magician
Admission 25c—Children 10c

THIRD AFTERNOON

Lecture-Entertainment—
"The Potter and the Clay"..... J. Smith Damron
Admission 50c—Children 25c

THIRD NIGHT

"ADAM AND EVA"

Great American Comedy..... A New York Cast
Admission \$1.00—Children 50c

4th DAY

FOURTH MORNING

Children's Entertainment—
"A Day in Storyland"..... Misses Haneman and Sands
Admission 25c—Children 10c

FOURTH AFTERNOON

Grand Concert.....
..... Stolofsky Fine Arts Concert Company
Admission 50c—Children 25c

FOURTH NIGHT

Concert..... Stolofsky Fine Arts Concert Company
Lecture—"All Aboard"..... Elwood T. Bailey
Admission 50c—Children 25c

5th DAY

FIFTH MORNING

Children's Entertainment..... Helen Waggoner
Admission 25c—Children 10c

FIFTH AFTERNOON

Concert..... Solis' Marimba Band
Dramatic Entertainment..... Helen Waggoner
Admission 50c—Children 25c

FIFTH NIGHT

Grand Concert..... Solis' Marimba Band
Admission 75c—Children 35c
(Kimball Piano Used)

Sample Program, Redpath Chautauquas, 1925. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

Official Program

1st
DAY

FIRST AFTERNOON
Popular Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Filipino Calligans

FIRST NIGHT
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Lecture—"What Young America Is Thinking" Mansville Flowers

2^d
DAY

SECOND AFTERNOON
Magic and Mystery Admission 50c—Children 25c
Mardian and Company

SECOND NIGHT
"SUN UP"—Drama of the Carolina Mountains
Admission \$1.00—Children 50c
A New York Cast

3^d
DAY

THIRD AFTERNOON
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Lecture-Rivital—"Everday Party" Jackson Concert Artists
Anna Campbell

THIRD NIGHT
Grand Concert LORNA DOONE JACKSON, Dramatic Soprano
Allan Cox, Pianist, Florence Eschager, Violinist
Admission \$1.00—Children 50c

4th
DAY

FOURTH AFTERNOON
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Lecture—"England to India by Light Plane" Capt. Denis Banks
Edna White and Her Trumpets

FOURTH NIGHT
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Lecture—"The Governor Speaks" Hon. Nellie Taylor Bass
Edna White and Her Trumpets

5th
DAY

FIFTH AFTERNOON
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Lecture—"Making America American" Cathedral Choir
Theodore Graham

FIFTH NIGHT
Grand Concert—Featuring "The Chorus of Beaux"
Admission 75c—Children 35c
Cathedral Choir

6th
DAY

SIXTH AFTERNOON
Grand Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Featuring Madame Balassa and Miss Maria Maslin
Blor Danube Orchestra

SIXTH NIGHT
Concert Admission 50c—Children 25c
Featuring Madame Balassa and Miss Maria Maslin
Lecture—"Keeping Ahead of the Handloom" E. J. & M. Snyder

7th
DAY

SEVENTH AFTERNOON
Popular Caravan Entertainment Admission 50c—Children 25c
John Beckwith

SEVENTH NIGHT
"SKIDDING"—"An Honest Comedy of American Life"
Admission \$1.00—Children 50c
A New York Cast

JUNIOR TOWN—For the Children

A special program will be given each day under the direction of a Redpath Junior Supervisor at an hour to be announced.

Admission 10c

(KIMBALL PIANOS USED)

Sample Program, Redpath Chautauquas, 1929. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa (Iowa City).

Redpath Chautauqua

PROGRAM

July 8

2:30 P. M.

JOHN ROSS REED Baritone and Entertainer

DAGNY ELLEN JENSEN Soprano and Pianist

8:00 P. M. PLAY: SPARKLING AMERICAN COMEDY.
"NEW BROOMS"

July 9

9:30 A. M. JUNIOR CHAUTAUQUA

RAY MILLER

Punch and Judy and Magic

2:30 P. M. PRELUDE: "SINGING PICTURES"

LAVONNE FIELD

Accompanied by

FRANCES FLANIGAN

SUBJECT: "THE POTTER AND THE CLAY"
J. SMITH DAMRON

8:00 P. M. PRELUDE: LAVONNE FIELD AND
FRANCES FLANIGAN

LECTURE: Subject: "ALTITUDES AND VISIBILITY"
HON. GEORGE D. ALDEN

July 10

9:30 A. M. JUNIOR CHAUTAUQUA

CHIEF WHIRLING THUNDER

Stories, Songs and Dances of the American Indian

2:30 P. M. PRELUDE: WELSH IMPERIAL SINGERS

NEGRO LIFE IN STORY AND SONG, WITH BAND

ANNE FRIERSON

8:00 P. M. CONCERT: THE WORLD'S GREATEST ENSEMBLE
WELSH IMPERIAL SINGERS

July 11

9:30 A. M. JUNIOR CHAUTAUQUA

HUGHIE FITZ THE GREAT CLOWN

2:30 P. M. RECITAL

GARAY SISTERS International Artists

MISS ELIZABETH GARAY, Violinist.

MISS XALANDA GARAY, Violinist.

8:00 P. M. PRELUDE: GARAY SISTERS

LECTURE: "CRIME AND CRIMINALS: WHAT ARE WE
GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

Rev. Dr. RALPH W. SOCKMAN

PRESIDENT OF GREATER NEW YORK FEDERATION OF
CHURCHES AND RADIO PREACHER

July 13

2:30 P. M. PRELUDE: THE JOY GIRLS

A THRILLING STORY OF ADVENTURE

MRS. KEITH MILLER

8:00 P. M. JOY NITE

JESS PUGH, Humorist and
THE JOY GIRLS

July 14

2:30 P. M. JUNIOR CHAUTAUQUA

PAMAHASIKA'S PETS

8:00 P. M. PLAY: A FARCE COMEDY

"HER TEMPORARY HUSBAND"

Chautauqua Program, Canandaigua, New York, 1931. Published in *The Daily Messenger*, 26 June 1931.

