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GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK AND ROBERT AYRES BARNET'S

*TABASCO*

A Thesis  
Presented in partial fulfilment of requirements  
for the degree of Master of Music in Musicology  
in the Department of Music  
The University of Mississippi

by

John-Peter Springer Ford

May 2022



## ABSTRACT

Until recently George Whitefield Chadwick's burlesque opera *Tabasco* (1894) had been largely forgotten. In 2018, however, conductor Paul Mauffray completed a reconstruction of *Tabasco* that has brought renewed attention to this seldom heard work. Set to a libretto by Robert Ayres Barnet, *Tabasco* was commissioned as the third in a series of comic operas by the Boston Men's Army Cadets as fundraiser for the construction of a new armory. This thesis explores the history of *Tabasco* from its inception through the national tour produced by Thomas Q. Seabrooke's Comic Opera Company, which would eventually lead to the withdrawal of the work by its creators. As a result of the multiple changes the work has undergone, it is often difficult to establish authorship with respect not only to the presence of added material, but also in terms of what Chadwick and Barnet approved. During the initial production of the work, additional musical numbers were added at the behest of the producer, Thomas Q. Seabrooke. These numbers mentioned in programs from the professional tour attribute "Lola's Song" to composer Ludwig Engländer. Although, an examination of the source material provides overwhelming evidence to suggest it was composed by Chadwick with lyrics by Barnet. While the work was popular with audiences, Seabrooke failed to pay the required royalties which led to Chadwick and Barnet threatening legal action. Seabrooke revised and opened the show as *The Grand Vizier* (1895), making few changes in the music and script, leading to his incarceration. Although short lived, *Tabasco* has a

compelling history and might have become the cornerstone of an American musical repertoire had it survived. Although Barnet was no William S. Gilbert, the libretto speaks to the influence of Barnet's Victorian predecessor.

*Keywords:* comic opera, operetta, musical theater, George W. Chadwick, Robert A. Barnet, American music.

For all Sinfonians.

To my mentors both past and present,  
especially Paulina K. Dennis who fostered my love for theater  
and James Bruce Lesley.

*O, such girls, with slender waists, and such clean shaves!*  
*O, such dances!*  
*Ah, such triumphs in the millinery line by men from the military line!*  
*Ah, such jokes!*  
*My, My, such topical songs!*

–“Girls Clean Shaven,” *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first embarked on the subject of Chadwick and Barnet's *Tabasco* as a seminar paper, I had no idea it would become the foundation of my thesis. It was through this process of transformation that I have understood just how many people it takes to complete a project of this nature. It would have been impossible to complete my research without the help of Maryalice Perrin-Mohr and the staff and librarians at the New England Conservatory of Music during my archival visit to Boston during June 2021. I am especially indebted to Anne Alison Barnet, the great-granddaughter of Robert Ayres Barnet, for her patience and for granting me access to her own personal library. She has gone above and beyond in answering emails and aiding in tracking down materials. I am especially grateful to Shane Bernard, the Archivist for the McIlhenny Company (the makers of Tabasco sauce), for his help in securing letters and documents in the McIlhenny Company Archive which have not, as of yet, been considered in existing literature on *Tabasco*.

I am also indebted to Paul Mauffray, without whom this project would have not been undertaken. It was through the 2018 New Orleans Opera Revival I was introduced to the work. During the 2018 National Convention in New Orleans, Mauffray graciously allowed me to sing the role of Lola, the first male to do so since George Davis created the role in January 1894. Mauffray has been a source of information through his original research and reconstruction of the work.



Many friends and fellow graduate students have aided me during this process by listening and reading my conference presentations, reading my work, and providing inspiration and support when I got overwhelmed and stuck on various sections of the thesis. Social media is an amazing technology and provided not only support, but more avenues to investigate and gather sources. I am indeed grateful for the help of Gillian Rodger, Kristen M. Turner, and others on Twitter who have gone out of their way to suggest archives, books, journal articles, and help track down items which were seemingly untraceable. While all archives might not have proved beneficial to this project, they have expanded my knowledge on resources to use. Special thanks is given to my advisor, Thomas Peattie, who helped shape the document through his constant ever so skeptical eye to sections of my work and aided in revisions. I am thoroughly indebted to my thesis committee for their careful guidance throughout the process: Amanda Johnston, Jos Milton, and John Latartara. My research was supported by the Eta Nu chapter of Phi Kappa Lambda and The Graduate School's travel grants, without these opportunities, it would have been harder to accomplish my research and conference presentations.

I could not have done this, however, without the support of my family, who, although questioned what I was doing at times, were there for anything I needed. Thank you.

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## INTRODUCTION

As Shakespeare wrote, “What’s in a name?” So goes the classification of opera and musical theater as discussed by Gerald Bordman in his book *American Operetta: From H. M. S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd*. Much of our popular musical culture in the United States can be attributed to this genre of music and stage craft. Bordman argues that operetta and musical theater are not separate genres but are one in the same. Although many may not think of musical theater of today as a form of operetta, it is important to draw parallels and discuss the historical relationship between these two forms.

The terms operetta, comic opera, and opera comique were all used interchangeably in nineteenth-century America to refer to one specific genre, a light operatic stage entertainment which is not sung through, has dialogue between musical numbers, and often includes some type of comedic antics or romantic plot by the principal characters.<sup>1</sup> In America, the term opera comique fell out of favor in the nineteenth century due in part, as Bordman suggests, to its French origin.<sup>2</sup> While operetta, comic opera, and opera comique were often used interchangeably during this period to refer to the same work, I use the term comic opera throughout this document,

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1. For the purposes of this thesis, I use America as a synonym for the United States.

2. Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta: From H. M. S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 5.



unless a greater differentiation is needed to distinguish between specific characteristics (i.e., specific characteristics of both comic opera and burlesque opera.)

Comic opera is, by all intents, a lighter version of opera, and although many suggest its inferiority to more traditional forms of opera, comic opera has survived and thrived.

Bordman begins his discussion with *H. M. S. Pinafore*, which he considers to have exerted a foundational influence on American musical theater.<sup>3</sup> Before *H. M. S. Pinafore* the dominant musical entertainments in America were variety shows and English ballad operas, which many theatrical professionals adapted for American audiences. During the height of these entertainments, American audiences began warming up to the operas presented on European stages. As these operas began to be performed in America, they often were performed in English. Although these English-language opera performances gained traction with the emerging middle class, many refrained from attending these productions as they saw the use of the English language for an Italian, French, or German opera to be inauthentic. Many towns and cities built opera houses in the nineteenth century in order to attract traveling performances. These opera houses were not exclusively reserved for traditional opera, but often were booked by traveling theatrical organizations, who regularly performed works in English.

Most of the early comic operas by American composers, and even those by Gilbert and Sullivan and others, are sometimes viewed today as outdated, often on account of their libretti. Whereas the term outdated is often used to refer to items which have outlived their usefulness, in this case, I refer to the works themselves as not modern, or no longer current. One might claim any show by Richard Rodgers and Oscar

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3. Ibid., 16.

Hammerstein II is outdated just as writing by a great literary mind could be labeled as such due to the antiquated language and forms in current popular use. While it may seem surprising to combine *Hadestown*, *Sweeney Todd*, *Oklahoma*, and *H. M. S. Pinafore* under the same generic designation, they each represent their own form of comic opera and can be classified and studied as such.

In this thesis I offer a long-overdue reassessment of George W. Chadwick's *Tabasco*, a work that I argue stands out as an important example of early American operetta. Until now *Tabasco* has received only passing attention in the scholarly literature on the history of American music. Indeed, what exists is largely restricted to biographies of Chadwick by Victor Yellin, Bill Faucett, and Marianne Betz, a biography of Robert A. Barnet by Anne Alison Barnet, a dissertation on Robert A. Barnet by Robert Zukerman and a dissertation on Chadwick's works for the stage by Victor Yellin.<sup>4</sup> Among these sources, Yellin's dissertation together with Zukerman's dissertation and Steven Ledbetter's *George Chadwick: A Sourcebook* have until now provided the most important starting point for research on *Tabasco*. However, at the time Ledbetter began work on his text of Chadwick's scores, much of the information regarding *Tabasco* had yet to be fully discovered. Indeed, none of the above-listed authors – excepting Alison

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4. Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990); Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012); Marianne Betz, *George Whitefield Chadwick: An American Composer Revealed* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2015); Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King: Robert Barnet and Boston Musical Theater* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); Robert Samuel Zukerman, "Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1981); Victor Fell Yellin, "The Life and Operatic Works of George Whitefield Chadwick" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1957), 182.

Barnet, Bill Faucett, and Marianne Betz – had access to all the scores and material that I draw on in the present document.

## Sources

Much of the primary source material used in preparation of this thesis is housed in the archives of the New England Conservatory of Music (NEC). I have also drawn extensively on reviews and critical commentaries published in newspapers, as well as on the holdings of the McIlhenny Company Archives in Avery Island, Louisiana. Most of the sources from the Archival Holdings of NEC are catalogued within the Chadwick Collection. The collections of material relating to *Tabasco* in the Chadwick collection consist of mainly manuscript documents, except for multiple copies of the libretto, the published piano-vocal score, and published orchestral parts for the overture and march. There is, in addition, a manuscript copy of the piano-vocal score, an incomplete autograph score, and two sets of orchestral parts for the show. Other manuscript sources include sketches, alternate versions of song, and the two sketch books used by Chadwick during the composition of the work.

Many of the newspapers used in this document can be accessed in person at the Boston Public Library, in the Chadwick Collection at NEC, as well as in many searchable online databases. Many towns and municipalities often had multiple newspapers that printed several editions a day as journalism was extremely active at the time. Many of these reviews must not be taken at face value as theatrical producers would often have reviewers exaggerate and create less than truthful reviews which glorified the production. I draw frequently on the *Boston Globe* and the *Boston Herald* throughout this thesis, as both newspapers regularly printed more substantial reviews and articles

relating to the Cadet Theatricals. Of considerable help has been the personal collection of Anne Alison Barnet, the great-granddaughter of Robert Ayres Barnet.

## Chapter Overview

This thesis is organized around the early performance history of *Tabasco*; how it changed and was adapted from its conception to the time it was withdrawn from the performance repertoire. Chapter One presents a general overview of the International Corps of Cadets (ICC) and their theatricals which they presented with librettist Robert A. Barnet. The Cadets, while having a long history as a militia unit, and now a national guard unit, embarked upon a series of theatrical productions to help raise money for the building of a new armory in Boston. All the shows in question were written and conceived by Boston sugar merchant and playwright Robert A. Barnet. Many of these amateur shows were purchased by professional producers and presented in New York and around the United States on national tours.

Chapter Two begins with a discussion on Chadwick's early life and his rise to prominence in the Boston musical scene. While *Tabasco* was Chadwick and Barnet's only formal collaboration, they were able to craft a work that was extremely popular with the Boston public. Much of this popularity can be attributed to Chadwick's compositional style and his approach to musical borrowing. Chadwick relies heavily on the music of Richard Wagner and Felix Mendelssohn, composers who were particularly popular with Boston audiences during the late nineteenth century, as well as on American vernacular tunes for *Tabasco*. The chapter continues with a discussion of the orchestration originally thought to be completed by Chadwick, but that was in fact completed by Lucian Hosmer. Finally, I consider the question of exoticism in relation to the music and text of *Tabasco*.

Chapter Three explores the ICC production of *Tabasco* by drawing extensively on a range of Boston newspapers, as well as on Chadwick's personal memoirs. In the theatricals produced by the Cadets, they played all roles – men and women. Much of the pomp and circumstance of the Cadets' shows was written about in newspapers leading up to opening night. Barnet had created a press machine whereby a certain type of article ran at specific times during the process of producing a show to build and drive community interest. Of important note is the shave undertaken prior to the dress rehearsal by members of the Cadets who were playing female roles. The chapter continues with a discussion of the opening night reviews and issues of exoticism in the production.

Chapter Four offers a detailed exploration of the first professional production of *Tabasco* under the direction of theatrical impresario Thomas Quigley Seabrooke. Seabrooke purchased the rights for professional performances of *Tabasco* following the Cadets' production which ran for a week of sold-out performances. Under Seabrooke, the show was revised to include more performance material for the principal characters, some of which has long been incorrectly attributed to other composers. Lola's Act I song is an excellent example which was long thought to be composed by Ludwig Engländer, but that was composed by Chadwick. After playing in Boston and New York, Seabrooke booked a national tour for his comic opera company. Many of the cities on the tour heralded the new work by Chadwick and Barnet, but Seabrooke failed to pay royalties and began to revise the show leading to legal action being taken by both Chadwick and Barnet. After this legal action, *Tabasco* was taken from performance and has long been thought not to have been presented again in Chadwick or Barnet's lifetime.

Had it not been withdrawn from the stage, *Tabasco* could have easily reached the fame of Barnet's *1492* or of Reginald De Koven's *Robin Hood*. Although there is still much to learn about music in America before 1900, the studying of individual works, how they were created, and circumstances behind their performances can call greater attention to this period. This thesis offers a contribution to our understanding of this period of changing tastes in American music, a period that in turn formed the foundation upon which the Broadway Musical would rise.

## CHAPTER 1 THE CADET THEATRICALS

During his own lifetime, Robert Ayres Barnet (1854–1933), Chadwick’s collaborator on *Tabasco*, was already known as the “Extravaganza King” for the multitude of comic opera libretti he wrote and directed both for Boston’s International Corps of Cadets (hereafter referred to as ICC) and with a wide range of other organizations. Today the ICC is still a recognized unit of the National Guard, but its history dates to pre-revolutionary times in the United States. Barnet’s involvement with the ICC began because of the organization’s interest in performing a simple minstrel show to raise money to build a new armory, a project that evolved into something more than either the ICC or Barnet could have anticipated.

### Monstrat Viam

The International Corps of Cadets traces their distinguished history back to 1726. Initially established as the guard and escort to Massachusetts’ colonial governors, the ICC consisted of a small, but wealthy group of gentlemen who were able to purchase their own uniforms and weapons. Although organized, this group was disbanded after a few years, as they had no status in the colony or the militia.

Following the group’s dissolution, the commander and organizer of this early unit, Benjamin Pollard, sought to organize a new unit composed of Bostonians who were financially well off and could commit themselves and time to the ceremonial duties required of the regiment. The ceremonial duties were the same as those carried out by

the earlier unit organized by Pollard. The new company was chartered on October 19, 1741, with Pollard as Captain and Commander of the ICC. Under the command of Pollard, the ICC became the elite unit of Massachusetts Militia, a group whose membership was only offered to those Bostonians able to pay company dues and purchase a uniform. Prospective members were required to be nominated to membership by a current member of the Corps. One member of the ICC, John Hancock, would go on to serve as President of the Continental Congress, among his other Revolutionary War accomplishments.

Between the years 1774–76 the ICC was disbanded due to Hancock’s dismissal as Commander by Lt. General Sir Thomas Gage, then Colonial Governor of Massachusetts. This dismissal upset the Cadets’ membership, as their duty of selecting Commanders was overridden; the membership acted and turned in their uniforms and accoutrements to Hancock. Reforming in 1776, the Cadets were recognized as a continental regiment on January 12, 1777. The main purpose of the company going forward was the training of officers, as the ICC was mainly composed of “young men of officer material.”<sup>1</sup> Officially re-organized by the General Court of Massachusetts on October 17, 1786, they were granted the recognition as the Governor’s official bodyguard. The official insignia and motto “Monstrat Viam,” or “show the way,” was bestowed upon the group by the Massachusetts Governor James Bowdoin on this date.

Following the Civil War, the Cadets saw a decline in membership from around 100 to 60. Lt. Col. Thomas F. Edmunds was elected to command the Corps in 1873, a position he held until a few months prior to his death, 33 years later. Under Lt. Col.

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1. “History,” Veteran Association of First Corps of Cadets, accessed March 21, 2022, <https://www.vafcc.org/about>.



Edmunds' leadership the company soared to new heights. Many of the cadets at this time were young, affluent Bostonians educated at Harvard who were "members of the right Protestant churches and the right social and athletic clubs."<sup>2</sup> Those that did not hold this elite status were offered a membership category of "fine members," which required only dues, uniforms, and commitments to parading, thus exempting them from the prospect of military service. This, combined with lower company dues and less expensive uniforms, allowed the Cadets to increase in number.

In 1874 the Cadets were officially designated as a battalion and reorganized as the First Corps of Cadets. With its new rank as a battalion secured, the Cadets began planning the construction of a new armory in Boston. A site had been purchased and temporary wooden structures constructed by 1882, where the cadets could march in full uniform along Columbus Avenue and Ferdinand (later Arlington) Street. Meetings before and during this time often were held in private homes and taverns throughout Boston. Alison Barnet writes, "One such tavern was the Bunch of Grapes on State Street, the famous gathering place of the leaders of the American Revolution."<sup>3</sup> The need for a new armory was not just a practical decision for drill and meetings, but a sign to the public they would be protected from those deemed less desirable.

During the 1800s Boston witnessed mass immigration. Concurrent with the Irish Potato Famine, the Port of Boston was the main American port for the Cunard Liners, who mostly sailed from Ireland. The transatlantic passage to Boston was arranged by the British Admiralty as the fastest way to deliver the mail from Ireland via Halifax,

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2. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King: Robert Barnet and Boston Musical Theater* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 2.

3. *Ibid.*, 1.

Nova Scotia to the United States – Boston is 200 nautical miles closer to Halifax than New York. Much of the immigrant class purchased berths in the third-class cabins, the cheapest option, but that still often cost two months’ salary per ticket. This influx of immigration into the city threatened the then upper class with a much larger lower class of Irish immigrants. In 1840 only around 30% of Bostonians were immigrants, but by the 1880’s over 60% were either immigrants or first generation.<sup>4</sup>

It was during this massive increase in immigration that the Cadets began planning the expansion of the armory. To raise money for this planned structure, the Cadets began a public subscription campaign which raised about half of the required funding.<sup>5</sup> To raise the remaining funding, the program committee of the company began planning a series of musical and theatrical events, initially beginning with minstrel shows before transitioning to the presentation of full-length comic operas under the guidance of Robert Ayres Barnet.

### “Mr. Barnet Will Be One of the End Men”

By the end of the Cadets’ theatricals, it seems that most of Boston’s theater critics were unable to imagine the winter months without a Cadet/Barnet show, although Barnet’s involvement did not start until after the first show was organized. No strangers to the stage, many of the Cadets at the time were members of Harvard’s Hasty Pudding Club, an organization of undergraduates, who to this day continue to perform shows written and composed by student members.

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4. Bradford Hudson, “Cunard in Boston,” Boston Hospitality Review, Boston University, accessed June 16, 2021, <https://www.bu.edu/bhr/2015/02/01/cunard-in-boston/>.

5. “History,” Veteran Association of First Corps of Cadets, accessed March 21, 2022, <https://www.vafcc.org/about>.



Figure 1.1. Cover to “Zip Coon,” Sheldon Harris Collection, Blues Archive, University of Mississippi.

During the early years of the Cadet Theatricals, the membership put on minstrel shows, a form of entertainment popular at the time that had its roots in the antebellum south in the early nineteenth century. These shows originally began as white working-class actors of mostly Irish and English descent darkened their faces and hands by applying burnt cork and dressed in baggy pants and other mismatched clothes to perform parodies of what they believed to be observations of black society in the United States. Much of the music performed during these routines was marketed to the public with caricatures of African Americans included on the sheet music. (see figure 1.1) Originally beginning as smaller acts within formal entertainment, these insert numbers began to gain popularity with the audiences and eventually evolved into the larger form of the minstrel show. During this time, a set of conventions emerged with specific

characters and acts. Two such characters were the character of Zip Coon created and pioneered by George Washington Dixon and the character of Jim Crow created and pioneered by Thomas Dartmouth Rice. As Matthew Morrison has observed in connection with the resulting caricatures, “the initial presentations of a blackened face and caricatured posturing added a level of artifice that encouraged the audience to internalize this stereotype as an accurate portrayal of a black “other” in relation to their (white) selves.”<sup>6</sup>

The first show performed by the ICC was no exception to this rule. Presented in the basement of the Tremont Temple, a Baptist Church in downtown Boston, for two evenings in May 1884, there was no mention of the Cadets in the program nor promotional material. Instead, it was labeled as “Isaacs, Cohen, and Cunniff’s Elephantine, Eleemosynary, Inaccessible, and Incapacitated Senegambian Serenaders.” Although not labeled as being performed by the Cadets, the title is a not-so-subtle reference to the to the ICC.

The 1884 shows were mostly organized by Corporal Tom Barroll and Curtis Guild Jr., who would later become a governor of Massachusetts. Alison Barnet describes an act by Guild in an endnote to her biography of Robert Ayres Barnet, “At Boston’s Tavern Club, Guild was known for his “Darkest Africa” act, in which he appeared in white duck as a black Stanley, the British explorer, and proceeded to take off his clothes. He then delivered a lecture as a savage wearing black tights with a yellow codpiece and a necklace of leaves.”<sup>7</sup> It can be assumed that Guild, who was well known for his blackface

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6. Matthew Morrison, “Race, Blacksound, and the (Re)Making of Musicological Discourse,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72 no. 3 (Fall 2019): 797.

7. Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 193.

acts and an organizer of the 1894 show, performed an act of his. As mentioned by Alison Barnet, Barroll and Guild played the end men of Bones and Tambo,<sup>8</sup> so called because they sat at the end of the semicircle created by all the characters on the stage and rattled two sticks together (bones) and played the tambourine, respectively.

There is no record of the ICC performing another theatrical until 1889, this time led by Robert Ayres Barnet. Barnet's early life was steeped in theater, as his father was a box office keeper at the Chambers Street Theater in New York City. This early experience, undoubtedly, aided Barnet in his theatrical career. After the death of his father when he was just six years old, Robert was met with a series of unfortunate events which shaped his childhood. In 1862, he moved to Boston with his uncle, Robert Ayres, where he entered the Dwight School. From his time at the Dwight School, he then began international study in England, but was called back to Boston in 1868 upon the sudden death of his uncle. It was at this time he entered the sugar trade with Dana Bros., a firm which he worked for around 15 years before beginning his own sugar mercantile business with George Bates.

