

**Shaping American Identity through Music: Nationality, Taste, and Power at
the Cincinnati May Festival, 1873-1905.**

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the organization of the Cincinnati May Festival from its first season in 1873 until the death of its music director Theodore Thomas in 1905, focusing on its negotiation of American (and Cincinnati-specific) musical identity. The cultural influences of the German immigrant population in Cincinnati, Thomas as a virtuoso conductor, and musical ideals of the time are investigated, all of which contributed to an “American” identity constructed by the Cincinnati Musical Festival Association (CMFA) and the press. The power dynamics and published opinions of the CMFA are examined using theories from sociology, anthropology, cultural history, and musicology, with emphasis on Pierre Bourdieu. An analysis of the press highlights the negotiation between festival organizers and the public, and the mediation by the press itself. By examining these ongoing influences on the festival, this study shows how the Cincinnati May Festival constructed its particular version of American musical identity.

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Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Cincinnati May Festival was considered to be *the* major biennial music festival of serious music¹ in America. It helped both to reflect and shape the identity of American music of the time by bringing together many of the country's different musical talents. The festival was also "serious" enough to affirm that arts in the United States were able to equal those in Europe. Theodore Thomas and his famous orchestra traveled from the East coast for each festival, soloists were found from all across the United States and Europe, the massive chorus (and children's choirs) were recruited from Cincinnati itself and the surrounding areas, and the organizers and patrons of the event were Cincinnati's own leading citizens. The attending music critics came from all over America to attend some of the most high-class, high-caliber (and predominantly European) music performed in the United States – but crowds of average citizens also joined in (and attended) the festivities.

This thesis examines the organization of the Cincinnati May Festival from its beginning in 1873 until the death of its music director Theodore Thomas in 1905, focusing on its negotiation of American (as well as Cincinnati-specific) musical identity.

The historical importance of the Cincinnati May Musical Festival rests in its connections

¹ In this thesis, I will be using the terms "vernacular" and "serious" music to distinguish between general genres of music. Historically, binary terms including "highbrow" and "lowbrow," "classical" and "popular" have been used to distinguish what is primarily European art music from music that is thought to represent entertainment for entertainment's sake (for example, dance music and "simple" songs). The differentiation between "art for art's sake" music and music for entertainment's sake is necessarily an imperfect divide. Part of the problem is that deciding which music falls under the "serious" or "vernacular" category depends on the perspective, time period, and location of the person deciding. For this reason when I use these terms in a general sense in this thesis, it will attempt to adopt the perspective of Theodore Thomas and the Cincinnati festival organizers. "Serious music" is therefore music that is (from a specific perspective) morally and philosophically important, while "vernacular music" will be used to describe almost all other music that was common in America during the time period under discussion. This "vernacular music" included songs written for Tin Pan Alley and early ragtime, creating an "other" against which "serious" genres could be defined.

to conductor Theodore Thomas, its mobilization of various cultural sectors (the press, local amateur performers, international soloists, and Thomas's Orchestra) at a crucial time for the emergence of American cultural identity on the world stage, its role as a cultural benchmark (at a time when Americans compared their cultural institutions to those in Europe), and its sheer longevity. The festival helped to define the cultural identity of late nineteenth-century America, and represented a combination of international, national, regional, and local talent and effort. The rapid cultural development of Cincinnati during the second half of the nineteenth century makes it ideal for studying local and national trends in the developing music culture of that time. Unfortunately, despite its interesting and important cultural history, Cincinnati has been largely ignored by cultural historians in favour of cultural centers like New York, Boston and Chicago.²

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The first discusses the conditions in the United States and in Cincinnati specifically that allowed the May Festival to begin. It will cover the general cultural climate of the time, including virtuoso conductors and music festival traditions in Europe and the United States, the German heritage of the Cincinnati area and the United States more broadly, and finally the aspects of Cincinnati itself that aided in supporting a large scale music festival. Chapter two will cover the various theories of sociologists, anthropologists, cultural historians, and musicologists that will

² Most literature on nineteenth-century Cincinnati's cultural development is limited to small sections of books on Theodore Thomas, or art patronage. Notable exceptions include Robert C. Vitz's *The Queen and the Arts* (Kent, OH: Kent State University, 1989) and Karen Ahlquist's "Musical Assimilation and the German Element at the Cincinnati Sangerfest, 1879," *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 3 (2011): 381-416; "Playing for the Big Time: Musicians, Concerts, and Reputation-Building in Cincinnati, 1872-82," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9, no. 2 (2010): 145-166; and "Performance to 'Permanence': Orchestra Building in Late Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati," in *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Spitzer, 156-174 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

be applied to the Cincinnati May Festival. This will include cultural historians specializing in nineteenth-century America, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists who study celebration and festivals (including music festivals), and sociologists' theories of power dynamics. I will include Michel Foucault because of his pervasiveness in the study of power dynamics and his influence on Pierre Bourdieu and other theorists, despite the fact that his ideas are not used directly in analyzing the Cincinnati May Festival. The third and final chapter will examine the events of the 16 festivals which took place from 1873 to 1905, applying the theories discussed in chapter two. I will also be examining the festival from the perspective of a general member of the chorus, and examining the role of the local and national press.

While the Cincinnati May Festival will be examined from many different perspectives, there are limitations to what can be logically included. For example, due to the subject matter, it is difficult to engage in a gender analysis. Though many women's organizations of the time worked to fund cultural institutions, this was not the case with the Cincinnati May Festival during the time period examined here. Additionally, while there were female chorus members and vocal soloists, very few accounts (including correspondence, memoirs, etc.) survive that were written by the women in question. Instead, men (managers, husbands, or other male family members) wrote on their behalf.

Also, due to the topic and scope of this project, the African-American residents of Cincinnati have been excluded. The reason for this is that as a group, they were not involved in the planning, performance, or attendance of the festival. This absence from

the festival is noteworthy although not unexpected³ – it speaks to the complex racial relations of post-Civil War Cincinnati. Despite the very interesting and important areas of research that these topics represent, they fall outside the scope of this thesis.

This thesis will show how the perception of the festival – what it symbolized – changed and was negotiated depending on who contributed, who sang or played, and who controlled each element of “the great Festival held at Cincinnati.”⁴ These contributors and influences defined (and continually re-defined) the perceived nature of the Cincinnati May Festival, the city of Cincinnati, and the musical culture of the United States as a whole.

³ There is no mention of the Festival being a segregated event, rather the tickets were priced with the result that economically depressed groups were excluded. This, likely in conjunction with social pressures and norms, created a situation in which no question arose (in the writings of the organizers or in the press) about non-attendance by people of colour.

⁴ July 1, “Music in America” in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 27 (1886), 413.

Chapter 1: The Conditions for Success

During much of the nineteenth century... Cincinnati served as the artistic and intellectual fulcrum for the central part of the nation, and for a short time the city entertained hopes that it would become America's leading music center.... Between 1840 and 1880, Cincinnati offered the most extensive artistic support and training west of New York.⁵

In 1873, the year of the first Cincinnati May Festival, music and culture were becoming an important part of how America strove to show itself to be a mature and developed nation. After the United States had established itself on the international stage as an industrial powerhouse and had survived the Civil War (1861-65), many Americans were ready to show that they were also capable of cultural refinement. In what is often referred to as the "Gilded Age," "serious" art and culture were institutionalized in America. While there has been debate over whether or not this was a method used by the American elite to assert control over the general population or an attempt to celebrate what was then seen as "culture," there is no doubt that a significant cultural shift took place. Museums and symphony orchestras became institutions that represented "serious" (often European) culture in the United States. As Joseph Horowitz notes: "In Gilded Age America, museums were a proud New World achievement: an edifying showcase for Old World painting and sculpture. Contemporaneously, America created the "symphony orchestra": a showcase for Old World symphonies."⁶ In addition to permanent cultural institutions, national events like the Boston triennial festivals

⁵ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, ix.

⁶ Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 26.

(initiated in 1868) and the Peace Jubilees (1869 and 1872) were thought to define the nation's musical character, and make it possible to address the issue of America's cultural inferiority complex with Europe. American composers tried to imitate their European (often German) counterparts, not trusting their own talent and culture.

After the Civil War, when German culture generally took hold with a vengeance in Britain and America, would-be American composers consciously aimed to write like their German contemporaries rather than develop their own indigenous school of composition.... They were talented but self-conscious, technically adept but lacking in inspiration, and, worst of all, unaware of their American heritage.... Their music was, as a result, rarely performed.⁷

The self-consciousness that music producing and consuming Americans had toward works written by their own composers can be seen in the repertoire chosen for musical events and festivals – but in the performance of European masterworks the same public felt they were able to compete with anyone in the world. In 1867 Theodore Thomas traveled on the first of several trips to Europe to “... sit in tuition at the feet of the great. With misgivings he goes, for, after all, compared with practitioners of statelier lands, what is he but an acolyte in this gracious art?”⁸ However, he found that while some of the performances were “extraordinary” (including the opera in Paris and pianist Carl Tausig’s concerts), others did not meet the standards to which he held his own ensemble in the United States (including those under the baton of John Ella and Dr. Henry Wylde in

⁷ Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 94-95.

⁸ Charles Edward Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927), 68.

England, and Joseph Gungl in Munich). It was widely held “nothing good in art could come out of America; this was the fixed belief of most foreigners, being obligingly reinforced therein by the general assent of Americans themselves.”⁹ Despite this, the orchestras in the United States were able to compete with their European counterparts. Furthermore, soloists from Europe had begun to tell the American press that Thomas’s orchestra was better than any ensemble they had performed with in Europe – statements that were gleefully re-printed by American newspapers.¹⁰ The performance of European works became the means through which America could display its “culture,” and the orchestra specifically became “...more than our foremost cultural asset; it has become our sign of honor among the nations.”¹¹ Having Thomas as the Musical Director of the Cincinnati festivals was a signal to music lovers in both the United States and Europe that the performances would be on par with imagined European standards, and that the festival was a way to showcase America’s best orchestra at a massed event.

The Cincinnati May Festival was on a grand scale like the festivals or jubilees that had preceded it, but the focus was on the quality of the performances and the beer and food that had been featured in previous festivals were absent from concert locations. “The executive committee clearly hoped to avoid any parallel with the merrymaking of the Gilmore Jubilees, or even to the recent Saengerfest, and the city’s sobriety mirrored the seriousness of the occasion.”¹² Very soon after its inception, the May Festival was

⁹ Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*, 167.

¹⁰ For examples, see Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*, 69 and Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America’s Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*, 116.

¹¹ Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*, v.

¹² Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 89.

considered to be a testament to the musical good taste of both Cincinnati *and* the country as a whole. In July of 1886, a writer for *The Musical Times* stated that:

All the musical activities of the country during the month of May were overshadowed by the great Festival held at Cincinnati.... [The festival's] influence, not only in Cincinnati but throughout the country, has been well nigh incalculable. They achieved immediate importance because of the lofty plane which they occupied, Mr. Thomas making them the highest expression of his ideal in music.... Cincinnati is left to her proud position as peculiarly the Festival city of the New World. It must be confessed that this reputation is deserved. The Cincinnati Festivals represent the most ambitious and unselfish strivings that the history of music in America has to show.¹³

This is a very significant paragraph, given that *The Musical Times* was a London (England) periodical, and the writer for this article was a correspondent from New York. Firstly, any American musical event positively reviewed in a European publication was important. Secondly, New York City was widely considered to be the artistic center of the United States (certainly for New Yorkers), and this writer could therefore be said to be conceding a victory to a rival city. This shows that the festival's grandeur, "lofty plane," and its influence had become a matter of national pride. While such a level of influence was not sustained over the festival's entire history (up to the present day), the continued importance of the Cincinnati May Festival is undeniable. Its long-lasting success is a tribute to the organizers' ability to establish a kind of festival previously under-represented in America, and to their skill in filling their chosen niche.

¹³ July 1, "Music in America" in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 27 (1886), 413.

Conditions were right for the May Festival in 1873 Cincinnati. Though countless elements had to fall into place for the Festival to take root in the city, I will be focusing on four factors that dramatically shaped its character: the comparative development of the virtuoso conductor in Europe and the United States (especially Theodore Thomas's role in America), the rise of festival culture in Europe and America,¹⁴ the musical implications of the large German immigrant population in Ohio, and the economic and social conditions in Cincinnati.

Virtuoso Conductors

In Europe the position of the orchestral (and opera) conductor was not standard until the nineteenth century. In 1820 London, Ludwig Spohr (1784-1859) was the first to conduct using a baton (according to his own account), and a period of rapid development followed. Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) was one of the more influential conducting figures in the 1830s and 1840s, who "...approached conducting as if it were a sacred task."¹⁵ However, Mendelssohn was known as a composer. The idea of conducting as a

¹⁴ For the purposes of this thesis "festival culture" will be used to refer to the ideas of Abner Cohen (*Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements* [Oxford: Berg, 1993]) and Victor Turner (*Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual* [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982]) in their discussions of the symbolic power of music at social gatherings. Turner claims that a celebratory gathering enables the participants to reinforce their shared values and identity (p. 16). I will be using Turner's ideas of the celebration of self, and the resulting identity formation or confirmation of participants, as a way to engage with the identities and ideologies being promoted through the festival. There also exists a body of literature which studies the cultural products promoted specifically by music festivals, whereby I will adapt the methodologies used in the work of Pauline Greenhill, "Backyard World/ Canadian Culture: Looking at Festival Agendas," in *Intersections* 19, no. 2 (1999): 37-46, Michael MacDonald, *This is Important!: Mitch Podolak, the Revolutionary Establishment, and the Founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival*, M. A. Thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2006); Rebecca Curtis, "Australia's Capital of Jazz? The (re)creation of place, music and community at the Wangaratta Jazz Festival," in *Australian Geographer* 41, no. 1 (March 2010): 101-116; and Juanita Karpf, "Get the Pageant Habit: E. Azalia Hackley's Festivals and Pageants during the First World War Years, 1914-1918," in *Popular Music & Society* 34, no. 5 (December 2011): 517-556.

¹⁵ John Spitzer, et al. "Conducting." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/06266> (accessed September 24, 2012).

skill or art in and of itself – not merely an extension of composition – meant that the interpretation of the works, gestures, and style of the conductors came under scrutiny by the public and musical press. The conductor himself became part of the show. According to John Spitzer, “the first publicity monger and truly stylized baton conductor who did not attain stature as a composer was the flamboyant crowd-pleaser Louis Jullien.¹⁶” Jullien himself was considered entertainment, and the musical press sometimes gave more printed space to describing his dramatic conducting style than they did the music performed. The publicity and showmanship (whether it took the form of flamboyance or dignity) of the conductor became almost a requirement of virtuosity, forming a distinction between the “virtuoso conductor” and someone who merely beat time.

It is a fact not without significance that Musard in Paris, Jullien in England and Strauss in Vienna were the first orchestral conductors who by their own skill and personality were able to draw audiences to the concerts at which they were conducting quite independently of any other attractions...¹⁷

¹⁶ John Spitzer, et al. “Conducting,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.*

¹⁷ Adam Carse, *The Life of Jullien* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons. 1951), 11.

The virtuoso conductor, skilled at his duties but also a public figure with certain expected personality traits, was a result of the ensemble's need for both a musical leader and a public figure to bring in the public (and revenue). Virtuoso conductors were leaders, self-proclaimed geniuses, who were uncompromising in the execution of their artistic vision, and whose public personas could range from dignified to manic.

The first important virtuoso conductor to arrive on American soil was France's Louis Jullien (1812-1860), who toured the United States from 1853 to 1854.¹⁸ He was a virtuoso conductor by virtue of his flamboyant stage presence (drawing a crowd with his name alone) and his orchestra's technical ability. He was well known for putting on a show for his audience, and was actually invited to America by the well-known showman and promoter P. T. Barnum (1810-1891).¹⁹ His programs involved "vernacular" as well as "serious" music, but works like Beethoven's symphonies were conducted with a jeweled baton delivered to Jullien on stage, while "popular" music was presented with activities like dancing or a crowd pleasing sensation provided by fireworks, massive numbers of

¹⁸ It is difficult to find accurate information on Louis Jullien, given that much of it is based on promotional material he seems to have written himself. What is known is that his father was a violinist and bandmaster, and he served in the army (dates unknown) and attended the Paris Conservatoire (1831 or 1833 until 1836). He produced and conducted dance music in Paris from 1836 to 1838 before leaving for England (possibly due to problems with the law). From London, Jullien conducted promenade concerts, summer seasons, and provincial tours, and traveled with his orchestra to America (1853-54) and the Netherlands (1857). He lost money on a few ventures (including the production of his grand opera), and returned to Paris in 1859. Jullien planned to launch a "Universal tour," only to spend the last few months of his life in an institution for the mentally ill where he died in March 1860. For more information, see Carse's *The Life of Jullien* or Keith Horner's "Jullien, Louis," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14538> (accessed October 26, 2011).

¹⁹ P. T. Barnum is best known as "America's leading showman" for his very lucrative management of Swedish soprano Jenny Lind (American tour in 1850-51) and the exhibition of "novelties" like the little person Tom Thumb. He was the first non-performer to manage a major American musical tour, and as such, could be considered one of the first American agents and/or promoters. For more information, see William Brooks's "Barnum, P. T." in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/45357> (accessed September 23, 2012) and Daniel Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011).

musicians, or performing firemen.²⁰ In fact, Jullien was so well known for creating sensational, crowd-pleasing concerts (with bits of Beethoven mixed in amongst dance songs and opera hits) that he was later called a “musical charlatan” by Theodore Thomas. Despite the effort put into pomp and show, there is evidence that Jullien’s orchestra was an excellent and well drilled ensemble.²¹ The core group of musicians and soloists traveled with him from Europe, and the rest of the orchestra was supplemented by local players (including Theodore Thomas in the violin section). When Jullien conducted massive concerts in New York, he combined the might of his orchestra, the Germania (a very highly skilled group of players who had collectively emigrated from Germany in 1848)²² and the Dodsworth band.²³ Newspapers in New York claimed his concerts were of the highest quality seen in America. In fact, some of their claims were even more dramatic: “Never since music has been art, was there so perfect and delicious a performance. To speak of it in terms of unqualified praise is the least we can do.”²⁴

Though not all American reviewers were so overcome by the experience, the response to

²⁰ Before leaving America, Jullien and Barnum organized a “Musical Congress” at Crystal Palace in New York as a farewell concert. The main event was the “Fireman’s Quadrille” composed by Jullien for the occasion. The work used all three ensembles at Jullien’s disposal (the Germania, the Dodsworth band, and Jullien’s own orchestra) to create a “monster orchestra,” making use of the annual fireman’s parade to have the city’s firemen (in full costume) march into the hall. A artificial fire was actually lit, and various sound effects were used to imitate the sounds of the fire engines, water hissing on flames, etc. See “The Musical Congress: Great Gathering at the Crystal Palace,” in *New York Daily Times*, June 16, 1854.

²¹ Jullien’s orchestra was well rehearsed (using more rehearsal time than was typical at the time), disciplined, and was able to respond to his musical demands, including extremes of dynamics. For details, see Carse’s *The Life of Jullien*, and Steven Baur’s “Louis Antoine Jullien versus Theodore Thomas: Embodying the Conductor in the Gilded Age,” in *Music and Society in America’s Gilded Age* (forthcoming).

²² Nancy Newman, *Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society in Nineteenth-Century America* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

²³ The only sources I can find on the Dodsworth Band are in archival materials, sheet music, and newspapers. To my knowledge, the ensemble has not been researched.

²⁴ “Musical and Dramatic: Jullien’s Concert,” *New York Daily Times*, September 6, 1853.

Jullien's tour from the press was decidedly positive. This seems generally consistent with the reviews Jullien and his orchestra had received in London before their tour of the United States. Prior to his departure for America, the *London Times* wrote that: "M. JULLIEN is entitled to good opinion for two reasons: 1st, he has afforded the public a delightful relaxation, at a moderate charge; 2d, he has been the means of elevating the general taste for an art..."²⁵ Jullien's tour through the United States seems to have had similar results, gaining acclaim while exposing the general public to "serious" works of Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart. However, he also gave the musicians of America (and specifically New York) an example of a new kind of ensemble and conductor not found at that time on North American soil. He showed a young Thomas that an orchestra can support itself by touring and that the public can be convinced to listen to "serious" European repertoire, giving the young American violinist a detailed demonstration of how to be a true virtuoso conductor. Though Thomas became "dignity embodied" (a very different style than Jullien's flamboyant stage presence), he followed his forerunner's example of absolute discipline over orchestra members, skilled reading of the musical taste and "level" of an audience, extended rehearsal time, and uncompromising ideals – all traits that have come to be associated with virtuosic conductors.

Theodore Thomas has become known as the conductor responsible, more than any other, for the development and institutionalization of the American symphony orchestra.²⁶ He has been presented primarily as a leader whose personal sacrifices and

²⁵ From *London Times*, July 13, 1853, quoted in "The Arrival of Jullien," *New York Daily Times*, August 4, 1853.

²⁶ See Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*, 97, 143 and Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*, 1, 24.

hardships could not sway his devotion to his cause: the musical education of the American public. While Thomas did accomplish many things – at the Cincinnati Music Festival as well as in New York and Chicago – he is often written about with a bias that borders on reverence. This is most likely due to two books, on which most other literature has been based. The first is *Theodore Thomas* (1905),²⁷ an autobiography that was written by Thomas the summer before his death, then edited, supplemented, and published by Chicago music critic George P. Upton. This two-volume work includes Thomas’s text (footnotes supplied by Upton), a section written by Upton after Thomas’s death meant to “fill in the details,” and Thomas’s concert programs (chosen and organized by Upton). The other book, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas* (1911),²⁸ was authored by Thomas’s second wife, Rose Fay Thomas.²⁹ Both Upton and Fay Thomas were able to capitalize on their connections to Thomas (before and after his death), and so had a personal stake in perpetuating and increasing his fame and good standing with the American public. Upton’s career as a Chicago music critic writing about Thomas and the Chicago Orchestra motivated him to create a positive image of Thomas and the orchestra (investing symbolic capital in the conductor and orchestra),³⁰ though he praised Thomas’s

²⁷ Theodore Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, edited by George P. Upton (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905). This book is one of the few places (if not the only place) where Thomas wrote a significant amount about himself for posterity.

²⁸ Rose Fay Thomas, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas* (New York: Moffat Yard and Co., 1911). This book is an exhaustive telling of Thomas’s life and work including many letters, programs, contracts, and concert reviews. The work has a clear bias in that it shows Thomas in the most positive light possible, describing him in both in terms of the romantic hero suffering for his art and as the practical American businessman who is bound to succeed through persistence and ingenuity.

²⁹ I will be using “Fay Thomas” (maiden and married names) to refer to Thomas’s wife in order to distinguish her from her husband. She herself only used Rose Thomas.

³⁰ “Symbolic capital” is a term found in the writing of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, referring to the amount of prestige or celebrity a person has in their field. A further discussion of Bourdieu and his ideas will occur in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

performance in print for many years before the Chicago Orchestra was founded in 1891. At the same time, Fay Thomas's sister wrote with jealousy about the celebrity treatment Rose received in Cincinnati as the wife of the late Thomas,³¹ saying: "Rose was treated like a princess, and no doubt she told you how she was given the seat of honor between the [United States] president and the governor!³²" Both Fay Thomas and Upton set the tone for future writing on Thomas and his role as the builder of American orchestras. Despite undoubted bias in their writing, it is possible to use Fay Thomas's and Upton's works in comparison with contemporary newspapers and journals to form a more balanced (though hardly complete) picture of Theodore Thomas and his accomplishments.

Latter writers have perpetuated this bias, continuing the narrative construction established by Fay Thomas and Upton. Charles Russell's *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas* (1927)³³ provides a romanticized version of events, often putting Thomas in the position of the hero fighting extreme odds for the good of others. For example, after describing the lack of appreciation, venues, and concerts for "serious" music in America, Russell claims that, "This was the Castle of Indifference that Theodore Thomas in his twenty-seventh year set out to take by assault."³⁴ As can be seen from this passage, Russell puts Thomas in a David and Goliath situation: he implies that Thomas

³¹ This occasion was at the Cincinnati Music Festival in 1910, during the celebration of the dedication of a new statue in honor of Thomas.

³² Quoted in: Margaret William McCarthy, *Amy Fay: America's Notable Woman of Music* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1995), 126.

³³ Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

decided on his life's work at a very young age and spent the rest of his years following his dream with devotion and determination, again constructing a narrative of American success. The more likely truth is that the "missionary work" Thomas did by touring around the country with his orchestra year after year was accomplished solely out of financial necessity. Indeed, the most recent monograph on Thomas is careful to highlight some of the contradictions found in Russell, Fay-Thomas, and Upton. Ezra Schabas's book *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905* (1989) is the most fair and full study available on Thomas. While it still shows Thomas in a positive light and is largely (of necessity) based on the works of Fay-Thomas and Upton, Schabas has disproven (or put into context) some of the most prevalent myths of perfection surrounding Thomas's legacy.

Thomas is generally depicted as uncompromising, efficient (in conducting as well as in life), and serving as the standard of musical excellence against which other conductors and ensembles were measured (both for ensembles within the United States and for their comparison with the level of musical quality in Europe). His self-proclaimed goal (in *Theodore Thomas*) was the gradual elevation of American public taste for large scale "highbrow" music. Upton, Fay Thomas, and writers who followed their lead claimed he was an expert at programming individual concerts so that the concert itself worked as a unified whole, while programming works that kept the public at the edge of their growing comfort zone. Over decades of exposure to his concerts the public was presumably educated, slowly being acclimatized to Thomas's vision of "better" music. "One thing he would not do, to one thing he was as stiff-necked as any old Friesland

Lutheran. The selections he played might be as light as feathers, he would not play anything among them that did not have actual musical value.... He was bent on making his audiences yield to him, not on surrendering to them.”³⁵ This unyielding stubbornness is portrayed by Thomas’s admirers as a result of having the public’s best interests at heart (and knowing what is best for them as a whole), and as a part of being unselfishly dedicated to his noble goal. His commitment to serious music undoubtedly made it possible for Thomas to collaborate with the like-minded music patrons in Cincinnati, and to display the leadership qualities necessary in a virtuoso conductor.

Festival Culture

Regularly reoccurring European festivals involving music began as a part of the Olympic Games (around 776 BC), and as a way of celebrating religious events or times of the year. Around 1715 the church began to use yearly choral festivals to raise funds for charities in England, a practice that took a century to spread to the rest of Europe.³⁶

Festivals *about* music (rather than festivals containing music) began to celebrate individual composers, “...such as those held in Bonn (1845, Beethoven), Zwickau (1847, Schumann), Halle (1858, Handel), Salzburg (1870, Mozart)...”³⁷ However, these festivals were not regularly recurring events. One of the earliest music festivals to continue after the death of its founders was the Niederrheinisches Musikfest (Lower Rhein Music Festival), begun in 1818 by amateurs in Düsseldorf and the surrounding Prussian Rhine

³⁵ Ibid., 65.

³⁶ John Borwick and Alison Latham, “Festivals,” in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2483> (accessed October 12, 2012).

³⁷ Borwick and Latham, “Festivals,” in *The Oxford Companion to Music*.

province. This festival moved from city to city, developing into a large-scale professional musical event. In the period leading up to the 1848 revolution (a time with a very high concentration of immigration to America), the festival attracted large audiences, had between 619 and 789 participating musicians and singers, and featured visiting conductors (including Mendelssohn, Spohr, and Onslow) and virtuoso performers (including Jenny Lind, the Cologne Quartet, Clara Novello, and Clara Schumann).³⁸ The oratorio and symphony dominated the programs, with works by Beethoven, Handel and Mozart predominating (in that order),³⁹ a preference that was transported by immigrants to America. The development of the Lower Rhine festival shows much of the character of musical traditions in Central Europe:

These [Lower Rhine music festival] celebrations exemplify the symbiotic forces of German Romanticism and bring to light issues fundamental to understanding the musical phenomena of that time: first, stability and/or changes in the repertoire; then, the dramatic rise in professionalism, accompanied nevertheless by an enduring dilettantism; changing proportions of vocal and instrumental musicians; the role of various municipalities in the organization of these events; the social aspects of the festivals; and expansion in geographical area, in the number of performers, and in the size of the audience, necessitating continually improved concert facilities.⁴⁰

Because the festival was known outside of the Lower Rhine region, many of these festival's characteristics were familiar to immigrants who traveled from Central Europe

³⁸ Cecelia Hopkins Porter, "The New Public and the Reordering of the Musical Establishment: The Lower Rhine Music Festivals, 1818–67," *19th-Century Music*, 3 (1980), 219.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 211-212.

to America in the years prior to 1873. Indeed, as late as 1904 the Cincinnati May Music Festival's program states that: "The Cincinnati festivals have become to America what the ancient and celebrated Lower Rhine festivals have long been to Germany; they furnish the occasion for bringing together the best resources of the country for the performance of great works on a grand scale. This is their mission."⁴¹

Another famous festival based in Germany was the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (ADMV), founded by Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and his New-German associates in 1859. This festival, much like the Cincinnati May Festival, became a regularly occurring event in Germany, eventually settling into an annual schedule. Unlike the Cincinnati festival (but like the Niederrheinische Musikfest), the ADMV changed locations each festival: 1859 in Leipzig, 1861 in Weimar, 1864 in Karlsruhe, etc. While other composers' works were featured, Liszt's orchestral pieces were prominently displayed and helped to reflect (or perhaps to inspire) the mood of the early festivals.⁴² However, the mission of the festival – to promote the cultivation of music in Germany, especially new music – was able to adapt to changes in leadership and personnel, incorporating the music of new composers after Liszt's death. Other large annual music festivals include the Bayreuth Festival, begun by Richard Wagner in 1876 as a venue for his operas and continued after his death (to the present day) by his family members. In each of these cases the festivals were not organized to raise money for a charity, person, or organization, but for the sake of the music itself and the aesthetic experience (along

⁴¹ Program booklet for the 1904 festival, "Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival," Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

⁴² James Deaville, "The Organized Muse? Organization Theory and 'Mediated' Music," *Canadian University Music Review*, 18:1 (1997), 49.

with the composer, city, and sponsors). Though “an analogous proliferation of similarly motivated singing groups and choral festivals elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe paralleled developments in Germany,”⁴³ the music festivals in German-speaking Europe are important here because of their influence on North America and the Cincinnati area specifically.

All of the festivals in Germany and elsewhere can be read as expressions of group identity, whether at a regional, national, or geo-cultural level. Since many of those who immigrated to America continued to lay claim to their identities and culture after they had moved to their new home, they were able to influence (as individuals and organizations) the collective identity of the cities and nation they claimed as their own.

The perception of the Germans as the “people of music” in America was not unfounded. In Germany in the first half of the 1800s, “art itself was taking on a more autonomous nature and the function of a substitute religion, to be worshipped together with the genius who produced it and the nation which gave birth to such greatness, the German *Kulturnation* (cultural nation).”⁴⁴ This philosophy of aesthetics was transported to the United States and adapted to fit the views and situations of Gilded Age Americans.

European festival culture arrived with each wave of immigrants landing on North American soil. “Greater Cincinnati forms something quite unique. It, along with Milwaukee and St. Louis, creates one corner in the famed German Triangle, where it is

⁴³ Porter, “The New Public and the Reordering of the Musical Establishment: The Lower Rhine Music Festivals, 1818 - 67,” 212.

⁴⁴ Karin Friedrich, “Cultural and intellectual trends,” in *19th Century Germany: Politics, Culture, and Society, 1780-1918*, edited by John Breuilly (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 2001), 110.

one of the top three urban areas in the United States known for its German heritage.”⁴⁵ German-speaking Central Europeans (from Germany, Austria and Switzerland of the time) in particular were known for organizing and participating in singing societies and holding their own Sangerfests in North America (discussed in the next section). However, increasingly after the Civil War (1861-1865), the “old” elite of the United States began to partake in festival culture, borrowing freely from European traditions.

Musical festivals were in the air of postwar America. The Boston Handel and Haydn Society had organized a successful four-day affair to celebrate the conclusion of the war, and then had initiated the much acclaimed triennial festivals in 1868. Large choruses, superb orchestras, and programs of serious music became their trademark. At the same time, bandleader Patrick Gilmore organized the Peace Jubilees, one in 1869 and the other in 1872, where he brought together mammoth choruses and orchestras numbering in the hundreds.⁴⁶

Even before the war, Boston’s Handel and Haydn society had produced musical festivals, the first in May of 1855 “...with a chorus of 600 and an orchestra of 78.”⁴⁷ After the civil war (April, 1861 to May, 1865) and Abraham Lincoln’s assassination (April 14, 1865), festivals and parades celebrated the conclusion of the war, and raised national moral. As mentioned in the quote above, the Boston Handel and Haydn Society held its festival in 1865 (performing for thousands), and hosted another festival three years later. When Patrick Gilmore’s Peace Jubilees occurred in Boston in 1869 and 1872, the focus was on

⁴⁵ Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German Cincinnati* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 7.

⁴⁶ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 86.

⁴⁷ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America’s Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*, 28.

size and excitement rather than on excellence in music. “Gilmore’s performance included approximately 20,000 performers and contributed to his moniker ‘high priest of the colossal.’”⁴⁸ Using advertising techniques and showmanship similar to those employed by Luis Jullien and P. T. Barnum, Gilmore focused on mammoth performances and grand gestures.⁴⁹ For example, the Peace Jubilee of 1869 claimed in the program that: “THIS GLORIOUS EVENT IN OUR NATIONAL HISTORY WILL BE CELEBRATED BY THE GRANDEST MUSICAL FESTIVAL EVER KNOWN IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.”⁵⁰ After the first Cincinnati Music Festival in 1873 (only one year after the second Peace Jubilee), large-scale festivals continued to spread around America. Theodore Thomas was the musical director of both the Centennial Musical Festival in Philadelphia (1876) and the Chicago World’s Fair (in 1893). Thomas also produced three festivals in New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago in May of 1882 (all with different programs). As the large-scale festivals became well known and established in the United States, smaller local festivals came into existence (each local effort often failing after a few years).

While established Americans were celebrating their identity through performance, recent immigrants were doing the same. *Sängerfests* were produced by the German-speaking population, involving music, dancing, food, and drink. *Sängerfests* had been taking place in America since the 1840s and no time was wasted in beginning the

⁴⁸ Paul Gabriel Luongo, *Theodore Thomas’s 1902 Performance of Bach’s B-minor Mass: Working within the Grand American Festival* (PhD. Dissertation: Florida State University, 2006), 25.

⁴⁹ This is not to say that the music presented was not of good quality, just that the focus seemed to be more on scale and less on the music itself. The quality of the music cannot be known with certainty due to biases in first-hand accounts.

⁵⁰ Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall*, 16.

festivals again after the Civil War. In the summer of 1865, a week-long *Sängerfest* was held in New York “sponsored by the Arion, Liederkranz, and other German choral groups, [the festival] attracted several thousand singers.”⁵¹ *Sängerfests* continued to be organized around the United States, moving from city to city, and in 1870 Cincinnati was chosen to host the event. Saengerhalle was built to accommodate 3,000 performers and 10,000 audience members,⁵² and the city (German and non-German citizens alike) turned out to attend the performance.⁵³

The large-scale festivals of post-war America helped to set the standard for the Cincinnati May Festival, but it was specifically the *Sängerfest* of 1870 that demonstrated to the city the economic and cultural benefits of hosting such an event. It also gave the German population of Cincinnati a chance to showcase their musical ability and commitment to musical events – a hint of the enormous influence the German heritage of the city would have on the Cincinnati May Festival.

German Heritage

The Cincinnati Music Festival was influenced by German culture in three ways: by the German-speaking individuals who had emigrated from central Europe, by local organizations of German singing societies and musicians, and by the (adapted) German philosophy that had found its way into the mindset of Americans in general.

Many different groups of immigrants arrived in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. As is the case in modern times, these groups were often

⁵¹ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*, 28.

⁵² Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 83.

⁵³ “The *Cincinnati Commercial* estimated the festival crowd at 300,000...” Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 85.

categorized as “other” and positioned against those who considered themselves “true” Americans.

The period [the Gilded Age] was one of glaring inequality and economic hardship. An immigrant wave, continuously strong, stirred fear and resentment. In polyglot America, nations of racial type – of ethnic culture correlating with personality and character traits – were commonplace. White Protestant custodians of culture, alienated by “barbarian” nouveau riches, by Irish politicians and Jewish financiers, by the seeming chaos of urban, industrial America, championed “Anglo-Saxon” stock as an inherently moral, essentially American inheritance. To them, Uncle Sam was a universalized Yankee, traceable to a Puritan bloodline.⁵⁴

This group of white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon elite formed the “old blood” of Cincinnati, including the Longworth family which boasted several generations of art patrons. This is the family into which George Ward Nichols married in 1868,⁵⁵ immediately becoming connected to Cincinnati’s high society. It was these family ties that made it possible for Nichols to secure the financial backing he needed to bring Thomas and his orchestra to Cincinnati for the first of the May Festivals. The “exclusive” families that formed upper-

⁵⁴ Horowitz, *Wagner Nights* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 329.

