

“The History of the Ladies Musical Club is Like the Biography of a Great Man”: Women, Place,
Repertory, Race, and the Ladies Musical Club of Seattle, 1891-1950

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Abstract

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The Ladies Musical Club of Seattle (LMC) was formed in 1891 by an all-female group of classically-trained musicians with two stated aims: to provide music of a high standard to the still-burgeoning town of Seattle, and to maintain their own substantial performance skills.¹ Beginning in 1900, the LMC cemented the fulfillment of its first aim by bringing hundreds of diverse, world-famous artists in its annual Artist Concert Series to the initially remote Seattle stage. These artists include Sergei Rachmaninoff, Marian Anderson, Percy Grainger, Igor Stravinsky, Jose Iturbi, Winifred Christie, Pablo Casals, Amelita Galli-Curci, Nelson Eddy, Dorothy Maynor, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra, Todd Duncan, Marilyn Horne, Bidu Sayão, Teresa Carreño, Artur Rubenstein, and many, many others. In

¹ The quotation in the title of this paper is taken from “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, June 3, 1934, 15.

addition to the Artist Concert Series, the LMC enriched Seattle's concert life through regular public performances by LMC members. The LMC also fostered original compositions by local composers, and to this day continues to premiere works of members. Mindful of its meticulous bookkeeping and perhaps aware of its historical and regional importance, the LMC preserved its original records and memorabilia, and in 1981, the LMC donated hundreds of items to Seattle's Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI). The vibrant, well-documented history of the club; the contributions of its members; the impact on the community; and the public's response—all have been generally overlooked by musicologists. This is an oversight not just in terms of documenting the music scene in Seattle, or of putting the frequently-ignored Pacific Northwest musical landscape on the map. What has been overlooked can also reveal the distinctive local attitudes about race, gender, and regional identity—issues that were and are contentious during this formative period in American history.

This study aims to begin to bridge this gap by examining a rich period in the LMC's—and Seattle's—history, from the LMC's founding in 1891 to 1950, the 50th anniversary of the Artist Concert Series. This period included two World Wars, the struggle for women's suffrage, the Great Depression, and racial strife, all of which touched the Pacific Northwest region in meaningful ways despite its geographical remoteness. During this time, the LMC was shaping the musical scene in Seattle while fulfilling its self-defined course of civic duty. The historical significance of the LMC was quickly recognized by regional publications, and as the LMC reached important milestones, a narrative was formed. The way the LMC is portrayed in these publications is compelling, and the resulting “biography of a great man”—as the Club's history

is characterized in one article—reveals more than just the LMC’s activities and accomplishments but also attitudes about women.

The first chapter provides a survey of the existing (and missing) scholarship relevant to this study. The histories (or the “biography”) of the LMC are examined and expanded upon in Chapter Two. The LMC’s affinity for the Indianist movement (in Chapter Three) and the LMC’s enthusiasm for African American performers during a period in the Artist Concert Series (Chapter Four) are both important markers of musical tastes and attitudes toward other broad issues such as place and race in Seattle. While sometimes overlapping, the chapters generally unfold in chronological order, and collectively they cover the early history of the LMC through 1950.

Musicologists have cited in recent years the importance of women’s roles in American music, of trends such as the Indianist movement as a distinctly “American” stream of art music, and of African American contributions to American music. Yet few, if any, have asked the questions: how did Seattle and the surrounding Pacific Northwest region handle these major issues in American music in the early twentieth century; and, what can this tell us more broadly about the experience of American music during this time across the country? Overall, this study documents the LMC’s indispensable influence on Seattle’s musical scene; demonstrates the regionally-distinctive reactions of Pacific Northwest audiences, presenters, and musicians to important musicological issues; and helps to answer the questions posed above. Music was an important part of life in Seattle, the LMC was an important part of music in Seattle, and the study of music in Seattle is an important and underrepresented part of American music history.

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Dedication

To the memory of a great man.

And a little white dog.

Chapter One

The Most Important Musical Institution in Seattle that You Have Never Heard Of

The Ladies Musical Club has been longest and strongest in the work of providing musical entertainment for the people of Seattle.

-*Town Crier*, 1916²

One of the most significant things about the frontier city in America has been its eagerness to reproduce the cultural refinements found in older and larger centers...It was but natural, then, that Seattle, frontier city though it was, should seek out ways of giving good music to those who had an appreciation of it.

-*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1944³

They're the people who brought you (or your forebears) Rachmaninoff, Heifetz, Paderewski. They've been around for 105 years, and are the oldest and most venerable of Seattle's arts institutions.

But chances are you've never heard of the quaintly named Ladies Musical Club, which has stuck to its guns and its original identity through an era in which its name has gone out of politically correct fashion. After all, the club's mission hasn't changed: to "foster classical music among its members and in the greater community."

-*Seattle Times*, 1996⁴

In 2001, historian and women's studies scholar Karen Blair published an article on a women's music organization entitled "The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930" in a collection of essays about the contributions of women in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States.⁵ The subject of the article, the Ladies Musical Club (LMC) of Seattle, is a musical

² "Music and Musicians," *Town Crier* 11, no. 51 (December 16, 1916): 53. Reprinted as "A Season of Good Music, 1917," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (April 1954): 60.

³ Edward Sheppard and Emily Johnson, "Forty Years of Symphony in Seattle 1903-1943," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (January 1944): 19.

⁴ Melinda Bargreen, "Seattle's Venerable Ladies Musical Club Keeps Its Outlook Firmly In The Future," *The Seattle Times*, August 25, 1996, M1. My emphasis.

⁵ Karen Blair, "The Seattle Ladies Musical Club 1890-1930," in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. Karen J. Blair, revised ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 267-283. An earlier version of this article was

organization that has been in operation in Seattle since its founding in 1891, and has provided consistent, multifaceted contributions to Seattle's musical life. As we can see from the quotations above, the LMC has garnered praise over the years, and Blair was one of many authors to recognize the regional significance of this Ladies Musical Club over its many-decade lifespan.

However, Blair's work highlights an important aspect of the LMC with broader implications. She recognizes the connection of the LMC to a greater historical movement in the United States, summarizing that "[t]he Ladies Musical Club of Seattle (LMC) is representative of the music clubs that grew and developed in America in the early twentieth century."⁶ For Blair, the LMC fulfilled a role out West that other women were similarly filling in other parts of the country during the same period through club work, musical or otherwise. Blair links the LMC—and the musical life of the geographically-remote Seattle region—with the happenings elsewhere in the country that were an important function of society. She cites the Ladies Musical Club's dedication to the professional and artistic development of its members and its commitment to providing "good" music to the community, including underserved populations and newcomers, as evidence of this link between the LMC and other musical Clubwomen. Indeed, these are important ties.

What is also significant, though, about the Ladies Musical Club of Seattle is that it is both emblematic *and* exceptional. While the LMC's activities and function did mirror those of other musically-focused clubs across the country during the height of the women's musical club

published in another anthology as the more general "Women's Musical Clubs in America, 1900-1930," in *Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History*, eds. Thomas G. Edwards and Carlos Schwantes (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 124-138.

⁶ Blair, 268.

movement (defined generally as 1900-1930), its influence and its scope have exceeded those of any other women's musical club of its kind in America.⁷ Whereas Blair's work has been valuable in showing how the region was culturally like other parts of the country in terms of the work of its women ("we were doing it too!"), this study adds to an accumulating body of research that articulates how women in the Pacific Northwest had different opportunities for cultural and political influence than elsewhere in the United States ("we were doing it too but differently, and often, more successfully!"). Further, the LMC—with its rich history and lasting influence on Seattle—serves as a useful focal point for discussion of other significant musicological issues in America which have been sparsely studied (if at all) until this point. This study examines two different elements of the search for a distinctly "American" music that preoccupied musical America during the same time as some of the LMC's most influential activities, revealing the Pacific Northwest's unique relationship to these important trends. These include the much-debated roles of music by American Indians and by African Americans in American art music in the 1890s through the first decades of the twentieth century.

From its inception, the Ladies Musical Club has been a driving force behind classical music in Seattle and the surrounding Pacific Northwest region. An all-female, all-volunteer organization, the LMC has presented some of the most famous artists in the world in Seattle while simultaneously offering frequent concerts by its talented members to the Seattle public. In addition, the LMC has sponsored music scholarship programs, supported local composers, and has pursued other civic-minded projects for the benefit of the community, and at times, the country. The LMC was formed in 1891 by a group of classically-trained female musicians who

⁷ Blair, 267. Still prospering in its 128th year, the LMC's longevity alone makes it remarkable.

had two aims: to provide music of a high standard to the growing town of Seattle, and to maintain their own skill level by giving performances to the community, a requirement for active membership in the LMC.⁸ From 1900 to 1995, the LMC brought hundreds of world-famous performers in its annual Artist Concert Series to the (initially) remote Seattle stage, including Sergei Rachmaninoff, Marian Anderson, Percy Grainger, Igor Stravinsky, Jose Iturbi, Winifred Christie, Pablo Casals, Amelita Galli-Curci, Nelson Eddy, Dorothy Maynor, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra, Todd Duncan, Marilyn Horne, Bidu Sayão, Teresa Carreño, Artur Rubenstein, and many, many others.⁹

These concerts and others presented by the LMC attracted immense local, regional, and at times, national attention. In local newspapers and arts periodicals especially, the events of the Ladies Musical Club were of constant interest, featured in daily, weekly, and monthly publications anywhere from the front page to the society section. Newspaper clippings, historical records, membership books, artist photographs, and other pieces of Club memorabilia were donated by the LMC to the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) in Seattle in 1981, and the archives have continued to grow since then. The current collection contains hundreds of artifacts documenting the long history of the Club.

The popular Artist Concert Series performances were generally the LMC's most prominent concerts. When the Club ended the Artist Concert Series in 1995, citing high artist

⁸ What can be considered the LMC's mission statement during the period covered in this study is found at the beginning of its constitution: "The Ladies Musical Club is an association of women, formed for the purpose of developing the musical talent of its members and stimulating musical interest in Seattle" (*Members' Book, 1901-1902*, Ladies' Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 5).

⁹ For a complete list of Artist Concert Series concerts between 1900 and 1950, see Appendix A. The Artist Concert Series has been called by different names over its long run, including the International Artist Series. I will refer to it as the Artist Concert Series in this study. I will also use "Ladies Musical Club" or LMC rather than "Ladies' Musical Club," opting for the version currently utilized by the LMC.

fees and stiff competition, the LMC shifted off the marquee and out of the spotlight, yet it remains a fixture in the musical life of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰ An overview of the scope of LMC work comparing the years 1916 and 2016 (**Table 1**) shows that while the details have changed over time, the LMC continues to serve Seattle in a similar capacity to how it functioned in the early years of the club.

¹⁰ See R. M. Campbell, "Competition and Costs Take a Toll on Long-Running Musical Club Series," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 20, 1995, C1; R. M. Campbell, "Ladies Musical Club Teams Up With Meany Hall," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 31, 1995, C2.

| | 1916 (25th Anniversary) | 2016 (125th Anniversary) |
|--|--|---|
| Concerts by LMC Members | Members Concerts: Monthly concerts performed by LMC members for the public (for a fee) and for members | Public Concerts: Free concerts performed by LMC members for the public (several per month/ 50+ per season, Oct. - May) |
| Concerts by Outside Performers | Artist Concert Series: Concerts of international artists/ensembles (4 to 8 / year) | LMC - Meany Center for the Performing Arts (University of Washington) Collaboration: International artists performing at Meany work with local children to enrich music education (Music In Schools) ¹¹ |
| Membership | Active Members are women; men can be "auxiliary" members; some men perform on LMC Members Concerts programs; student membership | Membership is all-female; non-performers can be "at-large" members; some men perform on LMC Public Concerts programs |
| Meetings | Active Member Meetings occur monthly, which feature performances and educational papers by LMC members | Annual Spring Meeting is in March; Performances by Frances Walton Competition winners plus a guest speaker on musical topic |
| Scholarships and Other Outreach | Donation to Seattle Philharmonic Orchestra (\$100); "Philanthropic Work Including Relief of Soldiers' Families" and other causes (\$175) ¹² | Frances Walton Competition and Outreach: Solo/ensemble competition for classical musicians from Western states (ages 20-35). Winners tour Washington State, performing in schools with limited access to music |
| Student Programs | Student members (16) performed special concert programs | Music in Schools: Members work with local elementary schools that lack music programs. Children have a range of musical opportunities, from before-school chorus to workshops with internationally-known artists (LMC - Meany Collaboration). |
| Press | LMC and local press celebrate major anniversaries (25th) | LMC and local press celebrate major anniversaries (125th) |

Table 1: General Scope of Work of LMC, 1916 and 2016

¹¹ This program began in 1995, as the LMC was ending its Artist Concert Series.

¹² "Treasurer's Report," *Members' Book, 1916-1917*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 6.

The LMC still provides (now free) public concerts by its members, and two of its exceptional programs—Music in Schools and the Frances Walton Awards Tour—successfully reach thousands of school-aged children across Washington State each year.¹³ These programs provide schools with musical experiences that would not otherwise be accessible due to lack of funding and/or remote locations. And, thanks to generous donations by current and former LMC members and productive investment practices, LMC’s long history of civic service in the region will continue for the foreseeable future.

While focusing at present on less visible—but no less important—endeavors, the LMC is only occasionally recognized by local media due to this behind-the-scenes approach, especially as compared to the many years of its public popularity and wide media coverage.¹⁴ Musicologists have also largely overlooked the historical significance of the LMC in spite of the rich and well-preserved history of the organization. In “The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930,” Blair provides kernels of musicological study in her analysis through her brief overview of repertory and performers, yet there has been no comprehensive scholarly study of the LMC to date.

This first chapter provides an overview of the present state of scholarship that informs the rest of this study of the Ladies Musical Club. This overview is intentionally broad—the following chapters address in more detail the existing scholarship pertaining to the specific musicological issue in discussion. Some areas of research concerning this subject have been relatively well-documented (e.g. women as impresarios, women’s clubs), and many are still

¹³ For example, the 2017 tour reached 6,062 students and 492 adults, for a total attendance of 6,895, according to a September 2017 board report.

¹⁴ The LMC did recently receive a push in media attention for its 125th anniversary in 2016. However, compared to the heavy, sensational coverage it received for many years, the Club’s media attention is now notably lighter.

under-researched or under-represented (e.g. music in the Pacific Northwest). While the LMC has been discussed as emblematic of women's musical clubs in America by Blair, and has been referenced in relation to club work or as one element of Seattle's music history by others, at present there are no extended musicological studies of the LMC, leaving the door wide open for a focused musicological exploration.

In contrast to the lack of scholarship about the Ladies Musical Club, there exists a vast amount of writing about the Ladies Musical Club in the form of newspaper articles, arts periodicals, concert programs, and internal club documents such as members' books. Many of these publications include an account of the history of the Club, and it is these histories that are the starting point in Chapter Two for a discussion about the influential activities of the LMC in its first two decades. Certain elements are consistently included in these publications, especially ideas concerning the LMC's business acumen, key members, musical taste, and civic service. In addition, the oft-repeated history was codified relatively early in the LMC's lifespan. It was important, it seems, to establish the LMC as a cultural, philanthropic, and economic force. This benefited both the LMC and Seattle-at-large. For the LMC, it provided press and legitimacy, which helped attract media attention, elevated the status of the Club and its members, and increased ticket sales. For Seattle, it provided a cultural and historical legacy for the young city, especially as the concerts began to attract national attention.

The LMC is described in telling ways in these backward-looking articles. For instance, one article in the regionally-influential *Seattle Times* describes how “[t]he history of the Ladies

Musical Club is like the biography of a great man.”¹⁵ The imagery employed reflects the ways in which women’s roles were being negotiated in response to this group of influential women. In some respects, it mirrored the dialogue about women’s changing role in music and in society across the country—women could adopt more entrepreneurial positions while being celebrated as upholding cultural and moral values expected of middle-to-upper class women. However, it seems as though the geographical distance and the rugged, less-rigid culture of the Pacific Northwest in the first half of the twentieth century facilitated women holding more traditionally male roles than in other parts of the country.¹⁶ The second chapter focuses on the early history of the Club, tracing themes from these contemporaneous histories, clarifying details and highlighting important people and events that influenced Seattle’s musical life.

The third chapter explores an important movement in American music that the women of the LMC helped reinforce through compositions and concerts—the Indianist movement.¹⁷ By the time the LMC was founded in 1891, the Pacific Northwest had seen several waves of settlers. This resulted in a complex and evolving relationship between newcomers and the Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest. Through performances of Indianist pieces by its members, premieres of original Indianist-style compositions, and presentations by internationally-famous “interpreters” of Indianist works, the LMC helped to popularize (and capitalized on the popularity of) this movement in Seattle. In Indianist music, Seattle audiences found a sense of

¹⁵ “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, June 3, 1934, 15. The publication was called *Seattle Daily Times* and *Seattle Sunday Times* during the period of this study, and it is now called *Seattle Times*.

¹⁶ See Elizabeth Juliana Knighton’s article on Mary Davenport Engberg, “Mary Davenport Engberg: Pioneering Musician in a Bachelor’s Frontier,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5, no. 3 (2011): 365-394.

¹⁷ Very generally, the Indianist movement in America occurred from 1890 to approximately 1925, and was marked by composers writing art music pieces that took varying degrees of inspiration from Native American musical sources.

identity in many ways, for the music of the Indianist movement had elements of “Americanness” as well as “Indianness” that strengthened their regional identity.

In addition to the Indianist movement in America, the role of African Americans in American classical music was a significant point of discussion and creative energy during the first half of the twentieth century, and it remains an important musicological topic which is explored in Chapter Four. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Ladies Musical Club presented six popular African American singers in the Artist Concert Series, many of whom returned multiple times: Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Roland Hayes, Anne Brown, and Todd Duncan. All were greeted with positive media coverage and left with rave reviews, the public begging them back. Consistent praise was given especially to the African-American-derived genres such as spirituals. These pieces were seen as “authentic,” extraordinary, and—it seems—mandatory parts of the repertory for these African American, largely classically-trained performers. The period between 1936 and 1947 – when black performers were heavily represented in the Artist Concert Series (making up twenty-five percent of concerts in the series)—also coincides with a large influx of black workers and families who came to the Pacific Northwest in search of wartime jobs and more progressive racial attitudes. Exploring local and national contemporaneous sources, Chapter Four uses the concerts put on by the Ladies Musical Club featuring these black singers as a focal point around which issues of race, performance, repertory, and reception are discussed. LMC members also performed African American spirituals, demonstrating the popularity in the region of this genre of music. Finally, the conclusion and epilogue offers some broad reflections on the work of the LMC and suggests some directions for future musicological research on the Pacific Northwest region.

Current Scholarship – An Overview

There are three broad categories of academic study from the last three decades within which the Ladies Musical Club falls: women as patrons, impresarios, and supporters of classical music in America; women's musical clubs in nineteenth and twentieth century America; and women and/or music in the Pacific Northwest. These categories represent topics on which there are varying degrees of scholarly research.

Womanhood as a Process

Before exploring the various facets of women's roles in American music, it is necessary to establish a basic understanding of "womanhood." To do this, however, let us first examine the idea of "manhood" as it was utilized during the time of the LMC's founding, in the late nineteenth century. In *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Gail Bederman outlines two prevailing definitions of "manhood" in the context of American history.¹⁸ The first is related to the physical body, and Bederman notes how "[m]any historians have simply assumed that manhood is an unproblematic identity—an unchanging essence—inherent in all male-bodied humans."¹⁹ The second common conception of "manhood" takes the opposite approach, that manhood is not physically-defined but rather is coherent set of cultural constructions, "traits, attributes, or sex roles." The "limitations" with this definition, Bederman asserts, is that it "obscures the complexities and contradictions of any historical moment," and that it can fail to explain concurrent traits that are seemingly at odds

¹⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

with one another.²⁰ Bederman's solution, then, is to approach manhood and womanhood not as all-physical or all-cultural, but rather:

on the premise that gender...is a *historical, ideological process*. Through that process, individuals are positioned and position themselves as men or as women...The ideological process of gender--whether manhood or womanhood--works through a complex political technology, composed of a variety of institutions, ideas, and daily practices.²¹

This hybrid-approach to womanhood as a continual negotiation is a meaningful way to evaluate the multifaceted (and often contradictory) roles held at certain times by the LMC as an entity of women and by individual members of the LMC.

Women in American Musical Life – An Introduction

Research on women in American musical life continues to be a prominent topic of scholarship. A recent issue of the *Journal of the Society for American Music* entitled “Special Issue on Musical Women in Nineteenth-Century America” is dedicated to “deal[ing] with the activities of women in nineteenth-century America and the importance that music played in their lives.”²² Co-editor Katherine Preston writes that “[t]he four articles [in the journal issue] are quite different and were all written independently, but they overlap marvelously and provide wonderful insight into the cultivation of music by women in nineteenth-century America.”²³ While Preston notes that the purpose of the issue was to highlight scholarship on only pre-twentieth-century American music—a timeframe currently underrepresented in musicological publications and conferences—the publication nonetheless highlights two important points about

²⁰ Bederman, 6. This second approach is especially problematic for attempts to define womanhood in Seattle during this time, which was often presented as a juxtaposition of desirable or admirable attributes.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²² Katherine Preston, “American Musical Life Before 1900,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 8, no.2 (May 2014): 127.

²³ *Ibid.*, 127.

scholarship on women in American music. First, the field remains a vibrant part of musicological discussion and yet there is still ample room for contributions, whether on older or more recent subjects. Second, the area of scholarship is made up of many different approaches. This study provides another account of the varied ways that American women were making music in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Women in American Musical Life - Women as Composers and Performers

Two of the main functions of the Ladies Musical Club have been to support women in the community as composers and as performers.²⁴ Women have been active participants in the creation and production of music, but the significance of women's roles in these aspects of music has only been acknowledged relatively recently. Historically, the works of music that were taught, performed, played, and recorded were nearly exclusively composed by men with few exceptions.²⁵ Beginning in the 1960s, there was a push by some musicologists for the inclusion of women in the traditional, historically-male musical canon of composers, as outlined by Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou in the important 1994 musicological chronicle of women and music *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*.²⁶ As Jane Bowers and Judith Tick note in their introduction to *Women Making Music*, another significant early account of women's roles in music, "[f]or women in music this past has been untended, uncared for, certainly absent from the conventional mainstream music history books from which most of us

²⁴ This is still the case. Currently, LMC members provide several free concerts by its members each month, and there is a composer's group within the LMC that also meets regularly.

²⁵ One genre that women made contributions to was music for children, usually for the purpose of teaching.

²⁶ Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, "Introduction: 'Bright Cecilia,'" in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, eds. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 3-4.

acquired our knowledge of Western music.”²⁷ While great strides have been made, women’s compositions remain underrepresented.²⁸ The LMC boasts many composers within its historical ranks, some of whom enjoyed national attention—such as Mary Carr Moore, Amy Worth, and Lillian Miller—and others who were celebrated locally, including Irene Rodgers, Daisy Wood Hildreth, Kate Gilmore Black, and Adelina Appleton. Some of these composers have been documented here, especially in Chapter Two, for they make up an integral piece of the LMC’s history. In addition, compositions by members of the Ladies Musical Club are used to highlight the broader issues discussed throughout this study. For instance, the popularity of Moore’s *Narcissa* helps elucidate the significance of the Indianist Movement in Seattle.

In addition to composition remaining largely in the male sphere, the public performance of music in America carried with it cultural constraints for women. As Adrienne Fried Block notes, “[a]n unbridgeable divide separated the middle- or upper-class amateurs from the professionals: respectable women did not perform in public. Under the prevailing American doctrine of domestic feminism, man’s sphere was the world and woman’s, the home.”²⁹ In other words, women who did perform generally did so in the domestic sphere, “trained [in music] for marriage, for playing a supportive yet dependent role in a patriarchal society, not for careers.”³⁰ This was generally the case in America until around the turn of the twentieth century. Elizabeth Juliana Knighton notes two places where women tiptoed into more professional musical roles

²⁷ Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, “Introduction,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, eds. Bowers and Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3.

²⁸ For a recent contribution to American women composers specifically, see Denise von Glahn’s *Music and the Skillful Listener: American Women Compose the Natural World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

²⁹ Adrienne Fried Block, assisted by Nancy Stewart, “Women in American Music, 1800-1918,” in *Women & Music: A History*, 2nd edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 193.

³⁰ Block, 193.

around 1900—violin performance and all-female orchestras—in her study of violinist and conductor Mary Davenport Engberg.³¹ However, Knighton summarizes that:

Although some female violinists rose to prominence in the late nineteenth century, the place of women in classical music performance remained severely limited by societal gender expectations. The number of women engaged in formal musical training in the United States grew steadily into the early twentieth century, but most of these women remained amateurs.³²

Overall, women’s roles in music in America as performers were limited, but they were also in the process of changing at the beginning of the twentieth century, around the time the Ladies Musical Club was formed and began flourishing.³³ At the turn of the century, the LMC had thirty-seven pianists, forty-five vocalists, and one harpist—more “acceptable” instruments for women—but also boasted four organists, three violinists, and one whistler, representing a range of musical training.³⁴ In addition, since the LMC’s founding, active membership in the LMC has always required a high-level of musical skill (determined by nomination or audition) and regular public performances. This means that all active members of the LMC who have ever been part of the LMC have been, at the time of their membership, performers who engaged in regular public performances, in contrast to cultural norms of “domestic feminism” elsewhere.

³¹ Knighton, 366.

³² Ibid. Knighton’s paper represents newer scholarship documenting women performers. Locke and Barr note that scholarship on female performers is catching up in recent years, writing that “[t]he performers, fortunately, are beginning to get their due in the written record (to the extent that they have not taken care of the task themselves, through autobiography)”(2).

³³ Tick provides a compelling set of data on the changing nature of women performers in music in “Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870-1900,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*. Tick notes that “[w]hereas in 1870 women played the piano, harp, or guitar for the most part, by 1900 there were professional violinists and professional all-women orchestras. In 1870 women composers wrote parlor songs; even fewer wrote parlor piano music. By 1900 there had been premieres of concertos and a symphony by American women. ...[T]he percentage of women employed in music between [1870 and 1900] rose dramatically from 36 percent to 56.4 percent. Music was, according to the 1900 census, one of the professions whose sex distribution altered most between 1880 and 1900”(326).

³⁴ “Active Members,” LMC Members’ Book, 1901-1902, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 12.

Women in American Musical Life - Women as Patrons, Impresarios, and Supporters of Music

An aspect of female participation in music that has been highlighted in recent years, and one that is relevant to this study, is documenting women's roles as patrons, impresarios, and supporters of music. Early scholarship on women in music focused heavily on pulling women into the traditional musicological canon of composers and performers that was almost exclusively male. Beginning in the 1990s, however, scholars have widened their lens to look at how women participated in classical music in other capacities that are also valuable.

The collection of essays *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists from 1860* offers a useful cross-section of research on the impact and influence of women in music-making. Editors Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr concentrate on what they cite in the introduction as the “female-centered cultural *process*” (“the three *p*'s: performance, pedagogy, and patronage”) rather than the male-centered cultural *product* (compositions, and professional performers to an extent).³⁵ A large function of the Ladies Musical Club was the patronage of the LMC, but it was a different kind of patronage than the traditional conception, that of individuals donating money for a specific purpose or aim. Patronage, in this case, is extended by Locke and Barr to also mean volunteer work or, more importantly, unpaid labor.³⁶ Until recent decades, the LMC ran as a self-sustaining business without requiring donations to function, so “patronage” for the LMC has been largely unpaid labor of the all-volunteer organization. Locke and Barr's description of patronage in this context reflects the unpaid roles within the LMC when they write

³⁵ Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists from 1860* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 1-2.

³⁶ Locke and Barr, 8.

that “volunteering in music often amounts to unpaid labor—ranging from clerical to fully managerial and executive—in such fields as arts administration, marketing, and public relations.”³⁷ This definition of patronage serves as a suitable building block upon which to begin the discussion about the LMC. It also connects the activities of the Club to those of other women across the country during this time who were engaged in similarly extensive and unwaged efforts.

As Locke and Barr note, the “crucial, formative moment of music patronage in America” occurred around the same time as the formation of the Ladies Musical Club, in the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.³⁸ Musical establishments, from symphony orchestras to instrument factories to newspaper music critics, write Locke and Barr, were codified during these decades and “nearly all of it had taken recognizable shape—and much of it was fully developed and flourishing—by the 1920s.”³⁹ In Seattle, too, the Ladies Musical Club’s patronage fits this model; by 1920, the LMC had presented two decades of world-famous artists, helped to form institutions such as the Seattle Symphony and the Cornish School, participated in a World’s Fair in Chicago, ran a successful scholarship program, helped with other civic projects especially during wartime, and generally set much of the pace for the classical music scene in Seattle.

While the LMC’s scope of work aligns with the topic of the book’s second essay, it is absent from author Linda Whitesitt’s discussion of “Women as ‘Keepers of Culture’: Music

³⁷ Locke and Barr, 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 27. Locke and Barr note that while the “first real ‘wave’ of patronage as it is currently understood seems to come in the 1830s,” (27) the time frame that coincides with the formation of the Ladies Musical Club is most important.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

Clubs, Community Concert Series, and Symphony Orchestras,” as is the music of the Pacific Northwest region.⁴⁰ Here, Whitesitt discusses the westward movement of women’s music clubs in the early decades of the twentieth century, but the westernmost location she mentions is Minnesota.⁴¹ She also highlights the critical role of impresario in the push for establishing symphony orchestras in large and smaller cities across America, but does not mention Seattle or anywhere west of Colorado.⁴² Two of the LMC’s major accomplishments in patronage support Whitesitt’s ideas—its function in the founding of the Seattle Symphony and the successful Artist Concert Series at the hands of impresario Rose Gottstein. Whitesitt’s prior article on a similar topic, “The Role of Women Impresarios in American Concert Life, 1871-1933,” only broadly (and incompletely) includes Seattle in an appendix of “Cities Serviced By Women Impresarios, 1870s-1930,” noting that Seattle had impresarios in the 1890s, 1920s, and 1930s, but omitting two of the LMC’s most prosperous decades of impresario-type activities, the 1900s and 1910s.⁴³ In spite of being omitted from broader scholarship on music patronage, the LMC was nevertheless fulfilling the role of impresario during the same time as other music clubs across the country.

Another important aspect of women’s patronage—specifically, the work of impresarios—was that it helped with the acceptance of women in the workplace. Locke and Barr write that:

⁴⁰ Linda Whitesitt, “Women As ‘Keepers of Culture’: Music Clubs, Community Concert Series, and Symphony Orchestras,” in *Cultivating Music in America*, 65-89.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 72. Whitesitt discusses the Thursday Musical Club of Minneapolis along with impresario work in St. Paul.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 73-74. Beyond the organizations of the major cities of Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, and Cleveland, smaller cities/organizations mentioned include: the St. Paul Symphony (Minnesota); the Houston Symphony Orchestra (Texas); the National Symphony (Washington D.C.); the Greeley Philharmonic (Colorado); and the Grand Rapids Symphony (Michigan). These organizations venture more westward but still fall well east of the Pacific Northwest and of the West Coast in general.

⁴³ Whitesitt, “The Role of Women Impresarios in American Concert Life, 1871-1933,” *American Music* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 159-180. Appendix B, the appendix discussed above, can be found on page 174.

these patrons of music...carried out their work in venues that were more publicly visible than the institutions of social welfare devoted to the care of the sick and poor, aged and young, that had been the primary out-of-home arena for female reformers in the early and mid-nineteenth century. In this way, they may have helped to prepare public acceptance of working women taking positions of authority for pay.”⁴⁴

Impresarios arranged, promoted, and produced concerts, dipping in to the historically male sphere by negotiating contracts and other financial transactions. The position of impresario was filled by individuals or, importantly, by musical clubs to “stimulate the musical culture of their cities.”⁴⁵ Impresarios, including women within the LMC as well as the club collectively, presented concerts of world-famous musicians to expose their fellow citizens to the finest music. LMC’s most celebrated impresario, Rose Gottstein, is discussed in detail in Chapter Two, and her function as impresario defines much of the LMC’s history for its first several decades. In addition, the competitive Seattle classical scene in the 1930s and 1940s discussed in Chapter Four is a result of the success of the LMC as impresario, which paved the way for competitors such as Cecilia Augspurger Schultz, against whom the LMC successfully vied to present popular African American singers during this time.

Women in the Pacific Northwest

Until recently, there has been relatively little research on women or music in the Pacific Northwest as compared to other regions of the country. However, one scholar stands out for her contributions to the subject—contributions that are particularly relevant to this study. Historian Karen Blair has written extensively on women’s clubs and organizations, as well as the role of women in the history of the Pacific Northwest. In addition, she has the distinction of writing the

⁴⁴ Locke and Barr, 31.

⁴⁵Whitesitt, ““The Role of Women Impresarios in American Concert Life,” 161.

only scholarly article on the Ladies Musical Club. Overall, her work is focused on cataloguing and documenting the roles of these women and clubs. In her article “The State of Research on Pacific Northwest Women,” she highlights the lack of scholarship on PACIFIC NORTHWEST women that her hard work has exposed. After moving to Seattle in 1979 to teach at the University of Washington, Blair began researching women in the Pacific Northwest to supplement one of the courses she was teaching. She writes that she “was discouraged to learn that, compared to the American South, New England, or the Southwest, the studies in this region have been skimpy on a handful of topics.”⁴⁶ After combing through more than two thousand sources over a span of fifteen years, Blair was stunned by the results. She explains:

I expected my efforts to yield a treasure trove of neglected sources that documented a huge spectrum of women’s lives and activities. Surely, the women alongside the well-documented male loggers, sailors, miners, homesteaders, ranchers, laborers, union activists, entrepreneurs, Indian chiefs, generals, and government officials had been studied by scholars. Surely, the accomplishments of busy wives, nurses, teachers, social workers, homemakers, club members, missionaries, cooks, prostitutes, seamstresses, piano teachers, farmers, actresses, entertainers, and cannery workers had already been documented. *To my surprise and distress, my findings showed that historians of the Pacific Northwest left us much to do.* The bulk of attention had gone to only a few topics while enormous arenas had been left unexamined by historians.[my emphasis]⁴⁷

Amidst the striking lack of research across a broad scope of topics on Pacific Northwest women at the time of the article’s publication, Blair found that the existing resources focused heavily on only four categories or topics, the information was “descriptive more than analytical,” and overall the tone was largely “laudatory” rather than critical.⁴⁸ These four categories of secondary

⁴⁶ Karen Blair, “The State of Research on Pacific Northwest Women,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (2001): 48.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 48-9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

sources that have been written about women in Pacific Northwest history include:

The Protestant missionaries, especially Narcissa Prentiss Whitman; pioneer homesteaders, with special affection for their overland trail experiences; Native Americans, but particularly Sacajawea, who accompanied Lewis and Clark on the exploratory expedition of the region of 1803-1806; *and women's club activities.* [my emphasis]⁴⁹

Importantly, all four categories that Blair identifies touch some aspect of the Ladies Musical Club, and three of the four are explicitly discussed in subsequent chapters: Narcissa Prentiss Whitman and Native Americans are discussed in Chapter Three, and women's club activities are discussed in all chapters of this study. For most scholarship on women in the Pacific Northwest, Blair summarizes, "the focus was on individual women and the strong character they demonstrated in the face of hardship."⁵⁰ Overall, she determines that "a staggering amount of scholarly investigation needs to be carried out before even a simple account of Pacific Northwest women's history can be devised. The foundation we have is not solid, for considerable areas still require basic research, and some popular topics have yielded studies of checkered quality."⁵¹ Clearly, Blair believed there was far to go in 2001.