**RADCLIFFE
CHAUTAQUA**

*A Three
Day
Festival
of
Music,
Recreation
Inspiration*

**CORBIN
SEPT. 1-2-3**

**AFTERNOONS AND
EVENINGS.**

Program

FIRST DAY

AFTERNOON
The Alexander Novelty Four Entertainment
Dr. W. T. S. Culp Lecture
"Untilled Corners"

NIGHT
Dr. W. T. S. Culp Lecture
"The Thinker"
The Alexander Novelty Four Concert

SECOND DAY

AFTERNOON
The Stout-Kempton Players, Two One-act Dramas
"This Way Out" and
"The Next District Attorney"
Dr. Robert M. Soud Lecture
"Prodigal America"

NIGHT
Dr. Robert M. Soud Lecture
"The Craftsman"
The Stout-Kempton Players Three-act Drama
"When Mother Goes on a Strike"

THIRD DAY

AFTERNOON
The Plumstead-Lucas Company Entertainment
Dr. Albert Marion Hyde Lecture
"The Fireside"

NIGHT
Dr. Albert Marion Hyde Lecture
"The Dreamer"
The Plumstead-Lucas Company Entertainment

Adult Season Ticket, \$2.00
Junior Season Ticket, \$1.00
Single Admission, 75 Cents

B

The
Chautauqua Committee
cordially invites every
Man, Woman and Child
to attend this
Big Community Festival
presented by the
Radcliffe Chautauqua
on its
13th Annual Tour

Three
Afternoons and Evenings
of
Novelty Entertainments
Eloquent Addresses
Good Music

Clean, Wholesome and
Inspirational, with
Special Features
for Children

Buy Season Tickets Now!
Bring the Family
and Take Advantage of this
Social, Intellectual
and
Recreational Treat

Radcliffe Chautauqua Program, St. Augustine, Florida, 1924. From the author's personal collection.

The Radcliffe Chautauqua will be in Las Cruces on April 8, 9 and 10. This company was here last year and gave good satisfaction to all who attended.

The season tickets for the entire program, as given below, will be \$2 for adults and \$1 for children and students. No extra charge for war tax at the door. All who hold tickets for both Ellison-White and Radcliffe will be admitted to this course without further charge of admission.

Opening Day

(afternoon)

The Fighting Yanks.....Concert
 Dr. W. T. S. Culp.....Lecture
 "The Lamp of Alladin."

(night)

Dr. W. T. S. Culp.....Lecture
 "The Greatest Thing that
 Man May Know"

The Fighting Yanks.....Concert

Second Day

(afternoon)

Our Woman Specialist.....Lecture
 "Home Making"

The Columbians.....Concert
 A Woman's Conference, "The House
 Around the Corner," conducted by
 Woman Specialist in Household En-
 gineering.

(night)

The Chautauqua Director...Lecture
 "The Problem of the Unprepared"
 The Columbians.....Concert

Third Day

(afternoon)

Florence E. Besley.....Lecture
 "The Red Cross—A Record and
 a Prophecy."

The Bellino-Taylor Company.....

Entertainment

Conference on Home Care of the
 Sick, conducted by Florence E. Bes-
 ley.

(night)

The Chautauqua Director...Lecture
 "Pushing Back Horizons."

The Bellino-Taylor Company.....

Entertainment

Radcliffe Chautauqua Program, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1919. Published in *The Rio Grande Republic*, 4 April, 1919.

Thursday, March 25

—afternoon—

The Porter Concert Company... Concert

Mr. J. W. Terry..... Lecture
"Benefits Forgot"

—night—

Mr. J. W. Terry..... Lecture
"The Government of the United
States"

The Porter Concert Company... Concert

Friday, March 26

—afternoon—

The Chautauqua Director...Lecture
"A Canary in a Coal Mine"

Loseff's Russian Quartette...Concert

Mrs. Cora Melton Cross—in a P~~RO~~
gram of Stories for Young and Old.
The Opening of the Junior Citi-
ship Campaign.

Mrs. Cora Melton Cross—organiza-
tion of "Young America" Club.

—night—

The Chautauqua Director...Lecture
"The Making of an American"

Loseff's Russian Quartette—Concert

Saturday, March 27

—afternoon—

The Dudos-Starbuck Feature Concert
Combination Concert

Mr. Guy M. Bingham Lecture
"Community Leadership"

—night—

Mr. Guy M. Bingham Lecture
"A Tower of Babel"

The Dudos-Starbuck Feature Concert
Combination Concert

Season tickets good for all per-
formances; adults \$2.00, Children
\$1.00. College students, \$1.00.

Radcliffe Chautauqua Program, Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1920. Published in *The Rio Grande Republic*, 18 March, 1920.

First Day

AFTERNOON

(1) The Manhattan Quartette, Concert.

(2) Col. G. A. Gearhart. Lecture. "Benefits Forgotten."

NIGHT

(3) Col. G. A. Gearhart. Lecture. "The Government of the United States".

(4) Manhattan Quartette, Concert.

Second Day

AFTERNOON

(5) The Chautauqua Director. Lecture. "A Canary in a Coal Mine."

(6) The De Volt Concert Company Concert.

(7) Miss Marybelle La Hatto—In a Program of Stories for Young and Old.

The opening of the Junior Citizenship Campaign.

(8) Miss Marybelle La Hatto—Organization of "Young America" Club

NIGHT

(9) The Chautauqua Director. Lecture. "The Making of An American".

(10) The De Volt Concert Company Concert.

Third Day

AFTERNOON

(11) The Merry Musical Maids, Concert.

(12) Mr. Louis Williams. Lecture. "The Wonders of Electricity."

NIGHT

(13) Mr. Louis Williams. Lecture. "Scientific Mysteries".

(14) The Merry Musical Maids, Concert.

Season tickets good for all performances. Adults, \$2.00. Children, \$1.00.

Radcliffe Chautauqua Program, Maquoketa, Iowa, 1920. Published in *The Jackson Sentinel*, 20 July, 1920.

APPENDIX F

LIST OF KNOWN CHAUTAUQUA MUSICAL ACTS

Preface

The following list of known chautauqua musical performers was begun by Dr. Fred Crane of the University of Iowa, and has been expanded by the author throughout the course of this research. It lists musical acts known to have performed in either independent or circuit chautauquas, based on information gleaned from program brochures and newspaper accounts. Entries have been annotated where possible to clarify the nature of the group. Where additional information is available and relevant, it has been included as an annotation in the right-hand column of the list. Many entries have no further information given, either because the act's name was sufficiently descriptive, or because no further information is known to survive. The list is by no means exhaustive and is admittedly biased towards the major bureaus and large independent assemblies, as more complete records from these chautauquas survive. It is, however, useful both as a reference and as a demonstration of the broad spectrum of musical performances available to chautauqua audiences.