Sometime after leaving his studies and beginning work in the sugar business, Barnet began to build an interest in theater and became a member of an amateur theater group:

Some twenty years ago Lorin F. Deland, of present football fame and F. O. North, now Stoddard's manager, organized the Park Dramatic Club, which included many of the leading amateurs of the day. The performances were given in Kennedy Hall, on Warren Street, Roxbury, and it was here that Mr. Barnet made his first appearance in a minor part in one of the plays produced by the club, his name being in the casts for several seasons. As almost every member of the club

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8. Ibid., 4.

later became professionally connected with the stage, it is not surprising that he followed the general rule.<sup>9</sup>

Later, Barnet's theatrical activity took on a larger role:

I came upon, by chance, and a good many years ago, three or four bright, old burlesques of "Romeo and Juliet." These I read with care, and I enjoyed them so much that I began an effort to blend best points of all into one harmonious whole. Then, in a private house in which I was living at the time, I arranged a stage, secured a company of my friends, and in due time, and with one of these audiences that make up in character what it lacks in numbers, the "Romeo and Juliet" was brought forward. It was a flattering success, and our company gave the piece several times during that encouraging season. We had some really fine and artistic scenery on these occasions. I had a friend who was a growing artist, and he did some excellent work for us – work that earned him warm praise.<sup>10</sup>

During this time of early theater work, Barnet remained active in the sugar trade and began his courtship and later marriage of Jessie (Sed) Swasey, the daughter of Dr. Charles Emerson Swasey, a prominent New Hampshire physician. "Barnet may be viewed as a man of restless energy and curiosity," Robert Zuckerman writes, "perhaps out of place in the structured world of business."<sup>11</sup>

Barnet's attention to the theater increased dramatically during the 1880's. By 1885 Barnet was a founding member of the Longwood Minstrels, where he most likely began his career as a playwright.

Of all the charitable institutions for which Boston has always been and is justly famous for, no other is better known or has felt in it a more widespread interest on the part of the public than the one which has been known for the past 50 years as the "Children's Friend Society" of Rutland Street.

... In 1885 it was found that the home on Rutland Street was not large enough to accommodate the growing needs of its benefactors. So that finally the society decided as a matter of pure practicability to make the home on Rutland Street a home for girls alone, hoping that interest friends would find a home for the boys

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9. *Boston Transcript*, March 16, 1895.

10. *Boston Journal*, November 11, 1894.

11. Robert Samuel Zukerman, "Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1981), 8.

elsewhere. Immediately this was known a band of generous hearted young men in the city, composed principally of younger business men, came together to devise some means of raising money for the establishment of a boy's home. Almost without formal planning, the Longwood Minstrel Club came into existence, and the result has been the founding of a beautiful country home in Dedham, the buying of buildings and grounds and the support of 25 boys for over two years, all of which has been paid from the proceeds of the annual entertainments of the Longwood Club.<sup>12</sup>

The Longwood Minstrels were formed by many of Boston's young businessmen, Robert A. Barnet included. In a series of shows presented from 1886–89, the Longwoods Minstrels raised funding for the Children's Friend Society. "Professor Howla, in some musical efforts mostly recitative. 'You are saddest when he sings,'"<sup>13</sup> was billed in each show. Although not credited forthwith to Barnet, it seems plausible to disguise Barnet's lack of vocal ability as howling. Known for not having a pleasant singing voice, Barnet would eventually be banned from the performing stage by the ICC as will be discussed in Chapter 3. Barnet became an important member of the troupe, and company manager. "Barnet has not only become an outstanding contributor of speeches," but he had become "an important endman in the annual minstrel show."<sup>14</sup>

Barnet became popular with the Boston audiences for his "stump speeches" in the shows, which he performed in blackface. Stump speeches are often found in the second parts of minstrel shows and are an integral to their structure. While these early writings for the stage by Barnet are not extant, clippings and references to these speeches can be found throughout his scrapbooks. In 1888, Barnet was specifically mentioned in a

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12. *Boston Advertiser*, January 12, 1888.

13. Robert A. Barnet Scrapbooks, Property of Anne Alison Barnet, Boston.

14. Zukerman, "Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist," 10.

review of one of the Longwood shows as “the best amateur end man whom Bostonians have ever had the privilege of hearing.”<sup>15</sup>

Following upon the successes of Barnet and the Longwood Minstrels, the ICC asked the Longwood troupe to aid in the production of the 1889 show. This would be Barnet’s first performance with the Cadets and would ignite a relationship that would last until 1906 with only a few years during which performances did not occur. Barnet chose Boston teacher and composer Carl Pflueger (1850–1901) to provide and direct the music for the minstrel show.

The program lists a first half act entitled “The Madagascar Minstrels,” in which Barnet was featured as one of the two tambourines. Barnet once again delivered the stump speech in the second act with critics praising him saying,

Mr. Barnet as “Tambourine” understands the duties of the office, and in his stump speech toward the end of the evening – “Jessamines From Joy Street” – attended a humorous drollery and a true minstrel accent of which even Mr. Lew Dockstader might be proud.<sup>16</sup>

The ICC may have engaged Barnet and the Longwood Minstrels to test the waters of producing bigger entertainments for the Boston public, but as the show saw immense success in the box office and from the critics and public, Barnet was engaged to provide a show for the Cadets in the following winter. The show that Barnet created was entitled *Injured Innocents* with music by Barnet’s prior collaborator, Carl Pflueger.

### The Early Cadet Theatricals

The first of the Cadet Theatricals is possibly the first full-length show for which Barnet would provide a libretto. *Injured Innocents*, an operatic farce-tragedy, was a burlesque

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15. *Boston Transcript*, January 12, 1888.

16. *Boston Post*, February 14, 1889.



of the English ballad “Babes in the Woods.” The ICC initially gave two performances of the show in April 1890. Zuckerman suggests the reason the show was produced twice in 1890 was because the Cadets were used to the structure of two shows from their prior engagements and “inexperienced in producing full-length entertainment.”<sup>17</sup> For the 1891 show, Barnet and Pflueger rewrote and adapted the show for a new performance, which the ICC presented January 12–17, 1891. This was the first time the Cadets presented a show for six nights and a matinee, a pattern which Barnet would follow during his tenure as librettist and director of the Cadets Theatricals.

The show, which included “specialty” acts, was well received by the public and critics. These “specialty” acts would become staples of Barnet’s libretti, and were often reserved for dances or marches, both executed by members of the ICC. It is easy to draw parallels between these specialty numbers and the earlier minstrel shows (these numbers were included in the shows, as audiences had come to expect them). One member of the Corps, Malcom Green, became famous for the ballet specialties and was billed in later performances as “Terp-See-Chor.”

*1492: Up to Date or Very Near It*, a historic operatic extravaganza, was Barnet’s second show with the ICC, with music supplied by Carl Pflueger. Zuckerman and Alison Barnet both attest that it was perhaps Robert A. Barnet’s most popular and successful work. In addition to performances by E. E. Rice’s comic opera company in Boston and New York, the work was also performed during three national tours. *1492* is a retelling of the “discovery” of the new world by Christopher Columbus, although in this case, the story focuses on the Spanish Royal Family and their quest to keep their country out of

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17. Zuckerman, “Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist,” 57.

bankruptcy while Columbus discovers the “new world” of New York in 1892. When the Cadets first performed *1492* – and during the subsequent professional production – Barnet played the role of Queen Isabella (see figure 1.2). One feature of Barnet’s writing that can be found for the first time in *1492* is the romantic subplot related to the action of the play between Columbus and the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Joanna. Barnet also began placing the ballet and march spectacle in the second act during this show. Much to the dismay of the ICC Theatrical committee in later years, Barnet’s shows were often large and extravagant spectacles. Zukerman mentions, “Even the professional companies who premiered Barnet’s shows were generally rather large.”<sup>18</sup> For example, the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company traveled with 80 chorus and ballet members in addition to the principal actors, actresses, and musicians during its run of *Tabasco*.

The 1892–93 theatrical season did not see a Cadet Theatrical likely because *1492* had become exceedingly popular in the hands of E. E. Rice, and Barnet had begun to venture into producing his own professional production of *Prince Pro Tem*. The next Cadet Theatrical would be *Tabasco*, a collaboration with composer George W. Chadwick. In *Tabasco*, Barnet hoped to have the repeated success of *1492*, but due to royalty evasion on the national tour and subsequent unauthorized changes, *Tabasco* was not performed after 1895.

Following *Tabasco*, Barnet partnered with George Lowell Tracy to create *Excelsior, Jr.* for the 1895 Cadet Theatrical. Originally titled *Upidee*, Barnet sought to change the name as there had been another production entitled *Upidee* a few years

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18. Ibid., 80.

prior, and his own battle over *Tabasco* was fresh on his mind. Barnet based his plot for 1895 on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "Excelsior," setting the action in Switzerland and adding commentary on the legend of William Tell and Swiss tourism at the time. Not only successful with the Cadets, E. E. Rice purchased the professional rights. Although it showed promise under E. E. Rice's hands, it did not attain the popularity of 1492.



Figure 1.2. Robert Ayres Barnet as Isabella, the Daisy Queen of Spain, Private Collection, Property of Alison Barnet, Boston, MA.

The 1896 show is perhaps one of Barnet's best, in terms of the libretto. Although Barnet had anticipated taking a year off, the Cadet Theatrical committee persuaded him to contribute a libretto. A. Baldwin Sloane (1872–1925) was chosen as the composer for *Jack and the Beanstalk*. After the Cadets' performance, the professional rights were purchased by well-known theatrical producers Marc Klaw and Abraham Lincoln Erlanger who produced the show in New York and Boston before closing. Barnet's status as a playwright was becoming well known through New England, and his multiple New York successes and attraction of well-known producers did not hamper this fact. The 1897 show, *Simple Simon*, did not see a professional production, but was in the same vein as the fairy tale extravaganza *Jack and the Beanstalk*.

*Queen of the Ballet*, the Cadet show of 1898, did see a professional production under Edwin Knowles. This time Edward W. Corliss (1872–1916) was chosen as the composer and collaborator to Barnet. *Queen of the Ballet* also marks the first instance in which Barnet began including multiple composers and lyricists in the production. While the professional production would eventually be led by Knowles, the rights were first purchased by Augustin Daly, who at the time was "one of America's most famous theatrical producers."<sup>19</sup> After Daily's death, Knowles purchased the rights, and with Barnet's aid revised the libretto and changed the title of the work to *Three Little Lambs*.

### The Later Cadet Theatricals

By all current accounts there was not a Cadet Theatrical in 1898, as Barnet was busy with a multitude of other projects which demanded his time, and the Cadets had been tapped for service in the Spanish-American War. One newspaper commented on the

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19. Ibid., 314.

plight of a season without a show: “[t]he Cadets will not appear in short skirts this year and Boston feels very badly over it. Poor Boston! Still, it has the Bulfinch front, the old state house to block the traffic in two streets, the old Granary burying ground, “Mrs. Jack Gardner,” and the subway and ought to manage to survive.”<sup>20</sup>

The Cadet Theatricals had become, by this time, a Boston institution, a fact to which Barnet alluded during his curtain speech from the opening night of *Tabasco* in 1894. With the Cadets’ influence through Boston and the attention of the Boston press (a topic that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 3), it is no wonder the theatricals were heralded as such.

The year 1900 saw the return of Barnet to the Cadets with a show Zukerman called “a hodgepodge of musical numbers and spectacle,” which featured “an extremely thin plot.”<sup>21</sup> To provide the music and lyrics for *Miladi and the Musketeer*, Barnet once again chose a team of composers and lyricists. While most of Barnet’s prior shows had been more extravaganza than burlesque, the eighth production of the Cadets returned Barnet to the genre of burlesque. As with many of his prior shows, the rights to *Miladi and the Musketeer* were purchased for professional production. This time they were purchased by Oscar Hammerstein I, a New York theater impresario and grandfather of future Broadway lyricist, librettist, and producer Oscar Hammerstein II.

Even at this stage in his career, Barnet was still relying on the forms of comic opera with which he rose to prominence. While his reliance on these styles, reminiscent of the minstrel show, still brought him acclaim in Boston, a city which seemed to prize

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20. *Boston Record*, September 1898.

21. Zukerman, “Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist,” 322.

amateur theatrics, his earlier successes in New York were not being repeated, and surely nothing had been as popular as *1492*. Were it not for Barnet's reliance on the tried and true, he might have proved to be more experimental in his libretti. New York producers were still picking up his shows, most likely hoping for another success as E. E. Rice had with *1492*. The world was changing fast, and Barnet was not changing with it.

The year 1901 did not feature a collaboration between Barnet and the ICC, as the organization paused to "attend more strictly to military drill."<sup>22</sup> One Boston paper circulated an article with the following rumor regarding the absence of the annual show, "Rumor has it that the military powers frowned upon cadet theatricals for a time, and advised more attention to the tactics and less to pirouettes."<sup>23</sup>

By the time of the Cadets' 1902 show, *The Cap of Fortune and the Show Girl*, Barnet had begun to encounter problems with his sugar business. His partner in the sugar industry had retired in 1900, and Barnet's interest in theatricals took much of his time away from the business. By 1902 "he was trying to get money from every avenue open to him."<sup>24</sup> The ICC Theatrical committee sought to seek a guarantee on the loans which Barnet had taken out. Listing his occupation as an "agent" on the paperwork, Alison Barnet mentions, "'playwright' probably didn't sound serious enough."<sup>25</sup>

*The Cap of Fortune and the Show Girl* was easily the most ambitious show attempted by the Cadets, in terms of the cast size of 125 members. Barnet would have

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22. "This Evening's News: No Cadet Show This Season," *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 22, 1900.

23. "Telegraphic News," *Dramatic Mirror*, September 29, 1900.

24. Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 125.

25. *Ibid.*

four shows open in New England between February and May 1902, including the Cadets' production. A newspaper article from the time states: "Mr. Barnet probably stands unique in the musical history of the country. No other man living has ever scored so many hits as has Mr. Barnet. He is recognized as the leading author of musical extravaganza in America."<sup>26</sup> There does not appear to be another playwright at the time, excepting Harry B. Smith, who was writing and performing as many shows as Barnet.

Though his productions with the Cadets are the most well known, he wrote for many other distinguished Boston amateur theater organizations, and for every production with the Cadets, there is likely at least another. From the time he began his engagement with the ICC to 1906, Barnet wrote and produced over 20 comic operas/entertainments.<sup>27</sup>

While there is little information on Barnet's approach to selling shows, he traveled to New York often, as he had multiple shows running at once. An unidentified clipping in a scrapbook belonging to Barnet shed some light on the subject in connection with *The Cap of Fortune and the Show Girl*:

R. A. Barnet, the well-known light opera librettist, was in New York last week for two or three days from his home in Boston. While here he received offers from three managers who wish to have an option on the new Barnet piece called "The Show Girl," which the Boston Cadets are to produce at the Tremont Theatre on January 30. Mr. Barnet very sensibly refuses to sell an option to anyone. "I did so once," he said. "That was in the case of 'Simple Simon.' I think it predisposed the managers that purchased it against the piece. At any rate they felt badly that they had it and I felt badly that they didn't care to stage it. I lean to the idea that a

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26. *Bangor Commercial*, December 6, 1901.

27. The number twenty used here is the current known full comic opera by Barnet and does not include any early minstrel shows or amateur entertainments created before his association with the Cadets. The full extent of Barnet's work is unknown. It is thanks to the research of Robert Zukerman and Alison Barnet that the current extent of the catalogue exists.

writer for the stage who has anything worth disposing of need to mortgage it before the first night.”<sup>28</sup>

The next Cadet theatrical was Barnet’s tenth and slated for performance in 1904. *Cinderella and the Prince; or, The Castle of Heart’s Desire*, marked Barnet’s return to the fairy tales as he used for *Jack and the Beanstalk* and *Simple Simon*. Barnet engaged both Louis F. Gottschalk and E. W. Corliss to compose the score and augment the lyrics. While the show did well with the Cadets, it faltered with professional production, as no producer opted to purchase it. This Cadets production began to show Barnet’s weakness in simple plots with little action, and his reliance on tried-and-true minstrel specialty numbers. Alison Barnet sums up the show rather well, “[h]is cast included a live goat, a parrot, and three chickens...When called out to take a bow, Barnet told the audience he had nothing to say because Robinson Crusoe’s goat demanded his attention.”<sup>29</sup>

By this time, Barnet was swimming in debt and amassing debtors to the point his pay from the ICC was being garnished by those who attempted to collect their monies owed from the productions. The R. H. White company wrote to the Cadet Theatrical Committee asking for payments, but as all monies owed to them were to come out of Barnet’s checks, the Theatrical Committee passed the ball. For each show written, directed, and produced by Barnet, he received one payment. This payment was not only for Barnet’s contribution, but anyone he wanted to hire. If he wanted to hire multiple composers, the amount he would be able to take would be much less than if he hired just one. It is no wonder that with his attention on his theatrics and the extravagant means

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28. Unidentified New York newspaper, Barnet Scrapbooks, Private Collection, Property of Alison Barnet, Boston, MA.

29. Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 142.



used to produce them, Barnet was in debt. To make matters worse, Barnet's Aunt Ada, who had most likely helped in supporting him, died and he became the sole executor of her estate. Alison Barnet speaks to the will stating, "[t]he will was a long and detailed document that reflected Ada's awareness of her nephew's inability to manage money."<sup>30</sup>

The penultimate Cadet Theatrical proved to be the writing on the wall as it related to Barnet's tenure as librettist and the subsequent decline of the shows, themselves. In perhaps a bid to save money and secure success, Barnet presented *Boodle & Co.*, the first show he did not primarily write. John Densmore and Harold Otis had written the show in the previous year as the Hasty Pudding show of 1904. Barnet worked with Densmore and Otis to adapt the show for the Cadets, but it is unknown his contributions. The same issues of weak libretto but great execution plagued *Boodle & Co.*, and it became the lowest grossing theatrical since 1891.<sup>31</sup>

The month after *Boodle & Co.* was not good for the Barnet family. By this time, Sed, Barnet's wife, had given birth to five children, three boys and two girls, and they had been able to keep house staff at their home in Ashmont. Following the production, their house was seized due to back taxes owed by Robert, and the family was forced to move to an apartment in Brookline before Sed took the children and moved to the family cottage in Osterville.

By this time the armory was nearing completion and Lt. Col. Edmunds, citing the need for the ICC to concentrate on military duties, proclaimed the 1906 theatrical would be the final show. Although an ill Lt. Col. Edmunds resigned in summer 1905, *Miss*

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30. Ibid., 146.

31. Ibid., 148.

*Pocahontas, an Indian War-Whoop in Two Whoops* still was performed. Not only were Col. Edmunds leadership and the Cadet theatricals coming to an end, but Edmunds passed away in December 1905 before the final show. A hodge-podge of music and specialty numbers, *Miss Pocahontas* could be considered a financial disaster, as it was the lowest grossing show the Cadets had performed since they began. On the occasion of its premiere, the old guard of the ICC arrived in droves to witness the end of this collaboration and to celebrate the completion of the armory. Critical reception for this final show praised not only Barnet, but the Cadets, and reflected on the last sixteen or so years of theatricals:

What will a Boston winter be without Cadet theatricals?... For more than fifteen years the Cadets have enlivened winters by their extravaganzas and from “injured Innocents” down to “Boodle & Co.” they have given jolly shows, jingly comedians, dazzling ballets-dazzling when one considers that every dancer was a man-stunning beauties and have started many an extravaganza on a prosperous course upon the professional stage.<sup>32</sup>

The Barnets stayed in Boston until 1908 when Robert moved the family to New York City, most like to escape any debtors in Boston and to establish himself as a playwright. Barnet’s unwillingness to adapt and change his shows in line with the audiences’ taste did not serve him well. From the time of his move to New York to the time of his death, Barnet is not known to have produced another new show. During this time he worked as a music librarian first at the theaters owned by Oscar Hammerstein I and then at the Rialto theater part time in the afternoons. During his afternoons at the Rialto he was able to supply song lyrics, as needed. During the years he was in New York, Barnet struggled to get shows produced, even attempting a revival of *Tabasco*.

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32. “Cadets Play Indians,” Unidentified newspaper, Barnet Scrapbooks, Private Collection, Property of Alison Barnet, Boston, MA.

The Cadets and Barnet embarked upon a path that would change the scope of musical theater. There is no telling how many countless performers, composers, librettists, and audience members were involved in or affected by a show created by Barnet, but Barnet's determination to continue in the field of playwriting provided many of these people a reason to attend the theater. Much of Barnet's output is today still considered to consist of ill-advised libretti of little substance and "jokes [that] read as limited examples of minstrel wit."<sup>33</sup> Even during his own life, many New York critics dismissed his shows, but the audiences in Boston and across the United States adored them.

It would seem Barnet sought through his life to become a playwright after his first introduction into theater. He succeeded. The *New York Herald Tribune's* obituary of Robert Ayres Barnet read:

Robert A. Barnet Dead;  
Playwright, Librettist  
Author of Books for '1492' and 'Tabasco'  
Was 79<sup>34</sup>

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33. Zukerman, "Robert Ayres Barnet: American Playwright and Lyricist," 516.

34. *New York Herald Tribune*, June 29, 1933.

## CHAPTER 2 *TABASCO'S* BEGINNINGS

In the spring of 1893, following the success of *1492: Up to Date or Very Near It* in 1891, Robert Ayres Barnet was engaged to write and stage a new production for the Boston Men's Army Cadets. For his newest work, Barnet sought out George Whitefield Chadwick, then an instructor of composition, counterpoint, and orchestration at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Massachusetts. Of all the composers Barnet would collaborate with on stage works, Chadwick was undoubtedly the most distinguished.<sup>1</sup>

### Chadwick's Early Years

Born in Lowell, Massachusetts in 1854 to a musically inclined family, George Chadwick was immersed in music throughout his childhood. His father Alonzo organized and led the local musical society, the Martin Luther Musical Society, which drew numerous skilled musicians from the local region to perform.

Chadwick's first instruction in piano and organ came from his older brother Henry, fourteen years his senior, when George was just a young boy. By the 1860s, he had already begun playing the organ for his local church, after learning to work the bellows. While his musical promise was evident at an early age, Chadwick would not begin to explore these leanings until later in his teenage years. His first position as

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1. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King: Robert Barnet and Boston Musical Theater* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 58.

organist was at the Lawrence Street Church in Lawrence, Massachusetts where his father moved the family in the 1860s to open his insurance business. The then director of music at the church recognized Chadwick's promise and had him appointed organist. This position did not last long, as Chadwick began playing in a more elaborate fashion than the elders of the congregation wished. This came to a head when Chadwick received a message from the head of the music committee, "[p]lease make your response after the prayer short, distinct, and impressive." Chadwick's reply to the message came after the prayer and the minister said his "Amen." Sounding two chords with the entire power of the instrument, Chadwick then left the employment of the church following the service.<sup>2</sup>

However, Chadwick's formative musical education proved to be inadequate as he would spend time clerking at his father's insurance office and then spend time in the evenings working on keyboard technique and composing. "Before he received any instruction in composition, he wrote anthems and songs," Carl Engel reported in the *Musical Quarterly* in 1924.<sup>3</sup>

While Alonzo had been supportive of his son's aspirations during childhood and teenage years, Alonzo had other plans. Attempting to persuade George to stay in Lawrence by telling him the insurance business would one day be passed on to him,

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2. Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 23–24.