Fortunately, Blair's call-to-action was noted by some scholars, and since the article's publication there has been some progress made toward filling the gaps that Blair noted. Kimberly Jensen's 2012 "A Bibliography of Regional Women's History" serves as a sort of "check back in" with Blair's state of research article as it pertains to Oregon's history specifically and to Pacific Northwest history broadly. Jensen directly addresses Blair's 2001 article, noting how "[e]ven years have passed...and we may now revisit her categories of analysis" to see how

⁴⁹ Blair, "The State of Research on Pacific Northwest Women," 49.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 54-5.

they fare with the scholarship published during the interim.⁵² Jensen provides useful lists including “Bibliographies,” general “Review Essays and Chapters,” as well as more Oregon-specific groupings of articles and even lists of documentary films. She concludes that:

As the following bibliography demonstrates, we have made important strides, particularly in women’s political history. The path before us is clear, however, *as there is still much work to do*. Recent scholarship usefully complicates our understanding of women’s political activism in suffrage, citizenship, and office holding. As we find additional ways to incorporate analyses of women of color, lesbians, and women in regions of the state less-commonly studied, we must continue to complete the writing of this important history.[my emphasis]⁵³

Although her lists of Oregon-centered articles are more extensive than her lists of women in the greater Pacific Northwest (including Seattle), Jensen’s bibliography notes several sources of information relevant to this study, including recent scholarship on race, class, gender, and culture in the West.

Even more recent than Jensen’s 2011 list, Sue Armitage’s latest book on women in Pacific Northwest history provides some additional background. *Shaping the Public Good: Women Making History in the Pacific Northwest* was published in 2015, and as the title suggests, continues the theme established by Armitage and other Pacific Northwest historians such as Blair (and others found on Jensen’s and Blair’s lists) of highlighting the historical contributions made by women as acts of “shaping,” “cultivating” (extending the reference to Locke/Barr), or being “watchful guardians...of the public good.”⁵⁴ But even in this recent survey, Armitage believes

⁵² Kimberly Jensen, “A Bibliography of Regional Women’s History,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 505.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Sue Armitage, *Shaping the Public Good: Women Making History in the Pacific Northwest* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 11. Other earlier publications by Armitage include “Tied To Other Lives: Women in Pacific Northwest History,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History (Revised Edition)*, ed. Karen J. Blair (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 5-24; and *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women’s West*, eds. Susan H. Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

there is still much work to be done. She writes that:

In the past several decades, there has been an outpouring of books, articles, films, and exhibits on women [in Pacific Northwest history]. Each one has added to our knowledge about individual women, but few have changed the popular understanding, leaving the impression that women were only minor characters in the making of our regional history.⁵⁵

Her aim, with *Shaping the Public Good*, is to change this inaccurate diminishing of women's roles in Pacific Northwest through her broad survey. Although *Shaping the Public Good* is definitely an important contribution, Armitage's near omission of the Ladies Musical Club (as discussed later) is evidence of the pitfalls of casting such a wide net for the historical narrative of "women making history" in the region. Overall, while there have been strides made since the publication of Blair's article in terms of documenting and analyzing the historical experiences of Pacific Northwest women, scholars of women in the Pacific Northwest still believe there is a long way to go until the full spectrum of women's regional roles has been chronicled. And, as I revisit later, the topic of women and music-making in the Pacific Northwest has received even less attention.

Women and Clubs in the Pacific Northwest

As Blair noted, one of the topics that has received some degree of scholarly study is the subject of women's clubs in the Pacific Northwest. Blair herself has written lengthily about this topic and, as noted, Blair authored the sole scholarly article published to date that is exclusively about the Ladies Musical Club. Others too have written about women's club work in the Pacific Northwest and the unique challenges these women faced. Some mention directly the LMC and

⁵⁵ Armitage, *Shaping the Public Good*, 11-12.

its influence and purpose within these works, often following Blair's lead and citing it as emblematic of women's clubwork, and usually only briefly noting the LMC's activities. Sandra Haarsager's book, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920*, is an example of a book dedicated entirely to women's clubwork in the Pacific Northwest region that spends minimal time on the Ladies Musical Club. Haarsager does note that the Ladies Musical Club was a "powerful arts club," and she highlights that "[b]esides fostering classical and uniquely American music productions for all for the city's residents, the club actively promoted and supported women in the performing arts."⁵⁶ While the scope of Haarsager's book is broad—covering all of the Pacific Northwest over a sixty-year period—a closer study of the activities of the Ladies Musical Club could have enriched other topics covered in the book. For instance, clubwomen's influence on the literary scene in the Northwest is similar to the LMC's impact on Seattle's music scene.

Returning to Armitage's recent book, *Shaping the Public Good* is an example of a publication that almost completely bypasses the LMC despite its obvious overlap with her subject matter. In spite of a detailed index, she does not list the Ladies Musical Club at all. Where she does mention "music clubs," focus is instead directed at individuals, such as "the legendary" Nellie Cornish, founder of the Cornish School in Seattle and long-time LMC member (Cornish's LMC membership is not cited in the book). Armitage also addresses music clubs broadly, noting that the "ladies musical clubs that had been founded throughout the region in the 1890s were the first step in fostering professional-level musical talent."⁵⁷ She does mention the

⁵⁶ Sandra Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 213.

⁵⁷ Armitage, *Shaping the Public Good*, 204.

Ladies Musical Club by name once, but only in passing, and only fleetingly how it relates to the formation of another musical institution, the Seattle Symphony.⁵⁸ Overall, music is largely and conspicuously absent from the survey.

Knighton's article on Engberg is one of few publications to adequately cite the Ladies Musical Club as an avenue for women to be exceptionally influential in the Pacific Northwest through music. In her article on Pacific Northwest performer and conductor Engberg, Knighton notes how in the early settled history of the West, "women found themselves tasked with creating and building the community institutions they desired."⁵⁹ Further, the pioneer women in the Pacific Northwest "formed clubs as a means of coming together to establish schools, libraries, hospitals, religious aid groups, and other institutions required to meet the perceived needs of their communities."⁶⁰ She provides a useful summary of the function and influence of the LMC:

In Seattle, as elsewhere in the country, [the] quest for the betterment of the community provided a rationale for many of the women's groups in the arts. Seattle boasted a Ladies Musical Club (LMC) that was founded in 1891 by twenty-four musically trained women, with the intent of promoting the arts and cultural life of the developing city by supporting women who had been musically trained in their youth but who had given up music when they married; of assisting the development of women who were pursuing music professionally by offering scholarships and interest-free loans for higher levels of music education; and of bringing music to the community for all citizens to enjoy.⁶¹

In this case, Knighton uses the LMC as an example of what activities musical women in Seattle were engaged in during the time of Engberg's active musical life. By extension, it serves as

⁵⁸ Ibid. She writes that "in Seattle, Harriet Overton Stimson and her friends in the Seattle Ladies Musical Club inaugurated the Seattle Symphony in 1903"(204).

⁵⁹ Knighton, 368.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 368-9.

further indication of the thesis of her article, that “Mary Davenport Engberg’s career is representative of [an] independent Western mind-set. In addition, as a woman who sought to fully pursue her varied talents, she was fortunate to live in a community that welcomed her efforts with more openness than she might have encountered elsewhere.”⁶²

Engberg’s community was also one of which the Ladies Musical Club was an active part. As Knighton highlights, the Pacific Northwest became recognized as a progressive place for women during the early 20th century, when Engberg was active in Seattle. In addition to the visible musical life of women in the Pacific Northwest, other evidence she cites of the region’s progressive stance toward women include the “vibrant labor movement in Seattle [which] offered working-class and middle-class women the opportunity to collaborate on issues of women’s suffrage and employment”; early passage of women’s voting rights in Washington and other Western States; and Bertha Knight Landes’s 1926 election as mayor of Seattle, the first woman to be elected mayor of a major city in the United States.⁶³ Knighton’s acknowledgement of the LMC’s influence on the Seattle musical community is significant, especially given the regional differences in women’s roles in early twentieth-century America that Engberg’s career

⁶² Knighton, 388.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 368. Knighton notes how women’s voting rights were adopted earlier than much of the United States in Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), and Oregon (1912). The Nineteenth Amendment, which granted all American women the right to vote, was not ratified until 1920. Women in the Washington Territory had been granted voting enfranchisement as early as 1883 but were disenfranchised in 1887. This was attributed to women’s support for temperance: “Almost every lawyer in [the 1887 Washington Constitutional Convention] acknowledged, in private conversation, that the decision by which the women had been disfranchised was illegal. ‘But,’ they said, ‘the women had set the community by the ears on the temperance question, and we had to get rid of them.’ One politician said, frankly, ‘Women are natural mugwumps, and I hate a mugwump.’” In *History of Woman Suffrage Vol. IV*, eds. Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1902): 1098. For more information about the women’s suffrage movement in the Pacific Northwest, see Ruth Barnes Moynihan’s “Of Women’s Rights and Freedom: Abigail Scott Duniway,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. Karen J. Blair, revised ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001): 28-42; Lauren Kessler’s “The Fight for Woman Suffrage and the Oregon Press,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, 43-58. For further reading on Landes and her influence in Seattle, see Doris H. Pieroth’s “Bertha Knight Landes: The Woman Who Was Mayor,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, 135-157.

illustrates.

(Women and) Music in the Pacific Northwest

Knighton's article about Engberg, coupled with Blair's article on the Ladies Musical Club, represent two of three scholarly sources that most closely document the musical landscape of Seattle during the time of the LMC's activities in this study, between 1891-1947. Knighton details how Engberg's successful musical career transcended typical gender roles that were more firmly established in other parts of the country precisely because of the regional differences offered by the Pacific Northwest. Blair argues that the LMC's activities and function place it under the umbrella of national women's clubwork. One other source acknowledges the LMC's influence on Seattle, E. Harvey Jewell's dissertation "Performances of Contemporary and American Music in Seattle, 1853-1912."⁶⁴ Jewell dedicates a notable amount of space (much of two chapters' worth of a seven-chapter tome) to the influence of the Ladies Musical Club, and his study concludes with the production and reception of Mary Carr Moore's *Narcissa* in 1912, a work that is significant to both the LMC's and Seattle's music history. Like Knighton, Jewell accurately recognizes the influence of the Ladies Musical Club on Seattle's musical landscape in particular. He highlights that the LMC is "[p]rimarily responsible for [the] transition [of the frontier sawmill town to a musical center through] the regular presentation of several...internationally known musicians and others in 'Artist Recitals.'"⁶⁵ Overall, these three

⁶⁴ E. Harvey Jewell, "Performances of Contemporary and American Music in Seattle, 1853-1912" (DMA diss., University of Washington, 1977).

⁶⁵ Jewell, 177.

works represent the entire account of scholarly attention that the Ladies Musical Club has received until this point.

Outside of strictly academic tomes, there are a few other books on music in Seattle that make note of the Ladies Musical Club. Two recent publications on Seattle's musical life are Melinda Bargreen's *Classical Seattle: Maestros, Impresarios, Virtuosi, and Other Music Makers* (2016), and Kurt E. Armbruster's *Before Seattle Rocked: A City and Its Music* (2011).⁶⁶

Bargreen's experience with the musical community in Seattle is long and rich—from 1977 to 2008, she was a classical music critic for the *Seattle Times*, an important publication in Seattle that is cited heavily in this study. Bargreen is clear in her aim with *Classical Seattle*, writing that it “is not a biographical dictionary or a comprehensive who's who, and it's not a footnote-heavy research tome. It is, rather, *a personal memoir of Seattle's classical music scene*. [my emphasis]”⁶⁷ While Bargreen's memoir focuses on post-World's Fair Seattle (from 1962 to on), she still addresses the influence of the LMC, noting how:

At the conclusion of the 1962 World's Fair, there was as yet no Seattle Opera, nor was there a resident chamber orchestra or chamber music festival. These was however, the venerable Ladies Musical Club...Before 1962, the LMC was responsible for an international concert series that had already brought to Seattle such luminaries as Rachmaninoff, Kreisler, Schnabel, Schumann-Heink, de Larrocha, Paderewski, Casals, and Heifetz, as well as the orchestras of New York and Chicago.⁶⁸

Here, Bargreen cites the LMC and its Artist Concert Series as one of the main, long-lasting influences in Seattle.

⁶⁶ Kurt E. Armbruster, *Before Seattle Rocked: A City and Its Music* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011); Melinda Bargreen, *Classical Seattle: Maestros, Impresarios, Virtuosi, and Other Music Makers* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016).

⁶⁷ Bargreen, 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

Aiming to capture the hard work of what he feels are influential yet underrepresented musicians, Armbruster's book serves as a valuable survey of Seattle's musical life, providing information about popular repertory; an overview of sociopolitical issues such as race, ethnicity, and gender in early Seattle; and a catalogue of names that were important to the scene but largely forgotten outside of a narrow group of musicians, fans, and acquaintances. Armbruster does note the influence of the Ladies Musical Club as one of many clubs that that helped in "transforming America's artistic and social life," and that the LMC was an organization that kept classical music afloat "during the symphony's wilderness years."⁶⁹ Yet his mention of them is brief, critical, and even inaccurate; he writes of the LMC in any detail only once in the book, calling it "elite, affluent, and narrow in artistic breadth" and carelessly misspelling the name of perhaps the club's most important member, Executive Secretary Rose Gottstein.⁷⁰

Armbruster also downplays the LMC's importance in the 1930s and 1940s in favor of impresario Cecilia Augspurger Schultz, who was also active during that time. Armbruster declares Schultz "Seattle's first lady of classical music" and a "one-woman cultural movement" by virtue of her "sweeping into New York booking agencies every summer and returning with a purseful of talent."⁷¹ In fact, it was Rose Gottstein who had successfully started that tradition several decades before—something Armbruster even notes earlier in the book!—and it was the LMC that continued the tradition of impresario work successfully during the time Schultz was active in the musical community.⁷² Armbruster's account inaccurately attributes all of the talent

⁶⁹ Armbruster, 75, 109.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁷² Armbruster, 156. Armbruster notes how Gottstein was important because of her "distinguished career as Seattle's first woman concert promoter"(75). The image of a purse full of cash has been used to describe Gottstein's yearly trips to New York City as well.

drawn to Seattle—including African American performers brought by the LMC—to solely Schultz’s work, which is just not the case.⁷³ Overall, the brevity of and inaccuracies within Armbruster’s account of the LMC amidst the otherwise impressive chronicle makes the current study all the more urgent. Echoing Blair—and Armitage, and Jensen—there is still far to go in the documentation of women’s and music’s role in the history of the Pacific Northwest.

⁷³ “Thanks to Cissy,” he writes, “Seattle heard numerous African American artists—Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson—and 1943’s touring Broadway production of *Porgy and Bess* set a Moore Theater attendance record”(156). Schultz did present these artists but generally only after the LMC (and others) had them in heavy rotation during 1931-1947. Schultz was an important impresario in Seattle. Yet the fact that Armbruster cites her as the sole purveyor of classical music and musical taste during this time is a misrepresentation at best.

Chapter Two

Making History and Achieving “Greatness” through the LMC’s Work and Purpose, 1891-

1950

The history of the Ladies’ Musical Club is like the biography of a great man.

“Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,”
Seattle Sunday Times, 1934⁷⁴

Back in 1891, 20 women met in the parlor of one of their number. Throughout the years, the club purpose has remained unchanged: “To develop the musical talents of its members (all are performing musicians) and to stimulate musical interest in Seattle.”

“Ladies’ Musical Club Enters 60th Year of Service,”
Seattle Sunday Times, 1950⁷⁵

In a 1934 article in the *Seattle Sunday Times* entitled “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” the author weaves a vivid story of the club’s history up to that point, likening the LMC’s history to “the biography of a great man”:

The history of the Ladies’ Musical Club is like the biography of a great man, a man who started with none of the world’s goods and who, in forty-three years, by dint of hard labor and clear thinking, has carved out for himself in his community by his cultural activities, his philanthropies and his financial achievements, an enviable place among men.⁷⁶

This description is provocative for many reasons. It outlines the areas in which the LMC had succeeded in its then-over-four-decade “lifespan”: culturally, philanthropically, and financially.

It notes how the LMC’s success had been achieved by equal parts hard work and intellect. It

⁷⁴ “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, June 3, 1934, 15.

⁷⁵ Dorothy Brant Brazier, “Half-Century of Presenting Artists’ Concerts Is Also Marked by Organization,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, April 16, 1950, 38.

⁷⁶ “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” 15.

emphasizes the Club's agency by noting how it "has carved [this place] out *for himself*," adding to the rags-to-riches narrative an element of the familiar, very American "self-made man." And it highlights the power of this "great man" by declaring that "Great Artists Come At *Their* Bidding[my emphasis]" in the leading headline. Overall, in this one sentence, the author has laid out a set of values that is incredibly straightforward and telling: the markers of a "great man" are cultural activities, philanthropies, and financial achievements, and a "great man" is made successful by way of hard labor and clear thinking. These three markers—cultural, philanthropic, and financial accomplishments—are useful themes that can be traced throughout accounts of the early history of this club of "musical Seattle women."⁷⁷

This article is one example among many of a history of the LMC that appeared in a local publication. Articles touting the LMC's achievements and its importance in Seattle's musical life showed up frequently in the local Seattle press, often around popular Artist Concert Series concerts or other major LMC milestones, such as anniversaries or noted cultural contributions.⁷⁸ While this "biography" article employs a notably rich and compelling simile, there are also several elements that appear in this "biography" article that have been codified as part of the LMC's historical narrative and are frequently included even in brief historical accounts. These include an overview of the LMC's founding, a list of the former presidents and key members, the names of notable performers in the Artist Concert Series, and some information about the civic service of the LMC, including its role in the founding of other Seattle musical institutions such as the Seattle Symphony, as well as other notable philanthropic endeavors.

⁷⁷ "Ladies' Musical Club's Success Represents Years of Striving," 15.

⁷⁸ The history is still celebrated in the local press on important milestones, such as the LMC's recent 125-year anniversary.

Using these contemporaneous accounts of the LMC's history, as well as some detail from later LMC-written histories, I will highlight critical moments in the origin story of the "great man," and expand on some abridged sections of the LMC's early history that were crucial to the establishment of the LMC as Seattle's musical authority.⁷⁹ In addition to the impressive level of productivity at the LMC's founding as well as the directives set in the original constitution, these include the LMC's participation in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the seminal second season of the Artist Concert Series in 1901-02, the LMC's early and lasting support of its composer members and other local composers, and some examples of musical and non-musical philanthropy in which the LMC was engaged. I will also look at the influence of a great woman, Rose Gottstein, who embodied all three elements of "greatness," and whose hard labor and clear thinking helped define the Seattle classical music scene. It is there I will return to the "biography" article to further discuss its implications about women's work in Seattle. Overall, the LMC's conscious, immediate, and lasting commitment to the cultural and philanthropic aims of the club as well as its financial success, and the dedication of its leaders to creating and maintaining a professional-level organization, established the LMC as an authoritative

⁷⁹ While articles on the LMC's history that appeared in the press offer a public perspective on the LMC's historical impact, the LMC's internal documentation provides some self-reflection on the legacy of the Club. The LMC valued its own bookkeeping. From the early days of the organization there was a designated clubwoman to document the LMC's activities through scrapbooking, or the general collection and preservation of memorabilia such as concert programs and newspaper articles. Later, internal LMC historians wrote different iterations of the LMC's history for internal documentation and for presentations to LMC members at Club meetings and other functions. These Club-driven histories tend to be longer and more detailed than the articles that appeared in the press. While they do contain similar elements to the local press versions, they also serve to fill in some of the more personal stories and recollections, as well as additional details that resonated with the LMC historian and/or the general membership (as the writers and audience of these histories) (Leotta Rawson, "Address," Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 1981, 1). In the LMC's archives, there are five histories of substantial length that were written by three different archivists/historians in the LMC between 1978 and 2001, as well as a timeline that was developed in 1994. The most recent example, written by Mary Rhodes in 2001, is also the most comprehensive, building on the previous versions with few omissions and some additions. These longer, self-generated histories help to complete the picture of the LMC's activities over the years. However, like many biographies of great men and women alike, there are still some elements that have been either mythologized, abridged, or omitted entirely.

organization in the community. Ultimately, the LMC's visible and celebrated success—both as a group and as a collection of individual female leaders—in these three areas was a crucial factor in the development of Seattle as a progressive place for women by the early 1920s.

The Founding of the LMC

The founding of the LMC reveals an immediate and firm commitment to professionalism by charter members of the LMC. As with many origin stories, there is some mystery surrounding the exact details of the Club's inception, and so different versions have emerged over the years. The intention of clarifying these myths is not to diminish the value of the LMC's importance or "disprove" Club accounts but rather to present a clarified, rigorous, historically accurate version from which the facts emerge and speak for themselves. The first is around the specifics of the first meeting and the first concert. The second is whether the LMC was truly the "first organization of its kind on the Pacific Coast," as has been oft-repeated in histories of the Club since the early 1940s.⁸⁰ A reexamination of these details of the LMC's infancy strengthen its position as Seattle's oldest influential arts organization.

Due to the ambitious scope of the LMC's first official meeting, there is some confusion about the exact date that the LMC began, and the date of the first meeting of the Ladies Musical Club is often misreported in later accounts, even within internal Club publications.⁸¹ The number

⁸⁰ Rita Bricker, "Ladies Musical Club of Seattle," Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 1943. Also cited, for instance, in Leotta Rawson's 1978 talk.

⁸¹ For instance, the section of the Members' book from the 1984-6 season entitled "History of Ladies Musical Club" reports both that the Club was "[f]ounded in 1891, March 20" and that "Mrs. George Bacon founded Ladies Musical Club at a meeting she called and which met at her home on March 24, 1891 (Ladies Musical Club Members' Book, 1984-1986, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 2-3). Another undated history by former Club Archivist and Past-President Leotta Rawson states that "Mrs. Bacon [Ellen Bartlett] invited a group of women to her home to form a Music club on March 20, 1891" (Leotta Rawson, "History of Ladies Musical Club," Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 1). Rawson's account was probably written in 1980. She indicates that this paper was written in the "90th year of music making and concert giving in Seattle" (8) and that at the time of writing there had been "80 years of activity since 1900" (8).

of people in attendance also varies, often stated incorrectly as either twenty-two or twenty-four charter members present at that first meeting.⁸² Documentation in local press and in the LMC archives (**Figure 1**) helps pinpoint the dates and establish charter members. Handwritten notes by the secretary in the archives indicate that the first meeting of the LMC was on March 2nd, and the first “regular” concert—and the second “musical”—held by the LMC was on March 20th. The secretary’s minutes detail that there were twenty women present at the first meeting, and a local newspaper article confirms that there were twenty-two members of the LMC at the second musicale on March 20th.⁸³ These minutes also show that the constitution “had been previously drawn up for the consideration of the Club, [which] was read and unanimously adopted, article by article.”⁸⁴

⁸² Rawson’s account asserts that “[t]wenty-four ladies came that day,” while other sources correctly list the attendance at twenty-two (1). Blair also puts the number at twenty-four (“The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930,” 268). It’s not immediately clear where the confusion started other than the fact that the dates and numbers are so similar – 2, 20, 22, 24.

⁸³ Minutes from the first meeting state that “[a]fter the payment of dues by the twenty members present, the Executive Committee retired for the election of a secretary and treasurer”(12); “Happenings of the Week: Meeting of the Ladies’ Musical Club—Surprise and Card Parties,” *Seattle Press Times*, March 21, 1891.

⁸⁴ Hawley, Secretary’s minutes, 11.

11

First Meeting

Monday, March 2nd 1891, The first meeting of "The Ladies' Club of Seattle" was held at the residence of Mrs. G. W. Bacon. The musical program was opened with a piano duet by Mrs. Peters and Mrs. Bacon. Following this was a vocal selection by Mrs. King, after which Mrs. Heimann, accompanied by Mrs. Bacon, played a harp solo.

The members then proceeded to the business of formal organization. Mrs. Peters was chosen Chairman of the meeting and a Secretary pro tem. was also appointed.

A Constitution, which had been previously drawn up for the consideration of the Club, was read and unanimously adopted, article by article.

Nominations for President being next in order, a ballot was taken with the result that Mrs. Bacon was unanimously elected to that office.

Mrs. Stewart was then chosen Vice President, and Miss Petwin, Miss Sheafe & Miss Hamilton were elected members of the Executive Committee of five, the Pres. and vice-Pres. being *ex officio* members.

Figure 1: Minutes from the First LMC Meeting on March 2nd, 1891 (upper left)⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Adela Hawley, Secretary's minutes, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 11. Original notes were taken by Mary Shepard, who was the Secretary pro tempore for the first meeting, but were later copied by Hawley, who was elected Secretary during the first meeting.

In addition to prior planning on the business end, a musical program was also prepared by some members, and the inaugural meeting opened with a piano duet, a vocal selection, and a banjo solo (with accompaniment). The pre-drafted constitution opened with a simple declaration of the club's name and purpose:

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be The Ladies Musical Club, of Seattle, Washington.

Sec. 2. Its object shall be to develop the musical talent of its members, and to stimulate musical culture in Seattle.⁸⁶

After officers had been elected, meeting frequency and times established (“every other Friday afternoon at half past two o’clock”), and dues paid by the members present, the meeting was adjourned until the next time—the date of the second musicale on Friday March 20th, 1891.⁸⁷ It is not clear which of the charter member(s) had drafted the constitution prior to the first meeting. It is apparent, however, that the LMC’s first meeting was an event that was carefully planned in order to facilitate a quick and fruitful start. That members were able to “hit the ground running” by adopting a pre-drafted constitution, filling key roles for a governing body, and holding a concert at the very first gathering of its new members—a fact that has likely led to the misreporting of dates in Club histories—shows just how committed these women were to forming a viable, productive, and professional-level organization.

⁸⁶“Article I, Sec. 1-2,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies’ Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 8. This third “Announcement” or Member’s Book is the earliest printed Member’s Book in the archives and presumably the first. It contains an overview of the Club’s work from the 1891-2 and 1892-3 seasons, including the program performed by the LMC at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893.

⁸⁷ Secretary’s minutes, 12.

Histories of the LMC often cite the musical pedigree of some of the LMC's early members as evidence of its early legitimacy. Settled in 1851, Seattle was a relatively young city compared to the musical centers of the East Coast.⁸⁸ While all the early members of the LMC were "transplants," some had been active in Seattle's nascent musical community since the time of their arrival in the decades before the LMC's 1891 founding. Martha Blanka Churchill, who arrived in Seattle around 1885, appears in many of the LMC's histories due to her impressive tutelage—she studied piano under Franz Liszt in Weimar. She met her husband, Dr. Frank Churchill, while touring in Europe, and followed him West after he had established his practice in Seattle in 1884.⁸⁹ A reflective article from 1950 gives nod to Churchill's early influence, writing that "[b]y a happy chance at [around the time of the LMC's founding] Martha B. Churchill (Mrs. Dr. Churchill), a pupil of Liszt's and a popular concert artist, located in Seattle and became the club's first musical director. To her much of the club's early-day progress was due."⁹⁰ The author Conover is slightly misleading—Churchill was very active in the Seattle musical community before the formation of the LMC in 1891, having arrived seven years prior, as were other early members. But Conover is correct in citing Churchill's importance in the formation of the LMC and its early successes.⁹¹ Her musical pedigree, along with her integral service to the Club, underscore the proficiency of founding members.

⁸⁸ For instance, the New York Philharmonic had been founded in 1842, nine years prior to Seattle's founding and forty-nine years prior to the LMC's founding.

⁸⁹ Kay F. Reinartz, "Churchills were movers and shakers in creation of Kinnear Park," *Queen Anne News*, July 1, 1992, 9.

⁹⁰ C. T. Conover, "The Ladies Musical Club's Epochal Cultural Service," *Seattle Daily Times*, July 8, 1950, 9.

⁹¹ Churchill passed away just three years after the LMC's founding in 1894. Her death is noted at length in the Members' Book for that year in a touching tribute: "Mrs. Churchill's death robs The Ladies Musical Club of an earnest co-worker and honored Director. Possessed of rare musical genius and of a strong personal magnetism, together with many sweet womanly ways, she made every member of The Ladies Musical Club her warm friend and devoted ally. Words fail to express the sorrow we feel in her untimely death. May the memory of a life so rich in good deeds be a constant inspiration to every member of The Ladies Musical Club" ("In Memoriam," *The Third*

Under the direction of leaders Churchill, President Ellen Bartlett Bacon, and Vice President May E. Stewart, the first year of the LMC was a productive one. The professional tone set in the first gathering continued through the important second meeting on March 20th. Like the first gathering, the second “musical” opened the event with performances by members. The program planned for the event had to be revised at the last minute, “owing to the illness of two or three who were to take part.”⁹² The show did go on, and eight pieces of wide variety were presented by LMC members, including several piano pieces, some vocal numbers, and a trio for guitar, mandolin, and bandurria. Beyond occasional music-making, these performances at Club meetings already had an established significance and function: potential members were invited to perform at this meeting (and subsequent ones) as an audition before the membership committee, in addition to other members present.⁹³ Admittance to the LMC was already competitive; three people auditioned in this second meeting, but only one person was admitted as an Active Member.⁹⁴ Active Members were “ladies” and were required to perform regularly, but “ladies and gentlemen” who wanted to engage with the LMC without performing could join as Associate Members, for an annual fee.⁹⁵ With higher dues than the Active Members, the Associate

Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 19).

⁹² Secretary’s minutes, 13.

⁹³ The Secretary’s minutes indicate that at the end of the meeting “the committee on active membership retired to act upon the three candidates for membership, each of whom had rendered a trial number on the afternoon’s program”(15).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16. Some members were uneasy about turning away potential members when there were many spots to fill (one hundred members was the maximum allowed at this time). Hawley records that “as there was much doubt & discussion as to the advisability of rejecting anyone at this early stage of the Club’s career it was decided to refer the matter to a special committee of five, appointed by the chairman [Mrs. Panting]—they were, Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Holmes, Miss Chamberlin, Mrs. Lyon & Mrs. Coiner; & they confirmed the original vote”(16).

⁹⁵ “Article III, Sec. 1-2,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies’ Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 7. The term “ladies” generally indicated a woman of a certain higher class or social standing (with “gentlemen” describing the same for men). The term will be discussed in more depth later in the chapter. Here, it is important to note that both men and women were included in the Club, but that only women who met the competitive performance standards could join as Active Members. It is also notable that the terms

Members provided a rich revenue stream for the LMC, as they quickly began to outnumber the performing Active Members.⁹⁶

While democratic processes were employed for some aspects of Club business (such as admitting new members and passing proposed motions), much of the early direction of the LMC was set and enforced by its leaders, especially President Bacon. Bacon ensured that new and returning members alike were well-versed in the LMC's procedures and policies; in addition to the performances, there was a "re-reading" of the Club's constitution and by-laws at each meeting the first year "so that all might understand the same" items.⁹⁷ Bacon also created the concert schedule for the year, consisting of an industrious ten additional concerts (for a total of twelve), each with a date, venue, and two concert committee members assigned by the president. President Bacon dealt swiftly with managerial issues and "as it seemed difficult for members to be punctual so the meeting can be called to order at 2:30 p.m.," she "suggested to the Club that...the hour might be changed to 3," a motion which was promptly proposed and passed.⁹⁸ From then on, the meetings were to "hereafter begin promptly at 3 o'clock."⁹⁹ Absenteeism from monthly meetings was also strongly discouraged through a fine of twenty-five cents, "charged for absence of Active Members without an accepted excuse."¹⁰⁰

"Ladies" and "Gentlemen" are employed here in the LMC official documents. These terms will change just a short time later, as we will see.

⁹⁶ For instance, by the 1901-1902 season, there were 121 Associate Members, compared to the 91 Active Members. In 1909-1910, there were 322 Associate Members (*Members' Book, 1909-1910*, Ladies' Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 19).

⁹⁷ Secretary's minutes, 19.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ "Article III, Sec. 4," *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies' Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 8. This third "Announcement" or Member's Book is the earliest printed Member's Book in the archives and presumably the first. It contains an overview of the Club's work from the 1891-2 and 1892-3 seasons, including the program performed by the LMC at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.

Financial sustainability was always important to the LMC. In addition to fines for unexcused absences, members were also required to pay annual dues (initially two dollars for Active Members and three dollars for Associate Members), as well as an admission fee of twenty-five cents per person if the member wished “to bring friends with them to the regular concerts of the Club.”¹⁰¹ Again, strict adherence to the Constitution was encouraged, and penalties for not meeting deadlines and other requirements were steep. The failure to pay dues on time resulted in “[the member’s] name taken from the Club books,” and membership was also revoked from Active Members who “refus[e] to perform at the Club concerts during six months,” except if she presented an “adequate” reason to the Advisory Board.¹⁰²

Musical proficiency desired of members in the LMC meant excelling in musical performance as well as staying informed of current and historical musical topics. LMC meetings were enriched with educational papers read by members. The role of women in music was a relevant topic, and popular artists of early paper presentations such as Lillian Nordica and Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler later were among the first performers presented in Seattle by the LMC for its Artist Concert Series (**Figures 2 and 3**).