Performer	Notes
Abernathy Concert Company	
Aborn Opera Company	
Accordian Novelty Company	
Ackley K. of P. Band	
Adams, Crawford	violinist
Adams, Edith	cellist
Adams Sisters Orchestra	
Adanac Male Quartet	
Adriatic Orchestra	
Aida Quartet	
Alabama Blossoms	
Alamo Quintet	
Alarcon Family	
Alexander Novelty Four	
Alexander Trio	
Alford, Harry L.	
All Brothers Quintet	
Allerton Band, The	Thirty pieces, organized by Professor Puckett in 1919.
Alpine Singers and Yodlers	
Alpine Tyrolean Yodlers	
Althea Concet Company	
Althea Players	"Music and Merriment, six girls, violinists, etc."
Amato, Paravale	
American Entertainers	
American Girls	
American Glee Club	
American Ladies Band	

American Ladies Grand Concert Band	Lora Antionette Reiter, director. Forty members, formed c. 1899.
American Ladies Quartette	
American Opera Company	
American Quartet	Vocal quartet. Not the American Quartet that recorded for Victor.
American Symphony Orchestra	A group by this name made many Edison recordings.
Amphion Four	
Amlden Concert Company	
Anderson Brogan Duo	
Anderson, Hugh	Hugh Anderson Operatic and Concert Company.
Anderson, Wilma	pianist
Andreev, W.W.	
Angebilt Trio	
Anitas, The	"A singing orchestra." Named after H. P. Harrison's hometown of Anita, Iowa.
Apollo Duo	
Apollo Musical Club	
Apollo Quintette and Bell Ringers	"Versatile instrumentalists and a female singer."
Arcadia Concert Company	
Arcadia Novelty Company	
Arcadians	
Arden Entertainers	
Ardmore Entertainers	
Arion Male Quartet	
Arlington Male Quartet	
Artist Concert	
Artist Entertainers	
Artist Entertainers	
Artist Quartet	

Artists Company, The	
Artist's Trio	
Australian Duo	
Australian Trio	
Bachman's Band	
Batunos Band	
Batwam	
Bailey, Celia Effinghauser	vocalist
Bailte-Stoeber Trio	
Baker, Elsie	
Balmer, Elizabeth	vocalist
Balmer, J.H.	"J.H. Balmer of South Africa: speaker, singer, traveler and his famous South African Boy Choir."
Barbara Orchestra	
Barber of Seville Co.	
Barborka, Vaclay	"player of chimes"
Barnaby Entertainer	
Barnard Orchestra, The	Six-member group from Indiana.
Barton Family Orchestra	
Bates, Ruth	Leader of Ruth Bates Concert Company.
Batting-Mahler Trio	
Beethoven Musical Co.	
Beethoven Trio	
Beggar Opera Company	
Beilharz Entertainers (Noah and Jane)	"Recitations, instrumental and vocal music."
Bell Ringers, The	
Bell Ringer Orchestra	
Bellino Concert Co.	

Berlino, Sam and Theresa Shehan	
Bern's Little Symphony	
Beatley Trio	
Birmingham-Southern Glee Club	
Bispham, David	vocalist
Bland, H.L.	
Bland's Orchestra (Bland's Boys)	Photo in <i>The Lyceum</i> May 1916, 31.
Bland's Wesleyan Quartet	Vocalists who doubled on brass and strings.
Blue Danube Singers	
Bohemian Girl Co.	
Bohemian Orchestra	
Boland Orchestra	
Bostock's Novelty Co.	
Boston Concert and Carnival Company	
Boston Lyrics	Trio with marimbaphone, cornet, trombone.
Boston Musical Art Co.	
Boston Opera Singers	A Boston National Grand Opera Co.made at least one Columbia record.
Bostonia Orchestra-Band	
Bostonia Sextette Club	
Bostonians, The	Not the same as Bostonia Orchestra-Band
Boy Scout Band	
Boy Choir of Christ's Episcopal Church	
Boyd's, The	"musical entertainers"
Brahms Quartet	
Bratton Concert Four	
Brewer Concert Co.	
Brollier's Band	
Brook, Ellis	Ellis Brook's Band

Brown-Meneley Co.	
Bryant Sisters	
Bryant, Tone	vocalist
Budapest Hungarian Orchestra	
Buddies, The	musical comedy
Burlington Choral Society and Burlington Symphony Orchestra	
Burus Sisters	
Burt, Evelyn	Evelyn Burt Concert Company
Burt, Grace Sylvia	vocalist
Buschlea, Maud	The Maud Buschlea Music Party
Bush, Hattie	vocalist
Butler, Helen May	Helen May Butler Band
Buzza, Frank	baritone, pianist, and impersonator
Byron('s) Troubadours	
Cadman, C.W.	
Cambrea Artists	
Cambridge Players	
Cameron Quartette	
Campanari, G.	
Capitol Serenaders	
Cap's Orchestra	
Capps Male Quartet	
Carkeek, W.J.	"trick pianist"
Carmelini	Conductor of several bands, orchestras, and concert companies.
Carmeliny's Colonial Band	most likely a misprint of "Carmelini"
Carrie Jacobs Band	
Carroll Glee	
Carroll Quartet	

Cartwright Brothers Quartet	four male instrumentalists
Casals, Pablo	
Casford Concert Co.	
Casford Trio	
Cass, Harriet A.	vocalist
Cartellucci's Neapolitans	
Cartillian Orchestra Club	
Castle Square Entertainers	Quartet of vocalists, also played french horns and banjos.
Cates Musical Co.	
Cathedral Choir	
Cathedral Trumpeters	
Cavaliers, The	
Cavanwelsh Co.	
Cello Ensemble	
Cello Ensemble and Little Symphony	
Chamberlin Trio	
Chapel Singers	
Charleston Choral Club	
Chatham Concert Co.	
Chautauqua Concert Party	
Chautauqua Ladies' Orchestra with Reader	
Chenette, Edward Stephen	
Cheney Concert Co.	Conductor of twelve-piece band.
Cherniavsky Brothers	
Chesney Sisters	
Chicago Artists Quartet	
Chicago Concert Co.	
Chicago Ensemble Trio	