3. Carl Engel, "George W. Chadwick," *The Musical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1924): 443.

Alonzo's attempted persuasion was most likely attributed to George's promise as a musician which eclipsed that of his own.<sup>4</sup>

Sensing the need for more intensive musical training, George convinced his father to allow him to study in Boston at the New England Conservatory of Music during a ten-week summer course as a "special student."<sup>5</sup> Chadwick's time at the Conservatory did not last long. The Great Boston Fire of 1872 forced him to devote himself to the administration of his father's insurance firm, as his father's true talent lied in sales and not management. It would not be until late in 1873 when he would resume musical studies, this time with organist Eugene Thayer (1838–89).

Seen as an outcast of the Boston musical scene at the time, Thayer was trained in Germany and did not subscribe to the more flamboyant performance style of English organist W. T. Best.<sup>6</sup> During lessons with Thayer, Chadwick studied the music of J. S. Bach, instilling in him a deep love for the composer.<sup>7</sup> Thayer began to encourage Chadwick to pursue his studies in Germany.<sup>8</sup> It was during his studies with Thayer that Chadwick composed his first piece for orchestra, an overture for Sam Ellis's new cantata on the story of the prodigal son, *The New Prodigal* (1874). Chadwick's inexperience as an orchestrator was evident in the score, which contained numerous mistakes that were

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4. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 29.

5. Marianne Betz, *George Whitefield Chadwick: An American Composer Revealed* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2015), 8.

6. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 33.

7. *Ibid.*, 33–34.

8. Betz, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 10.

not made apparent until the rehearsal; as Chadwick would later recall, “[t]he noise was something awful, and I left in a state of discouragement.”<sup>9</sup>

Chadwick felt hindered in Boston by the lack of a dedicated class in orchestration. Indeed, as Chadwick is reported to have said on the subject: “I suppose that Mr. Paine will teach instrumentation, but I think no one else in this country can do so.”<sup>10</sup> To achieve the musical training Chadwick desired, he would need to raise the funds necessary for his studies in Europe.

At the age of 21, Chadwick was chosen as the director of The Michigan Conservatory at Olivet College upon the recommendation of Theodore Presser. Though only in Michigan for a year, the directorship provided Chadwick with enough funds to spend an extended amount of time abroad where he could perfect his craft. Among his duties, Chadwick taught courses in piano, organ, and harmony and ran the choir and glee club.<sup>11</sup> Chadwick led an ambitious performing schedule, giving recitals and concerts as often as he could. His compositional output during this period was considerable, though many of these works he did not think well enough of to preserve. Faucet states “[s]hortly after his departure from Olivet, he scrapped most of them and began the numbering process anew.”<sup>12</sup> Although Chadwick was briefly happy while serving in the role, he began to demonstrate his distaste for the narrowmindedness of the college leaders and their “intolerant of dissenting viewpoints, especially with regard to

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9. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 33.

10. *Ibid.*, 36.

11. Engel, “George W. Chadwick,” 443.

12. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 40.

temperance.”<sup>13</sup> Chadwick resigned quietly at the end of the 1877 term, much to the surprise of his colleagues.<sup>14</sup>

The money saved while working in Minnesota allowed Chadwick to leave for Hamburg on September 6, 1877. Chadwick finally arrived in Leipzig in October of that year and began studies at the Conservatory in 1878 taking courses taught by Salomon Jadassohn (1831–1902) and Carl Reinecke (1824–1910). After Chadwick’s return to the United States, he began teaching courses in composition, counterpoint, harmony, and orchestration at the New England Conservatory in 1881 where he would ascend to the directorship in 1897 before retiring in 1930.

### Chadwick: A Rising Star

From the time of his return from Europe, Chadwick’s compositions were played by many of Boston’s most prominent musical groups. In fact, it was an offer from the Handel and Haydn Society’s Triennial Festival to conduct his *Rip Van Winkle Overture* (1879) that compelled him to return to New England.

Upon his return, Chadwick was elected to membership in Boston’s prestigious St. Botolph Club, an elite group of Bostonians with an appreciation for the arts and letters, a club that was modeled on the Century Club of New York. In fact, “Greet the Old Man with a Smile,” the St. Botolph Club song, was composed by Chadwick, a piece later incorporated into *Tabasco*. It was through the Club that Chadwick would meet Robert Grant, future Boston Judge and librettist of *The Peer and the Pauper* (1884). Although

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13. Ibid., 44.

14. Ibid.



the collaboration with Grant did not prove fruitful on the stage, much of the material related to this work was later recycled and will be discussed later in the chapter.

Although Chadwick did not hold any of the more coveted organist posts in Boston, he did serve as organist for many churches within Boston almost continually until 1900. After this time, Chadwick would assist Horatio Parker, a former student, at Trinity Church during Parker's professorship at Yale.<sup>15</sup>

Chadwick's skill was becoming well known as he was sought out by students at the New England Conservatory, as well as by prospective students. During Chadwick's first semester at the NEC, the enrollment in his studio rose to twenty students and he was teaching four classes at full capacity. Even through tumultuous times at the Conservatory, Chadwick retained his private studio at his home where he first began his relationship with Horatio Parker and others who would make an imprint upon the American musical scene.

### Chadwick Meets Barnet

It was a result of these successes that Barnet approached Chadwick "just before [Chadwick was] leaving for West Chop" for the summer months with the persuasion to compose the music for the Cadet's newest theatrical show.<sup>16</sup> As Chadwick had longed to write for the stage, he enthusiastically agreed. Melodies that would later appear in *Tabasco* begin appearing in Chadwick's sketch books during the summer of 1893. It was

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15. Ibid., 77.

16. George Whitefield Chadwick, "Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks," 1880 – 1893, (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

not until September 1<sup>st</sup> that Barnet supplied a draft of the libretto.<sup>17</sup> The copy of which is catalogued in the Chadwick Collection at the NEC with a stamp that reads “Property of R. A. Barnet. *Tabasco*” in blue ink. Barnet’s authorship of the entire show is up for debate as it is recorded Mr. Edward Church provided many of the song lyrics.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to prove authorship of the text of the songs as existing copies are not signed, but there are minute differences between the typeface on some of the lyric sheets and that of the early draft libretto with Barnet’s blue stamp.

While a complete libretto from the Cadets’ performance is not extant, Barnet’s libretto seems to have changed little from the first draft when compared with the autograph score. The two-act structure with three possible scenes in the first and two in the latter, was not changed. Some “specialty” music, such as dances were cut, but almost every character has a dance number attached to one of the numbers they sing.<sup>19</sup> The song and chorus originally scripted to open the second scene was scored, and exists in manuscript form, but was eventually cut possibly combining scene 2 and 3 in the first act. Although it could be argued the scene was cut in its entirety as it provides nothing of substance to the plot. A duet between François and Lola immediately following “François’ Lament” was cut, but the text is reminiscent of the second act “Love Duet”

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17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. The term “specialty” is used in the libretto by Barnet to indicate dance music for characters. As discussed in the prior chapter, Barnet’s shows were known for their extravagant dances. While the majority of named characters in the burlesque opera have a song, not all have a dance most likely due to cuts before the Cadets’ performance. Of special note would be the dance for the Pasha that occurs before the entrance of François and the Chefs. Barnet also uses the term in the later libretto for Seabrooke’s production of *Tabasco*.

sung by Marco and Fatima. Much of the second act survives relatively intact in the autograph score as it appears in the draft of the libretto. Other noticeable differences include the renaming of characters Nopette and Favoretta to Has-Been-A and Fatima, respectively. Although Barnet was no William S. Gilbert, the libretto speaks to the influence of Barnet's Victorian predecessor.

The autograph score poses several issues, as the entirety of the second act does not survive in manuscript form. The march and ballet, for example, are not included, while the finale is a copy of the piano-vocal score published by B. F. Wood. Manuscript copies of the orchestration do exist, except for the finale. The finale exists in sketch form with written indications to transpose certain measures of "A Beauty My Boy" from F to C and to include the waltz from the Act I Finale in C Major, the key in which it originally appeared (see figures 2.1 and 2.2). It is possible Chadwick used these shorthand notes to inform his copyist of the music without having to write it on the manuscript piano-vocal score. Even though the autograph manuscript does not include the orchestration for this number, the orchestration is recorded in the part books created by Frank Fiala, Chadwick's longtime copyist and fellow NEC faculty member.

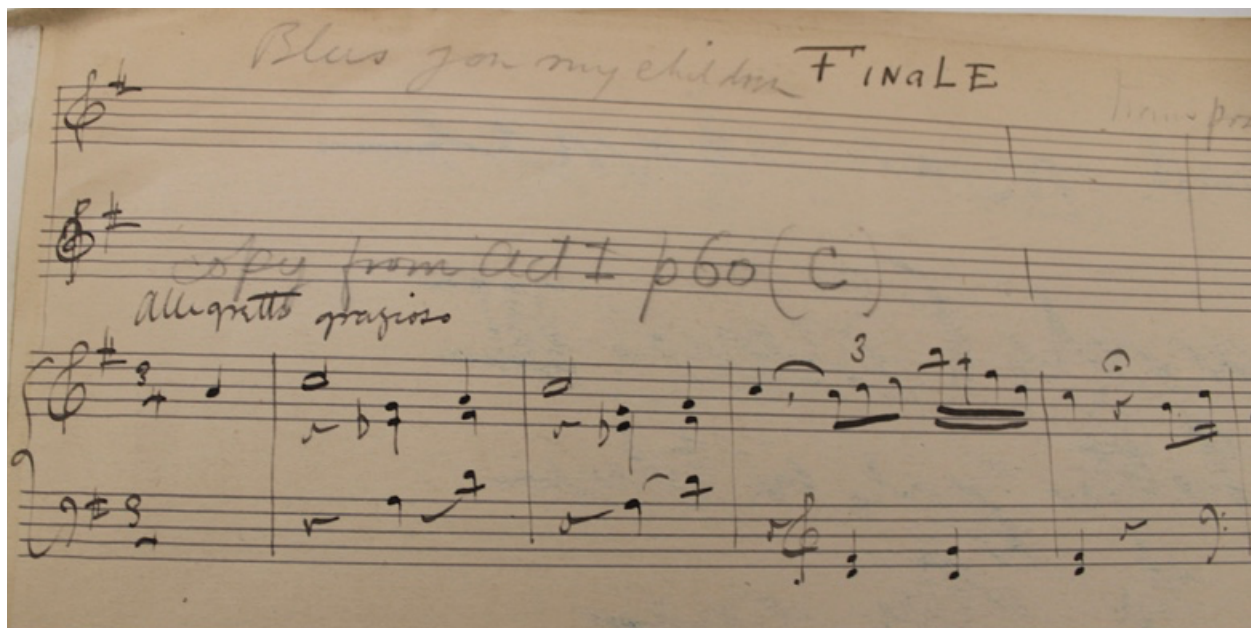


Figure 2.1. George W. Chadwick and Robert A. Barnet, *Tabasco*, autograph Score, (1894), (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA). Sketch of Finale Score, Mazurka.

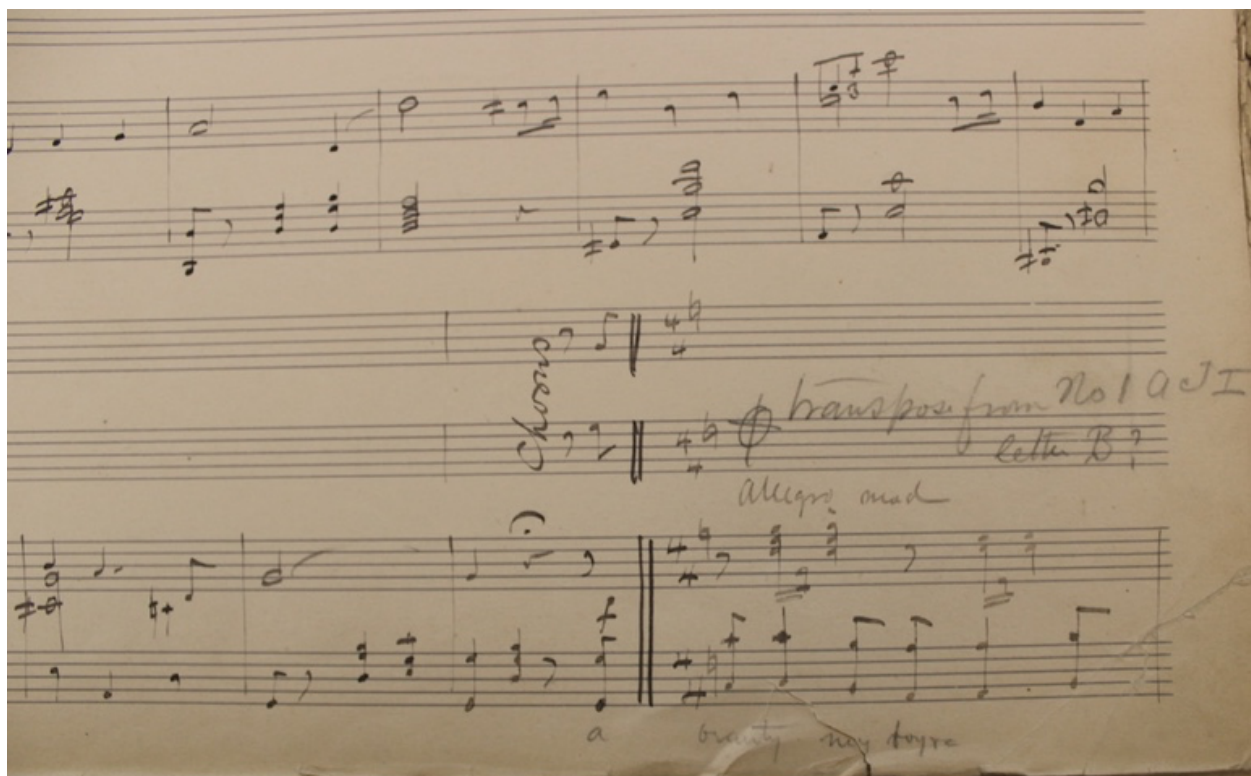


Figure 2.2. George W. Chadwick and Robert A. Barnet, *Tabasco*, autograph Score, (1894), (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA). Sketch of Finale Score, "A Beauty My Boy."

## Chadwick's Compositional Style and Techniques

Chadwick's studies with Jadassohn and Reinecke in Leipzig as well as with Josef Rheinberger (1839-1901) in Munich, provided Chadwick with the compositional prowess obtained by many European composers of the time. In fact, many parallels can be drawn between Chadwick's music and that of Arthur Sullivan, who also studied in Leipzig with Reinecke some fifteen years earlier. Chadwick's modeling of *Tabasco* on Sullivan's collaborations with W. S. Gilbert is nowhere more apparent than in the choruses, something that is evident through changes of key as well as use of a combination of instrumental textures.

Chadwick's setting of the opening chorus is very much akin to the opening choruses of the Savoy Operas in style and purpose. Opening choruses serve the function of introducing the audience to the setting and action of a work, often through an extravagant means. The chorus here serves no dramatic purposes, but instead is used to introduce the audience to the scene set in Tangier. Barnet's text is beautifully illustrated through Chadwick's musical setting as the cries of the street peddlers begin in the C section of the overture and continue until the final return of X (see figure 3):

Melon and Muscatel;  
Come buy, come buy  
Almond and Asphodel;  
Come buy, come buy...  
Buy my spices low the price is,  
Cinnamon from Zanzibar.  
Clove and aloes, myrrh and mallows,  
Potted in a dainty jar...<sup>20</sup>

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20. George W. Chadwick and Robert A. Barnet, *Tabasco*, autograph score, (1894), (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA), 10–14.

The harmonic and thematic organization of the chorus is more complex than that of other shows by Barnet. Composed using a string of marches and gallops, which would have been familiar to the Boston audiences. The chorus begins in A major and progresses to the mediant key of C major, via the subdominant, at the exact center of the work returning to A major through the minor subdominant and B-flat major (see figure 2.3). This arch-like structure of key centers is also evident in the first section of the work, although the modulation to C major happens prior to the halfway point (see figure 2.4). The arch-like structure of tonality can also be found in the form, tempi, and use of choir as evidenced in the accompanying chart. Chadwick begins the chorus with the full chorus progressing to a semi-chorus then solos before the full chorus returns in the middle of the piece. After the return of the full chorus, Chadwick then reduces the texture to a solo and solo with chorus before returning to full chorus for the ending AB reprise. The formal figuration is modeled upon a modified rondo where the X material serves as the recurring subject. The X material, while originating as a solo orchestral figure, quickly becomes a theme for the Tangerine hawkers with its disjointed rising thirds and fifths:

Cucumbers and fresh tomaters,  
Epsom salts and cream of tartar,  
Early onions from Bermuda,  
Terrapin to tempt a Tudor.<sup>21</sup>

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21. *Ibid.*, 17–18.

*Tabasco*  
“Opening Chorus”

Measures	1–77	78–99	100– 115	116– 147	148– 170	178– 201	202– 241	242– 296
Form	X A B A <sup>1</sup>	C	D D	E E D/E	X	F X	G X	X A <sup>1</sup>
Key	A Major	D Major	F Major	D Minor	C Major	D Minor	B-flat Major	A Major
Tempo	Allegro animato				Poco meno mosso	Più Lento	Più mosso	A Tempo ma piu lento
Choral	SATB Chorus	TB Semi- Chorus	Tenor Solo	Bass Solo	SATB Chorus	Marco (solo)	Marco (solo) with Chorus	SATB Chorus

Figure 2.3. Overview of the “Opening Chorus”.

*Tabasco*  
“Opening Chorus” m. 1-77

Measures	1–14	15–30	31–51	52–77
Form	X	A	B	A <sup>1</sup>
Key	A Major	A Major	C Major	A Major

Figure 2.4. Overview of “Opening Chorus” measures 1-77.

The way in which Chadwick exploits the harmonic structure outside of the overall key arch, shows the ways in which he can play with harmonic structure and spell out the key signature through his triadic movement in the G section. The first segment of the G section phrase begins in B-flat. In measure 210, Chadwick begins the second phrase section on D minor, or third scale step in B-Flat major. The third phrase section of the G section then begins on F major, or fifth scale step completing the B-flat major triad. This final phrase section ends with an elided cadence back to the X material for the final time.

Chadwick does much to create a unity of musical numbers throughout the work, a characteristic not often found in burlesque operas, where the music throughout the

show is not thematically related to each other. The Act II Finale is an excellent example, modeled after the Act II Finales of *H. M. S. Pinafore* and *The Mikado* by Gilbert and Sullivan, through the reprising of numbers heard throughout the show. The Finale begins in the key of G major with a reprise of the mazurka from “Reading of the Mail” followed by a reprise of the Act II Opening Chorus, “A Beauty My Boy” in C Major and finally ending with a reprise of the “tempo de valse” from the Act I Finale in the same as preceding key.

For *Tabasco*, Chadwick recycled music from an earlier stage composition, *The Peer and the Pauper* (1884) with a libretto Robert Grant. Although it was never orchestrated or performed, it was referred to as a work in progress in 1884.<sup>22</sup> Chadwick recycled much of the material in *The Peer and the Pauper* for many years after its composition, with three numbers from *Tabasco* originating in the work.

<i>The Peer and the Pauper</i> text	<i>Tabasco</i> text
To her who is blessed with beauty Comes many an hour of pain. I find it my painful duty To choose between love and pain... <sup>23</sup>	To her who is blessed with beauty Comes many and hour of pain. Oh, Marco, my life and duty Is to find thee, love, again... <sup>24</sup>

Figure 2.5. Side by Side Comparison of Text from “Maud’s Cavatina” in *Peer and the Pauper* and “Gem of the Orient” Quartet in *Tabasco*.

The quartet from “Gem of the Orient” is among the most notable examples that Chadwick recycled, copying the music almost exactly as it appeared in the earlier score. Chadwick added a repeat of the quartet for full chorus and extended the ending of piece

22. Betz, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 122. As the manuscript piano-vocal score and libretto exist, it might make a worthy project to reconstruct this work.

23. George Whitefield Chadwick and Robert Grant, *The Peer and the Pauper*, manuscript score, (1888), (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

24. Chadwick and Barnet, *Tabasco*.



creating a section almost identical to that of Maud's cavatina in the Act I finale of *The Peer and the Pauper*. Chadwick's borrowing did not stop with the music, he borrowed sections of the text, as well (see figure 2.5). As evidenced in the following chart, the first two lines of text are the same between the two works, while the second two lines slightly alter the text, but not the rhyme scheme.

Although it is difficult to ascertain (many early scores by Chadwick do not survive), the composer appears to have incorporated borrowed musical material in compositions during his time under the tutelage of Jadassohn and Reinecke. In the third movement of his First String Quartet, he relies heavily on the American folk tune, "Shoot the Pipe." The trio introduces the tune in the key of F, but it is interrupted by a seamless transition back to the A section, upon which the principal theme of the movement returns. After a brief, musical pause, the first theme of the first movement returns interspersed with fragments of "Shoot the Pipe" before the ending of the movement. Throughout *Tabasco* Chadwick openly borrows from widely known works in a fashion that would resonate with the Boston audiences.

Chadwick was a self-proclaimed "Wagnerite" from the moment he attended a performance of *Lohengrin* at Boston's Globe Theatre in 1874, an experience he referred to as "the greatest event of my life up to that time..."<sup>25</sup> In fact, Chadwick's love for Wagner gave his wife Ida and him the opportunity to travel to Europe in 1888 with their "special errand being to attend the Bayreuth festival," where they both attended productions of *Parsifal* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and visited Wagner's

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25. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 36.

grave site.<sup>26</sup> Sensing the “Wagnerian tendencies” evident in Boston’s musical scene, Chadwick began work on the musical overture *Melpomene* (1887) a year earlier, a work with a beginning heavily inspired by the Prelude to *Tristan und Isolde*.<sup>27</sup> It is no wonder Chadwick once again looked to Wagner for portions of *Tabasco*.

Some of the more noticeable references to Wagner occur during the Vizier’s solo number in the first act, “I’m Vizier Here.” Here, Chadwick uses two distinct references to both *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. The first features a borrowed rhythmic figure and orchestration from *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, as the Grand Vizier sings “To others come the coupons and the gold” (see figure 2.6). Chadwick orchestrates the woodwinds and percussion in m. 41–42 contrasted against the brass and percussion in measure 43. The second being the allusion to Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* as the Vizier sings “I get the shade when others greet the sun” (see figure 2.7).

Figure 2.6. George Whitefield Chadwick and Robert Ayres Barnet, *Tabasco*, ed. Paul Mauffray, (2018), 33. Chadwick’s musical allusion to the “Nibelungs” leitmotif.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid, 116.

I get the shade when oth - ers greet the sun, I

Figure 2.7. George Whitefield Chadwick and Robert Ayres Barnet, *Tabasco*, ed. Paul Mauffray, (2018), 33. Chadwick's reference to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.