¹⁰¹ “Article IV, Sec. 2,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies’ Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 8.

¹⁰² “Article III, Sec. 5,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies’ Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 8; “Article III, Sec. 3,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, 8.

SKETCH OF WORK FOR 1893-4

GENERAL CONCERTS.

- Sept. 2. MISS BEACH.
 Oct. 7. MRS. WHITE and MRS. PRATT.
 Nov. 4. MRS. EMMONS and MRS. GAZZAM.

GOUNOD.

- Dec. 2. MRS. W. E. MILLER and MISS ARTHUR.
 Jan. 6. TACOMA MUSICAL CLUB.
 Feb. 3. MRS. G. H. TARBELL and MRS. F. SCHUYLER.
 March 3. MISS HAYDEN, MISS KELLOGG and MISS MCGRAW.
 April 7. MRS. MITTEN and MISS COMPTON.
 May 5. MRS. CLOCK and MRS. PERKINS.
 June 2. MRS. McMICKEN and MRS. WHITTLESEY.

ACTIVE MEETINGS.

- Sept. 16. "Child Culture and Music in Kindergartens."
 Paper—MRS. McMICKEN.
 General Discussion.
 "Child Prodigies in Music."
 Paper—MRS. KING.

Figure 2: Overview of Activities in the LMC's Third Year¹⁰³

¹⁰³ "Sketch of Work for 1893-4," *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 13.

| ACTIVE MEETINGS. | |
|------------------|---|
| Oct. 21. | <p>“Relative Advantages of Musical Study at Home and Abroad.”</p> <p>First Paper—MRS. G. H. TARBELL. Second Paper—MISS B. CHEAL.</p> |
| Nov. 18. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Clara Schumann,”—MISS BARRAGER. Second Paper—MISS CASSEL.</p> |
| Dec. 16. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Patti,”—MRS. PATTERSON. Paper, “Jenny Lind,”—MISS YOUNG. Paper, “Christine Nilsson,”—MRS. WALLER.</p> |
| Jan. 20. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Parepa Rosa,”—MRS. M. McMICKEN. Paper, “Gerster,”—MRS. W. E. MILLER.</p> |
| Feb. 17. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Nordica,”—MRS. G. A. C. ROCHESTER. Paper, “Materna,”—MRS. PATTERSON.</p> |
| Mar. 17. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Fanny Bloomfield Ziesler.” Paper, “Julia Rive-King.” Paper, “Neally Stevens.”</p> |
| April 21. | <p>“Woman in Music.”</p> <p>Paper, “Amy Fay.”</p> |
| May 19. | <p>Moskowski. Scharwenka. Paderewski. Frederick Grant Gleason.</p> |

Figure 3: Overview of Activities in the LMC's Third Year¹⁰⁴

Overall, between the many and varied performances, the frequent papers, and the regular meetings, the LMC's early years were both enlightening and productive. Due to the strong

¹⁰⁴“Sketch of Work for 1893-4,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 14.

direction from its leaders, its clear guidelines with pecuniary penalties, and its consistent commitment to the highest musical standards, the Club was, from its official inception in March of 1891, well on its way to “develop[ing] the musical talent of its members, and to stimulat[ing] the musical culture in Seattle.”¹⁰⁵

Local press took interest in the LMC by its second musicale, and while its activities were enthusiastically received, it was clear that the LMC was different than other clubs. Calling the musicale “the only swell event of the week,” one article notes that the LMC was “organized a week or two ago by the prominent musicians and people interested in musical affairs.”¹⁰⁶ The event was reportedly well-attended with “fine” musical programming, and overall, the article deemed it “a great success.”¹⁰⁷ However, the specific nature of the LMC created confusion amongst the community, and the article aimed to resolve it by outlining the unique purpose and scope of the Club. “Ladies generally do not seem to understand the plan of organization of the club,” the article declares.¹⁰⁸ The article elucidates:

It is purely for the improvement of musical affairs and to interest society people in the cause of good music. The membership is limited to 100, and there are now 22 members. Each candidate must show that she has had at least two years’ study in either vocal or instrumental music. Each must give an exhibition of her qualifications before the committee on approval, composed of Mesdames Job Lyon, Panting, Adelaide Holmes, Julia Chamberlain, Dr. Churchill, Maurice McMicken, Misses Arthur, Cheal, Sheafe, Potvin. The committee will be changed every three months, so as to be sure that no one is excluded through personal feeling of any kind. Mrs. G. W. Bacon is the president and Mrs. Panting the chairman. The concerts will be given semi-monthly at the different members’ residences. The next will be held at the residence of Dr. Churchill, and gentlemen will be invited.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ “Article I, Sec. 2,” *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, 5.

¹⁰⁶ “Happenings of the Week: Meeting of the Ladies’ Musical Club--Surprise and Card Parties,” *Seattle Press Times*, March 21, 1891, 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Contrary to expectations of what a Ladies' Musical Club might be, this Club would be seasoned, vetted musicians who would be expected to perform regularly and publicly (for both “gentlemen” and other “society people”).

While the LMC was a different kind of club for Seattle, it was not the “first of its kind on the Pacific Coast,” as it has been described on occasion in Club literature.¹¹⁰ The longevity and influence of the Seattle LMC has surpassed that of its Tacoma counterpart, but the founding of the Tacoma Ladies Musical Club slightly predates that of the LMC of Seattle by several months. A small announcement in the “City News” section of the *Tacoma Daily News* on October 16th, 1890 noted the formation of a local musical society in Tacoma, stating briefly that “[a] ladies’ musical club was organized at a meeting held yesterday afternoon at the home of Miss Griggs, on north Tacoma avenue.” The following week, it was announced that:

The Ladies’ Musical club which was recently organized at Miss Griggs’ promise to do much toward developing the latent musical talent of Tacoma and weekly meetings are to be held. Invitations to join the club have been sent to the musically inclined ladies of Tacoma, and a majority of the answers are now in. Among the ladies who have joined the club are: Mesdames A.B. Bull, Ramsdell, Craston, Potter, G. Balch, Howard Goodwin, Hunt, Frank Allyn, Brisbane, Otis Sprague, Shank;’ Misses Griggs, Lawton, Gibbons, Derickson and Confure. The club bids fair to become one of the most delightful associations in Tacoma.¹¹¹

By the time that the Ladies Musical Club of Seattle had formed in March of the following year, the Ladies Musical Club of Tacoma had given several concerts, including a musicale and the club’s first artist recital. Notice, however, the difference in tone between this article and the review of the Seattle LMC’s second musicale. While the article on the LMC of Seattle explains that the target audience was “society,” touts the founding members as “prominent musicians,”

¹¹⁰ Rita Bricker, “Ladies Musical Club of Seattle,” Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 1943.

¹¹¹ “Social Events of the Week,” *Tacoma Daily News*, October 10, 1890, 6.

and highlights the strict musical requirements of membership, the LMC of Tacoma is presented as more of a “delightful,” musically-oriented social club, with frequent gatherings and few requirements for membership other than an invitation.

Regardless of initial differences in founding and purpose between the clubs, neither of the Ladies Musical Clubs was the first musical club in the region. The foundation of musical organizations in Seattle began as early as 1873, and in 1885, the first Oratorio Society was launched at the hands of several founding members of the LMC, including Stewart, Churchill, and Lillian Bell (Mrs. W. H.) Whittlesey.¹¹² J. Willis Sayre, an important long-time Seattle critic, historian, and writer, provides a brief and informative summary of the musical organizations in Seattle up to 1890, the year before the LMC’s founding. He writes that:

The Seattle Musical Society was organized November 21, 1884, with Mrs. A. B. Stewart as its president, and gave a number of concerts in Yesler’s Hall. It was followed the next year by the Oratorio Society, with John Leary at the head; by a reforming of the same group in 1887 under John B. Denny and by the Choral and Orchestral Union, formed in 1889 with seventy-four charter members. R. W. Jones became president of the Philharmonic Society, organized in 1890.¹¹³

This useful overview shows both the interconnectedness of the musical community at the time and the many and varied attempts at the creation of a lasting musical society. Ultimately, by the time the LMC was founded, music was already important to Seattle, and the LMC set itself apart from these prior organizations—and succeeded where others before had failed.

¹¹² E. Harvey Jewell, “Performances of Contemporary and American Music in Seattle, 1853-1912,” diss. University of Washington, 1977: 119-20. Jewell notes that the previous efforts tended to fizzle quickly. For instance, the Seattle Musical Society (formed in 1884) intended to have a weekly “Saturday Popular Concerts” series beginning in May of 1885. These lasted only a short while, however, and by June 13th the “weekly concerts [were] suspended”(120).

¹¹³ J. Willis Sayre, *This City of Ours* (Seattle: Frayn Printing Company, 1936), 118. Also cited in Jewell’s dissertation (124). Jewell captures Sayre’s influence, calling him the “dean of local theatrical criticism, historian, and for a time (c. 1914) manager of the Seattle Philharmonic”(123).

The Ladies Musical Club of Seattle and the Ladies Musical Club of Tacoma had a cooperative and supportive relationship, and shared a friendly competition that mirrored the tug-of-war between the still-developing cities of Seattle and Tacoma during this time. At the time, Tacoma was winning the race in terms of industry due to an early victory – the transcontinental railroad had been completed in 1883, and Tacoma had won out over Seattle as the location for the ending terminal, much to the chagrin of Seattleites. The disappointment was overshadowed by the sheer importance of the railroad coming out west, and any hard feelings were put aside in a celebration in Seattle that, as Jewell cites, was “the greatest display ever witnessed in this city.”¹¹⁴ But the two musical clubs were in close contact especially in the early days. Periodic concert exchanges were publicized in Seattle papers, such as two reciprocal concerts in the Spring of 1900. The LMC of Seattle travelled to Tacoma to present a concert to the LMC of Tacoma on March 6, 1900. The gesture was returned the following month when fifty members of the Tacoma Ladies Musical Club sailed to Seattle to perform for the Seattle LMC (**Figure 4**).

¹¹⁴ Jewell, 115-6. Jewell cites a lengthy article “The Queen City” that appeared as a special edition of the *Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer* September 15, 1883. The article likens the finishing of the railroad to a marriage union and conveys the achievement in grandiose terms, writing that: “we should celebrate the wedding of the Northern lakes with the Pacific sea; [it is] fitting that a chorus, a grand acclaim should follow and attend the bridal party as with pomp and circumstance they swiftly follow in pride and exultation the track of the passing sunlight. The occasion is worth the assemblage. No royal presence is needed to add honor to the day and the event. It celebrates another triumph of united human energy and effort with which this century has been replete and is resplendent. It is another wonder of man’s achievement, not like the pyramids, a glory of and to the dead, but by and for the living”(2).

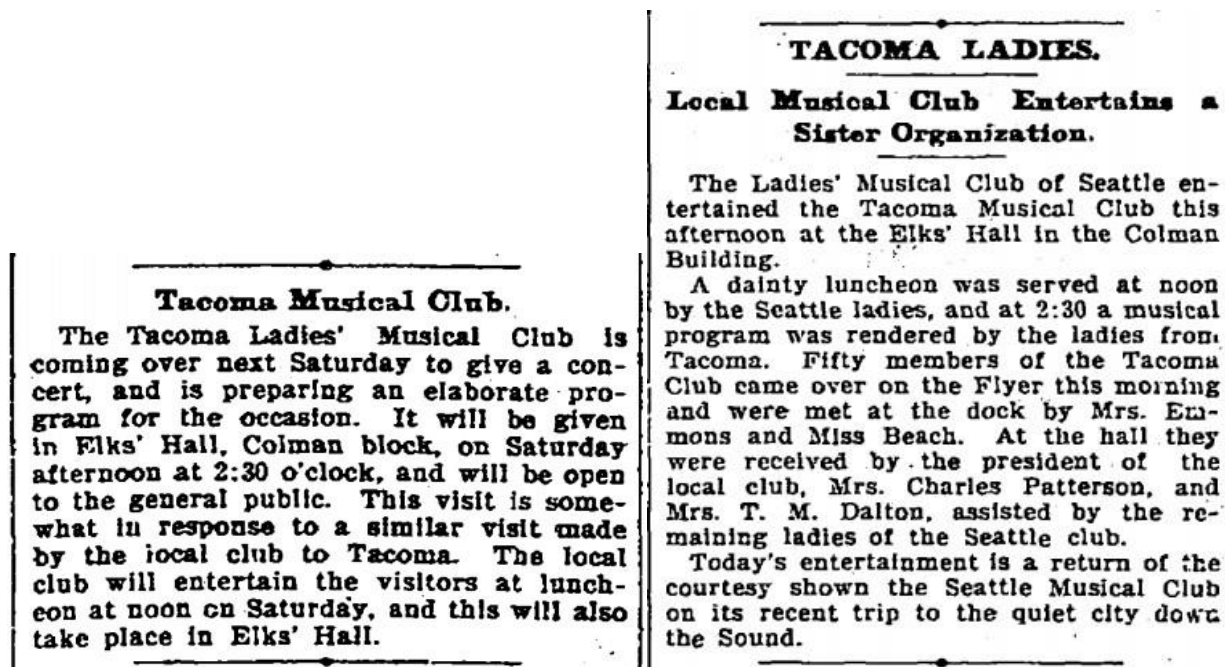


Figure 4: Articles on Concert Exchange between LMCs of Seattle and Tacoma¹¹⁵

This tradition of musical exchange dates back at least to December of 1893, when the LMC of Seattle performed for the “sister organization” in Tacoma, followed by a performance by the Tacoma Club the following January in Seattle.¹¹⁶ It also persisted for many years, continuing through the 1930s.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Left: *Seattle Daily Times*, April 4, 1900, 7; Right: *Seattle Daily Times*, April 7, 1900, 5.

¹¹⁶ The LMC of Seattle's performance in Tacoma got a lengthy write up in both Tacoma and Seattle papers describing the pleasant and hospitable relationship. In the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, the writer reports that the “ladies and gentlemen [who] went over from this city...were very hospitably received by the Ladies' Musical Club of Tacoma, being met at the wharf by a committee and escorted to the hall. After the concert dainty refreshments were served to the visitors”(December 18, 1893, 8).

¹¹⁷ For example, the LMC of Tacoma presented a program at an Active Members' Meeting of the Seattle LMC on February 22nd, 1937 (*Members' Book, 1936-1938*, Seattle Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 21).

The LMC on the World Stage – The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893

This friendly relationship between the two clubs with the similar goals—to improve music in the area and skills of its members—was likely cemented in the summer months of 1893, when both clubs participated in one of the most important musical debuts of the region’s musical life: the Chicago World’s Fair. Representatives from the Ladies Musical Clubs of Seattle and Tacoma travelled to Chicago for this momentous musical event, and reports on both of the LMCs’ participation appeared in Seattle publications.¹¹⁸

The involvement of the Ladies Musical Club in the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair was a watershed moment in the Club’s early life, and it is frequently cited in LMC biographies and articles. At just over two years old, the LMC was invited to play on an international stage at the National Convention of Women’s Amateur Musical Clubs in Chicago in June of 1893. The value of the participation for the LMC was two-fold. First, it helped establish the LMC as a musical authority in its home region, since the trip was highly publicized in the local press, and because the World’s Fair itself was billed as being of exceptionally high musical quality, in addition to representing women’s contributions to both art and industry. On the other hand, the LMC’s attendance helped validate the musical achievement of the Pacific Northwest as commensurate with the rest of the country, especially since the youthful region had not one but two representatives. In 1894, the LMC’s current president Stewart reflected on the experience as invaluable and instructive, noting that “[w]e were one of the youngest Clubs there represented.

¹¹⁸ For example, a preview of the LMC of Tacoma’s program was printed in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (May 31, 1893, 8). Many other articles appeared about the LMC of Seattle’s participation.

The advantages of that Convention to our Club, in better methods of work, has been incalculable.”¹¹⁹

The World’s Fair (also referred to as “Exposition” or “Exhibition”) tradition has 19th century French and British roots.¹²⁰ While the French are credited with developing the tradition and hosting the first large-scale exposition in 1844 (called the “French Industrial Exposition”), the first international exposition or World’s Fair occurred in Britain in 1851. Called the “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations” or just the “Great Exhibition,” this “first modern world’s fair” sought to highlight the recent advancements in industry.¹²¹ From there, often annually, there were World’s Fairs hosted by different cities in different countries, each showcasing its specific theme. The 1884 World’s Fair in New Orleans, Louisiana, for instance, was called the “Cotton Centennial Exposition,” and was designed to celebrate the 100-year anniversary of exporting cotton from the Southern United States.¹²² Between the New Orleans World’s Fair and the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, there were eleven total interim expositions, making the Chicago event the thirty-second World’s Fair and the seventh in the United States.¹²³ Chicago’s event was called the “World’s Columbian Exposition” and celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus’s landing at the Americas in 1492. This nostalgic theme likely was

¹¹⁹ May E. Stewart, *Member’s Book, 1894-1895*, Seattle Ladies’ Musical Club Records, MOHAI, 4.

¹²⁰ The way the events are referred to generally depends on the region. Specifically, they are “commonly called ‘world’s fairs’ in the United States, ‘exhibitions’ in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, and ‘expositions’ in France and other countries. The term ‘expo,’ a shortening of exposition, has become popular as a descriptive term since the 1960s and is now part of the formal name for some fairs,” although the terms can generally be used interchangeably, as I do here. From “Preface,” in *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 8.

¹²¹ Preface to *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, 7.

¹²² Miki Pfeffer, *Southern Ladies and Suffragists: Julia Ward Howe and Women’s Rights at the 1884 New Orleans World’s Fair* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 11.

¹²³ Prior US World’s Fairs include, in chronological order: New York (1853), Philadelphia (1876), Atlanta (1881), Boston (1883), Louisville (1883-1887), and New Orleans (1884-1885). From *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, vii-viii.

proposed in response to the successful Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 that marked the 100th anniversary of the approval of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

The Chicago World's Fair in 1893 was an important event for American music, women, and women in American music. Local, national, and international newspapers, journals, and other publications covered the musical events for the World's Columbian Exposition, reaching a wide and diverse audience on the goings-on of the Fair. This World's Fair was arguably the most important that the LMC could have participated in to-date for two reasons. First, these fairs in America had become important platforms for women to showcase their participation in industry, and this fair too had women's interests and contributions represented. Second, it was anticipated and recognized as the first to elevate music to an exhibition rather than including music as ancillary or supplemental, as prior fairs had.

The amount of attention devoted to women at the Chicago World's Fair was greater than that of its predecessors. The representation of women on this world platform began in 1884 with the inclusion of a "Women's Department" in the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exposition. In her book on women's roles at the Cotton Centennial Exposition, Miki Pfeffer explains this inclusion as a part of a broader push to present a harmonious and forward-thinking "New South" to the world, and especially to "northern businessmen who might otherwise be skittish about investing in a problematic South" after the American Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction.¹²⁴ She summarizes the complexity and importance of the Fair, noting how the "New South":

¹²⁴ Pfeffer, 1.

was the brainchild of a small group of publishers and merchants who combined wishful thinking with calculating opportunism. Enthusiasts of the emerging ideology touted *reconciliation and racial harmony as if these had already been accomplished*, but such notions were more conceptual than tangible in a culture still largely devoted to an Old South...[The World's Fair] marketed sectional goodwill and tranquil race relations. As a further balm, the fair's Board of Management decided to include a Woman's Department and a Colored Department.¹²⁵

This new department for women on an international platform provided a space for meeting and espousing issues facing women of the time.¹²⁶ Importantly, this set a precedent for including similar departments in subsequent fairs. Nine years later, the Chicago World's Fair had a significant women's presence, of which Seattle and national audiences took note. In his summary of the Chicago World's Fair, R. Reid Badger notes how the construction of a "Women's Building" garnered "special attention during the course of the fair."¹²⁷ Badger summarizes the importance of women at the Chicago World's Fair:

Indeed, due especially to the efforts of [activist] Susan B. Anthony, *women played a more visible and active role in the Columbian Exposition than in any previous world's fair*. Not only was there the Women's Building, housing exhibits demonstrating women's accomplishments in education, the arts, science, and industry, and a separate Women's Department, but also a 115-member national commission (labeled the "Board of Lady Managers") was established.[my emphasis]¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Pfeffer, 1.

¹²⁶ She writes further that "[t]he backdrop for celebration and change at the Cotton Centennial was the purposely gendered space of the Woman's Department, a strategy of separateness that these white women used to meet their goals. Women of color, who originally wished to show with their gender, instead exhibited with their "race" in the Colored Department, the first such space offered to people of color at a world's fair. Each of the two departments offered exhibitors and leaders a place to prove they were capable of contributing to industry. Of course, as both groups readily admitted, they first had to disprove the commonly held view that they were incapable of full partnership in a marketplace so highly prized. Toward that end, each group seized a measure of agency and controlled its own messages during the Exposition"(4).

¹²⁷ R. Reid Badger, "Chicago 1893: World's Columbian Exposition," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, 121.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

According to the president of the Board of Lady Managers Bertha Honoré Palmer, this “discovery of women” at the Chicago World’s Fair was “[m]ore important than the discovery of Columbus.”¹²⁹ For Palmer and others, the positive implications for women at the fair eclipsed the theme of the fair itself.

In addition to the large role that women were to play at the Chicago World’s Fair, there was one more important element that separated this World’s Fair from the previous ones: music. The British-based musical journal *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular* summarizes the musical importance of this World’s Fair in an overview entitled “Music at the Chicago Exhibition.” The correspondent writes that while the Fair “is as yet young and not full grown” and “whether it realise[sic] the intentions of its promoters or disappoint their hopes”:

*the Exhibition will stand in history as the first which paid proper attention to music. Throughout the long series [of World’s Fairs] from the Hyde Park show in 1851 to that of New Orleans in 1885, music has been to each merely an adjunct, a kind of ceremonial item; but at Chicago it is raised to the rank of an “exhibit,” systematically and amply displayed, not merely to entertain but to instruct.[my emphasis]*¹³⁰

Just like women’s visible role, in this World’s Fair, music was to play a greater—or the greatest—role in any world’s fair to-date, and the international musical community was watching.

¹²⁹ Badger, 121. Badger provides Palmer’s full quotation, as “told [to] her audience of over 100,000 at the dedication ceremonies in October 1892”: “More important than the discovery of Columbus is the fact that the General Government has just discovered women”(121). “Lady Managers” became an important topic of discussion at the 1893 Fair. While this Board of Lady Managers received attention, it was still discussed in dubious ways at times in local press, and as Gail Bederman has shown, women’s influence in the Fair was frequently marginalized by those in charge. The term “Lady Managers” itself was seen as an attempt to diminish women’s role in the Fair. For a discussion of the controversies and complexities regarding women’s role at the Chicago World’s Fair, see Bederman’s analysis in “Remaking Manhood,” the first chapter of *Manliness & Civilization*, 31-41. Regardless of how complicated the role women held, however, women still played a greater role in the Chicago Fair than any prior.

¹³⁰ “Music at the Chicago Exhibition,” *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular* Vol. 34, no. 604 (June 1, 1893): 329.

In addition to music being elevated to an exhibition, the music at the Chicago World's Fair was planned as being of the top musical quality. At this World's Fair, not only would there *be* music, it would be *good* music. When the announcement was made for the Fair's musical schedule, *The Chicago Tribune* declared that the published list of performances indicated that "the center of musical interest will move to the White City."¹³¹ The upcoming music was presented as unequivocally world-class in a very lengthy and telling description, citing the importance of this high caliber music to both the Fair and to the broader world of music:

A list of concerts, the equal of which in number, magnitude, and musical importance the world has never before known, has been announced, and if the Bureau of Music does not abandon its original scheme, America will be enabled to show to the visiting nations that in the artistic world its achievements have been in no wise inconsiderable, but in certain respects but little inferior to the marvelous results it has obtained in the realms of commerce and mechanics.¹³²

The writer here clearly wanted the readers to know the importance of this musical program for showing the world America's progress. Music is, as s/he writes later, the "loveliest of arts," and the quality of the music at the World's Fair serves as an indication of how America's musical taste and talent had nearly caught up to America's excellence in business and science.¹³³ It also serves as a subtle warning to the Bureau of Music – stay the course or jeopardize America's musical presentation to the world.¹³⁴ Overall, this 1893 Chicago World's Fair was viewed as a way to formally present American music to the world.

¹³¹ "Music Arrangements for the Fair," *The Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1893, 5.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ There were additional controversies surrounding music at the Fair, including the musical director Theodore Thomas's battles with the musical board over, among other things, which instrument brands would be allowed at the Fair.

While this was not the first World's Fair held in the United States, the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition occurred at an important time in the development of American music. Composer Antonín Dvořák made a publicized trip to the World's Fair in the middle of his four-year tenure as Director of the National Conservatory in America in New York City. Dvořák's music had been a focal point around discussions of what kinds of musical compositions were intrinsically "American," amidst a wave of musical nationalism. He visited the Fair in Chicago in the summer of 1893, where he conducted several of his own nationalist-style pieces that celebrated his Czech heritage on "Bohemian Day."¹³⁵ He was reportedly in Chicago for almost two weeks, where he "could be found in the evenings at the Old Vienna Tavern on the Midway where he enjoyed real imported Pilsner beer."¹³⁶ He also published his influential Symphony no. 9 in E minor ("From the New World") in December of 1893, which he completed during his stay in the Midwest in a Czech settlement in Spillville, Iowa that summer.

In addition to Dvořák's presence, the Chicago World's Fair provided an international platform for two of the major "folk music" sources that Dvořák and others were promoting as distinctly American: African American and Native American Music. *The Musical Times* reported back to international audiences that:

Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, of the [Chicago] *Tribune*, read recently a valuable paper on American Folk-Song, with vocal illustrations taken from the old melodies of the negro slaves. Miss Alice Fletcher, who has spent much time among the Indians, treated the question of 'Indian Songs' very fully, and a native Indian furnished vocal examples of the different classes. These papers, with others treating of cognate themes, will doubtless be issued in permanent form, and will not be the least among the many valuable results accomplished by the Columbian Exposition."¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Badger, "Chicago 1893: World's Columbian Exposition," 120.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ "Music In Chicago," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol 34, no. 606 (August 1, 1893): 476.

The appearance of significant elements (music of “negro slaves” and “native Indian[s]”) and figures (Dvořák) in the discussions of American nationalism in music at the time at the World’s Fair in Chicago show that Chicago was engulfed in important musicological discussions of the day.¹³⁸ In addition, pieces incorporating these two folk sources (Native American and African American) in American musical compositions later became favorites genres of the LMC.

While the World’s Fair was a moment to present the face of American music to the world, the Women’s Amateur Musical Convention—in which both LMC of Seattle and LMC of Tacoma were participants—was also a place to showcase the musical achievements of the women in the Pacific Northwest to other clubwomen as well as the national and international musical communities. In addition to Palmer, another noted figure who oversaw the Women’s Amateur Musical Convention was Rose Fay Thomas. Thomas was the wife of famed conductor (and musical director of the Fair) Theodore Thomas, and she was respected locally in art and music circles. As President of the Chicago Amateur Musical Club, she kicked off the convention with an “Introductory Address” on Wednesday June 21st. The aims of the convention are noted in the program (**Figure 5**), the primary goal being “[t]o show the actual standard of musical culture amongst the best class of American women in all parts of the country.”¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Exposure to Native American music at the 1893 World’s Fair is cited as the specific moment of inspiration for some important Indianist figures in American music, such as ethnomusicologist Natalie Curtis, to pursue the study of Native American music.

¹³⁹ National Convention of Women’s Amateur Musical Clubs Program, Special Collections Division, Chicago Public Library, 1.

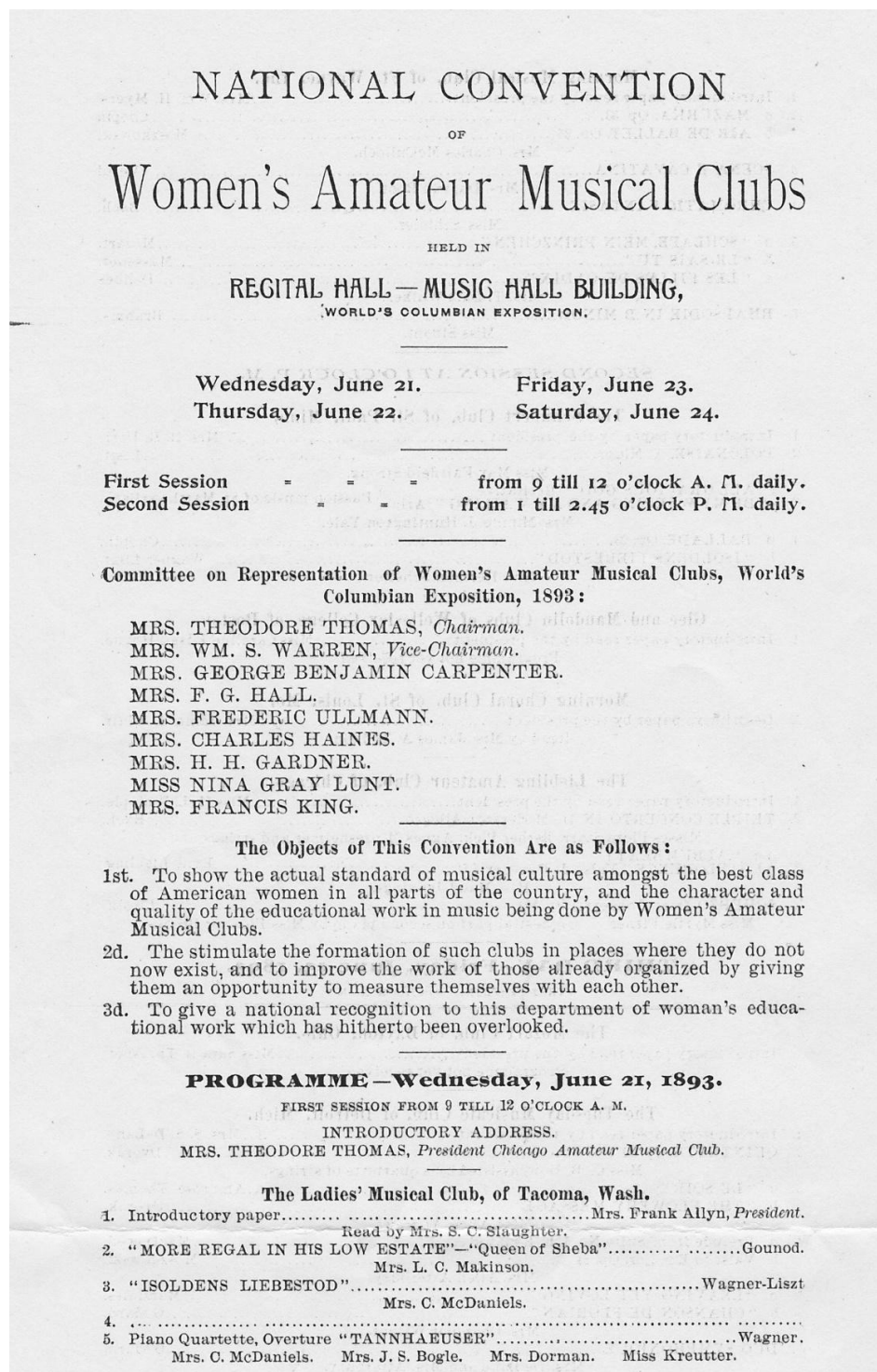


Figure 5: Program for Convention at Chicago World's Fair, 1893 (Front Page)¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ National Convention of Women's Amateur Musical Clubs Program, Special Collections Division, Chicago Public Library, 1.

Overall, the National Convention provided a unique avenue to showcase the work of women in clubs such as the Ladies Musical Clubs of Seattle and Tacoma.

The event was spaced into four days of programs, with two sessions each day except the last.¹⁴¹ The Ladies Musical Club of Tacoma kicked off the first session with an “Introductory paper” and three musical pieces. Audiences back home were interested in every detail. They read how there had been an additional piece planned; it was a “vocal trio, but that fell through [because]...[t]he club representatives will have only twenty minutes for the concert and it is felt that they could not crowd any more upon the program.”¹⁴² The clubs were also reportedly allowed ten additional minutes for presenting a paper.¹⁴³ In total, thirty-nine clubs performed from across the country over the four day, eleven-session span, with programs ranging from a solo “Descriptive” or “Introductory” paper presentation by the club’s president (presumably outlining the activities of the respective club) to eight musical pieces to somewhere in between.¹⁴⁴ Among the distinguished amateur performers was Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, who was to perform Robert Schumann’s Concerto in A minor “with [a] second piano accompaniment.”¹⁴⁵

In addition to the details of the convention, audiences back home in Seattle took special interest in what the performance meant to the musical and cultural life of Seattle. One article in the society page writes that “society is taking considerable interest in matters musical. This result

¹⁴¹ There was only a morning session on the last day of the event.

¹⁴² “Sing at the Fair,” *Tacoma Daily News*, May 30, 1893, 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ National Convention of Women’s Amateur Musical Clubs Program, Special Collections Division, Chicago Public Library, 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

can be traced to the efforts of the Ladies' Musical Club."¹⁴⁶ After detailing a few other social events that had occurred that week that featured music, the column then previews the LMC's performance in Chicago, focusing specifically on the performance of "one of the most promising voices in Seattle," soprano Marguerite McKinney. The article concludes that "[t]here is little doubt but that the Seattle singers will make a decided impression at the convention," and that likewise the convention will be great for the budding musical careers of the musicians.¹⁴⁷ Further, the participation of these Seattle musicians was an experience shared with Seattle music enthusiasts, according to the article, for "[t]he fact that Miss Marguerite McKinney is to represent the Seattle Ladies' Musical Club at Chicago in June during the musical convention *is a matter of congratulation to all lovers of music in the city*"[my emphasis].¹⁴⁸ The earliest LMC club-written history (1943) also notes the significance of the LMC's performance, highlighting that the Club "was the youngest club represented and it was felt that Seattle, through the organization, had been recognized as the musical center of the Pacific Northwest."¹⁴⁹ While this account fails to acknowledge its sister organization in Tacoma, it correctly notes the cultural importance of this early event in the LMC's history, both for the LMC and for Seattle's music scene. The Pacific Northwest was now on the musical map, and it was there because of the efforts and accomplishments of the clubwomen of the LMCs of Seattle and Tacoma. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* declared the LMC's Chicago concert as the "Triumph of the Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle" (**Figure 6**).