⁵⁵ George Ward Nichols (1831 or 1837-1885) was a journalist from Maine, who was educated in Paris and was known for his writings about art and music. He joined the Union Army when the Civil War began, crossing Georgia with General William Sherman. After the war, he published the very successful book *The Story of the Great March* in 1865 (which sold 60,000 copies in the first year) about his experiences, subsequently moving to Ohio. Nichols was hired by the Longworth family in Cincinnati to catalogue their extensive collection of artwork. After courting and marrying Maria Longworth, Nichols became the president of the Harmonica Society, helped to establish the McMicken School of Design (which later became part of the Cincinnati Art Museum), founded the May Festival with Theodore Thomas, began the College of Music, and founded an opera festival. His relationship with Thomas, including the dispute that split the Cincinnati Music Festival Association in half, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. For more information about Nichols, see Rose Angela Boehle, *Maria Longworth: A Biography* (Dayton, OH: Landfall Press, 1990); Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*; and Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America’s Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*.

class Cincinnatians became increasingly outnumbered by increased immigration (mostly from Germany) in the 1840s. “By 1850 half the citizens [of Cincinnati] were European-born and almost 30% of the population was German.”⁵⁶ By 1890, over half of the population of the city was German or of German descent (49,415 people resided in Cincinnati in 1890). The next largest immigrant group was Irish, with 12,323 Cincinnati residents.⁵⁷ Though different immigrant groups tended to cluster together into poor areas of the city (the conditions of which worsened over time as more and more people competed for space and jobs), there was a residential mixing of the different immigrant groups – more so than in many other American cities.⁵⁸ This meant that while diverse languages were spoken in Cincinnati, English and German became common for all general communication. In addition to the English press, there were German newspapers, areas of town, and numerous German singing societies. Many of those who became the city’s leading musicians (including the festival’s music director Thomas and choir directors Otto Singer and Carl Barus) were German-born.

Many of the musicians and singing societies in the Cincinnati society were also made up of predominately German-speakers.

It was mostly middle-class Germans who supported orchestral and chamber music concerts. They played musical instruments, sang in choirs, and held amateur choral festivals called *Sängerfests*, where

⁵⁶ Eldred M. Thierstein and Charlotte L. Shockley, “Cincinnati,” in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/05794> (accessed August 2, 2012).

⁵⁷ These statistics are taken from the US Census, listed in Zane L. Miller, *Boss Cox’s Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

thousands sang in massed choruses.... German music was played far more than the music of other nationalities, not only in New York but in cities like Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Chicago, and the musicians who performed it were and would be largely German-born or German-trained until World War I.⁵⁹

These German musicians and singing groups were significant enough in Cincinnati to be used as a political tool by festival organizers vying for power; the support of the general German population of the city was contingent on the participation of the local *Sängerbund* and German musicians.

As mentioned briefly in the preceding section, the German community in Cincinnati hosted the North American *Sängerfest* in 1870 – a German musical festival that moved from city to city among German populations of the United States.

The 1870 Saengerfest awakened a new musical vitality, and its splendor – to say nothing of its financial contribution – appealing to all Cincinnatians.... Noticeable in the throngs of people were many non-German citizens who had come to enjoy the fine music, a change from earlier Saengerfests and an indication of the growing cultural maturity of the community.... Despite the usual criticism against the ‘desecration’ of the Sabbath, the unqualified success of the Saengerfest provided Cincinnati with its first national recognition as a musical city, and, as the perceptive John Sullivan Dwight pointed out, the easing of tensions between Germans and older Americans benefited both. The foundation for the May Festivals had been established.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835-1905*, 6-7.

⁶⁰ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 83-85.

The blending of German and “older American” viewpoints was no coincidence. There were two separate German influences on the Cincinnati May Festival: the actual German immigrants in Cincinnati and America as a whole as already discussed, and German philosophy and music which was adopted and assimilated into the views of Anglo-Saxon American high culture.⁶¹ “German” philosophies and music were already being used by Anglo-Saxon concert attendees as markers of “high art” and thus elite taste. Organizers embraced the “moral” German philosophy and musical repertoire, but rejected the more “vulgar” beer gardens and dancing of German festive culture. Music critics like John Sullivan Dwight based much of their approach to music on the Romantic ideals of German writers Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832).⁶² The ideals and aesthetic principles of the German Romantic tradition became integrated into the musical philosophy of the American elite along with the works of central-European composers – even while the actual traditions of the German-speaking people were dismissed. The tension between these differing “German” influences on the May Festival resulted in much of the actual German population of Cincinnati being alienated by the festival organizers even while German music, musicians, and philosophy were being celebrated and assimilated into an “American” musical culture.

City Conditions

Some of the factors leading up to the May Festival in 1873 Cincinnati have already been mentioned: the large German-speaking population and their singing

⁶¹ Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J. S. Dwight: The Birth of American Music Criticism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 24.

societies, the American elite's interest in the arts, the *Sängerfest* of 1870, and the visits of the virtuoso conductor Theodore Thomas. However the economic and political situation in post-war Cincinnati also affected the May Festival.

Cincinnati was founded after the American Revolution, in 1788. It developed from a small town on the northern side of the Ohio River, populated predominantly by farmers, to a settlement that gained a military presence in 1789 to protect it from Native-Americans. However, the security of farmers continued to be threatened by attack until 1843 when the last of native tribes was forced out of the state.⁶³ With access to safe farmland, the population began to grow. "With just 500 residents in 1795, Cincinnati could boast of more than 1,000 residents when it gained its municipal incorporation and Ohio gained its statehood in 1803. The city grew rapidly in the next few years, reaching more than 4,000 residents by 1815..."⁶⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Cincinnati "... rested comfortably as the great emporium of the West."⁶⁵ Its location beside the Ohio River established it as a center of transportation of goods, excellent farming land to the north and south of the city fed into the local economy, it expanded as the population grew at a rapid rate, and in 1850 Cincinnati was "fourth nationally in manufacturing."⁶⁶ This combination of factors gave the city national importance.

⁶³ David Stadling, *Cincinnati: From River City to Highway Metropolis* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing: 2003), 13-14.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁵ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 80.

⁶⁶ Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era*, 5.

By 1840, the city's growth was astonishing, representing the dramatic rise of the West and promising a remaking of the nation as a whole. No longer was the United States a coastal nation; the fertile lands and flowing rivers of the continent's interior looked like the future. And Cincinnati, it seemed, would be at the center of it all.... The city owed its heightened growth to a new commercial order, one driven by the recently invented steamboat and the increased value of a river location the new boats brought.⁶⁷

The Miami Canal (opened in 1829, and expanding until it reached Toledo in 1845) gave the city commercial access to the interior of Ohio, while the river provided access to the southern United States. As the Civil War (1861-65) approached, "race relations became a critical issue"⁶⁸ with strong advocates of abolition and slavery attempting to co-exist together in Cincinnati. There were more than 2,200 free blacks living in the city by 1840, a group that had to defend themselves against an armed racist mob on September 3, 1841.⁶⁹ While racist laws and lawless mobs both created a hostile climate for Cincinnati blacks in the decades approaching the Civil War, the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad also expanded. "Cincinnati and the region around the city were particularly important... with the Ohio River marking the real boundary between slavery and freedom."⁷⁰ The city is located on the north side of the Ohio River; directly on the border of Ohio (a Northern Union state) and Kentucky (a Southern Confederate state). Cincinnati was also, at the time, considered a part of the Western United States, but actually was centrally located within America and served as a meeting place for different

⁶⁷ Stadling, *Cincinnati: From River City to Highway Metropolis*, 20-21.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

customs. When the Civil War began, the diversity of opinions became a political problem. Families and friends were divided by the war all over America, and Cincinnati was no exception. On an economic level, Cincinnati had done significant business with individuals in the South before the war.⁷¹ Once the war began, Cincinnati and Ohio were officially a part of the North (also home to Harriet Beecher), although there were plenty of residents who enlisted with the confederate army or moved out of the city because their views were no longer welcome in the “Northern” state. Though Cincinnati remained physically un-scathed through the War (protected in part by the Ohio River which had not yet been bridged), worsening relations with the south and the new importance of the railroads began to hurt the city’s economic growth. During the War, “increased wartime manufacturing obscured the decline in commerce,”⁷² but after its end trade relations with the South were not as prosperous as they had been. Louisville, Kentucky managed to appropriate some of Cincinnati’s southern trade by being both politically aligned with the South and connected by railroad to Nashville. While Cincinnati continued to grow in manufacturing, trade, and population, the growth rates began to slow. Cincinnati’s bankers began to worry about the fluctuation of the gold price, though they seem to have been largely ignored by the general population.⁷³ “Certainly the war’s effects on the once prosperous southern trade played a key role. River trade deteriorated badly, never to regain its prewar prominence, and increased competition for southern markets...

⁷¹ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 81.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

accentuated this loss.⁷⁴ Cincinnati's population was still growing, but not at the same high rates – and not at the same rates as its rivals St. Louis and Chicago.

However, the citizens of Cincinnati did not seem to accept this new post-war truth. “In the months following Appomattox, [the citizens] assessed the uneven economy as a normal leveling off from the artificial impetus of war.”⁷⁵ So while Cincinnati was slowly slipping away from its promise as an economic center, its citizens did not hesitate to spend time and money on trying (and, arguably succeeding) to make the city a cultural center of the time.

While there was a national attempt to prove America's cultural adequacy compared to Europe, a struggle also took place within the United States for regional and local cultural dominance. Vitz states that:

During much of the nineteenth century... Cincinnati served as the artistic and intellectual fulcrum for the central part of the nation, and for a short time the city entertained hopes that it would become America's leading music center.... Between 1840 and 1880, Cincinnati offered the most extensive artistic support and training west of New York.⁷⁶

Vitz is certainly biased (as a local historian attempting to focus more scholarly attention on Cincinnati's artistic heritage), but there is nevertheless some truth to his claims. His perspective certainly illuminates the local pride that contributed to the institutionalization

⁷⁴ Ibid., 80.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 81.

⁷⁶ Ibid., ix.

of culture in the city. The hope that Cincinnati could culturally compete with its neighbors on the one hand, and represent the nation's artistic accomplishments and potential on the world stage on the other, helps to explain the expectations and goals of local patrons.⁷⁷ The Cincinnati May Festival was only possible because the elite of Cincinnati were willing to become guarantors, giving the organizers money to be paid back when or if the festival is able to do so.

The festival appeals so strongly to the pride of the Cincinnatians that they freely subscribe to the guarantee fund to cover any possible failure in the receipts to meet the expenditures. The festival, though managed by an incorporated body, thus becomes in some sense a public enterprise, the end being not to make money, but to give *éclat* to Cincinnati as a patron of music.⁷⁸

This was partly due to the persuasive powers of George Ward Nichols and his wife Maria Longworth Nichols. "The twenty-two-year-old Maria Nichols used her Longworth connections to induce leading citizens to support the venture."⁷⁹ As Maria Nichols's father and grandfather were established and dedicated patrons of the arts in Cincinnati, she would be connected to all the oldest and wealthiest families in the city – and would know who would be willing to invest in music and culture. While individuals in

⁷⁷ Pierre Bourdieu's term "symbolic capital," or the amount of celebrity or prestige a person has, can be used here to help explain the potential motives of the Cincinnati patrons of the Festival. Given the amount of prestige the Festival itself had – due to the reputation of Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, the repertoire, celebrated European soloists, and (gradually) the local Cincinnati chorus – the patrons and organizers were able to accrue some symbolic capital by being associated with such a celebrated event. Due to the recurrence of such a celebrated event with such a large amount of symbolic capital, the city itself became associated with artistic prestige (or capital). Thus, as the Cincinnati Musical Festival became a consecrated municipal tradition, it was bringing symbolic capital to the nation, city, and individuals with which it was associated. Any patrons who could associate themselves with such an event would be able to claim some part of the festival's success – and symbolic capital.

⁷⁸ Anonymous, *The Andrew County Republican*, Savannah, MO, November 27, 1874.

⁷⁹ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 86.

Cincinnati made up the organizers and patrons, the patronage of the Cincinnati May Festival also belonged to a larger trend.

Although the notion that music could be used for the moral improvement of everyone persisted among some members of the elite, after the Civil War the bourgeoisie began to see certain types of music as rightfully belonging to them, and, as the attendant social rituals emerged, music could be used as a mark of social distinction.⁸⁰

The patronage of an event like the Cincinnati May Festival was a way for wealthy Americans to support a cultural event that could compete with Europe,⁸¹ for Cincinnati residents to display civic pride and compete with rival American cities, and a way by which the upper class could begin to lay claim to “serious” orchestral music. Though most of those producing the music were German-speaking immigrants, the repertoire was European, and the music director (Theodore Thomas) was German, the financial means and “vision” were American. According to the newspapers at the time, this was enough to make the festival a part of the cultural identity of the United States.

Maria Nichols introduced Theodore Thomas and George Ward Nichols in a city that was ready for a large-scale musical event. Cincinnati and America as a whole were trying to prove their cultural worth and recover from the Civil War, the city was influenced by a large musical immigrant population from German-speaking Central Europe, festival culture was “in the air,” and the virtuoso conductor was becoming a full-

⁸⁰ Michael Broyles, “Bourgeois Appropriation of Music: Challenging Ethnicity, Class, and Gender,” in *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Sven Beckert and Julia B. Rosenbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 236.

⁸¹ Much of the festival’s ability to compete with Europe (as it was perceived in the press) is connected to the internationally known vocal soloists and the reputation of Theodore Thomas.

blown phenomenon in the United States. While Cincinnati did not have the audience base to support a permanent orchestra month after month (despite several attempts), it was able to provide a venue and audience for Thomas's yearly tour with his orchestra.

Without having to maintain an organization throughout the year, a regularly occurring event *could* be supported by the city. An exciting event like the May Musical Festival was ideal for Cincinnati in the early 1870s.

Chapter 2: The Theory

When a social group... celebrates a particular event or occasion... it also “celebrates itself.” In other words, it attempts to manifest, in symbolic form, what it conceives to be its essential life, at once the distillation and typification of its corporate experience.⁸²

In order to create a theoretical framework for investigating the Cincinnati May Festival, I will be putting Cincinnati and its festival into dialogue with the work of cultural historians and musicologists specializing in the nineteenth century, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists who have analyzed musical festivals of various times and places, and sociologists like Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault who have written about power dynamics in organizations.

Historians, sociologists, and musicologists who have undertaken cultural analyses of late nineteenth-century America, including musicologists who have compiled large amounts of historical data on groups or cultural trends that shaped or defined the nineteenth-century musical landscape of the United States, will be integral to this process. These will (primarily) involve Paul DiMaggio (1982), Lawrence Levine (1988), Michael Broyles (1992), Ralph P. Locke (1993), William Weber (2001), and Joseph Horowitz

⁸² Turner, *Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual*, 16.

(2005).⁸³ Exploring the Cincinnati Festival will invite the use of the differing viewpoints of these writers. Limiting the examination of the festival to the period from its beginning in 1873 until 1905 – the period of Theodore Thomas’s directorship – will necessitate studying only sixteen festivals (the May Festival took place every two to four years). Many of the leading organizers also remained in place over the selected time period, making it easier to discover influences and bias (see Appendix II for the list of the Board of Directors). This 32-year time span is nevertheless long enough to display some general trends, which will allow me to investigate the ways in which my findings will fit with – or contradict – the conclusions of cultural researchers like Horowitz and Levine whose research occupies larger timeframes or geographic areas.

Cultural Theories of Nineteenth-Century America

The nineteenth-century in the United States was a period of transition: the divide between elite and popular music gradually became institutionalized, and waves of new immigrants were making Americans question their collective identity.⁸⁴ Amid these changes, Cincinnati rose as a musical center to rival New York and Boston. The city opened a new music school to be run by Theodore Thomas in 1878, an opera festival began in 1881, and the May Festival inspired numerous imitation festivals in American

⁸³ Paul DiMaggio, “Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America,” *Media, Culture and Society*, 4 (1982): 33-50; Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Michael Broyles, *“Music of the Highest Class”: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Ralph P. Locke, “Music Lovers, Patrons, and the ‘Sacralization’ of Culture in America,” *19th-Century Music*, XVII/2 (Fall, 1993): 149-173; William Weber, “From Miscellany to Homogeneity in Concert Programming,” in *Poetics* 29 (2001): 125-134; and Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*. While DiMaggio and Broyles both focus their studies on Boston, Levine and Locke talk about America as a whole. I will also be using Horowitz’s book *Understanding Toscanini* which focuses on New York, and the Weber article I will be looking at analyses Europe (primarily London).

⁸⁴ Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum*, 52.

cities that were hoping for success on the same scale. The rapid cultural development of Cincinnati during the second half of the nineteenth century makes it ideal for studying local and national trends in the evolving music culture scene of that time. This is especially true as the American more “fluid” pre-civil war period has been contrasted with the rapid institutionalization of culture in the second half of the nineteenth century by several writers (including DiMaggio and Levine).

One of the first attempts to write an overarching cultural history of nineteenth-century America was Levine’s 1998 *Highbrow/ Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*.⁸⁵ This book appeared almost 25 years ago, and still receives at least a nod of acknowledgment from any author writing on the topic of nineteenth-century American cultural development. Part of the reason for the book’s influence is its broad scope, attempting to map a broad narrative onto the cultural development of the United States (using theatre, opera, symphony orchestra, and museums as case studies).⁸⁶ Levine traces the use of religious language and the “moralization” of culture to reveal a general “sacralization,”⁸⁷ which he claims took place in the mid-nineteenth century. He

⁸⁵ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*.

⁸⁶ Though Levine uses numerous examples to support his narrative, he also (by necessity) excludes many examples – including almost any that could undercut his central argument. This has been used as a basis for criticisms of bias and selective portrayal of data by writers like Broyles and Horowitz. I think Locke’s statement that Levine’s work and others like it are “necessary *correctives* to certain longstanding, exaggeratedly rosy attitudes toward the generosity of patrons” (Locke, “Music Lovers, Patrons, and the ‘Sacralization’ of Culture in America,” 158) helps to explain both why Levine may have chosen to exclude certain information and why his central argument is no less important.

⁸⁷ DiMaggio defines the term “sacralization” in 1982 as “the definition of high culture and its opposite, popular culture and the institutionalization of this classification” (DiMaggio, “Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America,” 35). Six years later, Levine did not specifically define his use of the term, but does claim that “the process of sacralization endowed the music it focused upon with unique aesthetic and spiritual properties that rendered it inviolate, exclusive, and eternal” (Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, 132).

asserts that the problems with this development are twofold: first, he personally laments the loss of what he describes as a vibrant and flexible celebration of genres and traditions, and second, if good “moral” or “sacred” music makes good people, then it follows that “bad” music must create bad people.⁸⁸ “The urge to deprecate popular musical genres was an important element in the process of sacralization. If symphonic music was... divine, then it followed that other genres music occupy a lesser region.”⁸⁹ This sacralization or moralization of culture then becomes inseparably connected to the rigid separation of “high-brow” and “low-brow” cultures. The term “sacralization” had already been used by DiMaggio in his 1982 paper on “high” culture in nineteenth-century Boston,⁹⁰ and the implied (problematic) rift between genres was already a part of the concept: “The sacralization of art, the definition of high culture and its opposite, popular culture and the institutionalization of this classification, was the work of men and women whom I refer to as *cultural capitalists*.”⁹¹ While Levine highlights the exclusivity of many of the newly developed cultural institutions and the superiority implied in the attempts to “educate” the “untamed masses,” DiMaggio claims that these cultural capitalists (a term explored below) demonstrate how a “drive towards exclusivity was a

⁸⁸ While it is easy to think of this kind of logic being used in the twentieth century – and even the twenty-first century – in the form of “Mozart for Babies,” and attempts to “protect” young people from jazz, rock n’ roll, etc. there are also examples of this from nineteenth-century America. Theodore Thomas is quoted as saying that “Light music, ‘popular’ so called, is the sensual side of the art and has more or less the devil in it” (Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 3). Steven Baur’s essay “‘Waltz Me Around Again Willie’: Gender, Ideology, and Dance in the Gilded Age” in *Musicological Identities: Essays in Honor of Susan McClary*, edited by Steven Bauer, Raymond Knapp, and Jacqueline Warwick (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2008), 47-61, shows the moral dangers that were believed to be a part of dancing the waltz in post-Civil War America.

⁸⁹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, 136.

⁹⁰ DiMaggio, “Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: the Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America.”

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

conflicting desire, as they saw it, to educate[ing] the community.” Whether the patrons and organizers are considered to be sharing or monopolizing culture in late nineteenth-century American life, DiMaggio and Levine both agree that the control of the ensembles (and increasingly, the audiences) was in the hands of wealthy patrons and Boards of Directors. While both have some harsh words for this “top-down” approach, DiMaggio does caution against over-simplifying the organizer’s intentions.

Some Marxist students of culture have misinterpreted the cultural institutions as efforts to dictate taste or to inculcate the masses with the ideas of the elites. Certainly, the cultural capitalists, consummate organizers and intelligent men and women, were wise enough to understand the impossibility of socializing the masses in institutions from which they effectively were barred. Their concern with education, however, was not simply window-dressing or an effort at public relations.... Moreover, a secret or thoroughly esoteric culture could not have served to legitimate the status of American elites; it would be necessary to share it, at least partially. The tensions between monopolization and hegemony, between exclusivity and legitimation, was a constant counterpoint to the efforts at classification of American urban elites.⁹²

Though this viewpoint does account for the variety of self-serving reasons for the upper-class organizers to participate in the institutionalization of a cultural hierarchy and “sacralization,” it does not factor in the love of culture and music as potential motivating factors, nor does it account for those who worked towards the same ends without the stereotypical economic wealth. DiMaggio’s “cultural capitalists” are called such because of the fortunes they made in the capitalist economy and their amassing of Bourdieu’s

⁹² Ibid., 48.

“cultural capital” through patronage.⁹³ However, Theodore Thomas and John Sullivan Dwight were both significantly influential in the development of orchestral music in America, and while both possessed cultural capital in Bourdieu’s sense, both men worked towards the ideal of “sacralization” while experiencing almost life-long financial difficulties. Thus, not only wealthy patrons worked towards the institutionalization of cultural organizations and the social and cultural hierarchy that resulted.

Levine’s and DiMaggio’s statements on the transformation of musical institutions during this time period bring to light some very interesting ideas. The shift from “fluid” to institutionalized is agreed upon. In the words of Levine: “In the world of instrumental music as in the world of theatrical performance, then, the nineteenth century was much more fluid, much less rigidly hierarchical than the century that was to follow.”⁹⁴ However, the value judgments and intentions attached to these shifting styles of cultural presentation have become hotly contested. The information and ideas of Levine’s and DiMaggio’s work in the 1980s, from outside the musicological world, inspired both followers and those who have sought to challenge their assumptions. Musicologists Horowitz, Broyles, and Locke came to the defense of “highbrow” music.

Horowitz’s 1987 book *Understanding Toscanini: How He Became an American Culture-God and Helped Create a New Audience for Old Music* attempts to show both respect for the “classical” tradition and skepticism towards its hierarchical

⁹³ “Cultural capital” is a term found in the writing of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, referring to “a form of knowledge, an internal code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts” (Randal Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *The Field of Cultural Production*, edited by Randal Johnson [New York: Columbia University Press, 1993], 7). A further discussion of Bourdieu and his ideas will occur below.

⁹⁴ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, 107.

establishments. He writes that: “Democratizing high culture is an enterprise buoyed by good thoughts and deeds. Equally apparent is the risk of a diluted, commercialized high culture that elevates no one.”⁹⁵ While acknowledging the general lack of democratic traits in “high culture,” Horowitz seems to believe in the necessarily benevolent “good thoughts” and “elevation” that he implies should still be a part of sharing “good music.”⁹⁶ This same case was made by Locke in 1993 in an attempt to bring “... aesthetic issues back into the discussion of concert life.”⁹⁷ He argues that the music has value to performers and audience members, who are not being taken into account in cultural analyses that claim these groups have become passive and obedient to the whims of the organizers and patrons. Locke points out that there are people in charge of any organization, but that this does not automatically imply an abuse of power.⁹⁸ Locke also writes that the music now called “classical” and “highbrow” was part of the cultural (European) heritage of the American population in the nineteenth century, and some initially “highbrow” melodies (often simplified arrangements of works) by Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, etc. would be a part of the repertoire played or sung in many

⁹⁵ Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: A Social History of American Concert Life* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 440.

⁹⁶ In his own description of the book, Horowitz claims that “*Understanding Toscanini* (1987) is a revisionist social history of American concert life, a jeremiad lamenting twentieth-century decline and fall.... The indignation of *Understanding Toscanini* is inflamed by an experience of betrayal: as a young adult, I discovered that the world of music that I had come to love as a child was confined and diminished by circumstances beyond my control. I no longer feel as angry.” *The Post-Classical Predicament* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), vi.

⁹⁷ Locke, “Music Lovers, Patrons, and the ‘Sacralization’ of Culture in America,” 150.

⁹⁸ While the demographic of organizers and patrons for most of the cultural institutions that develop in nineteenth-century America were largely wealthy upper-class citizens (a lack of variety that makes Locke’s point problematic), it is true that all organizations will be controlled to some degree by their funding (whether that comes from patrons, government sponsorship, or consumerism).

homes.⁹⁹ This implies a bottom-up approach, where the music (if not the cultural values eventually attached to it) is a part of the cultural groundwork of the nation and ultimately earns the support of the country's wealthy citizens. The other extreme, suggested by Levine and DiMaggio, is the top-down approach, whereby wealthy patrons control which music is performed and attempt (through concert series and outreach programs) to impose this upon the general population. The reality is probably somewhere in the middle. While the image of a very few millionaires imposing their cultural taste on the masses is clearly inaccurate, so too is Locke's view of the European symphonic tradition as representing the non-hierarchical cultural taste of the nation as a whole. In the case of the Cincinnati May Festival, the patrons and organizers determined what would be performed and how – but they were trying very hard to make the event a public success, which would appear to be the case for most fledging urban performance institutions.¹⁰⁰ They therefore engaged in popularizing , including catering to the press (and used the press to involve the general population of the city, region, and country), organizing half-fare rates for railroad routes entering the city on festival days, involving music-loving amateurs and their families through the chorus, and generally promoting the festival as being a benefit (culturally and economically) to the city as a whole. It should also be noted that, while efforts of

⁹⁹ While domestic music-making is well documented in upper- and middle-class families in the whole of the nineteenth century, it should be noted that this does not account for the large class of Americans who did not have the time or money to make music in a domestic setting. It also does not take into account the non-European background of the African-American population.

¹⁰⁰ For example, the Cincinnati, Chicago, and even New York City orchestras that exist today began with failed attempts (in the case of Cincinnati and Chicago) or very few concerts on a very low budget for many years (in the case of the Philharmonic Society of New York). Even touring institutions like the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, the Germania Society, or the American Opera Company struggled to find enough regular audience members to support their budgets. The exceptions to this are institutions that were funded by patrons from the beginning (like the Boston Symphony or the 1891 successful attempt to create the Chicago Symphony), and performances that are designed to entertain the crowd (such as the various musical P. T. Barnum tours, or the American Louis Jullien tour).

successfully attracting an audience and pleasing the general public were not always successful, the festival was generally celebrated and well attended. The first few festivals were particularly exciting events for the city's populace, with store fronts decorated and streets shut down to accommodate pedestrians.

I would posit that patrons generally supported the music that they were comfortable with and loved, and that such comfort with the repertoire was dependent on a level of exposure to the "highbrow" works. That background was not at all limited to a class of wealthy business families (just think of all of the musicians who worked most of their lives to produce the music they cared about – usually without more than a living wage in return), but there are a few generalizations that can be made based on the information available. Generally, the upper and middle classes were more likely to possess a background in "classical" music (or at least the leisure to acquire it and leave behind a historical record of their preference), *but* many economically disadvantaged families were exposed to the "classical" repertoire at church services and (free) public events. Especially as the nineteenth century progressed, more and more events were created to expose the "working man" to Great Works for very low prices (or for free).¹⁰¹ This same urge (to educate the public, but also for writers of the time to highlight the importance of outreach work) can be seen in Thomas's reputation for raising or cultivating the general public's taste through a gradually increasing level of musical "difficulty." There does not seem to be an equivalent effort to "educate" the African-American population – an absence that suggests that they were not believed to warrant

¹⁰¹ For example, in 1894 the Seidl Society provided free tickets and child care for "toiling women," and free concerts of "good" music were given in parks around New York City. Horowitz, *Wagner Nights*, 208-211.

the same effort, though it should be mentioned that they were also exposed to European music through church services.

Cavicchi's book, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum*, analyses the auditory life of nineteenth-century America. Cavicchi's work, based on first-hand accounts, reveals the same trends of gradually separating "high" and "low,"¹⁰² but also shows the lengths to which an individual at the time would go in order to attend a concert. The practice of following parades in New York to hear the music, or attending multiple Sunday services to hear the different church choirs, sounds strange to modern sensibilities – but it belonged to a society whose members (rich and poor) contributed to fundraising campaigns to build orchestra halls and festival seasons.¹⁰³ The opportunity to hear live music was exciting in itself, and because the opportunity to hear a certain kind of performance or work could be rare (especially the large works that were performed at the Cincinnati May Festival), it was important for these scarce concerts to meet the expectations of the audience. The quality of performance (for technique or entertainment value) was therefore something in which it was worth investing time, money, and effort.

¹⁰² Cavicchi writes: "Public mockery and debate about music audiences between 1850 and 1885, as well as withering critiques of amateur music loving in 1870s by those like William Foster Apthorp, eventually hardened the lines between two different kinds of music engagement in the twentieth century: one based on the intellectual ecstasies of inner contemplation, fostered and supported by the performance of 'good music,' and one based on passionate participation of the world of stars, spectacle and collecting, relegated to the realm of 'popular' culture. While *music lover* continued to be used to refer to enthusiastic patrons of classical music, practitioners of the older form of music loving were given a new name taken from sports: *fans*." Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing*, 184.

¹⁰³ For example, the building of Orchestra Hall in Chicago in 1904: "'Millionaires and toilers' had contributed 'ten thousand dollars to ten cents' to show the world that 'commercial and material-minded Chicago' cared enough for its orchestra to give it a permanent home." Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 1. Another example is the construction of Cincinnati's Music Hall, which was proposed by Reuben Springer – who backed up his plans with \$130,000 to be matched by other donations and fundraising. "...the city's generosity ran deeper than a few philanthropists. Thirty-eight subscribers pledged \$1,000 or more to the construction of the building, and altogether 384 separate contributions made up the more than \$100,000 amount. One gift of \$3,000 represented the small change of the city's school children." Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 97-98.

So I believe that while the intent of patrons and organizers of nineteenth-century musical institutions could be to canonize their cultural norms and taste and “impose” this on the public as a moralizing method of control, it could also stem from a love of music and a charitable urge to make the music they love available to a wider audience (and, coincidentally, themselves). I believe that the wide range of patrons and organizers of cultural institutions in nineteenth-century America (including women and men, the wealthy, and the financially disadvantaged) possessed individual views on why they should contribute to the “cause” of varying cultural institutions – and that even the individual's views on the matter were often conflicting and subject to change. In the overlapping continuums between “high” and “low,” sacred and entertaining, elitist and populist (shown in the attempts to “educate” the “masses”), it is helpful to make reference to Michael Broyles’s methods:

A more accurate understanding of the time is possible if musical developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are viewed within the context of two sets of tensions: one between a populist and an elitist attitude toward music, and another between a conceptualization of music as entertainment and music as a moral force.¹⁰⁴

By splitting the populist and elitist attitudes from the “moralization” of music, it is possible to identify more clearly the motivations driving various patrons and organizers.

The Cincinnati May Festival

Though many of these writers do not discuss the Cincinnati May Festival specifically, it is clear how well the festival fits into the national trends of

¹⁰⁴ Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”: *Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston*, 10.

institutionalization and patronage described by the authors above. The establishment of the festival (and the Festival Association) itself as a cultural institution is significant and has continued to help define the city's cultural identity to this day, but the construction of a specialized building for cultural events including the festival in 1878¹⁰⁵ and the establishment of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra in 1893¹⁰⁶ show the continued institutionalization of the symphonic tradition in Cincinnati as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

The Cincinnati May Festival generally fits into the cultural shift discussed above – towards a more hierarchical institutionalization of music by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the scale of the festival events is slightly more complicated to work into this transition – remembering that the varying authors discussed above read different intentions and ideologies onto this cultural shift. The large-scale scope and celebratory atmosphere at the festival (especially during the first festival in 1873, and the opening of the Music Hall in 1878) could be interpreted as similar to the mammoth populist concerts of Louis Jullien and Patrick Gilmore – events where it could be argued that the music was second in importance to crowd-pleasing spectacle and entertainment. In those cases, I would say that the general intention of the concerts was entertainment (as opposed to the

¹⁰⁵ The planning and fundraising for Cincinnati's Music Hall began in 1875 after the second festival, and continued until the building's official opening for the 1878 May Festival.

¹⁰⁶ Though the organization committee was founded in 1893, the first concerts were presented to the public in 1895. After many short-lived attempts by prominent musical men of the city, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra was the "...first symphony orchestra to be established and managed largely, indeed, in this case almost exclusively, by a group of women..." (Whitesitt, "Women as 'Keepers of Culture': Music Clubs, Community Concerts Series, and Symphony Orchestras," 74). Though many upper-class American women donated some time or money to charities or arts organisations, it was very unusual for a group of women to have control – especially exclusive control – of an organisation. Helen Herron Taft (1861-1943) and the Ladies' Musical Club in Cincinnati had to employ different fundraising and organisational tactics than their male counterparts, but they were nevertheless successful in establishing the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra that has survived in the city to this day.

sacred) and populist (as opposed to elitist), thus purposely mixing “serious” or “high” and “popular” or “low” cultural traditions. However, large populist events do not always prevent the performance of “sacred” and “serious” music. Indeed Thomas – known to be uncompromising on the inclusion of “serious” music – was involved in the production of some large-scale musical events in the 1880s and 1890s.

...for all his criticism of Jullien, Theodore Thomas evidently had learned a few things from him. In his New York Festival of 1882 [the “Ocean to Ocean Tour” involving consecutive festivals in New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati], Thomas conducted an orchestra of nearly 300 musicians and a chorus of 3,200 singers. In October 1892, at the inaugural ceremonies of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Thomas outdid even this, presiding over a chorus of 5,500 voices, and orchestra of 200 musicians, 2 large military bands, and 2 drum corps of 50 drummers each. These musical extravaganzas, which through their use of hundreds of amateur singers and musicians... encouraged a good deal of local participation and blurred the line between performers and audience, became common throughout the nation...¹⁰⁷

Large numbers of performers (though less numerous than the groups of 4,000 to 6,000 described in the above quote)¹⁰⁸ can be observed year after year at the Cincinnati May Festival, along with the blurring of boundaries between professional and amateur performers that became increasingly rigid as “serious” music became institutionalized in the city. Because of the works that the organizers and Thomas wanted to perform, they needed a full orchestra (most of which was made up of Thomas’s professional ensemble), professional vocal soloists who were familiar with the repertoire (or could learn it competently), and a full chorus that (according to the musical sensibilities of the time)

¹⁰⁷ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, 110.

¹⁰⁸ For example, the Festival of 1885 advertised for an orchestra of over a hundred people, and a chorus of over 600.

had to be quite large to properly balance the orchestra and soloists – and was necessarily made up of amateur singers.¹⁰⁹ But despite the use of both professional and amateur players and the consistent (populist and possibly entertainment-oriented) advertising of a “large” or “grande” chorus and orchestra, the published intentions of the festival organizers were clearly populist, presenting “highbrow” or “serious” music, and creating a space for the sacred power of music (in the sense presented by Levine).¹¹⁰ The first festival was partially defined against the Sangerfests discussed in Chapter 1, through a rejection of the celebratory food and drink.¹¹¹ In addition, the stated purpose of the Festival from the first board meeting until the writing of Thomas’s memoirs just before his death was always “...for the purpose of elevating the standard of choral and instrumental music, and to bring about harmony of action between the musical societies of this country, and especially of the West.”¹¹²

In addition to the materials published by the festival organizers, the programming of the festival concerts can also tell us about their intentions and how the public might have interpreted the organizer’s unspoken priorities. For the most part, the decisions about which works to program seem to be impacted by three distinct forces: Thomas, the

¹⁰⁹ Though Thomas saw many problems with this, including the coming and going of chorus members that necessitated the constant training of new members, he also wrote in 1904 that “I cannot say too much praise of the members of the chorus. Both the ladies and gentlemen challenge the respect of every music-lover, for the loyalty and enthusiasm they have shown in making the Festivals a success, and it is a hopeful sign that great works, some containing almost insurmountable difficulties, appeal more to the chorus than those of lighter calibre, or those written by less intellectual composers” (Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 84).

¹¹⁰ See page 36 of this thesis.