In Fatima's first act recitative, the most operatic section of the work, Chadwick alludes in harmonic structure and instrumentation to Act I Scene 5 of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* going so far as to include an alteration of the yearning and desire leitmotif. The recitative begins with sforzando piano string tremolos which fade into a solo oboe against clarinet and bassoon accompaniment, playing an altered version of the yearning leitmotif from *Tristan und Isolde*. Chadwick's motif begins with a major sixth instead of a minor sixth, as in the case of the leitmotif, and is just varied slightly enough to make a correlation to the longing motif. Chadwick also refers to the desire portion of the motif by playing the motif backwards using rhythm and the same stepwise motion, but not on the original pitches (see figures 2.8 and 2.9). Chadwick's parody of the longing and desire motifs provide a direct correlation with the action on stage, as Fatima is being given as a gift to the Pasha and longs to escape her fate. The recitative and aria that follow examine the situation from Fatima's perspective and her longing desire to return to her homeland to be free of the bonds of slavery she now holds.

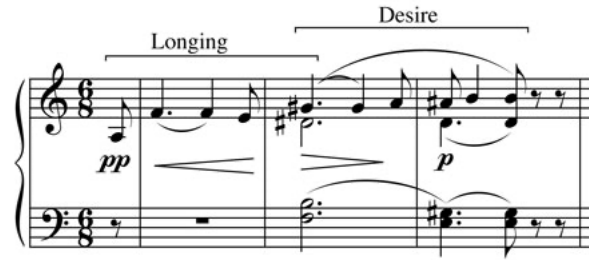


Figure 2.8. Longing and Desire Motif from Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.

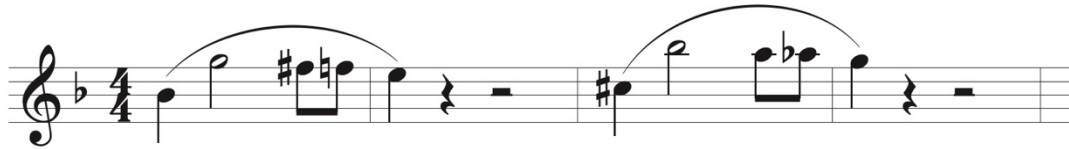


Figure 2.9. Oboe motif from Fatima's Recitative and Aria.

Chadwick mirrors Wagner's use of instrumentation and orchestral effects through the alternation of dark and rough tremolo strings and the bright and poignant woodwinds (see figure 2.10). While the harsh attacks of the strings begin rich and intensely, fading quickly to very strained and dark as evidenced in the spectrogram analysis (see figure 2.11). The woodwinds provide an extremely bright and poignant texture contrasted against that of the strings. Fatima then begins the recitative, "Oh, spare me," and the structure begins again. In this way, Chadwick created three distinct timbral areas in the opening three measures which is then repeated, creating a timbral cell. Chadwick modeled the timbral textures on that of the opening to Act I Scene 5 of *Tristan und Isolde*. When comparing both the spectrogram images of *Tabasco* and *Tristan und Isolde*, it is obvious to see Chadwick's use of timbral texture in the three-measure cell modeled upon Wagner's use of the same style of timbre, although spread over the period of around one minute of music (see figures 2.11 and 2.12).

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6
Instrumentation	Tremolo Strings, Brass	Oboe, Clarinet, and Bassoon – Sustained	Solo Voice	Tremolo Strings	Oboe, Clarinet, and Bassoon – Sustained	Solo Voice
Timbre	Harsh attack, Strained	Bright, Reedy and poignant	Bright and Rich	Harsh and Strained	Bright, Reedy and poignant Rich	Bright and Rich
Text			Oh, spare me!			Alas, too well I know it...

Figure 2.10. Timbre Analysis of Fatima’s Recitative m. 1–6.

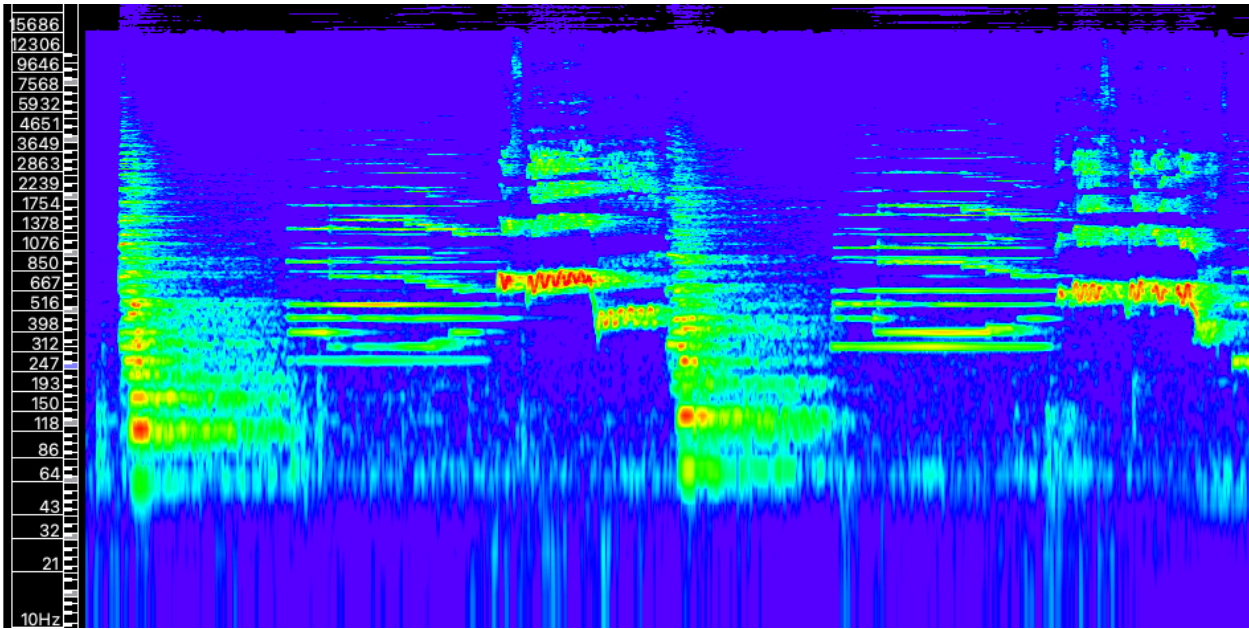


Figure 2.11. George Chadwick, *Tabasco*, with Melissa Marshall (soprano) and the Hradec Králové Philharmonic, conducted by Paul Mauffray, recorded 2015. Spectrogram analysis of Fatima’s Recitative m. 1–6.

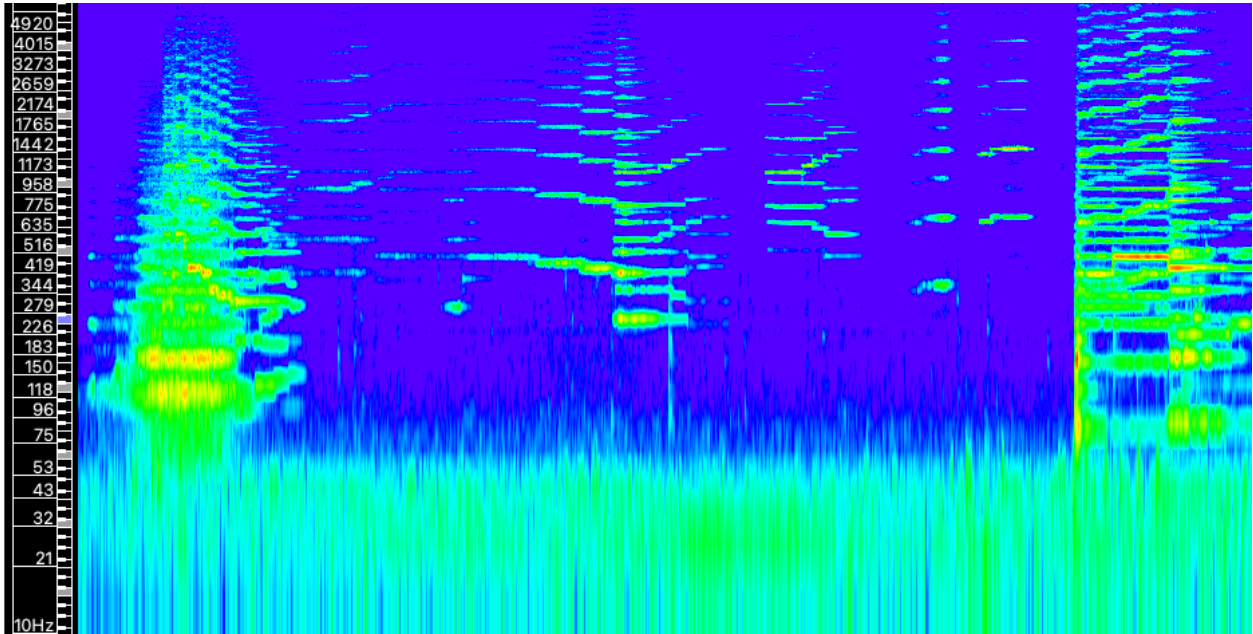


Figure 2.12. Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, with Deborah Voigt (soprano) and the Orchestra of the Vienna State Opera, conducted by Christian Thielemann, recorded June 15, 2004, Deutsche Grammophon. Spectrogram Analysis of the beginning to Act I Scene 5 of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.

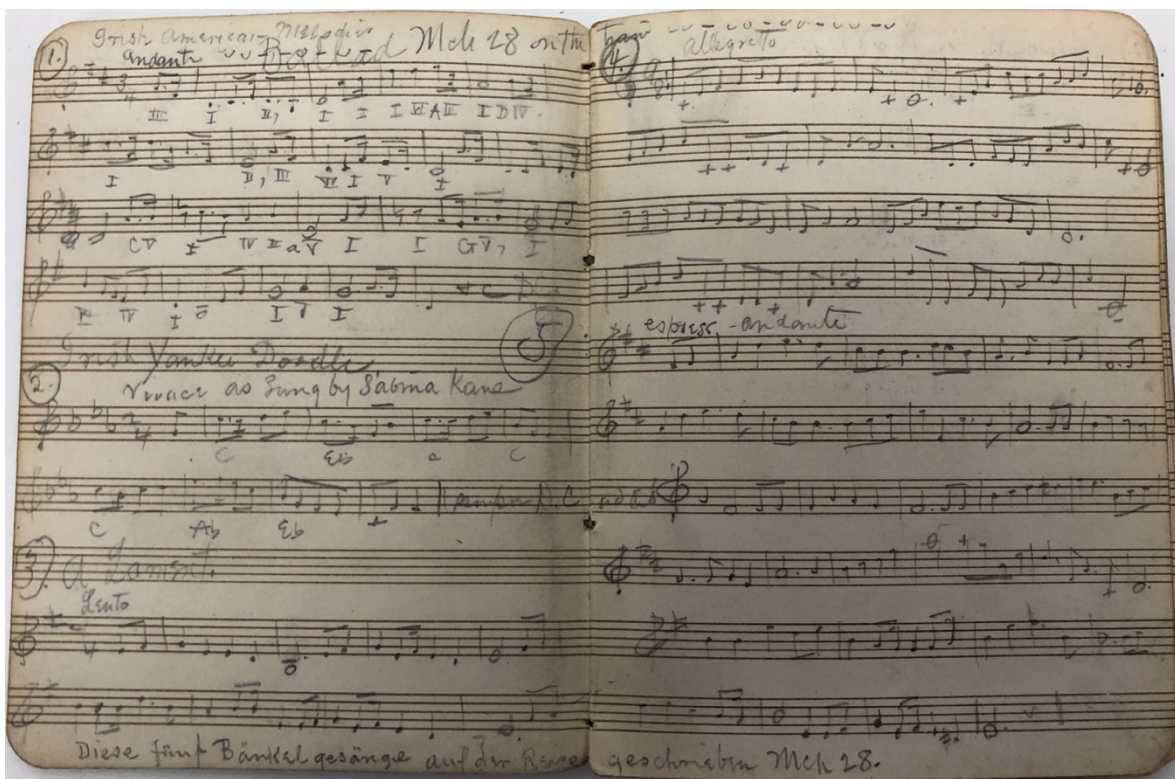


Figure 2.13. George Whitefield Chadwick, 1893 Sketchbook, (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

Chadwick’s assimilation of musical styles is demonstrated with particular clarity in the quartet scene from Act II. Here he creates a musical tableau of styles representative of Spain through a bolero, Ireland through an Irish ditty, France through a rigaudon, and the United States through a ballad. Of note, Chadwick’s sketchbooks for *Tabasco* contain many melodies he marked as either Irish, or as coming from a book of Irish tunes which Chadwick recorded in his sketchbook while taking a train on March 28, 1893. The melody marked four is used as the melody for the verse and the chorus of the “Irish Ditty” in the quartet scene. Melody two was used as a march marked “à la turque” which precedes “Greet the Old Man with A Smile,” a song Chadwick had composed as the theme song of the Papyrus Club and recycled for use in *Tabasco*. The “Irish Yankee Doodle” was a lullaby Chadwick recalled his family’s nanny, Sabrina Kane, sang to their children during infancy. When asked by Chadwick the name of the tune, Sabrina replied that it was Yankee Doodle.<sup>28</sup> (see figure 2.13)

The image shows a musical score for a scene in *Tabasco*. It features a vocal line for a character named 'Vizier' and a piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score begins at measure 71. The vocal line consists of a series of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The lyrics are 'go - ing to be mar - ried Thurs - day noon,'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) appears in the right hand at measure 74.

Figure 2.14. George Whitefield Chadwick and Robert Ayres Barnet, *Tabasco*, ed. Paul Mauffray, (2018), 33. Chadwick’s musical quotation of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy’s “Wedding March.”

28. George Whitefield Chadwick, “Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks.”

The final musical quotation within the Vizier’s song is in the final verse. The Vizier sings of his love marrying another, and the orchestra plays the first theme of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy’s “Wedding March.” (see figure 2.14)

Another notable quotation appears in the opening chorus. In this setting, Chadwick does not directly quote but alludes to the “Hallelujah Chorus” from Handel’s *Messiah*. Marco sings about the sweet tobacco from Latakia ending his line singing “Habana Gloria” while the orchestra is playing a chordal and rhythmical structure similar to the homophonic “Hal-le-lu-jah” section within Handel’s “Hallelujah Chorus” while the chorus sings “mocha, java, jelly, guava” (see figure 2.15).

The image shows a musical score for a vocal ensemble and piano. It consists of two systems. The first system has four vocal staves: M. (Soprano), S. A. (Alto), T. (Tenor), and B. (Bass). The piano part is on the right. The lyrics for the Soprano part are: "self who sowed the seed, the seed Ha-ban-a Glo-ri-a." The lyrics for the Alto part are: "Mo-cha, ja-va, jel-ly gua-va, an-gos-tu-ra, a-qua". The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The score is marked with a '211' at the beginning of each system.

Figure 2.15. George Whitefield Chadwick and Robert Ayres Barnet, *Tabasco*, ed. Paul Mauffray, (2018), 33. Chadwick's allusion to Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus."

“I’m Vizier Here,” “What Other People Say,” and “The Song of the Cooks” are all cut from the patter style often used by Arthur Sullivan. “I’m Vizier Here” only requires a range of an octave, C3 to C4. It is through composed with Chadwick using a musical language that quotes and alludes to earlier composers, namely Wagner and Mendelssohn Bartholdy. “What Other People Say” allows the Pasha the chance to tell his



subjects that in everything he has the final say, a descendant of “My Object All Sublime” from the *Mikado*. “The Song of the Cooks” is a piece where François and his cooks present their “evidence” that François is a true pedigreed French chef, but by presenting this evidence it is clear his is no more French than a liar. François sings, “For I’m a chef of high degree, With the biggest sort of a pedigree, And I learned to cook in gay Paree!” Then the chorus responds, “You can tell by the tilt of his nose!” A direct correlation can be traced from “Behold the Lord High Executioner,” also from the *Mikado*.

The authenticity of *Tabasco*’s orchestration has been a point of contention since Victor Yellin first wrote his dissertation on Chadwick’s works for the stage. It has long been thought Chadwick composed the orchestral score with short sections being completed by Lucian Hosmer, a former student and close friend of Chadwick. Yet, this is contradicted by Chadwick’s memoirs, the program from the Cadet performances, newspaper reviews of opening night, and the handwriting found in the autograph score.

Confusion on this topic has arisen, in part, from a passage in Chadwick’s memoirs regarding the first performance of the work:

We had a “professional matinee” before the show to which the entire theatrical profession was migrated. Sir Henry Irving was there and laughed loudly. Especially at the Grand Vizier’s Song. Lucious Hosmer, my faithful ally, made the score of this piece from an unmarked piano score, which I retouched as he went along and he did a beautiful job. In fact, as far as I could see it was just the same as if I had done it all myself. The orchestration was very effective and much admired.<sup>29</sup>

In *George Chadwick: A Sourcebook*, Steven Ledbetter asserts that the above statement referred to Hosmer orchestrating only the Grand Vizier’s Song. Chadwick’s claim concerning the orchestration’s effectiveness directly refers to Hosmer’s work, but does Chadwick intend to convey Hosmer orchestrated only one piece? If that were

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29. George Whitefield Chadwick, “Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks.”

Chadwick's intention, why would programs from the opening run list the orchestrator as L.E. Hosmer?

When compared with other works by Chadwick, the penmanship in the bulk of the autograph score does not match any other work or that of Frank Fiala. Indeed, the penmanship of *Tabasco's* autograph score is identical to an earlier score of a work by Chadwick, *Phoenix Expirans* (1892), which Lucian Hosmer completed and prepared.<sup>30</sup> The only places in which Chadwick's penmanship surfaces within the score occur where corrections had to be made for mis-transpositions or other issues of orchestration (see figure 2.16).

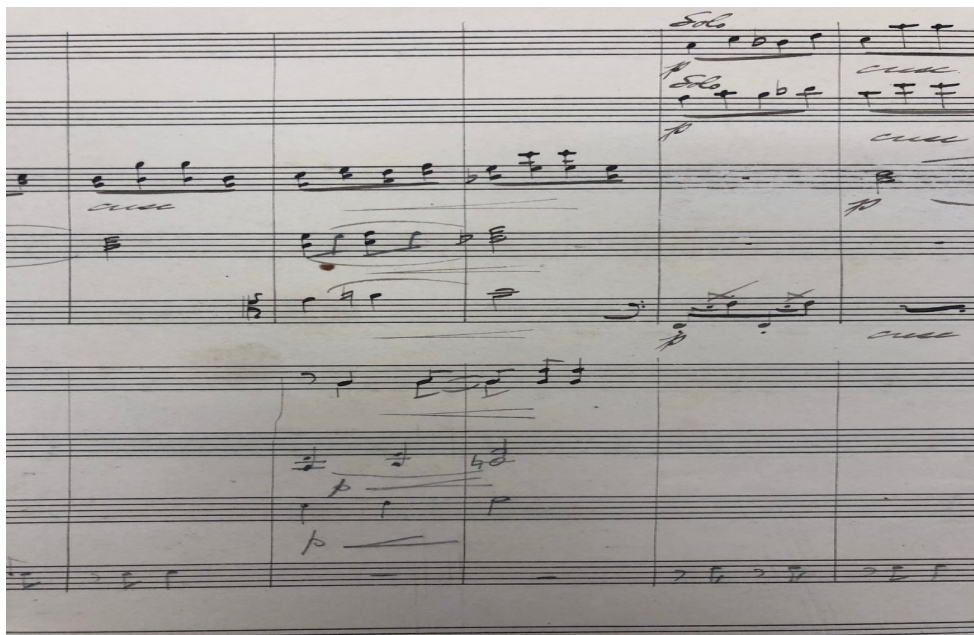


Figure 2.16. George W. Chadwick and Robert A. Barnet, *Tabasco*, Autograph Score, 1894. George W. Chadwick Collection. New England Conservatory of Music. The lighter markings in pencil are by Chadwick while the scoring in black ink is by Hosmer.

Chadwick did provide some assistance in orchestration besides additions to Hosmer's efforts, which can be found in the manuscript piano-vocal score held in the

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30. This is recorded in Chadwick's memoirs where he refers to "Dear faithful old Frank Fiala!" preparing only the part books from Hosmer's completed score.

Chadwick Collection at NEC. An example of this is found in the Act I recitative discussed earlier (see figure 2.17). While obvious, Chadwick’s reference point was the music of Wagner, the orchestration, as discussed prior, lends much to this fact.

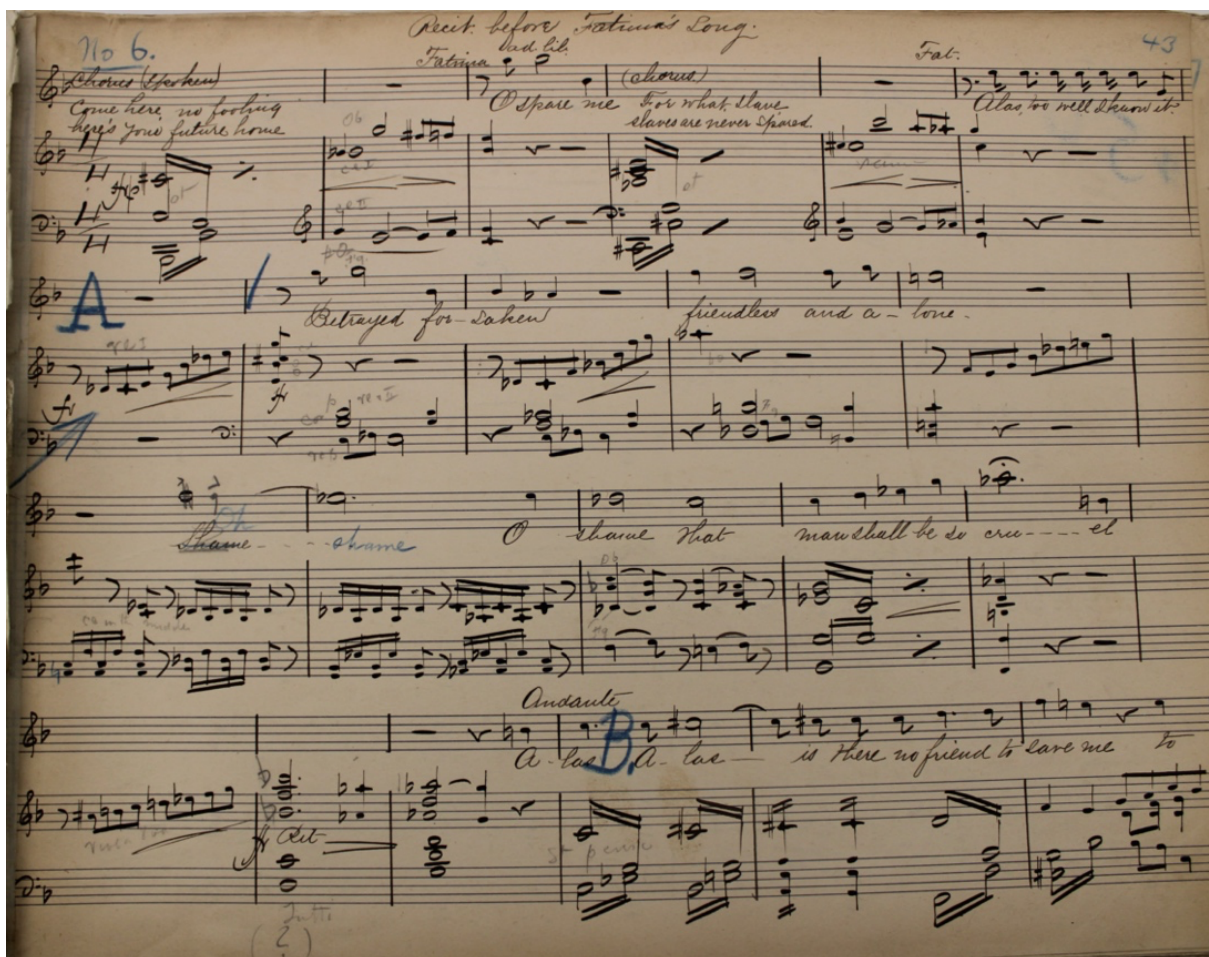


Figure 2.17. George W. Chadwick and Robert A. Barnet, *Tabasco*, piano-vocal score, (1894), (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA). Fatima’s Recitative.