¹⁴⁶ "Annals of Society," *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 7, 1893, 12.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. There was also a printed program of the performance, although there are some discrepancies between the one printed in the newspaper and that which appeared in the official program for the event due to program changes.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Bricker, "Ladies Musical Club of Seattle," 2.

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| <p>WOMEN AT THE FAIR.</p> <p>Triumph of the Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle.</p> <p>ITS CONCERT AT CHICAGO.</p> <p>A Diploma of Merit Awarded It—Mrs. A. B. Stewart's Impressions of What She Saw.</p> <p>Mrs. A. B. Stewart, president of the Ladies' Musical Club, has returned from the World's fair, whither she went several weeks ago. When seen at her home by a <i>POST-INTELLIGENCER</i> reporter yesterday she said:</p> <p>"The six delightful weeks I spent at the fair were not half long enough to see all the sights, and there are many things I did not see at all. I was more interested in the liberal and fine arts than in other departments, and I consider that to obtain a comprehensive estimate of the world's progress in art and the arts, a trip to the fair is more valuable than a tour around the world. One can there see treasures which have been loaned from the private galleries of kings, gems from every collection, and one can measure the comparative art development of every race as their products are exhibited side by side. The whole fair is like a waking vision, everything is so beautiful. Such a powerful impression does this lavish outpouring of wealth and genius make upon one that he cannot repress a feeling of sadness at the thought that it is all so transitory and that within a few short months so much beauty must perish. But I presume you have had plenty of World's fair impressions. However, I want to say that I am proud of the part woman is taking in the exposition. I never before realized what a powerful influence she is exerting upon the progress of the age until I went to the fair. Mrs. Potter Palmer is one of the powerful personages connected with the exposition. Nothing of any importance is done without consulting her. And she is a beautiful woman. I attended one of her receptions, and was charmed with her. She is not only beautiful in appearance but she is equally amiable, graceful and refined; she is completely beautiful. The woman's pavilion is a great credit to our sex. The</p> | <p>Musical Congress in September. You will recollect that Mrs. Rochester was selected to represent Seattle in this congress by the three ladies appointed for that purpose by Mrs. Houghton."</p> <p>A FLOATER IN THE DUWAMISH.</p> <p>Picked Up Horribly Decomposed, With No Means of Identification.</p> <p>The body of a man so badly decomposed as to be absolutely unrecognizable was found floating in the Duwamish river opposite the race track at about 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon, by an employe of a shingle mill who was booming shingle bolts in the river. The corpse was drawn ashore and Coroner Horton summoned. After making an examination the coroner decided to hold no inquest.</p> <p>The body was taken to the county farm, and unless some clue to its identity is found it will be buried there today. The coroner describes the man as having been 5 feet 10 inches in height, weight about 165 pounds and probably dark complexioned. He was dressed in a dark brown coat, striped trousers and wore no vest. His shirt was an ordinary coarse flannel outing shirt, and around the neck was a blue silk Winsor tie. The shoes were coarse workingman's brogans. In his pockets were found an old razor and a purse filled with buttons and needles. There was nothing about the clothes or in the pockets to identify the man, and he will in all probability be forever unidentified. The body was horribly decomposed and the face was entirely unrecognizable. The only sign of beard or hair was a small tuft of dark hair behind one ear.</p> <p>The coroner thinks the body had lain in the water for at least three months, but so far as he is aware no man has disappeared within that time with whom the dead man could be identified.</p> <p>OBJECTED TO HIS WORKING.</p> <p>A Gilman Father Strips a Boy for a Beating But He Flees.</p> <p>Two Italians named Henry Sutti and John Paccuna, living at Gilman, were startled about 9 o'clock on Monday night by the appearance at their door of a boy about 13 years old, in a state of complete nudity, shivering with cold and fear. They furnished him with clothing, and he told them that he had secured a job with the Seattle Coal & Iron Co., but that when he told his father the latter became enraged and stripped him stark naked with the intention of beating him. The boy ran away and, though his father gave chase, succeeded in distancing him.</p> |
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Figure 6: The LMC's Chicago "Triumph" (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 26, 1893)

The Birth of the Artist Concert Series

Chicago became an important point of note just a few years later in the LMC's history, when the LMC brought the Chicago Symphony Orchestra out west to perform in a series of concerts in the seminal second season of the Artist Concert Series, the 1901-1902 season. Many accounts of the Club's history rightly recognize that it was this second season—and not the first—of the Artist Concert Series that vaulted the established musical club into another level of recognition. For instance, the LMC history written by Mary Rhodes summarizes that:

[The] LMC's first Artist Series was successfully inaugurated in 1900 with a concert by the noted pianist Teresa Carreno[sic], as well as recitals by three other fine artists. The next season, 1901-02, brought the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the great soprano Lillian Nordica plus two other fine artist recitals. The Nordica concert was a sellout, and it created a musical sensation in Seattle. *Fortified by the artistic and financial success of its first venture, LMC was incorporated [in 1902] and the International Artist Series was born.*[my emphasis]¹⁵⁰

The first season was important, and it did showcase the famous female pianist Teresa Carreño, but it was the success of the second season that guaranteed the future of the series and the fame of the organization. It would be this Artist Concert Series that largely carried the LMC financially for most of its lifespan. The second season was significant, therefore, for both its cultural and financial implications.

The start of the important second season was conveniently timed at the ten-year anniversary of the LMC's founding. By this point, several subtle changes to the original constitution and by-laws had been passed, although the integrity of the original was maintained.¹⁵¹ Dues had risen to three dollars for Active Members (and five dollars for Associate

¹⁵⁰ Mary R. Rhodes, "History of Ladies Musical Club: Seattle, WA, 1891-2001," Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 4.

¹⁵¹ Few major changes have been made to the LMC's constitution and by-laws, in terms of the goals of the club.

Members), as had fees for admission for public concerts (from twenty-five cents to fifty cents).¹⁵² Additional fines were put in place to further discourage LMC members from neglecting Club responsibilities, such as a fine of one dollar issued if a member backed out of a performance to which she had already committed.¹⁵³ Another small but significant change had been made to the mission statement of the LMC. It now read: “The LADIES MUSICAL CLUB is an *association of women*, formed for the purpose of developing the musical talent of its members and stimulating musical interest in Seattle”[my emphasis].¹⁵⁴ Further, the passage describing Active/Associate membership had also been similarly changed, stating now that “The Active membership of the club shall consist exclusively of women. There may be also an Associate membership of men and women.”¹⁵⁵ Though subtle, the substitution of “women” for “ladies” (and “men” for “gentlemen”) to the statement marks an important shift. The term “Ladies” in the LMC’s name was potentially at odds with the LMC’s drive to maintain an organization of rigorous musical and business standards – “ladies” implies, among other things, an affiliation with a leisure class. While the LMC was generally made up of white, middle-to-upper class women, the continued success of the Club depended on the musicianship of its members rather than on her social standing, due to the public nature of the performances by

¹⁵² “Article IV, Sec. I” and “Article IX,” *Member’s Book, 1901-1902*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 6-8.

¹⁵³ Rose Gottstein, Secretary’s notes, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 36-37. The member would also be responsible for finding a replacement, a task that had previously fallen on the President.

¹⁵⁴ “Article I,” *Member’s Book, 1901-1902*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History and Industry, 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, “Article III,” 6.

members.¹⁵⁶ By making these small but substantial changes to its constitution and by-laws, it helped to balance the potentially restrictive cultural implications that the term “ladies” carried.

Significantly, this 1901-1902 season featured three women performers and one massive ensemble as its four headline-grabbing acts. In order of appearance, the season consisted of coloratura soprano Charlotte Maconda, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, soprano Lillian Nordica, and pianist Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler. As Blair notes, the LMC brought a pointedly high number of women performers—both singers and instrumentalists—to Seattle stages for its Artist Concert Series. Specifically, she writes that:

Not surprisingly, the LMC felt a special responsibility to bring women to the stage. During the early years especially, a significant number of the professionals—eighteen of forty-seven—were female. Among the first were the Venezuelan pianist Teresa Carreño, the soprano Lillian Nordica, the contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink, the singer Geraldine Farrar, and...Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler.¹⁵⁷

Three of the five performers listed by Blair appeared in the first two seasons of the Artist Concert Series (Carreño in 1900-01, Nordica and Bloomfield-Zeisler in 1901-02).

¹⁵⁶ Blair identifies early members, “[l]ike most of their counterparts elsewhere in the country,” as “middle class and white”(“The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930,” 268). She also writes that “[m]ost of the charter members and subsequent participants appear to have been leisured women, married to prominent professionals or businessmen in the community”(ibid., 268). However, she notes that “[o]ther members made determined efforts to advance their professional careers, insofar as they were able,” and also concedes that many of the members were unmarried (ibid., 268-9). Even if LMC members *were* predominantly of a leisure class, they were still deliberately pushing back on the perception of them as such by changing all the instances of “ladies” to “women” in the Club constitution.

¹⁵⁷ Karen J. Blair, “The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History: Revised Edition*, ed. Karen J. Blair (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001): 273. In the full quotation, Blair refers to the Bloomfield-Zeisler performance as a means “to rectify past disappointments.” The “past disappointments” to which she is referring are supposedly cancelled concert dates by Bloomfield-Zeisler for the 1901-02 season. Blair writes that the “plan [for the Artist Concert Series] originated in 1901, after the pianist Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler canceled her engagement in Seattle, discouraged by reports of the small turnouts at other classical concerts. A disappointed Rose Gottstein suggested that the club might assure some outstanding performances by guaranteeing the fee of the artist and then recouping the investment through a vigorous ticket sales campaign. Thus Gottstein, acting for the LMC, became Seattle’s foremost impresario of classical music events”(272). It is unclear where Blair’s claim for the cancelled concert originates, but Bloomfield-Zeisler did perform for her 1901-02 season concert, to rave reviews.

Maconda's concert kicked off the second Artist Concert Series on November 23, 1901. Although her concert was favorably previewed, it seemed to generate the least amount of excitement, with fewer previews than others in the series and not even a review in the *Seattle Daily Times*.¹⁵⁸ It is not clear why her reception was quieter than the others. She just may have been not quite as popular, or perhaps it was eclipsed by the excessive buzz anticipating the appearances of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and Nordica, or possibly it had slow momentum coming off the first season of the series and the subsequent break for the summer between seasons.¹⁵⁹ Regardless, the following concerts by Nordica and Bloomfield-Zeisler were heavily anticipated, well-attended musical—and cultural—events.

Lillian Nordica was popular in Seattle long before her performance in 1902, and so she was a fitting choice (and a safe bet) for the Artist Concert Series. A celebrated, American-born soprano with a long and glamorous career, Nordica's ties to Tacoma and her ever-changing marital status kept her a famous figure in newspapers in the Pacific Northwest. She was also an early favorite of the LMC, featured as a paper topic on "Women in Music" (along with Bloomfield-Zeisler) in the Club's 1893-94 season (**Figures 2 and 3**).¹⁶⁰ Articles detailing her career appeared in newspapers as early as 1896, reporting things both musical and non-

¹⁵⁸ Previews leading up to the concert laud Maconda's voice as "exceedingly pure and bell-like in tone, yet powerful and of great range. She sings without effort and with absolutely perfect intonation. Her technique is flawless, and her interpretation and style denote the finished artist. Her appearance is usually an event in musical circles" ("Charlotte Maconda," *Seattle Daily Times*, November 20, 1901, 4).

¹⁵⁹ The venue was also noticeably less glamorous-sounding than later concerts, with the recital held at the First Methodist Church (formerly located on 3rd and Marion in downtown Seattle) rather than the Grand Opera House of later concerts in the season. Maconda was also scheduled to return later in the 1905-06 season, noted as "the soprano who created so favorable an impression when she was heard in Seattle before," although she did not end up returning to the Seattle stage under the auspices of the LMC that year. From "Women's Clubs Are Beginning Work For This Year: Ladies' Musical Club," *Seattle Daily Times*, October 15, 1905, 17.

¹⁶⁰ "Active Meetings," *The Third Annual Announcement of the Ladies Musical Club, 1893-1894*, Ladies' Musical Club Record, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 14.

musical.¹⁶¹ Not surprisingly, then, Nordica's first performance in Seattle was anticipated with fervor.¹⁶² When the singer was in an unspecified railroad accident in the weeks leading up to the performance, Seattle audiences waited with baited breath to see if she would have to postpone or cancel.¹⁶³ Optimism of a favorable outcome was maintained, with the same newspaper reporting that day that Nordica's upcoming Seattle concert "promises to be the musical and society event of the season. There has been a great demand for tickets, and to avoid speculation no person can reserve more than ten seats at the theatre box office."¹⁶⁴ Seattle audiences let out a collective sigh of relief when it was announced the following day that the performance would be delayed just one week rather than cancelled, and the tickets available for presale were reportedly sold-out at least two days before the concert.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ For example, one small article in the *Seattle Daily Times* from 1897 notes that Nordica "will be called upon to defend a suit for \$15,000 instituted against her by Lee Wilson, a theatrical manager," who accused her of breach of contract (*Seattle Daily Times*, January 29, 1891, 11). Another article notes how she "was recalled seven times and cheered" in Chicago after "arousing great enthusiasm in an exceedingly large audience" ("Nordica Captures Chicago," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 12, 1897, 1). Nordica's first husband, Frederick Gower, was from Tacoma, and when he mysteriously disappeared and was presumed deceased, there was some dispute as to whether she would assume ownership of some of his property in Tacoma. See, for example, "Some Old Records" *Tacoma Daily News*, December 2, 1896, 2.

¹⁶² This was apparently not the case for Seattle's northern neighbor city of Victoria, British Columbia, where it was reported that "[s]ociety is apathetic regarding the proposed visit of Mme. Nordica and the subscription list opened for the occasion is not filling up quickly" ("Special Correspondence," *Seattle Daily Times*, January 25, 1902, 15).

¹⁶³ The *Seattle Daily Times* reported first that "Mme. Nordica Slightly Ill," then the next day that "Nordica Still Ill," and finally, the following day, that "Nordica To Rest" for ten days and cancel immediate tour dates, but "[a]fter that it is possible she may return to this city. This, however, is uncertain" ("Mme. Nordica Slightly Ill," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 3, 1902, 5; "Nordica Still Ill," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 4, 1902, 1; "Nordica To Rest," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 5, 1902, 1). Note that these notices appeared frequently on the front page of the newspaper, showing the importance of the upcoming Nordica concert to the paper's readership.

¹⁶⁴ "Mme. Nordica," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 5, 1902, 9.

¹⁶⁵ "Nordica Recital," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 6, 1902, 2; "Society," *Seattle Sunday Times*, February 23, 1902, 27; "The Nordica Concert," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 24, 1902, 7. This last article notes that "[t]he remaining seats in the gallery, numbering about five hundred, will be on sale at the box office of the Grand Opera House tonight."



Figure 7: Image Accompanying Preview of Nordica Concert¹⁶⁶

Although less dramatically than for Nordica, Bloomfield-Zeisler was also eagerly awaited by Seattle audiences, with preview articles appearing in newspapers in the weeks in advance of the concert touting the pianist's "great art [that] has won for her universal recognition in the United States and Europe," and promising her performance to "no doubt be a rare treat."¹⁶⁷

The writers of previews and reviews of Maconda, Nordica, and Bloomfield-Zeisler praised each performer's artistry and presented these women in varied ways. For Nordica,

¹⁶⁶ *Seattle Daily Times*, February 16, 1902, 26.

¹⁶⁷ "Fanny Bloomfield Zeistler[sic]," *Seattle Daily Times*, April 30, 1902, 9; *Seattle Sunday Times*, April 20, 1902, 41.

imagery of royalty was pervasive, giving the American-born singer an air of aristocracy accented by shimmering jewels given to her by various admirers. “It was prophesied of her when yet a girl that she would be crowned Queen of Song,” one article declares, “and the prophecy was literally fulfilled when her admirers presented her with a diamond crown on the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.”¹⁶⁸ Other bejeweled gifts include a present from Queen Victoria of England described as “a circle of diamonds, surrounding a disc of enameled gold, bearing the royal monogram in diamonds and suspended on a crown of the same jewels.”¹⁶⁹ The vivid description reveals a fascination with her physical presentation, and one can imagine Seattle audiences anticipating a statuesque and sparkly presence on the Seattle stage. Reviews note that “[t]he best excuse that Seattle society has had for attending any attraction this season was provided last evening when Mme. Lillian Nordica appeared at the Grand under the auspices of the Ladies’ Musical Club. And society took full advantage of the opportunity.”¹⁷⁰ The spectacle, it seems, was worth the wait, and the success of Nordica’s concert signified the real beginning of the Artist Concert Series, the LMC’s most notable contribution to Seattle’s music scene.

While vivid imagery was recalled in relation to Nordica, Bloomfield-Zeisler elicited comparisons to famous male pianists in articles anticipating her performance. She was consistently billed as “The Female Paderewski,” and previews quote the *New York Press* as stating that “Zeisler is the only pianist in the world today who has any prospect of making Paderewski jealous.”¹⁷¹ From the printed previews, while the comparisons to Paderewski are meant as laudatory, they instead define her in relation to a male counterpart rather than on her

¹⁶⁸ *Seattle Sunday Times*, February 16, 1902, 20.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ “Madame Nordica In Concert,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 25, 1902, 7.

¹⁷¹ “Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler,” *Seattle Daily Times*, May 3, 1902, 5.

own artistic merit. However, reviews of the event seem to resist this characterization, focusing on other aspects of Zeisler's concert. One Seattle reviewer provides an exquisitely detailed account of the event, noting that the performance:

was heard and intensely enjoyed by a house full of music lovers. To hear Mme. Zeisler is a treat worth journeying miles for. Out here in the "Wild and Woolly," where concerts such as hers are like oases in a wide desert of musical mediocrity, the pleasure of following the pianist through such a meaty program as she gave at the Grand is enough to measurably satisfy one's longings for weeks afterward... Twice Mme. Zeisler was recalled to give additional numbers in an already long and wearisome programme for the artiste.¹⁷²

The imagery of the "Wild and Woolley" and other allusions to Seattle's geographical remoteness ("oases," "desert") and lack of sophistication ("musical mediocrity") reveal a playful but cynical awareness of how Seattle audiences felt they were perceived by outside observers. Seattle's music scene was hardly vapid, and the author's nuanced commentary divulges his or her sophisticated musical ear. The critic covers many of the pieces in detail, with the main critique of the program being that "[t]he program... was not especially well balanced [and] contained practically nothing new in music," but finding few faults in the delivery of these "meaty" works.¹⁷³ It is only at the very end of the lengthy article that the reviewer indirectly addresses Zeisler's status as "The Female Paderewski," as designated by Eastern newspapers. S/he concludes that "one never questions whether Zeisler is man or woman when she is at the piano. She is Zeisler, and that is enough. Her playing is neither masculine nor feminine. It is simply and thoroughly artistic. She is a musician, deep, profound, magnificent, everything."¹⁷⁴ For this

¹⁷² "Mme. Zeisler's Recital," *Seattle Daily Times*, May 7, 1902, 5.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

reverent reviewer, only Zeisler's artistry is relevant, and Zeisler is able to transcend corporeal considerations to a presumably higher state—musician.

In addition to the celebrated women performers in the second season, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's appearance in Seattle was another significant cultural event in the 1901-02 Artist Concert Series on account of the Orchestra's scope and musicianship. Simply put, it was incredibly expensive to bring an ensemble of that size to Seattle, due to travel and lodging expenses for the musicians. The completion of the western railroad was an important factor. When it was finished in 1883, it helped reduce the cost and efficiency of a soloist or group embarking on a western tour. It even allowed for Seattle—at least once—to hear a new work before the musical centers on the East Coast did, as was the case with the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta *The Yeoman of the Guard*. The piece was performed on the last of a three-engagement tour of Seattle on November 10, 1888 by Chicago-born soprano Emma Abbot and "her troupe of six."¹⁷⁵ Jewell notes that "[a]s unlikely as it may seem, *Yeoman* had only opened in London a month earlier—October 3, 1888" and didn't premiere in New York until a year after its London debut on October 3, 1889.¹⁷⁶ He reflects, "[c]ould Seattle at such an early time possibly have been audience to anything before the east coast's claimed cultural capital of the country?"¹⁷⁷

Jewell answers his own question:

Curious as it may seem now, touring artists, in fact all of those with an international reputation reviewed to this date[1888], appeared in Seattle with an accompanying troupe of vocalists and instrumentalists. It was commonly assumed by the concert managers that solo recitalists would not draw adequately for tours in less musically sophisticated regions.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ E. Harvey Jewell, "Performances of Contemporary and American Music in Seattle, 1853-1912," 108.

¹⁷⁶ Jewell, 108.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

So, small travelling groups of performers did venture out west before the Ladies Musical Club's Artist Concert Series.¹⁷⁹

Yet the size of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (fifty performers and four soloists made the trip) was the biggest by far that had come to Seattle, and the LMC was given credit and praise in the press for the amazing feat. A headline on the day of the first concert highlighted this fact, reading: "SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA TONIGHT/The Largest Musical Organization Ever Crossing Continent for Western Concerts—Half a Hundred Musicians."¹⁸⁰ It then quotes a commendation delivered by the Western tour manager, Mr. F. W. Blanchard, who remarked that "Seattle, I understand, is noted for its music loving people, and I am confident that they will find in the Chicago Symphony Orchestra a musical organization worthy of their patronage."¹⁸¹ Blanchard's lauding likely fell on eager ears, and Seattle audiences did not need last-minute convincing. Even minor aspects of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's journey were written up in anticipation of the big event, including when and which hotel they checked in to for their stay.¹⁸² The society section in the *Seattle Sunday Times* reported that social events took a backseat to music that week, citing that the "leaders of Seattle society...[had] their attention taken off of things purely social [and] was largely centered during the week on music. And the interest excited by the concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra was well deserved, for rarely has Seattle had the good fortune of hearing such excellent music."¹⁸³ The author could not

¹⁷⁹ Jewell's tone also reflects the self-consciousness about the quality of Seattle's young musical scene, even in 1977 when his dissertation was completed. It shows how the region's musical identity was still being defined in relation to the perception of the Eastern cities as the "cultural centers" for the country.

¹⁸⁰ *Seattle Daily Times*, February 17, 1902, 4.

¹⁸¹ "Symphony Orchestra Tonight," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 17, 1902, 4.

¹⁸² "Hotel Arrivals: Hotel Brunswick," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 18, 1902, 3.

¹⁸³ "Society," *Seattle Sunday Times*, February 23, 1902, 27.

resist commenting on the quality of the audiences at the concerts, writing in summary that they “were decidedly fashionable in character, and enthusiastic in manner.”¹⁸⁴

The five concerts performed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra occurred over four days in 1902 between February 17th and the 20th. Other Western cities benefited from this booking, with the Orchestra heading afterward to Portland, Oregon for its next group of concerts before heading south toward San Francisco and Los Angeles.¹⁸⁵ Originally there were only four concerts scheduled, but Seattle audiences were both persistent and lucky, and an additional concert was added last-minute:

Because of a change in the date in one of the coast cities Manager Beach of the orchestra was enabled to accede to the request of some of the most enthusiastic admirers to remain in Seattle for another concert, and in doing so expressed his willingness that the prices of admission should be lowered so that all might have an opportunity of hearing tonight’s programme.¹⁸⁶

It is unknown exactly whose idea it was to provide lower prices for this bonus concert. However, the sentiment of providing people of all means access to the “finest” music echoes the aims of the LMC, and it would not be surprising if this idea was proposed by Gottstein or some other LMC representative. Members of the LMC were also treated to an extra special experience. After the first of the concerts, the *Seattle Daily Times* reported that “[t]he Ladies’ Musical Club of Seattle, to the number of 400, occupied seats in the body of the house. After the performance a number went onto the stage and met members of the orchestra.” The article hints at the

¹⁸⁴ “Society,” 27.

¹⁸⁵ The Chicago Symphony Orchestra performed three concerts in Oregon over two days on Friday-Saturday February 21st and 22nd (“Coming Attractions: The Chicago Symphony Orchestra,” *Oregonian*, February 21, 1902, 7), then headed down to Los Angeles. The final performance in Los Angeles was on March 9, 1902, to a notably small audience (“Music and Musicians: Chicago Symphony Orchestra,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1902, 6), and the Orchestra headed to Phoenix, Arizona shortly after. Overall, the Western tour consisted of over fifty concerts by the end of its Los Angeles run.

¹⁸⁶ “Its Last Concert Tonight,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 20, 1902, 7.

audiences' enthusiasm for a repeat performance, noting that "a concert tomorrow night will close the series, *unless they should decide to play an extra engagement Thursday*"[my emphasis].¹⁸⁷

Articles continually reminded readers that this was the first and biggest event of its kind, and that this musical experience linked these Seattle audiences with audiences in the "musical centers" of the United States. "Seattle for the first time last night listened to a symphony orchestra concert," announced one writer. "When it is considered that there are but five or six serious permanent symphony orchestras in America," the writer continues, "and that the Chicago Symphony Orchestra is unequaled, unless is excepted perhaps the Boston Symphony and Thomas Orchestras, Seattle is indeed fortunate to be included in the itinerary of this magnificent organization."¹⁸⁸ Another reviewer writes of the final concert that:

Never perhaps in the history of Seattle has an amusement house contained more enthusiastic audiences than those which have greeted the Chicago Symphony orchestra on the occasion of their four concerts already given at the Grand [Opera House]. The organization is the first of the kind to visit the North Pacific coast and has indeed been a treat to those lovers of music of Seattle who have not the means or the inclination to visit Eastern centers where such orchestras usually remain throughout all seasons.¹⁸⁹

With the success of the event, it is perhaps not surprising that the Seattle Symphony was organized just a year later, in 1903, with the help of the Ladies Musical Club. After these five concerts presented by the LMC, Seattle audiences understood what it meant to hear a seasoned, celebrated symphony orchestra. And after the successful second season of the LMC's Artist Concert Series, these audiences had a taste for world-class musicians, for "[t]here was no radio or television in those early days, so one would expect to travel to New York or Chicago to hear

¹⁸⁷ "Orchestra At The Grand," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 18, 1902, 8.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ "Its Last Concert Tonight," 7.

the greatest singers, pianists, and string players, *but those artists now came to Seattle*”[my emphasis].¹⁹⁰

Fostering Talent and Supporting Community - LMC Composers, Scholarships, and Philanthropies

Another significant function of the LMC that began in its early history is the LMC’s support of local composers. By 1900 there were several composers within its ranks, including the President for the 1900-01 season, Lillian Miller. Monthly LMC concerts became important avenues for the performance of works by LMC composers, and beginning in 1905, the LMC added a yearly “Seattle Composers’ Program” into the season that featured works by both LMC composer-members and by other local composers. Artist Concert Series performers also presented works by LMC members and other local composers on occasion, allowing for local pieces to be heard by wider local—and at times national—audiences.¹⁹¹ As Rhodes notes in her 2001 club history, “[t]he clubwomen took enormous pride in [Mary Carr] Moore and other [composer] members who went on to see and attain success in the larger musical world.”¹⁹²

One of the first members of the LMC to gain recognition as a composer was Lillian Miller. Miller also served as the LMC’s president in its tenth year during the inaugural season of the Artist Concert Series (1900-1901). She was a promising composer and noted pianist whose suite for piano, *Miniatures in Chinese Colors* (1901), was one of the more frequently-performed pieces by a local composer at the time (**Figure 8**).

¹⁹⁰ Rhodes, “History of Ladies Musical Club: Seattle, WA, 1891-2001,” 4.

¹⁹¹ For example, Roland Hayes performed a piece by Seattle composer Katherine Glen Kerry called “Tranquility” in his first documented Seattle performance. In addition, “Tranquility” was dedicated to Gottstein (“Roland Hayes Will Sing Seattle Composer’s Song,” *Seattle Daily Times* April 5, 1926, 11).

¹⁹² Rhodes, “History of Ladies Musical Club: Seattle, WA, 1891-2001,” 4.



Figure 8: Lillian Miller in 1900¹⁹³

Although she grew up in nearby Port Townsend, Washington, Miller was the daughter of one of the original settlers in Seattle and was recognized locally in Seattle as “Miss Lillian Miller...the well-known musician” as early as 1892.¹⁹⁴ In 1897, she left the Pacific Northwest for California to be “a member of the faculty of King Conservatory,” and returned to Seattle in 1899 to growing fame, with local one local paper noting how in 1900 she was already “steadily gaining recognition as a composer.”¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ *Seattle Daily Times*, March 10, 1900, 16.

¹⁹⁴ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 10, 1892, 5. She was also active in the 1890s in the Nineteenth Century Literary Club in Seattle (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 9, 1897, 10).

¹⁹⁵ *Seattle Daily Times*, March 10, 1900, 16. The article also notes that she “has taken a degree in the theory of music and was a pupil of P. C. Allen of San Francisco in composition.”

That year was a big year for Miller. She was elected president of the Ladies Musical Club in 1900, and many of her pieces were being performed both locally and nationally. In February two of her “very clever” compositions, “To My Love” and “To a Rose (written for Miss [Alys] True),” were performed during a concert by “eminent organist” from Chicago, Clarence B. Eddy, who was brought to Seattle by the LMC.¹⁹⁶ In May, sections from Miller’s *Miniatures in Chinese Colors* were performed by another women’s musical club in Illinois, and the performance was written up in Chicago and Seattle publications. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reported that “[t]he Woman’s Club, of Evanston, Illinois, gave a concert on May 22, devoted to the compositions of Ecile Chaminade and Miss Lillian Miller, of Seattle.”¹⁹⁷ The notice also included an excerpt that was printed in the *Chicago Post*, citing the authenticity and musicality of Miller’s composition:

Two numbers [were performed] from a Chinese suite by Lillian Stetson Miller, a young composer of the Pacific coast. They are entitled “Sounds from a Tea House” and “A String of Lanterns.”

To anyone familiar with “Chinatown” in San Francisco the scraps of melody rising now and then from the rattle of the tom-tom and gong make one marvel that any harmony could be reduced to notes of such beauty out of so much din.¹⁹⁸

Her *Miniatures* remained her most widely-performed work (**Figures 9 and 10**).

¹⁹⁶ “Mr. Eddy’s Organ Recital,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 13, 1900, 5. Eddy was “ably assisted by Miss Alys True, who sang twice with fine effect, her rendition of pleasing songs in her contralto voice adding much to the pleasure of the entertainment, and winning her an encore” (“Eddy Organ Recital,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 13, 1900, 5).

¹⁹⁷ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 3, 1900, 14.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Mrs. C. L. Garner



Figure 9: Cover, *Miniatures in Chinese Colors*¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Lillian Miller, *Miniatures in Chinese Colors* (Indianapolis: Wulschner Music Co, 1901). Courtesy of the Harold & Ruth Garner Frank Collection, Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester. This evocative piece is ripe with exoticized imagery. To give a full analysis of the five pieces within the suite is outside

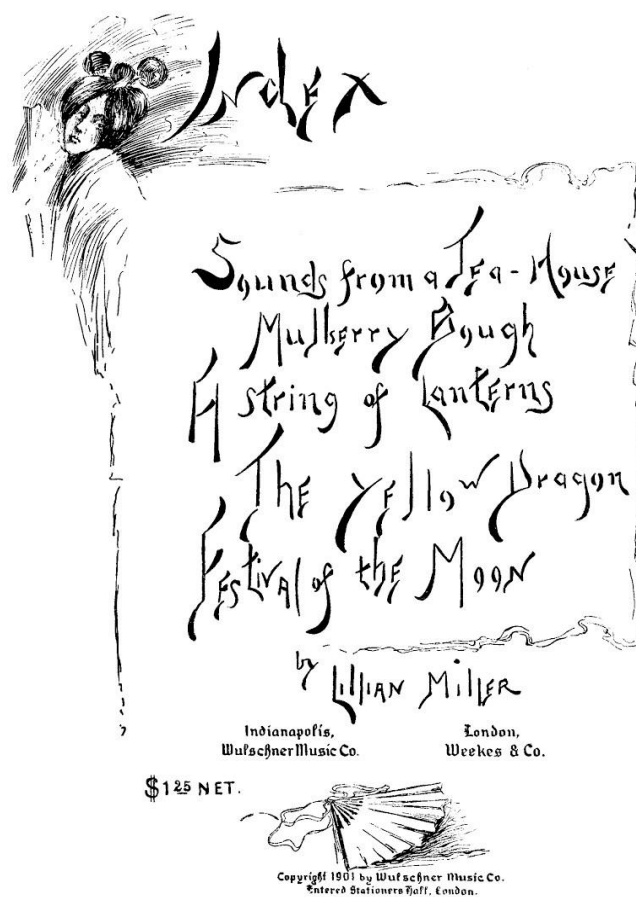


Figure 10: Index, *Miniatures in Chinese Colors*

the scope of this chapter. However, what is telling here is that Seattle audiences were drawn to pieces of music that were based on an ethnographic experience (real or perceived) by its composer. This is important for the following two chapters, where the music inspired by American Indians and genres composed and performed by African Americans are examined. In this case, Miller was praised for her accurate capturing of the sounds of San Francisco's Chinatown, where she had presumably spent time during her tenure at King Conservatory in California.

Miller's far-reaching popularity continued to instill regional pride. One article in March of the same year lists the important people who had taken note of her work, detailing that "Miss Miller has been greatly encouraged by the interest evinced in her future by such men as Arthur Foote, Edgar Stillman Kelly and Clarence Eddy."²⁰⁰ The author highlights the importance of Miller's Pacific Northwest roots to her hometown audiences, writing that "[a]ll the more interest is conferred in Miss Miller, as she is a native of Washington and Seattle feels justly proud in claiming her as one of its resident musicians."²⁰¹ Miller also became recognized as the foremost woman composer in the region, and her success in composition represented the progress made by women in composition more generally. In July of 1900, an article appeared in the *Seattle Daily Times* discussing the state of women composers. It begins broadly, noting that "[w]ithin the past few years women have shown great activity in musical composition, especially in song writing, although instrumental pieces and large and small orchestral forms have had some attention from them."²⁰² It continues cautiously that:

[w]hile we have not yet had an 'epoch-making' composer among the fair sex, their work has been characterized by thorough musicianship, keen perception of harmonic values and what seems to be spontaneous expression of inherent or intuitive feeling for the artistic and poetic side of music. From day to day, as new musical works from the hands of women come to the public notice, it is found that they are gaining in that breadth, depth, and vigor of treatment which a few years ago were considered impossible to woman.²⁰³

The lone lady composer that the author discusses is Miller, writing that, "[a]mong those who are rapidly acquiring a reputation in this line is Miss Lillian Miller of this city. Her very clever compositions have been accorded a high place in the musical world, not only here, but also in the

²⁰⁰ *Seattle Daily Times*, March 10, 1900, 16.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Seattle Daily Times*, July 7, 1900, 13.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

art centers of the East. *Truly Seattle should be proud of such talent*”[my emphasis].²⁰⁴ Given her popularity at this time, it is perhaps no surprise that Miller was elected President of the LMC during this fruitful year.