¹¹¹ See page 26 of this thesis.

¹¹² “The Cincinnati May Music Festivals - Historical,” *The Courier*. 5, no. 24 (1892), 4. At the time, Cincinnati was still considered a part of the Western United States. When the festival began in 1873 (the time to which this quote is referring), Cincinnati was part of the Western frontier – especially in a cultural sense.

Festival Association, and logistical concerns (which soloists were available, the ability of the chorus, the instrumentation, etc.). The power of these three forces over the decision making process were continuously being re-negotiated.¹¹³ The resulting programs are recorded in the second volume of Thomas's *A Musical Autobiography*.¹¹⁴ William Weber's essay "From Miscellany to Homogeneity in Concert Programming" uses information from nineteenth-century Europe (mostly Great Britain) to show how significantly programming choices can inform researchers.¹¹⁵ He explores a shift that he identifies as occurring around 1850,¹¹⁶ similar to that about which Levine, DiMaggio, Horowitz and Locke write, namely the shift from a blending of genres to a more institutionalized and segregated concert format. However, rather than studying intention and ideology, Weber focuses his analysis to the shift of program repertoire, arguing that this shows the taste and social and/or political skill of the musicians creating the programs: "They were not pandering to the public. Rather, in negotiating among different musical needs, tastes and publics, they played a creative role in reshaping musical life in fundamental ways."¹¹⁷ This negotiation on the part of the decision makers in Weber's study moves towards homogeneity. He shows that after 1850 there is less and less variety

¹¹³ This will be discussed in more detail during the power analysis involving Bourdieu, Foucault, and others. See page 63 of this thesis.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 3

¹¹⁵ Weber, "From Miscellany to Homogeneity in Concert Programming," 125-134.

¹¹⁶ Weber believes that chamber music made the shift first around 1850, with orchestral music following in the 1860s.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

in terms of the age of the musical works performed,¹¹⁸ the number of ensembles that were featured during a single concert, the type of work (overture, symphony, numbers from operas and oratorios), and the genre. Vocal and instrumental works were separated, concert length was reduced, and because of the “...homogeneity in terms of canonic repertory[,] any recent work was now regarded with suspicion, whether or not it was in a modernistic style.”¹¹⁹

However, this negotiation of “musical needs, tastes and publics” that Weber describes does not result in the same kind of concerts during the Cincinnati May Festival. The festival (during the first decade) did segregate the kinds of music. Following tradition, they performed exclusively “serious” music in the evening concerts, and a mix of “serious” and “light” works for the matinees. The evening concerts become the sacred, elusively “highbrow” events, almost always programming complete works – the repertoire itself most often consisted of Austro-German composers, and devoting full nights to a single work (such as Bach’s *Passion Music*, Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*, or Handel’s *Messiah*) or single composer (Wagner or Beethoven nights). Despite this homogeneity in certain performances, most evening concerts still contained multiple composers, various kinds of works, and excerpts from operas or oratorios. Also, because of the nature of the festival, vocal and orchestral music were not separated as it was in Weber’s European data. Weber’s case studies were orchestral concerts with instrumental

¹¹⁸ The trend Weber identifies as developing during this time period shows older works being played more frequently as they are already established as legitimate and acceptable works. Newer works were performed less often as concert organizers do not have the same reassurances that the concerts would be successful (financially or artistically). To use the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu, the works become consecrated over time.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

variety provided by different kinds of soloists or a guest ensemble to perform a single work. A part of the festival tradition (as opposed to the orchestral performance tradition on its own) involved larger numbers of performers in multiple kinds of musical ensembles, in the case of the Cincinnati May Festival, the vocal chorus, the orchestra, and various soloists. This was made necessary by the oratorios, masses, and the occasional symphonies (like Beethoven's ninth) that include vocal parts. However, the multiple ensembles for large scale works allowed for a variety of instrumentation over the festival week as the orchestra was able to perform alone, a (reduced) vocal ensemble could perform, *or* all the musical forces could be brought together.

Meanwhile, the matinee concerts remained more traditional in their variety and admixture of "light" and "serious" music. These concerts seem to be modeled from the "sermon in tones" orchestral concerts Thomas developed to "improve" the taste of the towns and cities along his "Thomas Highway" (with the addition of vocalists). He was said to be a master at drawing in audiences with lighter works (attracting them into the concert itself, but also holding their interest through the performance), while interspersing more serious works the audience members would (supposedly) not choose to listen to of their own accord. This pattern of programming at matinees does progress toward more exclusively "serious" repertoire (and more often complete works rather than excerpts) in the 1890s and early 1900s at both the evening and matinee concerts;¹²⁰ which reflects Levine's and DiMaggio's descriptions of a transition towards the "sacralization" of culture at the end of the nineteenth century. The correlation between Levine's and

¹²⁰ Please see Appendix IV and Appendix V for graphs showing this shift.

DiMaggio's conclusions and the programs performed at the May Festival may be evident in part because researchers like Levine and DiMaggio often used Thomas as an indicator for what they then generalized and called American trends. For example, Levine writes: "The difficulties confronting nineteenth-century American champions and practitioners of European symphonic music are manifest in the career of Theodore Thomas, a figure of enormous importance in the development of American culture."¹²¹ While it is true that Thomas had a very significant impact on the orchestral development of many major cities – either through the "Thomas Highway" (including Boston, Rochester, Cleveland, Detroit, Columbus, Pittsburg, Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia) or through his residence (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago) – it should be remembered that various areas of the United States developed on their own timeline and with their own idiosyncrasies. Any attempt to reduce the cultural growth of America as a whole to one narrative or timeline will necessarily misrepresent – and in some cases underrepresent – the transformative work of individual locations and agents.

The rapid cultural development of Cincinnati during the second half of the nineteenth century makes it ideal for studying local and national trends in the developing music scene of that time. The city and festival is consistent with the transition to a more institutionalized culture that Levine, DiMaggio, Horowitz, Locke and Weber all agree occurred, even though they disagree on the reasons why that shift manifested itself. Who initiated the transition in Cincinnati and why it occurred can be examined through an interrogation of certain key aspects of the festival: the large scale participation of major

¹²¹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, 112.

patrons and professional performers (including Thomas), the enthusiastic attendance by the public, and the response of the musical and local press. As a result, an analysis of the changes in, or consistency of, these aspects within the first three decades of the festival can show the developing intentions of the organizers.

Theories of Celebration and Festivity

For the purposes of this thesis, the term “festival theory” will be used to refer to the ideas of Abner Cohen and Victor Turner in their discussions of the power of social celebrations.¹²² As can be seen in the epigraph that begins this chapter, Turner claims that a group celebration also gives the participants the opportunity to celebrate their own self-identity.¹²³ Turner’s ideas about the celebration of self and the resulting identity formation or confirmation of participants were intended to be used for celebrations more generally, but will be applied here as ways to engage with the identities and ideologies promoted through festivals. Turner wrote about community, cultural performance, ritual, and celebration (among other things)¹²⁴ – similarly, Cohen has published books on identity, cultural movements, and community.¹²⁵ However, while Turner’s work focuses on communities and groups of people coming together, Cohen analyzes the individual’s relationship to his/her community. Thus, Turner looks at the ways in which the “sum is

¹²² Cohen, *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements*, and Turner, *Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual*.

¹²³ Turner, *Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual*, 16.

¹²⁴ His work has been elaborated upon by his wife and collaborator Edith Turner (Edith Turner, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012]), and become the subject of discussion (*Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance*, edited by Graham St John [New York: Berghahn Books, 2008]).

¹²⁵ Abner Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (New York: Tavistock Pub. and Ellis Horwood Lim., 1985); *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements*; and *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

greater than the parts” as people unite and form something beyond their individual capabilities, while Cohen approaches the same groups and addresses questions of boundaries and the relationship of individual and group identity.¹²⁶ According to Edith Turner:

Victor Turner said that in a great celebration, a community is sending a proboscis out of itself, a long arm reaching up high with an eye on the end of it that turns around and looks at itself, fascinated. This is: “we the people” seeing the people as multiple versions of “each other,” an entity that is entirely beneficial to gaze on and enjoy when the vision is upon us – and it is love, *communitas*.¹²⁷

Turner’s term “*communitas*” is never clearly defined, yet one could justifiably understand it as the dynamic becoming and being of a community – and this understanding of community groups as self-aware, self-actualizing, and constantly becoming creates a flexible and realistic understanding of communities. In a celebration, Turner states that a community is formed, even if the celebration is a spontaneous reaction to an event among strangers. That community is made of a group of individuals who are able to participate and observe simultaneously, and the observations (and understanding) the collective group has about their own behavior and situation affect their actions.

This shared creation and development of a community (its purpose, identity, scope, etc.) is seemingly at odds with Cohen’s image of the individual. Cohen believes that “in treating individuals either explicitly or by default as merely socially or culturally

¹²⁶ This is not to imply that Cohen and Turner examined communities from only these perspectives. However, their focuses are different, and I would like to take advantage of that difference in order to examine the Cincinnati Festival using each of their viewpoints.

¹²⁷ Turner, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, 23.

driven, ignoring the authorial or ‘*self-driven*’ aspects of behavior, is to render them at best partially, and, perhaps more often, as fictitious ciphers of the anthropologist’s theoretical invention.”¹²⁸ It is therefore important, in Cohen’s view, to examine the experience and impact of individual members. Ideally, both the leaders of an organization and the general membership would be examined. Despite the complications this approach could cause to any analysis, there is some truth to the futility of examining a group without looking at any of the personalities that create and drive it. However, it is not necessary to undertake the impossible task of thoroughly examining each of the incredibly complex individuals who make up a large organization. By taking into account the personalities of the leaders of an organization (the “trend setters”) and one or more general members, a researcher can still draw valid conclusions about the group as a whole *if* he or she is conscious of the different interpretations individuals can hold regarding the same symbols or events.

Symbols enable individuals to experience and express their attachment to a society or group without compromising their individuality. Indeed, the members of a group may be unlikely to recognize the idiosyncratic uses to which each puts their shared symbols, so that they are unaware of these distortions of meaning.... We may all listen to the same Mahler symphony, but hear it differently. We may all participate in the same ritual, pray the same liturgy, speak the same language, but we cannot assume that these social forms convey to us the same meanings. That is why societies go to extraordinary lengths in the attempt to coerce their members into similar meanings...¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, 7.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

So while one consistent meaning will often be publicized by organizations for the symbols they work with or promote, that meaning is not necessarily agreed upon by organizers, general members, or consumers (of physical or cultural products). Something that Cohen does not specifically state is that by examining the kind of “extraordinary lengths” an organization or community goes to in order to “coerce” its members into similar meanings is one clear way to see how much individual members are pressured to conform to the official statements.

While Cohen’s writing is about identity and communities with no specific focus on festivals or festivities, his insights can be applied to the more specific topic of music festivals. Turner’s focus on ritual, celebration, and festivals is more applicable to the topic of the Cincinnati Musical Festival as it deals with communities created by (or involved in) a celebration or ritual, which can be linked to a festival experience. Turner himself writes that the difference between rituals and festivals is that:

Whereas transitional rites are often genuine crises of identity or respond to the social crises associated with marriage or death, seasonal feasts may occur ‘on the plateaus of the year’....festivals have... to generate their own energies. They often begin, literally, ‘with a bang,’ using pyrotechnic and percussive means. Then there is the ‘surplus of signifiers’ and extravagance of costume, masks, and cosmetics mentioned earlier.¹³⁰

While this observation applies to festivals of all kinds (seasonal, religious, and musical), it can be said that music festivals have to “generate their own energies” through the necessary obtainment of patrons, organizers, volunteers, and the creation of public

¹³⁰ Turner, *Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual*, 27.

excitement and support. As mentioned in Chapter One, “music festivals” are differentiated here from festivals more generally by the focus of the celebration. Festivals *about* music (rather than festival events containing music) are music festivals. While many self-described festivals have musical events as causal or integral parts of their traditions, music festivals are organized as a celebration and homage to a specific genre of music or individual composer. Also, while Turner’s “costume, masks, and cosmetics” are not present at a European or American music festival in the nineteenth century, the music itself is housed in a special hall, given significant cultural meaning, and surrounded by sacralized rhetoric, and formal dress. The dressed-up performance at a music festival is the reason participants are gathered, but it is also an active part of the community-creation. Edith Turner writes about music’s role in the formation of communities and Victor Turner’s concept of *communitas*: “We can find a key to the nature of *communitas* through the flow of music....It has its living existence in its performance, and its life is synonymous with *communitas*, which will spread to all participants and audiences when they get caught up in it.”¹³¹ This community-building property of music is not something that was simply experienced during a music festival, but also became a part of why organizers believed so strongly in the power of music – and their specific kind of music and festival – to accomplish positive work in a community.

Specific to festivals (as opposed to celebrations), both David Waldstreicher and Simon Newman have conducted surveys of political celebrations and festivals in the

¹³¹ Turner, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, 43.

United States from 1776 until the end of the eighteenth century.¹³² While these studies do not relate directly to musical performance, they do focus on the perspective of the “masses” to show both the community building potential of celebration and the potential for participation in an individual capacity. Like Cohen, Newman believes that individuals comprising the “masses” were active subjects who experienced and influenced their political world.

It was, I shall argue, in their rich array of parades, festivals, civic feasts, badges, and songs that most Americans experienced national politics. I contend that ordinary men and women were active participants in their political world, and that a national popular political culture and political parties were created, at the very least in part, by ordinary Americans participating in celebrations...¹³³

Waldstreicher focuses more on the popular trends and politics, but problematizes a superficial reading of group identity:

...local, regional, and national identities existed simultaneously, complementing or contesting one another; nationalism is always one of several ideologies in a larger cultural field. If nationalist rhetorics and practices are just one among the many “struggles for recognition” in public life, it follows that nationalism is a political strategy, developed differently at different times by specific groups, responding to the strategies of other groups.... celebrations and the printed discourse that suffused them made it possible for large numbers of people – men and women – to practice nationalism and local politics simultaneously.¹³⁴

¹³² David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes; the Making of American Nationalism, 1776- 1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), and Simon Peter Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

¹³³ Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*, xiii.

¹³⁴ Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes; the Making of American Nationalism, 1776- 1820*, 6, 13.

If identity based on location is complex, develops over time, and is constructed (at least in part) by “strategy,” then Waldsteicher’s public has similarities to Turner’s communities and Cohen’s organizations. Such overlapping identities simultaneously affecting the same public can then be applied to any group of people, whether they are gathered at a political event, a coming of age ritual, or a music festival.

Relying upon sociological approaches, a body of literature exists that studies the cultural products promoted specifically by music festivals, whereby the methodologies used in the work of Pauline Greenhill, Michael MacDonald, Rebecca Curtis, Juanita Karpf, Kalene Westmoreland and others can be adapted to create a “music festival theory.”¹³⁵ The same questions of which messages are being communicated to the public and participants, and “whose agendas are foregrounded and whose are backgrounded, and under what circumstances,”¹³⁶ can be applied to any music festival, in any time and place. These scholars have studied various musical festivals from different times and locations, not only furnishing methodological models, but also providing examples of organizational models and power dynamics that can be applied to Cincinnati’s festival.

Greenhill, Karpf, Curtis, MacDonald, Tsai, and Westmoreland base their research on very different festivals: contemporary Canadian folk festivals, African-American

¹³⁵ Greenhill, “Backyard World/ Canadian Culture: Looking at Festival Agendas”; MacDonald, *This is Important!: Mitch Podolak, the Revolutionary Establishment, and the Founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival*; Curtis, “Australia’s Capital of Jazz? The (re)creation of place, music and community at the Wangaratta Jazz Festival”; Karpf, “Get the Pageant Habit: E. Azalia Hackley’s Festivals and Pageants during the First World War Years, 1914–1918”; Sija Tsai, “Mariposa: Surface Sketches of a Wandering Festival,” *Canadian Folk Music* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 8-15; and Kalene Westmoreland, “‘Bitch’ and Lilith Fair: Resisting Anger, Celebrating Contradictions,” *Popular Music & Society* 25, no. 1/2 (Summer 2001): 205-220.

¹³⁶ Greenhill, “Backyard World/ Canadian Culture: Looking at Festival Agendas,” 37.

pageants during World War I,¹³⁷ the Wangaratta Jazz Festival in modern Australia, the founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival in 1974, the Canadian Mariposa Folk Festival's 50-year history, and the American Lilith Fair in the late 1990s. However, all of these authors point out the identity politics and cultural decisions that are being promoted by the musical performances at each festival. Each author shows how an idea or belief is advocated and “pushed” on the audience while they attend performances. Thus, Westmoreland shows how messages consistent with third-wave feminism were actively promoted by the Canadian “Lilith” festival as a whole and in particular by the hit song “Bitch.” As the author affirms, “a moderate feminist message is an effective strategy for a top ten hit and a music festival.... “Bitch” and Lilith Fair... reveal progressive feminist strategies that ironically employ anger and female solidarity to promote women in rock.”¹³⁸ Here the festival and music are used as an active tool to promote a “strategy” of feminism to the audience.

Greenhill, MacDonald and Tsai all write about various Canadian Folk Festivals while focusing on different aspects of identity construction. Tsai covers many different topics in analyzing 50 years of the Mariposa festival, but one interesting point not discussed by some of the other writers is the representations of the festival in the press and the resulting changes to its organization: “...it was the unruliness of festival-goers that took centre stage in representations of the festival, and the public outcry was enough

¹³⁷ Though the pageants were not called “music festivals” by their creators or organizers, they share many similarities with other musical festivals and are therefore still useful for this analysis. They were organized and structured, contained (musical) cultural symbols with mainstream meanings, created through communal musical events. The performance was both the main attraction and the primary way of building a communal identity that (potentially – depending on the individual) supported the same beliefs and ideals the organizers supported or actively promoted.

¹³⁸ Westmoreland, “‘Bitch’ and Lilith Fair: Resisting Anger, Celebrating Contradictions,” 219.

for local authorities to ban the festival from Orillia in future years.”¹³⁹ This is interesting because it shows that organizational decisions (like location) are affected by forces beyond the control of organizing committees and boards of directors. Logically, public opinion, the press, rival organizations, government, etc., would similarly have an effect on the organization of other music festivals. Greenhill’s research demonstrates how organizations (including the press) can use politicized but denotatively ambiguous terminology to encourage or discourage certain behaviors. She

...examines how governmental, touristic media, and other agencies use terms like “multiculturalism,” “culture,” “ethnicity,” “pluralism,” “folklore,” “tradition,” and “identity” to communicate powerful, but often rather different, messages. Specifically, I consider how the ideas behind these words are used to encourage or discourage interaction between groups of individuals with ideological differences.... whose agendas are foregrounded and whose are backgrounded, and under what circumstances?¹⁴⁰

Examining “whose agendas are foregrounded” is another way to study power dynamics and to see “who has the right to make public noise.”¹⁴¹ MacDonald’s work on the creation of the Winnipeg Folk Festival focuses on founder Mitch Podolak’s political beliefs and the ways they influenced the created definition of folk music in Canada. He shows that Podolak’s

...intention was to create a Canadian folk festival which would embody the politically resistant nature of the Trotskyist

¹³⁹ Tsai, “Mariposa: Surface Sketches of a Wandering Festival,” 9.

¹⁴⁰ Greenhill, “Backyard World/ Canadian Culture: Looking at Festival Agendas,” 37.

¹⁴¹ Bruce Johnson, “Music and Violence in History,” in *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 37.

international movement for the purpose of challenging the Canadian liberal capitalist democratic system on a cultural front.... According to Podolak this [performance] space, when thoughtfully organized, had the ability to create meaning. In other words the relationship between the artistic director, the folk singer, the folk song, the folk song lyric, and the festival audience during the performance creates the meaning of the song.¹⁴²

Thus the performance space afforded by a music festival creates meaning, whether the organization of the festival is driven by intention or instinct. The politics, ideals, and values of the organizers will be evident in the choices that are made in the construction of the festival. It is interesting that Podolak believed he could challenge a political party on a cultural front, trusting the emotional link with which music has traditionally been attributed.¹⁴³ The emotions attached to the music (and the experience more generally, whether it is positive or negative) become linked to the political or social messages instilled in the festival or concert by the organizers.¹⁴⁴

Karpf's article is similar to MacDonald's in that she also focuses on the intention of a single organizer actively promoting a specific message. Emma Azalia Hackley decided to promote patriotism and African-American pride during World War I through the organization of pageants: "Her strategies reinforced the appeal to close ranks as her festivals and pageants concretized the belief advanced by [W. E. B.] Du Bois and Kelly

¹⁴² MacDonald, *This is Important!: Mitch Podolak, the Revolutionary Establishment, and the Founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival*, 1.

¹⁴³ This emotional "link" has been used in everything from politics (party songs and national anthems) to advertisements ("linking" ideas of heroism or sexual attraction to products in order to increase their appeal).

¹⁴⁴ Of course, this is a link that the festival organizers are attempting to create. Individual audience members and performers will have differing opinions. However, there is usually some kind of established "official" meaning promoted by organizers, with which many participants are assumed to be in agreement.

Miller that fervent demonstrations of loyalty and civic responsibility would eventually result in full citizenry for black Americans.”¹⁴⁵ This not only illustrates once again the belief that the politics and intentions of the organizer(s) constitute deliberate “strategies,” but also that these intentions can have very broad social manifestations. The efforts of an individual or organization will create a festival that may influence the participants (i.e. performers), audience members, the readers (or media consumers in the modern world) of the musical or local press, and the identity of an entire community. Curtis states what many of these authors imply:

The context within which music festivals occur is revealing. Music festivals define, represent and transform not only physical and material place and space but also the social, cultural and economic relations of people on many levels. The non-musical elements of festivals create spaces for social interaction, entertainment and enjoyment; built environments for the production and experience of music, such as halls and live music venues; cultural identities; and locations for various political and commercial intents.... The musical elements of festivals – make-up of band, musicians, performances, tunes and approach – are equally important.¹⁴⁶

The importance of unpacking the organizer’s motivations is clear, but it is not a simple task. Even if one individual is the primary organizer of a festival, he or she is influenced and at times limited by the public (often filtered through the press), patrons, performers (both limitations in repertoire and ability, and personal demands of divas), etc. Within an

¹⁴⁵ Karpf, “Get the Pageant Habit: E. Azalia Hackley’s Festivals and Pageants during the First World War Years, 1914–1918,” 545.

¹⁴⁶ Curtis, “Australia’s Capital of Jazz? The (re)creation of place, music and community at the Wangaratta Jazz Festival,” 102.

organizational group like the Cincinnati Festival Association, there are individuals whose distinct ideas and beliefs necessarily problematize a singular viewpoint.

Groups have to struggle against their own contradictions, which lie precisely in the fact that they are composed of individuals, self-conscious individuals, whose differences from each other have to be resolved and reconciled to a degree which allows the group to be viable and to cohere. Moreover, as a collective entity it has also to suffer and reconcile the competing claims made on it by its collective associates.¹⁴⁷

Power Dynamics

Writings on power relations by sociologists Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Göran Ahrne can be applied to the art world (including music festivals) and organizations. While Foucault did not focus on art or music, his discussions of power and freedom within communities is helpful in interrogating the actions of festival organizers and the festival community as a whole (organizers, performers, audience, etc.). His theories on the ways in which power functions in institutions and organizations laid the foundation for further thought, including that of Bourdieu. Foucault's "power" is a web surrounding each individual in incredibly complex and subtle ways.

This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-

¹⁴⁷ Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, 11.

knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to.¹⁴⁸

The concept of power empowering and controlling simultaneously is an interesting one. In his earlier work on madness, power was a negative force whereby “power is always expressed in strategies of repression and exclusion,” while in later works “power underlies all social relations from the institutional to the intersubjective and is a fundamentally enabling force.”¹⁴⁹ Because of the influence of Marxism in the twentieth century, power had become synonymous with suppression, control, and social pressure.

This negative side of power can be seen in Foucault’s writing:

[Foucault] was concerned to examine how power relations of inequality and oppression are created and maintained in more subtle and diffuse ways through ostensibly humane and freely adopted social practice. In short, Foucault questions the rationality of post-Enlightenment society by focusing on the ways in which many of the enlightened practices of modernity progressively delimit rather than increase the freedom of individuals and, thereby, perpetuate social relations of inequality and oppression.¹⁵⁰

The oppression of the individual within society is still very much a part of the study of power; however, Foucault also discusses the enabling ability of power. The subject (distinct from an individual because of a subject’s power relations) is therefore both controlled by external power and exerts power him- or herself. Power can oppress, but can also create a “subject” – a member of one or many communities. For Foucault,

¹⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Essential Foucault: Selections From the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, edited by Paul Rabinow and Niklas Rose (New York: New Press, 2003), 130.

¹⁴⁹ Lois McNay, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1994), 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

relationships between subjects or through institutions all involve power relations between subjects:

...what characterizes the power we are analyzing is that it brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups). For let us not deceive ourselves: if we speak of the power of laws, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of structures or mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others.¹⁵¹

The institution or organization is therefore a structure or mechanism for individual subjects to exercise power over others.

Organizational theorist Göran Ahrne believes that individuals (or agents) do not belong to a “system” or structure, but are “affiliated” with organizations. “To each individual, to be affiliated to an organization means having commitments as well as rights. Affiliation gives permanence to the organization; it implies a promise to return. Without affiliations an organization would be merely a gathering of people.”¹⁵² This affiliation, or commitment, can be a matter of choice or can be involuntary; Ahrne identifies five types of affiliation, involving membership, ownership, kinship, citizenship, and (in an extended definition) employment. By introducing the idea of affiliation, Ahrne is able to show that organizations – and the power structures that they entail – are not automatically negative or repressive.

¹⁵¹ Foucault, *The Essential Foucault: Selections From the Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, 135.

¹⁵² Göran Ahrne, *Agency and Organization: Towards an Organizational Theory of Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 133.

[Organizations] give people opportunities and provided resources for important activities....Organizational affiliations also give identities to individuals.... To be organized is to belong somewhere and to be recognized. Outside organizations, in the semi-organized field, there is anonymity.¹⁵³

Being a member of an organization suggests to some that the individual is being controlled through force or manipulation.¹⁵⁴ However, like Foucault's problematization of the assumption that power is a negative force, Ahrne's theory shows that the individual can benefit by becoming part of an organization. A subject gains power by being associated with an organization, while at the same time giving up some of his/her freedoms and individual agency to that organization. In relation to society and control, Ahrne sees individuals as subjects moving among social, organized, and semi-organized spaces. While a subject can choose to leave some kinds of organizations (clubs, schools, jobs, etc.), others are more established parts of their life (family and nationality).¹⁵⁵

Everyday life takes place in the realms of organizations. It does not occupy a sphere of its own. The relations between individuals and society can only be comprehended as the particular links between individuals and the organizations that are included in their domain of the social landscape.¹⁵⁶

This understanding of an individual's life in relation to organizations differs from the more deterministic approach to understanding organizations that assumes the agency of

¹⁵³ Ibid., 134-5.

¹⁵⁴ The "me" generation, or baby boomers, has a tradition of resistance to power that can be seen in academia as well as popular culture.

¹⁵⁵ They are commonly seen as institutions, not organizations. However, Ahrne includes them in his analysis of organizations.

¹⁵⁶ Ahrne, *Agency and Organization: Towards an Organizational Theory of Society*, 141.

individuals have little to no effect. While the amount of control an individual can exert within an organization can vary, it is usually not large. However, over time, “individual choices and actions do change the social landscape.”¹⁵⁷

Ahrne’s viewpoint is helpful in that it allows for the study of how the structure of an organization affects individual members while accounting for the plurality of overlapping organizational affiliations within individuals’ lives. It also allows for the influence of individuals on organizations over time. The struggles and battles for power and authority within them become specific to their situatedness (what Ahrne calls location), and can be more accurately viewed. “The implication of an organizational theory of society is that social processes and social change must first of all be comprehended in their organizational settings and as the effects of interaction among organizations in various constellations.”¹⁵⁸

Bourdieu’s *The Field of Cultural Production* can be almost directly applied to the study of music institutions as he discusses “...the art business, a trade in things that have no price...”¹⁵⁹ In his study of the art business (and in his other work), Bourdieu developed specific terminology including “field,” “cultural capital,” “symbolic capital,” “consecration,” and “habitus.” “Field” for Bourdieu is some combination of field of battle, football field, and force field. It is an area (divisible into sub-fields) in which social activities take place. A researcher is therefore able to describe the field of literature, the field of sports, the field of education, or a field of cultural production. While the

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 141.

¹⁵⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, edited by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 74.

music of the classical orchestral field may have claimed to “have no price,” the subjects within that field still amass credit for what they have done. Bourdieu uses the terms “cultural capital” and “symbolic capital” to describe the non-financial rewards like prestige that individuals acquire. Cultural capital is a specialized knowledge that allows the subject to decipher different cultural codes and navigate the rules (written or not) of a given field. “...Bourdieu defines cultural capital as a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts.”¹⁶⁰

But cultural capital does not just involve understanding the artifacts and rules of a field; it also brings an “appreciation” for the rules and artifacts through engagement – in other words, whether or not the rules and expectations of a given field are met. For example, the cultural capital of music critics may involve which mentors they had or schools they attended, their adherence to an established value system and writing style (for example, the assumption of the intrinsic value of certain kinds of music, and descriptions of certain musical elements that are thought to be more important than others), and their presentation of themselves within the accepted norms of the position (in terms of beliefs and authority). “Symbolic capital” is the amount of prestige or celebrity a person within the field of cultural production acquires and possesses. Our music critic would amass symbolic capital over time as he or she adheres to the rules dictated by cultural capital, becomes known (and trusted) by peers and the public, and invests that reputation in successful cultural ventures. Celebrity can occur “overnight,” but a reputation is built

¹⁶⁰ Randal Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *The Field of Cultural Production*, edited by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 7.

over time, and a good reputation built on trust is necessary for prestige and true symbolic capital. This terminology makes it possible to discuss why a particular person has power within an artistic field: financial capital, symbolic capital, and/or cultural capital.

Bourdieu also provides a practical application when he discusses French literary companies defining themselves based on the number of “bestseller” or “lasting success” investments that are made. In a musical context, “bestsellers” are sure-fire hits (think of a formula pop song or Tin Pan Alley tune), while “lasting successes” are works that become “classics” over time but do not bring in revenue immediately. The economic plan of an establishment or organization (long- or short-term) then affects their symbolic capital. If it only “invests” in (or endorses or supports) long-term “classic” works (in other words, long-term capital), then those works will create symbolic capital in its association with the prestigious “classics.”¹⁶¹ In extending his ideas to culture more broadly, it is clear that individuals or cultural brokers “invest” in anything to which their name and reputation can become attached. The same way a publishing house can create a certain reputation by choosing to release either bestsellers or classics, a music critic can attach his or her name and reputation to a newly released “bestseller” or “classic” composition, an ensemble or performer who will succeed in the long or short term, etc. If the critic possesses substantial symbolic and cultural capital, that endorsement could create a reputation for a composer or performing ensemble almost immediately (overnight “discoveries”). However, if the music critic is not well known, the eventual success of the composer or musicians could bring attention to the critic who recognized

¹⁶¹ The term “classic” is used by Bourdieu because he focuses on the literary field to illustrate his theories on culture.

his or her talent from an early date. The more successful “investments” a cultural broker makes, the more capital that agent gains and the more he or she can be trusted to find successes in the future. The successful – critically acclaimed and/or audience pleasing – performances a composer or an ensemble amasses creates the same trust and expectation for their continued success. This success in either case is measured in prestige (symbolic capital) and know-how (cultural capital) rather than financial gains. The same accumulation of capital from investments and performances can have negative implications through the creation of a bad reputation and a lack of trust.

It is possible for cultural brokers to support or “invest” in works that have already become “classics,” but it can be a fine line between a work that is already well-known and one that has become passé. Bourdieu writes about the “consecrated” or established works, ideas, and people within the field as being challenged by the avant-garde. These new values become consecrated as the public becomes familiar with the new work. Once that composition is consecrated, other “new” works emerge to challenge the newly consecrated and become consecrated in turn in an ongoing cycle.

For example, Elvis Presley, now considered a classic icon, was censored in early television broadcasts for fear that he would not follow the unspoken rules – that he did not possess the cultural capital – in the television business. However he *did* possess the symbolic capital (prestige and popularity), and soon television stations and movie directors were attempting to “invest” in Elvis as he became a consecrated part of the entertainment industry.¹⁶² As his music became established (i.e. “consecrated”), it lost its

¹⁶² “Presley, Elvis.” *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed., Edited by Colin Larkin. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 14, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/subscriber/article/epm/22440>.

radical, avant-garde stature and became the standard against which future works were measured.

One further concept of Bourdieu that will be examined here is the “habitus,” or an individual’s inclination to act in a certain way based on his or her background and history or experiences.

Formally, Bourdieu defines habitus as a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups or institutions) that comprises a “structured and structuring structure.” It is “structured” by one’s past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is “structuring” in that one’s habitus helps to shape one’s present and future practices. It is a “structure” in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned.¹⁶³

An individual’s or organization’s experiences will prepare them to react to choices in predictable ways, accounting theoretically for attitudes towards change that frequently characterizes real life. This is not to predetermine the choices of an individual or group, but to account for tendencies to respond in established ways – according to their habitus. In the case of a large organization of members or a concert audience, the general demographic and background of the organization or audience members can inform an understanding of their past experience (or habitus), and can therefore help in examining future possible behaviors.

Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic and cultural capital, cultural economy (“bestsellers,” “classics,” and cultural brokers), the consecration of the avant-garde, and

¹⁶³ Karl Maton, “Habitus” in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, edited by Michael Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing Lim., 2008), 51.

habitus all contribute to understanding the field of cultural (including musical) production. Organizations like the Cincinnati May Festival Association can be examined through these concepts, and the gain or loss of cultural and symbolic capital can be traced through the logic of the cultural economy. Within organizations, individual members can gain and lose influence and capital in the same ways, based on the choices they are seen to make (and become associated with). Bourdieu reduced his ideas in the field of cultural production to:

[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice

This equation can be unpacked as stating: practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field).¹⁶⁴

James Deaville has combined Ahrne's theories (to examine musical organizations from within) with those of Bourdieu (a socially informed examination of organizations) in order to interrogate musical organizations more fully. Deaville writes that, "...one realizes that the dissemination of Western art music has largely been mediated by organizations.... We need to be aware of the organization's controlling power over what is and has been heard and performed."¹⁶⁵ He demonstrates that organizational theory can be valuable in a musical medium – specifically in his two case studies examining nineteenth-century German music festivals Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein and Euterpe-Verein.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Deaville, "The Organized Muse? Organization Theory and 'Mediated' Music," 38-9.

In the case of the Cincinnati May Musical Festival, the board of directors, Thomas (as music director), performers, patrons, the press, and the Cincinnati public (German and American) all attempted to help shape the festival into the musical event they believed it should be. All of the theoretical frameworks and ideas discussed in this chapter can aid in examining the power dynamics, ideological trends, organizational structure, etc., of the Cincinnati May Festival. The diverse opinions on what the Festival should be lead to conflict and rivalry, but the Festival survived with enough cultural and financial capital to continue on to the present day.

Chapter 3: The Cincinnati Musical Festival Association, the Power of the Press, and a National Perspective

All the musical activities of the country during the month of May were overshadowed by the great Festival held at Cincinnati.... [The festival's] influence, not only in Cincinnati but throughout the country, has been well nigh incalculable. They achieved immediate importance because of the lofty plane which they occupied, Mr. Thomas making them the highest expression of his ideal in music.... Cincinnati is left to her proud position as peculiarly the Festival city of the New World. It must be confessed that this reputation is deserved. The Cincinnati Festivals represent the most ambitious and unselfish strivings that the history of music in America has to show.¹⁶⁶

Power dynamics can be discerned based on the freedom that groups or individuals are afforded in public spaces. Bruce Johnson has argued that:

Sound in general and music in particular are a major site over which conflict is negotiated.... The struggle over who has the right to make public noise, and in particular music, is a way of tracing the history of the emerging modern age and defining its often violent tensions.¹⁶⁷

In the case of the Cincinnati May Festival, who had control over what was played and how it was presented to the public can tell us about the power dynamics of the Cincinnati Music Festival Association (CMFA). The influence of various board members, Thomas, the local and national press, and patrons all contributed to the decision-making process. *What* was played (as well as how it was presented and who performed) can tell us about

¹⁶⁶ July 1, "Music in America," *The Musical Times*, 27 (1886), 413.

¹⁶⁷ Johnson, "Music and Violence in History," 37.

the agendas of those in control. For example, the predominance of Austro-German composers like Beethoven and Mozart shows the organizers' (including Thomas's) preference for their music. This in combination with the sacralized and moral dialogue they presented to the public (through announcements and program notes) shows some of the ideological beliefs many of the organizers had attached to the music they chose to have performed. Not only does this apply directly to the CMFA's use of loaded terminology (including composer names and types of music that signified larger ideas and ideals at the time), it is also another way to investigate power relations within the festival organizers and the community as a whole.

The ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Göran Ahrne can be applied to the Cincinnati Music Festival Association in interesting ways. For example, Foucault's ideas on power can be seen in the control and empowerment of subjects. Thus Nichols's position as part of Cincinnati's social elite (if only by marriage) both gave him the power to influence his peers, and limited him to undertake "proper" actions. In order to maintain the respect and influence of his peers, he was forced to act in a manner of which they would approve. He therefore had to give up some of his freedom to become a powerful "subject." Likewise, Thomas was bound by the wording of his contract with the CMFA and by his own public persona – limitations that allowed him to influence the course of the festival and American "classical" music. Each subject or actor developed ways of obtaining power over the other festival organizers, and (by extension) over the festival's audience. Ahrne's ideas of affiliation can be used to analyze these situations: Nichols was associated with a social class that empowered him within the CMFA structure. Thomas's

associations were with the American-German immigrant population, the performers at the festival (as opposed to administration), more specifically to the orchestra hired for each successive festival, and to the various cities he considered home (first New York, then Cincinnati, and finally Chicago). Individual board members chose to become associated with the CMFA, while retaining their other associations (to other organizations, to their social group, etc.). Members of the Cincinnati Music Festival chorus likewise made a choice to be affiliated with the festival – and as we shall see these various parts of the organization did not always benefit socially from their association with the Festival. While the chorus suffered from some negative press, the most negative incident in the Festival's first 32 years occurred between Thomas and Nichols from 1878 to 1880.

There is a striking difference between the CMFA publishing that: “It is ‘the honor of music,’ and every act of the Festival Directors serves this end”¹⁶⁸ in 1904, and the same association being portrayed in the press as sacrificing artistic music (and Thomas) for the sake of finances in 1880. As we will see, both the publications of the CMFA and the local, regional, and national musical press influenced the public's view of the festival, but the press also managed to affect the festival itself. Finally, civic and national pride and identity were both tools used by the CMFA and forces shaping the goals and views of the organization.

The theories discussed in Chapter Two about the individual's work within an organization – and specifically within a music festival – will help when examining both the professed beliefs of the Cincinnati Music Festival directors as well as the experience

¹⁶⁸ Program booklet for the 1904 festival, “Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival,” Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

of individual performers of the Cincinnati festival whose views have not been as carefully preserved for the historical record (see Appendix II for a chart of the May Festival's Board of Directors). The trend setters include music director Theodore Thomas,¹⁶⁹ and the presidents of the board (for multiple years) George Ward Nichols (the first Board president and organizer of the festival until his resignation in 1880), W. M. N. Hobart (who served as president of the Board from 1884 until 1900), and Lawrence Maxwell Jr. (board member for many years, the president of the Board after Thomas's death in 1904).

The methodologies that ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and sociologists have been applying to modern celebrations and festivals yield interesting insights when used to examine the beliefs and meanings that were produced by the Cincinnati Festival Association, and how they aligned or conflicted with the views of the individuals mentioned above, other board members, and performers. Feelings of community, loyalty, and purpose bound together those who participated in the community-building properties of the festival's musical performances. An analytical history of the festival highlights the varying agendas and interpretations of the organizers, and important cultural symbols and meanings.

The Cincinnati Music Festival History

The original idea of holding a music festival in Cincinnati is credited to Maria Longworth Nichols.¹⁷⁰ Though she was unable to organize the event she envisioned due

¹⁶⁹ Thomas was music director for the entire time-span I am researching, but his views did change as he progressed through his career.

¹⁷⁰ Please see page 31 of this thesis for more details.

to the gender and class conventions of the time, she did not hesitate to exploit her husband or her position as a member of Cincinnati's high society.

Maria invited Thomas to her home to meet her husband and the men she had in mind. She invited choral director Henry Ratterman, and Henry Krehbiel, a music critic, to help start the chorus. With Thomas as the overall conductor, Maria relied on her husband as the executive of the project to pull it all together, especially to raise the needed money. George [her husband] then invited some friends for a meeting in the law offices of Storer, Goodman and Storer on September 27, 1872 to form an executive committee to sponsor a music festival.¹⁷¹

Maria Nichols's active role is confirmed in Thomas's own account: "[Maria Nichols] proposed that I should be the conductor of [a festival], saying that if I would be responsible for the artistic side, she would find the men who would take charge of the business details."¹⁷² Before the committee was formed, then, the Festival probably existed only as Maria Nichols's vision. If we trust Thomas's account, all artistic choices were to be left to him while the local "men" would handle only "business details." However, Maria's husband George Ward Nichols became involved in the artistic details – perhaps acting at his wife's urging – and served as the President of the Festival Board of Directors from its formation until his resignation in March of 1880. "Thomas's main problem, from the outset, was George Ward Nichols, who managed the festival's administrative details without salary and not to Thomas's liking. Worse, Nichols meddled in areas Thomas clearly felt were in his domain."¹⁷³ Even in the enterprise's early stages, in the planning of

¹⁷¹ Boehle, *Maria Longworth: A Biography*, 59.

¹⁷² Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 79.

¹⁷³ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 54.

the first festival, there were still indications of tensions, even though the majority of the communication between them was polite and businesslike. In January of 1873, Thomas wrote to Nichols complaining about the Board of Directors not confirming soloists or works in a timely manner, saying: "You seem to be under the impression that you have done well so far for the Musical Festival, I think otherwise."¹⁷⁴ In addition, Nichols insisted on taking part in the artistic decisions for the first festival, including his adamancy that they 1) add a local soprano whom Thomas did not believe was capable, 2) use a children's choir Thomas did not think had a place in a "professional" festival, 3) implement a very intense schedule of rehearsals and performances Thomas found too taxing on the performers and 4) hold a vocal competition. The last of these was the only one of Nichols's "suggestions" that Thomas was able to veto. During the planning of the first Festival in 1872-3, Nichols's position as Board President, his status within society (because of his wife's social standing in Cincinnati), his role as festival founder (again, in large part due to his wife), and reputation as an active member of Cincinnati's "harmonica society" gave him more symbolic capital within the local field than Thomas could draw upon at the time. When Thomas and Nichols disagreed about an artistic decision, the Music Director (technically an employee of the Festival Board and relatively new to Cincinnati) was forced to concede to the Board President.

This gradually changed as Thomas became better known in Cincinnati and was given credit for the artistic success of the festival year after year. So, for example, a children's choir sang in the first two festivals (1873 and 1875) against Thomas's better

¹⁷⁴ Letter from Theodore Thomas to George Ward Nichols, January 20, 1873. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 1, Folder 8, #80.

judgment – but then never again while he conducted. While in 1873 Thomas complained to the Board of Directors that he needed their timely confirmation of soloists, the situation was quite different in 1878: the choir director wrote to the board that, “In reply to your favor I have to inform you that Theo. Thomas settled the whole question about the Alto solo in the Liszt Mass by *deciding in a very firm way* that Min. Louise Cary shall sing that part instead of Miss. Bollwagen.”¹⁷⁵

These decisions (and who made them) are important because the repertoire and soloist presented at the Cincinnati May Music Festival served as a platform from which the CMFA preached its views to the public. The CMFA (including Thomas) chose the repertoire to be performed, sent carefully worded announcements to the press, and published program booklets and other advertising. As demonstrated by the examples given in Chapter Two, artistic choices and wording can be unpacked to show the ideologies and motives of festival organizers. As Turner states, celebrations allow the participating social group to celebrate their own identity as they perceive it, reinforcing their collective identity.¹⁷⁶ The question of which identity is celebrated (and therefore becomes a collective experience) can be answered by examining the celebrations – or festivals – themselves.

The programs of the Cincinnati May Festival have all survived, and their contents can be found listed in Appendix I. How significant a work, concert, or composer was thought to be, will be based on how much time was given to it (how much of the work

¹⁷⁵ Letter from Otto Singer to the Festival Board, Undated. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 3, Folder 11. Emphasis added

¹⁷⁶ Turner, *Celebration, Studies in Festival and Ritual*, 16.

was performed, how many composers figured in the programs, how often a composer was performed, etc.), and the type of concert. The opening and closing concerts of each festival are logically given more importance than the concerts placed in its middle, as they are more likely to be mentioned or reviewed in the press. Also, matinee concerts were considerably less “serious” than the evening performances, a tradition that survives today. Thomas explained this to Nichols regarding the first festival program. “I refer once more to the programs for the evening concerts and wish them to be pure and clean without being heavy principally made up from standard works of our great masters. Those for the Matinee’s as light as good taste will allow.”¹⁷⁷ These various ways of measuring the relative importance of a work often overlap. For example, there are many more full works performed in evening concerts, and more partial works performed at Matinees (see Appendix V). Concerts that were limited to one composer or very lengthy work were always in the evening. As can be seen by the analysis shown in the Appendices, Germanic composers were performed more often than any other nationality, and American composers are the least represented (see Appendix III and Appendix IV). In fact, American works were limited to compositions which won the American new-composition competition established by Nichols when the festival began. New works are also poorly represented when compared with canonic composers such as Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, and Handel. Though Thomas was known for introducing new European composers to American audiences more than most modern conductors,¹⁷⁸ the majority of

¹⁷⁷ Letter from Theodore Thomas to G. W. Nichols, February 7, 1873, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 1, Folder 14, #134.

¹⁷⁸ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 257.

works were already established (see Appendix I for the concert programs). This is consistent with Weber's assertion that the repertoire chosen shows the taste and social and political skill of the musicians creating the programs: "They were not pandering to the public. Rather, in negotiating among different musical needs, tastes and publics, they played a creative role in reshaping musical life in fundamental ways."¹⁷⁹

The CMFA and Thomas, acting as a unified cultural agent, used the publication of programs and advertisements to publicize their joint viewpoint. The performances of the "Great Works" gave them a cultural legitimacy and authority that allowed the CMFA to claim the moral high-ground that DiMaggio, Levine, Horowitz, and Broyles all claim was a part of the hierarchical structure of nineteenth-century concert life. The stated goals of the CMFA remained relatively consistent (for the 32 years under consideration) – preaching "highbrow" ideals on the spectrum of high- to lowbrow music. However, what began as "populist" on the "elitist" to "populist" continuum slowly shifted away from seeking new publics to expose to "Great" music. The CMFA enjoyed a (self-proclaimed) position of musical and moral greatness, and they took pride in claiming to spread that music to as wide an audience as possible. This is evidenced by the Association's press releases and program notes, which included attempts to attract a new audience without "compromising" their program in 1873:

The object of the Musical Festival is to elevate the standard of Choral and Instrumental music, and to bring about harmony of action between the Musical Societies of this country, and especially of the West.... The compositions included in these programs

¹⁷⁹ Weber, "From Miscellany to Homogeneity in Concert Programming," 128.

represent largely the history of this Noble Art in its composers as well as in its schools; and they appeal to the most severe as well as the most popular taste.¹⁸⁰

After two very successful festivals (in 1873 and 1875) Nichols decided that in addition to the May Festival and the new Music Hall (opened for the 1878 festival), Cincinnati could also benefit from a College of Music. After the 1878 festival, Nichols urged Thomas (with his family) and the Theodore Thomas Orchestra to re-locate from New York to be teachers at the new Cincinnati Music College, with Thomas as music director – this was the beginning of the end for the two men’s working relationship. The five-year contract between Thomas and the college only specified financial arrangements rather than school policy or control, leaving Thomas as a powerless figurehead who disagreed over many of the practices being implemented.¹⁸¹ Tensions between Thomas and the College Board of Directors (led by Nichols) escalated until 1880 when Thomas asked for four changes to college policy (including that “all matters pertaining to the college should be referred initially to the musical director [Thomas], not to Nichols”¹⁸²). Because of Nichols’s business acumen, as demonstrated by his successful leadership of the May Festival and other local organizations, he was trusted by many of the Board members and investors. When Thomas would not back down, the Board sided with Nichols and requested Thomas’s resignation. The College Board (many of whom were also involved with the May Festival) split into camps: those supporting artistic integrity

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in “Cincinnati Music Festivals” written in the 1930s. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 30, Folder 7, 2. For an analysis of regional and national pride at the festival, see pages 30-2 of this thesis.

¹⁸¹ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 89-90.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 97.

and Thomas and those supporting financial solvency and Nichols. “The shock waves that spread outward from the Nichols-Thomas confrontation shattered the cohesiveness of Cincinnati’s musical community. To supporters of Thomas, Nichols was tightfisted and mean-spirited; to Nichols’s many admirers, the maestro was autocratic, temperamental, and unrealistic.”¹⁸³

These representations by the CMFA and the local press may have simplified the dispute into a conflict between artistic and financial priorities, but there were other factors involved. It may have been affected by the contemporary understanding of social and national identities and positions. Thomas was a nationally known, German-born musician, supported by many performers including his (predominantly German) orchestra, and at the time, music and artistry were measured against German works. However, he was also paid a salary by the CMFA to do a job. However complex and prestigious the job of Music Director was, Thomas’s perceived social status would have been affected by the fact that he was an employee of the CMFA President, the implication being that Nichols was responsible for the whole picture and could not afford the unrealistic ideals of someone lower down the chain of command. Conversely, Nichols can be seen as running the business side of the organization (*not* the musical side), a job that positioned him to be regarded as the un-cultured but wealthy American. Given the way in which the dispute was represented in the press, it was natural that many of the performers sided with Thomas and many of the patrons took Nichols’s side, however, there is another matter to consider. Nichols enjoyed connections (by marriage) to the

¹⁸³ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 117.

social group in Cincinnati that included most of the board members and patrons. They were friends and business associates with a history of working with Nichols and trusting him in social and financial circumstances.¹⁸⁴ In contrast, the orchestra and chorus largely sided with Thomas. The orchestra was comprised of men hired by Thomas, and who had worked with him for many years – their loyalty to their leader is unsurprising. The chorus would not have seen Nichols on a regular basis, and the policy statements of Nichols and the board would be disseminated in official announcements or – more importantly – filtered through Thomas. The physical time Thomas spent in rehearsals with the chorus (especially during the years he lived in Cincinnati from 1878 to 1880) would have given him a chance to build a relationship of trust and mutual respect. Thomas himself stated that he

...treated its [the Chorus's] members like intelligent beings, taught them to think, and compelled them to distinguish the intervals mentally instead of merely singing 'by ear.' As a result, such rapid progress was made that the chorus of that year [1880] was pronounced by the Eastern musicians who attended the Festival the best in the country.¹⁸⁵

While Thomas's rhetoric of success does not presuppose a good relationship between himself and the chorus members, it does suggest that one existed. As the chorus membership was voluntary, dissatisfied members would have had the option of leaving.

¹⁸⁴ Generally speaking, people tend to trust those they know personally over those with which they have not developed a relationship. This can be taken further, and applied to the likelihood of an individual trusting someone like them and their peers over those in a different social, economic, racial, or national groups. Nichols was therefore likely to be trusted by his peers, whereas Thomas (as a working class German emigrant) was less familiar to them.

¹⁸⁵ Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 83.

Additionally, the musical progress that was made (based on Thomas's assessment and press reviews) would undoubtedly have increased morale and pride in and among chorus members – something that would have been associated with Thomas's leadership. The cultural and symbolic capital that Thomas would have amassed through his relationship with the chorus would therefore relate to the amount the chorus members felt he improved their performance. The allegiance of the chorus to Thomas is not surprising because of the time and energy they saw him put into their progress, as well as their shared value of artistic integrity.

After Thomas's withdrawal [from the college] became public, the festival chorus greeted its conductor [Thomas] at rehearsal with a standing ovation. All 600 voices read aloud a letter urging the unloved Nichols to resign as the festival's president – he did so promptly – and calling for Thomas's reinstatement as music director of the college.¹⁸⁶

While Thomas did not become involved with the college again, he did serve as the un-rivaled leader among the Festival's organizers after that episode. Nichols resigned from the Festival Board on March 10, 1880, along with two of his supporters. While Nichols continued to cause trouble for the Festival for several more years,¹⁸⁷ he was no

¹⁸⁶ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 100.

¹⁸⁷ Nichols created a rival summer Opera Festival in Cincinnati, which survived only a few years. The Music Hall was also used by both the CMFA and the College of Music, creating some problems with shared equipment and space.

longer able to cause problems from within the organization. Even his influence as an outside force ceased when he died in 1885.¹⁸⁸

Whether as a result of the very public split between Thomas and Nichols, the slow downward trend of Cincinnati's economy, or the lack of novelty, the Cincinnati May Musical Festival lost some of its glowing national reputation in the press after 1880.¹⁸⁹ From this time until Thomas's death in 1905, the May Festival organizers did not show signs of conflict amongst themselves, with Thomas controlling musical matters and his supporters Lawrence Maxwell and Edmund Pendleton leading the CMFA.¹⁹⁰ The conflicts that arose were with rival musical organizations, or with certain musical critics or editors. This internal harmony seems to have been largely a result of the Board catering to Thomas's wishes. With Thomas no longer having to answer to Nichols, the artistic quality remained high (and may have improved). However, after 1878 the CMFA began to lose money. Beginning in Nichols's last year (1880), the Board had to rely on their patrons.¹⁹¹

The Cincinnati College of Music began an Opera Festival in 1881, also taking place in the summer months, and rivaling the May Festival. Their first festival was a great success, prompting festivals (in direct competition with the May Festival for audience

¹⁸⁸ Not only did Nichols die, his main supporters in Cincinnati disappeared around the same time. His main supporter, Reuben Springer (who had been the main source of funding for the construction of Music Hall), died the year before in 1884, and his wife married Bellamy Storer Jr. (the secretary of the original Festival Board).

¹⁸⁹ Please see details below.

¹⁹⁰ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 117.

¹⁹¹ In 1880, the festival budget was not balanced, but the Chorus's Christmas *Messiah* concert made enough to cover the difference. In the 1882 and 1884 Festivals, the CMFA amassed deficits of over \$8,000 and almost \$19,000 respectively, and was forced to rely on donations (Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 133-4).

members and soloists) in 1882 and 1883. The third opera festival became the last, when local flooding prevented travel to or from the city and halted the new “annual” tradition.¹⁹² The rival festival therefore only interfered with the 1882 May Festival plans, and then on a local level.

While Nichols had generally attempted to promote local participation and musical growth for the May Festival (including Cincinnati school children and local soloists in early festivals), Thomas aimed at a larger target. In 1882 he certainly called upon all of the contacts he had developed traveling year after year along the “Thomas Highway,” turning the Cincinnati May Festival into a Tri-City Festival for one year. The orchestra and soloists traveled between New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago, each time performing the same repertoire with local choruses.

Boards were formed in New York and Chicago and, together with the CMFA, worked out mutually satisfactory aggregate fees for the orchestra and soloists. Thomas made all the artistic decisions – soloists, programs, hall arrangements. He worked agreeably and harmoniously with all three boards, belying the rumors in some quarters that he had become an irascible, crusty autocrat.¹⁹³

The organization apparently ran smoothly for all three festival cities, and while Thomas had some problems with bad halls and sick soloists in Chicago and New York, the Cincinnati performances were an artistic success. “The attention that New York’s festival had received in the Cincinnati press helped ticket sales and cheered the CMFA, which

¹⁹² With soloist unable to reach Cincinnati in time for concerts, the Festival was a complete disaster that devastated the organizers financially.

¹⁹³ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 114.

had feared all spring that the local public had drained its purses of theater-going money at Nichols's opera festival..."¹⁹⁴ Cincinnati's May Festival had truly become a national event, and the city press and CMFA lost no time congratulating themselves on their contribution to American music and culture.¹⁹⁵

However, 1882 was also the first year that the Festival did not have financial success; the CMFA was left with a deficit of \$8,120.67. Though this amount was easily covered by their patrons, it represented the beginning of a trend. The following festival in 1884 (without Chicago and New York performances) had a deficit of \$18,957.19 to account for,¹⁹⁶ and could not claim the same artistic success. The local press criticized the repertoire, and little known works such as Gounod's *Redemption* were blamed for poor seat sales. The 1886 festival had similar problems with poor attendance and negative local press – and most of the fault in the newspapers seems to have focused on Thomas.¹⁹⁷ The Festivals of the late 1880s and the 1890s are not discussed in any detail in the secondary literature on Thomas or Cincinnati's history. It is as if, after the excitement of the Festival's beginning start to fade, the performances were taken for granted.

Despite this, some events of significance occurred in later years. In 1888, Thomas was forced (financially) to disband his orchestra. Within a short few years, Thomas became a widower (in 1889), remarried a wealthy Chicago woman of good family (in

¹⁹⁴ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 118.

¹⁹⁵ For an example from the CMFA and press during this time, see: Theodore Thomas, *Fifth Biennial Musical Festival at Cincinnati: May 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1882* (Cincinnati: The Festival Association, 1882).

¹⁹⁶ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 134.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

1890), and relocated to the Windy City (in 1891). Just as Nichols was able to take advantage of his wife's social standing, Thomas's marriage to Rose Fay in 1890 opened doors in the United States that had previously been unavailable to the "working-man" German immigrant.

As a member of the prominent Fay family of New England, one had certain privileges of class.... The long line of family extended to national and international arenas; consequently, one could enjoy access to the primary players of the day. The clan might not always have immense financial assets, but it would always be rich in contacts that could make connections to the movers and shakers of the time.¹⁹⁸

This is the "clan" with which Thomas became aligned, and these were the connections that saw his financial problems vanish,¹⁹⁹ whereby his dreams of a permanent orchestra come to fruition. This allowed him to reform his own orchestra (if under a different name), and continue returning to Cincinnati with his own (highly rehearsed and trained) ensemble. In 1891 Thomas left his conducting positions with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society to found the Chicago Orchestra (inviting many of the members of his Theodore Thomas Orchestra to follow him from New York). While Thomas's new brother-in-law, Norman Fay, collected a Board of

¹⁹⁸ McCarthy, *Amy Fay: America's Notable Woman of Music*, 3.

¹⁹⁹ While I have not found records that the Fay family paid Thomas's debts, all accounts cease any mention of his financial burdens after his marriage. As many of his decisions (recorded in these accounts) were based on financial need up until 1890, it is logical to ask why money is not seen as a motivating (or determining) factor after his marriage.

Directors to serve as patrons and organizers for the new orchestra, Thomas resumed his role as conductor and artistic director in Chicago.²⁰⁰

Chicago was one of many cities to establish a permanent orchestra in the 1890s: the organization of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra began in 1893, led by Frank Van der Stucken.²⁰¹ The creation of this new orchestra in Cincinnati caused some debate over which ensemble should perform at the festival – Thomas’s or the city’s new orchestra. In the 1894 May Festival, before the newly organised Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra had performed its first concert, Thomas’s contribution to the performance guaranteed his orchestra a place in all future festivals.

... a committee of New Yorkers traveled to Cincinnati for the May Festival with the avowed intention of convincing Thomas to return to the Empire City *with* the Chicago Orchestra. It was not a good time to (re)propose new schemes, for Thomas’s position at the festival was being threatened by the newly formed Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, which had been incorporated in April and, as the city’s resident orchestra, was expected to play at the festival. He [Thomas] need not have worried, however, for his performances were so impressive that the Cincinnati Music Festival Association said categorically in its annual report that Thomas and his orchestra – the Chicago Orchestra – and no other would play at future festivals.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ While the orchestra was new, Thomas hired many of the musicians who had performed under him as part of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, thereby excluding many of the local musicians of Chicago, as he had done in his Cincinnati performances.

²⁰¹ Though the organization committee was founded in 1893, the first concerts were presented to the public in 1895.

²⁰² Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 216.

This declared preference for Thomas's orchestra (whether it was based in New York, Cincinnati, or Chicago) is especially significant, given that the year before Thomas had been involved in a national scandal at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.²⁰³ While several authors have claimed that Thomas was blameless,²⁰⁴ the musical press at the time took the opposite view. That the CMFA chose Thomas's orchestra to perform for the rest of his lifetime is an indication that they were either unaffected by the opinion of the national press, or that they held Thomas's musical integrity and cultural capital in such high regard that it overshadowed the scandal of the year before. Regardless, guaranteeing Thomas a spot on their public stage was a show of the power the CMFA would allow him for the remaining years (five May Festivals) of his life.

The Sixteenth May Music Festival in 1904 was the last Theodore Thomas directed before his death the following year. The cover of the programs handed out that year featured photographs of the Cincinnati Music Hall and Theodore Thomas on the cover. Many previous programs had provided pictures of composers or famous vocal soloists,²⁰⁵ but in 1904 the board of directors chose to highlight the cultural and symbolic capital of Thomas. On the inside cover, the members of the Cincinnati Musical Festival Association are listed – "THEODORE THOMAS, MUSICAL DIRECTOR" is printed above the listing of board members. The brief history of the festival on the first page claims that:

²⁰³ This involved a contract with American piano manufacturers that only their pianos (for a substantial fee) would be displayed during the Exposition, a contract considered broken when a European soloist insisted on performing on his own preferred (European) piano.

²⁰⁴ This includes his wife's account, G. P. Upton's supplemental materials in Thomas's autobiography, and Russell's biography. Schabas admits that Thomas may have contributed to miscommunication, which inflamed the scandal.

²⁰⁵ For example, the program of 1902 featured photographs of the soloists Mr. Davies, Mrs. Zimmerman, Mr. Black, and Mrs. Stein. Program booklet for 1902 Festival, "May 14, 15, 16 and 17, 1902," Cincinnati History Library and Archives Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 2.

The course of the Association has been molded and guided by the sound judgment and wise counsels of Mr. Theodore Thomas, who has been musical director from the first.... The record of the Cincinnati festivals since their beginning in 1873 is the epitome of the advance of music as an art in the United States. The spirit of Theodore Thomas' life is reflected in them. It is "the honor of music," and every act of the Festival Directors serves this end.²⁰⁶

This deferential treatment towards Thomas was not always as unequivocal amongst the Cincinnati Music Festival Association (CMFA) as these quotes imply. Here, "the honor of music" and "the spirit of Theodore Thomas' life" are touted with almost identical meanings (implying that Thomas embodies the honor of music). The same "Noble Art" ideals and pride can be seen in the CMFA's published material in 1894, bolstered by the cultural capital the previous successful festivals built year after year: "The object of the Festival Association is to give the best music in the best way. What has been achieved thus far is a familiar chapter, and the proudest in the history of music in America."²⁰⁷ While there is less focus on attracting a new audience, the Festival (by this time in possession of a loyal audience),²⁰⁸ did continue to focus on providing the public with a wide variety of musical works. The 1904 program states that:

²⁰⁶ Program booklet for the 1904 festival, "Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival," Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

²⁰⁷ Program notes, "Eleventh May Musical Festival." Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 1, Folder 5.

²⁰⁸ For an analysis of a festival with a loyal repeat audience, see Greenhill, "Backyard World/Canadian Culture: Looking at Festival Agendas," 42.

This catalogue of some of the principal works that have been performed shows that from the first there has been manifested that catholic and progressive spirit which has recognized all schools and every period in the history of mature development of the art of music. The Festival Association has been moved from the beginning by a spirit of conscientious endeavor and high artistic purpose. The effort has been to present great works for chorus and orchestra, classic and modern, with the best forces obtainable.²⁰⁹

By the end of Thomas's career with the CMFA, the published view focused on the greatness of the "Art" presented, and the variety of musical styles that the CMFA and Thomas were making available to the public. Disregarding the obvious fact that the expressed "variety" was in fact limited almost exclusively to well-known European Classical and Romanic composers most of whom were Austro-German,²¹⁰ this does reveal an attempt to expose the public to repertoire that they would not have an opportunity to attend in the regular non-festival year. The shift, then, is not so much away from a populist view as Broyles describes it: "Many members of the socioeconomic elite argued the importance of populist musical institutions in a democratic society, while believing just as fervently that control of such institutions could not be in the hands of the practitioners."²¹¹ The Festival still wanted to expose the general public to the "Master works," but there was a shift in the identity of that public. The general philosophy does not change, but the CMFA can be seen as less actively seeking new audiences in print. This could be due to the fame of the festival (if new audiences are being attracted without

²⁰⁹ Program notes, "Sixteenth May Festival." Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

²¹⁰ See the analysis of the performed works above.

²¹¹ Broyles, *"Music of the Highest Class": Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston*, 12.

the effort of the CMFA), the stability of having a regular audience (eliminating the motivating stress of ticket sales), or a shift in focus on the part of Thomas and the Board members. Thomas's own ideas of educating the public became less pronounced through his career as he 1) became tired of the unending resistance of the American populace or 2) gained the financial freedom to perform what he chose regardless of public attendance or opinion through his position with the Chicago Orchestra. Indeed, when writing his autobiography in the final year of his life, Thomas emphasized that the Cincinnati community had benefited from having so many locals perform as amateur members of the chorus – overlooking the “uplifting” or “educational” effects audience members might have experienced: “...the fact of rehearsing the world’s masterworks for so many years would alone stamp Cincinnati as a musical community. The chorus was composed of local singers, and ... since its inception it has included more than ten thousand persons.”²¹²

The Individual

While we do not have many first-hand accounts of chorus members to draw upon, it is possible to piece together individual experiences. The chorus has been chosen for analysis because it was a voluntary organization (members could join or leave as they chose), without direct ties of loyalty to Thomas (as was the case with his orchestra) or to the Board of Directors. This analysis is important because of Cohen’s assertion of individuality within group dynamics: “In treating individuals either explicitly or by default as merely socially or culturally driven, ignoring the authorial or ‘self-driven’

²¹² Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 82.

aspects of behavior, is to render them at best partially, and, perhaps more often, as fictitious ciphers of the anthropologist's theoretical invention."²¹³ While it would be impossible to re-create the individual experiences of the thousands who served as board members, orchestra members, or chorus numbers over the first 32 years of the festival (even assuming that an accurate "experience" could be created), the task nevertheless remains important, even in a general description. A chorus member taking part in the first few festivals would most likely have been a member of a singing society which chose as a group to take part in the festival. Undoubtedly some chorus members did not want to be a part of this larger chorus and performed only out of loyalty to their own smaller society. Complications arose, especially for those societies that had to travel to Cincinnati for rehearsals and concerts. In April of 1873, a letter was written to the festival organizers on behalf of the "lady members of the Philharmonic Society of Hamilton," asking about spaces for the members to change into concert clothes. The otherwise very businesslike letter ends as follows: "Do you know there is great dissatisfaction felt among the country members, that the committee does not even feed them, to say nothing of their being obliged to return home every night; comparing this to the hospitality of the Saengerfests etc. etc."²¹⁴ This dissatisfaction may have contributed to fewer singing societies from outside Cincinnati deciding to become a part of the Festival chorus.

By the 1880s, most of the chorus members were amateurs from Cincinnati, participating individually rather than as a group. With a festival every two years, Thomas

²¹³ Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, 7.

²¹⁴ Letter from A. B. W. to C. C. Miller and the Festival Board, April 28, 1873. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 2, Folder 35, #350.

and the organizers began the tradition of performing a Christmas concert during the “off” year in order to keep the Festival chorus rehearsing. During the time Thomas lived in Cincinnati (1878-1880), he rehearsed the chorus himself, and created an ensemble that was praised by the local and national press alike. There would have undoubtedly have been something very satisfying about being a part of a prestigious musical ensemble, and the individuals would likely have enjoyed the sense of accomplishment – even if they had complaints about other aspects of their experience. The chorus members would have been (repeatedly) told by the festival organizers that they were lucky to be able to be a part of a historic and grand piece of musical history, promoting feelings of loyalty and indebtedness. In later years, chorus members were even given printed one-page announcements with some of the upcoming repertoire, statements on the importance of attendance and learning parts, chorus rules or guidelines, and outlining their “duty” to the society. “It is not desirable to draw the attention of the chorus away from its main duty – the steady rehearsal of the principal works to be performed at the Festivals.”²¹⁵ This kind of community building and reiteration of a common goal did not always outweigh other pressures on the individual members. In his autobiography, Thomas wrote that:

When I left Cincinnati I placed the chorus under the direction of Mr. Arthur Mees.... After his departure it deteriorated, owing to several causes, the principal one of which I will mention. Amateur musicians, of whom American choruses are, of course, always composed, need encouragement, and their work is good only when their enthusiasm is aroused. But, instead of encouragement, a singular hostility was shown towards our chorus by the daily press

²¹⁵ Letter from the CMFA to the May Festival Chorus, September 20, 1894. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 1, Folder 6.

of Cincinnati. To such an extent was this carried, that the confidence of our singers was destroyed, and, indeed, *at one time it was even quite heroic for one to be a member of the Festival Chorus....* Owing to this cause, as I have said, the chorus lacked confidence, and the slightest untoward event during a performance would create confusion.²¹⁶

With heavy time commitments, complicated music, logistical problems – the unavoidable aggravations of belonging to any organization with regular meetings – and press criticism making it hard to take pride in the music to which individual members contributed, why did the chorus still have hundreds of members volunteer year after year?²¹⁷ This may, in part, be answered by Mr. R. Avery, who resigned from the chorus after the 1878 festival performance.²¹⁸ He had threatened to leave if his request (to escort his wife to her seat in the audience before going back stage) was not met. When the Board refused to give him a ticket (i.e. allow him to enter with the rest of the audience and his wife), he wrote the Board of Directors a second letter.

We [the chorus] have given freely of our time and money, have worked hard and worked late, have made sacrifices for music, and feel that you forget our deserts.... The marked neglect and even impoliteness with which this Chorus has been treated by your board is felt by every member of the Chorus, with whom I speak.... This feeling is not the usual grumble of Singers, it is the warmth of just indignation at being treated as machines, and not gentlemen and ladies.... I will sing at the festival. Mr. Singer requests it. The

²¹⁶ Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*, 83-4. Emphasis added.

²¹⁷ For an example of a bad review of the Chorus, see “May Music,” May 21, 1886, *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Maysville Kentucky.

²¹⁸ We can assume he resigned from the following letter. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he did not return to the Chorus after the resignation of key board members after the 1878 and 1880 festivals.

festival is as much mine as yours – and mine to do all I can for it – for twelve years I have been identified with every leading musical event in Cin. I worked for music when it cost something – when there were few workers – I can't desert or take a back seat yet.²¹⁹

While clearly very upset at the way in which the board is behaving, Avery chose to perform out of loyalty to Mr. Otto Singer (the chorus director at the time), his commitment to music in Cincinnati, and because of his invested time and money.

According to Avery, he had been “identified with every leading musical event” in the city, and did not want to give up the part of his own identity that was tied to large-scale musical events. His loyalty was to the individuals with whom he had worked and to music (of a certain kind) with which he had been associated. He seems to have identified with something in the music or the messages attached to it, and did not want to abandon that part of himself. He therefore separated those aspects of his musical experiences he liked from those he did not: the Board became the figurehead for the things he did not like, while the music festival was left untarnished. The *festival* and music were therefore “as much mine as yours – and mine to do all I can for it.” We cannot know what messages Avery associated with the music and festival. As Cohen makes clear, even when participating in the same event, each individual will have his or her own understanding of the event's meaning.²²⁰ Like many other societies and organizations, the CMFA attempted to counteract this by creating a unified message of meanings through their choice of repertoire, advertisements, and announcements in the press.

²¹⁹ Letter from Mr. R. Avery to W. W. Taylor, Secretary, May 14, 1878. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 4, Folder 1, #2.

²²⁰ Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, 7.

The Press

The relationship of the press and the Cincinnati May Festival is complex: the CMFA and Thomas used newspapers to communicate with the reading public, newspaper editors and musical correspondents traded advertisements for tickets and “accommodations,” musical correspondent’s reviews of performances influenced the reading public and the CMFA to varying degrees, and newspapers commonly gave descriptions of audience response to specific performances or CMFA decisions (presuming to be a voice of the people, and often being taken as such). A detailed analysis of the complex relationship between the press (as well as the musical press specifically), the public, and cultural institutions is not within the scope of this thesis.²²¹ However, the influence of local and national newspapers on the Cincinnati May Festival is too important to ignore. Therefore the role of the press will be examined insofar as it relates directly to the Festival.

In attempting to create a national audience for their proposed event, the organizers of the first Cincinnati May Festival sent press announcements to editors of local, regional, and national papers. Many of these papers printed the announcement without asking for the regular advertising costs, assuming that they would be able to claim compensation in the form of multiple complimentary tickets and (occasionally) train fare to and from the event. This is evidenced by the large number of letters Nichols received from editors and musical correspondents.²²² Moreover, almost all the letters to

²²¹ For a more detailed analysis, see James Deaville’s “The New-German School and the *Euterpe* Concerts, 1860-1862: A Trojan Horse in Leipzig,” in *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, in *Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 37 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 253-270.