Chicago Festival Quintet	
Chicago Grand Opera Company	
Chicago Ladies Orchestra	
Chicago Ladies Singing Party	
Chicago Ladies Symphony	
Chicago Lady Entertainers	
Chicago Lyceum Lady Quartette	vocal quartet
Chicago Lyric Quartet	
Chicago Male Quartet	Boerje Jensen, first tenor
Chicago Melody Trio	
Chicago Musical College	
Chicago Novelty Quartet	
Chicago Operatic Company	Program in two parts: sacred and classical selectins, a portion of some well-known opera.
Chicago Orchestral Choir	
Chicago String Quartet	
Chicago Symphonic Orchestra	
Chimers of Britanny Company	
Chocolate Soldier Company	
Christie-Gjerdrum Concert Company	
Christy Girls, The	"Iowa City's most popular young musicians."
Cilley Company	
Cimera, Jaroslav	
Cincinnati Conservatory Ensemble	
Circicillo, Salvatore	Director of Circicillo's Famous Italian Band and Norton's Chautauqua Orchestra and Band.
Clark Concert Company	
Clark, Edward	

Clark, May	vocalist
Clark-Bowers Co.	
Clark-French Co.	
Cleveland Ladies Orchestra	"Nine ladies led by Prof. Melzdorf"
Close, Anna S.	soprano, native of Iowa City
Clough, Alice	Billed as "instructor of violin, IWC conservatory."
Coates, Francis	soprano
Coats Sax Band	
Colangelo's Italian Band and Orchestra	Eleven instrumentalists, two singers.
Cola Santo Concert Band	
Colby, Martha Reynolds	Martha Reynolds Colby Company
The Colleens	
The Collegians	
Collette-Rhode-Hedges Singers	
Irene Collidge	vocalist
Colonial Harp Ensemble	
Colonial Quartet	
Columbia Girls Quartet	
Columbian Quartet	
Columbians, The	
Columbus Entertainers	
Columbus Junction Band, The	eighteen members
Commercial Club Band (of Mediapolis)	
Commonwealth Orchestra	
Concert Entertainers	
Concordia Concert Company	
Conway, Patrick	Patrick Conway and His Band
Cook's Orchestra	

Cornell Glee Club	
Cosmopolitan Quartet	
Cox, Henry G.	"Formerly of Iowa City, but now in Omaha, where he directs a large orchestra."
Cramer Trio	
Craven Family Orchestra	
Creatore, Fred Williams	vocalist
Crooks, Richard	
Crosland-Moor United Handbell Ringers	
Culp, Mme. Julia	
Cutler-Griffin Company	
Cymbalom Orchestral Quartet	
Daily News Band	
Dalin Company	
Davenny Quintet	Church singers from Philadelphia
Davies, Harry	Harry Davies Light Opera Co.
Davies Opera Company	1923 Comic opera <i>Said Pasha</i> . Managed by Harry Davies.
Davis Sisters	
Dayne Trio	
DeArmond Concert Company	
Decca Opera(tic) Company	
DeGrasz's Band	
DeKoven Male Quartette	
DeLuxe Singers and Artists	
DeMoss Entertainers	
Deak, Mme. Fyvie	vocalist
DeSure Orchestra	
Devault Entertainment Company	

De Willo Concert Company	
Di Giorgio Orchestra	
Dixie Duo, The	Ertelle Van Horn of Chicago, Anna Braver of Chicago.
Dixie Glee Club	vocal quartet
Dixie Quintet	Based in Chicago
Dixie Trio, The	
Dixie Vagabond Quartet	white male quartet
Doering Orchestral Quartet	
Don Phillippini's Symphony Band	
Dorothy Haines Company	
Dudley Buck Choir	
DuMond Company	
DuMond Male Quartet	
Dunbar, Ralph	
Dunbar Singing Bell Ringers	
Dunbar Quintette and Bell Ringers	Male quintet and Ralph Dunbar, cellist.
Dunbar Singing Orchestra	
Duval-Baldi Company	
Duvall Brothers	
Eastern Glee Quartet	
El Dorado Grand Opera Company, The	
Elias Tamuritza Serenaders, The	
Elite Sextette	
Elks Quartet of Concert Brass	
Ellert, Clem A	one-man orchestra
Ellert's Band	
The Elliots	
Ellsworth and His Metropolitan Singers	

Elman, Mischa	violinist
Elesian Trio	
Empyrean Male Quartette	
English Opera Company	Also known as "English Opera Singers." "Their programs embrace scenes from ten popular operas in costume; scenes from grand opera in costume, gipsy [sic] scenes, sailor scenes, selections from the oratorio, etc."
Ensmeyer, Grace	violinist.
Entertainment Duo	
Erdoedy	"the violin virtuoso"
Ettinger, Alice	vocalist
Ettinger, Mabel	
Ettinger, Victor	instrumentalist
Euphonium Glee Clubb	
Eureka Glee Club	
Eureka Male Quartet	
European Quartette	
Ewing's Ladies Band	Wallace M. Ewing of Champagne Il was probably organizer.
Ewings Overseas Military Band	
Ewing's Zovave Band	
Fairchild Company	
Fairfield Iowa Band	twenty-five pieces
Fairfield Knights of Pythius Band	
Falk, Louis	organist
Farnum Trio	
Faubels, The	
Faust Company	
Feathertone, Floyd	Floyd Feathertone Company

Ferranti's Hungarian Orchestra	seven instrumentalists, two singers
Ferullo Band, The	fifty members
Ferranta's Concert Band	fifteen instrumentalists, vocal quartet
Fetterman's Band	Sixteen members led by Arthur Babich. Based in Lincoln, Nebraska.
Fidelio Opera Company	
Fifty-fifth Iowa Infantry Band	
Fifty-third Regiment Band	thirty members
Filipino Collegians	
Filipino Players	
Filipino Quintette	
Filipino Serenaders	
Fine Arts Quartet	
Fink's Hussars	band
Fioravante and His Band	
Fischer Exposition Orchestra	
Fischer Quartet	
Fischer's Band	
Fitzgerald's Band	
Five Violin Girls	
Fleischman Hungarian Orchestra	
Florentine Trio	
Florida Concert Promotion	Eddie Forester Company
Fornia, Rita	Victor records issued 1912-
Forter Concert Company	
Fourth Regimental Band	
Fox Sisters Quartette	
Francean, Edward	vocalist
Fraternity Glee Club	