*Tabasco* has been plagued with the categorization of burlesque opera, but even critics of the original production referred to the show as either comic opera or burlesque opera. I argue through Chadwick’s models of composition on Arthur Sullivan and Barnet’s basing of libretto and nonsensical plot devices used by William S. Gilbert, *Tabasco* demonstrates more in common with comic opera than burlesque. Often in burlesque shows, the music was secondary to the action on the stage, but in Chadwick’s

composition of lengthy choruses, patter songs, and arias, he elevated *Tabasco's* music from the secondary realm to that of equal importance with Barnet's plot and dialogue.

### *Tabasco* and Musical Exoticism

The representation of non-Western cultures has always presented considerable challenges for librettists and composers. *The Mikado*, for example, has received backlash and performance bans through its history due to opera companies' portrayal of characters in "yellow face," stereotyped gestures, and general disrespect towards the Japanese culture. Ralph Locke's paradigm, "all the music in full context" is helpful in addressing the aforementioned characterizations.<sup>31</sup> In advocating for "all the music in full context," Locke discussed the prior paradigm used by many scholars does not always account for operatic works which may or may not include music alluding to that of the exotic and asserts this new paradigm allows scholars the opportunities to examine aspects of performing works outside of the music through setting, costume choices, character, plot, etc.

Categorized by Bordman as "another pseudo-orientalia of the era,"<sup>32</sup> *Tabasco's* setting of Tangier was most likely a thinly veiled attempt to provide for the extravagant costuming and sets Barnet would eventually become known for<sup>33</sup> as one reporter wrote on the subject:

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31. Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (2007): 483.

32. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 129.

33. During productions by the Cadets and others, Barnet was known to spend much of his budget on scenic designs and costuming for each of the characters, often to the dismay of the Cadets theatrical committee. This would eventually cause contention

Leaving the paths of “historical accuracy” and the well-trodden fields of Spanish history, which during the past year have become so familiar to the public mind, Mr. Barnet has laid the scene of his new work in the far east, and the romantic city of Tangiers will contain the actors and the events of the new piece as the Spanish court and 5<sup>th</sup> Ave served to do for “1492.” The opportunities for romantic situations, funny hits, appropriate music and magnificent stage settings, give it attractiveness and an adaptability nowhere else available.<sup>34</sup>

The setting chosen also provided an opportunity to ridicule, or burlesque, the society types, as in Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Mikado*: “comically arrogant boss (Pasha), scheming executive (Grand Vizier), domineering American woman (Has-Been-A)”<sup>35</sup> portrayed in the Cadet’s production as a Wellesley graduate while a graduate of Vassar in the latter professional production. While the Pasha may serve as a place holder for the comically arrogant boss, the character also is a direct correlation of the raging warlord with the perceived violence of Middle Eastern rulers. This is made evident in the “Pasha’s Song” through Barnet’s text:

“In Tangiers I’m the Bey – I am the Monarch of the day  
And my will it is my loving subjects’ law  
I was born and bred to rule – I’m despotic never cool  
I am apt to grumble, reprimand and jaw.”<sup>36</sup>

Thus, creating a setting which the audience senses as humorously barbaric that the Pasha must have complete control of all around him, and his mood at any moment may determine how he acts towards others, such as the case of the threat of decapitation to François later in Act I. For Michael Beckerman the “caricature of Japanese

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between Barnet and the Cadets with payment disputes and Barnet’s impending bankruptcy providing the proverbial nail in the coffin of the collaboration.

34. “Military and Naval,” *Boston Globe*, December 10, 1893.

35. Victor Fell Yellin, “The Life and Operatic Works of George Whitefield Chadwick” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1957), 182.

36. Chadwick and Barnet, *Tabasco*.

bloodthirstiness” in *The Mikado* carries over to Gilbert’s use of “impending violence” in other works for the stage.<sup>37</sup> Where in Gilbert’s libretto, there is talk of boiling oil, self-decapitation, burial alive, and decapitation, Barnet’s usage of impending doom is simply deception. Of course, one could argue that Barnet’s usage is simply just as the Queen of Hearts in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, an otherwise well-intentioned ruler making snap judgments and hasty decisions, just a comically arrogant boss, but its contextualization within the exotic setting exploits the aforementioned violence. Later in the act, the Pasha is alerted by mail of a gift (which the Sultan sends) of a slave girl, Fatima. Representing the sexuality and seductive aspirations often associated with the Middle Eastern caricature,<sup>38</sup> Fatima tests the Pasha’s “blind rage, jealousy, and charms of the opposite sex” discussed by Locke as primary “deplorable” behaviors acted out by characterizations of exotic characters.<sup>39</sup> Although given to the Pasha as a gift, Fatima catches the eyes of Marco, the Spanish Captain, and they both fall madly in love with one another. The Pasha, as hot headed as can be, seeks in all ways to prevent this relationship from progressing.

Whereas in *The Mikado* there are musical references to the Japanese setting, Chadwick does not use musical techniques to suggest Morocco, instead using the music as a burlesque technique, where he parodies the characters and uses musical styles popular with the audiences at the time. In one instance where he marks a march as “à la turque,” the music is instead “Irish Yankee Doodle, a tune Chadwick heard from a nanny

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37. Michael Beckerman, “The Sword on the Wall: Japanese Elements and Their Significance in “The Mikado”,” *The Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (1989): 316.

38. Locke, “A Broader View of Musical Exoticism,” 491.

39. *Ibid.*, 495.

in his employment. Stylistically, the music is mostly European drawing as it does on waltzes, scherzos, mazurkas, barcarolles, and other European folk and court dances but does include use of the American ballad, march, and gallop.

As Faucett observes, “Barnet was a forward-thinking-man. He generally attempted to craft his writings in such a manner that, following their performance with the amateur cadets, they could then appeal to a professional producer.”<sup>40</sup> It could have been through this “forward-thinking” which Barnet approached Chadwick in the summer of 1893 to compose *Tabasco*. Although Chadwick does not officially state this, he does allude to it in the second entry of his memoirs regarding the show, “[a]ll of Barnet’s pieces for the Cadets had been made with a view to further performance by professionals”<sup>41</sup> giving further evidence to suggest Barnet used this as a tactic to entice Chadwick. Chadwick proved to be an excellent choice by Barnet and his budding popularity as a composer provided the show and himself with a score which the *Boston Herald’s* headline after the opening performance stated, “Wins new laurels for...Composer Chadwick...”.<sup>42</sup>

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40. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 136.

41. George Whitefield Chadwick, “Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks,” 1894 – 1907, (NECA 1.2 *George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA*).

42. “Brim Full of Pleasing Tunes,” *Boston Herald*, January 30, 1894.

## CHAPTER 3 VERY GENTLEMANLY LADIES

*Tabasco* first opened on January 29, 1894 where it ran for five days in Boston's Tremont Theatre. A resounding success, the show grossed \$26,000, a figure first proposed by Victor Yellin, but that has since been contested by Bill Faucett and Alison Barnet to be \$18,500.<sup>1</sup> Yellin wrote, "*Tabasco* surpassed even the cadets fondest expectations,"<sup>2</sup> as they believed it to be the best production they had given to date.<sup>3</sup> Chadwick's music was highly praised by the reviewers, while Barnet's libretto by contrast was not considered to be of the first rank. The extensive newspaper coverage of the Cadet Theatricals provides much information about the rehearsals, preparations, and even reviews of the performances themselves. This chapter focuses on these articles and reviews and the perception these reports provided for the Boston public.

### Girls Clean Shaven

Given that the comic operas performed by the Cadets were used as fundraising devices, rehearsal attendance was strictly enforced as part of guard duty. Since the Cadets played

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1. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King: Robert Barnet and Boston Musical Theater* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 62; Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 137.

2. Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 177.

3. Chadwick Memoirs, 1894 – 1907 (CC – NEC).



all roles in their shows, Barnet began casting by asking who would be interested in playing a skirt role. By 1896, Barnet had begun casting the roles by assigning each chorus member a number, where even and odd referred to the masculine or feminine roles. In 1897 the *New England Home Magazine* published an article entitled “Cadets as Soubrettes” which recorded an exchange that is alleged to have taken place between Barnet and a member of the cast:

“You weigh too much for a girl.”  
“Only weigh 160.”  
“Well, do you want to give up your mustache?”  
“Just as soon.”  
“Ever wear corsets?”  
“Lots of times.”  
“Well, we’ll put you down as a girl-No. 28.”<sup>4</sup>

The members agreeing to play the feminine roles were often chosen because they did not mind shaving their faces and legs for the performances. With each passing show presented, the Boston newspapers began publicizing the annual shave undertaken by the Cadets. As described in an article published in the *Boston Globe* on December 17, 1893 entitled “Their Annual Shave,” “[t]he pretty and piquant Cadet girls are getting shaved preparatory to the Cadet theatricals of 1894. They are all charmers. You just watch the stage door of the Tremont Theatre during the week of Jan. 29 and see if they don’t catch the boys.”<sup>5</sup> The annual shave became such an event that Boston papers and periodicals published articles on it for years to come. Anne Alison Barnet mentions in her biography of Barnet the annual shave began to decline after the invention of the

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4. Reginald Blake, “Cadets as Soubrettes,” *New England Home Magazine* (Sunday supplement to the *Boston Herald*), December 11, 1897, 257–60.

5. “Their Annual Shave,” *Boston Globe*, December 17, 1893.

Gillette safety razor in 1901.<sup>6</sup> The *Boston Record* ran the following article regarding Courtenay Guild, an advisor to a Boston Mayor, and his shave in 1895:

The new mayor's office will be well represented in the Cadet performance this year. Courtenay Guild will shed his handsome mustache pretty soon after inauguration, and pirouette as a coryphee in "Upidee" and his understudy, asst. Sec'y Wadsworth Baylor, who has been a cadet for three years past, will also essay skirts and rogue, and prance about in the ballet.<sup>7</sup>

Another article told Courtenay Guild's story after his shave:

Courtenay Guild, the mayor's private secretary, got shaved the other day and because of the fact he had trouble getting into the mayor's office the following morning. Mr. Guild's usual shave is one round his chin, but this morning he happened to clear off his mustache too as a preliminary move to his appearing in the Cadet theatricals. There are a number of able men, bank forgers, and others, who use this gentle subterfuge as an effectual disguise, and it was only natural that when he came down town his best friends slid by him on the sidewalk. He usually enters his office by a sacred side door, but this morning when he came to a half in front of it he found his key was missing.

Calling the policeman he asked him to open the door. The office looked at him in a blank sort of way and refused. "I can't let you in this door," he said, "only the mayor and his private secretary are allowed to use that." "But I am the private secretary," persisted Courtenay, "and I want to go in." The office looked at him in a pitying sort of way. "Young man," he said, "you're out too early; go home and sleep a bit longer, and use cracked ice this time. Why Mr. Guild is twice your size and has a full mustache. Come now move, none of your green goods games on me." Move he did, move he was forced to, till he sidled up to the public door and then he sidled in with the policeman in hot chase. When he saw the apparent stranger hang his clothes up in the mayor's wardrobe and seat himself at Mr. Guild's desk all suddenly dawned on him. The priv. sec., however, solaced him with some of those cigars which he always keeps for reporters and he went away happy. After all, he thought it's not the clothes, but the hair that makes a man.<sup>8</sup>

An article printed by the *Boston Evening Record* closer to the opening of *Tabasco* provides further insight not only into the shave, but the preparations the Cadets made

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6. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 82.

7. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Record*, December 21, 1894.

8. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Record*, March 1895.

prior to each show. While the *Boston Globe* printed an article about the Cadets' transformation into the female roles of the work. Dr. Breck, Fatima, was often billed in papers at the time as the 'bearded lady' before he shaved during the week of dress rehearsals.

It has been great sport thing to get the waists down to a comely slenderness, and everyone had said as the corset strings have been drawn up: "Oh, hold on. I cannot stand that." "You must," the dresser would say. "Why, \_\_\_\_'s waist measures three inches less than yours." "Does it? Pinch it up then. I suppose I can stand it."<sup>9</sup>

The article goes on to discuss the waist, bust, and shoe sizes of the cast. The smallest waist size of 23 inches being Mr. Tappen while Mr. Alley with the largest bust measurement of 38 inches. The smallest shoe size was 5 1/2 by Mr. Tappen while the Cadet who played the role of Has-Been-A has a size that could range anywhere from 18–24.<sup>10</sup>

During the weeklong run by the Cadet's, the *Boston Evening Record* printed another article in the February 1, 1894 edition entitled "Tells the Secrets of *Tabasco's* Dressing Room. Corsets Worn Upside Down. Dresses Hindside Foremost" which discusses even more the transformation of the Cadets and some of the issues Edith – the head dresser – dealt with in costuming.

Now and then her dress is pulled by a despairing man who wails, "You'd said you'd fix me next." They seem to lose everything and then find it and get mixed up all over again...Poor Edith was a picture of tearful amusement the other night, when a harem girl, Mr. F. W. Lawrence, was making a dive for the stage and she discovered that while his tights and trousers were on his trunks were minus, but

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9. "Tabasco "Sauce", " *Boston Evening Record*, January 22, 1894.

10. Ibid.

she managed to stop him in his mad career, and Lawrence could be heard muttering as he went tearing back: “I don’t like being a girl anyway.”<sup>11</sup>

The chorus members were not alone in their plague of costuming issues, as George Breck had dressed for the opening night with his corset upside down. The corsets and undergarments were designed with padding in the hips as to create a feminine figure on the otherwise masculine Cadets, much like drag performers today use padding and shaping undergarments.

### Rehearsals with the Cadets’ Laureate



Figure 3.1. “Tsar Barnet,” *Boston Herald*, January 3, 1904.

Since rehearsals were largely required as part of guard duty for performers, these rehearsals were often run as strictly as possible, due in no small part to Barnet and his ambitious standards. The *Boston Herald* ran a drawing of Barnet during the 1904 production of *Cinderella and the Prince* that crowned him “Czar Barnet” with him

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11. “Tells the Secrets of “Tabasco’s” Dressing Room,” *Boston Evening Record*, February 1, 1894.

screaming to the chorus members, “Move! Move!”<sup>12</sup> (see figure 3.1). In later shows, rehearsals would begin in November, and the case is true with *Tabasco*, as the script and most music had been completed by the middle of November 1893. One reporter wrote about the rehearsals being “a very serious matter as the time that can be devoted to each is very limited. The discipline is almost military, but after the second or third evening those who may have been inclined to take the matter lightly have made up their minds that is a case of hard work.”<sup>13</sup>

In conjunction with the 1905 theatrical, *Boodle & Co.*, the *Boston Herald* ran an article that stated:

Mr. Barnet has for many months been putting mental and verbal jiu jitsu holds on the Cadets. He calls the process “Getting the boys keyed up.” He is absolutely determined to make them do the best possible work that is in them. He has them “buffaloed.” He has them in such a frame of mind that by the lifting and lowering of a finger he can send 90 of them scampering on and off the stage.”<sup>14</sup>

Later in the article, the writer continues:

Mr. Barnet had clapped his hands. He had used the stage manager’s code. By that simple signal he had delivered himself of a volume of verbiage that the Boston Herald would absolutely refuse to send into the homes of New England. “What was the first word of that line?” said Mr. Barnet, mildly. “Bright,” answered the subjected chorus, with rebuked expressions. “Then let me hear it distinctly,” answered the stage manager. The performers are subdued absolutely to understand that applause from Mr. Barnet means, “Cut it out! Cut it out! Oh, poor; bum; rotten, etc. Go away back and do it all over again. That’s the worst I ever saw.”<sup>15</sup>

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12. “Mr. R. A. Barnet,” *Boston Herald*, January 3, 1904.

13. Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 76.

14. “Where Applause Means Trouble,” *Boston Herald*, February 12, 1905.

15. Ibid.

Barnet's discipline was so strict that an unidentified New York newspaper wrote in January 1903 "...last year a young cadetsmen, who happened to be in New York, chartered a special train to take him home in time for rehearsal, to avoid unpleasant consequences."<sup>16</sup>

A month or two before the show was to open, Barnet would invite the press to rehearsals. More than once, journalists described the strange scenes they witnessed and commented upon the businessmen's wardrobe being half suit and half frilly skirt. Whether the idea to invite the press was Barnet's or not, these invitations served the purpose of advertising the show to the Boston public.

An article published by the *Sunday Globe* December 31, 1893 provides valuable information regarding the show. Opening by stating "BOB BARNET will play in "Tabasco." This is a settled fact, and all previous states that he will not appear account for nothing."<sup>17</sup> After his performance as the Daisy Queen Isabella of Spain in *1492*, the Theatrical Committee for the Cadets had sought to ban Barnet from performing in future shows. These arrangements, as Alison Barnet states, meant that "Barnet would thereafter restrict himself to writing lyrics and let others sing them."<sup>18</sup> His vocal prowess, or lack thereof, was well known and documented in reviews back to his first show with the Cadets. The *Boston Herald* wrote regarding his role in as the Grand Vizier

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16. Unidentified New York newspaper, January 1903, from scrapbook in possession of Anne Alison Barnet.

17. "Barnet's Peppery Opera," *Sunday Globe*, December 31, 1893.

18. Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 60.

in *Tabasco*, “[h]is impersonation had many points of merit, though he can be acquitted of any claims for distinction as a vocal artist.”<sup>19</sup>

Why then, if Barnet and the Cadets had come to this conclusion did Barnet take the stage? The gentleman originally cast to play the Grand Vizier has apparently fallen ill, and it was assumed he would not be able to regain his health to be able to play the role in the upcoming show. As rehearsals had sufficiently progressed, it would prove a challenge to find a replacement and have them ready to perform the role in less than a month’s time. Barnet, being the librettist and stage director, proved to be the best replacement.

The unnamed writer mentions in the review that “‘Tabasco’ will be the most pretentious play that has engaged the whole of the cadets.”<sup>20</sup> Sir Henry Irving had somehow taken an interest in the work and the Cadets while he was on a theatrical tour of the United States in 1893, and was reported by a newspaper that he, “Said many kind of encouraging and inspiring and suggestive things to the players, and had declared, moreover, that he certainly intends to witness the performance.”<sup>21</sup> While Irving’s attendance at a rehearsal has yet to be proved, an article in the *Boston Journal* states that “Henry Irving’s stage manager saw the show and said, ‘the English could not give such a show,’”<sup>22</sup> and further that there was a box reserved specifically for Irving during

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19. “Brim Full of Pleasing Tunes: Burlesque Opera at the Tremont Theatre a Great Success,” *Boston Herald*, January 30, 1894.

20. “Barnet’s Peppery Opera,” *Sunday Globe*, December 31, 1893.

21. Ibid.

22. “Very Hot Stuff,” *Boston Journal*, January 28, 1894.

the preview performance of the show.<sup>23</sup> Barnet's preview performances were one of the biggest nights for the show, as professional actors and musicians around Boston were offered tickets. Chadwick writes in his memoirs of Irving's attendance at the preview, "We had a "professional matinee" before the show to which the entire theatrical profession was migrated. Sir Henry Irving was there and laughed loudly. Especially at the Grand Vizier's Song."<sup>24</sup>

It must be remembered that such newspaper accounts offer no guarantee of accuracy, and indeed many producers sought to sell their shows to the public audiences through the papers and often exaggerated much of what was printed. In this case, however, there is no reason to doubt the author of the article published in the *Boston Herald*, as the rest is factual and can be traced through other sources. If true, Irving's interest in the work would have provided a boost to not only ticket sales, but the possibility of future performances in the United States and Great Britain.

The article continues discussing the guardsmen and which characters they will be playing as well as the ballet to be led by Mr. Green. Ample space is also dedicated to discussing the match "that will not fail of a striking and peculiar picturesque" performed by the guard of the Pasha:

It is an exceedingly awkward squad of four men, and the anomalies and eccentricities of its conduct and appearance give the satirist an opportunity to indulge in some merry sarcasm at the expense of the military "guard" of the governor of this our own dear commonwealth [*sic*] of Massachusetts.<sup>25</sup>

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23. "Actors Were the Spectators," *Boston Transcript*, January 25, 1894.

24. George Whitefield Chadwick, "Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks," 1880 – 1893, (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

25. "Barnet's Peppery Opera," *Sunday Globe*, December 31, 1893.



The costumes for the Cadets' *Tabasco* were designed by John C. Abbott, Jr., and Otho Williams McD. Cushing, the latter being a drawing instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cushing's drawings, while not extant, were noted for being "interesting and valuable" as he spent a few years in Tangier.<sup>26</sup> One reviewer noted, "Every costume used in "Tabasco" has been taken from special water color designs, and the unity and harmony and correctness of color will be a surprise even to old theater goers."<sup>27</sup> The time which Cushing spent in Tangier surely informed his approach to the design of the costumes, but they do reflect the caricature of costuming often found in comic opera performances of the time.