²²² Various letters to C. C. Miller and George Ward Nichols. 1873 - 1878. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 2 & 3.

the Board, ranging from New York City, to Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, use almost the same phrase: asking for the “usual courtesies accorded to the press.”²²³ These courtesies, for the most part, seem limited to free tickets for the reporter or editor asking – along with complimentary tickets for their wives, sisters, etc. While the CMFA eventually learned to pay for their advertisements and/or anticipate the number of seats they needed to leave free for the press, the first year they had too little complimentary “press” seating. Despite letters from editors and music correspondents detailing the large readership of their paper or blatantly offering to write favorably about the performances in exchange for complimentary tickets,²²⁴ the organizers had sold too many seats to regular audience members. As both the press and the account books show, almost all the concerts of the first several festivals were entirely sold out. Despite this mishap on the part of the festival organizers, the press does not seem to have maintained any animosity. Reviews were generally good, and correspondents from newspapers around the country continued to attend the Festival.

Newspapers from major American cities like New York, Chicago, and Boston published articles about each of the sixteen Festivals that took place before Theodore Thomas’s death, sending correspondents and paper editors to attend the Festival. After the first in 1873, the national press was very positive: “‘Memorable,’ proclaimed the *Boston Daily Globe*, while in the *Chicago Tribune* George Upton singled out the chorus

²²³ Letter, To C. C. Miller, from Emily Royall, as a correspondent for the Binghamto (NY) Times, April 26, 1873. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 2, Folder 36, #354.

²²⁴ For example, Hans Balatka claimed that his Illinois Staatszeitung was “one of the most influential papers in the West,” (May 2, 1873. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 2, Folder 38, #378), while others requested tickets for the editor in exchange for “favorable mentions” (April 7, 1873. Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 529, Box 2, Folder 27, #269).

as ‘the finest vocal organization in the nation.’ The four-day festival frequently rated front page coverage.... ‘Cincinnati is entitled to plume itself,’ concluded the *New York World*.²²⁵

Of course, the national press did not remain unanimously positive. While many reviews found at least one aspect to criticize – be it a particular vocal soloist, a choice of repertoire, or the Saengerfest Hall (in which the Festivals of 1873 and 1875 were performed) – the national press generally used the Cincinnati Festival as a means to boast about America’s cultural accomplishments. Therefore, the Festival was given credit as a musical event with national significance, even by other cities hoping themselves to monopolize the American cultural field. During the early years of the festival, Cincinnati temporarily became a cultural rival of Boston – something the Boston musical press found difficult to admit. When Thomas moved to Cincinnati in 1878, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* blamed New York for Thomas’s leaving the East coast and costing Boston their regular Thomas concert series. The editor wrote:

While we begrudge to Cincinnati her acquisition, we cannot help congratulate her.... In recent years no city in the country has shown a greater interest in music, or has put forth more energy in promoting the cause.... There have been held festivals which ... have never been surpassed in this country. If we do not say any more than that, it is because we have a great reluctance to admitting that Boston is ever to take the second place in musical art. At all events, Cincinnati has fairly won the right to take Mr. Thomas from the East, and will appreciate him, as Boston has always done when the opportunity was afforded her.²²⁶

²²⁵ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 95.

²²⁶ Editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, quoted in *Dwight’s Journal of Music*, 38 (August 31, 1878), quoted in Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 109-110.

This general assessment that the Cincinnati May Festival was both an important cultural development and an accomplishment on a national (and international) scale became a trope in the national press. Papers centered in cities like New York seem to have shown any negative opinions about later festivals through a *lack* of press coverage rather than explicit complaints. Perhaps this was due to an awareness on the part of the larger papers' editors that they had an international audience, and one to which they would not like to showcase the weaknesses of American cultural institutions. More likely, as the Cincinnati Festival became less successful in the 1880s and 1890s, it simply garnered less national attention. Announcements and short reviews were still featured, but the Festival was not considered front page news, and larger features became rare. Specific musical correspondents and editors (such as George Upton in Chicago and Henry Krehbiel of the New York *Daily Tribune*) were strong supporters of Thomas and went out of their way to include promotional material on the Festival as one of his events – but the national press as a whole printed fewer and fewer (positive) reviews of the Festival through the 1880s and 1890s. While there are exceptions to this trend, the local and regional presses were generally much more willing to openly criticize Thomas and the event, than were the newspapers from other areas of the United States.

From the beginning, the local Cincinnati papers gave more space to details concerning the Festival than the national press did. While this can be expected – it was *their* festival after all – the wealth of opinions does leave evidence of *both* self-

congratulation and self-critique. Music critic John S. Van Cleve, a writer for the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, commented in 1884 about the decrease of national interest and local seat sales – Vitz summarizes:

...the general populace was not really musical, only ‘drawn out by grand affairs.’ While all of the nation’s cities struggled with this problem, Cincinnati suffered more than most of its rivals. Yet, Van Cleve also spoke of a strong minority in the city who worked to maintain the city’s reputation. For these music lovers the light fare of concerts and recitals proved insufficient. Frustrated by the repeated failures of the previous ten years, this minority awaited only a new combination of circumstances. In retrospect, then, the decade of the 1880s may be seen as a period of transition from the exuberance of the early May Festivals to the more realistic plans evident in the establishment of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra in 1895.²²⁷

While Vitz’s overarching view of the festivals of the 1880s as a “transition” to the founding of Cincinnati’s permanent orchestra is questionable, his view in conjunction with Van Cleve’s statements do match the decline in national interest and local ticket sales and the simultaneous intense support of local organizers. In 1886, “the festival program had been rich in great music ... yet the local critics carped away. Thomas, they reported, had been testy, impatient, and quick to anger at chorus rehearsals ... [There were] 500 empty seats on opening night for *Creation* and 1,500 the second night for the mass. Had he [Thomas] chosen programs that were too difficult?”²²⁸

²²⁷ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 125.

²²⁸ Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 156.

When the local newspapers critiqued both Thomas and the Board of Directors – which began in earnest with the divided loyalties of the board and performers in 1880 – the local amateurs who made up the chorus were strongly affected. As quoted elsewhere, Thomas claimed in his autobiography that the critiques of the chorus in local papers caused an enormous lack of confidence in the members, and affected their ability to perform. Whether this is true or Thomas’s own perceptions shaped the views of the chorus members, Thomas’s choices of repertoire would have been affected by what he believed the chorus was (or was not) able to perform with confidence. The negative press would also have undoubtedly affected ticket sales, which created financial problems. This can be compared with the “negative” local press almost a decade before when Thomas decided to move to Cincinnati to devote his time to the Festival and Music College. The local comedic journal printed its October issue in 1878 with an image of Thomas conducting for an audience of tuxedoed pigs.²²⁹ The caption “From the Metropolis to the Porkopolis. Deo Gratias: Appreciated at Last” referred to Thomas’s choice to leave the established cultural center of New York City for a city famed for its swine farms. Far from questioning Thomas, this “negative” press challenged the city’s ability to properly support his cultural endeavors, encouraging locals to prove their culture (and humanity) to the nation and world.

In the early 1900s Thomas enjoyed the unquestioned loyalty of the Cincinnati public for a different reason. Rather than trying to prove their cultural dominance over other American cities (as was the case until about 1880), the city was celebrating a

²²⁹ Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts*, 106.

national icon who had become larger than the city. Rather than trying to build a cultural reputation of its own by exploiting the talent and cultural capital of Thomas, Cincinnati's leaders in the 1900s were trying to lay claim to a portion of Thomas's international notoriety by linking his work in their city to his legacy of culture and orchestra building. "A bronze statue of Theodore Thomas was unveiled on May 3, 1910, in the foyer of [Thomas's] 'other' hall, Music Hall in Cincinnati. President William Howard Taft, a native of the city, spoke glowingly of 'this man, who made an ideal of his art and lived up to it.'"²³⁰ The consecrated Thomas always represented the national and international musical standard within the American press, even when complaints were being made.

A high standard was what Thomas brought to the Festival and to Cincinnati – but it also prevented him from adopting the local community-building perspective of Nichols.²³¹ Even while living in Cincinnati, Thomas retained his national connections and reputation by continuing to conduct the Philharmonic Society of New York,²³² the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society, and his Chicago summer series. As a result of Thomas continuing to regularly travel back to the East Coast, he and his orchestra remained "national" in the eyes of the press. Similarly, the chorus and soloists were portrayed by the press as being tied to a geographic location; in this case, the chorus as regional or local, and the soloists as international. "All of the great singers of the world have sung at

²³⁰ Schrabas, *Theodore Thomas*, 255.

²³¹ For example, Nichols wanted to hire some local soloists in order to help promote the local musical community. Thomas did not approve of this, and prevented it from happening after the first festival. Thomas was able to do this partly because the national press agreed with him, singling out the local singer in the 1873 festival for ridicule.

²³² He missed the 1878 season, but returned to the Philharmonic Society of New York in 1879 while still living in Cincinnati.

the festivals.”²³³ Needless to say, these multiple sites of efficacy served promotional purposes, but could also be used to further a negative generalization. When one part of the Festival performers (orchestra, chorus, soloists) gave a particularly good or bad performance, the success or failure was mapped on to the international, national, regional, or local community by the press, and theoretically, by the reading public – creating a symbiotic relationship with place. For example, when the chorus was being insulted in the press, the musical reputation of the city suffered. Conversely, the laudatory performances of the chorus almost inevitably resulted in a specific comment in the press about the positive musical culture in the region or city.

The chorus started as a regional group with members from municipalities surrounding Cincinnati, but in 1880 was limited to singers in Cincinnati. Initially, the chorus was thought to be a way to bring together vocal ensembles from all over the American West – thus, according to the Cincinnati *Courier*, they held the first festival

...for the purpose of elevating the standard of choral and instrumental music, and to bring about harmony of action between the musical societies [read *choral* societies] of this country, and especially of the West. Telegrams and letters were also sent broadcast, an official agent employed to visit the various singing societies of the West and Northwest, to secure their cooperation, and to arouse the public mind to an interest in the affair. The response was very general, and when the chorus was organized it was found to contain no less than thirty-six societies, aggregating

²³³ Festival Program of 1904, “Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival” Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

one thousand and eighty-three singers, of whom six hundred and forty were Cincinnatians.²³⁴

After the chorus was limited to Cincinnati members and Chicago grew into a Western cultural center, the rhetoric of Cincinnati representing the West as a whole began to disappear from the CMFA publications. Despite this, the region around Cincinnati was still involved in the festival, even if fewer people noticed. The reduced bus rates remained to tempt repeat audience members from the region, and newspapers in neighboring cities such as Hillsborough, Springfield, and St. Clairsville, Ohio as well as Maysville and Stanford, Kentucky continued to show interest in the Festival. Moreover, the phrase “...west of New York City” was still employed by the musical press across the country, but CMFA and national press increasingly situated the festival in a local and national context rather than a regional one. Of course, the national and local are not simply opposites to be contrasted, but were used by the CMFA together to create a sense of national and local pride simultaneously.

The Cincinnati festivals are not the work of a day, but the growth of more than thirty years – the outcome of one of the best organized and longest sustained efforts that have been put forth in the United States to advance the cause of musical art of a large scale and high plane. Other cities have undertaken the task from time to time, only to abandon it, until Cincinnati is left the one city in the United

²³⁴ “The Cincinnati May Music Festivals - Historical,” *The Courier*, 4. The “purpose” of the festival as it was written in *The Courier* was taken almost verbatim from the original 1873 circular printed by the Festival organizers to be sent to choral societies in the area.

States on which rests the responsibility of maintaining national music festivals.²³⁵

In the final years Thomas conducted at the festival, this kind of rhetoric was typical; invoking the legacy, and consecration of the festival. The publications of the CMFA served to shape the public understanding of the Cincinnati May Musical Festival. This rhetoric used by the organizers was itself affected by the reviews in the press and the response of the public. The impact of the public is difficult to gauge without historical documentation; but we can be certain that the press (including the musical journals), the public, and cultural institutions of the nineteenth century are inextricably inter-connected.

²³⁵ Festival Program of 1904, "*Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival*" Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

Conclusion

The Cincinnati May Festival began in 1873 and continues to this day. Theodore Thomas was Music Director for the first 32 years of the festival, and his tenure defines the boundaries of this study. As Music Director, Thomas had control over programming, soloists, and musical interpretations, dictating much of the Festival's character. The choice of repertoire and the ways in which the programs change year to year reveal much about how Thomas envisioned the Festival. Though the Cincinnati May Festival Association was officially in charge of administrative tasks, it was ultimately Thomas's vision that prevailed in Cincinnati during his lifetime. Despite having to make compromises, endure power struggles within the Festival's organization, and receive some negative press, Thomas died in 1905 as the unquestioned leader of the Cincinnati Music Festival.

When the May Festival began in 1873, Cincinnati – and the United States as a whole – were trying to prove their cultural worth and recover from the Civil War. Moreover, the city was influenced by a large musical immigrant population from German-speaking Central Europe, festival culture was “in the air,” and the virtuoso conductor was becoming a recognized phenomenon in the United States. While Cincinnati did not have the audience base to support a permanent orchestra month after month (despite several attempts), it was able to provide a venue and audience for Thomas's yearly tour with his orchestra. Without having to maintain an organization throughout the year, a regularly occurring event could be supported by the city.

And an exciting event such as the May Musical Festival was ideal for Cincinnati in the early 1870s. The organizers were upper-class Americans who preached many of the “highbrow” and “populist” ideals Paul DiMaggio, Lawrence Levine, Michael Broyles, and Joseph Horowitz identify as part of a larger trend in nineteenth-century America. These ideals were reflected in the festival’s organization, repertoire, and press. As established by Turner and others, celebrations like festivals gave participants an opportunity to celebrate their own group identity, establishing and reinforcing a collective “self.” The “self” that was being celebrated during the Cincinnati Festival was sometimes conflicted, at times not as celebrated as others, and changed over the 32 years covered by this thesis. The cultural and symbolic capital of the individuals participating in the festival (as performers, chorus members, or Board Members) can be traced as the organizers struggled to create an event to match their many different ideals. This negotiation of multiple viewpoints into a single event every two years, provides an opportunity to examine whose ideas are used – who has enough power, cultural capital, and influence²³⁶ within the festival organizers to make their voice heard. Moreover, the unified idea (the Festival itself, but also the publications of the CMFA) that was negotiated and re-negotiated each festival then has its own influence and cultural capital. The Cincinnati May Festival as an institution influenced the local, regional, and national perspective on music – helping to shape America’s cultural identity.

While they fall outside the scope of this thesis, certain issues raised here demand further study. The Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, organized exclusively by women, is

²³⁶ To use the terminology of Foucault, Bourdieu, and Ahrne.

ideal for a gender analysis of patronage in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. Issues of race and ethnicity, both for the absence of the African-American population from the festival and the slow disappearance of the “German” culture as the population was integrated into the American cultural melting-pot, are topics requiring much more space than they are afforded in this thesis. The many short-lived music festivals that were inspired by the success of the Cincinnati May Festival are also worth examining in their own right. It is clear that Cincinnati, in addition to the more frequently studied centers of New York, Boston, and Chicago, is a significant cultural case study as researchers examine Gilded Age America.

The historical importance of the Cincinnati May Musical Festival rests in its connections to Theodore Thomas, its mobilization of various cultural sectors (the press, local amateur performers, international soloists, and Thomas’s Orchestra) at a crucial time for the emergence of American cultural identity on the world stage, its role as a cultural benchmark (at a time when Americans compared their cultural institutions to those in Europe), and its sheer longevity. In 1904, the CMFA wrote that: “Cincinnati is left the one city in the United States on which rests the responsibility of maintaining national music festivals.”²³⁷ Now over one hundred years later, the Cincinnati May Festival survives as a local institution and (perhaps surprisingly) continues to attract national and international performers.

²³⁷ Festival Program of 1904, “*Cincinnati May Music Festival: Sixteenth Biennial Festival*” Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566, Box 2, Folder 3.

Appendix I

Concert Programs²³⁸

In the following charts all evening concerts are distinguished by a light grey background.

May 1873 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 6	<i>Dettingen Te Deum</i> (HWV 213)	G. F. Handel	Mrs. Smith, Miss Cary, Mr. Varley, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 5, C minor	L. Beethoven	
	Concert Aria No. 3, <i>Misero, O Sogno</i> , KV 431	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Varley
	"The Heavens are Telling" from <i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	
May 7	Overture <i>Jubilee</i> (Jubel-Ouverture, Op. 59)	C. M. Weber	
	"Rolling in foaming Billows" from <i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	Mr. Whitney
	Allegretto, Symphony No. 8, op. 93.	L. Beethoven	
	Aria "Prayer and Barcarolle" from <i>L'Étoile du Nord</i> ,	G. Meyerbeer	Mrs. Smith
	<i>Ave Verum corpus</i>	W. A. Mozart	
	Scherzo and Wedding March, <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	Overture, <i>Fra Diavolo</i>	D. Auber	
	Trio: <i>I Naviganti</i>	A. Randegger	Mrs. Smith, Mr. Varley, Mr. Rudolphsen
	Waltz <i>On the beautiful blue Danube</i> ,	J. Strauss II	
	Aria "Sound an Alarm" from <i>Judas Maccabæus</i>	G. F. Handel	Mr. Varley
	"Träumerei" from <i>Kinderszenen</i>	R. Schumann	

²³⁸ This data has been taken from G. P. Upton's publication of Thomas's program notes, found in Thomas, *A Musical Autobiography*.

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	March and chorus from <i>Trannhäuser</i>	R. Wagner	
May 7	Suite No. 3 in D, BWV 1068	J. S. Bach	
	Scenes from <i>Orpheus</i>	C. W. Gluck	Miss. Cary
	Overture to <i>Coriolanus</i> , op. 62	L. Beethoven	
	Symphony No. 2 in C, op. 61	R. Schumann	
	Aria "With Verdure clad" from <i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	
	"See the conquering Hero comes" from <i>Judas Maccabæus</i>	G. F. Handel	
May 8	Overture <i>Euryanthe</i>	C. M. Weber	
	"Morning Hymn", Possibly "Morning Prayer of the Israelites" from <i>Joseph</i>	E. Mehul	
	"See the conquering Hero comes" from <i>Judas Maccabæus</i>	G. F. Handel	
	Aria "In Native Worth" from <i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	Mr. VarleyfseW
	"Lift thine Eyes" from <i>Elijah</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	"To our immortal Leader" from <i>Idomeneo</i>	W. A. Mozart	
	Waltz, <i>Life let us cherish</i>	J. Strauss II	
	"Shadow Song" from <i>Dinorah</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Mrs. Dexter
	"Welcome, Mighty King" from <i>Saul</i>	G. F. Handel	
	Overture, <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	O. Nicolai	
	"O, ruddier than the Cherry" from <i>Acis and Galatea</i>	G. F. Handel	Mr. Whitney
	<i>Venetian Boatman's Song</i>	J. S. Bach	
	<i>Vesper Hymn</i>	L. Beethoven	
	<i>The cold Frost came and Land of our Fathers</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	Polka schell <i>Par Force</i>	J. Strauss II	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Duet "Ye gay and painted Fair" from <i>The Seasons</i>	F. J. Haydn	Mrs. Dexter and Mr. Varley
	<i>Sound the loud Tambrel, America, and The Star Spangled Banner</i>		
May 8	Overture, aria and chorus, "O, Isis and Osiris" from <i>The Magic Flute</i>	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Whitney
	Chorus, <i>Gipsy Life</i> op. 29	R. Schumann	
	<i>Eine Faust Ouvertüre</i>	R. Wagner	
	Symphony No. 9, in D minor, op. 125	L. Beethoven	Mrs. Smith, Miss Cary, Mr. Varley, Mr. Rudolphsen
May 9	Overture <i>Leonora</i> op. 72, No. 3	L. Beethoven	
	Aria, "O God, have Mercy" from <i>Saint Paul</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mr. Rudolphsen
	Andante and scherzo from symphony in No. 9 in C Major, D. 944 <i>The Great</i>	F. Schubert	
	Chorus, <i>Gipsy Life</i> op. 29	R. Schumann	
	<i>Kaiser March</i>	R. Wagner	
	Overture, <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	
	Aria, "No, No, No" from <i>The Huguenots</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Miss. Cary
	Waltz, <i>Wine, Woman, and Song</i>	J. Strauss II	
	Duet, <i>Flow gently, Deva</i>	J. Parry	Mr. Varley and Mr. Whitney
	"To Thee, Cherubim and Seraphim" from <i>Dettingen Te Deum</i>	G. F. Handel	
May 9	Vorspiel, <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	
	<i>Twenty-third Psalm</i> D. 706	F. Schubert	
	Scene and aria <i>Ah! Perfido!</i> op. 65	L. Beethoven	Mrs. Dexter
	Symphonic poem <i>Tasso</i>	F. Liszt	
	<i>The First Walpurgis Night</i> op. 60	F. Mendelssohn	Miss. Cary, Mr. Varley, Mr. Rudolphsen, Mr. Whitney

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Hallelujah Chorus" from <i>The Messiah</i>	G. F. Handel	

May 1875 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 11	<i>Triumphal Hymn</i> op. 55	J. Brahms	Mr. Franz Remmertz
	Symphony No. 7 in A, op. 92	L. Beethoven	Mrs. H. M. Smith, Miss Annie Louise Cary, H. A. Bischoff, F. Remmertz, M. W. Whitney
	Vorspiel and scenes from <i>Lohengrin</i>	R. Wagner	
May 12	Overture <i>Leonora</i> , No. 2	L. Beethoven	
	Aria "In Native Worth" from <i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	Mr. William J. Winch
	Aria "Parto ma tu ben mio" from <i>Clemenza di Tito</i>	W. A. Mozart	Miss. Emma Cranch
	Scherzo, <i>Reformation Symphony</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	Aria, from <i>Star of the North</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Mrs. Smith
	<i>Hungarian Dances</i>	J. Brahms	
	Trio <i>Tremate, empi tremate</i> op. 116	L. Beethoven	Mrs. Smith, Mr. Winch, and Mr. Remmertz
	Overture and romanza, "Wie Todes Ahnung" from <i>Tannhäuser</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Remmertz
	<i>Nouvelle Méditation</i>	C. Gounod	
	Aria, "Non conosci quel Suola" from <i>Mignon</i>	A. Thomas	Miss. Cary
	Rio, "Allor che scorre de' forti il sangue" from <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	H. A. Bischoff, F. Remmertz, and Mr. Whitney
	Overture to <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	
May 12	<i>Elijah</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mrs. Smith, Miss Whinnery, Miss Cary, Miss Cranch, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Winch, and Mr. Bischoff
May 13	<i>Festival Overture</i>	E. Lassen	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Chorus, Prayer from <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	C. W. Gluck	
	<i>Die Allmacht</i> (The omnipotence)	F. Schubert	Mr. Bischoff
	Song, <i>Spirit Song</i>	F. J. Haydn	
	Springtime, Op. 47, No. 1	A. E. Fesca	Mrs. Smith
	Chorus, <i>Night Shades no Longer</i>	G. Rossini	
	Song, <i>I'm a Roamer</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mr. Whitney
	Cantata <i>Praise of Friendship</i>	W. A. Mozart	Mrs. Smith, Miss. Whinnery, Miss. Cranch
	<i>Huldigung's March</i>	R. Wagner	
	Concert aria, <i>Infelice</i> , op. 94	F. Mendelssohn	Miss. Whinnery
	Chorus, <i>Strike the Cymbal</i>	V. Pucitta	
	Aria, "Vaga donna illustre e cara" from <i>The Huguenots</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Mrs. Cranch
	Aria from Act IV, <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	Mr. Bischoff
	<i>Devil's Darning Needle</i>	J. Strauss II	
	<i>My Country 'tis of thee</i>		
May 13	<i>Magnificat</i> in D	J. S. Bach	Mrs. Smith, Miss. Whinnery, Miss Cary, Mr. Winch, Mr. Whitney
	<i>Symphony No. 9</i> op. 125	L. Beethoven	Mrs. Smith, Miss. Cary, Mr. Winch, Mr. Remmertz
May 14	Overture <i>Consecration of the House</i> , op. 124	L. Beethoven	
	Arietta, <i>In questa Tomba</i>	L. Beethoven	Mr. Whitney
	Aria, "Dove Sono" from <i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	W. A. Mozart	Miss. Whinnery
	"Be thou Faithful unto Death" from <i>Saint Paul</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mr. Winch
	Aria, "Che farò senz 'Euridice" from <i>Orphius</i>	C. W. Gluck	Miss. Emma Cranch

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Introduction and "Walter's Prize Song", Act III and overture from <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	
	Overture and quartet, "Over the dark blue Waters" from <i>Oberon</i>	C. M. Weber	Miss. Whinnery, Miss Cranch, Mr. Winch, and Mr. Bischoff
	Aria, "Pietà, pietà" from <i>Le Prophète</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Miss. Cary
	Aria, "O! ruddier than the Cherry" from <i>Acis and Galatea</i>	G. F. Handel	Mr. Whitney
	<i>Rhapsodie Hongroise</i> No. 2	F. Liszt	
	Quartet <i>Un di, se ben rammentomi</i>	G. Verdi	Mrs. Smith, Miss. Cary, Mr. Bischoff, Mr. Whitney
May 14	<i>Symphony No. 9</i> in C Major, D. 944 <i>The Great</i>	F. Schubert	
	"Wotan's Farewell" and "Magic Fire Scene" from <i>Die Walküre</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Remmertz
	<i>Cantata Prometheus</i>	F. Liszt	Mrs. Smith, Miss Cary, Mr. Winch, Mr. Bischoff, Mr. Newhall, and Mr. Whitney

May 1878 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 14	Scenes from <i>Alceste</i>	C. W. Gluck	Madame Pappenheim, Miss Cranch, Miss Heckle, Mr. Adams, Mr. Fritsch, Mr. Thompson, Sig. Tagliapietra, Mr. Remmertz, Mr. Whitney
	Ceremonies dedicating the Music Hall		
	<i>Festival Ode</i>		Mme. Pappenheim, Messrs. Adams and Whitney,
	<i>Symphony No. 3 "Eroica" op. 55</i>	L. Beethoven	
May 15	Overture, <i>Tannhäuser</i>	R. Wagner	
	Aria, "O, don fatale" from <i>Don Carlos</i>	G. Verdi	Miss. Cary
	Symphony No. 5, E Major, <i>Lenore</i> , Op. 177, march tempo	J. Raff	
	Aria "From Boyhood trained" from <i>Oberon</i>	C. M. Weber	Mr. Adams
	Symphonic poem, <i>Danse Macabre</i>	C. Saint-Saëns	
	<i>Cavatina, Robert, toi que j'aime</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Mme. Pappenheim
	Overture, <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	<i>Largo</i>	G. F. Handel	
	<i>The Palms (Les rameaux)</i>	J. Faure	
	Duo, <i>Requiem</i>	G. Verdi	Mme. Pappenheim and Miss Cary
	<i>Träumerei</i> from <i>Kinderszenen</i>	R. Schumann	
	Overture <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	
May 15	<i>The Messiah</i>	G. F. Handel	Mrs. Osgood, Miss. Cary, Mr. Adams, Mr. Fritsch, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Whiting
May 16	<i>Unfinished Symphony, No. 8 in B min. D. 759</i>	F. Schubert	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Aria "In diesen heil'gen Hallen" from <i>The Magic Flute</i>	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Whitney
	Aria, "Penelope weaving a Garment" from <i>Odysseus</i> Op. 41	M. Bruch	Miss. Cranch
	Aria, "Cujus Animam" from <i>Stabat Mater</i>	G. Rossini	Mr. Fritsch
	<i>Capriccio</i> op 4	H. Graedener	
	Air, "Repose in Pease" from <i>Fridolin</i>	A. Randegger	Mrs. Osgood
	Introduction and "Lohengrin's Disclosure and Departure" from <i>Lohengrin</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Adams
	<i>Invitation to the Dance</i>	C. M. Weber	
	Recitative "Awake, Saturnia" and aria "Hence, hence away" from <i>Semele</i>	G. F. Handel	Miss. Cary
	String Quintet in E Major, Op. 13, No. 5 Minuet	L. Boccherini	
	Song, <i>The Valley</i>	C. Gounod	Sig. Tagliapietra
	"Che mi frena in tal momento? f" from <i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i>	G. Donizetti	Mrs. Osgood, Miss Cranch, Mr. Adams, Mr. Fritsch, Sig. Tagliapietra, and Mr. Whitney
May 16	"Wach auf" Act III, from <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	
	Overture "Coriolanus" op. 62	L. Beethoven	
	"Siegfried's Death" and finale to "Die Götterdämmerung"	R. Wagner	Mme. Pappenheim
	Symphony No. 9, in D minor, op. 125	L. Beethoven	Mme. Pappenheim, Miss. Cary, Mr. Adams, Mr. Remmertz
May 17	Prelude, chorale and fugue	J. S. Bach	
	"Nasce al bosco" from <i>Ezio</i>	G. F. Handel	Miss. Rollwagen
	Aria, "Durch die Wälder" from <i>Der Freischütz</i>	C. M. Weber	Mr. Fritsch

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Overture, "Sakuntala" op. 13	K. Goldmark	
	Scene and aria "Abscheulicher" from <i>Fidelio</i>	L. Beethoven	Mme. Pappenheim
	Selections from <i>Die Meistersinger</i> , Monologue, Cobbler's Song and Quintet	R. Wagner	Mme. Pappenheim, Miss. Rollwagen, Mr. Adams, Mr. Fritsch, and Mr. Remmertz
	"Ride of the Valkyries" from <i>Die Walküre</i>	R. Wagner	
	Selections from <i>Manfred</i>	R. Schumann	
	Die Loreley	F. Liszt	Mrs. Osgood
	"Se pel rigor" from <i>La Juive</i>	F. Halevy	Mr. Whitney
	Aria from <i>Abu Hassan</i>	C. M. Weber	Miss. Cary
	Serenade	F. Schubert	Sig. Tagliapietra
	Scene and quintet from <i>Ballo in Maschera</i>	G. Verdi	Mrs. Osgood, Miss. Cary, Mr. Adams, Sig. Tagliapietra, Mr. Whitney
May 17	<i>Missa Solennis</i>	F. Liszt	Mme. Pappenheim, Miss. Rollwagen, Mr. Fritsch, and Mr. Whitney
	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> , Dramatic Symphony, op. 17	H. Berlioz	Miss. Cary, Mr. Adams, Mr. Remmertz... ???

May 1880 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 18	"Ein feste Burg"	J. S. Bach	Miss. Norton, Miss. Cary, Sig. Campanini, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony in C "Jupiter" K. 551	W. A. Mozart	
	<i>Jubilate</i>	G. F. Handel	Miss. Cary, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Whitney
May 19	Overture, "Leonora" No. 3	L. Beethoven	
	Aria, "Shall I on Mamre's fertile plain" from <i>Joshua</i>	G. F. Handel	Mr. Whitney
	"Variations on a theme by Haydn" from <i>Chorale St. Antoine</i>	J. Brahms	
	Aria, "Il mio tesoro" from <i>Don Giovanni</i>	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Harvey
	Scherzo from <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	F. Mendelssohn	
	Romanza, "Selva opaca" from <i>William Tell</i>	G. Rossini	Miss. Sherwin
	<i>Phaeton</i> , op. 39	C. Saint- Saëns	
	Romanza, "Celeste Aida"	G. Verdi	Sig. Campanini
	Pizzicato Polka	J. Strauss II	
	"I'm a Roamer" from <i>Son and Stranger</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mr. Rudolphsen
	<i>Centennial Inauguration March</i>	R. Wagner	
May 19	<i>Missa Solemnis</i> in D major, op. 123	L. Beethoven	Miss. Sherwin, Miss. Cary, Miss. Cranch, Sig. Campanini, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Rudolphsen, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 4 in D minor, op. 120	R. Schumann	
May 20	"Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage"	F. Mendelssohn	
	Aria, "Deh vieni" from <i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	W. A. Mozart	Miss. Cranch

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Allegretto and Scherzo from Symphony No. 7	L. Beethoven	
	“Siegmond’s Love Song” and “Ride of the Valkyries” from <i>Die Walküre</i>	R. Wagner	Sig. Campanini
	Symphonic poem <i>Tasso</i>	F. Liszt	
	Aria, “O don fatale” from <i>Don Carlos</i>	G. Verdi	Miss. Cary
	Prelude, minuet, and fugue, op. 10	Reinhold	
	<i>The Two Grenadiers</i>	R. Schumann	Mr. Whitney
	<i>Rakoczy March</i>	H. Berlioz	
May 20	Scenes from Longfellow’s “Golden Legend”	D. Buck	Miss. Norton, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Rudolphsen, Mr. Whitney
	Overture <i>King Lear</i>	H. Berlioz	
	Scene I “The Rhine Daughters, Siegfried”, Scene 2 “Siegfried, Hagen, Gunther”, Act III “Die Götterdämmerung” from <i>The Ring</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Sherwin, Miss. Cranch, Sig. Campanini, Mr. Rudolphsen, Mr. Whitney
May 21	Overture, Scena, and “Diane impitoyable” from <i>Iphigenia in Aulis</i>	C. W. Gluck	Mr. Rudolphsen
	<i>Air</i>	J. S. Bach	
	Recitative “Awake, Saturnia” and aria “Hence, hence away” from <i>Semele</i>	G. F. Handel	Miss. Cary
	“Wedding March” and variations from <i>Country Wedding Symphony</i>	K. Goldmark	
	Scene and aria “La notte fugge ormai” from <i>Faust</i>	Spohr	Miss. Norton
	Overture <i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	W. A. Mozart	
	“Slumber Song” from <i>Masaniello</i>	Auber	Sig. Campanini

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Turkish March" from <i>Ruins of Athens</i>	L. Beethoven	
	Romanza, "Vane, vaine" from <i>Robert le Diable</i>	G. Meyerbeer	Miss. Sherwin
	"Valse Caprice"	A. Rubinstein	
	Cobbler's Song, "Jerum, jerum" from <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Whitney
	"Slavonic Rhapsody" No. 3, op. 45	A. Dvorak	
May 21	Symphony No. 5, C minor op. 67	L. Beethoven	
	<i>Missa Solennis</i> in D major, op. 123	L. Beethoven	Miss. Sherwin, Miss. Norton, Miss. Cary, Miss. Cranch, Sig. Campanini, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Rudolphsen, Mr. Whitney
	Coronation anthem <i>Zadok, the Priest</i>	G. F. Handel	

May 1882 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 16	<i>Requiem</i>	W. A. Mozart	Frau. Materna, Miss. Cary, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 8, in F, op. 93	L. Beethoven	
	Aria, "Abscheulicher" from <i>Fidelio</i>	L. Beethoven	Frau. Materna
	<i>Te Deum Dettingen</i>	G. F. Handel	Miss. Cary, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Remmertz
May 17	Overture, aria, "Non più andrai"		Mr. Remmertz
	Canzona, "Voi che sapete"		Miss. Cary
	Aria "E Susanna non vien" from <i>Nozze di Figaro</i>	W. A. Mozart	Frau. Materna
	Symphony No. 7 in A, op. 92	L. Beethoven	
	Overture, "Genoveva	R. Schumann	
	Aria "Penelope weaving a Garment" from <i>Odysseus</i>	M. Bruch	Miss. Cranch
	<i>Am Meer</i>	F. Schubert	Mr. Remmertz
	"Ich wollt meine Liebe"	F. Mendelssohn	Frau Materna, Miss Cary
	"Ball Scene" from the dramatic symphony <i>Romeo & Juliet</i>	H. Berlioz	
May 17	"Passion Music" according to Saint Matthew	J. S. Bach	Frau. Materna, Miss. Cary, Miss. Hetlich, Miss. Kopp, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Henschel, Mr. Remmertz, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Whiting
May 18	Huldigung's March	R. Wagner	
	Vorspiel, <i>Lohengrin</i>	R. Wagner	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Gathering of Mastersingers" & "Pogner's Address", prelude to Act III, "The Master Song of Walther", intro. to Act I, from <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Henschel, Mr. Candidus
	Scene 2, "Before Walhalla", Loge's Tidings", Closing Scene, from <i>Das Rheingold</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Remmert, Mr. Toedt, Miss. Hetlich, Miss. Kopp, Miss Cranch
	Prelude to Act I, "Siegmond's Love Song", "The Ride of the Valkyries", Wotan's Farewell", "Magic Fire Scene" from <i>Die Walküre</i>	R. Wagner	Mr. Candidus, Mr. Henschel
	"Siegfried's Death," finale to "Die Götterdämmerung"	R. Wagner	Frau. Materna
May 18	Symphony No. 9, in D minor, op. 125	F. Schubert	
	Scenes from <i>Goethe's Faust</i>	R. Schumann	Mrs. Osgood, Miss. Cary, Miss. Kopp, Miss. Cranch, Miss. Hetlich, Miss. Wilson, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Henschel, Mr. Whitney
May 19	Selections from <i>Euryanthe</i>	C. M. Weber	Mrs. Osgood, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Henschel
	Concerto in G	J. S. Bach	
	Aria, "Che farò senz 'Euridice" from <i>Orphius</i>	Gluck	Miss. Cary
	Aria, "In questa Tomba"	L. Beethoven	Mr. Whitney
	Duo from <i>Benvenuto Cellini</i>	H. Berlioz	Mrs. Osgood, Mr. Toedt
	Symphony to Dante's "Divina Commedia	F. Liszt	
May 19	<i>Forty-sixth Psalm</i>	Gilchrist	Mrs. Osgood
	<i>Tragic Overture</i> , op. 31	J. Brahms	
	Scena, "Ocean, thou mighty Monster"	C. M. Weber	Frau. Materna