Fraunfelder Swiss Yodelers	
Fries, Burke, Wilson	cello, harp, piano
Fuller, The Misses	
Gall, Ruby	Ruby Gall's Light Opera Company
Galli-Curie, Amelita	
Galt Band	
Galt Kiltie Band	Of Galt, Ontario
Gamble, Ernest	Ernest Gamble Concert Party featured in Musical Courier March 17, 1915, 25.
Garay Sisters	
Gorden, Mary	Mary Gorden Summer Chautauqua
Georgetown Glee Club	
Giant Concert Company, The	
Gibsonian Orchestra and Fisher Shipp	
Gilbert Quartet	
Goforth's Black and Gold Band	George Goforth
Goforth, George	George Goforth's Six Piece Orchestra.
Golden Gate Concert Company	
Gondoliers Company	
Gordman, Elenor	vocalist
Gordon Quartet	String quartet led by Jaques Gordon.
Gordon Trio	
Gorman, Dora	vocalist
Grabel's Band	
Grand Opera Singers	
Grand Opera Stars	
Grainger, Percy	
Granville Accordionists	
Gray-Llievinne Company	

Great Lakes String Quartet	
Great Welsh Choir	
Green, Marion	vocalist
Green, Frese	Madame Frease Green
Greenfield Orchestra	
Greenfield Symphonic Quintet	
Grenadiers, The	
Griswold Duo	
Grosiean Company	
Grosien Trio	
Grossman's Orchestra	
Guatemalan Marimba Band	
Guitar and Mandolin Club	presumably of Burlington
Gwalis Lady Glee Singers	
Gypsies	
Hall, Stanley	Stanley Hall Ladies Quartette.
Hampton Court Singers	
Hand Band	
Hanson, Howard	"Howard Hanson in chautauqua" <i>Music Journal</i> Jan. 1974, 16.
Happy Harmony Girls	
Hardie, Hope	Violinist with many chautauqua groups, including the Mendelssohn Sextet and Schubert Sextet.
Harding String Quartet	
Hardy Family Orchestra	
Harlan's Musquattie Indians	Dancers with flute and drum.
Harmony Concert Co.	George Lincoln McNemry, manager.
Harmony Glee Club	male quartet
Harmony Singers	female trio

Harp Ensemble	
Harp Novelty	
Harp Symphony	
Harper, Earl	Performed with Artists' Concert Party and Harper's Concert Party. Also toured as a lecturer.
Harrison, Charles	vocalist
Hartland Quartet	
Harvesters, The	
Hawaiians Company	
Hazeltine Opera Company	
Herrons Sisters Concert Company	Four instrumentalists and reader.
Heimerdinger Entertainers	
Hemphill, Prof. J.W.	
Hernande Brothers	
Herrick Company	
Herrick Duo	
Herrick Male Quartet	
Hewling's Rainbow Orchestra	
Highland Ladies Orchestra	
Hinshaw (Grand) Opera Company	Profiled in <i>The Lyceum World</i> 9/4 (July 1914), 227, 229.
Hinton-Mordelia Company	"The girl with the dimples."
Hipple Concert Company.	
Holt, Vivian	Soprano, toured with with Lazar S. Saioff, piano.
Holton's Concert Band	
Homeland Quartet	
Honolulu Students, The	Vocal and instrumental ensemble of seven.
Hoosier Male Quartette	vocal quartet
Horbury Hand-Bell Ringers	

Hougen's Chicago Orchestra	
Houstons, The	William Houston did one-man impersonation of German band.
Howard Orchestral Quintette	
Hoyt, Katherine	vocalist
Hruby Bohemian Orchestra	Family group of eight instrumentalists, also singers.
Hruby Brothers Quartette	
Hruby Brothers Quintet	
Hruby Company	seventeen musicians
Hudson Male Quartet	
Huff and Music Matters	
Huguelet Instrumental Trio	
Hull Concert Co.	
Hull Family Quartet	
Humphrey's Orchestra	
Hungarian Orchestra	
Hussar Company	
Illinois Glee Club	Four men. Bell-ringers, singers, sax solos, readings.
Immanuel Male Quartet	
Imperial Hand Bell Ringers	
Imperial Russian Balalaika Court Orchestra	W.W. Andreef, conductor.
Imperial Russian Balalaika Orchestra Troupe	
Imperial Russian Quartet	
Indianapolis Newsboys Band	
Indian Quartet	
Indian String Quartet, The	In Indian costume in <i>The Lyceum Magazine</i> Oct 1917,76 and Dec 1917, 16.
In Harpland Company	
Innes Band	sixty members

International Operatic Company	
Iowa Euterpean Quartette	male quartet
Iowa State Band	
Iris Concert Company, The	contralto, piano, reader
Irish Colleens, The	Four singers. Miss Alvira J Peterson, manager.
Ithaca Concert Company	
Irogun, Maria	
Jackson, Howard F	
James, Bertha	Popular accompanist on chautauqua circuits.
Johnston Company (Lillian Johnston)	Primarily a vocal trio, but also did impersonations.
Jones, Dr. Lester B.	vocalist
Jordan Musical Entertainers	
Jost and Wunderle	Tenor/baritone duet, doubled on zither/harp guitar.
Joymakers Male Quartette	Alex Motler, Bill Garrett, Clifford Cline, leader, Fred Corney, George Corney
Jugo Slav Tamburica Orchestra	Josip, Nicholas, and Emil Rothvich, Michael Kusceck, Marko Cus, Mat Argich.
Juvenile Court Band	
K&K Concert Orchestra	
Kachel's Metropolitan Singers	
Kalteborn Quartet	
Sherman Kamps Recital Company	
Karl's Band	
Kedreff Quartet	
Kelchver Trio	
Kellog-Haines Singing Party	Five singers doubling on instruments.
Killarney Girls	
Kilties Orchestra, The	Nine men in kilts.