Take for instance the costume of the Pasha. One reviewer described the Pasha's costume in the following way, "[T]he pasha, with rubicund face, vermillion whiskers, red baggy trousers, and a gold scimitar of bloodthirsty proportions...."<sup>28</sup> (see figure 3.1). This is particularly evident in the exaggerated eye makeup with its heightened brows, something that is used not only is used to enlarge the eye but create the appearance of an overtly puffy eye. This effect is used to create a character with features so overtly exaggerated, it's a caricature. Moving from the face to the tunic, it appears the fabric for the costume is a red satin or silk. The sleeves off the tunic end in a triangular pattern across the back of the hand. The base of the tunic is pleated and flowers out, with a large belt which covers the waist and midsection. The pants billow out towards the ankles, in an almost clownish fashion. In short, the Pasha's entire costume is a caricature from

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26. Ibid.

27. "Military and Naval," *Boston Globe*, December 10, 1893.

28. "Girls Clean Shaven," *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

head to toe. Even the “gold scimitar of bloodthirsty proportions”<sup>29</sup> and “several genuine Moorish knives and swords”<sup>30</sup> worn by many principal characters evoke the perceived bloodthirstiness of Middle Eastern rulers which the West often attempted to portray.



*Figure 3.2.* Photograph of the Grand Vizier and Pasha, Personal Collection, Alison Barnett, Boston, MA.

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29. Ibid.

30. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Traveler*, January 20, 1894.

Barnet's costume as the Grand Vizier was said to include a bale of cotton on his head contrasted with the "electric blue and stunning yellow"<sup>31</sup> of his garments. A reporter for the *Boston Times* remarked, "[h]e [Barnet] looked like a superb American Indian, with his bronzed skin, in the first act (and you know, nothing is handsomer than a handsome Indian)."<sup>32</sup> Barnet's costume also included "a big Moorish pistol"<sup>33</sup> which was loaned from an antique collection in Boston. The pistol was described in detail in an article from the *Boston Traveler*, "Its handle is of handsomely-carved wood, its barrel of Moorish steel intricately engraved with curious arabesque figures, while the barrel bands and other mounting are of brass and silver."<sup>34</sup>

The costume of Sid-Hass-Em is remarked by a turban with two feathers coming out of the center front and a tunic overlaid with a jacket which breaks at the mid-hip. The trousers billow from the waist and break just above the knee. The legs continue with a dark colored hose before breaking into the shoes. The face is characterized by overly exaggerated facial hair.

The other principal male roles: Marco, François, and the beggars, do not have costumes suggestive of the opera's setting in Tangier. François's costume is the standard Chef's jacket, trousers, and pleated hat which one expects a chef to wear. The costume of Marco is used more to evoke Spain with its white long-sleeved shirt and breeches that end below the knee cap. The beggars are clothes in what would appear to be a mismatch

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31. "Girls Clean Shaven," *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

32. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Times*, February 4, 1894.

33. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Traveler*, January 20, 1894.

34. *Ibid.*

of fabrics and styles, a common costuming technique used in minstrel shows and often paired with blackface.

Of interest in the principal females costuming is Fatima and Has-Been-A. Fatima's costuming is evocative of her homeland of Caucasia. Her simple dress is set off by a large veil which covers the upper half of her body. The veil is used as a plot device during the chorus "Gem of the Orient" when Marco and Lola are aiding Fatima in her escape from the Pasha. They use the veil to cloak a sailor from Marco's ship and give to the Pasha as Fatima. The plan is foiled as the Pasha lifts the veil to discover the change. Has-Been-A's costume can be argued draws much of its inspiration from European dress with its formfitting bodice and multi-layered skirt over a cage crinoline. One review described the costume as a "white-spangled pantalet and green-trimmed frock."<sup>35</sup> As a man playing a woman, the actor wore a "coal black" curly wig with a "jeweled head piece" from "which floats the long graceful peacock feather" was "set with three magnificent topazes."<sup>36</sup>

The costumes for the Pasha's Guard were reported to "create an easy sensation,"<sup>37</sup> most likely based on the costumes of Sid-Hass-Em. The female members of the chorus wore Turkish skirts which proved to be an issue to the actors playing the roles. Each

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35. "Girls Clean Shaven," *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

36. "A Woman Tells the Secrets of "Tabasco's" Dressing Room," *Boston Evening Record*, February 1, 1894.

37. "Tabasco "Sauce" ," *Boston Evening Record*, January 22, 1894.

skirt was made with three tabs on the sides and back which allowed the “gorgeous trousers fluttering with spangles and gems”<sup>38</sup> to be visible to the audience.

Invariably then men put the center tab in front. They very likely think it looks more girlish to have a tab in front but the great unaccounted for space in the back looks as lonesome as when the last front tooth of a good set has been knocked out.<sup>39</sup>

While Abbott and Cushing’s designs may have been based on the clothing which Cushing saw during his time in Tangier, the designs and pictures are heavily inspired by clothing of America at the time. Where one would expect to see traditional forms of clothing worn by Moroccans such as the djellaba or kaftan, the product is often caricatures of these. Much of the face makeup one could expect was some form of brown face, as evidenced by the reviewers’ discussions of both the Grand Vizier and the Pasha. This was not a huge departure for the Cadets, as they had begun their shows in the 1880’s during minstrel style review shows.

### They Came to Praise: Reviews and The Press

For the run of *Tabasco*, the Cadets secured the Tremont Theatre across from Boston Common on Tremont Street. At the time, the Tremont often played host to traveling comic opera and other low comedy shows. The Barnet Comic Opera Company performed *Prince Pro Tem* the prior September.

Reviews at the time were generally positive, touting not only the successes of the Cadets, but Chadwick as well. Barnet, on the other hand, received the brunt of bad

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38. “A Woman Tells the Secrets of “Tabasco’s” Dressing Room,” *Boston Evening Record*, February 1, 1894.

39. *Ibid.*

reviews for his libretto as one reviewer wrote, “[i]t must be confessed frankly that the book of “Tobasco” [sic] as a whole is pretty poor stuff.”<sup>40</sup>

The music of Mr. George W. Chadwick was excellent, and some of the actors were capital...But Mr. Barnet’s libretto! In the name, sir, of all that is civilized, where do you think we have lived? Do you imagine that we never read Pucka and Judge and Life and Vogue? ...And, furthermore, do you imagine that comedy consists in cheap, sometimes vulgar, puns, and elongated epithets? If you do, try again, and then stop...The Libretto of “Tabasco” is much worse than “Prince Pro Tem” as that was worse than “1492,” and when this ratio is solved enough is said.<sup>41</sup>

Other reviewers were more kind to the librettist with the *Boston Herald* publishing the following the day after the opening production:

Mr. Barnet’s story is of the character usually expected in burlesque. It affords an indefinite enlargement and variation and lends itself to the genus of the stage manager in the modest approved fashion....Mr. Barnet has treated this slight plot in his usual off-hand style, and if he has not succeeded in making a substantial beating of it, he has at least framed a skeleton which his own and other brains will quickly make into an artistic form which will hold the stage for many a day. Mr. Barnet is given to dealing in humorous enterprises, and although he relies to a certain extent upon what might be called “stock humor,” he certainly uses the matter in an original and amusing way. His lines and lyrics proved irresistible to the audiences last evening, and he has little cause to take exception to the success attending to his efforts in this production.<sup>42</sup>

Barnet never received an education above that of primary school. As soon as he was able to work, he found a job working in a sugar distributor located on the harbor in Boston. Even though having only a few months of high school schooling, Barnet had a keen sense of business, making enough money to build the family a large home in the Ashmont section of Dorchester. Many of his skills as a librettist were formed during his time as a member and manager of the Longwood Minstrels. The Longwood Minstrels

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40. Unidentified Clipping, February 8, 1894.

41. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Budget*, February 4, 1894.

42. “Brim Full of Pleasing Tunes: Burlesque Opera at the Tremont Theatre a Great Success,” *Boston Herald*, January 30, 1894.

were a group of Boston merchants and clerks that had begun shows to raise money for the Children's Friend Society of Boston. As Barnet planned for the next show he wrote, he often took the comments of the critics into account. While it is true that Barnet's original libretto was "pretty poor stuff" the reworked libretto which Seabrooke would request shows a much better reworking of the dialogue and plot.

Much of the praise for the collaborating authors was reserved for Chadwick, even though there were detractors who criticized Chadwick for composing the music to such a farcical and trivial entertainment as comic opera. The *Boston Herald* had this to say regarding Chadwick's music after opening night, "[o]f Mr. Chadwick's music, much was expected and more was realized." Chadwick has been praised as the most distinguished composer Barnet worked with, and this offers evidence the Boston public had a high standard for the soon to be Director of NEC. The review goes on to state:

All who have heard his serious compositions knew him as a thoroughly, well-grounded musician, a man devoted to conservative forms and as full of melody as any of the old composers, whose music has come to be accepted as a standard for modern students. That Mr. Chadwick would use his mastery of the most accepted forms and do this in a way to meet the demands of the lover of the lighter class of composers was proved beyond question in even a first hearing of his music of "Tabasco." The opera is brimful of tunes, and, although they are not of the kind that are easily memorized, they linger in the memory when once thoroughly committed and give a satisfaction far greater than that at tending the recalling of the light trash of song and dance order. There are half a dozen numbers that are worthy to be ranked with the very best works of the comique opera stage, and, as a whole, the music of "Tabasco" calls for the highest commendation.<sup>43</sup>

While Chadwick did compose the music, the orchestration was completed by Lucian Hosmer, as discussed in the prior chapter. The *Herald* highly praised Hosmer's contributions to the show:

One of the most prominent characteristics of Mr. Chadwick's music is in its humor, and in listening to the work of the orchestra one can find quite as much to

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43. Ibid.

laugh at as in looking at the amusing scenes on the state. Mr. Hosmer either has the gift of using the humorous instruments of the orchestra in the cleverest fashion, or else his teacher has been singularly successful in making points which serve to cause unqualified amusement throughout the opera.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the Cadets were familiar with comic opera and theatrical performances from their involvement at Harvard with the Hasty Pudding Club. Chadwick's challenge in composition was to create a score which the non-professional could execute well, and still entrance the audiences. The *Herald* goes on to state regarding Chadwick's music:

In considering the merits of the performance due allowance had to be made for the difficulties of the vocal score, for Mr. Chadwick has written several numbers that made demands calling for the work of professional singers, and the Cadets are as a rule better suited to succeed in chorus than in solo numbers. Little allowance needs to be made, however, for the dramatic side of the production, for the men entered into their parts with singular success.<sup>45</sup>

Another reviewer states about Chadwick's music:

Much of Mr. Chadwick's humor is, so to speak, in the foot notes. There is more fun in the accompaniment than in the text of the Grand Vizier's song. The slumping and booming of the market are graphically described by the instrumentation. The Grand Vizier sings, "I get the shade when others greet the sun," and the impertinent question arises forthwith in the orchestra, "Where did you get that hat?" But many of these foot notes of humor are in fine print, and I fear they will escape the attention of the average audience engaged chiefly with what appears on the stage.<sup>46</sup>

The "slumping and booming of the market," as illustrated by the orchestra when the Vizier sings "The market slumps whenever I take hold, and greets the sun as soon as I have sold," could easily be a reference to Barnet's own misfortune at the time. Earlier in the 1893–94 theatrical season, he attempted to launch the Barnet Comic Opera company with a production of his latest show, *Prince Pro Tem* in Boston's Museum

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44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Unidentified clipping, February 8, 1894.



Theater. Although considered by audiences to be a success, the critics ravaged it. Although, Alison Barnet, the great-granddaughter of Robert, believes “[Robert] Barnet undoubtedly expected that the Barnet Comic Opera Company would go on to produce many more shows, he didn’t do as well by the backers of *Prince Pro Tem* as he had hoped.”<sup>47</sup> Barnet’s financial misfortunes began a few years earlier, as he and his partner in the sugar distribution business were beginning to face difficulties. For every failure, Barnet seemed to have a success, as around the time *Tabasco* premiered, he had become the sole distributor and representative of Ruinart, a French brut champagne, through New England. Although, this would soon come to an end. Barnet’s son, Robert Jr. remarked in an interview, “I don’t think he knew how much income he was getting, but he was investing it very badly. Father didn’t know how to handle money. No, he’d spend it right and left. His idea of spending money was to spend it and then find out whether you had it or not!”<sup>48</sup>

The reviews of the cast were positive, which could be due in part to the Cadets being members of Boston’s high society. Even though this is plausible, as is seen in the case of Barnet, there is still room to criticize performances. Mr. Sutton as the Pasha was remarked to be, “the best part he has yet had in these productions,”<sup>49</sup> while Mr. Benton as Has-Been-A, “gave a most laughable character sketch and added his full share of the fun of the performance in his scenes.”<sup>50</sup>

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47 Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 57.

48. Robert A Barnet Jr., interview by Robert Zuckerman, March 21, 1980.

49. “Brim Full of Pleasing Tunes,” *Boston Herald*, January 30, 1894.

50. *Ibid.*

The *Boston Globe*'s reviewer describes the opening scene as follows:

The violins began to screech and the oboes to wail at precisely 8 o'clock. The curtain rises, disclosing the quay and square of Tangier, the blue waters of the sea stretching away in the distance, at the right, the "Old Elm," evidently the only first-class summer hotel on the beach.

A chorus of gentlemen in whiskers and ladies in all the colors of the rainbow-you wouldn't recognize them as young merchants, brokers and lawyer of State, School and Summer sts-in singing with as much zeal as can be created by the customary chorus salary of three plunks per week.<sup>51</sup>

The review goes on to describe the scene of the work in great detail, even quoting specific texts and describing many features of the costume, scenery, and sets. By way of conclusion, the reviewer relays the scene afterwards when the composer, librettist, and stage manager "were called out before it [curtain]"<sup>52</sup> to speak to the audience and to take their bows:

Mr. Barnet said: "Boston has many institutions peculiar to itself-the common, baked beans, and Deer Island-and now it has the cadet theatricals. We have been permitted to present them through the interest of citizens, and also through their principal."

Mr. Chadwick returned thanks for the hearty reception given the music.

Mr. Seymour blushed, bowed his acknowledgments and never said a word.<sup>53</sup>

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51. "Girls Clean Shaven," *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

# GIRLS CLEAN SHAVEN.

Cadet Theatricals of 1894 at the  
Tremont Theater.

Ballet Was a Corker---Singers Were  
All Stars---Funny Men Were  
Funny---Audience of Wealth  
and Beauty---Speeches.



THE AUTHOR, MR BARNET, AS THE GRAND VIZIER.

Figure 3.3. Front page of the *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

The Boston public was thoroughly invested in the Cadets Theatricals and had been since their early days. The box office totals from *Tabasco* were around \$18,500.<sup>54</sup> This sum allowed the Cadets to lay the cornerstone and begin construction on the side of

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54. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King*, 62.

the Armory on Columbus Ave. The show was a complete sell out for six nights and a matinee. As Chadwick remembered:

“Tabasco” was given at the Cadet show on January 29 and for a week thereafter. At the time the boys thought it was one of the best shows they had given. They certainly gave some other afterwards that were not as good. ... Between Saturday matinee and evening performances, in order to save making up twice we had supper upstairs in the theater Tremont. We had plenty of cocktails and beer with the result that the pace of the evening performance was considerably accelerated.<sup>55</sup>

E. E. Rice had expected *Tabasco* to be extremely popular, so much so that he laid his claim on professional rights during the rehearsal process. Upon attending a rehearsal with the actor Harry Dixey, whom many thought the show was written for, he stayed for three hours, instead of the agreed upon one. During this time, he exclaimed in astonishment to Dixey, “Good Lord, the play has a plot!”<sup>56</sup> Rice would first buy the performance rights to *Tabasco* before relinquishing them to actor Thomas Quigley Seabrooke, who at that time was leading the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company in a tour of *The Isle of Champagne*.

*Tabasco* was considered a success by the Cadets’ standards, bringing enough money to pay for construction on another wall to the armory and solidifying the Cadet Theatricals in Boston’s winter theater scene. Chadwick and Barnet both were set to make more money from *Tabasco* in the hands of Seabrooke, although they did not expect the issues which would befall them. The press, although not directly speaking ill

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55. George Whitefield Chadwick, “Memoirs, Diaries, and Scrapbooks,” 1894 – 1907, (NECA 1.2 *George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA*).

56. “Barnet’s Peppery Opera,” *Sunday Globe*, December 31, 1893.

of the cast, promoted the success of *Tabasco* through well-crafted articles and reviews which made *Tabasco* a “Burlesque Opera at the Tremont Theatre a Great Success.”<sup>57</sup>

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57. “Brim Full of Pleasing Tunes,” *Boston Herald*, January 30, 1894.

## CHAPTER 4 SEABROOKE'S TABASCO

Boston's Independent Corps of Cadets' production of *Tabasco* brought the composer and librettist great acclaim through reviews in the Boston public and press. While the show was still in rehearsals, E. E. Rice,<sup>1</sup> veteran producer and composer of shows, purchased the performing rights, but sold them after the opening run to Thomas Quigley Seabrooke. This was in part because Rice was afraid he would not see the same success with *Tabasco* as he had with Barnet's earlier work, *1492: Up to Date or Very Near It*.

It has been reported that Seabrooke purchased the performing rights around the beginning of April 1894,<sup>2</sup> but this seems unlikely as the Seabrooke production began rehearsals the beginning of April. It stands to reason that Seabrooke would have purchased the rights in February 1894, which would have given Chadwick and Barnet the allotted time to revise the libretto and music.

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1. In an article in the *New York World*, Edward E. Rice was originally chosen as the composer for *Tabasco*'s score. Why Chadwick was engaged to compose the score is a mystery, but Rice secured the original copyright for the work in early 1893 as listed in the copyright registry. The only other copyright included in the registry is Barnet's registration of the libretto. "News of the Stage World," *The Evening World*, (New York, NY), August 4, 1893; Library of Congress Copyright Office, *Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States: 1870–1916*, vol 2, *O to Z*, (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1918), 2264, <https://archive.org/details/Dramaticcomposito2libro012/page/2264/mode/2up?view=theater>.

2. Lewis C. Strang, *Famous Stars of Light Opera* (Boston: Colonial Press, 1900), 136.

Born Thomas Quigley, Seabrooke apprenticed as a bank teller before being offered his first theatrical role. In 1894, Seabrooke's Comic Opera Company performed the comic opera *The Isle of Champagne* where Seabrooke made headlines as an Irish tenor.<sup>3</sup> Seabrooke was most likely aware of the popularity of the Cadet's *Tabasco* and was interested in purchasing the professional rights. While he was not fond of Barnet's libretto, Seabrooke felt Chadwick's music suited the show rather well and that it far exceeded Barnet's contributions.

During the intervening period between the Cadets' final performance and the rehearsals of the Seabrooke production, Chadwick and Barnet began revising the work. Ledbetter suggests that the entire production was completely reworked, leading one to believe the productions by the Cadets and Seabrooke would not resemble one other.<sup>4</sup> The Seabrooke production retained most of the music from the published piano-vocal score and pieces which had earlier been cut during the revision, thus leading to only slight changes in the music even though sections of the libretto were rewritten. The revisions are evident in the 1895 edition of the libretto, which resembles the orchestra books created for the production.

Chadwick, some twenty years later, expressed his disappointment with the production deal and the revision process, writing, "Seabrooke's part had to be fattened at any cost. He was really a stupid ass without any natural talent..."<sup>5</sup> If Chadwick's

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3. Anne Alison Barnet, *Extravaganza King: Robert Barnet and Boston Musical Theater* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 64.

4. Steven Ledbetter, *George Chadwick: A Sourcebook*, Revised preliminary version, Unpublished 1983.

5. Chadwick Memoirs, 1880 – 1893 (CC – NEC).

opinion of Seabrooke was informed by the forthcoming scandal, is Chadwick's opinion of the revisions to be trusted? As the apprehension expressed toward *Tabasco* and Seabrooke would not be recorded officially until during the First World War, it makes sense to doubt Chadwick's opinion.

The changes requested by Seabrooke resulted in the addition of new musical material, a new Act II Finale, the rearranging of musical numbers, and a more coherent libretto with more complete character development plot devices than the prior version. New insert arias were added for the characters of Lola (played by Seabrooke's then wife), François (played by Seabrooke, but renamed Dennis O'Grady), and the Grand Vizier. Much of the music added during this period is now thought to have been composed by Chadwick, but due to program listings, three pieces have been attributed to other composers.

### Issues of Authorship

The programs from the Seabrooke tour list three insert arias which were initially attributed to composers other than Chadwick: "Oh, Heigh" composed by Ludwig Engländer, "Swim Out O'Grady" composed by Edgar Smith and "Drum Major Jimmy" composed by Hubbard Smith (see figure 4.1). "Oh, High" was inserted following the dialogue after the opening chorus as an entrance song for Lola, as in the ICC production the character only had one song in the Second Act. "Swim Out O'Grady" was used as a replacement for "Song of the Cooks" while Drum Major Jimmy has long been thought to be a replacement for "François' Lament."



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<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">PALAIS DE LA MODE, 284 Main St. Opposite Post Office. <b>V. E. Desautels,</b> French Millinery and Novelties. Opera Bonnets a Specialty.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">BEFORE BUYING A PIANO SEE <b>STEINERT &amp; SONS,</b> 422 MAIN STREET.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ <b>Synopsis</b> §</p> <p>ACT I.—Square and Quay at Tangiers, ACT. II—Scene 1—The Palace Garden. Sc ne 2— The Bey's Palace, Tangiers.</p> <p>Premiere Danseuse, Mlle. PARIS "Drum Major Jimmy," composed by Hubbard Smith Lola's Solo, "O'Heigh?" composed by L. Engländer "Swim Out, O'Grady," composed by Edgar Smith</p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">HOTEL IMPERIAL, John H. Ash, proprietor, Chlooper Falls, Mass. \$3 a day. Livery Connected.</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Gill's Art Store. Large Stock. Low Prices.</p>
<p>DR. J. N. DODGE, <b>Dentist.</b> 354 Main St.</p>	<p>Musical Director, Mr. Lucius Hosmer Stage Manager, Mr. Edgar Smith Scenery by Henry E. Hoyt and Gastle by Bert &amp; Dodge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REPRESENTING THOMAS Q. SEABROOKE.</p> <p>Manager, Mr. W. F. Falk Business Manager, Mr. J. J. Rosenthal Representative, Mr. Jas. Quigley Assistant Stage Director, Mr. H. B. Fairchild</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Programme continued on Next Page.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>"Temptation" In a Superb Cigar Try One. 10c 3 for 25c</b></p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Mrs. G. N. NORRIS, MILLINERY. A Most Assorted Trimmed and Embroidered Goods. 506 Main St., Springfield, Mass.</p>
<p><b>DRAPER, DRUGGIST</b> Huyler's Candy Agency.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Under Glendower Hotel.</p>	<p><b>EASTERN PAPER CO.</b> 33 and 35 Taylor St. HEADQUARTERS Paper, Twine, Paper Bags</p>

Figure 4.1. *Tabasco* Program, Seabrooke Comic Opera Company, McIlhenny Company Archives, Avery Island, LA.