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"The Fall of Troy," from <i>Les Troyens</i>	H. Berlioz	Frau. Materna, Mrs. Osgood, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Henschel, Mr. Remmert, Mr. Whitney

May 1884 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 20	<i>The Redemption</i>	C. Gounod	Mme. Nilsson, Mrs. Norton-Hartdegen, Miss. Winant, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Heinrich, Mr. Remmertz
May 21	Symphony No. 5, C minor, op. 67	L. Beethoven	
	Overture, Act I, Scene I "Bacchanale," "Chorus of Sirens," Scene 3, "Tannhäuser, a young shepherd, and the pilgrims" Scene 4, "Tannhäuser, the Landgrave, and the Minstrel Knight," Act II, Introduction, Scene I, "Elizabeth," Scene 2, "Elizabeth, Tannhäuser, and Wolfram," Scene 4, March and chorus, Act II, Introduction "Tannhäuser's Pilgrimage," Scene I, "Elizabeth, Wolfram, and the elder pilgrims" Scene 2, "Wolfram alone," "Song to the Evening Star," Scene 3, "Tannhäuser, Wolfram, later, Landgrave, Minstrels, elder and younger pilgrims" from <i>Tannhäuser</i>	R. Wagner	Herr. Scaria, Herr. Winkelmann, Mr. Remmertz, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Heinrich, Mr. Lindau, Mr. Gerold, Frau. Materna, Miss. Juch
May 22	Overture, "Spinning Chorus" and Ballad from <i>The Flying Dutchman</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Juch, Miss. Winant
	Vorspiel, "Good Friday's Spell" and "Funeral Procession" from <i>Parsifal</i>	R. Wagner	Herr. Scaria, Herr. Winkelmann
	"Ride of the Valkyries", "Wotan's Farewell" and "Magic Fire Scene" from <i>Die Walküre</i>	R. Wagner	Herr. Scaria
	Finale to Act III, "Siegfried's Wooing" from <i>Siegfried</i>	R. Wagner	Frau. Materna, Herr. Winkelmann

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 22	March and Chorus, "Ruins of Athens," "Twine ye the Garlands"	L. Beethoven	
	Overture, "Leonora" No. 2	L. Beethoven	
	Scena and and Area "Ah! Perfido"	L. Beethoven	Mme. Nilsson
	"Minuet and Finale" from <i>String Quartet in C</i> No. 9	L. Beethoven	
	Trio "Tremate, empi tremate"	L. Beethoven	Mme. Nilsson, Herr. Winkelmann, Herr. Scaria
	Ninth Symphony in D minor, op. 125	L. Beethoven	Miss. Juch, Miss. Winant, Herr. Winkelmann, Mr. Remmertz
May 23	"Israel in Egypt"	G. F. Handel	Miss. Juch, Mis. Nortone-Hartdegen, Miss. Winant, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Remmertz, Herr. Scaria
May 24	Toccatà	J. S. Bach	
	Symphony in G minor	W. A. Mozart	
	Recitative and aria, "From mighty Kings" from <i>Judas Maccabæus</i>	G. F. Handel	Mme. Nilsson
	Overture "Leonora", No. 2	L. Beethoven	
	Introduction, duo, "The Song has died away" from Act III, vorspiel to Act I from <i>Lohengrin</i>	R. Wagner	Mme. Nilsson, Herr. Winkelman
	"Siegfried's Death" from <i>Die Götterdämmerung</i>	R. Wagner	
May 24	"The German Requiem" op. 45	J. Brahms	Miss. Juch, Mr. Remmertz
	Prelude to Act I, "Love duo" and finale to Act II of <i>Tristan and Isolde</i>	R. Wagner	Herr. Winkelmann, Frau Materna, Miss. Juch, Herr. Scaria, Mr. Toedt

May 1886 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 18	<i>The Creation</i>	F. J. Haydn	Miss. Lehmann, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 7, in A major, op. 92	L. Beethoven	
May 19	Mass in B minor	J. S. Bach	Miss. Lehmann, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 2 in C, op. 61	R. Schumann	
	Aria from <i>Fidelio</i>	L. Beethoven	
	Overture, "Husitzka"	A. Dvorak	
May 20	Symphony No. 8 in B minor "Unfinished"	F. Schubert	
	Scena, "Enfin il est dans ma Puissance" from <i>Armide</i>	C. W. Gluck	Miss. Lehmann
	Part songs for Women's Voices, op. 17	J. Brahms	
	<i>Scherzo Capriccioso</i> op. 66	J. Brahms	
	Overture, op. 84, lied, "Die Trommel gerüht", entr'acte, larghetto, lied. "Freudvoll und leidvoll," entr'acte, allegro, allegretto, finale to "Egmont"	L. Beethoven	Miss. Lehmann
	Aria from "Ruins of Athens"	L. Beethoven	Mr. Whitney
	Symphony poem, "Festklänge"	F. Liszt	
May 20	<i>Damnation of Faust</i>	H. Berlioz	Miss. Hastreiter, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Ludwig, Mr. Whitney
May 21	Symphony No. 3 "Eroica" op. 55	L. Beethoven	
	Aria "I have lost my Eurydice" from <i>Orpheus</i>	C. W. Gluck	Miss. Hastreiter

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"The Tower of Babel"	A. Rubinstein	Mr. Candidus, Mr. Alonzo, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Whitney
May 22	Overture "Melusine"	F. Mendelssohn	
	<i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i>		Miss. Hastreiter
	<i>Twenty-third Psalm D. 706</i>	F. Schubert	
	<i>Les Rameaux</i>	G. Faure	Mr. Ludwig
	Aria, "Die Stille Nacht Entweicht"	Spohr	Miss. Juch
	<i>Mephisto Waltz</i>	F. Liszt	
	<i>Mignon</i>	F. Liszt	Miss. Hastreiter
	<i>Symphony Fantastique</i>	H. Berlioz	
May 22	Overture, duo, "Like to a Vision" from <i>The Flying Dutchman</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Juch, Mr. Ludwig
	Vorspiel, finale, "Liebestod" from <i>Tristan and Isolde</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Lehmann
	"Waldweben" from <i>Siegfried</i>	R. Wagner	
	"Zu neuen Thäten," "Siegfried's Rhine Journey," "Siegfried's Death" from <i>Die Götterdämmerung</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Lehmann, Mr. Candidus
	Prelude, "Hans Sachs's Monologue," quintet, chorus of cobblers, tailors, and bakers, dance of apprentices, procession of Master-singers, chorus "Awake," "Prize Song," and finale, from <i>Die Meistersinger</i>	R. Wagner	Miss. Juch, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Candidus, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Ludwig

May 1888 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 22	Hymn, op. 36	C. M. Weber	Frau. Lehmann, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Whitney
	Symphony No. 5, C minor op. 67	L. Beethoven	
	<i>Eine Faust Ouvertüre</i>	R. Wagner	
	"Song of Promise" op. 43	J. K. Paine	Frau. Lehmann
May 23	<i>St. Paul</i>	F. Mendelssohn	Mme. Valda, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Whitney
May 24	Overture, recitative, and aria "Du Kennst den Verräther" from <i>Don Juan</i>	W. A. Mozart	Frau. Lehmann
	Recitative and aria, "Ach, mir lächelt umsonst" from <i>Joseph in Egypt</i>	Mehul	Mr. Toedt
	Recitative and Rondo, "Ja, der Augenblick erscheint"	C. M. Weber	Mrs. Moore-Lawson
	Symphony No. 3 in C minor, op. 78	C. Saint-Saëns	
	Overture, "Manfred" op. 115	R. Schumann	
	Song "Gretchen am Spinnrad"	F. Schubert	Frau Lehmann
	Aria, "She alone charmeth my Sadness" from <i>Irene</i>	C. Gounod	Mr. Whitney
	Recitative and aria from "Faust"	Spohr	Mrs. Moore-Lawson
	<i>Rhapsody No. 2</i>	F. Liszt	
May 24	"The Spectre's Bride" op. 69	A. Dvorak	Frau. Lehmann, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Stoddard
	Symphony "Ländliche Hochzeit" op. 26	K. Goldmark	
May 25	"Paradise Lost"	A. Rubinstein	Mme. Valda, Miss. Hetlich, Miss. Cranch, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Whitney
May 26	Suite No. 3 in D, BWV 1068	J. S. Bach	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Aria "Sound an Alarm" from <i>Judas Maccabæus</i>	G. F. Handel	Mr. Lloyd
	Recitative and aria "Ihr Götter ew'ger Nacht" from <i>Alceste</i>	C. W. Gluck	Frau. Lehmann
	Symphony No. 6 "Pastoral" op. 68	L. Beethoven	
	Funeral March	F. Chopin	
	Romanza "Dahin ist meine Ruh" from "Faust"	H. Berlioz	Frau. Lehmann
	Aria, "Cujus Animam" from "Stabat Mater"	G. Rossini	Mr. Lloyd
	Aria, "Taglich eilen wir im Fluge"	A. Rubinstein	Mme. Giulia Valda
	Morceau Symphonique "La Russie"	A. Rubinstein	
May 26	Overture, "Bacchanale" and duo, from "Tannhauser"	R. Wagner	Frau Lehmann and Herr Kalisch
	Vorspiel and "Lohengrin's Farewell"	R. Wagner	Mr. Lloyd
	"Prayer" and finale from "Lohengrin"	R. Wagner	Mrs. Moore-Lawson, Miss Cranch, Mr. Toedt, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Whitney
	Vorspiel and "Walther's Preislied" from "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	Mr. Llyod
	"Siegried's Death"	R. Wagner	
	finale and "Brunnhilde's Immolation" from Die Gotterdammerung	R. Wagner	Frau Lehmann

May 1890 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 20	"The Messiah"	G. F. Handel	Mrs Theodore J. Toedt, Miss Emily Winant, Mlle. Clementine de Vere, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. M. W. Whitney
May 21	Overture, recitative, and aria "Wo berg' ich mich?" from "Euryanthe"	C. M. Weber	Herr Emil Fischer
	Symphony in E flat, op 97 "Rhenish"	R. Schumann	
	"Stabat Mater" op 58	A. Dvorak	Mlle. Clementine de Vere, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Herr Emil Fischer
May 22	Fuge in A minor	J. S. Bach	
	Air "Rolling in foraming Billows from "The Creation"	F. J. Haydn	Mr. M. W. Whitney
	Aria "Dein bin ich" from "Il Re Pastore"	W. A. Mozart	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson
	Symphony No. 4 in B flat, op. 60	L. Beethoven	
	Air "O, 'tis a glorious Dight" from "Oberon"	C. M. Weber	Mr. Lloyd
	Overture, "Spring" op. 36	K. Goldmark	
	Serenade	V. Herbert	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson
	"Symphonic variations", op. 78	A. Dvorak	
	Air, "Lend me your Aid" from "La Reine de Saba"	C. Gounod	Mr. Lloyd
	"Rhapsodie Espana"	Chabrier	
May 22	"The Deluge"	C. Saint-Saens	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Overture, ballad, and "Spinning Chorus", duo "Like to a Vision" from "The Flying Dutchman"	R. Wagner	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. Theodore J. Twedt, Mr. M. W. Whitney: Mlle. de Vere and Miss Winant
	"Ride of the Valkyries" "Wotan's Farewell" "Magic Fire Scene" from "Die Walkure"	R. Wagner	Mr. Fischer
	"Siegfried's Death" from Die Götterdämmerung	R. Wagner	
	Vorspiel to "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	
May 23	"Passion Music" according to Saint Matthew	J. S. Bach	Mrs Theodore J. Toedt, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. M. W. Whitney, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Emil Fischer, Mr. Albert F. Maish, Mr. Max Bendix, violin, Mr. Arthur Mees, organ
May 24	Concert overture "Melusine" op. 23	F. Mendelssohn	
	Aria, "Schone Donna" from "Don Juan"	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Emil Fischer
	Symphony No. 9 in C major, D. 944 The Great	F. Schubert	
	"Mad Scene" from "Hamlet"	Ambroise Thomas	Mlle. Clementine de Vere
	"Septet" op. 20	L. Beethoven	
	Romanza "Evening Star" from "Tannhauser"	R. Wagner	Mr. Fischer
	"Hungarian Dances"	J. Brahms	
	Aria from "L'Etoile du Nord"	Meyerbeer	Mlle. Clementine de Vere
	"Polonaise" No. 2	F. Liszt	
May 24	Symphony No. 7 in A major op. 62	L. Beethoven	
	Aria, "Oh! Rachel" from "La Juive"	Halevy	Mr. Lloyd

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Requiem"	G. Verdi	Mlle. Clemenitne de Vere, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Emil Fischer
	"Hallelujah Chorus" from The Messiah	G. F. Handel	

May 1892 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 24	"St. Paul"	F. Mendelssohn	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Miss Ida M. Smith, Mr. Edward Lloyd Mr. William Ludwig
May 25	Scenes from "Alceste"	C. W. Gluck	Mme, Antonia Mielke Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson Miss Ida M. Smith, M. Andreas Dippel, Mr. Albert F. Maish, Mr. William Ludwig, Mr George E. Holmes
	Symphony No. 3 "Eroica" op. 55	L. Beethoven	
	"Cantata" op. 50	Becker	Mme. Antonia Lielke, Miss Ida M. Smith, Mr. Andreas Dippel, Mr. George E. Holmes
May 26	Symphony No. 3 in F op. 90	J. Brahms	
	Recitative and aria "Awake, Saturnia" from "Semele"	G. F. Handel	Miss Ida M Smith
	Aria, "Our Hearts in Childhood's Morn" from "Iphigenia in Tauris"	C. W. Gluck	Mr. Edward Lloyd
	Recitative and area "Non mi dir" from "Don Giovanni"	W. A. Mozart	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson
	Overture and scena "Ocean, thou mighty Monster" from "Oberon"	C. M. Weber	Mme. Antonia Mielke
	"Marche Funebre"	Chopin-Thomas	
	Aria "Gerechter Gott" from "Rienzi"	R. Wagner	Mme, Marie Ritter-Goetze
	Aria "Lend me your aid" from "Reine de Saba"	C. Gonoud	Mr. Edward Lloyd
	Aria "No Torments now" from "Le Cid"	J. Massenet	Mlle. Clementine de Vere
	Symphonic poem "Mazeppa"	F. Liszt	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 26	"Christmas Oratorio" parts I and II	J. S. Bach	Mme. Marie Ritter-Goetze, Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. George E. Holmes
	Symphony No. 1 in B flat, op. 38	R. Schumann	
	"Te Deum"	Bruckner	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Mme, Marie Ritter-Goweze, Mr. Edward Lloyd. Mr. George E. Holmes
May 27	"Euryanthe" Act I	C. M. Weber	Mlle. Clementine de Vere, Mme. Antonia Mielke, Mr. William Ludwig, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr, George E. Holmes, Mr. Andreas Dippel
	Vorspiel "Good Friday's Spell" and "Transformation Scene" from "Parsifal"	R. Wagner	Andreas Dippel and William Ludwig
	"Tannhauser" scenes from Act III	R. Wagner	Mr. Edward Lloyd and William Ludwig
	"Siegfried's Death" "Funeral March" Grunnhilde's final Scene" from "Die Gotterdammerung"	R. Wagner	Mr. Andreas Dippel and Mme. Antonia Mielke
May 28	Overture quartet "Mir ist so wunderbar"; recitative and aria :Abscheulicher"; introduction to Act II recitative and aria "Gott! welch' Dunkel!"; and overture "Leonora" No. 3 from "Fidelio"	L. Beethoven	Mlle. de Vere, Mme. Mielke, Mr. Dippel, Mr. Ludwig; Mme. Mielke; Andreas Dippel
	Aria from "Esclarmonde"	J. Massenet	
	Symphony No. 5 in E minor, op. 64	P. I. Tschaikowsky	
	"Im Treibhaus" and "Traume"	R. Wagner	
	Song "The two Grenadiers"	R. Schumann	Mr. Ludwig
	Rakoczy March	H. Berlioz	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 28	"Requiem Mass" op. 89	A. Dvorak	Mlle. Clementine de Vere, Mme. Marie Ritter-Goetze, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. George E. Holmes
	Symphony No. 8 in F op. 93	L. Beethoven	
	Quintet and chorus "Awake" from "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	Mlle. Clementine de Vere, Mme. Marie Ritter-Goetze, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Andreas Dippel, Mr. George E. Holmes

May 1894 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 22	"Elijah"	F. Mendelssohn	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story, Mrs. Carl Alves, Miss Ida M. Smith, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. Watkin Mills
May 23	Overture, "Sappho"	K. Goldmark	
	Aria "Ah! si la liberte" from "Armide"	C. W. Gluck	Mrs Emma Eames-Story
	Symphony No. 2 in D minor, op. 70	A. Dvorak	
	"Hora Novissima" op. 30	H. W. Parker	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story, Mrs. Carl Alves, Mr. W. H. Rieger, Mr. Watkin Mills
May 24	Overture "Fingal's Cave"	F. Mendelssohn	
	Recitative "E Susanna" and aria "Dove Sono" from "Nozze di Figaro"	W. A. Mozart	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story
	Symphony No. 4 in E minor op. 89	J. Brahms	
	Songs "Prince Madoc's Farewell" Villiers Stanford and "All through the Night"	Somervell	Mr. Plunket Greene
	Kaiser March	R. Wagner	
May 24	Suite No. 2 in B minor	J. S. Bach	
	Recitative and aria "Waft her, Angels" from "Jephthah"	G. F. Handel	Mr. Ben Davies
	"One Hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm" "By the Waters of Babylon" op. 14	Goetz	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story, Mr. Watkin Mills
	Symphony No. 9 op. 125	L. Beethoven	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story, Mrs. Carl Alves, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. Watkin Mills
May 25	Overture "Romeo and Juliet"	P. I. Tschaikowsky	
	"Song of Destiny" op. 54	J. Brahms	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Symphony in B minor "Unfinished"	F. Schubert	
	Recitative and aria "Non mi dir" from "Don Giovanni"	W. A. Mozart	Miss Antoinette Trebelli
	"Moses" op. 112	A. Rubenstein	Miss Antoinette Trebelli, Mrs. Carl Alves, Mr. Ben Davis, Mr. Watkin Mills, Mr. Plunket Greene
May 26	Overture, aria "Through the Forests" from "Der Freischutz"	C. M. Weber	Mr. Ben Davies
	Symphony No. 4 in B flat op. 60	L. Beethoven	
	Three Irish Melodies "The Lament for Owen Roe O'Neil" Sweet Isle" "The March of the Maguire"	arr. Villiers Stanford	Mr. Plunket Greene
	"Carnival Overture" op. 92	A. Dvorak	
	Polonaise "Je suis Titania" from "Mignon"	Ambroise Thomas	Miss Antoinette Trebelli
	"Hungarian Dances"	J. Brahms	
	"Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt"	F. Schubert	Plunket Greene
	"Winter nacht"	Hollander	Plunket Greene
	"Ein Ton"	Cornelius	Plunket Greene
	"Das Maidlein"	old German Minnelied	Plunket Greene
	Symphonic poem "Les Preludes"	F. Liszt	
May 26	"Requiem Mass" op. 5	H. Berlioz	
	Overture, "Tannhauser's Pilgrimage" (orch), "Elizabeth's Prayer", "Song to the Evening Star" from "Tannhauser"	R. Wagner	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story; Mr. Plunket Greene

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Vorspiel "Hans Sachs's Monologue" "Prize Song" quintete, chorus "Awake" from "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	Mrs. Emma Eames-Story, Miss Ida M. Smith, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. N. H. Rieger, Mr. Plunket Greene

May 1896 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 19	Overture "Magic Flute"	W. A. Mozart	
	Judas Maccabaeus	G. F. Handel	Lillian Nordica, Marie Brema, Ben Davies, Watkin Mills
	Symphony No. 7 in A major	L. Beethoven	
	Aria "Ah! perfido"	L. Beethoven	Lillian Nordica
	Vorspiel to "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	
May 20	Oratorio "Francis"	Tinel	Medora Henson, Ben Davies, George J. Hamlin, Ffrangcon Davies, Plunket Greene, Watkin Mills
May 21	Variations "Chorale St. Antoine"	J. Brahms	
	Songs "Am Meer" and "Der Doppelganger"	F. Schubert	Plunket Greene
	Symphony "Pathetique"	P. I. Tschaikowsky	
	Introduction and finale to "Tristan and Isolde"	R. Wagner	Lillian Nordica
	"Scherzo" op. 45	K. Goldmark	
	Songs "My Love's an Arbutus" "O, ye Dead" and By the Waters of Bablylon"		Plunket Greene
	"Polonaise" in A flat	F. Chopin (Thomas, instrumentation)	
	Aria from "Queen of Sheba"	C. Gonoud	Lillian Nordica
	"Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks"	R. Strauss	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 21	"Samson and Delilah"	Saint-Saens	Marie Brema, Ben Davies, Ffrangcon Davies, Watkin Mills, Plunket Greene, Charles H. Robinson, Charles L. Garner, Albert F. Maish
May 22	Overture "Leonora" No. 3	L. Beethoven	
	Aria "Abscheulicher" from "Fidelio"	L. Beethoven	Frau Lohse-Klafsky
	Symphony No. 1 in B flat, op. 38	R. Schumann	
	"Bacchanale" and "Prayer" from "Tannhauser"	R. Wagner	Frau Lohse-Klafsky
	Cantata "The Swan and the Skylark"	A. Goring Thomas	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Mrs. Marie Brema, Ben Davies, Ffrangcon Davies, Watkin Mills
May 23	Overture "Le Carnaval Romain"	H. Berlioz	
	Romance from "Damnation of Faust"	H. Berlioz	Marie Brema
	Symphony "From the New World"	A. Dvorak	
	Romance "There's a Bower of Roses" from "The Veiled Prophet"	Villiers Stanford	Marie Brema
	Overture and aria "Ocean thou Mighty Monster" from "Oberon"	C. M. Weber	Frau Lohse-Klafsky
	Character picture "Gretchen" and "Mephisto Waltz"	F. Liszt	
	Aria "Dich theure Halle" from "Tannhauser"	Wagner	Frau Lohse-Klafsky
	Overture "1812"	P. I. Tschaikowsky	
May 23	Selections from "Die Walkure"	R. Wagner	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Siegfried's Death" and finale to "Die Gotterdammerung"	R. Wagner	Lillian Nordica
	Symphony No. 9 op. 125	L. Beethoven	Lillian Nordica, Marie Brema, Ben Davies, Watkin Mills

May 1898 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 24	"Damnation of Faust"	H. Berlioz	Miss. Macintyre, Ben Davies, David Bispham, Joseph Baernstein
May 25	Symphony in G minor K. 550	W. A. Mozart	
	Aria "Waft her, Angels" from "Jephthah"	G. F. Handel	Mr. Ben Davies
	Overture "Coriolanus" op. 62	L. Beethoven	
	"The Three Gipsies"	F. Liszt	Mrs. Josephine S. Jacoby
	Tone poem "Thus spake Zarathustra"	R. Strauss	
	"Werbelieder" from "Die Meistersinger"	R. Wagner	Mr. Ben Davies
	Symphonic poem "Les Eolides"	C. Franck	
	Aria "Der Hirt auf dem Felsen"	F. Schubert	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson
	"Invitation to the Dance"	C. M. Weber	
May 25	Chorale and chorus from "The Reformation Cantata"	J. S. Bach	
	Aria "Wie nahte mir der Schlummer" from "Der Freischutz"	C. M. Weber	
	Symphony No. 2 in D major op. 73	J. Brahms	
	Overture "Nature" op. 91	A. Dvorak	
	"Prayer" from "Tannhauser"	R. Wagner	Miss Macintyre
	Scenes from "Olaf Trygvasson"	E. Grieg	Miss Gertrude May Stein, Mrs Corinne Moore-Lawson, Joseph S. Baernstein
May 26	Symphony No. 5 in C minor op. 67	L. Beethoven	
	Missa Solennis in D major, op. 123	L. Beethoven	Miss Macintyre, Mrs. Josephine S. Jacoby, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. David Bispham
May 27	Symphony No. 4 in D minor op. 120	R. Schumann	

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Paradise and the Peri" op. 50	R. Schumann	Mrs. Corinne Moore-Lawson, Miss La Nora Caldwell, Miss Helen Wright, Miss Gertrude May Stein, Mrs. Josephine S. Jacoby, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. George Hamlin, Mr. David Bispham, Mr. Joseph S. Baernstein
May 28	Overture "Academic Festival"	J. Brahms	
	Aria "An jenem Tag" from "Hans Heiling"	Marschner	Mr. David Bispham
	Symphonic suite "Scheherazade" op. 35	N. Rimsky-Korsakov	
	Aria "Where art thou, father dear?" from "Spectre's Bride"	A. Dvorak	Miss Macintyre
	Overture to a comedy "Prodana nevesta"	B. Smetana	
	Aria from "Les Troyens"	H. Berlioz	Miss Gertrude May Stein
	Romanza from "La Gioconda"	Ponchielli	Mr. George Hamlin
	Symphonic poem "Le Rouet d'Omphale"	C. Saint-Saens	
	Aria "L'Altra Notte" from "Mefistofele"	Boito	Miss Macintyre
	"Festival March and National Hymn"	Kaun	
May 28	Overture, aria, "The Term's expired" "Spinning Chorus" and ballad, duo, "Like to a vision" from "The Flying Dutchman"	R. Wagner	Miss Macintyre, Miss Gertrude May Stein, Mr. David Bispham
	Vorspiel, "Good Friday's Spell" "Funeral Procession" finale, "Glorification" from "Parsifal"	R. Wagner	Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. David Bispham, Mr. Joseph Baernstein

May 1902 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 14	Toccatina in F for organ	J. S. Bach	J. Fred Wolle
	"The Beatitudes"	C. Franck	Mrs. Marie Zimmerman, Miss Clara Turpen, Mme. Gertrude May Stein, Mr. Ellison Van Hoose, Mr. Andrew Black, Mr. Gwilym Miles, Mr. Ben Davies
May 15	Suite No. 3 in D major	J. S. Bach	
	Scenes from "Orpheus"	C. W. Gluck	Mme, Gertrude May Stein
	Aria, "Il mio tesoro" from "Don Giovanni"	W. A. Mozart	Mr. Ben Davies
	Symphony No. 3 "Eroica" op. 55	L. Beethoven	
	"Ride of the Valkyries" "Wotan's Farewell" "Magic Fire Scene" from "Die Walkure"	R. Wagner	Mr. Andrew Black
May 16	Prelude and fugue in B minor for organ	J. S. Bach	Mr. William Middleschulte
	Mass in B minor	J. S. Bach	Mrs. Marie Zimmerman, Mme. Gertrude May Stein, Mr. Ben Davies, and Mr. Andrew Black
May 17	"Serenade" No. 1 in D major op. 11	J. Brahms	
	Aria "Sorge infausta" from "Orlando"	G. F. Handel	Mr. Andrew Black
	"The Pipes of Pan"	E. Elgar	Mr. Andrew Black
	Concert overture "Cockaigne"	E. Elgar	
	Suite a fairy tale "Pohadka" op. 16	Joseph Suk	
	Aria "Il est deux" from "Herodiade"	Massenet	Mrs. Mary Zimmerman
	"Love Scene" from "Feuersnot"	R. Strauss	
	"The Forging of the Sword" from "Siegfried"	R. Wagner	Mr. Ellison Van Hoose

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	"Siegfried's Death" and finale to "Die Götterdämmerung"	R. Wagner	
May 17	"Requiem Mass" op. 5	H. Berlioz	Mr. Ben Davies
	Tone poem "Don Juan"	R. Strauss	
	Selections from "Die Meistersinger", Act III	R. Wagner	Mrs. Marie Zimmerman, Mme. Gertrude May Stein, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. Ellison Van Hoose, Mr. Andrew Black

May 1904 Festival

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
May 11	Suite No. 2 in B minor	J. S. Bach	
	Mass in B minor	J. S. Bach	Miss Agnes Nicholls, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Mr. William Green, Mr. Watkin Mills, Mr. William Middelschulte, organist
May 12	Symphony in E flat K.543	W. A. Mozart	
	Aria, "Nie wird mich Hymen" from "Titus"	W. A. Mozart	Mme. Schumann-Heink, clarinet obligato, Mr. Schreurs
	Entr'acte, B minor "Rosamunde"	F. Schubert	
	Scena "Ocean, thou mighty Monster"	C. M. Weber	Miss Annie Nicholls
	Variations op. 36, March "Pomp and Circumstance" op. 39	E. Elgar	
	Symphony No. 8 in F major op. 93	L. Beethoven	
	"The Three Gipsies"	F. Liszt	Mme. Schumann-Heink, violin obligato, Mr. Kramer
	"Bacchanale" from "Tannhauser" and prelude and "Isolde's Love Death" from "Tristan and Isolde"	R. Wagner	Miss Agnes Nicholls
May 13	Incidental music and funeral march "Grania and Diarmid" op. 42	E. Elgar	Miss Muriel Foster, Mr. William Green, Mr. Watkin Mills
	Tone poem "Death and Transfiguration" op. 24	R. Strauss	
	Scena and aria "Abscheulicher" from "Fidelio"	L. Beethoven	Miss Agnes Nicholls
	Hymn, op. 26	H. Berlioz	
May 14	Overture, aria "Divinites du Styx" from "Alceste"	C. W. Gluck	Mme. Schumann-Heink

Date	Work	Composer	Soloists
	Symphony No. 9 in D minor "Unfinished"	A. Bruckner	
	"Rhapsody" op. 53	J. Brahms	Mme. Schumann-Heink
	"Sea Pictures" op. 37, "In Haven" "Where Corals lie" "The Swimmer"	E. Elgar	Miss Muriel Foster
	Rondo "Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks"	R. Strauss	
	"Hymnus" op. 33	R. Strauss	Miss Muriel Foster
	Overture "1812"	P. I. Tchaikowsky	
May 14	"Missa Solennis" in D major op. 123	L. Beethoven	Miss Agnes Micholls, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Mr. William Green, Mr. Watkin Mills, violin, Mr. Leopold Kramer
	Symphony No. 9 in D minor, op. 125	L. Beethoven	Miss Agnes Nichols, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Mr. William Green, Mr. Watkin Mills

Appendix II

Board of Director members by year ²³⁹

1873

President	George Ward Nichols
Vice President	Carl A. G. Adae
Treasurer	John Shillito
Secretary	B. Sorer Jr.
Other Members	John Church Jr.* D. B. Pierson George W. Jones ??

*Business of publishing sheet music and music books

1876

President	George Ward Nichols
Vice President	Carl A. G. Adae
Treasurer	John Shillito
Secretary	Julius Dexter
Other Members	John Church Jr. Kenner Garrard M. F. Force

1877

President	George Ward Nichols
Vice President	Carl A. G. Adae Resigns May 78
Treasurer	John Shillito
Secretary	M. W. W. Taylar
Other Members	John Church Jr. Resigns June 78 Kenner Garrard Resigns June 15, 78 M. F. Force Resigns June 10, 78

²³⁹ This information has been compiled from board correspondence and letterhead, all of which can be found at the Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Mss. 566 and Mss. 529.

Feb. 1880

President	George Ward Nichols Resigns March 10, 80
Vice President	Edmund H. Pendleton Esq.
Treasurer	John Shillito
Secretary	Charles P. Taft
Other Members	Peter Rudolph Neff Resigns March 10, 80 Jacob Burnet Jr. Resigns March 10, 80 Lawrence Maxwell Carl A. G. Adae H. W. Brown

1880

President	Edmund H. Pendleton Esq.
Vice President	A. H. Hinkle
Treasurer	Charles P. Taft
Secretary	Carl A. G. Adae
Other Members	Robert Mitchell W. N. Hobart Lawrence Maxwell John E. Hatch H. W. Brown

1882

President	Edmund H. Pendleton Esq.
Vice President	H. Wilson Brown
Treasurer	Charles P. Taft
Secretary	W. N. Hobart
Other Members	John Church Jr. Edward Rawson Lawrence Maxwell Carl A. G. Adae Arthur Mess

1884

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	H. Wilson Brown
Treasurer	Albert G. Clark
Secretary	M. W. W. Taylor
Other Members	John Church Jr. Edward Rawson Lawrence Maxwell M. E. Ingalls Edward Goepper

Dec. 1885

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	Henry G. Reolker
Secretary	Lucien Wulsin
Other Members	A. Howard Hinkle Stewart Shillito Harley T. Procter Edwin Stevens Edward Goepper

May 1885

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	R. B. Bowler
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	A. Howard Hinkle Stewart Shillito Harley T. Procter Edwin Stevens Edward Goepper

1889-90

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	R. B. Bowler
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	John Church Jr. Edward Rawson Julius Dexter A. H. Chatfield H. P. Lloyd Alex McDonald

May 1892

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	R. B. Bowler
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	Edward Rawson Julius Dexter A. H. Chatfield H. P. Lloyd Alex McDonald

Oct. 1892

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	R. B. Bowler
Secretary	H. T. Loomis

Other Members	J. D. Brannan Edward Rawson Charles L. Harrison Robert L. Resor CL.B. Wright Alex McDonald
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1894

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Edward Rawson
Treasurer	Clifford B. Wright
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	J. D. Brannan J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Robert L. Resor Alex McDonald

1896

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Edward Rawson
Treasurer	Clifford B. Wright
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	J. D. Brannan J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Robert L. Resor Alex McDonald

1898

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	Clifford B. Wright
Secretary	H. T. Loomis

Other Members	J. D. Brannan J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Alex McDonald
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1900

President	W. M. N. Hobart
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	Clifford B. Wright
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	Edward Rawson J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Robert L. Resor Julius Fleischmann Alex McDonald

1902

President	R. B. Bowler
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	Clifford B. Wright
Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	Edward Rawson J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Robert L. Resor Frank B. Wiborg Alex McDonald

1904

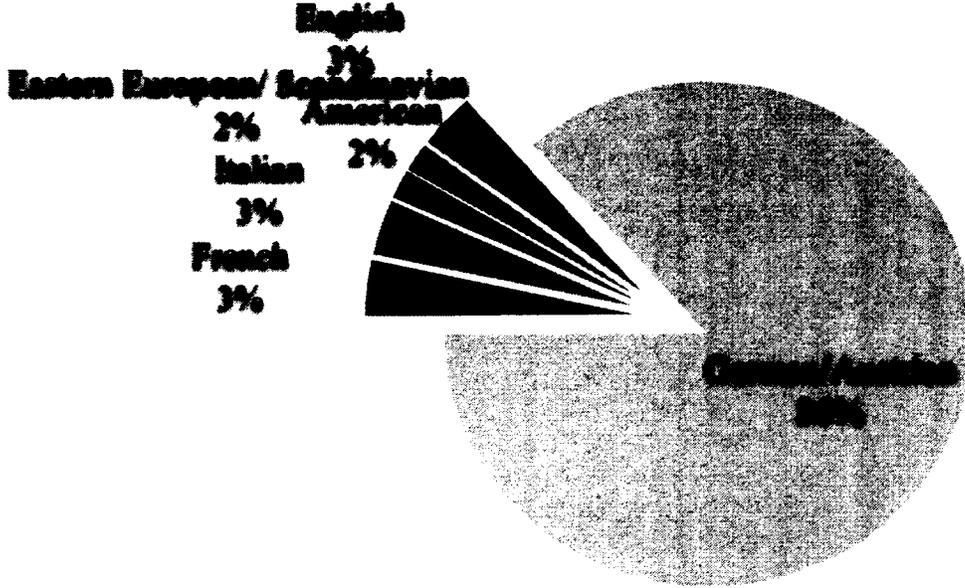
President	A. Howard Hinkle
Vice President	Lawrence Maxwell Jr.
Treasurer	H. T. Looms

Secretary	H. T. Loomis
Other Members	Edward Rawson J. G. Schmidlapp Charles L. Harrison Wm. Cooper Proctor Frank B. Wiborg Alex McDonald Frank R. Ellis

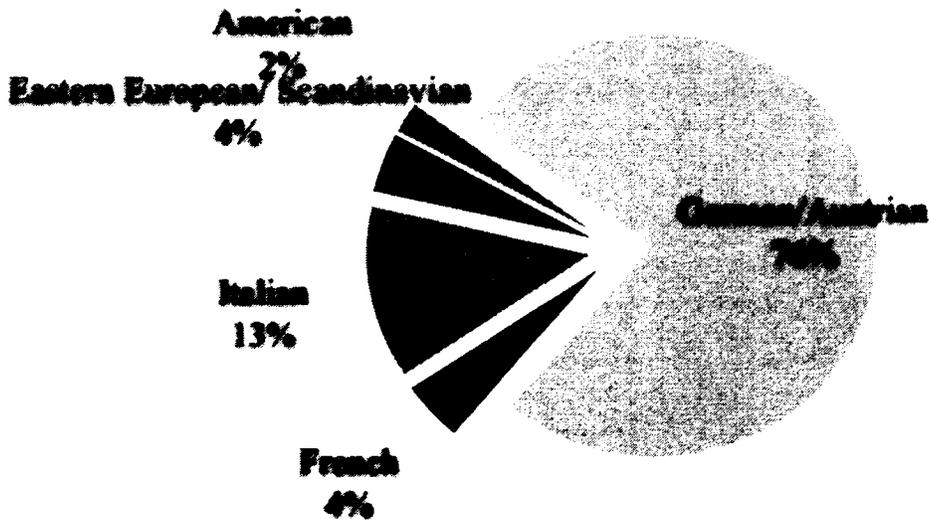
Appendix III

Programs organized by percentage of works composed by composers of each nationality (birthplace), followed by the data used.