King Male Quartet	
Kirksmiths Orchestra	six sisters
Kiser Sisters	
Knapp's Military Band and Orchestra	
Knapp's Parlor Orchestra	
Kneisle Quartet	
Knights of Pythias Band	
Knights of Pythias Glee Club	
Theodore Knox Concert Party	
Knoxville College Singers	
Krautz Family Concert Company	
Kremlin Art Quintet	
Kringsberg Company	
Hans Kronold Concert Company	
Kryl, Bohumir	
Kryl, Marie	
Kublick, Heari	Heari Kublick and Company
Kuehn Concert Company	
L.A.C. Orchestra	Eight ladies from the Lyceum Arts Conservatory, directed by Leon Marx. Directed by Prof. JW Hemphill.
Ladies' Apollo Club of Mediapolis	
Ladies String Quartet	
Ladies Welch Choir	
Lady Entertainers Quartette	
Lady Washington Quartette	
Lahissa	
Lamont's Birds	
Landers, Major	Major Landers Band
Landis Singing Orchestra	

Larcher, Bessie	Bessie Larcher Novelty Trio
LaRue's Band of Waterloo	
La Sheck, Katherine	
Latvian Singers	
Laurant and Concert Party	
LaValle Grand Opera Company	
LaVerdi, Pietro	
Lawrence Conservatory	
Lay, Georgiella	pianist
Lea-Bel Company	
LeBrum Grand Opera Company	
Lee-Lathrop Fullenwider Concert	Myrtle Lee, vocals, P.N. Fullenwider, violin.
Lee's Concert Band	
Lenska, Mme. Augusta	
Liberati, Allesandro	
Liberati's Band and Grand Opera Co.	
Liberati Concert Band	
Lieurance, Thurlow	
Light Opera Mirror	
Light Opera Revue	
Lindsay, Charles K.	Violin
Ling and Long	
Link's Orchestra	
Lions Quartet	
Listemann, Virginia	"opera singer"
Liszt Concert Company	
Litchfield Trio	
Little Symphony Orchestra	

Madrigal Concert Party
Maitland Trio
Majestic Quartet
Male Instrumental and Singing Quartet
Mallebay, Germanic French soprano
Malleby Company
Mallory and Company
Manhattan Opera Company
Manktelow Brothers
Manning Sisters
Mansfield, Clara
Manuel and Williamson
Marchetti's Swiss Yodelers
Maresealchi Quartette
Marigold Quartette
Marion Quartet
Marsh, Lucy
Marsh, Mabel
Martha Company
Mascot Orchestra
Mason, Edith
Masque Musicians
Master Singers
Mat's Band
Mathesen Concert Party
Matt and his 22nd Regiment Band
Matteson Studio Ensemble
Matyas, Maria

Maurer Sisters Orchestra	"A quartet of winsome girls."
Mayflower Company	
McCords, The	Piano, violin, readings, costume characterizations, dialogues.
McGrath Brothers, The	Banjoists, very popular on the chautauqua circuits.
McGregor, Knight	
Mead, Olive	Olive Mead Quartet
Mediapolis Band, The	
Meistersingers Male Quartette and Organ Chimes	
Melody Singers	
Melody Trio	
Melton, James	
Mendelssohn Male Quartet	
Mendelssohn Trio	
Mercedes Melody Quartette	Four ladies including Mercedes McGinis, mezzo soprano
Mercer Concert Orchestra	
Merrilees Ladies Quartet	
Merry Musical Maids	
Merrymakers, The	Five or six female vocalists doubling on saxophone.
Metropolitan Concert Company	
Metropolitan Glee Club	
Metropolitan Orchestra	
Metropolitan Singers	
Metropolitan String Quintet	
Metropolitan Symphony Orchestra	
Mexican Serenaders	
Middleton, Arthur	baritone
Middletons, The	

Musical Entertainers

Musical Favorites

Musical Four, The

Musical Guardsmen

Musical MacDonalds

Musical Maids

Musical Silver Sleigh Bells

Muscateers

Muzio, Claudia

Myre's Orchestra

Princess Nadonis

Natiello Band

National Bureau for the Advancement of
Music

National Dramatic and Opera Company

National Light Opera Company

Naitonal Male Quartet

Naitonal Music League

Navy Girls

Neapolitan Serenaders

Also billed as "Neopolitan"

Neapolitan Trio, The

Based in Iowa City.

Nevia Concert Company

Newell, Fenwick

Fenwick Newell Concert Co.

New England Male Quartet

New England Trio

Newlan's Concert Band

New Schumann Quintet

New York Brass Choir

New York City Marine Band	M. Lo Zito, conductor
New York Festival Trio	
New York Festival Trio	
New York Glee Club	
New York Grand Opera Company	
New York Ladies Trio	
New York Lyric Singers	
New York Madrigal Singers	
New York Marine Band	Possibly the same as New York City Marine Band.
New York Opera Singers	
Nielsen, Alice	
Nolan, Bob	Real name was Robert Nobles, Western songwriter. Sang his own songs on circuits.
Normal Ladies Band	
Norton, W.W.	
Noruo, Red	Toured with marimba band, the Collegians.
Novelty Entertainers	
Novelty Four	
Novelty Trio	
Oakley Concert Company	
Oberlin Sextet	
Occidental Band and Orchestra	
Oceanic Concert Company	
Oceanic Quintet	
O'Connor, James	pianist
Ohio Male Quartet	
Ojibway Hiawatha Indians	Sang and gave dramatic performances.
Old Glory Quartet	

Old Home Singers	
Olsen Sisters	
Olson Trio	
Olympia Ladies Quartette	Black singers and instrumentalists.
168th Iowa Band and Regiment Quartet	"Of the famous rainbow division."
Opera and Drama Society of San Francisco	
Opera Clippings	
Opera Festival	
Opera Revue	
Opollo Quartet	
Oratorio Artists	Included Elsie Baker.
Orchestra Comique and Dolly Randolph, violin	
Orchestral Entertainers	Also billed as "The Mayer Sisters."
Orchestral Quartet	
Orchestral Troubadours	
Oriels, The	Included Bertha James
Orpheum Concert Company	
Orpheum Concert Orchestra	
Orpheum Musical Club	Singers, brass songs, solos, duets.
Orpheus Concert Trio	
Osborn, Jenny	"primo-donna"
Otterbein Male Quartet	
Ottumwa Male Quartette	
Overseas Military Quartette	
Oxford Company	
Oxford Operatic Quartet	
Paderewski, Ignace	
Page Concert Company	