Miller’s presidency started off strong, and one of her compositions was performed at the inaugural concert for the LMC season in October of 1900. While “all...numbers [in the concert] were enthusiastically received,” Miller’s “charming” piano piece “One April Morn” received special note.²⁰⁵ However, it was announced just a few months later in January of 1901 that she would be serving only a one year tenure as President (instead of the usual two-year term) in order to “take an extended course in composition under [Edward] MacDowell.”²⁰⁶ The prestige of studying with someone as illustrious as MacDowell—whose works appeared often on LMC programs—seemed to offset any disappointment generated by her early departure. Her success as president was noted in the announcement of her exit, stating that “[d]uring her term as president...that organization has seen the most successful year of its history, increasing from but a few members to several hundred.”²⁰⁷ Miller returned to Seattle for six weeks in 1903, but she left again that year for New York, and there is no indication that she returned to Seattle for any extended duration again.²⁰⁸ Although her time in Seattle ended abruptly, Miller was nevertheless one of the most contemporaneously celebrated LMC composers. She continued teaching music

²⁰⁴ *Seattle Daily Times*, July 7, 1900, 13.

²⁰⁵ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 7, 1900, 14.

²⁰⁶ *Seattle Daily Times*, January 12, 1901, 21.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ An article in the *Seattle Sunday Times* notes that “an informal musicale was given” for Miller, “who left...for New York to continue her musical studies”(October 4, 1903, 41.) She was also mentioned in articles that detail the death of her father, who was a well-known Seattle pioneer. He was hit and killed by a train, and his death made headline news in the *Seattle Daily Times*, reported on the front page as “Seattle Pioneer Meets Horrible Death!”(May 24, 1905, 1). Miller is described as “as well-known musician” in the article.

and publishing compositions through the 1930s while residing in New York City for the remainder of her life.²⁰⁹

In contrast to Miller's brief but influential tenure, LMC composer Amy Worth enjoyed lasting local fame and remained in the public eye for many decades. Worth was a very active, long-time member of the LMC, serving as president for the LMC from 1932-1934, and she is frequently mentioned in LMC histories as a composer of local and national repute. In addition to serving as president and directing the LMC's chorus, Worth founded the Women's University Club Chorus in the mid-1930s and also directed the Mu Phi Epsilon Chorus.²¹⁰ Her piece, "Invocation," was written for a gathering of Mu Phi Epsilon, and it was so well-received that it was adopted by the sorority for its subsequent opening ceremonies.²¹¹ Worth held other noted creative roles in the Seattle community, such as "chairman of music for the Seattle branch of the National League of American Pen Women, as well as territorial chairman."²¹² An advocate for women composers, she remained for several decades an active fixture in the music department of the Pen Women's Club, an organization of women writers whose membership overlapped with the LMC's.²¹³ Worth was also a member of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP).

²⁰⁹ She later married Frank Hemstreet, baritone, in 1913, and they lived in his hometown, New York City. I refer to her as "Miller" and not "Hemstreet" for clarity, since she was only noted as "Miller" in the Seattle press and LMC histories.

²¹⁰ "Mrs. Harry I. Worth, 79," *Seattle Daily Times*, May 1, 1967, 42.

²¹¹ Ibid. Mu Phi Epsilon is described as a "professional music sorority."

²¹² "Mme. Lehmann Records Song By Seattle Woman," *Seattle Daily Times*, March 26, 1936, 22.

²¹³ "Pen Women's Program Set At Olympic," *Seattle Daily Times*, March 28, 1940, 21. Other important women composers active in the Seattle branch of the National League of American Pen Women's music department who were also LMC members were Daisy Wood Hildreth, Kate Gilmore Black, and Amy Worth. Mary Davenport Engberg was also a member.

“We’ve known Amy Worth a long time,” declared the *Seattle Times* in 1962, just five years before her death.²¹⁴ Worth had published “some 35 songs, choral and piano pieces,” and was taking up composition again after an extended break.²¹⁵ Her early musical experience began in Missouri, her birthplace, when she was young, and she became “an inseparable companion of music since she first struck ‘A natural’ on the piano at the age of 10.”²¹⁶ During her tenure as LMC president, for which she “receiv[ed] congratulations for her wise guidance of the club’s affairs,” Worth’s pieces were performed by LMC members, as Miller’s had been.²¹⁷ Her song for piano and voice, “Midsummer,” was notably recorded by German soprano Lotte Lehmann in 1936 and later, by Dame Joan Sutherland. Lehmann also performed “Midsummer” for Seattle audiences (including Worth) on March 6, 1936 at her appearance in the Artist Concert Series **(Figures 11 and 12)**.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Dorothy Brant Brazier, “Study in Serenity: Amy Worth,” *The Seattle Times*, February 11, 1962, S3.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Brazier, S3. Her obituary notes that she “studied piano and harmony with Jessie L. Gaynor [in St. Louis] and with Arthur Garbett in Philadelphia” (“Mrs. Harry I. Worth, 79”).

²¹⁷ Virginia Boren, “With Virginia Boren/At The Ladies Musical Club,” *Seattle Daily Times*, May 31, 1933, 12.

²¹⁸ Worth discovered that Lehmann was recording her piece, “Midsummer,” when she “received an autographed photograph with a letter from the great singer...telling Mrs. Worth that she had just completed a record of her song, “Midsummer” (“Mme. Lehmann Records Song By Seattle Woman,” 22).

Amy Worth



MID SUMMER



A SONG FOR VOICE & PIANO

Poem by RICHARD LE GALLIENNE



High

→ Low

PRICE, 50 CENTS

(In U. S. A.)

G. SCHIRMER INC., NEW YORK

T

Figure 11: Front Cover, "Midsummer" by Amy Worth



SUCCESSFUL VOCAL COMPOSITIONS

BY

AMY WORTH

Compositions of a distinctive style that will appeal strongly to those in search of works that combine the qualities of finished artistry and impeccable musicianship.

Daisies (a whimsy).....HIGH, A \flat
Text by Frank D. Sherman

The Little Betrothed.....HIGH, G
Text by Isobel Hume (To be issued in January, 1928)

The Little God in the Garden HIGH, E \flat
Text by Katherine Howard

Little Lamb.....HIGH, G \flat
Text by William Blake

Midsummer.....HIGH, D; LOW, A
Text by Richard Le Gallienne

The Shepherd.....HIGH OR MEDIUM, F
Text by William Blake

The Song of the Angels HIGH, D \flat ; LOW, B \flat
(A Christmas anthem for solo voice)
Text by Frederick H. Martens

Summer Afternoon.....HIGH, G
Text by A. A. Milne (To be issued in April, 1928)

The Time of Violets...HIGH, A \flat ; LOW, F
Text by Witter Bynner

Midsummer

Richard Le Gallienne* Amy Worth

Voice *A piacere*
I meant to do my work to-day, but a

Piano
Allegro moderato $\frac{4}{4}$ = 120

bird sang in the up - ple tree, And a

And
better - fly flit - and a - cross the field, And

*Copyright, 1913, by Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc. The poem was originally published in "The Lonesome Dancer" and was entitled, "I meant to do my work to-day."
Copyright, 1927, by G. Schirmer, Inc.
Printed in the U. S. A.

G. SCHIRMER, INC., NEW YORK

A 717

Figure 12: Back Cover, "Midsummer," with List of Published Compositions

In addition, “Richard Tucker, Metropolitan Opera tenor, [was] using one of her songs...Kirsten Flagstad and Jeanette MacDonald have sung others.”²¹⁹ These performances by beloved singers (including two Artist Concert Series performers, Flagstad and Lehmann), along with her many years of service to the LMC and the Seattle musical community, have cemented Worth’s fame in the annals of LMC history.²²⁰

Miller and Worth are just two of many LMC composers whose works were performed in Seattle under the auspices of the LMC. In the 1904-1905 season, the LMC added a yearly “Seattle Composers’ Recital” in order to more formally support local composers, including its own members.²²¹ The first concert was given on January 23, 1905, and it featured Mary Carr Moore, Lillian Miller, and another popular LMC composer, Kate Gilmore Black, in addition to prominent local (male) composer John J. Blackmore (**Figure 13**). These Seattle Composers’ Concerts were highly-anticipated by local audiences, who were eager to support their homegrown talent.

²¹⁹ Brazier, S3.

²²⁰ Worth is noted on the LMC website as one of four “distinguished LMC members,” along with Alice B. Toklas, Nellie Cornish, and Mary Carr Moore (lmcseattle.org/about/history).

²²¹ Programs of pieces written by LMC members are still regularly performed. The most recent LMC composers program at the time of this writing was given on May 6, 2017, featuring works by four living LMC composers.

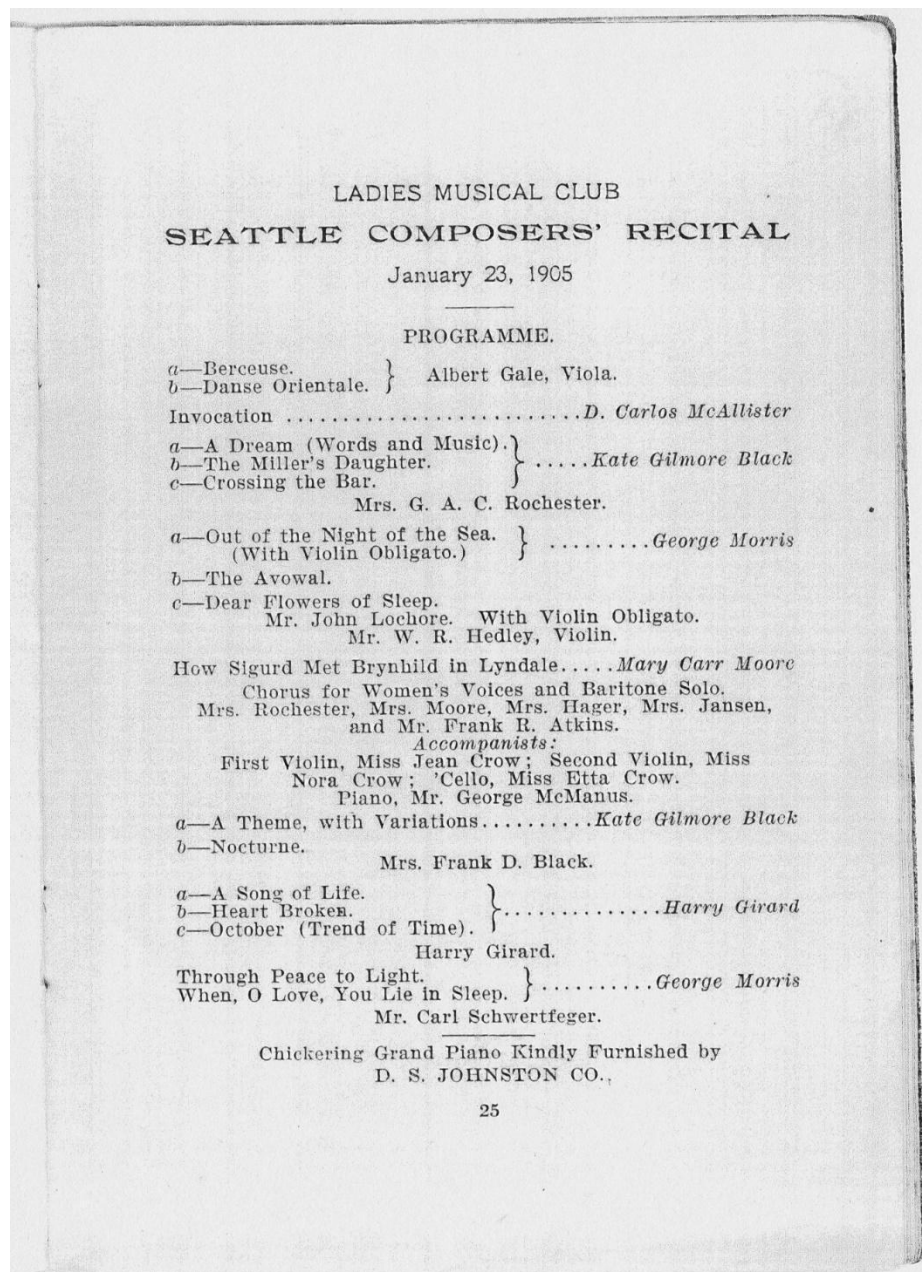


Figure 13: First Seattle Composers Concert Program²²²

Reviews of the first “Seattle Composers’ Day” concert noted the “large audience” in attendance and that overall it was “greatly enjoyed.” Previews for the LMC’s following season noted how

²²² *Members’ Book, 1904-1905*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 25.

the Seattle Composers' Day concert "proved so successful last year and the compositions so meritorious that the Seattle public will again be given the opportunity of judging of the talent of its local composers."²²³ Seattle audiences were invested in local composers, and these LMC Seattle Composers' Concerts continued to be highly-anticipated and well-attended events throughout the Club's lifespan, providing an important platform for its composer-members.²²⁴

Another way the LMC supported its homegrown talent was through scholarships, a facet of the LMC's development of the musical community that started in 1905, the same year the Seattle Composers' Concerts began. The LMC announced in May of 1905 that it would be offering a three-year tuition scholarship of \$150 per year to study music in New York or "in any one of several European conservatories."²²⁵ Offered initially to violinists, vocalists, and pianists, the contest proved controversial because "[a]pplicants must be more than 18 years of age."²²⁶ Within weeks, front page headlines declared the scholarship "faulty," citing music teachers who "Freely Criticise[d] [the] Action of Ladies' Musical Club in Making Age Limit Eighteen Years."²²⁷ Yet the outrage garnered by the age requirement is a testament to the importance placed by the musical community on this new scholarship. The problem was that the scholarship was such a promising opportunity for young musicians that many felt the age limit was too restricting, and that deserving "prodigies" would be excluded at a crucial point of musical development. Regardless of initial controversy, the scholarship proved successful, with fourteen applicants the first year, and it marked the beginning of another of LMC's lasting legacies.

²²³ *Seattle Daily Times*, January 29, 1905, 51.

²²⁴ LMC Composers Concerts are still a regular feature of the LMC concert season.

²²⁵ "Ladies' Musical Club Offers Scholarship," *Seattle Daily Times*, May 24, 1905, 7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ "Plans of Musical Scholarship Faulty," *Seattle Daily Times*, June 11, 1905, 1.

The LMC's philanthropic efforts also garnered attention and reverence from Seattle audiences. In addition to its financial support of the Seattle Symphony, the LMC's philanthropy is often summarized in LMC histories by two notable examples.²²⁸ The first is the LMC's financial support of the Children's Orthopedic Hospital (founded in 1908 with the help of Rose Gottstein), and the second is the aid the LMC provided to the war efforts during the First World War. The "biography" article notes both, as well as the LMC's scholarships, as evidence of its philanthropic successes, summarizing that:

And what did the club do with its wealth [from the Artist Series]? Did it invest the money and reap big interest? Yes, just that. It reaped big interest in the form of still more public appreciation. During the World War, instead of merely singing war songs, this musical club purchased an ambulance that carried its name across the seas. It purchased a bed at the Children's Orthopedic Hospital for children who probably knew music only as a word. And for countless young persons, who were struggling against odds to obtain a musical education, to thrust themselves out of darkness into light, the club gave scholarships and loan funds in great number.²²⁹

By the 1916-1917 season, the philanthropic work of the LMC was so varied that there was a catch-all line in the budget for "Philanthropic Work including Relief of Soldiers' Families, Red Cross Naval Base Hospital Fund, Settlement School."²³⁰

The Unparalleled Rose Gottstein

The LMC Artist Concert Series events in the 1901-02 season set an important tone for the musical scene of Seattle in the club's pre-teen years, just as the LMC's participation in the Chicago World's Fair was an important cultural and musical event in the club's infancy. These events, along with the LMC's lasting support of local composers, students, and other charitable

²²⁸ The LMC held a benefit concert for the Seattle Symphony in 1905, and made regular yearly donations to its various inceptions (Seattle Symphony, Seattle Philharmonic Orchestra) for many decades.

²²⁹ "Ladies' Musical Club's Success Represents Years of Striving," *Seattle Sunday Times*, 15.

²³⁰ "Treasurer's Report, 1916-1917," *Members' Book, 1916-1917*, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 6.

causes, helped establish the LMC as a cultural, financial, and philanthropic force in the community. However, if there is a single person within the LMC who most closely represents the markers of success in the “biography” of the LMC it is a “great woman,” Rose Gottstein. Gottstein started and successfully ran the Artist Concert Series, from its first season in 1900-1901 through her sudden death in 1939. Acting as manager, promoter, booker, greeter, spokesperson, and general impresario, Gottstein was the concert chair for the club often while fulfilling other roles within the LMC, including president, recording secretary and executive secretary. Most articles on the history of the LMC feature Gottstein’s contributions to the LMC, and the “biography” is no exception, describing her work for the LMC as quiet and, like the solitary work of a “great man,” largely behind-the-scenes.²³¹ The article also highlights Gottstein’s role as concert chair multiple times in the article, noting briefly first how she “has been concert chairman since the club began, a few years after its organization, to present artist series in Seattle,” and later detailing her contributions more thoroughly.²³² The author writes that “unless we are on familiar terms with the club, do we know that the smooth management of the concert was in the hands, as were all the concerts in the past thirty-four years, of that bustling, energetic chairman, Mrs. Gottstein.”²³³

Gottstein also served as the official “front-of-the-house” post when she was President of the LMC from 1906-1908. Her presidency was announced in the spring of 1906 with grandeur, showing the stature of the LMC in its fifteenth year of operation (**Figure 14**).

²³¹ “Ladies’ Musical Club’s Success Represents Years of Striving,” *The Seattle Sunday Times*, June 3, 1934, 15.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*



Figure 14: Announcement of LMC Officers, 1906²³⁴

Not surprisingly, her presidency featured many memorable moments that deserve (and often receive) mention in the LMC's biography. With the support of the LMC, the Seattle Symphony was officially operational by 1907. Seattle Children's Orthopedic Hospital was also founded in 1908 through Gottstein's help, meaning she made time for another charitable organization while excelling at her many roles within the LMC. And Gottstein topped her earlier triumph of

²³⁴ "New Officers of the Ladies' Musical Club," *Seattle Sunday Times*, June 3, 1906, 38.

bringing a large ensemble to Seattle (Chicago Symphony Orchestra in the 1901-1902 season) when she brought Walter Damrosch and the fifty-two piece New York Symphony Orchestra for a series of concerts in 1908 that also featured “a chorus from the Ladies’ Musical Club, assisted by male voices to number about two hundred.”²³⁵ One preview notes of the Damrosch concert that “[i]t is the intention of the Ladies’ Musical Club to make the occasion the greatest musical festival ever given in the Northwest,” which seems an appropriate way to mark the final year of the LMC’s first and most important impresario.²³⁶

When she stepped down from the presidency at the end of her two-year tenure, the notification in the *Seattle Sunday Times* cited her business acumen, her impact on the region, and her “hard labor”:

In the exercise of that greatly lauded but still infrequently found talent, *called executive ability*, the Ladies’ Musical Club is about to lose as bright and shining an example as could be found anywhere in the Pacific Northwest, when Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, president of the organization, retired from the office she has held for the past two years. . . . The effort [of acting as president] doubtless meant a sacrifice of other pleasures, but in the final analysis it is to be said that, learning on her own responsibility of the best there was to be had in the East and having the courage to obtain it.[my emphasis]²³⁷

A picture of Gottstein accompanies the tribute, depicting a pleasant, youthful woman whose pluming hat is balanced by decorative yet reserved clothing and jewelry.

²³⁵ *Seattle Daily Times*, August 18, 1907, 24.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ “Mrs. M. A. Gottstein: Retiring president of the Ladies’ Musical Club,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, May 31, 1908, 30.



Figure 15: Picture of Rose Gottstein, 1908²³⁸

Gottstein's presence and reputation in Seattle are described by her niece, Mary McCarthy, in McCarthy's 1946 autobiography *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood*. She provides a

²³⁸ "Society Section," *Seattle Sunday Times*, May 31, 1908, 30. Also included in this section was a brief overview of the luncheon held for Gottstein for her retirement.

wonderfully thorough summary, noting her aunt's "energy, her good heart, and rattling, independent tongue."²³⁹ She writes that Gottstein:

was a popular woman in Seattle, among all classes and kinds. Society ladies fond of music gushed over "the wonderful Mrs. Gottstein"; poor Jewish ladies in the temple praised her; Protestant clergymen respected her (they used to she told me, to convert her when she was younger, because she sang their anthems with such feeling); judges, politicians, butchers, poor tailors, clerks in bookstores all knew Aunt Rosie. She had not let the Protestant ministers tempt her away from her [Jewish] religion, but she was a truly open person, able to cross barriers naturally because she did not notice they were there.²⁴⁰

Based on the other accounts of Gottstein and the sheer amount of press and praise she garnered, McCarthy seems to have accurately captured her presence. Another significant aspect of her aunt that McCarthy noted was the parlor in Gottstein's home, "which was lined with signed photographs of opera stars and violinists and pianists. Aunt Rosie had 'known them all.'"²⁴¹ Gottstein amassed dozens of autographed photos of famous artists she worked with while running the LMC's Artist Concert Series. Often accompanied with a friendly note to Gottstein, these photographs serve as a testament to the numerous relationships she forged as executive secretary/concert chair, for "[a]ll photographs are inscribed with notes of thanks to the lady who smoothed their way during Seattle visits" (**Figure 16**).²⁴²

²³⁹ Mary McCarthy, *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood* (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1957), 207.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁴² "Mrs. Gottstein Passes At Home," *Seattle Daily Times*, September 1, 1939, 10.



Figure 16: Autographed Photographs to Gottstein (Damrosch and Carreño)²⁴³

Photographs substituted as tangible proof of her financial successes. They also became a marker of pride and authenticity for Gottstein and an indication to Seattle audiences of her “executive ability” for cultivating relationships with these famed artists (**Figure 17**).

²⁴³ Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, 1920

THE SEATTLE SUNDAY TIMES

WORLD'S MUSIC STARS NOT TEMPERAMENTAL!

Says the Woman Who Brings them to SEATTLE

GREAT Concert Artists Are Lovable and Their Chief Aim Is to Please, States Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, Executive Secretary of the Ladies' Musical Club, Who Has Managed More Than 150 Recitals Here



WHEN you have the good fortune to see down the great, wide, a woman like Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, who has for the past twenty years been the executive secretary of the Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle, you will find her a woman of unusual ability and a woman of unusual charm.

"There, you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

"But you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

"But you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."



Close-Ups of the Stars

MRS. GOTTSSTEIN HAS FOUND THEM—
"The Kessler is always chosen, unhesitatingly."
"Chabann's personality is one of the most interesting of any I've seen."
"The Kessler is always chosen, unhesitatingly."
"Chabann's personality is one of the most interesting of any I've seen."
"The Kessler is always chosen, unhesitatingly."
"Chabann's personality is one of the most interesting of any I've seen."



The photograph of Mrs. Gottstein and her husband, Mr. Gottstein, is a picture of a woman who has been successful in her work. She is a woman of unusual ability and a woman of unusual charm. She has managed more than 150 recitals here and has brought to Seattle some of the world's greatest musical stars.

"There, you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

It is not only her own personality that has made her successful, but also her ability to bring to Seattle some of the world's greatest musical stars. She has managed more than 150 recitals here and has brought to Seattle some of the world's greatest musical stars.

"There, you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

"There, you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

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"There, you have a lot of forty and over women here, and yet you are so unimpaired? How do you do it?" "I don't know," she says, "but I believe it is because I am so busy."

Figure 17: Rose Gottstein's Celebrated Photograph Collection

In addition to her disarming demeanor, Gottstein was celebrated for her business acumen in the local press during her tenure as concert chair (Figure 19).

WORK TO DO? CALL ON MRS. GOTTSTEIN

She's Leading Amateur Business Woman

Handles Bookings, Publicity, Advertising and Other Details for 120 Concerts in Twenty-Six Years.

BOOKING agent, publicity and advertising director, concert manager and business executive, and still an amateur.

Paradoxical in words but actual in fact is this description of Seattle's leading amateur business woman—Mrs. M. A. Gottstein.

For twenty-six years Mrs. Gottstein has handled the artist concert series of the Ladies' Musical Club. She personally has arranged the details for 120 concerts, has supervised the handling of more than a quarter of a million dollars, and never has had a deficit.

Home Is Her Office.

System has been quoted frequently as the keynote to success by professional business men and executives who from their vantage point behind roll-top mahogany desks keep numerous stenographers and clerks busy.

Now, Mrs. Gottstein is not a professional business executive. Her office is a small side room in the Gottstein home at 1517 17th Ave. Her office hours are squeezed in in the time she has to spare between managing her household duties and personally preparing excellent meals for her family. But she knows all about system. She has detailed records of each of the 120 concerts she has managed; she can tell exactly how many complimentary passes were given when Kreisler played in Seattle in 1904, how much standing room was sold when Galli-Curci sang here in 1929, how many people heard Nordica in 1908—these and any other details of the long succession of concerts.

Can "Scale" House.

More than this, Mrs. Gottstein can "scale" a house, which in theatrical parlance means that she knows the seating capacity of every concert auditorium and hall available for big concerts in Seattle, and that she can estimate with almost unerring precision the number of seats and the necessary scale of prices in order to raise the necessary guarantee.

For twenty years Mrs. Gottstein has been doing that and the records in the little red notebooks in her desk show that her estimates are never more than a few dollars off if they vary at all from the actual figures of the concert expenditures and receipts.

Started Work in 1891.

It was in 1891 that the Ladies' Musical Club was organized by a group of women musicians and music lovers. Mrs. Gottstein was a member of the organization from the beginning and it was her idea, her friends say, that the club bring some of the famous members of the musical world to Seattle.

Mrs. Gottstein is modest as well as systematic, but she does confess that after a trip to New York, during which she heard a great deal of music, she returned to Seattle feeling the need of similar opportunities here.

Whatever the facts, Mrs. Gottstein was put in charge of the first concert.

(Continued on Page 2, Column 1.)



Mrs. M. A. Gottstein.

Figure 18: Gottstein as a "Great (Business) (Wo)Man"²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ *Seattle Daily Times*, November 5, 1926, 19.

When Gottstein suddenly fell ill and died on September 1, 1939, the community was shocked. An obituary appeared the same day as her passing, announcing somberly that “Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, Seattle pioneer, prominent clubwoman and for more than a quarter of a century executive secretary of the Ladies’ Musical Club, died suddenly of a heart attack at 8:15 o’clock this forenoon at her home, 1517 17th Ave. Mrs. Gottstein had been confined to her bed the past two days, but her illness had not been considered serious.”²⁴⁵ Accolades poured in, and one reflective tribute appeared in the *Seattle Daily Times* a few days after her death that summarizes the impact of her loss on the community:

*For many years Seattle has been by so much a better and happier city for all its people because of the presence, the influence and the activities of Rose Gottstein. We know of no one who has been as busy of behalf of others, nor of one more successful in utterly unselfish efforts of public benefit. Mrs. Gottstein will be remembered by many for what she brought them in rare privileges of musical enjoyment; by many others for her highly-inspired and effective labors for relief and repair of crippled children. Yet these were only the larger manifestations of her daily devotion, year after year, to the welfare of those about her and the community as a whole. A keen mind; a sincere, sweet and generous woman, her passing leaves empty a place in Seattle’s life that none can fill. [my emphasis]*²⁴⁶

Seattle mourned the loss of Gottstein, and her passing marked the end an era for the LMC and for the Seattle community, musical and otherwise.

After Gottstein’s sudden death, the LMC was standing at, for the first time, a critical crossroads in the direction of the Club. Gottstein’s business acumen and the personal relationships she had developed drove the Artist Concert Series. The remaining LMC members had to decide: try to continue the legacy that Gottstein had created, or change the focus of the Series. Tempering the suddenness of Gottstein’s death, what unfolded was a slow series of

²⁴⁵ “Mrs. Gottstein Passes At Home,” *Seattle Daily Times*, September 1, 1939, 10.

²⁴⁶ “Rose Gottstein,” *Seattle Daily Times*, September 4, 1939, 6.

changes in the Club that within a decade had become a new mission for the Artist Concert Series: a platform for presenting new talent. Unable or unwilling to fill Gottstein's shoes, and scaffolded by years of serving as the undisputed musical authority in Seattle, the LMC keenly used that momentum to subtly shift the direction of the Artist Concert Series toward one of talent scout. Initially, the LMC continued to bring established Seattle favorites such as Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson for repeat performances in the seasons immediately following Gottstein's death. This provided audiences with the comfort of beloved artists—and provided the LMC with continued income—while honoring Gottstein's legacy by maintaining the artist relationships she had cultivated over her many years as concert chair and executive secretary. LMC documentation, such as the 1943 Club history by Bricker, suggests that the shift was already underway in the early 1940s, soon after Gottstein's untimely death.²⁴⁷ And, by the early 1950s, the Artist Concert Series was featuring, almost exclusively, new or “up-and-coming” artists.²⁴⁸ An article in 1950, celebrating the LMC's forthcoming 60th year of service, declares that “[t]he Ladies' Musical Club has had an eye to educating the public along the way. Many of the [Artist Concert Series Performers], which are household words today, were unknown generally when the club brought them here. But women like Mrs. Gottstein had the musical sense to realize the potentialities of these artists and later years have proved her right.”²⁴⁹ This is a case of revised history—Gottstein had been previously lauded for bringing top artists to the remote Seattle at the

²⁴⁷ Bricker, 9.

²⁴⁸ For instance, an article previewing the 1954-1955 season captures this shift, summarizing that: Over the years the club has been a pioneer in sponsoring appearances of noted artists in the musical world. In each of its series, it has relied upon some “big names” to help bring financial solvency. This season, however, the Ladies' Musical Club has virtually cast aside the star system in favor of a more dangerous but more challenging series. In the main, the five artists signed by the club for the 1954-'55 series are comparative unknowns” (Louis R. Guzzo, “Five Newcomers in Ladies' Musical Club Series,” *The Seattle Times*, September 12, 1954, A3).

²⁴⁹ Dorothy Brant Brazier, “Ladies' Musical Club Enters 60th Year Of Service/Half-Century of Presenting Artists' Concerts Is Also Marked by Organization,” *Seattle Sunday Times*, April 16, 1950, 33.

height of their popularity. But it is a testament to the strength of Gottstein's clout in the eyes of the public that, once this new direction of the LMC was recognized and successful, it was then attributed retroactively to Gottstein herself. Even after she had passed away and the direction of the Series had changed, Gottstein was inextricably linked to the ongoing legacy of the Artist Concert Series.

The Artist Concert Series remained a favored and anticipated feature of the Seattle musical season through the next several decades.²⁵⁰ The sustained popularity of the Series despite this change suggests a shift in Seattle's own musical identity. Seattle audiences, critics, and Clubwomen were, perhaps, not so worried that Seattle was out in the "Wild and Woolley" anymore. It was no longer necessary to rely on drawing the established favorites out West for these new artists too could pack Seattle houses under the auspices of the LMC, and could become popular because of their Seattle premieres. Seattle could be more than just a participant in the American musical landscape, and instead could steer the musical tastes of the national and international musical community by debuting the next big artist.²⁵¹

A Return to the "Great Man": Imagery in LMC Histories and Negotiations of Womanhood

According to the "biography" of the LMC at the chapter's outset, the LMC was seen as akin to a "great man" through successes in financial, cultural, and philanthropic endeavors. In 1934, when the article was published, Seattle audiences were familiar with these elements of the LMC's history that made up the tripartite set of markers. From the outset, the LMC had been

²⁵⁰ The Artist Concert Series continued to offer approximately four to six artists a season through 1995, when the LMC paired with Meany Hall and the University of Washington for the next inception of concert series.

²⁵¹ By many accounts, the LMC did succeed in premiering artists who would later gain international renown. Marilyn Horne is a notable example, often cited in later LMC-written histories. She performed in the 1964-1965 season and then later during the 1991-1992 season.

fiscally responsible, proved through (among other things) the success of the 1901-1902 Artist Concert Series and the subsequent incorporation of the Club. Early highlights such as the LMC's attendance at Chicago World's Fair showed how the LMC's cultural impact was felt beyond just its participating members. Support of budding musicians through scholarships and dedication to other causes, such as the Children's Orthopedic Hospital and war relief efforts, made the LMC one of the most respected charitable organizations in the region. Together, these aspects of the LMC's early history contributed to the development of the "great man," a status it had achieved by its fourth decade of service.

The masculine imagery describing the Club in the "biography" article is not ordinarily called to mind when one hears the name "Ladies Musical Club." By comparing the achievements of the Club to that of not just any man, but a "great man," the author implies the ultimate legitimizing compliment for the LMC: the pinnacle of success is to become a "great man," even when the successful entity is a group made up entirely of volunteer women. The male/female imagery presented in this article is further complicated by additional juxtapositions, such as cultural versus financial achievements. While not mutually exclusive, they are often at odds with one another in popular conception, with cultural activities falling within the women's sphere versus the financial realm of male activities, and philanthropies may overlap with both. The result of this tripartite set of markers is a simultaneous conflating and defining of manhood and womanhood, with a "great man"—and by extension, the LMC—encompassing all three spheres.

A look at the page on which the article appears provides a visual account of these juxtapositions. Images that appear accompany the article show fashionable but not ostentatious, stern-looking women with direct gazes and muted smiles, as if they wished to reinforce the

imprecision of their presented roles (**Figure 19**). It is also important to note the subjects of the other articles that bookend the article and pictures of the Ladies Musical Club. These topics range from “Women Voters” to a (presumably popular) local bride “Choos[ing] Her Attendants” for her wedding, to the friendly tips/advice on “Home Furnishing” by the aptly-named Dorothy Neighbors. The combination of these articles on the single page attests to the many facets of women’s club (and social) life in Seattle during this time. And the juxtaposition of the male/female imagery amidst details of the successful activities of this musical club of women demonstrates the complex role the LMC held in Seattle society.