Of these pieces, all three survive in score form either in the Chadwick Collection in the NEC archives or in sheet music form, but issues of text and authorship have proven difficult to determine, as records of the Seabrooke production are not extant. "Oh Heigh," originally believed to be composed by Ludwig Engländer (1853–1914), an Austrian-born American composer of operettas based in New York City, has proved the easiest to determine. The case of Engländer's authorship is suggested by the attribution as composer for Lola's song in programs for Seabrooke's production. Catalogued amongst other scores in the Chadwick Collection, the manuscript for a version of this number is in Chadwick's hand. Although it has long been believed the text of Lola's

entrance song, “Oh Heigh,” was missing,<sup>6</sup> it is known Barnet sent Chadwick a copy of the text with the message “Dear Chad, Can you work something out of this for Lola’s entrance song? Robert.”<sup>7</sup> The text included with the note fits metrically with the melody composed by Chadwick.

The sketchbooks Chadwick used during the composition of the work contain numerous melodic fragments. Chadwick would have been able to use two of these smaller fragments to create numbers for the show. In the case of sketches related to the melody of the refrain of “Oh Heigh,” Chadwick goes as far as to include dynamics (see figure 4.2). In the sketchbook which succeeds “Ye Tabasco Sketch Book”, Chadwick has a complete sketch of the melody with his exact text setting and indications of the orchestral accompaniment (see figure 4.3).

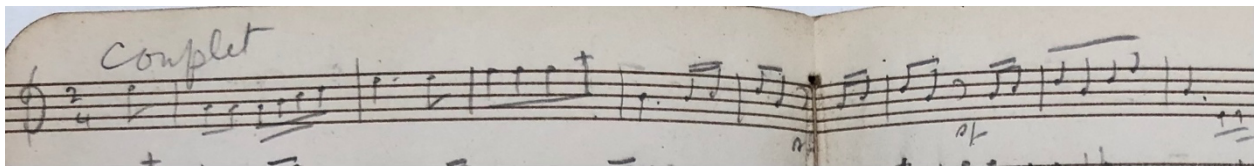


Figure 4.2. George Whitefield Chadwick, 1893 Sketchbook, (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

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6. Paul Mauffray, a New Orleans based conductor who prepared the current performing edition of *Tabasco*, has been under this impression since he began his reconstruction and has gone so far as enlisting the help of others to search for the text of this piece. The 2018 revival production placed “Lola’s Song” as the second number in the show with updated text by Fredrick Kroll and music attributed to Ludwig Engländer.

7. Robert A. Barnet to George W. Chadwick, 1894, Chadwick Collection, New England Conservatory.

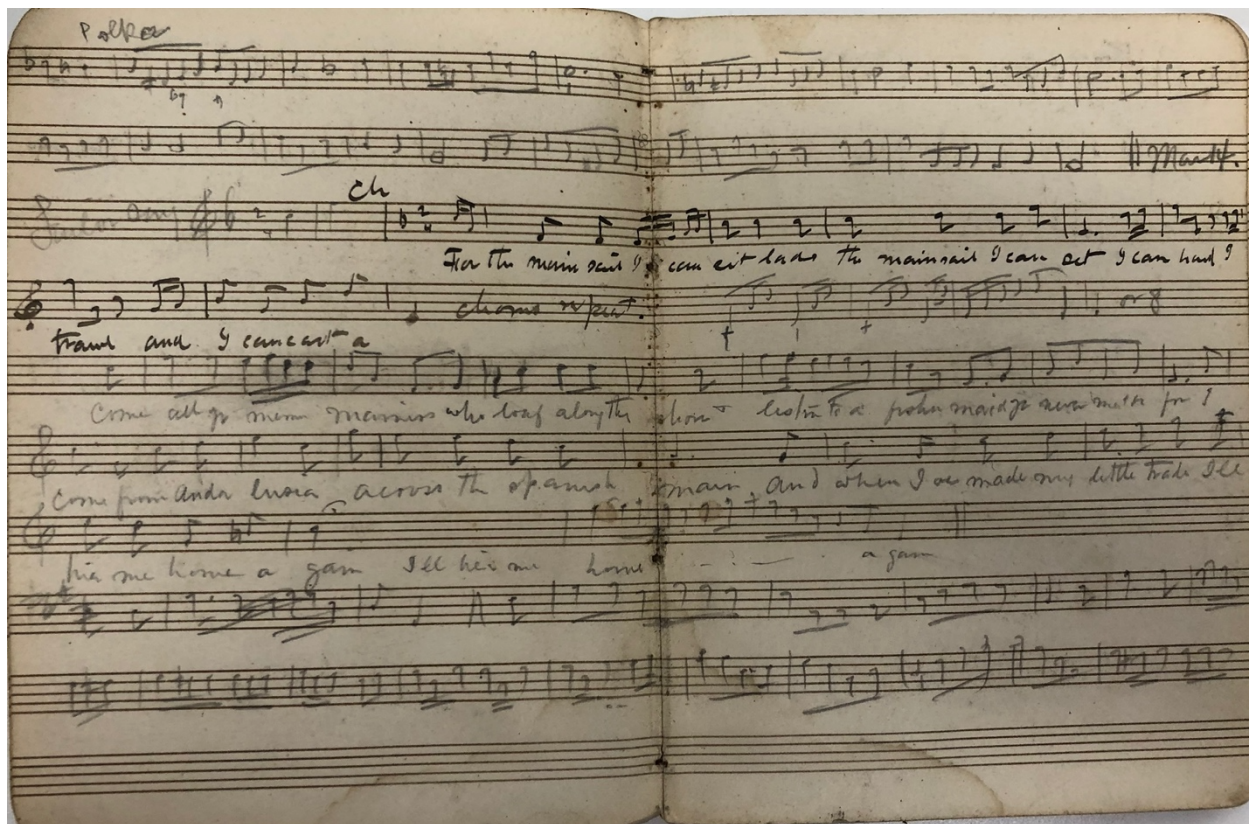


Figure 4.3. George Whitefield Chadwick, 1894 Sketchbook, (NECA 1.2 George W. Chadwick Papers, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA).

There is another musical number in a version of the Act II Finale used by the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company for which a set of text is not known to exist. Some reviewers of the time remark the similarity of Lola’s song to a Strauss waltz, which the manuscript score discussed prior does not confirm. The number embedded within the Act II Finale bears a closer resemblance with it being in 3/8 with a lilting, waltzlike melody. It does not seem this piece was added long after the show began touring as there is an incomplete sketch for this Act II Finale catalogued with other material relating to *Tabasco* at NEC.

In the case of “Drum Major Jimmy” and “Swim Out O’Grady,” it is probable Chadwick and Barnet completed the score and text for each of these pieces as they did for “Lola’s Song,” but asserting authorship has proven difficult. “Swim Out, O’Grady”,

first published in 1894, was attributed to Edgar Smith in the tour programs and the first sheet music publication. Later editions of the sheet music list George Lowell Tracy as composer, a Boston area composer who worked as an assistant to Arthur Sullivan creating piano reductions of the orchestration for the Savoy Operas. The original attribution to Edgar Smith poses many challenges to ascribing authorship. At the time, Smith was serving as the stage manager for Seabrooke's production company, and his name would be later used as the book writer for *The Grand Vizier*, Seabrooke's final attempt to avoid paying the royalties owed to Chadwick and Barnet. Although Smith was a librettist in his own right, having authored close to 150 operettas and shows, the inaccuracies in programs and his later involvement with royalty evasion of *Tabasco* instead offer evidence to refute his authorship. The melodic material for this piece bears a striking resemblance to many of the melodies Chadwick marked as "Irish" in his sketchbooks for *Tabasco* while the piece has almost identical passages to its predecessor, "Song of the Chefs." Although listed in the libretto Barnet completed for the production, a manuscript score is not extant in the Chadwick collection, but orchestral parts do exist in one set of orchestra books.

"Drum Major Jimmy" was used within the Act I Scene 1 Finale "Hail to His Highness,"<sup>8</sup> occurring between the Allegro moderato and Tempo di Valse sections as a replacement for the Pasha's recitative. Originally thought to have replaced "François' Lament," the only music in existence is 16 measures found in the second violin, viola,

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8. "Gem of the Orient" was originally the Act I Scene 2 Finale in the early draft of the libretto. While it appears the first half of the scene was cut for the Cadet's production, "Gem of the Orient" and its preceding action were placed within the prior scene. For the Seabrooke production, it and the original Act I Finale, "Hail to His Highness" were reversed.

cello, and bass books taped into the score with directions to play instead of the recitative. There is no evidence to corroborate the prior suggestions of a replacement for the lament, as the markings in the orchestral books only indicated it was cut and to precede to the next number in the show.

Before rehearsals began, John Avery McIlhenny, then CEO of the McIlhenny's Sons Company, traveled to Boston and New York to meet with the Cadets, Chadwick, Barnet, and Seabrooke regarding the use of Tabasco® brand sauce in the burlesque opera, most likely spurred on by the company's attempts to control use of the word tabasco and limit it to their product specifically. In a letter to his mother dated March 3, 1894, John A. McIlhenny remarks:

The more I hear of the play the better pleased I am with it and the less displeased... If I can arrange with Seabrooke to having the large bottle on the stage as the Cadets' did, and to have it appear on his play bills, and to distribute samples twice a week, I shall be pretty well satisfied.<sup>9</sup>

While a copy of the contract is not known to survive, one was entered as evidence in a court case from 1911<sup>10</sup> where the McIlhenny family would pay Seabrooke \$100 a month for continued production upon condition a large bottle of Tabasco was used on the stage during the show, distribute sample bottles to the attendees, and use the

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9. James A. McIlhenny to Mary Eliza Avery McIlhenny, March 3, 1894, McIlhenny Company Archive, Avery Island, LA.

10. During the Early to Mid 20th Century the McIlhenny Company was attempting to secure a trademark for use of the name Tabasco. There were a series of cases that lasted from 1906 until around 1950, when the final cases were settled in favor of the McIlhenny company. The *Tabasco* contract was entered as evidence by the lawyers to the McIlhenny Company in an effort to prove the show was commissioned by them for promotion of their product. The author of the letter, Joseph de F. Junkin, was inquiring of Chadwick the genesis of the work, as the information supplied by the McIlhenny lawyers did not match public knowledge (i.e., Seabrooke was listed as composer and not Chadwick. A response to Joseph de F. Junkin from Chadwick is not extant).

diagram of the sauce bottle on advertising materials.<sup>11</sup> This also happens to be the first recorded use of the tiny bottle of Tabasco® sauce distributed by the company and in 2017, the miniature bottles accounted for around half of the annual sales for the company.<sup>12</sup> During the run of *Tabasco* in Boston, the bottles proved to be an issue with the authorities discontinuing the practice as *The Evening World* printed during the show's New York run, "Some of the people [In Boston] were not familiar with the peculiar properties of "Tabasco and swallowed quantities of it, much to their subsequent discomfort."<sup>13</sup>

### Tabasco Reopens

Following rewrites and the securing of funding from McIlhenny and Sons, the show began rehearsals in New London, CT, where the company rehearsed "night and day for three days"<sup>14</sup> opening April 6, 1894 for a single performance before moving on to New London, CT on April 7, 1894. *Tabasco* then opened at Boston's Museum Theater on April 9 to the same critical acclaim of the Cadet's *Tabasco*, as Chadwick would later recall, "a very swell and enthusiastic audience," of which the Cadets attended as a

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11. Joseph de F. Junkin to George W. Chadwick, June 10, 1911, Chadwick Collection, New England Conservatory.

12. Jennifer Nalewicki, "Long-Forgotten Opera About Tabasco Sauce Heats Up Stage Again After Almost 125 Years," *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/revival-124-year-old-opera-about-tabasco-sauce-180967916/>.

13. "No Standing Room at 1492," *The Evening World* (New York, NY), June 7, 1894, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83030193/1894-06-07/ed-4/>.

14. Chadwick Memoirs, 1894 – 1907 (CC – NEC).

group.<sup>15</sup> Paul Steindorff served as musical director and was remembered by Chadwick as “an excellent musician” who “worked as hard as he could to make a good show.”<sup>16</sup>

A reviewer for the *Boston Transcript* said of *Tabasco*, “Apparently the success achieved with the professional production of “1492” after the Cadets had given it will be duplicated with “Tabasco,” which was given at the Boston Museum last evening.”<sup>17</sup> E. E. Rice had purchased Barnet’s earlier Cadet production after Barnet staged a professional run of the work in Boston. Under the hands of Rice, *1492* was played across the United States and produced a multitude of royalty checks for Barnet. The review continues:

Since the original presentation there has been much alteration in the dialogue, so that it is more suitable for professional production. The action has been greatly quickened, and several funny lines and incidents have been added, to the marked improvement of several places, but the employment of local names might well be omitted.<sup>18</sup>

As the review continues, Seabrooke is referred to as “droll,” an adjective which litters subsequent reviews of the production and does not paint Seabrooke in a particularly good light. The rest of the review is generally positive toward the cast, except Elva Croix, who is compared with that of “Mr. Davis in the Cadet performance, with regrets that the part is not now so well performed.”<sup>19</sup>

The opening review in the *Boston Globe* opened with high praise of the show stating, “[n]ow one of the solos and very few of the concerted numbers were allowed to

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15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. “Boston Museum: “Tabasco,”” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 10, 1894.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

pass without receiving cordial expressions of approval, and in most instances one or more repetitions were insisted upon.”<sup>20</sup> The reviewer once again speaks highly of Chadwick’s music saying, “Mr Chadwick’s music is rather the best that has ever been furnished an opera of this class...”<sup>21</sup> Ultimately, ticket sales slowed after a few weeks in Boston and Seabrooke turned to New York to keep the production afloat, but not before another revision, of which the *Boston Herald* said “[w]ith a view to adding special interest to these closing performances, the changes made for the New York run of the opera were introduced last evening, and during the final week here “Tabasco” will be given in its metropolitan dress.”<sup>22</sup>

The show began its New York run towards the end of the 1893–94 season at the Broadway Theater on May 14, 1894, following a production of Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Utopia Limited*. The season had seen an increase in shows reaching Broadway Theaters from prior years but, “the increase did not mean higher standards” as over a third of the shows were revivals and less were imported from European composers.<sup>23</sup> As Bordman suggests, “Americans were not writing very good musicals, but they were writing more of them.”<sup>24</sup>

Critical reception was more mixed than was the case in Boston. One reviewer for New York’s *Evening World* proclaimed on May 15, ““Tabasco” should be “hot stuff,” by

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20 “Drama and Music,” *Boston Globe*, April 10, 1894.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Herald*, May 8, 1894.

23. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 124.

24. *Ibid.*



its name. It is not so. It is rather a foaming concoction of mirth and melody, finely adapted for Summer theatrical uses..." Although, the reviewer goes on to state, "nine in every ten will tell you they liked it immensely." The reviewer mostly finds fault in the showing as a comic opera calling it instead a "comic operatic medley" while going on to say, "R. A. Barnet has written exceptionally bright words and phenomenally fresh jokes for the production, and George W. Chadwick has set some of the lines to music which is always pleasant, at times catchy, and occasionally, as regards the chorus portions, really strong." Later reviews in the *Evening World* were much more positive printing, "Thomas Q. Seabrooke has made the biggest kind of a success with his new comic opera..."<sup>25</sup> and "The opera is an unquestionable success, and no one should fail to see it before it leaves the city."<sup>26</sup>

This critical shift appears to stem from the public perception of the work as many reviews, such as the case with the *New York Daily Tribune*, call it an "unexpected hit...[Seabrooke's] song, 'Swim Out, O'Grady,' is becoming more and more popular."<sup>27</sup> Of the numbers in the show "Swim Out O'Grady" and "Greet the Old Man with a Smile" are mentioned with the most frequency. Originally slated to run for four weeks, Seabrooke extended the engagement, by at least one account, indefinitely, but *Tabasco* ended its run at the end of the 1893–94 season, playing around seven weeks.

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25. *Evening World*, June 2, 1894.

26. *Evening World*, June 9, 1894.

27. "A Good Theatre Week," *New York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), June 3, 1894, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83030214/1894-06-03/ed-1/>.

## The Visuals



Figure 4.4. *Tabasco* cast picture, Seabrooke Comic Opera Company, McIlhenny Company Archives, Avery Island, LA. Has-Been-A played by Carrie E. Perkins (First from left), Pasha played by Walter Allen (Front row, third from left), Lola played by Elva Croix (Front row, fifth from left), Dennis O’Grady played by Thomas Q. Seabrooke (Front Row, seventh from left), Marco played by Arthur Adamini (Front Row, ninth from left), the Grand Vizier played by William T. Bryant (Front row, eleventh from left), and Fatima played by Catherine Linyard (Second row, lifted in the air).

The Seabrooke production was not without its issues with respect to the production’s staging. Contemporary photographs held in the McIlhenny Company archives reveal the cast in what looks to be a staged photograph with the cast on stage (see figure 4.4). The most revealing review of the production by *The Boston Globe* after the opening performance in Boston goes into detail describing the scenery and costuming:

The production is splendidly mounted and costumed. The first act setting is particularly beautiful, and very effective is the final scene representing the interior of the bey’s palace. The girls are uncommonly attractive, and they are attired most becomingly. When it is stated that they will not suffer by comparison with the handsome “girls” of the cadet’s production it can be understood how

pretty they look. It is evident that Mr Seabrooke has not spared expense in mounting "Tabasco."<sup>28</sup>

In later productions by the Cadets, Barnet held almost complete artistic direction, and he most likely held some artist direction in the Seabrook production. The costumes of the Pasha and the Grand Vizier are remarkably similar to those used in the Cadets' production. An example of which is the bail of cotton upon the Grad Vizier's head is identical that worn by Barnet just a few months earlier.

The *Boston Globe* also remarks of Otis Harlin, "[h]e was indescribably funny both in makeup and acting, and his dancing won rather the most enthusiastic applause of the evening."<sup>29</sup> As the Cadets production featured the characters of Tangiers in blackface and it was commonplace at the time, it is assumed the Seabrooke production would take this step, as well. Standing in the far right of the picture in figure 4 is a member of the Pasha's guard in blackface. Most often used in a derogatory caricature, blackface rose to prominence with the minstrel shows of nineteenth-century America. Creating characters of racial impersonation was often expected by audiences of the time. The reviewers even spoke about these impersonations in the opening review of the Cadet's production, commenting on Barnet as the Vizier, "He [Barnet] looked like a superb American Indian, with his bronzed skin, in the first act (and you know, nothing is handsomer than a handsome Indian)."<sup>30</sup> Another reviewer for the *Boston Globe* wrote, "[T]he pasha, with

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28. "Drama and Music," *Boston Globe*, April 10, 1894.

29. Ibid.

30. Unidentified Clipping, *Boston Times*, February 4, 1894.

rubicund face, vermillion whiskers, red baggy trousers, and a gold scimitar of bloodthirsty proportions....”<sup>31</sup>

Seabrooke’s production did not shy away from racial impersonations, and the evidence can be found in costuming. Overall, much more of the productions’ costuming evokes the setting of Tangiers when compared with that of the Cadets. The set is a bit harder to discern, as often traveling shows would use stock sets available at theaters they would rent, although the set in the aforementioned photograph is clear based upon architecture of the Middle East.

### Tabasco On the Road/ Seabrooke’s Folly

The production began its national tour at the beginning of the 1894–95 season traveling down the eastern coast and through the southern United States. One set of orchestral books on file in the Chadwick Collection at the New England Conservatory contains a list of cities it is thought the tour visited. Using available programs, newspaper advertisements and reviews, it has been possible to confirm some of these locations. It was not unusual for traveling opera companies at the time to tour with more than one show, as in the case of the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company’s continued production of *Isle of Champagne*. It was often presented alongside *Tabasco* on multi-night engagements as evidenced in the *Galveston Daily News* announcement published November 18, 1894 of the company’s coming engagement on November 19 and 20. From the known dates, *Tabasco* was an ambitious tour, by today’s standards, often playing in one city then traveling to the next for a performance the next night, as was the case in Texas (see figure 4.5).

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31. “Girls Clean Shaven,” *Boston Globe*, January 30, 1894.

**TREMONT OPERA HOUSE**

The Sufficient Comedian,  
**THOS. Q.**

To-Morrow Night, Tuesday Night  
Tuesday Matinee.

SEABROOKE

And His Own Comic Opera Co.

80 People and Orchestra.

**Monday Night and Tuesday Matinee,** Seabrooke's Famous  
**ISLE OF CHAMPAGNE.**

**TUESDAY NIGHT,**  
Seabrooke's Latest,  
**TABASCO.**

Mr. Seabrooke and his splendid organization will make the following tour through the State:

HOUSTON, Wednesday.....Nov. 21	FORT WORTH, Tues'y, Wed'y, Nov. 27, 28
AUSTIN, Thursday.....Nov. 22	DENISON, Thursday.....Nov. 29
SAN ANTONIO, Friday, Sat'd'y, Nov. 23, 24	DALLAS, Friday, Satur'y, Nov. 30, Dec. 1
WACO, Monday.....Nov. 26	PARIS, Monday.....Dec. 3

After which Memphis, Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago.

Figure 4.5. *Galveston Daily News*, November 18, 1894.

Tours often stayed in larger cities longer than some smaller cities. Often there were multiple houses in these cities and towns where productions took place. Booking theaters was often an art and skill that could make or break a production. Booking a show in the wrong theater could be detrimental, as each theater catered to specific audiences. Not only was the type of theater an important consideration for the booking, but the size of the house. If enough seats were not sold to cover the operating costs of the production, it would cut into the profits of the company or could even bring the tour to an end. Many tour members had contracts that would provide for their transportation back to New York if the production closed earlier than expected. Even for these accommodations, there are still stories of producers leaving chorus members in towns to fend for themselves when the tours went under.

The reviews from local papers over the course of the tour proved just as positive as the later reviews for the New York run. *The Galveston Daily News* even went so far as to reprint a review from *The New Orleans Item* in the hopes of attracting an audience:

If “Swim Out O’Grady,” the song so splendidly sung last night by Seabrooke in “Tabasco,” at the Grand opera house, does not capture the town, it will be a marvel indeed. This song alone is worth the price of admission, but is only one of the features of the operetta so greatly enjoyed by the immense audience, and which is the product of the genius of R. A. Barnett and G. W. Chadwick, both of whom have made successes respectively as author and composer, Barnett being the author of “1492.” Thomas Q Seabrooke, the shining light in the galaxy of stars, composing the “Tabasco” company, is not a stranger to the Crescent city’s theatergoers, and his great success in “The Isle of Champagne: last year had left a longing for a further presentation by him. This craving was gratified last night, and it goes without saying that Seabrooke fulfilled all expectations, in fact exceeded them.<sup>32</sup>

It is unknown what materials the production traveled with, as some traveling productions at the time used stock backdrops and sets from the local theaters in which they performed. Principal billed performers often purchased their own costumes for tours in the latest fashions, but photographs of the company suggest the exoticism of many of the costumes, even the resemblance of the Grand Vizier’s to that of the one worn by Barnet in the Cadets’ production. Multiple newspaper reports at the time suggest Seabrooke spent around \$8,000 on the production before it performed in Boston, but as records from the tour are not extant, the precise amount that spent on the show is not known. With a traveling company of 80 members plus orchestra, it is easy to assume a considerable sum of money was needed to support the tour.