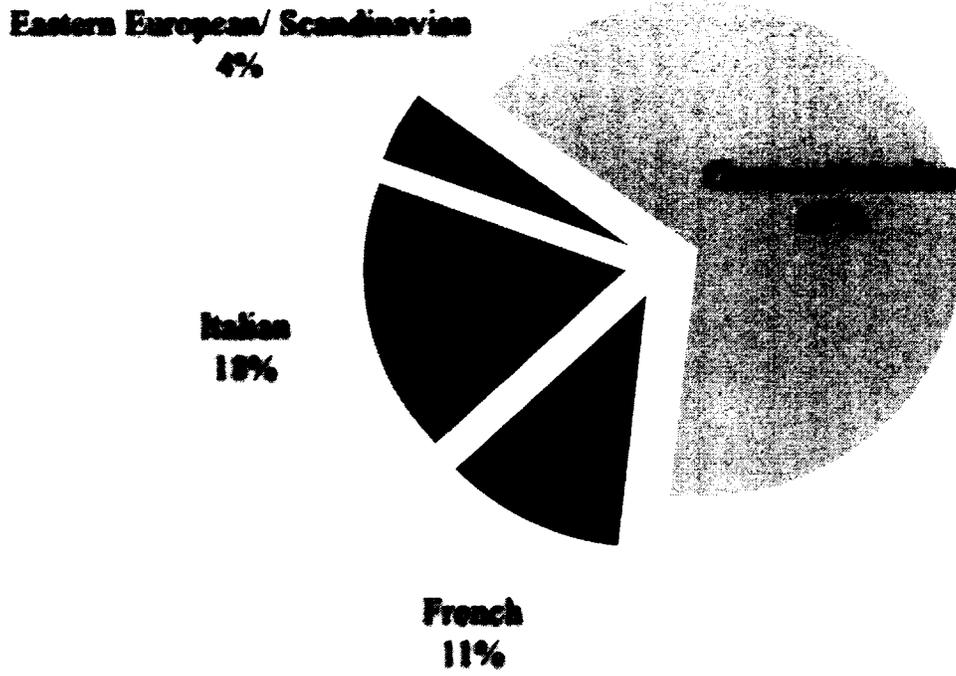
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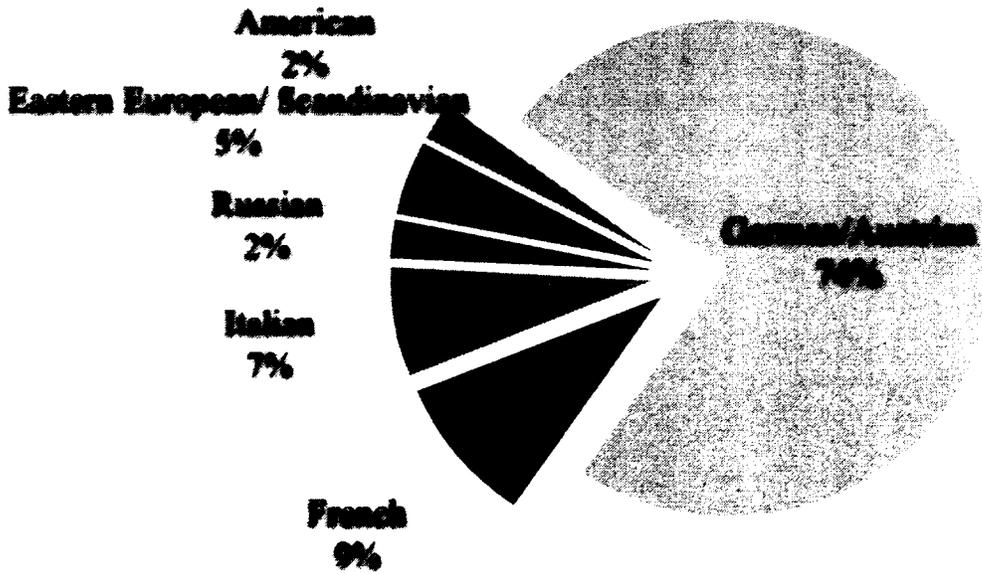
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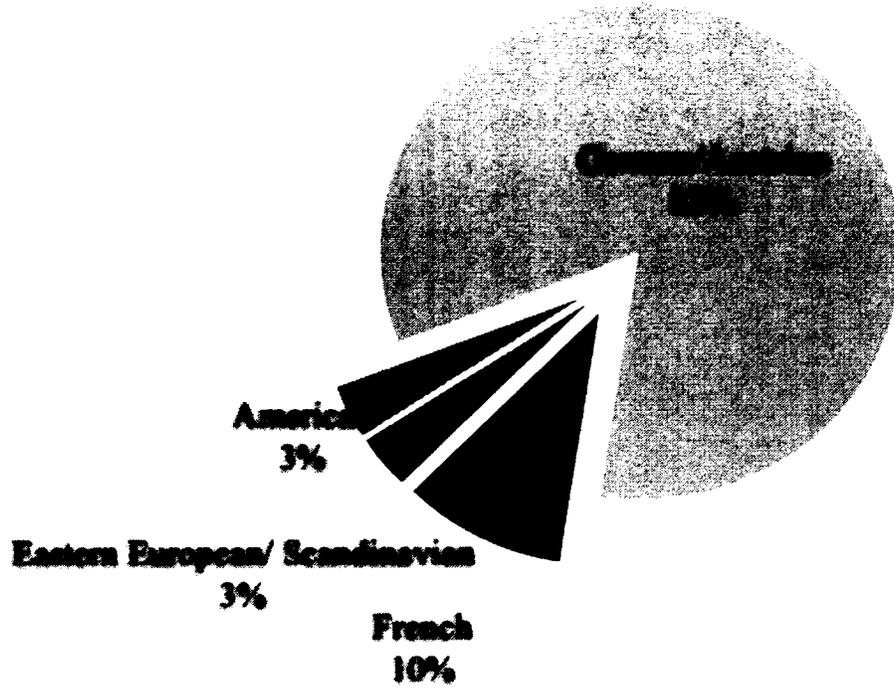
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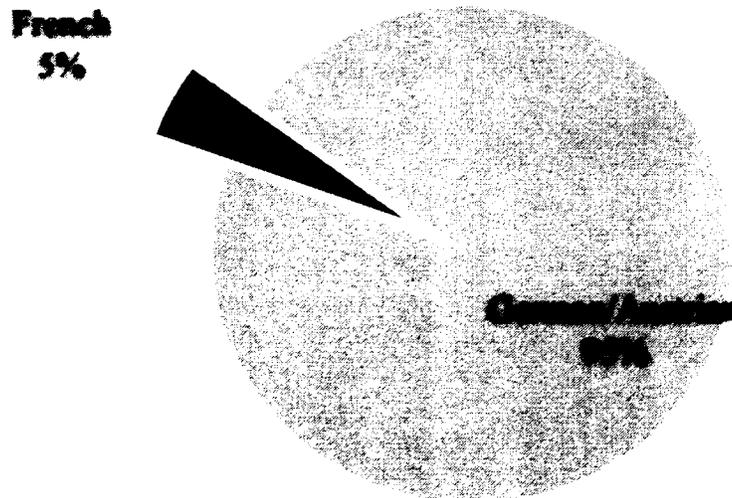
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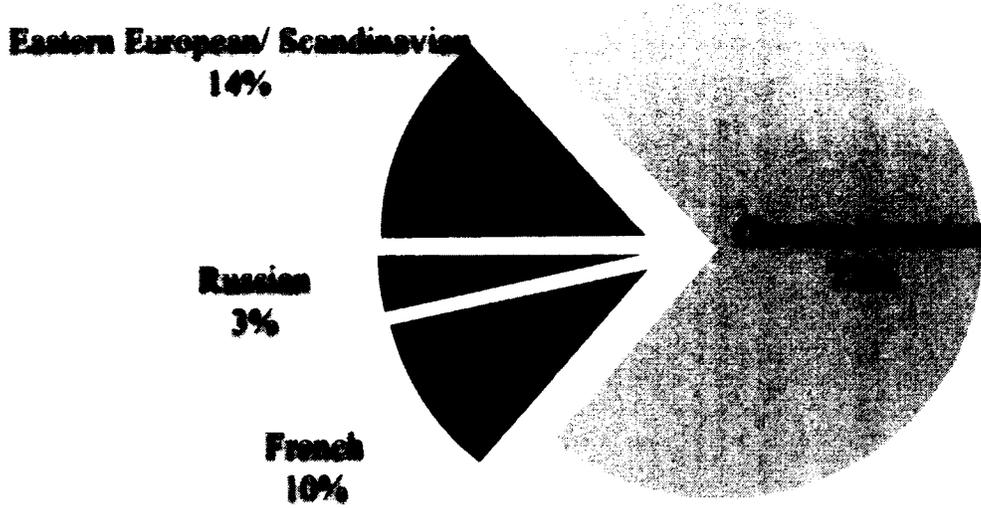
Nationalities- 1882



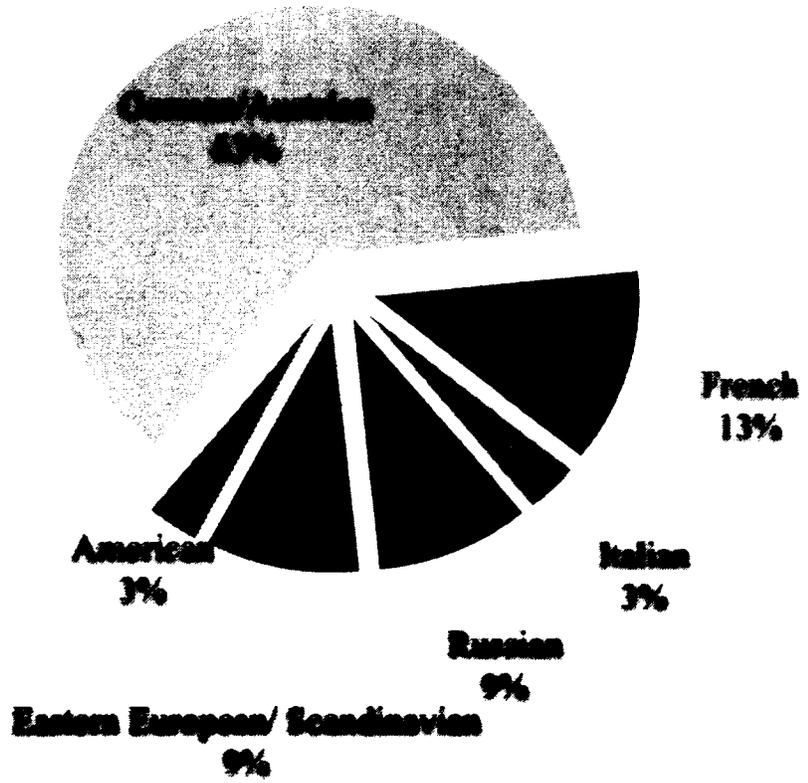
Nationalities- 1884



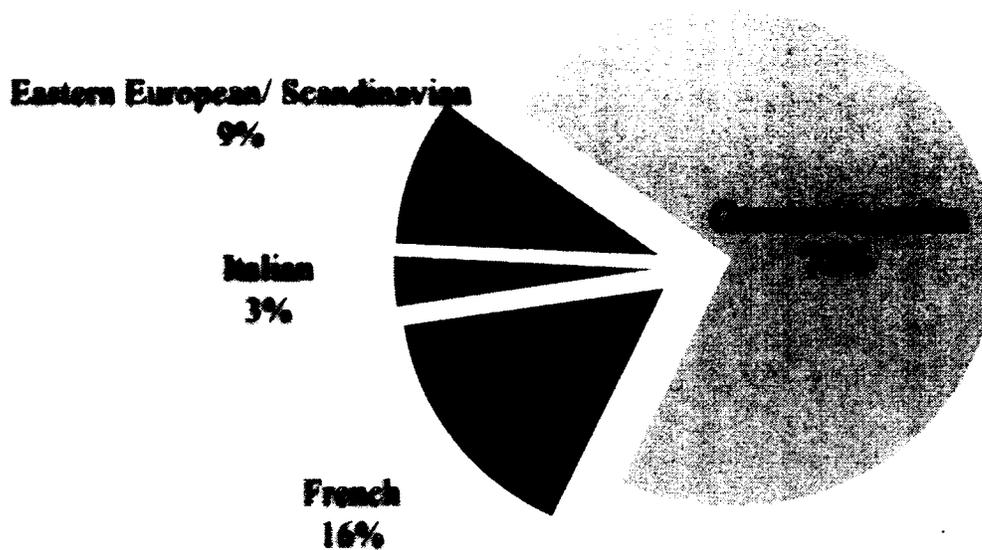
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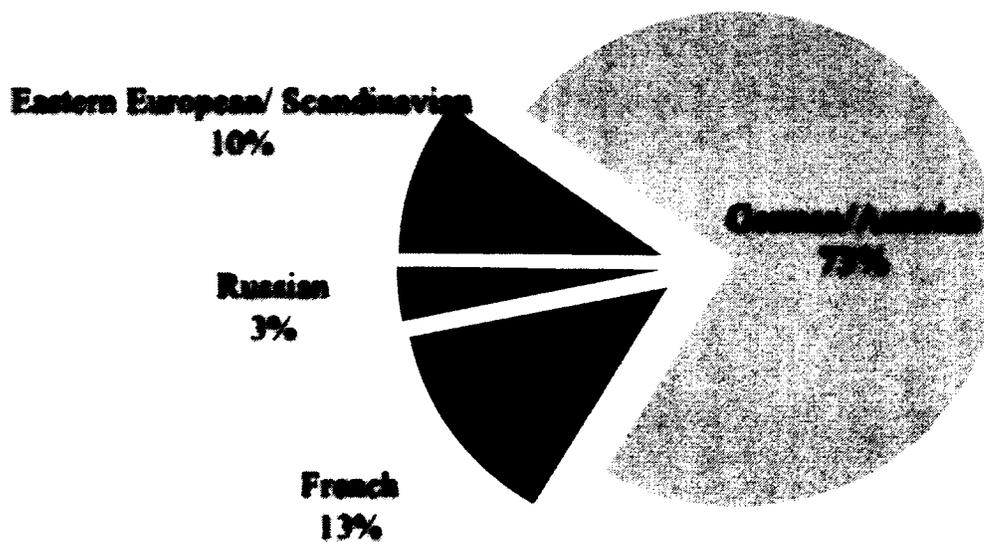
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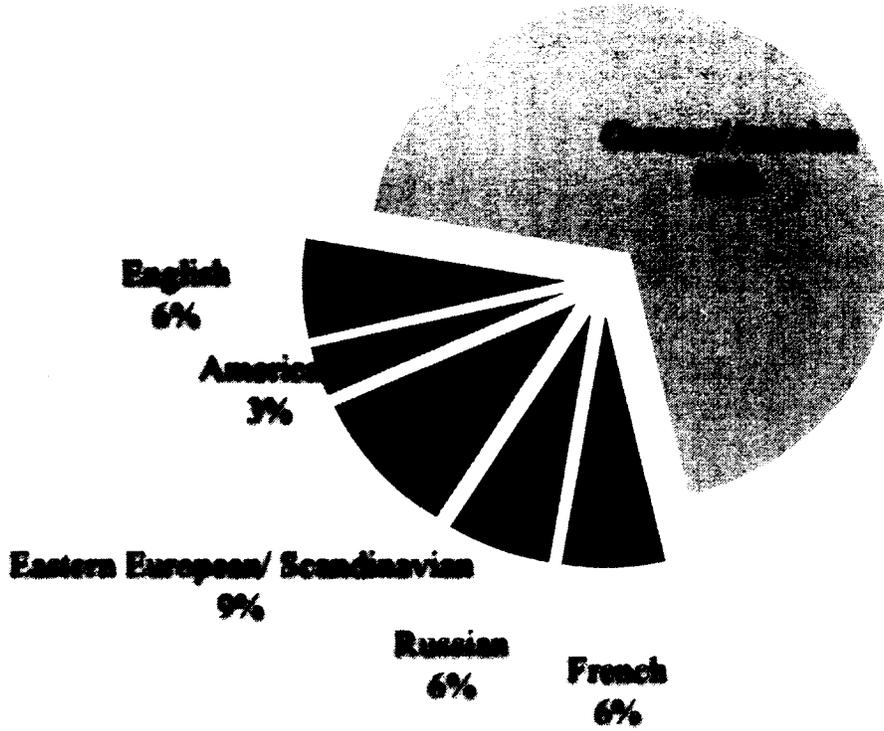
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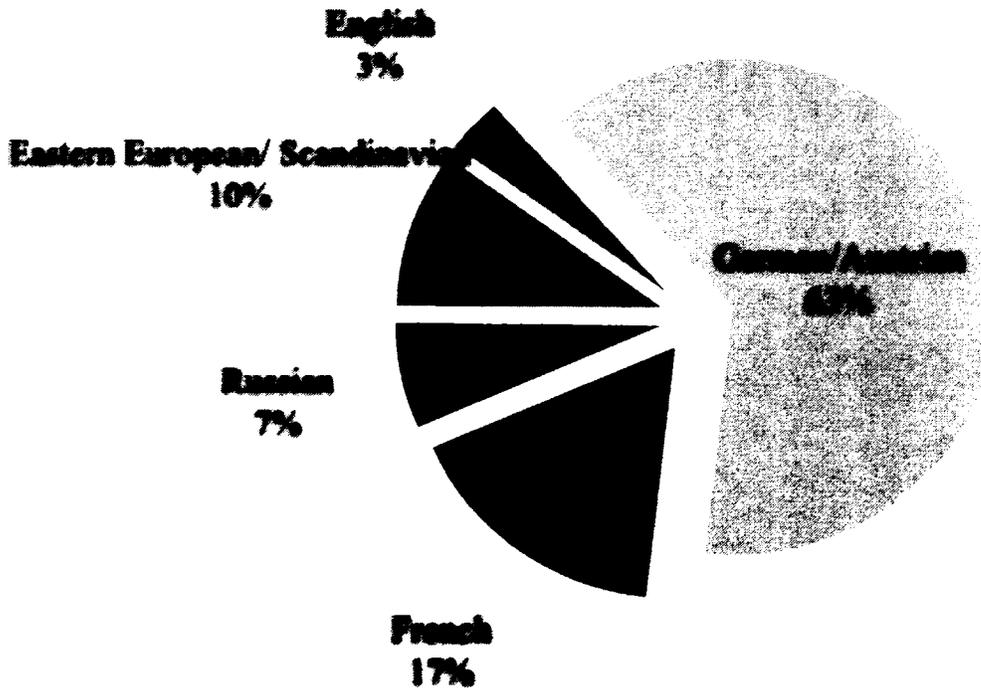
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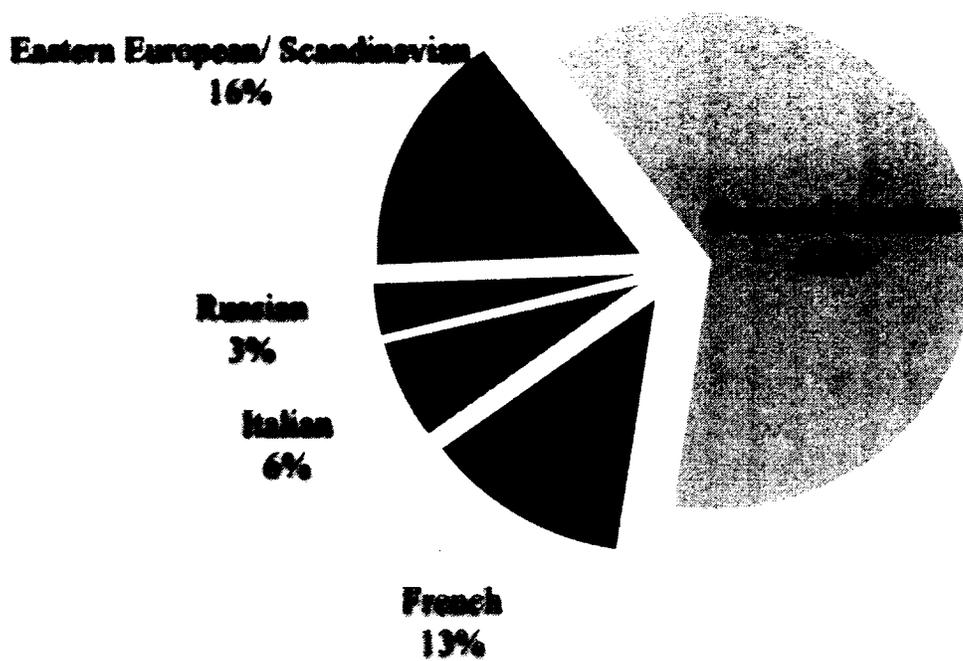
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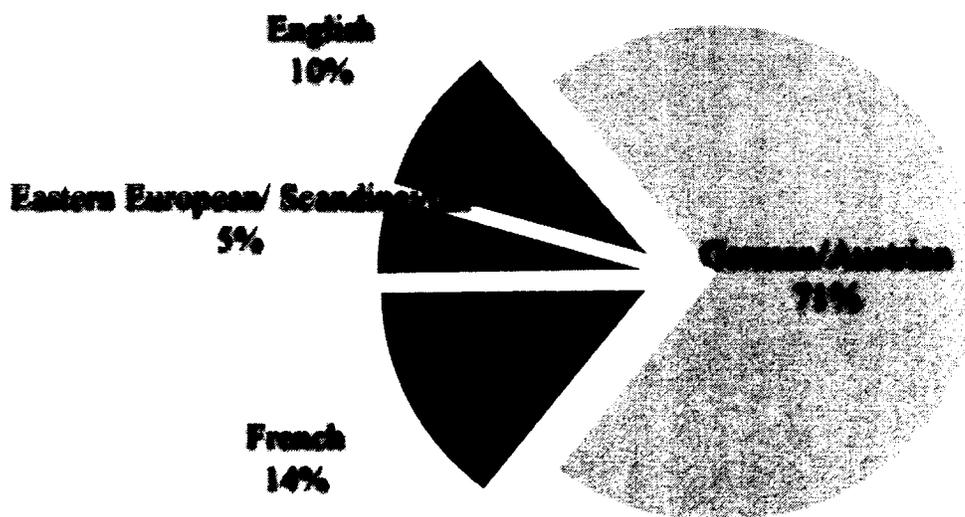
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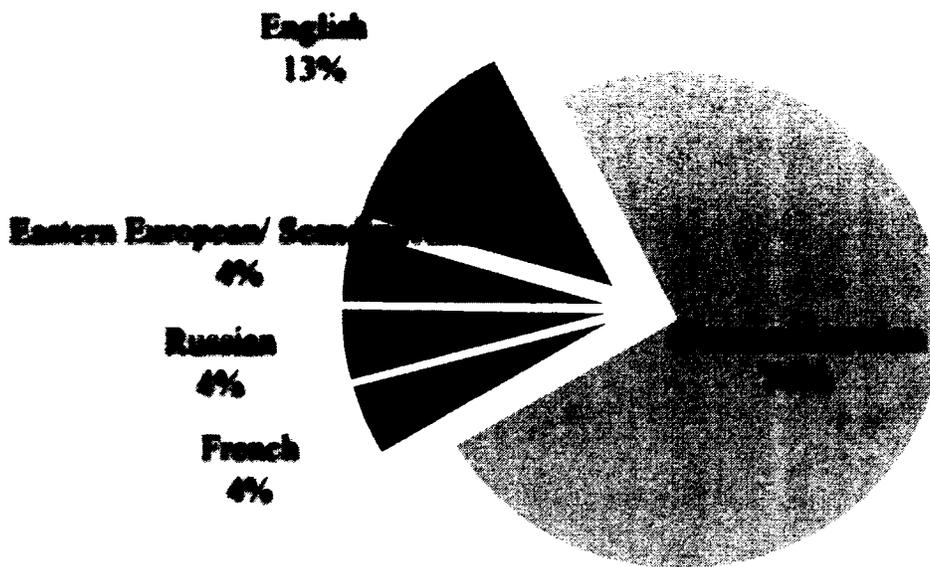
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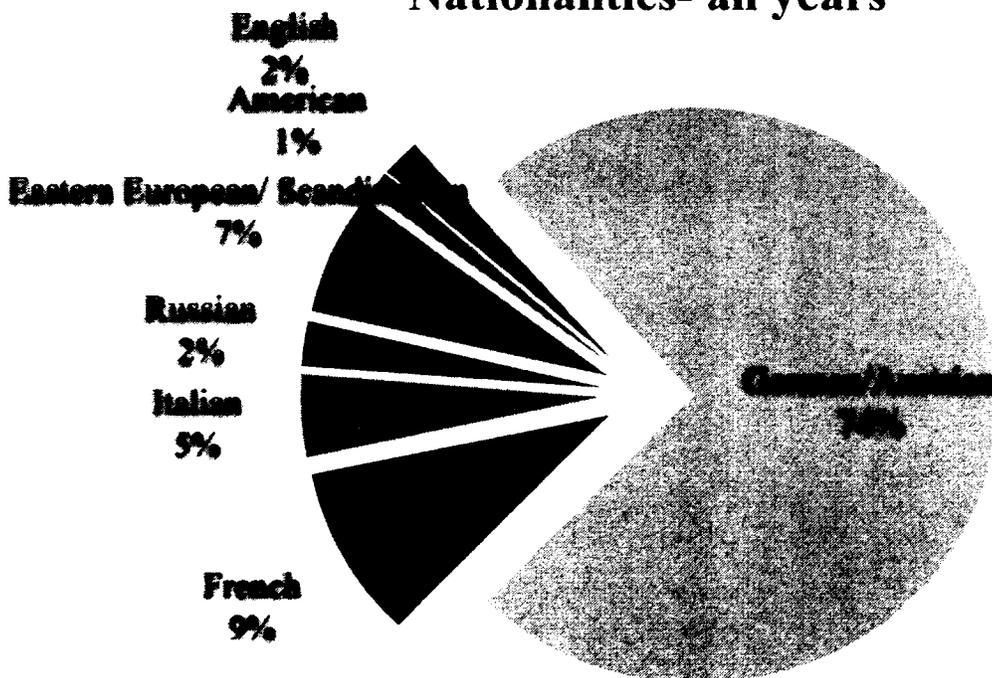
Nationalities-1902



Nationalities-1904



Nationalities- all years



1871	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	2
German/Austrian	51
French	2
Italian	2
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	1
American	1

1872	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	35
French	2
Italian	6
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	2
American	1

1873	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	30
French	5
Italian	8
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	2
American	0

1880	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	32
French	4
Italian	3
Russian	1
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	2
American	1

1881	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	25
French	3
Italian	0
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	1
American	1

1884	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	21
French	1
Italian	0
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	0
American	0

1880	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	21
French	3
Italian	0
Russian	1
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	4
American	0

1885	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	20
French	4
Italian	1
Russian	3
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	3
American	1

1890	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	23
French	5
Italian	1
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	3
American	0

1897	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	22
French	4
Italian	0
Russian	1
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	3
American	0

1898	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	2
German/Austrian	22
French	2
Italian	0
Russian	2
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	3
American	1

1896	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	1
German/Austrian	19
French	5
Italian	0
Russian	2
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	3
American	0

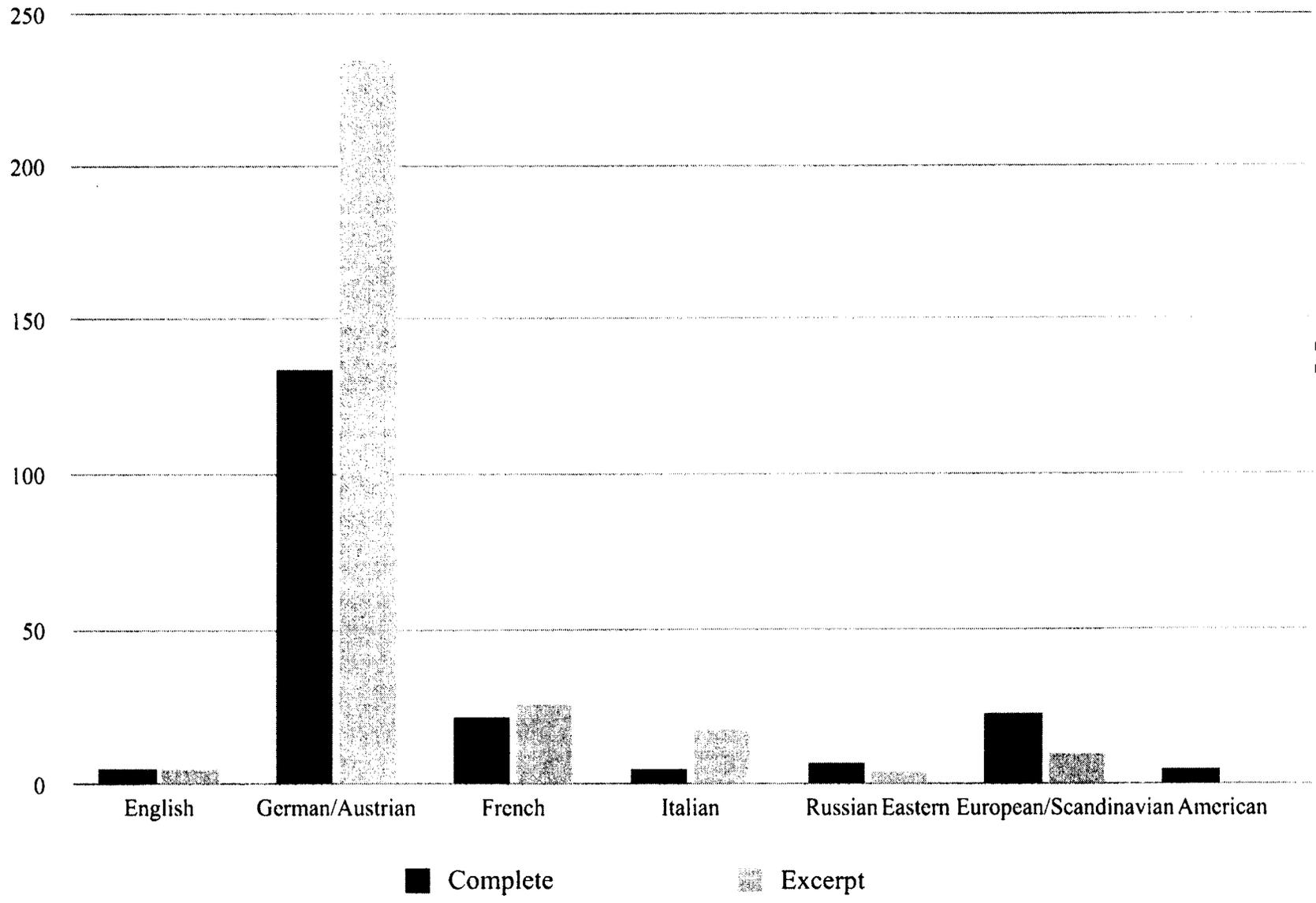
1898	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	0
German/Austrian	20
French	4
Italian	2
Russian	1
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	5
American	0

1907	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	2
German/Austrian	15
French	3
Italian	0
Russian	0
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	1
American	0

1954	
Nationality	Number of Works Performed
English	3
German/Austrian	17
French	1
Italian	0
Russian	1
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	1
American	0

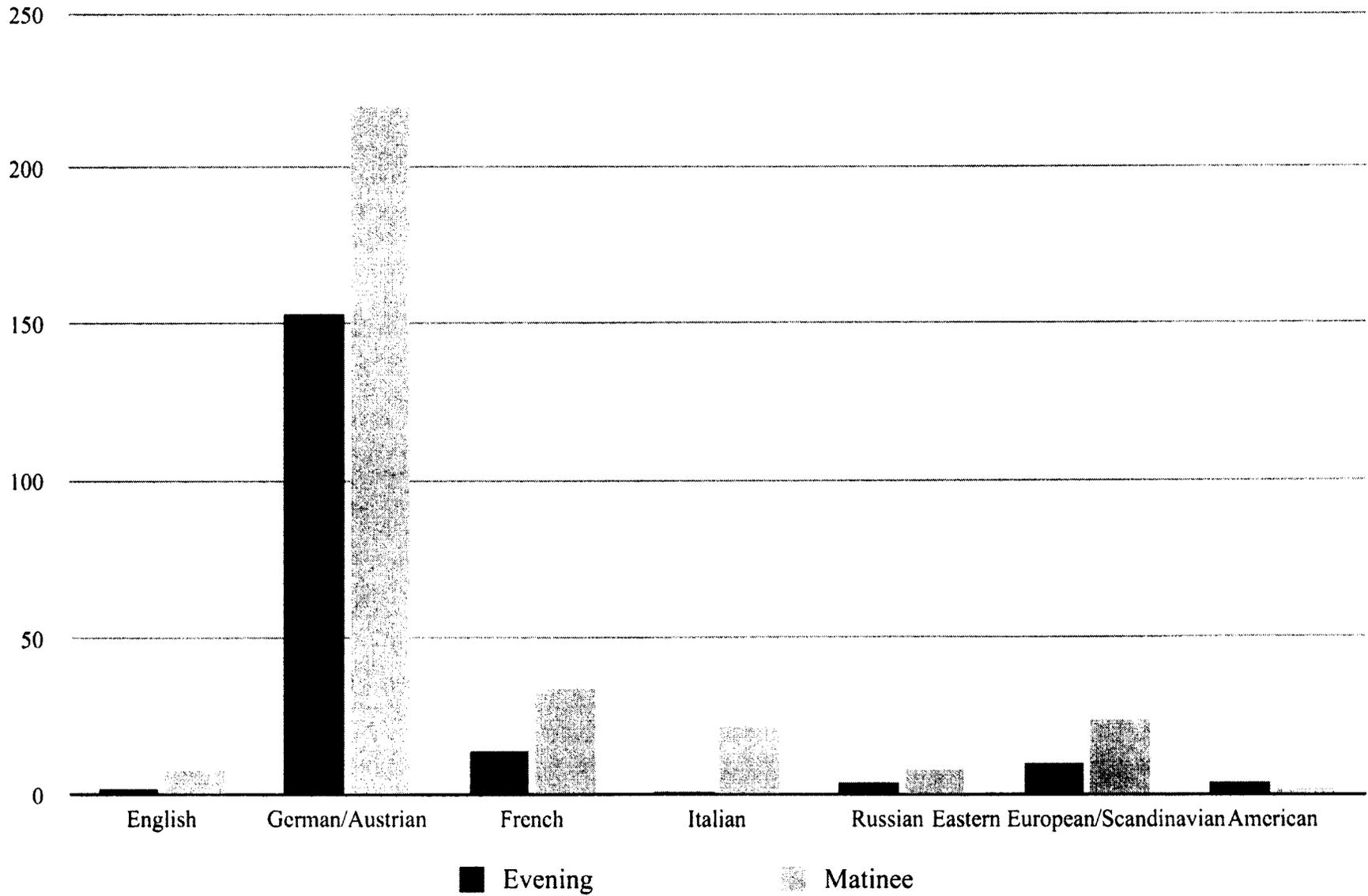
All Years	
Nationality	Number of Works Published
English	10
German/Austrian	373
French	48
Italian	23
Russian	12
Eastern European/ Scandinavian	34
American	6