Music Club Will Install New Officers

New officers will be installed at the next meeting of the Thursday Music Club, which will be held at the summer home of Mrs. Harry P. Arbery on Lake Washington at 10 o'clock Thursday. Mrs. Harold C. Cramer and Mrs. Jeannette Grisham will assist the business.

FRANCES DYE CHOOSES HER ATTENDANTS

Miss Frances Dye, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Harry William Dye, has chosen the attendants for her wedding on June 10 and Mrs. Alma Washington Fox will be her mother of honor. Her attendants are Miss Dye, maid of honor, and the Misses Alice Fleming and Christine Nelson, her cousins, bridesmaids.

LADY LIONS CLUB PLANS PARK PICNIC

Thursday will find the Lady Lions enjoying a picnic lunch in a corner of Howard Park, the last meeting of the club year. It is not to be a devoted entirely to recreation, however, as there is important business to be discussed concerning the district convention which takes place in Everett, June 23 and 24.

NATURALIST WILL VISIT YELLOWSTONE

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Ralph Sawyer will visit to Yellowstone National Park, where Mr. Sawyer is a naturalist, for the summer. Mrs. Sawyer is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Haron of Seattle, and before her marriage on Christmas Day, was Helen Astoria Brown. She has been teaching music and English at Elma High School in Elma, but at the close of the school term will join her husband to leave for Yellowstone. He is a graduate of the University of Colorado, where he is an instructor in geology, a member of Sigma Xi national science honor society, and of Phi Kappa Tau. Mrs. Sawyer is a graduate of Colorado State Teachers' College and a member of Pi Kappa. She received her B. A. degree at the University of Washington.

BUHURST CLUB

GREAT ARTISTS COME AT THEIR BIDDING



Mrs. Harry I. Worth is retiring president of the Ladies' Musical Club, which for thirty-four years has been bringing great artists in concert to Seattle. At the election and annual meeting Monday Mrs. Worth was chosen a member of the board.

Other officers elected at the meeting, to begin their terms with the new business year in the fall, are (standing, left to right) Mrs. William Hickman Moore, treasurer; Mrs. Philip D. MacLure, recording secretary; Mrs. Bruce J. Morgan, vice president; Mrs. Robert S. Macfarlane, corresponding secretary; Mrs. M. A. Compton, (seated) was selected executive secretary. She has been concert chairman for the club ever since it first began bringing artists here.

Mrs. Harry Stephen Brown is the new president of the Ladies' Musical Club, elected at the meeting Monday which was held at the home of Mrs. Rosemary Beck.

LADIES' MUSICAL CLUB'S SUCCESS REPRESENTS YEARS OF STRIVING

The history of the Ladies' Musical Club is like the biography of a great man, a man who started with none of this world's goods and who, in forty-three years, by dint of hard labor and clear thinking, has carved out for himself in his community by his cultural activities, his philanthropies and his financial achievements, an enviable place among men.

Women Voters Will Entertain For Friends

In welcome to the members who attended the first national convention and in entertainment of its interested friends the Seattle chapter of the League of Women Voters will entertain with a bridge tea at the home of Mrs. Thomas Irving, at 2 o'clock next Wednesday afternoon.

Bridge play will be directed by Mrs. O. H. James. Mrs. Arthur B. Langley leads the tea service committee, assisted by Mrs. F. B. Parquett, Mrs. Joan Lopez, Mrs. Arthur Philip, Mrs. H. O. Strassburger, Mrs. Ross Lee, Mrs. Louise Nash and Mrs. H. G. Grant.

MRS. FRIESE TO ENTERTAIN AT HER HOME

Mrs. Herman Friese, the former Marguerite Friese, is entertaining a luncheon evening with a large supper at her home for Miss Peggy Pollock.

CLUB PLANS LUNCHEON

Saturday will be celebrated as community day by members of the Jefferson Park Ladies' Improvement Club. Plans are rapidly nearing completion for the occasion, which will include a luncheon and dinner served at the clubhouse.

HOME FURNISHING HELPS

In many homes the radio has replaced the fireplace. It has created an interest in the living room arrangement. The music group is properly a part of every well furnished living room and the radio undoubtedly needs the lot for popular source of music in the home.

Figure 19: "Great Artists Come At Their Bidding" - LMC as a "Great Man"

Also embedded within this "biography" is the imagery of a "rags-to-riches" story, or of the "self-made man." As Michael Kimmel has shown, the narrative of the "self-made man" has been deeply ingrained within American male identity since the early days of the United States. It can be traced to the attempts to create an identity that was separate from its English forebears by emasculating or feminizing the latter, and consequently, strengthening the masculinity of the former by celebrating ideals of self-reliance. At the heart of the actualized self-made man was

financial success, the recognition by one's (male) peers of a man's success in the workplace. As Kimmel summarizes, "[t]he central characteristic of being self-made was that the proving ground was the public sphere, specifically the workplace. And the workplace was a man's world (and a native-born white man's world at that). If manhood could be proved, it had to be proved in the eyes of other men."²⁵²

As a consequence of this self-made man, the roles of men and women became increasingly separate within a family unit. For women, it meant being in charge of the home and of child-rearing; for men, it meant controlling the public aspects of the family, namely work and business, while being simultaneously pushed away from the private sphere. For both, it meant finding social support from people within their own sphere. Ultimately—and importantly—the rise of women's clubs in America in the mid-nineteenth-century is a manifestation of this self-made-man archetype.

Seattle-favorite Walter Damrosch identifies the link between women's musical clubs and the women's sphere, and the implications he sees as resulting from women's work in music. In his 1930 autobiography *My Musical Life*, Damrosch stated of music in America that "I do not think there has ever been a country whose musical development has been fostered so almost exclusively by women as America."²⁵³ He continues, summarizing the genesis of women's musical clubs in America and the role they fulfilled in the country's musical development:

Women's musical clubs began to form in many a village, town, and city, and these clubs became the active and efficient nucleus of the entire musical life of the community, *but alas, again principally the feminine community*. It is to these women's clubs that the managers turned for fat guarantees for appearances of their artists, *it is before audiences of whom 75% are women that these artists desport themselves*.

²⁵² Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 4th ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 22.

²⁵³ Walter Damrosch, *My Musical Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 324.

The result of this has been that the cultural life of American women has often been absolutely a thing apart from their relations with their men-folk. It has become accepted that of course men do not and need not share the women's interest in the arts.[my emphasis]²⁵⁴

Damrosch accurately acknowledges the critical role that women's music clubs maintained in the prospering of musical America. But he was not entirely correct in his assessment of the work of women. While it may have been the case that the "feminine community" was the prime benefactor of the labor of other women's musical clubs across the country, or that men elsewhere gave less attention to music due to this separation of public and private spheres, it was not true of the LMC or of Seattle.

Damrosch should have known better: three times he had visited Seattle for popular Artist Concert Series performances with the New York Symphony Orchestra under the auspices of the Ladies Musical Club, in 1908, 1910, and 1917. Each appearance by Damrosch and company was a huge musical event, with the group playing multiple shows per visit. His last Seattle appearance in 1917 promised to be the event of the season. Adding to the excitement for Seattle audiences, Gottstein had secured popular violinist Efrem Zimbalist to perform as a soloist with Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra.

As if anticipating Damrosch's later declaration on women in music, Seattle's *Town Crier* published a reflective article in 1917 that appeared with a preview of upcoming Seattle concerts, including the Damrosch/Zimbalist event. The paper asks reflectively: Are Seattle women different? The short, introspective excursion is worth citing at length, for it highlights the contrast between Damrosch's written view--and the idea that women in America were primarily

²⁵⁴ Damrosch, 324. Portions also cited in Blair's article, "The Ladies Musical Club of Seattle, 1890-1930," 280.

finding musical audiences of American women--and the reality he encountered when performing in Seattle:

Are Seattle women different? Here is a situation that is interesting a few of the more curious minds: Women in general have lain the flattering unction to their souls that they are the conservators of the higher emotions, the more spiritual minded of the two sexes; in fact, some of them actually and sincerely believe that, if it were not for their sex, those things that are lovely, that are fair and of good report would perish from the earth, *leaving it in the hands of ruthless man who seeks only material good.*

Now, if this premise is founded on anything more tangible than vanity or desire, then comes the question: Are Seattle women different--and the corollary follows: If not, how can the predominating number of men who attend the Philharmonic concerts on Sunday afternoons be accounted for? It is a day of, more or less, leisure for all. During the week men cannot be expected to leave their business cares to indulge their love or desire for music; but the fact that they do go when they are free surely indicates a trend that is worthy of note. Young men and middle-aged men, singly and in groups of twos and threes, attend the concerts, and *to an easterner, who is accustomed to seeing far more women than men at similar affairs, it comes as a distinct surprise.*

Is it a reaction from the everyday cares of life? Is it a vague seeking for beauty that sets the spirit free that impels men of affairs to turn to music? It is an interesting situation and it is probable that the fundamental causes lie far below the surface, but to the analytical mind it is worthy of study.[my emphases]²⁵⁵

The article leaves open for further inquiry the questions posed and does not attempt to discover why Seattle audiences—men *and* women—were different. But they were, and Damrosch's generalization about femininity, music, and women's clubwork that washes over these differences underscores the contrast between Seattle's musical community and elsewhere in America.

The timing of this article is telling. What this *Town Crier* article identifies is the ongoing changes in the roles of men and women in Seattle society to which the LMC's success was contributing. Through a Bedermanian process (as described in the previous chapter), Seattle had

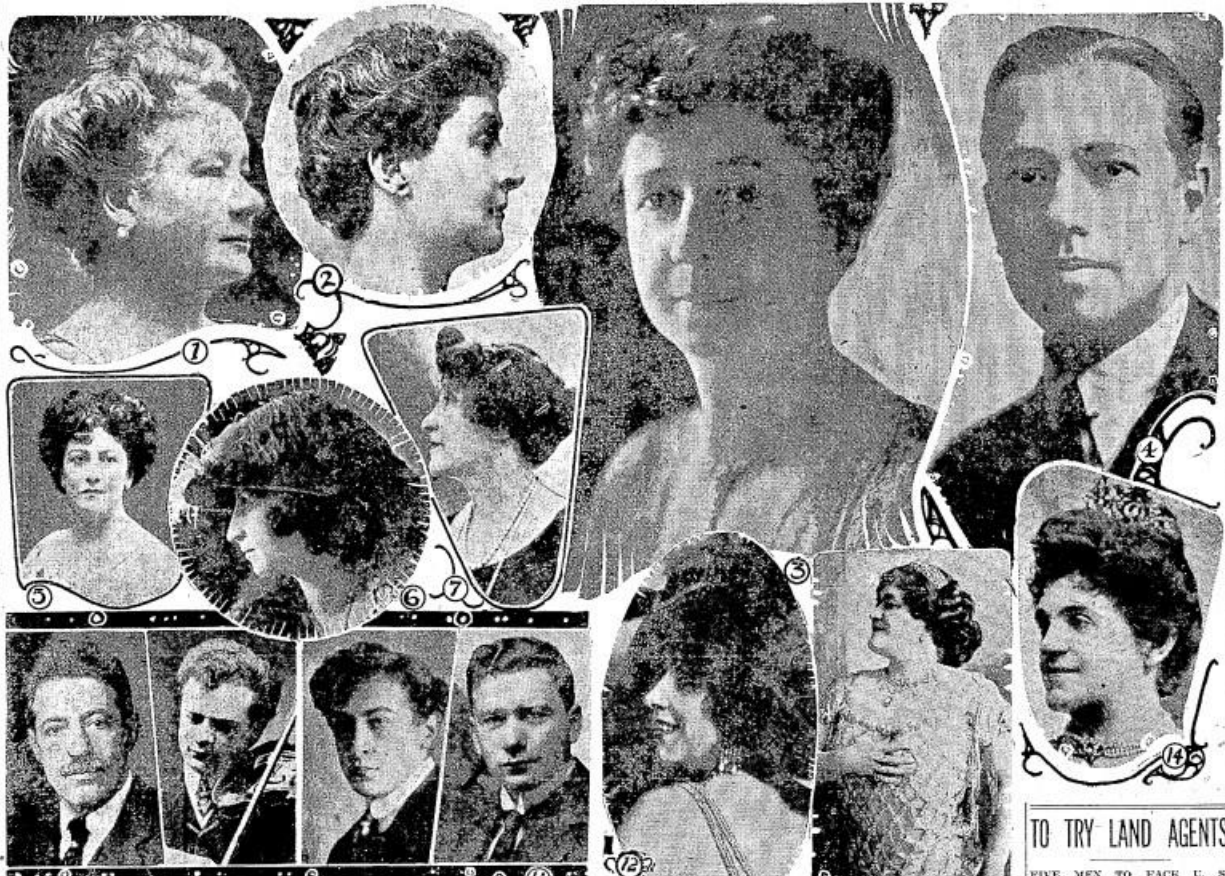
²⁵⁵ "Music and Musicians," *Town Crier* 12, no.3 (January 20, 1917): 11.

been negotiating what were acceptable (or celebrated) roles that women could hold. During this time (from around 1914-1920), there were also ongoing debates about the “right of married women to work for wages outside the home, regardless of economic necessity.”²⁵⁶ By 1917, when Damrosch was playing his third celebrated appearance, and when the LMC as a collective entity had lead the musical scene for nearly three decades and had proven itself through its early successes, leaders like Gottstein became recognized as successful individual figures in business and in the public sphere. That the author leaves the question unanswered reveals that the process was still underway, the roles still undefined. Evidence of the differences between eastern and western women—and of the continued negotiations about acceptable womanhood in the west—could be seen in the mixed-gender makeup of the musical audiences.

By the early 1920s, public roles for women seem to have been accepted by Seattle more definitively. In 1921, Mary Davenport Engberg became conductor of the Seattle Civic Symphony Orchestra. In 1922, Gottstein is pictured prominently among Artist Concert Series performers in a preview of the hundredth Artist Concert Series recital (**Figure 20**).

²⁵⁶ Maurine Weiner Greenwald, “Working-Class Feminism and the Family Wage Ideals: The Seattle Debate on Married Women’s Right to Work, 1914-1920,” in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, 95.

LADIES' MUSICAL CLUB EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS ON PROGRAMS



To Mark Hundredth Recital
Baritone Coming February 27

Reinold Werrenrath Will Appear at Metropolitan Under Auspices of Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle.

WHEN Reinold Werrenrath, baritone, appears at the Metropolitan on February 27 the Ladies' Musical Club will have presented its One Hundredth Artists' Recital in Seattle. Behind the announcement of this century concert, lies, twenty-one years of true civic service in the cause of art—and twenty-one years of fine achievement from the musical world.



To Observe One-Hundredth Recital.

Reinold Werrenrath's appearance at the Metropolitan February 27 will mark the one-hundredth artist recital in the series inaugurated by the Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle twenty-one years ago. Through the club's activities in this line the finest singers and musicians in the world have appeared in concert here. The photographs show famous stars of the past and present in the artist series of the club, and Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, executive secretary of the club, who for more than twenty years has had charge of every detail of the magnificent undertaking on their appearance here. (1) Mrs. Emma Emma de Gouville, formerly one of the Metropolitan Grand Opera Company's most famous sopranos. (2) Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, executive secretary of the Ladies' Musical Club of Seattle. (3) Mrs. Lillian Nordica, one of the greatest dramatic sopranos the world could see. (4) Mrs. Amelia Galli-Curci, famous coloratura soprano, considered soprano prima. (5) Josephine Baker, famous dancer and singer. (6) Mrs. Nellie Melba, world famous Australian soprano. (7) Mrs. Kertess, soprano. (8) Mrs. Lillian Nordica, soprano. (9) Mrs. Lillian Nordica, soprano. (10) Mrs. Lillian Nordica, soprano.

TO TRY LAND AGENTS

FIVE MEN TO FACE U. S. COURT JURY FEB. 28.

Seventy-Five Witnesses Have Been Subpoenaed by Government in Skagit Delta Case.

Preparations are under way by the United States attorney's office for trial of Oliver W. Sparks, George E. Dye, and three employees of their company, subpoenaed to appear in federal court on February 28, on charges of using the mails to carry out an alleged conspiracy and fraud in connection with sale of Skagit Delta lands. Other defendants in the case in addition to Sparks and Dye are Charles A. Spanton, Dell Lammiman and E. C. Hart. Seventy-five witnesses have been subpoenaed by the government, some of them well known, others unknown in the alleged worthless lands. Witnesses have been subpoenaed to appear several days before the date set for trial. The defendants were indicted on September 21, 1921, after investigation of the company made by post-office inspectors, assisted by the latter business bureaus. The lands sold, it is alleged in the indictment, were being sold and valuable delta lands, but were largely under water. The defendants claimed to have a plan to reclaim the lands by a dike project, it is alleged, but made no move to begin the dike. Most of the land sold was worthless for crops. It is charged.

Water Shut-Off Notice. Water service will be shut off in the whole of South Park district today from 8 o'clock to noon, while repairs are made on a broken main.

Get That F

Figure 20: Gottstein (large, top center) as Prominent Among Distinguished Artists²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ "Ladies' Musical Club Executive Secretary and Distinguished Artists on Programs," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 12, 1922, 12.

And, just a few years later, Bertha Knight Landes was elected mayor of Seattle in 1926, making Seattle the first major city in America with a woman at its helm. Overall, the prominence of individual leaders and composers in the LMC, against the backdrop of greater political and cultural discussions in the region, helped to negotiate more progressive roles for women in Seattle by the early 1920s.

According to the “biography” of the LMC, the LMC was seen as akin to a “great man” through successes in financial, cultural, and philanthropic endeavors. Given the crucial role of Gottstein in the early years of the LMC, it seems fitting to offer Gottstein’s own closing words on the LMC’s achievements to close out the chapter, words that are reflective of the complex role held by the LMC. “Art,” she writes, “is often thought to be impractical. Cultural development seldom assumes the aspect of profitable business. The musical club, administered entirely by women, has demonstrated that an altruistic cause need not be lacking in efficiency, nor in a fair measure of monetary reward.”²⁵⁸ These two sentences serve as the perfect summary of Gottstein’s own attitude toward her work for the club and other causes. For Gottstein, cultural and financial successes need not be mutually exclusive. Gottstein’s hard labor and clear thinking cemented the status of the LMC as financially solvent and culturally significant, and she had arguably more lasting influence on the LMC and on the city’s musical legacy than any other figure in her time.

²⁵⁸ “As A Matter of Fact: The Ladies’ Musical Club; Facts Furnished by Mrs. M. A. Gottstein,” *Seattle Daily Times*, April 13, 1928, 6.

Chapter Three

The Indianist Movement and Musical Identity in Seattle

The Pacific Northwest was a place where pioneers and Native Americans had a close and complex relationship. Here, the music of the Indianist composers—composers who used music collected from American Indian sources to create art music—gained quick and lasting popularity, resonating strongly with musical audiences during the first few decades of operation of the Ladies Musical Club. While Native Americans had been a part of popular culture in America since the early days of the United States, scholars generally agree that the Indianist movement in music flourished in America from around 1890 to the early- to mid-1920s.²⁵⁹ Prominent composers and figures—such as composer Antonín Dvořák and critic Olin Downes—began proposing several possible methods for achieving an “American” sound, including looking to American folk music sources for kernels of authentic American music that could be developed and “matured” into art music genres. Specifically, this included music of Native Americans as well as African Americans, two groups whose music had already been envisioned in the popular music and cultural imagination for decades. For Native American music, ethnographers began documenting Indian songs and culture from “authentic” sources, travelling to recently-established reservation lands to transcribe pieces. These transcriptions (and eventually, recordings) became the basis for pieces written by composers in art music genres aiming to establish an American sound. American composers who frequently utilized Indian music as a source or subject of music in art music genres from around 1890 through the mid-1920s came to

²⁵⁹ Ethnomusicologist Tara Browner, for instance, places the end of the Indianist movement in 1925, with the peak of the movement ending in 1920 (265-6). See Tara Browner, “‘Breathing the Indian Spirit’: Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the ‘Indianist’ Movement in American Music,” *American Music* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 266.

be known as Indianist composers by scholars. These composers include Edward MacDowell, Arthur Farwell, Charles Wakefield Cadman, John Comfort Fillmore, Henry Gilbert, Carlos Troyer, Amy Beach, Frederick Burton, and Thurlow Lieurance.²⁶⁰ The “Indianness” was manifested in varying degrees, ranging from taking direct transcriptions and incorporating them into compositions, to evoking “Indianness” through more generic techniques of musical exoticism or extramusical associations.²⁶¹

The LMC helped popularize the music of Indianist composers through public concerts of its members, through sponsorship of internationally-renowned musicians who performed Indianist pieces in Seattle, and by promoting and producing Indianist-style art music compositions of its own members. This chapter examines the role and reception of Indianist composers and Indianist-style pieces in Seattle through three main concert events: the Western premiere of Edward S. Curtis and Henry Gilbert’s “Indian Picture Opera” in 1912, the opening of LMC member Mary Carr Moore’s opera *Narcissa* in 1912, and the Seattle debut of Indianist composer and performer Charles Wakefield Cadman and his “interpreter” of Indianist music, mezzo-soprano Princess Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone, a “full-blooded” American Indian, in 1917.²⁶² These examples, along with other earlier LMC member concerts and programs that helped generate excitement for Indianist music, highlight both the cultural ties to the greater American art music movement despite the geographical distance of Seattle from the East Coast, as well as the passionate fascination with Native American music in Seattle that was generally

²⁶⁰ Browner, “Breathing the Indian Spirit,” 266.

²⁶¹ Both Browner and (later) Michael Pisani (citing Browner) find three useful categories into which these compositions fall: “symbolic (merely native-inspired), indexical (attempting to approximate native sounds), and iconic (using materials from native music).” See Michael Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 12.

²⁶² I use quotation marks around “interpreter” and “full-blooded” because they are terms that are seen repeatedly in contemporaneous accounts of the Cadman/Blackstone concerts, among others.

unequaled in other regions of the United States. For Seattle, Indianist compositions became a source of regional musical identity.

The Pacific Northwest is a region of the United States that has a long history of an interesting and multifaceted relationship between settlers and Native Americans. Early settlers were largely sailors, fur trappers, and those involved in trade, and they began arriving from other parts of the United States in the early decades of the 19th century. It was not until the second half of the 19th century that families and women began arriving. Nina Baym notes in her recent chronicle of the 343 women who had published books about the American West by 1927 that “the first ‘American’ emigrants to the Pacific Northwest –Oregon, Washington, western Idaho, and eventually Alaska—arrived in the late 1830s.”²⁶³ Seattle was first established as a settlement in the early 1850s with the arrival of several groups of settlers from the Midwest. By 1891, when the Ladies Musical Club was formed and just two years after Washington entered official statehood in 1889, the population of Washington State had grown to around 350,000, up from its first recorded census population in 1860 of 11,594.²⁶⁴

For pioneers, the move out to the Pacific Northwest and the interactions between the settlers and the Native American populations (both on the road and in the settled region) were frequently a defining feature of the settler’s life. This is evidenced in part by the published writings of several American women pioneers, for whom the interaction was especially meaningful; some examples include *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, published in 1894 by early

²⁶³ Nina Baym, *Women Writers of the American West, 1833 – 1927* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 41.

²⁶⁴ Specifically, the population of Washington State was at 349,390 at the 1890 census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1891. Fourteenth Number. Finance, Coinage, Commerce, Immigration, Shipping, The Postal Service, Population, Railroads, Agriculture, Etc. Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 249.

Pacific Northwest Historian Frances Fuller Victor, and *Left by the Indians*, a memoir published in 1892 by Oregon settler Emeline Fuller.²⁶⁵ In turn, the relationship between newcomers and the native inhabitants developed into the earliest and one of the most lasting aspects of the Pacific Northwest's "regional consciousness." In their book *The Pacific Northwest: Growth of a Regional Identity*, historians Raymond Gastil and Barnett Singer highlight the interaction between the native and non-natives as an essential element of the regional identity in the Pacific Northwest. They also note the problems faced by establishing a regional identity based on the displacement by one group (settlers) of another group of people (Native Americans). Gastil and Singer write that:

The first and major intellectual problem of American civilization in the Northwest was spiritually to manage the fact that its accomplishments *only* became possible with the displacement of Indian civilization that had preceded it...Although in the Northwest there have been periods of comparative inattention, the theme of white and Indian have mainly persisted, and [the] search for a regional consciousness [begins with] the problem of the two civilizations' interactions, as perceived by people on the frontier and by more contemporary scholars as well.²⁶⁶

But beyond the interaction between the two groups, Gastil and Singer touch on an important additional layer of identity. "Most of all," they note, "*Native Americans represented a way of life that belonged to the region in a sense that no Northwesterner has since quite belonged.*"[italics mine]²⁶⁷ Thus, for the non-native newcomers in the Pacific Northwest, the experience of the Native American represented an authentic Pacific Northwest experience. In turn, by participating in an experience seen as authentically Native American, non-native Pacific Northwesterners were able to express their own identities with the region. The music of the Indianist movement in

²⁶⁵ Baym, 45 and 48.

²⁶⁶ Raymond D. Gastil and Barnett Singer, *The Pacific Northwest: Growth of a Regional Identity* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2010), 19.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

Seattle became one major avenue for audiences to assert and define this regional identity, and its strong and lasting popularity in Seattle attests to the vigor with which it was celebrated.

Geography, especially the idea of “the West,” also became an important part of Seattle’s musical and cultural identity, as both settlers and Native Americans were the physical co-inhabitants of the region. As John Troutman summarizes, “[n]o other race or ethnic group represented a closer relationship to the American landscape” than Native Americans.²⁶⁸ Scholar Michael Pisani discusses the idea of “the West” in his in-depth book on the Indianist movement, *Imagining Native America in Music*. Pisani notes that “the mythic space of the frontier (or ‘the West’) began to outweigh its importance as a real place and became identified with the fictions created about it,” as the West became more known—or less unknown—through expeditions and accounts of settlers toward the end of the 19th century.²⁶⁹ But for people in the Pacific Northwest, the mythic space also held a physical reality. Since Indians were so intertwined with the idea of the West, the preservation of music and culture of the Native Americans became important for those who lived in the West, both native and non-native inhabitants. For that reason, it is not surprising that the Indianist movement held a special significance for the musical audiences of Seattle.²⁷⁰

The influence of the Ladies Musical Club helped popularize the Indianist movement in Seattle, which ultimately helped cement the link between Indianist music and the regional musical identity. Historian Karen Blair highlights the LMC’s promotion of Indianist

²⁶⁸ John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879 – 1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 155.

²⁶⁹ Pisani, 165.

²⁷⁰ The name “Seattle,” for instance, is credited to an early white settler who reportedly named the city (although a different spelling) after a local Native American leader, Chief Sealth.

compositions in her 2001 overview of the LMC. Referring to the generally conservative perception of “Ladies” clubs, Blair notes the contrast between that perception (as well as other women’s clubs) and the LMC, noting that “[p]erhaps surprisingly, LMC members defied general assumptions about European supremacy in music.” She writes of the LMC:

They broke tradition in their support of American music, performing works by Edward MacDowell, Mrs. H. H. A. Beach, and Louis Gottschalk with regularity. In addition, they pioneered in collecting, analyzing, and listening to native folk music, especially Native American song and Negro spirituals. *This effort brought new respect to an unrecognized American musical heritage.*[emphasis mine]²⁷¹

While she discusses the LMC’s interest in these composers as a broad affinity for American music, Blair is inadvertently identifying the LMC’s ties to and promotion of the Indianist music movement; both MacDowell and Beach are both considered by scholars to be part of the first wave of Indianist composers. She continues to cite the LMC’s interest in the early collectors and transcribers of Indian music, noting how “[i]n papers [the LMC members] prepared for their meetings and at conferences, they tapped the scholarship of women anthropologists like Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Frances Densmore, and Nelle Richmond McCurdy Eberhard who were collecting and publishing the music of North American Indians.”²⁷² The collections of these anthropologists became the source materials for “authentic” Indian music upon which composers based their Indianist works. The LMC took interest in both the compositions of Indianist composers and the sources from which they were created.

Blair was correct in identifying the LMC’s interest in different facets of the Indianist movement as a part of a larger nationalistic stream of music in the United States. The Indianist movement in music was a combination of two major elements in American culture: a long-

²⁷¹ Karen J. Blair, “The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930,” 127.

²⁷² Blair, 127.

standing fascination with Native Americans, and a push in the later decades of the 19th century for a distinctly “American” culture, musical and otherwise. However, in the context of late nineteenth century musical nationalism, the Indianist movement in music represents a slightly different stream of nationalism than seen in other movements. The idea of taking inspiration from more “folk” sources as an expression of nationalism was not new. In Europe, composers had already been using folk music and stories collected by anthropologists from their native countries as the basis for art music compositions. American composers were encouraged to do the same in order to establish a national style of music. However, this presented a problem for American composers; those of European descent would be merely recreating the European nationalist movement by borrowing from their own ethnic heritage. By turning to Native American sources, Indianist composers fell into a different category of nationalism, identified by ethnomusicologist Tara Browner as nationalist by “geography rather than ethnicity.”²⁷³ She summarizes the uniqueness of the Indianist movement:

Indianist music illustrates a distinct kind of nationalistic cross-cultural appropriation that is different from the more common practice of composers taking folk tunes from their own ethnic heritage and using them to represent musically nationalistic impulses. Although generally considered a product of American nationalism, Indianist musics are nationalist by geography rather than ethnicity, *inasmuch as none of the movement’s composers claimed any ties by blood to the peoples whose music they appropriated.*[emphasis mine]²⁷⁴

In other words, unlike other streams of nationalism in music that were derived from folk music, American composers utilized the music of the geographical natives rather than their own ethnic groups.

²⁷³ Browner, 266.

²⁷⁴ Browner, 265-6.

Due to the close identification of settlers in the Pacific Northwest with Native Americans, the Indianist stream of American musical nationalism took hold quickly and maintained its popularity in Seattle longer than in other parts of the United States. Indianist-style pieces appeared frequently on LMC programs in the first decades of the twentieth century. Some early examples include “Indian Love Song” by Arthur Foote (February 12, 1906), “From an Indian March” by MacDowell (April 9, 1906), and “Indian Legend” by Carl Busch (February 7, 1907).²⁷⁵ Avid Indianist Arthur Farwell enjoyed an enthusiastic welcome when he visited Seattle in 1904 as part of a national tour, featuring his lecture on “Music and Myths of the American Indian.” In the lecture, he advocated for Indianist compositions that utilized Indian songs in art music compositions.²⁷⁶ He also helped popularize the work of ethnographers like Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Francis La Flesche, Natalie Curtis, and Frances Densmore, whose fieldwork and transcriptions provided the “authentic” musical basis and inspiration for many of his (and others’) Indianist pieces. Through these visits and other attention in the local press, Farwell was established in Seattle as “American Music’s Champion” who was “fighting [the] battle for composers of [the] United States.”²⁷⁷ His visit was a success, and he appeared in Seattle again in 1909.

²⁷⁵ From *Members’ Book, 1906-1907*, and *Members’ Book, 1907-1908*, Ladies’ Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI.

²⁷⁶ See “Lecture on Indian Music,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 2, 1904, 7. See also Evelyn Davis’s “Arthur Farwell’s Early Efforts on Behalf of American Music, 1889-1921,” *American Music* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 156-75. Beth E. Levy’s *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) also offers valuable analysis of Farwell’s works and influence. Levy looks in depth at Farwell’s entire career, including this early lecture series. Both she and Pisani have shown that it was Farwell who started the tradition of the national lecture-recital tour, a tradition that Charles Wakefield Cadman would later continue. See Pisani, 177-180, for his discussion on Farwell’s “Indian Talks.”

²⁷⁷ “American Music’s Champion,” *Seattle Daily Times*, August 25, 1909, 4.

Inspired by these prominent figures and attracted to Indianist-style music, composers within the LMC wrote Indianist-style pieces that were performed and published in Seattle and elsewhere across the country. Irene Rodgers, a pianist, piano teacher, and composer who published over three hundred works, wrote many pedagogical pieces for children.²⁷⁸ In some ways, pieces for children are the most revealing, for they distill down a theme into its most identifiable elements in order to convey that theme in a simple and instructive way. Rodgers's 1945 piece titled "An Indian War Scout" is demonstrative of many musical elements that became identified as "Indianist." The simple, repetitive form, the sustained, hollow pedal of open fifths in the left hand, the descending melody harmonized in parallel fourths and fifths with a falling minor third at the cadence, and the modal feel of the harmonies (with the piece lacking a leading tone)—all point to sounds that were viewed as "Indian" (**Figures 21 and 22**).²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Composer Irene Rodgers has not yet been claimed by the LMC, nor by Seattle, but she should be. Of all the composers in the LMC, she published the most music, stayed in Seattle the longest, and her music is still in the most circulation today. Other noted LMC composers like Appleton, Miller, and Moore moved away during careers and never returned, but Rodgers was a fixture in Seattle music circles for nearly all of her career, with the exception of a three-year extended study with Frank La Forge in New York in the late nineteen-teens to early nineteen-twenties. She was friends with—or at least brushing elbows with—many of the important musical figures in Seattle, such as Cecilia Schultz, Mary Davenport Engberg, and various LMC members with whom she worked closely for many years (*Seattle Daily Times*, May 14, 1924, 12). In contemporaneous articles she is constantly noted as being a member of the LMC, and like Miller, she was the daughter of John and Mary Rodgers, early pioneers in the region ("John Rodgers, One of Bothell's Pioneers, Dies," *Seattle Daily Times*, January 13, 1927, 3). Her death notice includes her LMC membership as a point of note, and her music continued to be performed by LMC members after her death on LMC composers' programs ("Funeral For Miss Irene Rodgers Set," *Seattle Daily Times*, October 12, 1955, 48; "Musical Club To Meet In Scheyer Home," *Seattle Sunday Times*, February 23, 1958, 55). But there is no mention of her in any of the LMC histories. A piece of Seattle's and of the LMC's history is missing with the absence of Rodgers from these narratives.