As the production traveled, neither Barnet nor Chadwick would accompany it on the road, as Chadwick was teaching courses at the NEC and Barnet had a sugar mercantile as well as preparations for new productions in Boston. Seabrooke used the

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32. *Galveston Daily News*, November 18, 1894.

opportunity presented by the absence of the composer and librettist to not pay royalties on the performances. Chadwick and Barnet first received “a few straggling checks,”<sup>33</sup> but soon these would cease. For a while, they hired someone to trail the production to account for the box office revenue and collect royalty payment, but this proved to be much too costly.<sup>34</sup> The pair then turned to sending strongly worded letters to all municipalities where productions were to be held threatening legal action if they did not receive their royalties. Lucian Hosmer was serving the tour as musical director at the time, and due to his long-standing relationship with Chadwick most likely played some part aiding Chadwick and Barnet collect their royalty payments.

In attempting to escape the clutches of Barnet and Chadwick, Seabrooke began reworking *Tabasco*, changing the title to *The Grand Vizier* and the bottle of tabasco to a bottle of whiskey. It is not known when the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company began producing *The Grand Vizier*, but at least one production in Indianapolis around January 17, 1895 and a performance February 8, 1895, in Saginaw, Michigan is known before its New York premiere at the Harlem Theater.

*The Grand Vizier*, opened in New York March 1895 to a *New York Times* reviewer claiming “...it is closely related to that piece by Barnet and Chadwick,” and “Dennis O’Grady appears... as a wandering Irishman, whose talisman is whisky instead

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33. Chadwick Memoirs, 1894 – 1907 (CC – NEC).

34. A production contract between Chadwick, Barnet, and Seabrooke is not extant, but from information in Chadwick’s memoirs it is probable their royalties were based not on the number of performances, but instead either a percentage of how much money a performance took in or how many seats were sold in specific performances.

of pepper sauce... He still sings ‘Swim Out, O’Grady.’ He is still irrepressibly droll.”<sup>35</sup> Seabrooke’s attempt at revising *Tabasco* did not pass the New York audience and reviewers, with many noting the vast similarities between the two works. Friends of Barnet and Chadwick even began reaching out to inform the creators of the likeness of the two works.

Following this brazen attempt, Barnet and Chadwick once again sent a series of strongly worded letters to Seabrooke threatening legal action if productions were to continue. An article in the *Boston Journal* read in part:

Burlesque opera – *Tabasco* [*sic*] – Warning to managers:  
We take this opportunity to warn all person against the production of above opera under the above title, or any part of the opera under any other title, or any infringement thereof, same being our sole property. We therefore respectfully notify all proprietors and managers of theatres that we shall hold them strictly accountable to the full extent of the law for performing or permitting the performance of such opera, or play, in their respective houses, or any other opera or play, which is an imitation of, or which contains any of these names, characters, dialogues, lyrics, music, business or other substantial parts of the *Tabasco* [*sic*].  
R. A. Barnet  
G. W. Chadwick  
George M. Reed, Attorney, Boston<sup>36</sup>

Seabrooke returned to Boston and was jailed for a time, emerging with as one reporter put it, only “a scarfpin.”<sup>37</sup> Chadwick recalled in his memoirs, “He [Seabrooke] finally escaped all responsibility by going into bankruptcy and taking the poor debtors

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35. “Mr. Seabrooke in Harlem,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1895, <http://umiss.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.umiss.idm.oclc.org/docview/95301693?accountid=14588>.

36. “Bottle Shaken,” *Boston Journal*, February 7, 1895.

37. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 139.



oath. Not very long after this he died.”<sup>38</sup> A factual counterclaim to Chadwick’s recollection in his memoirs is provided by Faucett who notes that Seabrooke died in Chicago on April 3, 1913 after working the vaudeville circuit in New York.<sup>39</sup>

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38. Chadwick Memoirs, 1894 – 1907 (CC – NEC).

39. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick*, 140.

## EPILOGUE

If Chadwick's relationship with *Tabasco* was rocky, it was due to his issues with the Seabrooke production. After Seabrooke's jailing and subsequent failure to pay royalties due to bankruptcy, Chadwick recovered many of the orchestral scores and parts for deposit at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. Chadwick received at least two letters inquiring about future performances of *Tabasco*, one from Barnet in 1912 and one from Harry Frothingham in 1917.

By 1912, a sick Barnet was living in New York and "having a hell of a time"<sup>1</sup> mounting productions. His inquiry to Chadwick was in reference to mounting a revival of *Tabasco* in New York, and most likely to track down the orchestral parts. Chadwick responded, "I do not know that I have any objection to the resuscitation of *Tabasco* if it is worth anything to you,"<sup>2</sup> suggests that he thought the work could have a future. Although Chadwick goes on to state, "I am very much interested in a new dramatic work which I have made with Stevens, besides being very busy with conservatory work."<sup>3</sup> Chadwick's mention of his continued interest in writing for the stage refers to his only

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1. Robert A. Barnet, "Robert A. Barnet to George Chadwick, November 7, 1912, Chadwick Collection, New England Conservatory.

2. George W. Chadwick, "George W. Chadwick to Robert A. Barnet," Chadwick Collection, New England Conservatory.

3. Ibid.

grand opera, *The Padrone*, composed for a submission to the Metropolitan Opera Company which the company ultimately declined to perform.<sup>4</sup>

Chadwick's second request from Harry Frothingham, proved to much more forthright as it concerns his opinion of this collaboration with Barnet. Chadwick's response suggests that he did not have a copy of the libretto, and it could be easily sourced from Barnet in New York, but Chadwick goes on to state:

I do not want to throw "cold water" on your enterprise, but personally I should be just as well pleased if *Tabasco* is never performed again. It does not represent me at the present time, and it was never intended to be anything but a frolic for the cadets.<sup>5</sup>

Whether or not Chadwick's rejection of Frothingham's inquiry was solely based on the work itself or was a result of his own ambivalence or because of the Metropolitan Opera's rejection of *The Padrone*, Chadwick's opinion at the time is clear. This suggests that perhaps Chadwick's once energetic thoughts of writing for the stage had been tempered by the rejection he faced, something that by extension, tainted his opinion of earlier works. In his memoirs, Chadwick provides additional insight relevant the topic:

And so I got my experience in writing & working for the stage, and it has been of great value to me—probably more than the money would have been. It seemed a pity to waste practically a whole year's time on such unworthy stuff, but I have never regretted it. After all, lessons in human nature are expensive, but they are worth the money!<sup>6</sup>

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4. At the time of its composition, *The Padrone* was seen as having an accurate portrayal of Italian immigrants living in Boston's South End. It has long been believed that the rejection of the work was due to its accurate portrayal of daily immigrant life. Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 211.

5. George W. Chadwick, "George W. Chadwick to Harry G. Frothingham," March 19, 1917, Chadwick Collection, New England Conservatory.

6. Chadwick Memoirs, 1894 – 1907 (CC – NEC).

While Chadwick did not discount the existence of the show or regret his time composing, he did not have fond memories of his experience with Seabrooke. In essence, the work died on the stage and existed for him simply as a lesson learned. While later performances after the Seabrooke tour are not known, it has long been assumed all performing materials well-guarded by Chadwick to prevent another performance of the work. Yet as it turns out, the performing materials from the Seabrooke production were in fact deposited in the Arthur W. Tams Music Library in New York City, which represented Barnett's interests on other shows.<sup>7</sup> While further research is needed to determine the extent of the use of these materials, it is likely these materials could have been used by more than just the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company if *Tabasco* were available in the catalogue of works.

### Rediscovery

Over one hundred years would pass before *Tabasco* would be revived on the stage again. In 2010 conductor Paul Mauffray was conducting research on opera in New Orleans when he discovered a program from Seabrooke Comic Opera Company's *Tabasco* performance in that city. Mauffray was intrigued and began further research that would eventually lead him to Chadwick's family, who recently discovered the remnants of performing materials for *Tabasco* in a trunk of Chadwick's possessions. Included among these performing materials was the autograph score, orchestrations from the tour, three different versions of the libretto, and other assorted papers related to the work.

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7. The Arthur W. Tams Music Library would later merge with the M. Witmark & Sons Music Library to create the Tams-Witmark Music Library. Much of the early performing material held by the company was deposited in the Library of Congress, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Eastman School of Music, and Westminster Choir College.

Mauffray then began the painstaking task of transcribing and reconstructing a performing version of the work. In all the music there were two chorus refrains that had not been written down because they were well-known vernacular pieces at the time. One of these Mauffray was able to track down easily while the other was never found, leaving him to compose a short refrain for the chorus in “François’s Lament.”<sup>8</sup> The original libretto being antiquated in terms of language, needed updating as well. As Mauffray stated in an email, “I must forewarn you that my goals in reconstructing the Tabasco opera were merely to salvage as much of it as possible to create a performable production.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, he did not rely on just reconstructing either a performance from the tour or the original, he took the material and with the aid of Josh Shaw, began to craft a new show from the remnants of the old. The reconstruction they created ran in New Orleans’ Le Petit Theatre for two weeks of sold-out performances to critical acclaim in 2018. Steve Ledbetter, former program annotator for the Boston Symphony called the production, “colorful, handsome, and lively” and went on to state,

Hearing *Tabasco*, and, better yet, seeing it, brings out more strongly than ever that element of Chadwick’s musical style that was willing to be playful, to be, in that regard, ‘American,’ in short, to use his own laudatory phrase about composers who did this—to ‘write himself down,’ to be in his music exactly who he was.<sup>10</sup>

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8. This has led to some confusion with the current version of the libretto and the manuscript scores in the Chadwick Collection at the NEC. While the draft libretto does mention the missing chorus, it is not recorded in any of Chadwick’s sketches or scores for the work, while the chorus that is known to exist is in manuscript form on the back of another piece.

9. Paul Mauffray, email to author, October 8, 2020.

10. Steven Ledbetter, “Chadwick’s *Tabasco* Shakes Up New Orleans,” *The Boston Musical Intelligencer*, February 10, 2018, [https://www.classical-scene.com/2018/02/10/chadwick-tabasco/?fbclid=IwAR2jv\\_o8CuIEcGDk3\\_iBR7rzUaecRM10ouBTgLzUTQA1GdjBudoyF1ZMwWc](https://www.classical-scene.com/2018/02/10/chadwick-tabasco/?fbclid=IwAR2jv_o8CuIEcGDk3_iBR7rzUaecRM10ouBTgLzUTQA1GdjBudoyF1ZMwWc).

Mauffray simply sought to salvage enough of the material to create a performable edition of the work, but in doing so kept the plot and most music of the show. Two of the biggest changes in Mauffray's revival involved providing an updated libretto which, in turn, meant adapting the layout of musical numbers. Josh Shaw, who updated the libretto, largely preserved Barnet's original plot, embellishing and adding where needed. The revival includes an insert aria from the Seabrooke Comic Opera Company's production, "Oh Heigh!" At the time of performance, the correct text was not extant and Fredric Kroll provided updated lyrics to the piece that would become "The Raging Wave." Many of the numbers moved to new locations in the show received updated lyrics. "Greet the Old Man with a Smile" originally in the second act was moved to the first and rewritten to "It's Hard for an Old Concubine." "An Original Idea" became "Tasty as Food Can Be" and remained in the second act with a complete rewrite of the text. "Ho Mariner Ho," originally the letter writer's song before "March of the Pasha's Guard" became the penultimate musical number with a lyric rewrite as well. Many numbers had words or phrases changed to update comedic references and some numbers received extra verses to extend the musical action on stage.

After its first performance, *Tabasco* became one of the more popular comic operas at the time. Had it not been for Seabrooke's evasion of royalties and subsequent unauthorized changes, *Tabasco* would have seen many more performances and engagements. Although it is the only work which Chadwick and Barnet collaborated and saw to fruition, the is evidence which suggests the pair had begun another collaboration a few years later. If the pair would have continued collaborating and Barnet adapted his shows to the audiences' changing tastes, the two might have become the American Gilbert and Sullivan.

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### **Audio Recordings**

Chadwick, George W. *Tabasco*. with Melissa Marshall (soprano) and the Hrálové Kralove Philharmonic. conducted by Paul Mauffray. recorded 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=doZ9ZWAIems>.

Wagner, Richard. *Tristan und Isolde*. with Deborah Voigt (soprano) and the Orchestra of the Vienna State Opera. conducted by Christian Thielemann. recorded June 15, 2004. Deutsche Grammophon.

## APPENDIX

## Appendix A: Cadet Principal Cast

Pasha.....	Thomas Stutson
Marco.....	James G. White
Lola.....	George Davis
François.....	Ben P. Cheney
Grand Vizier.....	Robert Ayres Barnet
Fatima.....	Edward Beck
Has-Been-A.....	C. G. Benton

## Appendix B: Seabrooke Comic Opera Principal Cast

Pasha.....	Walter Allen
Marco.....	Joseph F. Sheehan
Lola.....	Elva Crox
Dennis O' Grady, afterwards François.....	Thomas Quigley Seabrooke
Grand Vizier.....	Otis Harlin
Fatima.....	Catherine Linyard
Has-Been-A.....	Lillie Alliston
Dusty Rhodes.....	Edgar Smith
Exhausted Hawkins.....	Robert E. Bell



## Appendix C: Cadet Song Order

### Act I

#### Overture

- No. 1 Chorus. "Dawning the Dawning"
- No. 2 Grand Vizier's Song
- No. 3 Pasha's Song and Chorus "What Other People Say"
- No. 4 Chorus. "Reading of the Mail"
- No. 5 Song and Chorus. "Tin Tan Tin Tan"
- No. 6 Fatima's Recitative and Aria
- No. 7 Ensemble. "Gem of the Orient"
- No. 8 François' Lament. "The Shamrock Blooms White"
- No. 9 Finale. "Hail to His Highness"

### Act II

#### Interludium

- No. 1 Chorus. "A Beauty My Boy"
- No. 2 Has-been-a and Harem. "Hush, Hush, Silent be."
- No. 3 Love Duet. "My Heart Again"
- No. 4a Bolero. (Spanish) Marco and Quartet
- No. 4b Ditty. (Irish) François and Quartet
- No. 4c Rigaudon. (French) Lola and Quartet
- No. 4d Ballad. (Plantation) Fatima and Quartet
- No. 5 Song and Chorus. "Ho, Mariner, Ho"
- No. 6 Entrance Song and Chorus. "Greet the Old Man with a Smile"
- No. 7 Pasha's Song. "An Original Idea."
- No. 8 March of the Pasha's Guard
- No. 9 Dance of the Harem
- No. 10 Finale

## Appendix D: Seabrooke Comic Opera Song Order

### Act I

- Overture
- No. 1 Chorus. "Dawning the Dawning"
- No. 2 Lola's Song
- No. 2a March A La Turque
- No. 3 Pasha's Song and Chorus "What Other People Say"
- No. 4 Chorus. "Reading of the Mail"
- No. 4a Exit Music
- No. 5 Grand Vizier's Song
- No. 6 Melodrama and Song
- No. 7 Fatima's Recitative and Aria
- No. 8 Melos
- No. 9 Chorus. "Hail to His Highness"
- No. 10a March
- No. 11 Finale "Gem of the Orient"

### Act II

- Enter' Act
- No. 1 Chorus. "A Beauty My Boy"
- No. 1a Exit
- No. 2 Duet. "My Heart Again"
- No. 3 Bolero. (Spanish) Marco and Quartet
- No. 3a Rigaudon. (French) Lola and Quartet
- No. 3b Ditty. (Irish) François and Quartet
- No. 3c Ballad. (Plantation) Fatima and Quartet
- No. 4 Melodrama
- No. 5 Chorus
- No. 6 Entrance Song and Chorus. "Greet the Old Man with a Smile"
- No. 7 Ballet
- No. 8 Song "Lord of Creation"
- No. 9 Finale

## Appendix E: Seabrooke Comic Opera Company Tour of *Tabasco*

Boston, MA	Augusta, GA
New York, New York	Charleston, SC
Providence, RI – Sept. 10-12, 1894	Savannah, GA
Worcester, MA	Macon, GA
Springfield, MA	Columbus, GA
Northampton, MA	Selma, AL
Portland, ME	Montgomery, AL
Portsmouth, NH	Birmingham, AL
Lawrence, MA	Meridian, MS
New Britain, CT	Vicksburg, MS
Bridgeport, CT	Natchez, MS
Washington Township, NJ	New Orleans, LA
Trenton, NJ	Galveston, TX – Nov. 20, 1894
Chester, PA	Houston, TX, Nov. 21, 1894
Pittsburg, PA	Austin, TX – Nov. 22, 1894
Wheeling, WV	San Antonio, TX – Nov. 23–24, 1894
Washington, D. C. – Sept. 23–29, 1894	Waco, TX – Nov. 25, 1894
Wilmington, DL – Oct. 3, 1894	Fort Worth, TX – Nov. 27–28, 1894
Zanesville, OH	Denison, TX – Nov. 29, 1894
Columbus, OH	Dallas, TX – Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, 1894
Paris, KY	Paris, TX – Dec. 3, 1894
Lexington, KY	Fort Smith, AR
Louisville, KY	Little Rock, AR
Columbia, TN	Memphis, TN
Fayetteville, TN	Kansas City, MO
Chattanooga, TN	St. Louis, MO
Atlanta, GA	Chicago, IL

## Appendix F: George W. Chadwick's Works for the Stage

<b>Title</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Librettist</b>
<i>The Peer and the Pauper*</i>	1884	Robert Grant
<i>A Quiet Lodging</i>	1892	Arlo Bates
<i>Tabasco</i>	1894	Robert Ayres Barnet
<i>Judith</i>	1901	Chauncy Langdon
<i>Everywoman</i>	1911	Walter Browne
<i>The Padrone*</i>	1912	David Stevens
<i>Love's Sacrifice</i>	1917	David Stevens

\*Not Performed during Chadwick's Lifetime.

## Appendix G: Robert Ayres Barnet's Works for the Cadet Theatricals

*Injured Innocents*, by Robert A. Barnet and Carl Pfleuger, 1890.

*Injured Innocents*, by Robert A. Barnet and Carl Pfleuger, 1891.

*1492: Up To Date*, by Robert A. Barnet and Carl Pfleuger, 1892.

*Tabasco*, by Robert A. Barnet and George W. Chadwick, 1894.

*Excelsior, Jr.*, by Robert A. Barnet and George Lowell Tracy, 1895.

*The Strange Adventures of Jack and the Beanstalk*, by Robert A. Barnet, music by A. B. Sloane, 1896.

*Simple Simon*, by Robert A. Barnet, music by A. B. Sloane and George Lowell Tracy, 1897.

*Queen of the Ballet*, by Robert A. Barnet, music by Edward W. Corliss, 1898.

*Miladi and the Musketeer*, by Robert A. Barnet, music by H. L. Hertz, 1900.

*The Cap of Fortune and the Show Girl*, by Robert A. Barnet, music by H. L. Hertz and E. W. Corliss, 1902.

*Cinderella and the Prince, or Castle of Heart's Desire, a Fairy Excuse for Songs and Dances*, book by Robert A. Barnet, lyrics by D. K. Stevens and Robert A. Barnet, music by Louis F. Gottschalk and Edward W. Corliss, 1904

*Boodle & Co.*, rewrite by Robert A. Barnet, music by John H. Densmore, 1905.

*Miss Pocahontas, an Indian War-Whoop in Two Whoops*, by Robert A. Barnet and R. Melville Baker, music by Dan J. Sullivan, 1906.

## VITA

### **John-Peter Springer Ford**

#### **EDUCATION**

University of Mississippi M.M., Musicology (May 2022)	University, MS
Mississippi State University B.M., Music Education (May 2017)	Mississippi State, MS
Northeast Mississippi Community College A.A., Music (May 2014)	Booneville, MS

#### **TEACHING/ EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE**

University of Mississippi Graduate Teaching Assistant • Courses: History of Western Music I, II	University, MS August 2021 – Present
QSI International School of Chengdu Secondary Music Instructor	Chengdu, China Aug 2019 – June 2020
Picayune School District Director of Choral Activities	Picayune, MS Aug 2017 – May 2019
Starkville-Oktibbeha School District Student Internship	Starkville, MS Jan 2017 – May 2017

#### **OTHER EXPERIENCE**

Peace Lutheran Church Organist	Oxford, MS June 2021 – Present
Barnes and Noble College Café and Convenience Supervisor Bookseller	Oxford, MS March 2021 – October 2021 Jan 2021 – March 2021
First Baptist Church	Booneville, MS

Organist Sep 2016 – Jan 2017

First Presbyterian Church Columbus, MS  
Organist May 2016 – Sep 2016

Our Savior Lutheran Church Columbus, MS  
Organist Nov 2015 – Apr 2016

First Baptist Church Okolona, MS  
Organist Aug 2014 – Nov 2015

### **AWARDS AND HONORS**

- Pi Kappa Lambda Honor Society
- Jamestowne Society, First Mississippi Company, Councilor (2021–2023)
- University of Mississippi Graduate Student Council Senator and Parliamentarian (2021–2022)
- Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia- Lambda Xi Chapter, Music Director (2021–2022)
- Most Outstanding Graduate Student in Musicology, Department of Music, University of Mississippi (2021)
- Teacher of the Month- Picayune Junior High School (September 2017)
- Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia- Lambda Phi Chapter, President (2016–2017)
- Mississippi State Lyceum Series- Performing Arts Committee Member (2016–2017)
- Tallahatchie River Players- Board Member (2011–2014)
- Boy Scouts of America- Eagle Scout (2010) and Vigil Honor Member (2013)
- Congressional Award- Silver (2010)

### **PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS**

- “Musical Borrowing in George W. Chadwick’s *Tabasco*.” Paper presentation at the American Musicological Society Southern Chapter Conference. (February 2022)
- “Chadwick and Barnet’s Fiery Fiasco *Tabasco*.” Poster Paper presentation at the National Opera Association Convention. (January 2022)
- “Chadwick and Barnet’s Burlesque Opera *Tabasco*.” Podium presentation at the Graduate Student Council Research Symposium at the University of Mississippi. (March 2021)

### **CREDENTIALS AND LICENSES**

- Mississippi Teacher License (expires June 2023)
- International Baccalaureate Music (Category 1)
- ServSafe Manager (expires June 2026)

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

- American Guild of Organists
- American Musicological Society
- National Opera Association