Page-Stone Ballet	
Paine, Helen	Helen Paine Duo
Palleria's Band	Twenty-five members. Also billed as Pallaria's Concert Band and Operatic Quartette.
Palmer's Lyceum Quintette	Five ladies, voices and instruments. Mrs. Effie C. Palmer.
Pampango Players and Singers	
Panama Quartet	
Paramount Entertainers	
Parisian "Red Heads" Orchestra	
Park Sisters Quartette	instrumental
Parker Concert Company	Ladies quartet, ladies orchestra, and reader.
Parkinson Ensemble	
Parks, Florence	vocalist
Parland-Newhall Male Company	Vocal quartet, horn quartet and bell ringers.
Parnells	
Passeri Band	
Patterson Ladies' Quartette	Four sisters from Minneapolis.
Peerless Quartet, The	
Peoples Grand Opera Association	
Petri, Egon	
Petrie Novelty Quintet	
Petschnikoff, Madame	
Petty John Concert Party	
Philadelphia Male Quartet	
Philharmonic Ensemble	
Phillippe, Dora de	Sang with Chicago Opera Association 1915-17.
Philipine Orchestra	

Phillipine Quartet	
Philipinos, The	"A classy quintette from the other side of the world."
Phillips Sisters	
Picard's Chinese Syncopaters	
Pierce Company	
Pilgrim Girls	
Pinafore Company	
Pittsburgh Ladies Orchestra	
Planson, C. Pol	Manager of the Aida Quartet.
Ploner, Alois	Alois Ploner's Original Yodeling Serenaders
Plymouth Male Quartet	
Plymouth Singers	
Poepping's Band	
Poluhni and Company	
Ponselle, Rora	
Powell, Maud	
Powelson, Mary	May be a pseudonym for Maud Powell.
Power, Jessie	"The Boy Nightingale of the West." Boy soprano.
Premier Artist Quintette	Performed opera, sacred music, and spirituals.
Premier Concert Party	
Princess Nacoomee	Violinist, playing Indian music and violin concertos.
Pugh, Jess	Reader and baritone with piano.
Pugh-Riner Co.	vocal trio
Pupillo, Luigi	
Quaglia, Luigi	Luigi Quaglia and his Band
Quaker Quartette	
Qualen Company	

Quick, Robert	Robert Quick String Quartet
Quintino's Band	Formed in 1907. Employed between eighteen and thirty instrumentalists.
Rainbow Saxophone Band	
Ramon Mexican Orchestra	
Ramos Spanish Orchestra	
Randall Entertainers	
Rappold, Marie	
Raweis, The	
Recital Artists Company	
Redpath Grand Opera Company	
Redpath Grand Quartet	
Reeves, A.W.	Professor A.W. Reeves, singer
Regimental Quartet, The	Four men in uniform, singers and instrumentalists.
Regniers	"musical and literary"
Reilhofer's Tyrolean Yodelers and Concert Company	"Yelling and echo songs, to the accompaniment of alpine instruments." Also sang popular songs.
Remnant Quartet	
Reohs, Ruth	violinist
Retz-Reichard Recitals	
Rhondda Welsh Male Quartet	
Ricardi Orchestra	
Rich, Rita	"Dramatic music performer in costume."
Richards and His Band	
Richmond's Little Symphony	
Riggs Musical Agency	
Rigoletto Opera Company	
Riheldaffer, Grace Hall	soprano
Riner Sisters	With Jess Pugh

Ring, Anderson	Anderson Ring Duo
Ripon College Glee Club	
Rivers Sisters	
Roach, Ada	Ada Roach and Company, a "unique and clever musical and literary talent by a sextette of platform stars."
Robby Male Quartet	
Robertson's Cleveland Band	
Robin Hood Company	
Robinson Sisters	
Rob Roy Quartet	
Rocky Mountain Quartette	
Rocky Mountain Warblers	
Rodney Boys	
Rogers-Grilley Company	
Romanian Orchestra	
Roney's Boys Concert Company	Five boys and Mr. Roney.
Rose Garden Four	
Romanian Orchestra, The	
Round's Ladies Orchestra	Thirteen musicians including vocalists. Toured with H.M. Round, "eminent English baritone."
Rouse Sisters	Also billed as the "All Sisters Quartet." Singers and pianist.
Royal Austro-Hungarian Orchestra	Eight men including cymbalom.
Royal Black Huzzar Band	
Royal Dragons, The	
Royal English Hand Bell Orchestra	
Royal Grenadiers	Ten-piece band
Royal Gwent Welsh Male Singers	
Royal Gypsy Concert Company	

Royal Hawaiians	
Royal Hungarian Orchestra	
Royal Italian Guard Band	Signore Paquale Ferrante, bandmaster
Royal Male Quartet	
Royal Russian Company	
Royal Scotch Entertainers	
Royal Scotch Highlanders	
Royal Troubadours	
Royal Welch Quartet	
Royal Welsh Ladies	
Rude, Theodore C.	violinist
Runner, Charles	Primarily an organizer of chautauqua musical companies.
Russell, Howard	
Russell's Scottish Revue	
Russian Balalaika Orchestra	
Russian Cathedral Choir	
Russian Cathedral Quartet	
Russian Cossack Chorus	
Russian Royal Balalaika Band	
Russian Sextette	
Russian Symphony Orchestra	
Sacco's Band	
Saint Clair Sisters	
Sammis, Sybil	
Samuel Brothers	Four Samuel Brothers Concert Company
San Carlo Opera Company	
Sands, W.A.	W.A. Sands Band
Sapho Quartette	

Saxonians

Scheerer, Maude

Muade Scheerer Co

Schildkret's Hungarian Orchestra of
Chicago

Schildkret was a successful flutist.