²⁷⁹ Pisani identifies the three compositional "techniques" that emerged in early twentieth-century evocations of "native America—all of them in some way derived from folk cultures, though not necessarily American Indian cultures per se. These techniques encompassed (1) melodic parallelisms (also associated with primitivism, alterity, and orientalism); (2) modality (associated with ancientness as well as the sacred); and, less commonly, (3) dissonance (associated with the 'rawness' of the primitive experience)"(228). Pisani also identifies the cadential falling minor third as having "a mournful quality to it," and he notes how it was used frequently by Dvořák to connote "the 'Indian spirit'" in his America-inspired pieces (192-4).

AN INDIAN WAR SCOUT

IRENE RODGERS

Boldly

mf

Sumco 3749
ISBN 0-87487-857-8
1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

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Figure 21: “An Indian War Scout” by Irene Rodgers (mm. 1-16)²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Irene Rodgers, “An Indian War Scout” (Secaucus, New Jersey: Summy-Birchard Inc., 1945), 2.

3

857

Figure 22: “An Indian War Scout” (mm. 17-32)

Overall, Rodger's piece is an example of a short composition that contains many emblematic Indianist elements, and one that was written over two decades after the peak years of the Indianist movement.

One figure who demonstrates the Northwest's early ties to the Indianist movement and who also became an important source of regional pride is ethnographer Edward S. Curtis. Through Curtis's popularity, Seattle became known nationally and internationally for its ties to the Indianist movement. Deemed "Seattle's Indian Expert" and "one of the foremost of Seattle's representatives in literature and art" by one local newspaper, Curtis's goal—like that of other ethnographers who were transcribing and recording Indian songs and melodies—was to document and preserve the Native peoples in America through photographic imagery, written documentation, and musical recordings and transcriptions.²⁸¹ Curtis was born in Wisconsin in 1868 but lived in Seattle from 1887 to 1920. His widespread fame and work made him a regional hero, with one local publication declaring in 1913 that "[t]he Pacific Northwest is justly proud of the wonderful work being done by Edward S. Curtis of Seattle."²⁸² When he had the idea to create a multi-volume work of his ethnographic endeavors, the idea was "met with the immediate approval of the prominent men of the observing trend of mind." Subsequently, "plans were formulated for the publication of *The North American Indian*, in twenty volumes of text, and twenty portfolios of copper-plate photogravures."²⁸³ The twenty volume opus was published between 1907 and 1930.²⁸⁴ The striking portraits and scenes depicted Native Americans dressed

²⁸¹ "Seattle's Indian Expert Home," *Seattle Daily Times*, April 15, 1909, 7.

²⁸² "The Curtis Picture Musicale," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 4, No. 1 (1913): 53.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ The digital edition is available through the websites of the Library of Congress (and Northwestern University (<http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu>)).

in the traditional or ceremonial garments associated with their tribe or region (**Figure 23**), scenery from the different reservations and tribal lands, and scenes of daily life and activities (**Figure 24**).²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ All photographs are taken from Volume 9 “The Salishan tribes of the coast. The Chimakum and the Quilliate. The Willapa,” from Curtis’s *The North American Indian (1907 – 1930)* (Cambridge, Mass.: The University Press, 1913). Pages listed individually.



Figure 23: “Quinault Female Type” (1912, plate facing page 92)

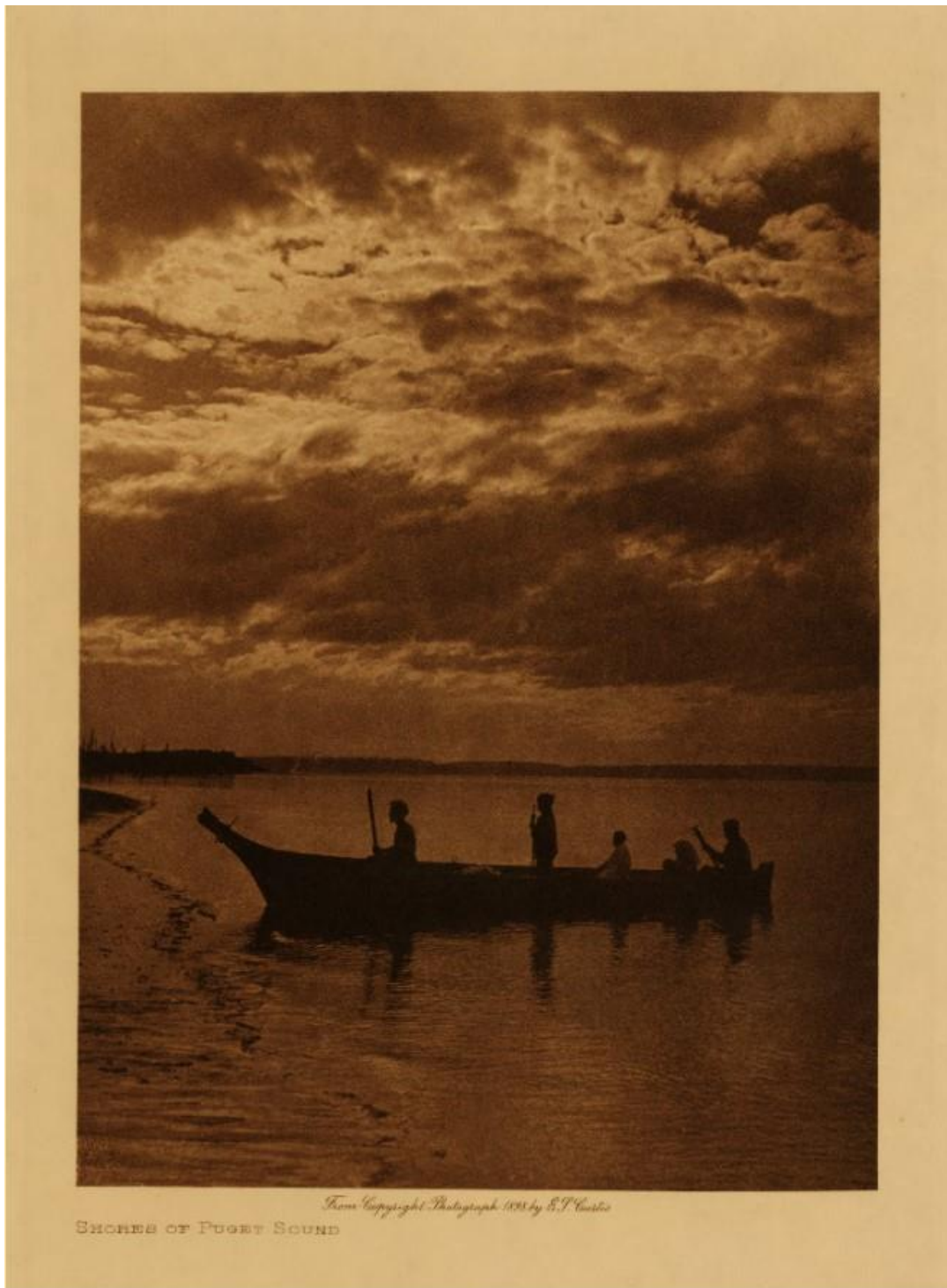


Figure 24: “Shores of Puget Sound” (1898, Facing page 4)

Curtis was also a proponent of Indianist music as a means of documenting and preserving Indian culture. He helped link Native American imagery to music through his collaboration with Indianist composer Henry F. Gilbert for an “Indian Picture Opera” in 1911. Curtis had worked with Gilbert since the early days of the Indianist movement, when in 1890 Curtis “employed the services of classically trained composer Henry F. Gilbert to transcribe Indian music he had recorded with [Thomas] Edison’s cylinders.”²⁸⁶ This unique work debuted in Seattle in 1912 and consisted of an Indianist-style musical score that accompanied photographic images taken by Curtis, as well as sets and narration by Curtis. The concert was sponsored by hundreds of Seattle patrons - he came out due to popular demand. One of the previews notes that “[t]he Curtis productions in Seattle are to be given under the patronage of nearly 500 of the best known men and women in Seattle business, art and social circles.”²⁸⁷ In addition, due to “scores of insistent inquiries concerning details of the character [of the piece],” Curtis provided an “outline” that was published in the *Seattle Daily Times* in advance of the performance of the “Picture Opera,” that explained the basis and creation of the piece in great detail for the highly-anticipated event:

“Said he [Curtis]:

‘For this picture-musical entertainment, I have selected the most important, the most beautiful pictures of my life work, and arranged them in series depicting great ceremonies, illustrating important thoughts, picturing the tragedy and the pathos of life. To accompany each of these series, Henry F. Gilbert, the gifted New York composer, has written a musical setting which gives, in a striking and beautiful way, the composer’s interpretation of the picture...For his basic material, Mr. Gilbert has drawn upon the many hundreds of phonographic records I have made of Indian songs, prayers and chants. The resultant production of original Indian music is so full of color and charm that it can almost be said that Mr. Gilbert has painted pictures in music—the harmony between the

²⁸⁶ Pisani, 169.

²⁸⁷ “Tillikums will see Indian Photographs,” *Seattle Daily Times*, December 3, 1912, 10.

pictures and the music is such that one can scarcely tell whether his emotions have been reached through his sight or through his hearing.”²⁸⁸

Importantly, both the secondary headline—which declares that “MUSIC ACCOMPANIMENT ADDS MUCH VALUE”—and Curtis highlight the additional authenticity and emotion that the music added to the experience. According to Curtis, by utilizing Curtis’s Indian source materials of “songs, prayers and chants,” Gilbert created “original Indian music.” The full Indian experience, it seemed, required Curtis’s images as well as “original” music (though Curtis is quick to note that neither is better than the other—“one can scarcely tell whether his emotions have been reached through his sight or through his hearing”). It was an experience he did not want to deny his hometown, noting that “I have long wanted to place before the people of Seattle something of the atmosphere of Indian life—that part of the life which the artist and the poet would see and feel—the part which the Indian would express only when in touch with a sympathetic nature.”²⁸⁹ Curtis continues his concert preview, touting the combination of pictures, words and music as a *gesamtkunstwerk*-esque achievement:

Pictures alone, however, full of mystery and atmosphere, can hardly reach that subtlety so much desired: written words, however poetic, can scarcely express it. *But pictures combined with music—the cooperation of the composer and the artist—should be able to reach every emotion, and so it has proved.*[emphasis mine]²⁹⁰

While Curtis’s preview remained philosophical, another preview provided a better idea of what audiences were to expect beyond just the melding of music and images. The scenes “give glimpses of the warlike Apaches in their native haunts, performing their religious rites and

²⁸⁸ “Curtis Explains His Indian Picture Opera,” *Seattle Daily Times*, November 19, 1912, 22.

²⁸⁹ “Curtis Explains His Indian Picture Opera,” 22.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

dances as well as of the more peaceful tribes of Hopi Indians, living amid pastoral scenes with the marvelous coloring and cloud effects of the desert as a background.”²⁹¹ The preview of the music is brief but positive, noting that “[t]he Gilbert music follows the spirit of these pictures and these scenes with wonderful fidelity and beauty of inspiration.”²⁹²

Curtis’s assertion that the “Indian Picture Opera” had been a successful marriage of images and music was not premature or unfounded; In fact, the “Indian Picture Opera” had actually premiered on November 15th of the previous year (1911) to a packed audience at Carnegie Hall in New York City. Seattle readers kept close watch on the performance of its very own “representative” to see how his work would be received by the Carnegie audience. They were pleased—smug, even—to find that the “fashionable New York audience, whose blasé attitude toward all efforts in the way of entertainment, was completely swept away with enthusiasm.”²⁹³ The writer notes the “remarkable and extraordinary ovation [the night of the premiere] at Carnegie Hall by the largest audience ever assembled in that house of big audiences,” beaming that “[t]he rapt attention and enthusiasm of the assembly was even more noteworthy than its size.”²⁹⁴ The reviewer continues:

Mr. Curtis began his foreword to the lecture and from his first words won and held the tremendous audience. There is no question that he came into his own last night.

The verdict is universal that he has furnished even to New York a unique entertainment. Henry Gilbert’s Indian music, which accompanies the pictures of this entertainment, is without question a success and on every side people were heard to say:

“This is opera music.”²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ “Tilikums will see Indian Photographs,” 10.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ “E.S. Curtis Receives Ovation at New York,” *Seattle Daily Times*, November 16, 1911, 12.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

The “Indian Picture Opera” was also performed in Washington DC’s Belasco Theatre to “capacity houses” a short time later.²⁹⁶ The fact that both the Washington DC and the New York City performances were met with enthusiastic and universal approval from the tough East Coast crowds seems to have roused a sense of regional pride within the Seattle audiences.

For the Seattle premiere at the Metropolitan Theatre in 1912, the headline for the review showed surprising restraint, given the level of anticipation of the Seattle concert. Perhaps attempting to mirror the “cultured audience” in attendance, the review read that the performance and pictures were “Warmly Received,” highlighting also that the “Exhibition by Foremost Local Artist at Metropolitan Draws Exceptionally Large and Cultured Audience.”²⁹⁷ Reviewer J. Willis Sayre opens with an overview of the concert, citing the quality of the audience as proof of its success:

Last night’s audience was not without its tremendous significance. All of the people whose names have been identified with the advancement of art in its various forms in this city were eager to attend, and did attend, not merely to be entertained, but to *participate in the initial formal recognition* of Mr. Curtis’ magnificent and unique pictorial work is the great outdoors of Western America.[emphasis mine]²⁹⁸

For Sayre and the people of Seattle, the concert was a way to actively participate in Curtis’s success, a success that served to validate the importance of the West and create a historical legitimacy through the image and music of the Western Native Americans. Sayer continues, highlighting the experience of the Seattle audience in detail:

The personal side of the evening’s entertainment[...]became of primary importance. Mr. Curtis can and will take more such pictures as he displayed last night but no one else can parallel his accomplishments in Indian photography; at least thus far no one ever has. *The uppermost thought in every mind last night was one of personal pride in the achievements*

²⁹⁶ “Tilikums will see Indian Photographs,” 10.

²⁹⁷ J. Willis Sayre, “Curtis Pictures Warmly Received,” *Seattle Daily Times*, December 7, 1912, 16.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

of a distinguished fellow-townsmen. His pictures were recognized, not solely as having great intrinsic value, but as a genuine historical record, as a contribution to the world's knowledge of vanishing Indian customs that has deservedly won him International fame.

Aside from the warmth of feeling entertained and expressed for Mr. Curtis, the pictures themselves are a treat for all lovers of the beautiful. Constituting as a whole a perfect aboriginal symphony, they individually brought forth a succession of Ohs and Ahs. *There is a soul to a Curtis Indian picture. That is why one or more of them are found in most of the well-ordered homes of Seattle.* Always a touch of the majestic in their living subjects and the serene beauty of primeval nature are to be found in them.[emphasis mine]²⁹⁹

Two things stand out in this excerpt of the review. First, Sayre speaks to the “personal pride” of the audience members in their “fellow-townsmen” and emphasizes the “well-ordered homes” in which the pictures of Curtis’s pictures can be found. For Sayre and the audiences, the experience of the concert and the relationship between Curtis and the people of Seattle (at least, the ones with “well-ordered homes”) seems quite personal. Second, Sayre continues to emphasize Curtis’s widespread popularity, his “contribution to the world’s knowledge” and his “International fame,” demonstrating both Curtis’s legitimacy and historical importance as well as his intimate ties to the people of Seattle (in their homes).

The music was also an important part of the authenticity of the experience. Written by Indianist composer Henry Gilbert and performed by a twenty-two-piece orchestra, the score was deemed “highly effective” by Sayre, who also took note of the music’s ties to the classical music canon as well as Curtis’s influence on its conception.³⁰⁰ Of the music, Sayre emphasizes the Indianist elements, writing that “[t]he music is of course a development of novel Indian themes furnished by Mr. Curtis himself. It was not predominantly guttural, as might be supposed, and in some passages apparently every part of every violin string and every key, black and white, on the

²⁹⁹ Sayre, “Curtis Pictures Warmly Received,” 16.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. Sayre writes that “[T]he funeral march, for instance, is a composition that Chopin himself could have put his name to without disaster.”

piano was brought into use.”³⁰¹ Overall, Sayre writes favorably about the music as a vital part of the experience and of Gilbert’s abilities, declaring that “[p]arts of this score proclaim Gilbert to be a composer of rare skill.”³⁰²

While a study on the specific Indian themes from which Gilbert drew for the “Indian Picture Opera” has not been conducted to date, we can nevertheless see certain Indianist-style motives in the score. The excerpt shown in Figures 17 and 18 are from Gilbert’s *Indian Scenes: Five Pieces for the Pianoforte*. The pieces, “Based upon Indian Motifs,” were selected from the twenty-one pieces that Gilbert composed for the “Indian Picture Opera,” and each was published with an accompanying photograph by Curtis, perhaps in an attempt to preserve part of the *gesamtkunstwerk* nature of the original production.³⁰³ The first, “By The Arrow,” is prefaced by Curtis’s photograph of the same title (**Figure 25**) and utilizes musical elements that are commonly found in other Indianist compositions, as shown in Rodgers’s “An Indian War Scout”: polyrhythmic gestures, a heavily accented downbeat, repetition, modal harmonies and melodic parallelism, and a simple form (in this case, ABA’) (**Figures 26 and 27**).

³⁰¹ Sayre, “Curtis Pictures Warmly Received,” 16.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Henry F. Gilbert, *Indian Scenes: Five Pieces for the Pianoforte* (New York: The H. W. Gray Co., 1912), 1.



BY THE ARROW
Copyright, 1912, by Edward S. Curtis

**Figure 25: Curtis Photograph for the First of Gilbert's *Indian Scenes*, "By The Arrow"
(page 3)**

BY THE ARROW

Henry F. Gilbert

Risoluto M.M. ♩ = 96

f deciso.

dim.

mf Ped.

H.W.G. 133-13

Copyright, 1912, by Edward S. Curtis

Figure 26: "By The Arrow," mm. 1 - 17

The image displays a five-system musical score for piano. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (dim., p, cresc., sf), articulation (accents, slurs), and performance instructions (Ped., Tempo I). The notation is arranged in two staves per system, with the right hand on top and the left hand on the bottom. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

H. W. G. 133 -13

Figure 27: "By The Arrow," mm. 18 - 37

Overall, both the music and the pictures demonstrated authenticity in its “Indianness” to Seattle audiences. The success of Curtis and Gilbert’s “Indian Picture Opera” meant the validation of the cultural and historical legitimacy of the people and the region; thus, it was very important to the people of Seattle that Curtis was successful.

Perhaps taking a cue from Edward Curtis’s successful melding of music and images in capturing the “atmosphere of Indian life,” Seattle composer and LMC member Mary Carr Moore premiered her Indianist-style opera *Narcissa* in April of 1912 at (fittingly) Seattle’s Moore Theatre, in between the Carnegie Hall premiere of Curtis’s “Indian Picture Opera” in late 1911 and just a few months before Curtis’s “Opera” made its way West to the Seattle stage in late 1912. The story of *Narcissa* was based on the figures of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, two early missionaries in the Northwest who met their end in the famous Whitman Massacre in 1847 at the hands of the local Native Americans.³⁰⁴ Amidst the backdrops of Curtis’s “Indian Picture Opera,” Seattle’s continued fervor for Indianist music, and the public’s desire to experience and celebrate the art of regional figures, it is perhaps not surprising that Moore’s opera—which was based on a story with a local Indian subject that utilized Indianist-style music as well as imagery and costumes from regional tribes—generated much anticipation leading up to its premiere **(Figures 28 and 29)**.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ One previewer summarizes the story of the opera in dramatic fashion: “the Whitman massacre occurred November 29, 1847, a deplorable event with which history is so eloquently illustrated. The sad story of the killing of the Whitmans, their friends and followers but the treacherous Indians led by the murderous war chiefs, Tilaukait and Tamahas, is a surpassingly painful reminiscence of Northwest pioneers. The libretto of Mrs. Moore’s opera follows history almost exactly, departing from it only in trifles and in compressing events to fit the necessities of stage portrayal.” *Seattle Daily Times*, April 21, 1912, 12.

³⁰⁵ An entire article was dedicated to describing the “[s]cores of real Indian relics in the way of dress and trappings to be used in the Seattle-made grand opera, ‘Narcissa,’” *Seattle Daily Times*, April 17, 1912, 14.



Figure 28: Front Cover of *Narcissa* Score (1912)

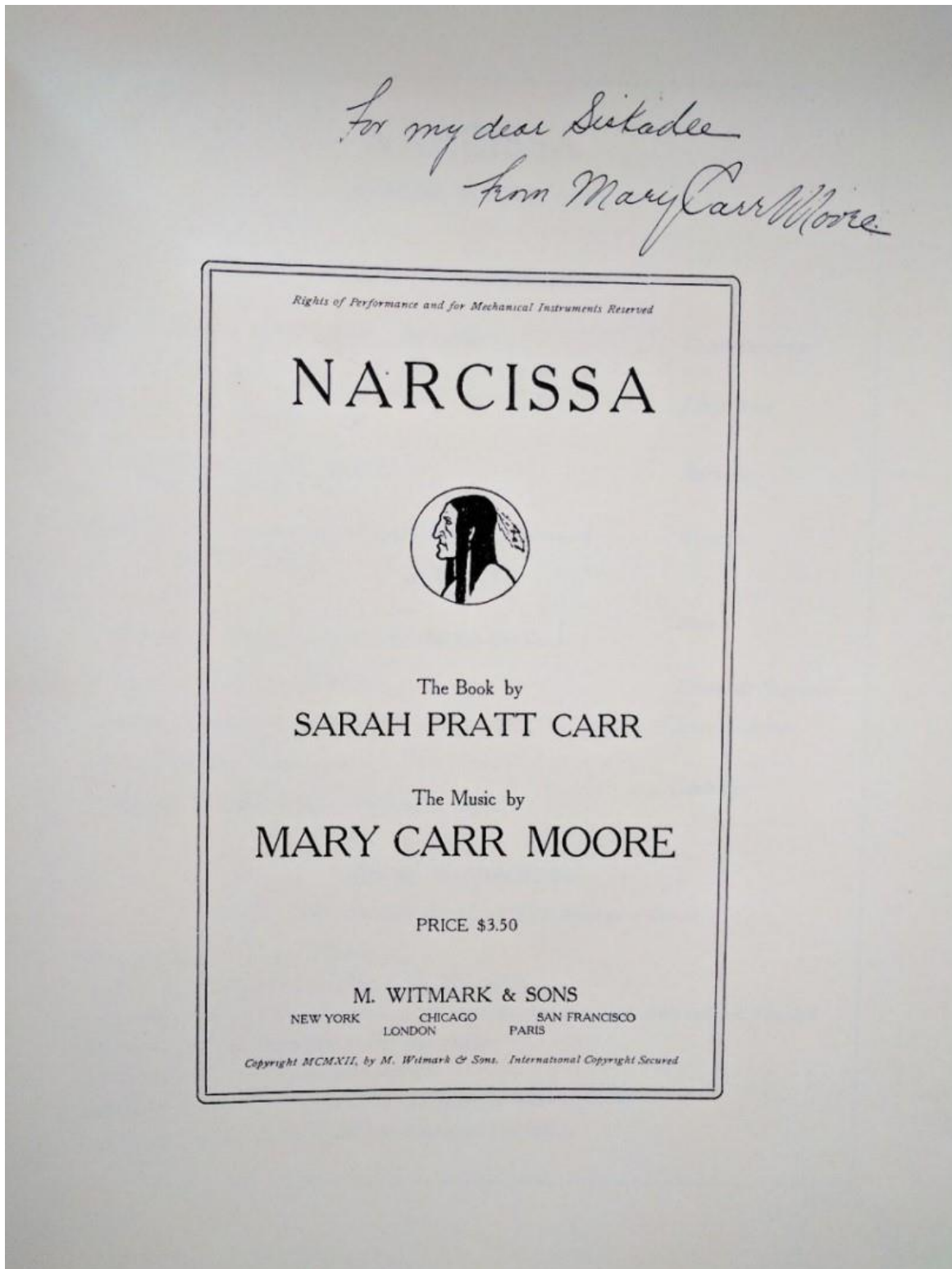


Figure 29: Autographed Inside Cover of *Narcissa* Score (Copy: University of Washington)

The Town Crier, a widely-circulated Seattle weekly publication that focused on the arts and entertainment in the region, featured a multi-page preview of *Narcissa*, calling it the “Grand Opera of the West” and enticing the reader by declaring that “Success [is] Predicted For Mary Carr Moore’s ‘Narcissa.’”³⁰⁶ Columnist Helen Ross puts great emphasis on the novel aspects of the opera that appealed to Seattle audiences, many of which were also underscored in the reception of the “Indian Picture Opera”: the fact that Mary Carr Moore is a woman, that she is composing and producing the opera in the West, that her subject matter revolves around a Northwestern topic, and that all of these factors make Carr and the opera important, unique to the region, and poised for recognition elsewhere. Ross writes:

Composed by a western woman who received her entire musical education in California and Washington, having a theme that is peculiarly Western, produced by a Western manager and sung, with the exception of the leading principals, by a Western cast, “Narcissa” is an[sic] unique achievement in the world of music.³⁰⁷

While Ross incorrectly identifies Moore as the “the only woman composer in the world to write grand opera” as well as “the only American to build one about an American theme,” she recognizes the significance of the Western elements found in many facets of the opera.³⁰⁸

The Western elements also proved to be hurdles which the composer had to overcome, creating a sense of triumph over adversity that also appealed to Seattle audiences. These barriers leading up to the production of the opera are noted in a detailed story of the composer’s

³⁰⁶ Helen Ross, “Grand Opera of the West,” *Town Crier*, April 13, 1912, 11.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. She writes that “To be the only woman composer in the world to write grand opera and the only American to build one about an American theme is the double distinction that belongs to Mary Carr Moore, a prominent Seattle woman. Her opera ‘Narcissa,’ which will have its initial production April the twenty-second at The Moore, has aroused the sincere interest of music lovers all over the country, many of whom prophesy its success and ultimate recognition as a work of the first magnitude. Aside from its intrinsic merit is the interest that attaches to it from the fact of its being the most ambitious musical work ever attempted in this part of the country.”

encounter with Arthur Farwell, who was a well-established Indianist composer and a favorite of Seattle audiences. It seems there could be no more fitting a figure to help legitimize Moore's opera. Ross relays of the encounter between Farwell and Moore:

Upon finishing her work, Mrs. Moore's next step was to get it produced, a task which she found most discouraging at first. *New York managers looked upon a Westerner and a woman who had composed a grand opera in the light of a joke and refused her a satisfactory hearing.* Finally, through the efforts of John Cort, she was granted a twenty minute interview with Arthur Farwell, who, as president of the National Music Society, passes upon all of the native operas before they are produced. Taking with her two singers she went to Mr. Farwell prepared to make every moment count. The interview lengthened into two hours during which the critic heard practically all of the opera. *When it was over, he said "America now has a grand opera of national spirit." He gave her no criticism but said it was an excellent piece of work.*[emphasis mine]³⁰⁹

Thus, Moore's opera was able to not only shatter the norms of the East—who thought her efforts “a joke”—but also received validation from the authority on music in America and created something that had importance not only in the West but also served as a representation of America as a whole. Ross continues to vacillate between Moore's Western identity and things that validate the quality of the work, writing that:

Mrs. Moore was especially fortunate in finding in her mother, Mrs. Sarah Pratt Carr, a librettist who not only shared her enthusiasm for the dramatic possibilities of the Northwest history, but whose experience as a playwright enabled her to write a book of unusual merit. In common with the librettos of most grand operas...[it] is written in rhythmical prose with the occasional lyrics in hexameter form.³¹⁰

For Ross, it was important that the work was both representative and transcendent of its Western identity, linking the Northwest to the greater United States while at the same time underscoring its uniqueness.

³⁰⁹ Ross, “Grand Opera of the West,” 11.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

In the end, in contrast to Curtis's International fame, *Narcissa* was primarily a local success, seeing only two revivals in California in 1925 and 1945. However, like Curtis's concert, Seattle audiences saw *Narcissa* as a tremendous local achievement. Not one but two separate reviews were published the following day in the Tuesday Evening edition of the *Seattle Daily Times*, declaring that "Local Grand Opera Heartily Applauded" and that "Narcissa Approved by Large Local Audience."

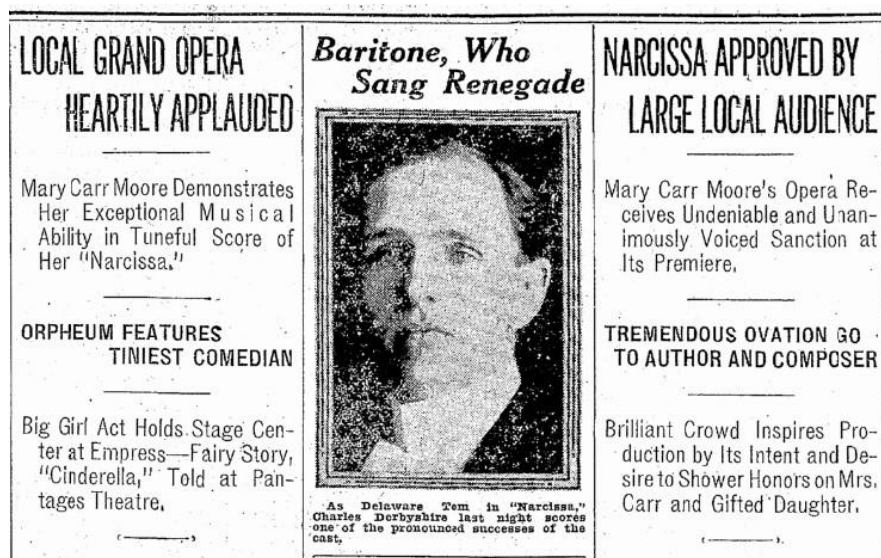


Figure 30: Clipping of Dual Headlines for *Narcissa*³¹¹

Much like his later review of Curtis's "Indian Picture Opera," Sayre emphasizes the quality of the audience and of the work as well as the experience of the local crowd, noting that:

There was more to it at The Moore last night than the vast array of floral offerings, the rounds of applause, the endless curtain calls. There was sincere appreciation for the wonderful work of two Seattle women, Mary Carr Moore and Sarah Pratt Carr, for the grand opera, "Narcissa," is, in Western America, a musical achievement without parallel.³¹²

³¹¹ *Seattle Daily Times*, April 23, 1912, 7.

³¹² J. Willis Sayre, "Local Grand Opera Heartily Applauded," *Seattle Daily Times*, April 23, 1912, 7.

Sayre specifically highlights the regional implications, not just for Seattle but for all of “Western America.” In another review, Paul C. Hedrick lauds Moore’s Indianist-style elements, and her supposed use of local Native American music, as one of most important aspects of the work that sets it apart:

Concerning the score of Mrs. Moore’s opera, it should be said in the very beginning that the greater part of it is not only original in conception, but the various elements in the work have received musicianly[sic] treatment in their development. *For some of her materials Mrs. Moore has gone faithfully and accurately to Indian music and motifs, gleaned from the tribes and tribal traditions of the aborigines [Native Americans] of the Pacific Northwest. It is to be doubted if any American writer has so faithfully handled so-called Indian music as has Mrs. Moore.* For this reason there are many periods in “Narcissa” during which the ear of the trained musician is gratefully conscious of something absolutely new and very well done.[emphasis mine]³¹³

For Hedrick, Moore’s originality of style and use of Indianist musical elements from the region make her, in his estimation, the most “faithful,” “accurate,” and perhaps the most authentic Indianist composer. Hedrick’s observations of the music are curious, though. As Catherine Smith Parsons has shown, Moore did not pursue a strict ethnographic approach as Hedrick assumes. Instead, “[w]here needed, she used stock ‘Indian’ melodies...For the Indian dances and chants...she relied on her experience of an Apache demonstration she had observed on a trip to the Southwest.”³¹⁴ Smith also notes that Moore had “visited the site of the Whitmans’ mission” in preparation for the opera, so perhaps that visit had led to false assumptions about the source of the music.³¹⁵ Regardless, there was a *perceived* authenticity of Moore’s opera among Seattle reviewers that stemmed from her use of Indianist-style music.

³¹³ Paul C. Hedrick, “Narcissa Approved by Large Local Audience,” *Seattle Daily Times*, April 23, 1912, 7.

³¹⁴ Catherine Parsons Smith, “Written and Produced in the American West: Two Operatic Portrayals of First Nations Cultures,” in *Opera Indigene: Re/presenting First Nations and Indigenous Cultures*, edited by Pamela Karantonis and Dylan Robinson (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2016), 193.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 193.

Reviewers were still unsure as to the success beyond Seattle's performance because of its uniquely Western associations. Sayre notes that the opera's special resonance with Northwest audiences could hinder its acceptance elsewhere, writing that "[i]f 'Narcissa' should succeed, then, in a far country, in its present form, it will be not because it is in line with dramatic or grand operatic traditions, but in spite of the fact that it is not."³¹⁶ However, Sayre seems to value the local pride the piece instills and its physical connection to the audience over success in other locations:

To the very degree that "Narcissa" might lack in intrinsic interest so far as outsiders are concerned should it make the greater appeal to the people of the Pacific Northwest. *Its story here has a vital meaning, a patriotic significance and a pride of local achievement. Whitman and his heroism belong to us. In one of the boxes last night sat a woman who knew him.* There is a thrill that goes with it that a recital of the romances of old Spain or Italy can never convey.[emphasis mine]³¹⁷

Significantly, for Seattle audiences, *Narcissa* was a successful work precisely because of the geographical and temporal closeness between the work and the viewers. It "belonged" to the audiences and the people of the Pacific Northwest. Smith echoes this sentiment in her study of *Narcissa*'s impact, summarizing that "[t]he geographical closeness of [*Narcissa*] to the events [it portrays], and [its] nearness in time, is fundamental to [*Narcissa*'s] early, local success."³¹⁸ It is

³¹⁶ Sayre, "Local Grand Opera Heartily Applauded," 7.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Smith, "Written and Produced in the American West," 188. Smith has also noted in detail the importance of the opera's Western associations. In the article, Smith highlights the impact of geography on how a piece of music is both conceived and received in America, specifically in America's last frontier—the Western states. She notes how geographic proximity to the subject matter can be a defining and impactful feature of a piece of music, showing how the perspective of a composer in the American West dealt differently with Western subjects in the early 20th century than her Eastern counterparts. Smith writes about *Narcissa* that "[t]his closeness in place and time gave [*Narcissa*] immediate political implications, with differently inflected meanings for [its] initial audiences and critics than for more distant observers and later audiences...*Narcissa* [is a] unique [expression] of regional interests and attitudes that expand our perceptions and understandings of the cultures of the American West early in the twentieth century" (Ibid.),

the regional identity—both in subject and in musical elements—that the opera illuminates that made it important to the Seattle audiences.