Complete/Excerpt by Nationality



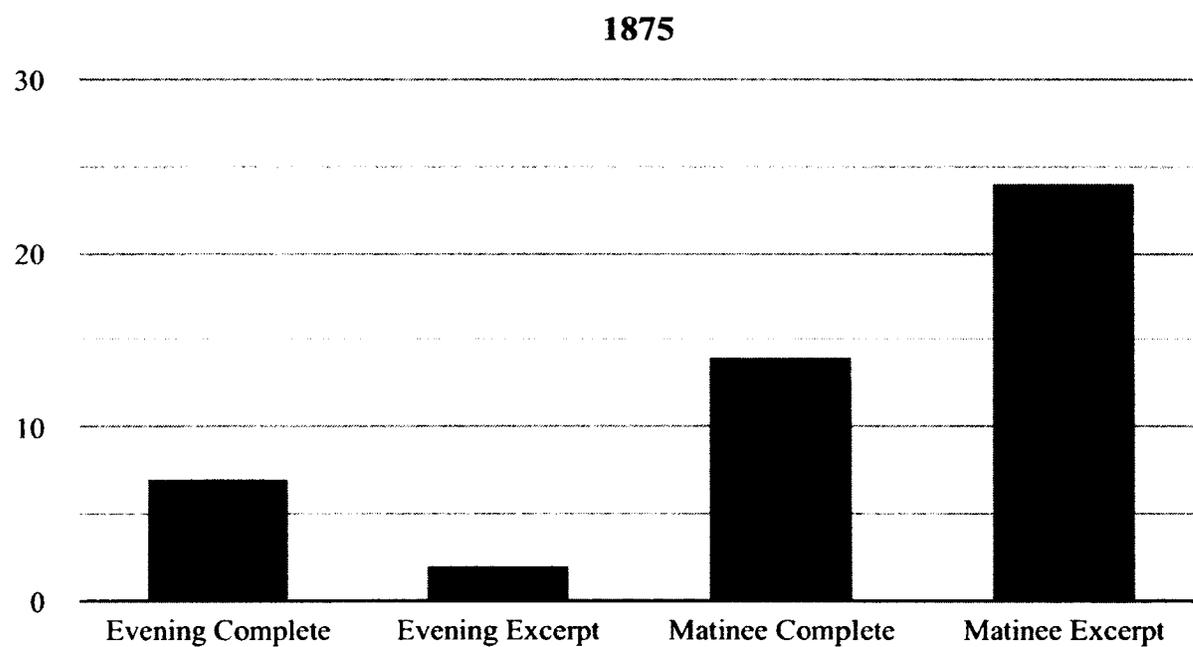
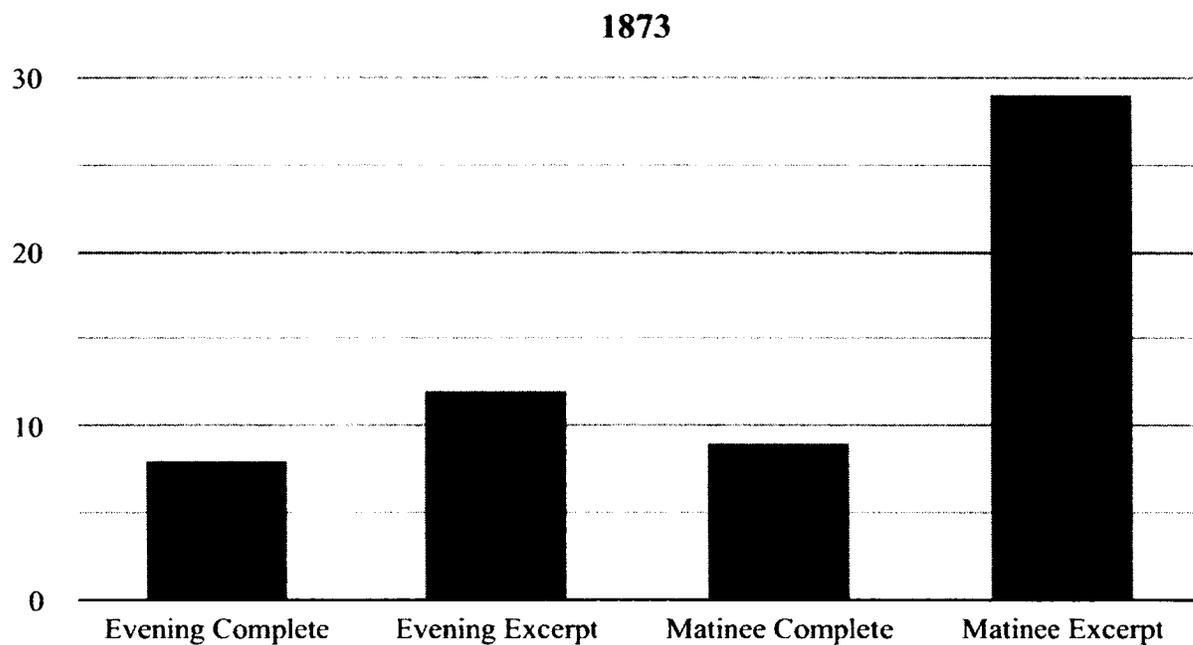
Appendix IV

Evening/Matinee by Nationality

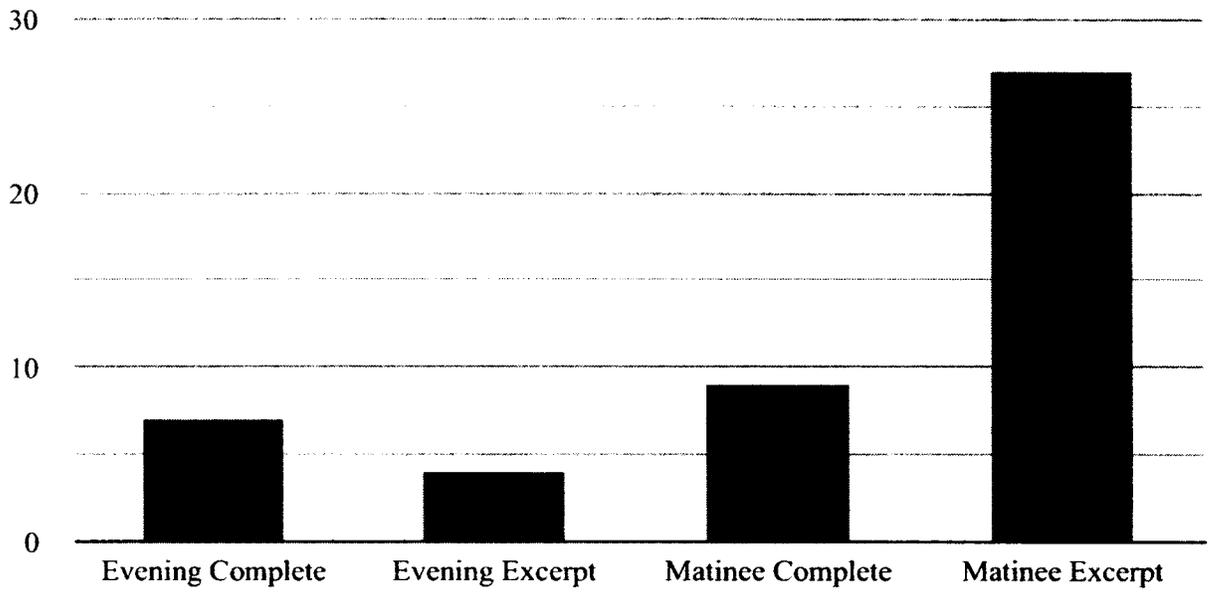


Appendix V

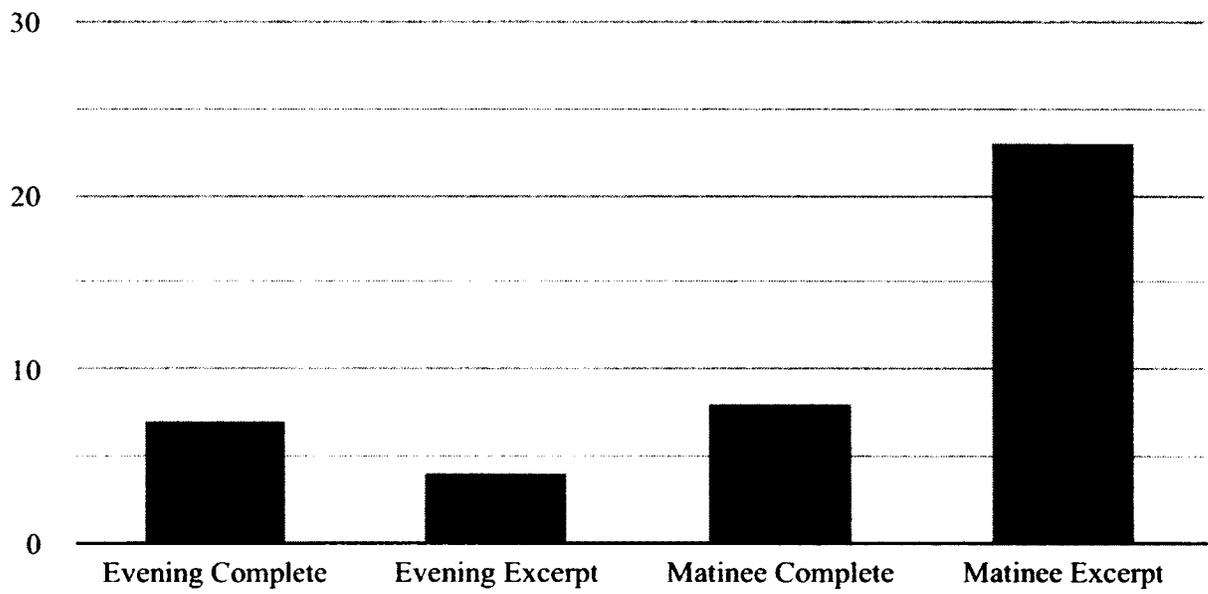
Each year of the Cincinnati May Festival Programs, organized by amount of complete or excerpted works performed at matinees or evening concerts.

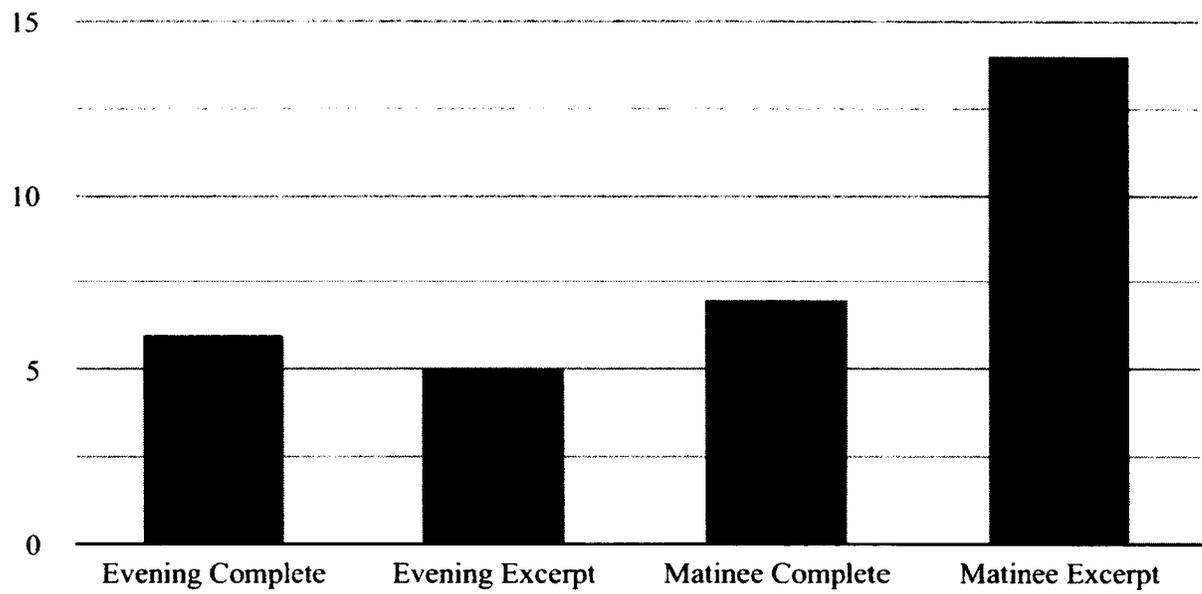
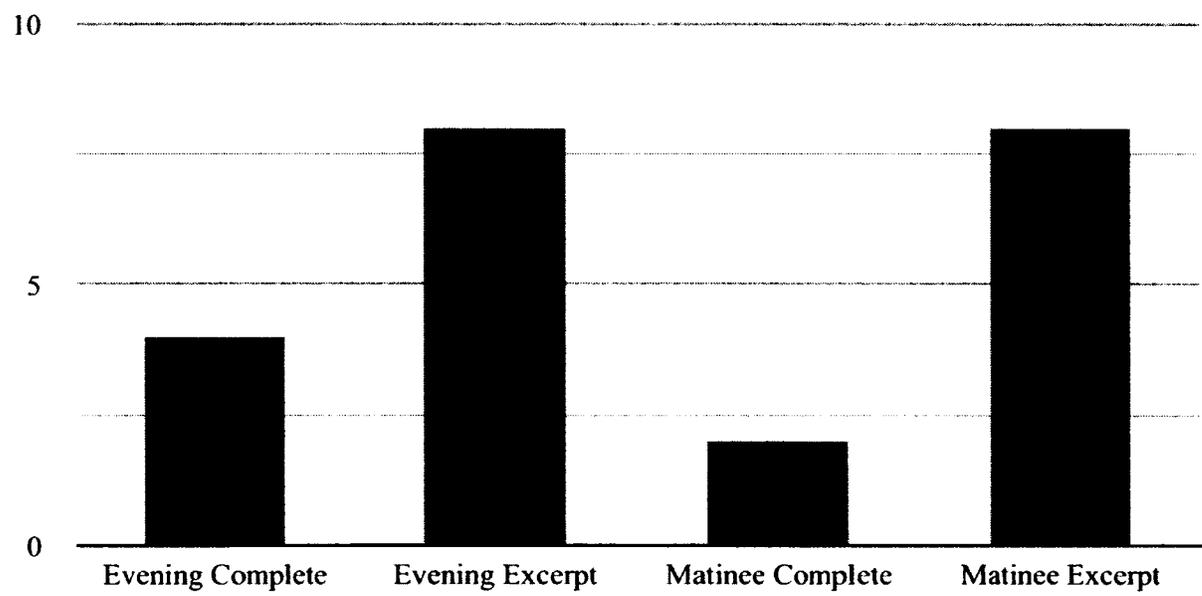


1878

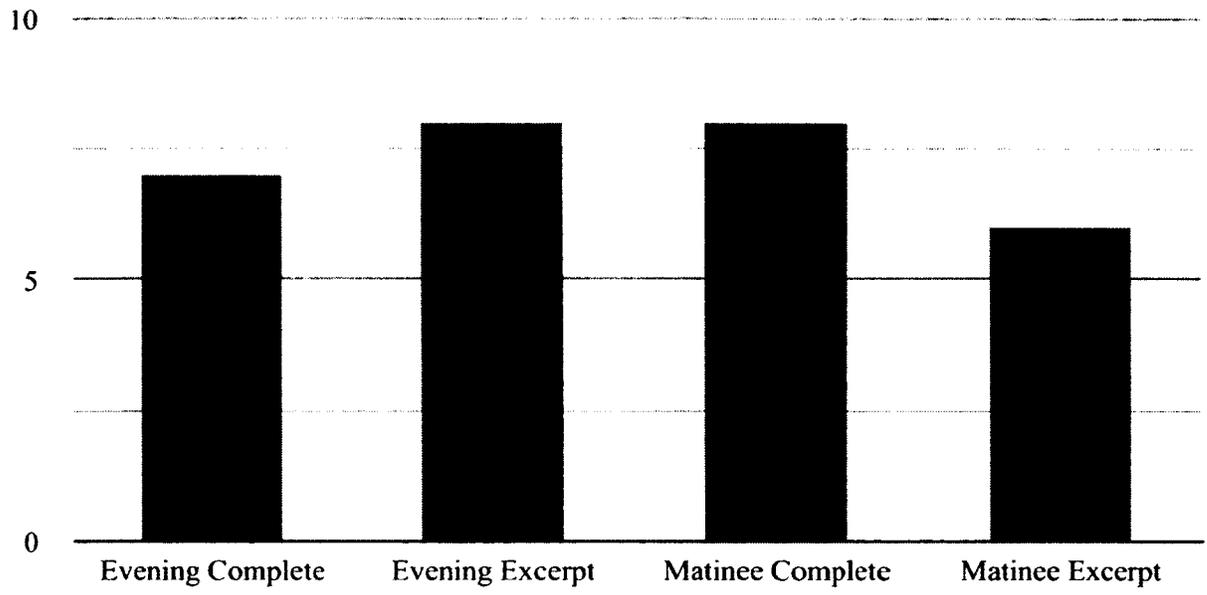


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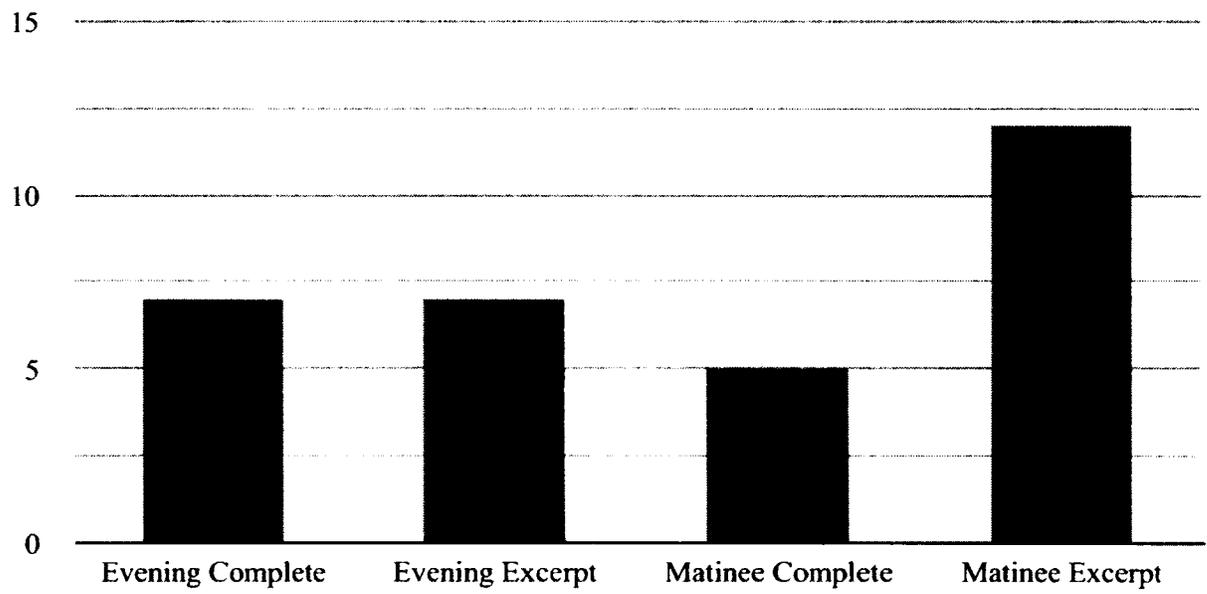


1882**1884**

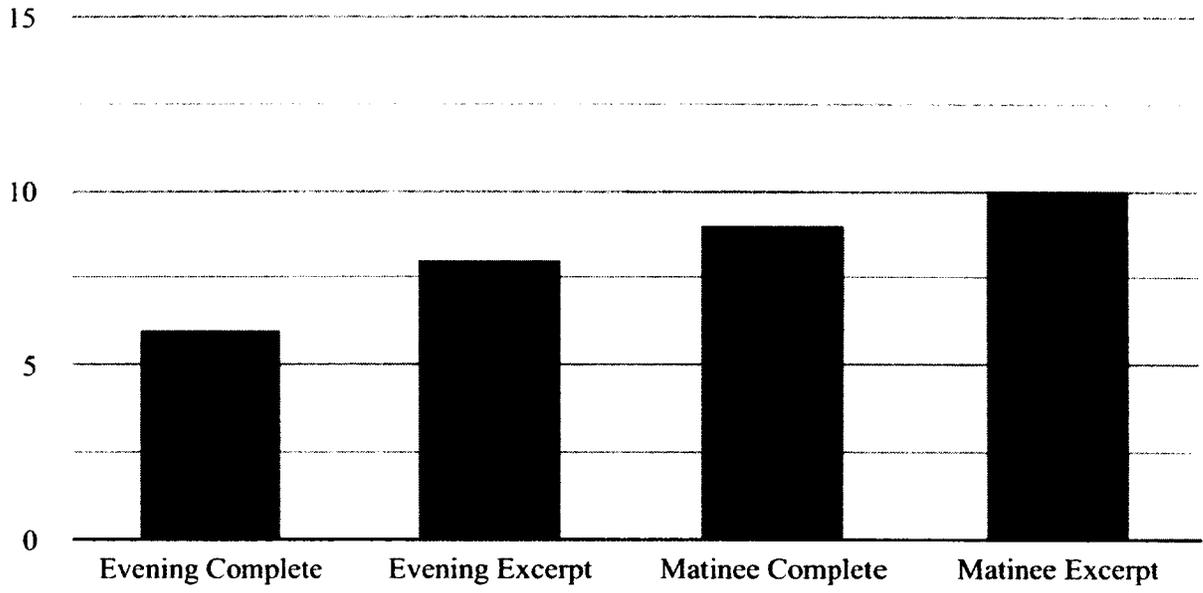
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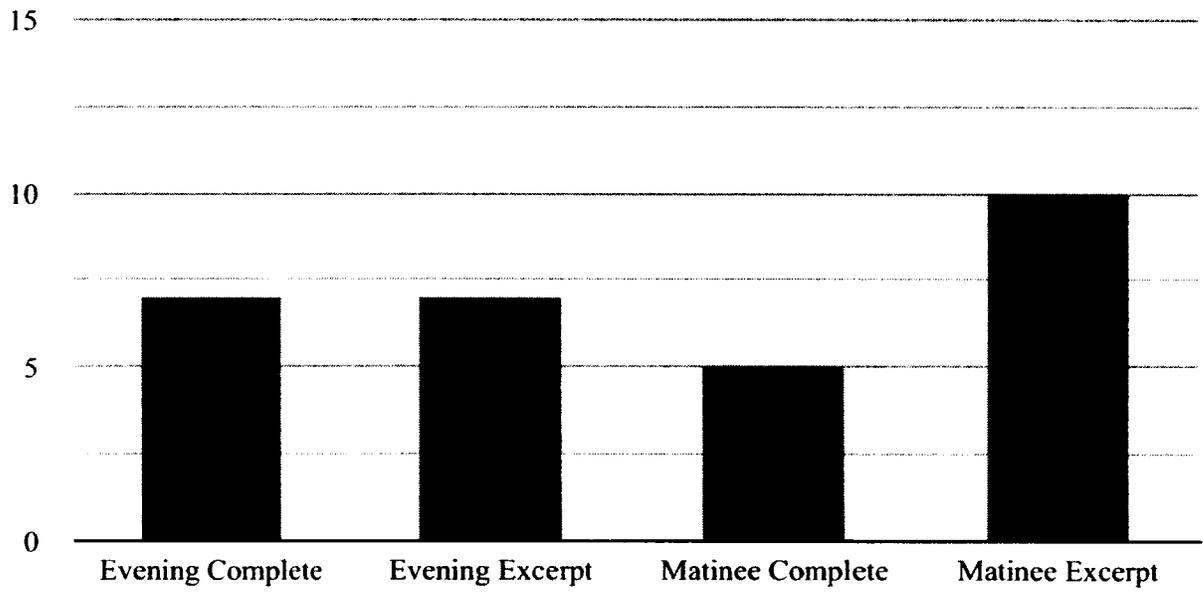
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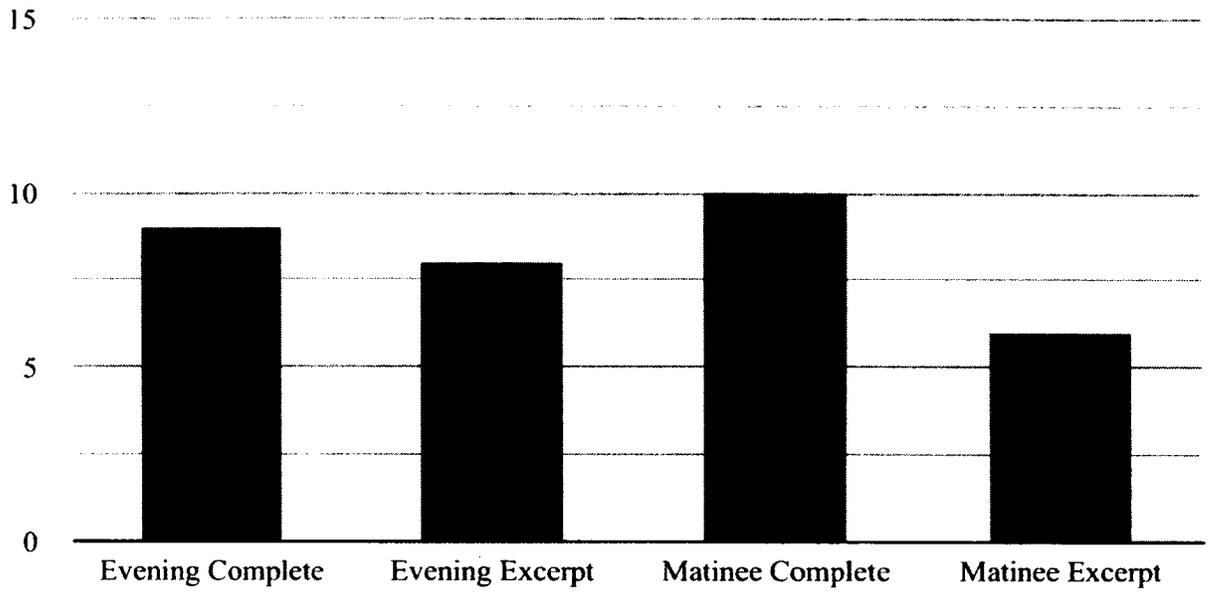
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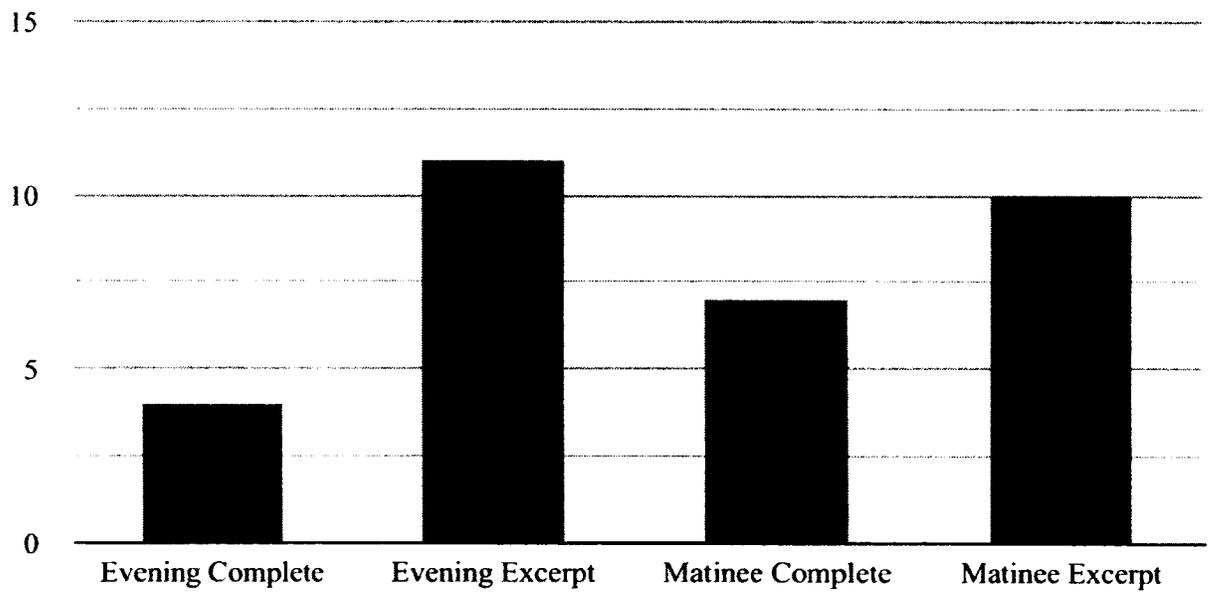
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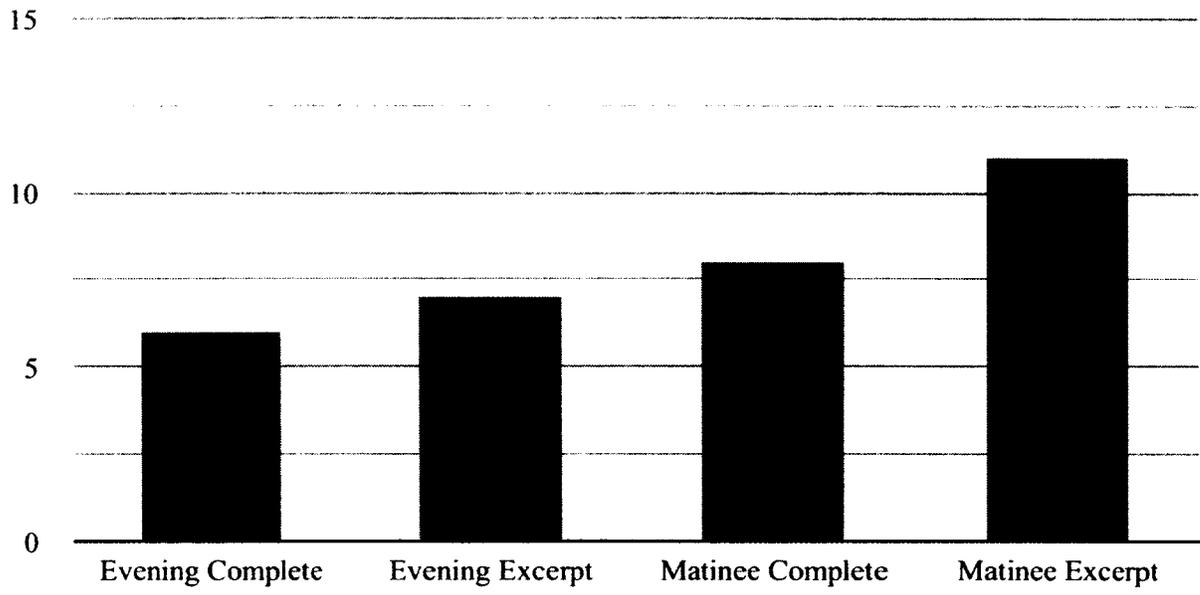
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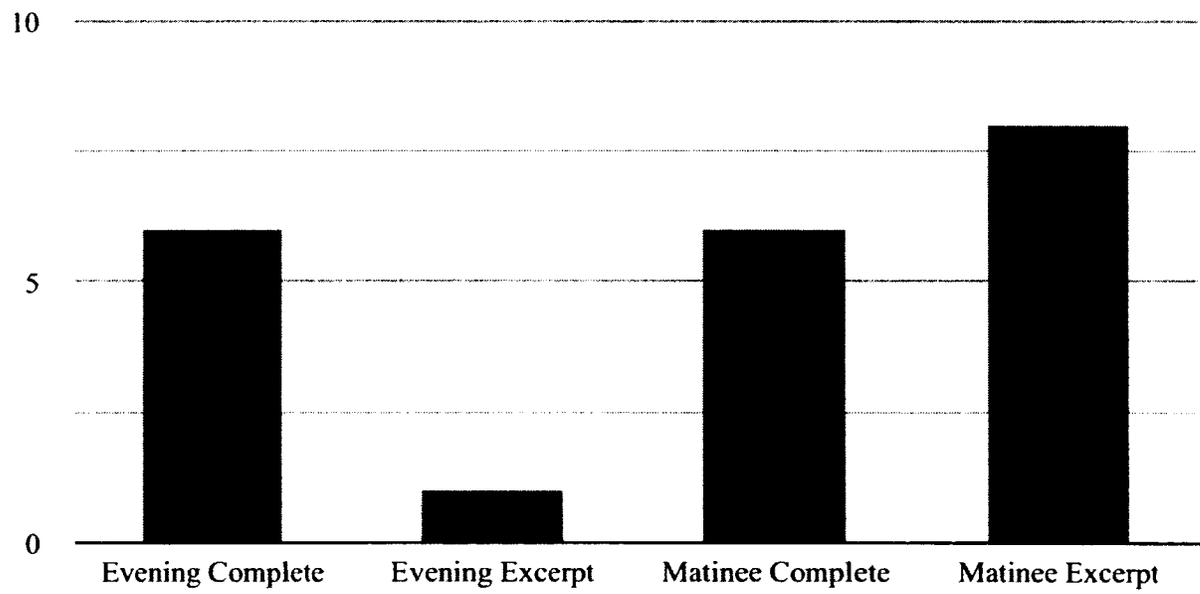
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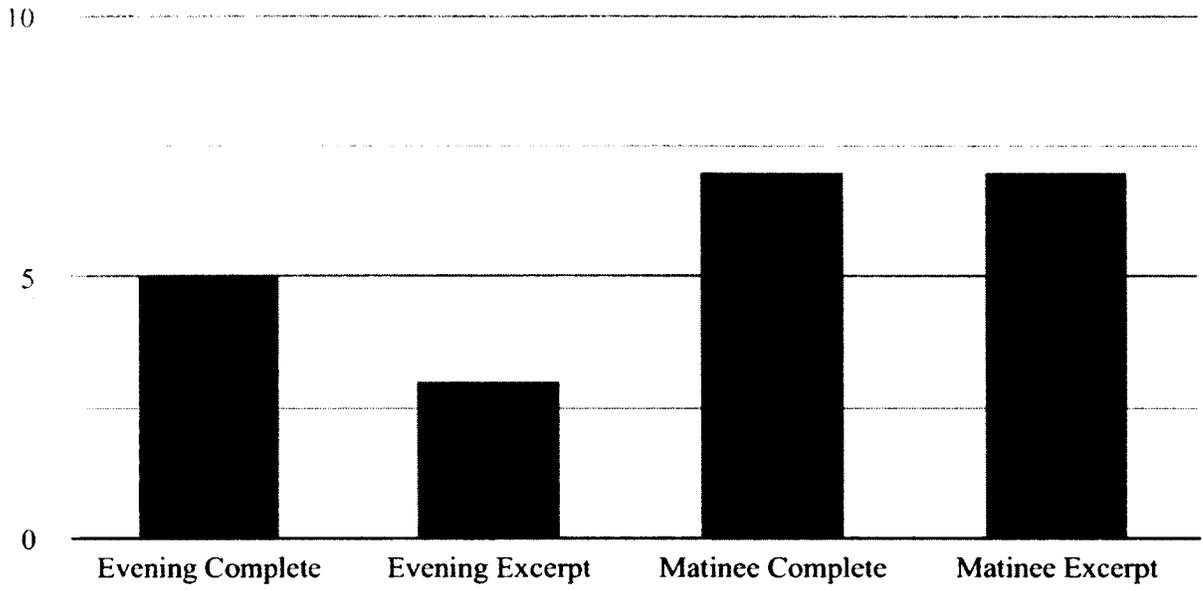
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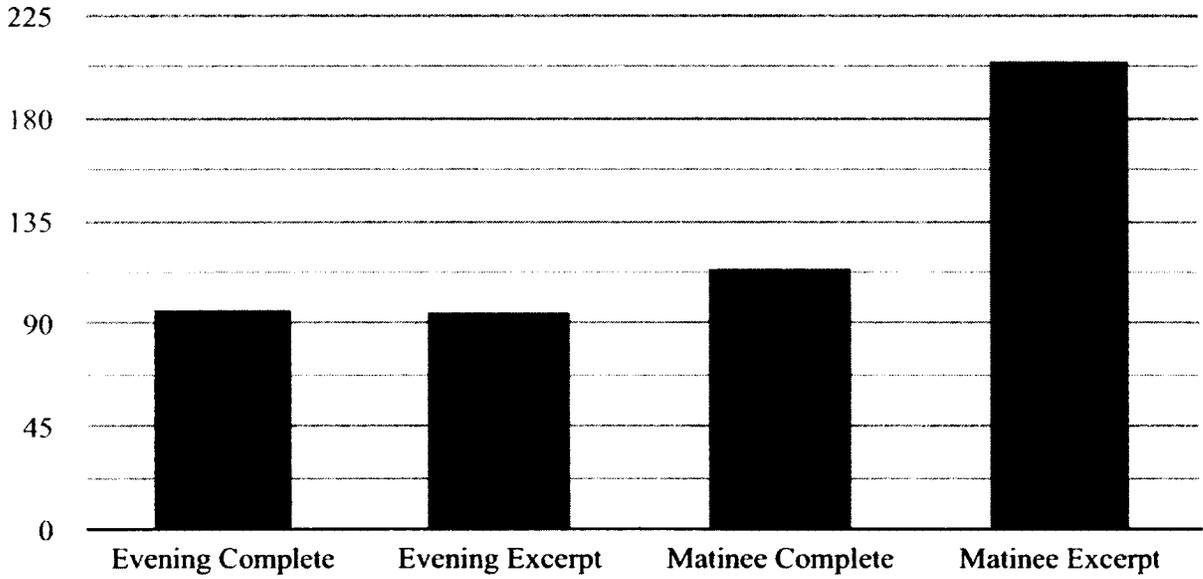
1902



1904



All Years



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