Schramm Orchestra of Burlington

Schroder Quartet

Schubert Quartet

Schubert Orchestral Sextet

Schubert Serenaders

Schubert Trio

Schumann Concert Company

Schumann Ladies Quartette

Schumann Quartet

Schumann Quintet

Schumann-Heink, Ernestine

Schuster Family

Schutz, G. Magnus

The G. Magnus Schutz Concert Company

Scotch Ballad Singers

Scotch Highlanders

Scotch-Irish Male Quartet

Scotch Singers

Scott-Denny Company

Scott, Henri

Seaburg-Baldi Company

Serenaders, The

Seven Liberty Bells

Shamrock Trio

Shannon Quartet

Shaw Trio

Shawn, Ted	
Sheets Concert Company	
Shields, Edith	
Shields Trio	
Shining Star Company	
Shipp, Fisher	
Sholle's Family Orchestra	Father and daughter. James Sholle from Bohemia.
Shorter, Gilbert	"Cornet, violin, flute, piano. Solos, opera in English, reading, comedy sketch, etc."
Shubert Quartet	
Schubert's Ladies Orchestra	
Shumate Brothers Quartet	
Shumway Male Quartet	
Silvertone Quartet	
Simon, Zelda	soprano
Sindler Band	
Singer's Midget Band	
Singing Cadets, The	
Sissle, Noble	1908 member of Ed Thomas's Male Quartet, 1912 with Han's Jubilee Singers.
Six Royal Holland Bell Ringers	
Skibinsky, Alexander	Alexander Skibinsky Artist Ensemble
Smith, Katherine	Katherine Carroll Smith Company
Smith, Mrs. Myron	
Soldiers' Quartet	
Solis' Band	
Soellander and Her Band	Marie Soellander, "The only woman in the world conducting a male symphony band."
Sorority Girls Sextette	
Sousa's Band	

Spafford, L.P.	Cartoonist, humorist, instrumentalist.
Spanish Ladies Orchestra	
Spanish Orchestra	
Spanish Revelers	Formerly with Apollo Concert Co.
Spaulding, Nina	
Spring, Coyla	
Speaks, Oley	
Standard Entertainers	
Starck's Musical Comedy	
Star Male Quartet	
Stearns Trio	
Steely Company	
Steininger Trio	
Sterling Varieties	
Stire, Francis	whistler
Stolofsky Company	
Stolofsky Trio	
Studenmyer Orchestra	
Stratford Comedy Four	
Stratford Male Quartet	
Stratford Operatic Company	
Stratfords, The	Male quartet and instruments.
Strayer Sisters	
Strollers Male Quartet	
Strout Military Band	
Stuckman Novelty Trio	
Sunday, William A	
Sundelius, Marie	

Suntano Band	
Swedish Ladies Quartet	
Sweet, Al	
Sweethearts Operetta Company	
Swiss Bell Ringers	
Sylkov Orchestra	
Taggart's Fiddlers	
Tamburitza Players	
Tangerine Company Musical Comedy	
Taylor, Bob	Orator and fiddler, ex-governor of Tennessee.
Te Ata, Princess	
Temple Quartette	
Thatcher's Orchestra and Mrs. Beach	
Thaviu's Band	
Theobaldi and His Concert Company	Ole Theobaldi
Thomas, Edward	Edward Thomas's Male Quartet
Thomas, John Charles	
Three Musketeers	
Tiffany, Marie	
Tiffany Male Quartet and Bell Ringers	
Tobias, Jay	Jay Tobias Company, Tobias Company
Toenniges Quartet	
Tollefsen, Carl	
Toller, Warren	vocalist
Tomaro, Salvatore	
Tom Brown's Highlanders	
Tommy Company	
Tooley Opera Company	

Toronto Male Chorus	
Toronto Male Quartette	
Troubadour Quartet	
Twin City Preachers Quartette	Included John Wesley Holland, baritone and poet.
Twin City Singing Party	
Tyrolean Concert Troupe	
Tyrolean Troubadour Combination	
Tyrolean Yodelers	
United States Indian School Band	
University Girls, The	orchestra and singers
University of Alabama Glee Club	
University of Illinois Glee and Mandolin Club	
University of Michigan Glee and Mandolin Club	
Unkrich's Bly's Band	
Updegraff, Grace	vocalist
U.S. Indian Band	
Valley, Olof	Swedish-America basso, with cello, piano, speaker.
Van Browne Trio	
Vanden Bosch Brothers Male Quartet	
Van Grove Opera Company	Isaac Van Grove was a popular accompanist.
Vanney's Orchestra	
VanVeatchton-Rogers Harp Duo	
Varallo Gross Company	
Variety Club, The	Band of six women.
Varsity Male Quartet	
Vaudeville Artists Company	
Venetian Trio	Banjo, mandolin, mandolincello

Verdi Mixed Quartet	
Vernon Concert Ensemble	
Ver Hoar Concert Company	
Vessey, Bernard	Bernard Vessey and Chorus
Victor, Leonard	
Victorian Serenaders, The	Two men and two women, singers and instruments.
Vierra's Royal Hawaiians	
Violin Maker of Cremona Company	
Vitale Band	
Wabash Entertainers	
Wagner-Shank Grand Opera Company	
Wallenstein, Alfred	
Walter, Marie	
Walters Company	
Ward-Waters Company	
Washburn, Charles	vocalist
Washington High School Band	
Watahwaso	
Waterloo Conservatory Orchestra	
Waterloo Glee Club	
Waterloo Ladies Orchestra	
Waterloo Ministers Quartette	
Waterloo Orchestra	Professor S. Powell, director
Waters Concert Band	
Waverly Company	
Weatherwax Family	Interview with Weatherwax in State Historical Society of Iowa archives. Formed in Boston, 1870
Weber Male Quartette	
Weber's Quartette	

Weber's Band	
Wehrmann Quartet	
Welch Choir	
Welch Quartet	
Welsh Quintette	
Wells Company	
Wells Entertainers	
Wells Four	
Welsh Imperial Singers	
Welsh Quartet	
Werno Company	
Werrenrath, Reinald	
Wesleyan Male Quartette	
Waybelle Concert Company	
Wheelock and Band	
White, Frank	blind pianist
White Hussars, The	"A singing band."
White Rose Orchestra	
Whitehall, Clarence	
Whitney Brothers Quartet	
Whittemore Trio	
Wilcox Entertainers	
Willard, Perry	instrumentalist
Williams, Burt	vocalist
Williamson Sisters Quartet	
Willis Band	
Wills, Glen	The Glen Wills Co.
Wimberly, F.W.	

Winter, Julius	Winter Company
Wood, Jack	quartet and bell ringers
Wood-Watkins, Clara	Soprano, church choir director from Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Woodland Quartet	
Woodman Brass Band	
Woods Quartet	
Woods Symphonie Band	
Wright Entertainers	
Y's Men's Glee Club	
Yaw, Ellen Beach	
Ye Olde New England Choir	
Ye Olde Time Village Quartet	
Yodeling Troubadours	
Youna Company	
Youna-Baldi Company	
Zahradka Concert Band	
Zandorff Entertainers	
Zedler Company	
Zeisler, Fannie	
Ziegler-Howe Orchestra	
Zimmerman Swiss Yodelers	

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