A few years after the premier of *Narcissa*, the LMC fueled the Seattle public's taste for Indianist compositions when the Club brought to Seattle Charles Wakefield Cadman and his "Creek Princess Mezzo-Soprano" touring companion, Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone. The two made their Seattle debut under the auspices of the LMC in 1917. Seattle proved to be a desirable destination due to their warm reception—both returned several times together and independently for performances, talks, and to visit and travel with friends they made in Seattle.³¹⁹

By 1917, Cadman had been well-established both nationally and internationally as an Indianist composer, performer, and vocal proponent of the Indianist movement in music. Cadman's approach to Indianist compositions became almost didactic, and he wrote extensively in the 1910s and 1920s about his methods of "idealizing" the transcribed music of Native Americans into American art music pieces.³²⁰ Like Farwell, Cadman utilized music collected and transcribed by ethnographers, specifically collections of Fletcher and La Flesche.³²¹ His outspoken promotion of "idealized" Indian music also made him a controversial figure in the nationalist debates. In Seattle, he was welcomed by audiences, and importantly, Seattle audiences did not seem to find a difference in authenticity between "authentic" Indian music that was collected and transcribed directly from Native American sources and Cadman's "idealized"

³¹⁹ Cadman became close friends with local couple Mr. and Mrs. Albert Charles Phillips and returned several times to stay with them, decades after his LMC appearance. See, for instance, "Composer Cadman Will Be Guest At Phillips Home," *Seattle Daily Times*, March 26, 1931, 16.

³²⁰ Some examples include: "Musicus! Quo Vadis?" *The Chesterian* 12, no. 95 (1924): 194-8; "The American Indian's Music Idealized." *The Etude* 38., no. 10 (1920): 659-60; "The 'Idealization' of Indian Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (July 1915): 387-96.

³²¹ Harry D. Perison, "The 'Indian' Operas of Charles Wakefield Cadman," *College Music Symposium* 22, no.2 (Fall 1982): 22-23.

Indianist compositions. Not surprisingly, Cadman's first venture out to the Pacific Northwest was a much-anticipated event.

Cadman had recently begun performing with Princess Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone, a Native American singer. John Troutman discusses in detail the unique attention that Blackstone garnered from audiences around the world. He provides a useful and relevant summary of her multifaceted appeal:

Distinguished by non-Indian audiences and critics through the combination of her beautiful voice, her engaging personality, and her performance of Indianness, she was also distinguished socially, as an entertainer, by her *elegance*, at least from the perspective of the elite cultural circles in which she mingled. Although she was probably better-traveled than the majority of her non-Indian audiences, having performed across the United States and Europe and studied for a year in Italy, they continually anticipated her as an embodiment of the primitive yet noble Indian princess. *She seemed to delight in shattering those expectations at every social gathering she attended* [emphasis mine].³²²

Through her collaboration with Cadman, he adds, she had “high intercultural fluency derived in part from her role as one-half of a truly successful duo.”³²³ Further, “[l]ike other Native musicians, Blackstone was quite conscious that she was ‘playing Indian’ for the public. She viewed it as a great opportunity and at times a chance to challenge the public’s views of American Indians by actually meeting her audience and, by revealing herself as a modern and cosmopolitan Creek woman, shattering their expectations.”³²⁴ Blackstone deliberately presented herself as both an “Indian” and a woman of “culture” to complicate and defy ideas of both.

³²² Troutman, 233.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid., 234. Cadman and Blackstone did make the social rounds in Seattle before and after many of their concerts. After the LMC premiere of the duo, for example, an article appeared in the Society section of the *Seattle Daily Times* relaying an intimate gathering of excited “admirers” of the duo at the house of a local family, the Phillips, for tea and music. The article relayed the event in detail to presumably curious readers: “The drawing room, reception room and other rooms en suite of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Charles Phillips yesterday afternoon were filled with the friends of the hosts and the admirers of Charles Wakefield Cadman, the American pianist and composer, and Princess Tsianina Redfeather, Creek Indian mezzo-soprano, who were in the city for a few days only as the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Phillips[...]The afternoon was informal, friends dropping in from 4 o’clock on. During the



Figure 31: Cadman and Blackstone Inscribed Photographs (LMC MOHAI Collection)

The concert, heavily promoted by the LMC, was one of the most anticipated events of the musical season, and the program promised a unique musical experience (**Figure 32**). In the tradition of Farwell’s lecture-recitals that later had been adopted by Cadman in the late nineteenth-
 aughts, the program for this “Indian Music Talk” was intended to be both educational and

afternoon an impromptu program of music was given in which the celebrated artists figured largely[...]Tea was served[...]in the dining room, from a table beautiful with a large centerpiece of pink roses.” *Seattle Daily Times*, March 12, 1917, 11.

musical. Notice Cadman's insistence on connecting the specific tribe to the specific piece in academic detail, in contrast to other examples like *Narcissa*, where the origin of the "stock" Indian pieces is obscured or omitted.

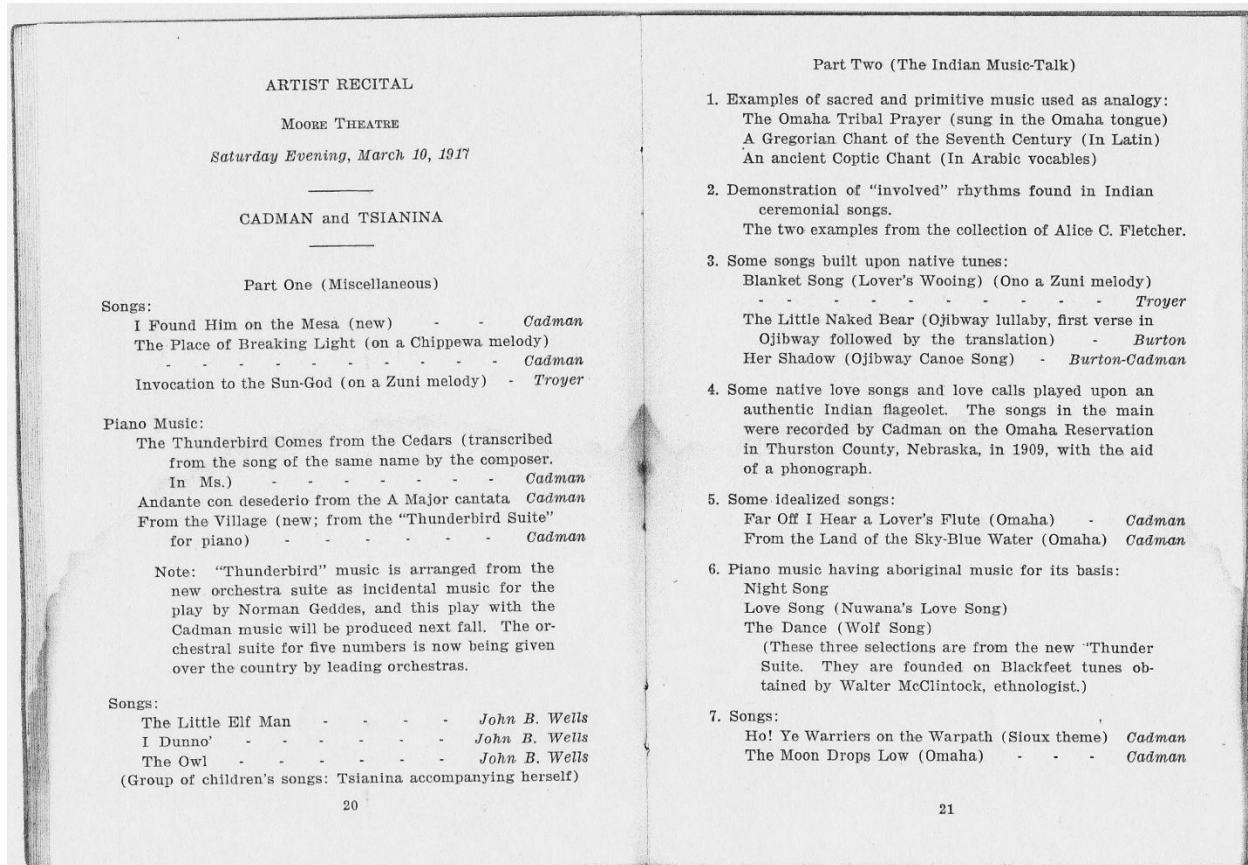


Figure 32: Cadman/Blackstone Program, 1917³²⁵

The *Town Crier* declared the upcoming Cadman/Blackstone event “[t]he most unique musical attraction before the public” in a lengthy preview of the concert. The preview outlines everything from how her name is frequently mispronounced (the correct pronunciation is “‘Chinee-nah,’ with accent on the middle syllable”) to her appealing yet authentic physical presence, intertwining descriptions of her appearance and dress with nature imagery. It notes both the

³²⁵ Members' Book, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI, 20-1.

“otherness” of her beauty but also her fashion-sense, albeit of a different aesthetic than that of “paleface” women:

She is beautiful in a way that is different from the fragile beauty of the paleface girl. Beauty of face and form she undeniably has, but it is a strong, proud, free beauty, that differs as the wild-flower differs from the hot-house flower. One could hardly imagine this remarkable Indian girl attired in any garb less appropriate to her wild beauty than the beaded leather dresses, and moccasins that she always wears. Her glossy black hair has never been distorted with "rats," "puffs" or other artificial devices, nor ever covered by a hat. A beaded band about her head comprises her only head-dress. This costume is varied only by the change of colors in her leather dresses. She affects browns and dark red skins for ordinary wear, and her evening dresses are of pure white buckskin, trimmed with multi-colored beads.³²⁶

This long description is telling. Blackstone exudes confidence as a “strong, proud, free beauty.” Her resistance to the newer fashions of “rats” and “puffs” and hats in combination with her restraint for overdressing (her “beaded band” is her “only” head attire) serve as markers of both authenticity and taste. An image of Blackstone accompanied the preview of the concert in the *Seattle Daily Times* (**Figure 33**).

³²⁶ *Town Crier* 12, no. 11 (March 17, 1917): 13.



Figure 33: Preview of Cadman/Blackstone Concert, 1917³²⁷

Reviews also focused on Blackstone’s physicality as well as her musical performance in the overall successful concert. One article notes how Blackstone charmed and engaged the audience with a performance of children’s songs, eliciting “[r]ipples of laughter...for words, music and presentation were all irresistibly humorous[sic], and caught the audience instantly.”³²⁸ Citing her “charm of...personality and a poise of both body and mind that impresses one immediately,” the review declares that “it must be acknowledged that *no one ever* walked across the stage at the Moore with the infinite and unaffected grace of this young Indian girl. If she ever is so unfortunate as to lose her voice she might well turn her native talent to training women and girls

³²⁷ “Indian Singer is Coming to Moore,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 25, 1917, 15.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

how to walk![emphasis mine]”³²⁹ With Blackstone, her embodiment of both “Indianness” and of the “poise” and “grace” that came presumably with her “Princess” title and royal heritage appealed to Seattle audiences.

In addition to the imagery, the authenticity of both Cadman’s and Blackstone’s performance –based on Cadman’s “years of specialized study” and on Blackstone’s uniqueness as “the only full blooded Indian singer who has received artistic recognition”— was celebrated by Seattle audiences.³³⁰ As with the “Indian Picture Opera” and *Narcissa*, Seattle audiences seemed to find a uniquely deep and personal connection with the Indianist music:

The "Thunderbird Suite," arranged for orchestra as incidental music for a play, furnished the piano music of the evening. This suite, composed by Mr. Cadman, is being played by leading orchestras over the country. With his songs, most of them based on authentic Indian records, we are more or less familiar, especially "From the Land of the Sky-Blue Water," but even Alma Gluck's luscious voice could not lend the meaning and pathos that Tsianina gave to it. To her all the songs are vibrant with the life of her own people; the canoe song with the suggested movement through the water and its happy cadence at the close; the crooning of the cradle song; the blanket song and that of the women to the warriors on the war-path; they are all hers peculiarly, but most appealing of all was that song of defeat and extinction, "The Moon Drops Low," voicing the story of her own race, and as the lights grew dim and grey there came to mind, the picture "Vanishing Race" portrayed by Edward S. Curtis, and the pathos of her tone and gesture was compelling-- even to tears.³³¹

So moved were the audience members by the performance that some had a physical experience, being brought “to tears.” And so authentic was Blackstone’s performance that she outshone the renowned Alma Gluck’s popular recordings of Cadman’s pieces, with which the audiences were presumably familiar in order to draw the comparison between the two performances.

³²⁹ *Town Crier* 12, no. 11 (March 17, 1917): 13.

³³⁰ The second quotation is from “Indian Singer is Coming to Moore,” 15.

³³¹ *Town Crier* 12, no. 11 (March 17, 1917): 13.

Given the appreciation of the audience for the connection between music, appearance, and performance, it is not surprising that parallels were drawn between the Cadman/Blackstone concert and Curtis's "Indian Picture Opera." One reviewer writes of the connection between Cadman/Blackstone and Curtis in detail:

Saturday evening brought us Charles Wakefield Cadman, student, composer and pianist, and the Princess Tsianina, singer and interpreter of the songs of her people. The success of Mr. Cadman in securing and preserving the Indian tribal music is paralleled by our own townsman, Edward S. Curtis, whose research as an ethnologist is recognized throughout the civilized world. It was one of the many surprised of the evening to find that with all the years of specialized study Mr. Cadman has devoted to this work, he remains sane and unbiased concerning the status of Indian music in relation to the folk songs of a nation. Perhaps that is one reason he is accepted as authority without prejudice by the most highly educated musicians and students of primitive lore.³³²

Perhaps also seen as scientific, the "unbiased" approach of Cadman and its similarities to that of Curtis lend legitimacy and authority to Cadman's works.

Another opera composed by an LMC member from around the same time as Moore's *Narcissa*, called *The Witches' Well* by Adelina Carola Appleton, shared many similarities to *Narcissa* but had a much different outcome. Like *Narcissa*, the opera was written by a noted Seattle composer and LMC member. Its subject matter was also historical and American, centered around the Witch Trials of Salem, Massachusetts in the late 1600s, a topic with which Appleton had a personal family connection. Significantly, this American event was also the subject of an opera by Charles Wakefield Cadman called *The Witch of Salem*, premiered by the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1926. Also like *Narcissa*, the production was previewed favorably, its local ties similarly celebrated in the press leading up to the planned 1926 premiere. However, unlike *Narcissa*, the premiere was delayed without explanation and the opera in full

³³² *Town Crier* 12, no. 11 (March 17, 1917): 13.

was likely never performed. A brief look at the rise and fall of *The Witches' Well* in contrast to *Narcissa* highlights how Indianist themes in particular—and not just any “American” themes—were most important to Seattle audiences. For *The Witches' Well*, Seattle audiences seemed to prioritize their own connection to the subject matter (or their own “authenticity”) over the composer’s authenticity or closeness to the work. With *Narcissa*, the story was part of the audience’s personal regional identity. *The Witches' Well*, on the other hand, represented a strong connection for Appleton but not the audience, for whom it was part of a more remote heritage—genealogically, temporally, and importantly, geographically.

Appleton was an LMC member and a local composer of note whose works had been performed in Seattle since at least 1919.³³³ Previews for the opera’s scheduled premiere in 1926 describe her as “well known in music circles as a composer and concert producer” and a long-time resident of Seattle.³³⁴ The opera “consists of one act with a balled prologue and a ballet performance at the end,” and was to be “presented by Seattle’s best musical talent.”³³⁵ The subject of the opera, the Salem Witch Trials, was a topic with which Appleton had a personal connection, and it would have been familiar to Seattle audiences also as a notorious and sordid part of America’s early history.³³⁶ More specifically, Appleton had ties to a “strong-willed

³³³ “Artists From Seattle Hear In Concert in Tacoma Hotel,” *Seattle Daily Times*, December 16, 1919, 20. In addition, an entire program was dedicated to her works in 1920 by the Women’s University Club in Seattle (“Women’s University Club to Give Musical,” *Seattle Daily Times*, April 18, 1920, 47). When she died in November of 1958, she was 71, indicating she was born in 1887 or 1886. She would have been around 32 to 33 years old when concerts of her works started being performed in Seattle. Appleton reportedly studied under Dr. Benjamin Blodgett (Smith College) and Professor Carl Eppert (Wisconsin Conservatory of Music) and was a “brilliant pupil” (“Winter Storm Helps Create New Opera,” *Seattle Daily Times*, November 21, 1926, 72).

³³⁴ “Seattle Opera Will Be Sung; Mrs. Appleton Is Composer,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 21, 1926, 14.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ Earlier articles in local newspapers reference the connection between Salem, Massachusetts and witchcraft. For instance, in an article marking the 100th birthday of Salem, Massachusetts author Nathaniel Hawthorne, one article mentions that “[o]ne of [his relatives], a prominent judge in witchcraft days, condemned an innocent man to death, and the family was popularly supposed to suffer from the ‘witches curse,’ after the manner of the Pyncheons in *The House of the Seven Gables*” (“The Hawthorne Cemetery,” *Seattle Daily Times*, July 8, 1904, 11).

Puritan ancestor, one Simon Wardwell.” At the time of his death by hanging during the “witchcraft panic,” Wardwell was “80 years old,” notes another preview.³³⁷

Appleton’s links to the Salem Witch Trials, as well as her creative compositional process as it related to the Trials, became selling points of the production. One preview declared broadly that “[a]ncestry seems to play an important part in coloring the inventive mind of a composer, particularly if the creative energy be in the form of musical scores.”³³⁸ This ancestral connection gave Appleton “[a]n innate understanding and sympathy with the martyred folk of [Reverend] Cotton Mather’s vengeance.”³³⁹ In fact, “[s]o great an impression did this historic incident have on Mrs. Appleton,” and so deep was her connection to the subject, “that when only a little girl she began composing songs about witchcraft.”³⁴⁰ In addition to ancestry, nature was also cited as an inspiration for the opera, with a particular winter storm’s tempestuous “dischord” from the wind and the “tortured shapes of winter clouds” providing the “mellifluous, rhythmic flow of melody for her opera.”³⁴¹

Previewers overall painted a vivid and captivating picture of the opera, hoping to generate excitement for this local production. Amidst the details of the opera’s conception, another preview predicted great success for the opera, which was to be presented for the first season of the newly-established Seattle Civic Opera Company:

When the committee of the Seattle Civic Opera Company heard the complete production, each member enthusiastic over its possibilities. They predict it will be an outstanding

³³⁷ “Seattle Opera Will Be Sung; Mrs. Appleton Is Composer,” *Seattle Daily Times*, February 21, 1926, 14. “Simon Wardwell” seems to be a conflation of two people from the witch trials, Samuel Wardwell and Giles Corey. Based on the descriptors, Appleton is likely referring to Corey. Corey notoriously refused to plead guilty or not guilty and was forced to endure a punishment that involved being crushed by heavy stones until either pleading or death. He reportedly lasted three days and indignantly declared “more weight” before dying.

³³⁸ “Winter Storm Helps Create New Opera,” *Seattle Daily Times*, November 21, 1926, 72.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ “Seattle Opera Will Be Sung; Mrs. Appleton Is Composer,” 14.

³⁴¹ “Winter Storm Helps Create New Opera,” 72.

success such as recently was witnessed in San Francisco, where a local opera was presented for the first time, and because of the public demand for it, will be presented again soon.³⁴²

With the unanimous excitement generated by a preview of the complete production, the recent success of other local operas on the West Coast, and the enthusiasm of the local performers to participate in this local fete, *The Witches' Well* was on track to be, at the very least, a local success.³⁴³

Amidst the enthusiasm of the performers, managers, and press, the premiere for *The Witches' Well* was delayed many times without explanation. From the April 1926 date, it was then pushed to Fall of 1926, then to early the following year. Along the way, Appleton performed parts of the opera at events, such as the November 1927 meeting of the local Music and Art Foundation, where [a]n opera recital of 'The Witches' Well' [was] presented by Mrs. Adeline Carola Appleton, assisted by Mrs. Clyde L. Morris and Mrs. George A. Bell."³⁴⁴ Finally, in 1928, an abridged, "half-hour" version of "songs from the opera" by "prominent Seattle Composer" Appleton was performed on KOMO, a Seattle radio station.³⁴⁵ Two months later, *The Witches' Well* was finally given a more complete presentation, although it was still reduced in scope from the original, and it was in not Seattle but Tacoma on May 26, 1928. In this more formal debut, Appleton "gave the story of the opera and played the score [on piano]," along with

³⁴² "Seattle Opera Will Be Sung; Mrs. Appleton Is Composer," 14.

³⁴³ Another preview notes how "[l]ocal musicians are particularly interested in Mrs. Appleton's work" (*Seattle Daily Times*, October 24, 1926, 68).

³⁴⁴ "Music and Art Unit to Meet," *Seattle Daily Times*, November 13, 1927, 68. Other small presentations include a January 27, 1927 program of the local "opera study class" ("Club Program For January Announced," *Seattle Daily Times*, December 31, 1927, 5) and a performance at the Women's University Club, which "attracted one of the most brilliant gatherings of the season, and occasioned numerous luncheons by way of a prelude," ("Valentine Luncheon Planned," *Seattle Daily Times*, January 29, 1928, 43).

³⁴⁵ 'Witches' Well' Songs to Mark KOMO's Program," *Seattle Daily Times*, May 27, 1928, 43.

three vocalists and a cellist, all Seattle musicians.³⁴⁶ The review declared it “one of the most artistic of the season [that] delighted an audience of 200 club members and invited guests.”³⁴⁷

While not the grand premiere originally promised by the Seattle Civic Opera Company, *The Witches’ Well* enjoyed an enthusiastic and respectable reception over these two dates. Appleton continued to promote it in the 1930s, presenting a version of the opera at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City in 1936, “under the auspices of the ‘National Opera Club of America.’”³⁴⁸ It is not known if her opera was performed after this 1936 engagement, yet Appleton regarded *The Witches’ Well* as the apex of her achievements as a composer. Her brief obituary in the *New York Times* in 1958 includes the opera, noting respectfully “Mrs. Adeline Carola Appleton, of 132 West Seventy-fifth Street, composer and writer, died Wednesday in Roosevelt Hospital. Her age was 71. Mrs. Appleton at first wrote for piano and voice. In 1915 she began ‘The Witches’ Well,’ with the plot laid in Salem in 1692. The opera was completed in 1926.”³⁴⁹ The success of *Narcissa* and the flailing of *The Witches’ Well*—in spite of many similarities—shows how Seattle audiences felt a particular affinity for Indianist music and Indianist subjects over other kinds of Americana.

In Seattle, the impact of compositions and performances by Indianist figures such as Curtis, Moore, Cadman and Blackstone proved lasting. Indianist music remained part of the musical scene in Seattle from the turn of the century through the 1930s and beyond. During that

³⁴⁶ “Seattle Musicians Give Program For Club at Tacoma,” *Seattle Daily Times*, May 27, 1928, 43. The vocalists were Florence Beeler (contralto), Lorraine Campbell (soprano), and Charles Stay (tenor), and the cellist was Irene Williams.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ “Adelina Appleton Feted in New York By Mrs. Bradshaw,” *Seattle Daily Times*, December 27, 1935, 17. She also was “feted” earlier at a “musicale tea” on December 15, 1935, which was “the first presentation of the compositions of Mrs. Appleton in the city, and the music was enthusiastically received”(ibid.).

³⁴⁹ “Mrs. A. C. Appleton,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1958, 28.

time, Indianist pieces were being composed, performed, and promoted in Seattle in many contexts. Two examples show how people in the Seattle region continued to value the documentation and preservation of the music of the American Indians, and how there remained an audience for Indianist compositions beyond the 1920s. The first is Sally Sicade, a member of the Puyallup tribe located about 30 miles from Seattle. Sicade became celebrated locally and recognized nationally in the 1930s as a documenter of the music, stories, and “native culture of the ‘last frontier.’”³⁵⁰ The *Seattle Daily Times* featured Sicade in an article in 1930 that echoed earlier articles about Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone, highlighting Sicade’s poise, nobility, and authenticity and praising Sicade for being an educated “crusader” of noble heritage.³⁵¹ Sicade had recently begun making recordings—or as the article’s author Betty Stewart puts it more dramatically, “Rescuing Melodies of Her People From Oblivion”—of the music of local tribes in the Puget Sound area under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution. Author Stewart ends the article highlighting Sicade’s modesty and reinforcing her authenticity of purpose:

When she is reminded of the probable reward—international fame, wealth, perhaps, and musical prestige—serious Sally Sicade shakes her head.
 “No, I think the real reward will be something else. Not fame for me, because our Indian music had to be saved and I was the only one to do it. I can’t exactly say what I mean. It’s like what I tell my people when I try to explain my purpose:
 “‘I want you to sing into this cardboard horn,’ I say, ‘and even if our race dies our music will live forever.’”
 Racial pride and loyalty—that’s what Sally wanted to say.³⁵²

This feature article shows many aspects of the Puget Sound’s relationship to the Native American populations—with specific regards to music—as well as the lasting popularity of the

³⁵⁰ Betty Stewart, “Vanishing Americans of Puget Sound Sing Swan Song for Science,” *Seattle Daily Times*, March 23, 1930, 5.

³⁵¹ Sicade was the daughter of prominent local tribe members Henry Sicade, a “wealthy landowner,” and Alice Lane, “daughter of the late Chief Qouyoup-kin of the Puyallups.” Stewart, 5.

³⁵² Stewart, 5.

Indianist movement in music. Sicade was still documenting the music of local tribes in the 1930s, half of a century after ethnologists began publishing the music they had collected, and there was still an audience for and a fascination with elements of the Indianist movement even after excitement for the movement had largely quieted elsewhere in the country.

The longevity of the Indianist movement in the Pacific Northwest is also shown in an article from 1936 celebrating Washington State composer Viola Slavens MacCoy. MacCoy was featured in the newspaper because she had recently won a composition contest sponsored by the music division of the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs—the first award of its kind. Given the local success of *Narcissa* and the excitement for Indianist compositions in the region, it should not be surprising that her piece for two violins was an Indianist-style composition entitled “Indian Lament.”³⁵³ Always a part of the musical conversation in Seattle, LMC was represented by one of its most celebrated composers, Amy Worth, who served as a judge in the competition.

Overall, musical audiences in Seattle and the Pacific Northwest had a unique relationship to the Indianist movement in the United States in the first part of the 20th century. Three major musical events in Seattle – the “Indian Picture Opera” by Edward Curtis and Henry Gilbert, Mary Carr Moore's *Narcissa*, and Charles Wakefield Cadman and Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone's “Indian Music Talks” – highlight how Seattle audiences felt a personal connection to Indianist composers. This kinship was due to the geographical location of the region in the West, for the idea of the West had become closely tied to the images and music of Native

³⁵³ “Group Hears ‘Indian Lament’ By Mrs. MacCoy”, *Seattle Daily Times*, July 5, 1936, 5. The judges in the competition were three Seattle composers who had close ties with the LMC: Amy Worth, Carl Paige Wood and George McKay (all appeared on LMC concerts programs as both composers and performers on many occasions).

Americans. In the following chapter, we will look at another group of performers who had also been looked to for “authentic” American music, African Americans, who were also promoted by the LMC and enthusiastically received by Seattle audiences.

Chapter Four

Race and Music in a Pioneer Town

The success of the women in the Ladies Musical Club demonstrates how the Pacific Northwest was a progressive place for women in the context of early 20th century America. In the early decades of the 1900s, the Pacific Northwest became known nationally as a progressive place for African Americans as well. Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, considered then and now to be two of the most important African American figures in American history, came to Seattle in back-to-back visits in 1913 to speak to enthusiastic audiences of both white residents and members of the budding black community. After their visits, both Washington and Du Bois wrote favorably of their respective trips in nationally-read black periodicals that were published later that year, praising the promising racial climate in the West that the small-but-established black communities enjoyed. Further, Du Bois encouraged African Americans to migrate to cities like Seattle and Tacoma to inhale “the breath of promise.”³⁵⁴ While racial tensions did ebb and flow in Seattle as elsewhere in the country, in general the African American experience was markedly better than in other parts of the country. Black migration to the city continued steadily throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and the period before and during World War II accelerated the growth of the black community with the promise of wartime jobs.

Music was an important part of Seattle’s cultural experience, and the concerts of the LMC’s Artist Concert Series continued to be some of the most anticipated musical events of the region. Prior to 1936, the performers in the Series had been largely white (with some

³⁵⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Great Northwest,” *The Crisis* 6 (1913): 238.

exceptions). However, between 1937 and 1947, over twenty-five percent of the performers in the Series were black singers of international repute. Responding to both the increased size of Seattle's black community—and therefore larger audience base—and the desire to connect the remote Seattle audiences with some of the most internationally famous performers of the day, the LMC brought Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Anne Brown, Roland Hayes, and Todd Duncan to Seattle stages, in some cases for multiple performances over several years. However, after Todd Duncan's performance in 1947, there was a notable absence of black performers in the Artist Concert Series that essentially lasted for the rest of the life of the Series, with only two black singers appearing in the Series for the twenty years after Duncan's appearance.

Importantly, though, the sharp increase and subsequent absence of black performers does not indicate a passing fad for black performers with Seattle audiences or a sudden shift in the musical landscape. Rather, it suggests that Seattle's musical scene had an incredibly high demand for these much beloved performers. The fierce competition between impresarios in the community to present these popular artists meant that a successful performance did not guarantee a given impresario's next contract even if the singer would be returning to Seattle the following season. With the unexpected death of the LMC's impresario Gottstein in 1939, the LMC began changing the focus of its Artist Concert Series to advocate for performers who were more “up-and-coming” rather than established superstars. Between the competition with other local concert presenters, the proven popularity of the black performers, and the change in direction for the Artist Concert Series, the near-absence of black performers in the LMC's rotation after 1947 was a combination of factors rather than a rejection of the artists. On the contrary, Anderson,

Robeson, Brown, Duncan, Maynor, and Hayes remained favorites with Seattle audiences. This is perhaps not surprising, given the close affinity of Seattle audiences to streams of American nationalism such as the Indianist movement. In addition, a more visible and expanding African American population in the region, and the close affiliation between some of these black artists and contemporaneous American issues such as civil rights also attracted Seattle audiences to these African American performers. An examination of these performances and of Seattle's racial climate adds to the still-underrepresented study of African Americans (both residents and artists) in Seattle and the West.

The history and presence of African Americans in Seattle (and in the West in general) has been largely overlooked—and even presumed absent—until recent decades, and a brief look at the history helps set the stage for Seattle's affinity for the six black performers during the 1930s and 1940s. “There is no comprehensive and up-to-date work on Blacks in the Pacific Northwest,” wrote Lenwood G. Davis in his 1972 bibliography *Blacks in the Pacific Northwest, 1788-1972*, “even though there is obviously a need for one.” He continues that “[m]ost of the books written on the Pacific Northwest completely omit the life and contributions of Black people in the Pacific Northwest. Therefore, a comprehensive and up-to-date history is desperately needed.” Further, “[e]ven though some works on Blacks in Washington are presently being written, to my knowledge, as of date, there is no comprehensive history of Blacks in the State of Washington. It goes without saying that such a work is needed.”³⁵⁵ Since Davis's plea, some scholars have answered his call, and through the now-decades-worth of writings by

³⁵⁵ Lenwood G. Davis, *Blacks in the Pacific Northwest, 1788-1972: A Bibliography of Published Works and of Unpublished Source Materials on the Life and Contributions of Black People in the Pacific Northwest* (Monticello, Illinois: Council of Planning Librarians), 2. This echoes Karen Blair's similar declaration about the state of research on Pacific Northwest women.

scholars such as Quintard Taylor, a historian who has written extensively about African Americans in the West, a more complete history of African Americans in the Pacific Northwest now exists.

Taylor notes broadly that, in total, African-Americans actually represented about 10,000 of the two million people who migrated West after the Civil War. While both small and larger cities initially attracted black migrants, ultimately the largest concentration ended up in the coastal urban centers of Seattle and Portland. In addition, in both large and smaller Western cities (such as Helena, Montana), black communities emerged through the formation of community pillars such as churches and interest-based clubs. "In Seattle and Portland," he writes, "economic opportunity and the general attractiveness of dynamic metropolitan areas created stable and permanent, although slow-growing, black communities."³⁵⁶ While migration of black workers to Seattle began in the 1870s, it was not until the 1890s that the foundations of black community establishments such as businesses, churches, restaurants, and hotels began to flourish. One early founder of the black community was William Gross (1835-1898), to whose efforts "most [of Seattle's black] community institutions...can be traced," and who settled in Seattle early on, in 1861.³⁵⁷ Gross's contributions to the early black community include founding churches, creating the first black district by selling plots of land surrounding his homestead to other black transplants and residents, and successfully convincing black professionals such as doctors and lawyers to practice in Seattle.³⁵⁸ A notice in the *Seattle Daily Times* of his death calls

³⁵⁶ Quintard Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," *The Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 4 (Autumn 1979): 342.

³⁵⁷ Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest: 1865-1910," 343.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Gross was born in 1835 and came to Seattle in 1861. He was an important figure in the community until his death in 1898.

him “the pioneer colored resident of Seattle.”³⁵⁹ By the early 1900s, there existed a small but vibrant African American community in Seattle, highlighted by the existence of clubs, churches, newspapers, and other businesses.

The African American community continued to grow slowly in the first four decades of the 20th century, and this steady growth proved beneficial for those settling in the black community in Seattle. According to Taylor, “[t]he slow black population growth, averaging fewer than 500 new residents per decade between 1910 and 1940, allowed the city to escape the racial violence that frequently accompanied African American community expansion in other cities.”³⁶⁰ At the same time that the African American population in Seattle was growing, the Asian American community was also increasing; by 1940, the Japanese American population was nearly double that of the African American population, with the combined population of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans in Seattle exceeding 10,000 residents while the African American population rested just shy of 4,000.³⁶¹

For Japanese immigrants in particular, “[l]ike the blacks who preceded them by two decades,” higher earning potential in Seattle provided incentive to relocate temporarily to the Pacific Northwest. Taylor notes that “Japanese railway workers in the Pacific Northwest could earn *seven times* their average salary in Japan, farmhands *four times*, and domestic servants, nearly *twenty-three times* their wages at home.”[emphasis mine]³⁶² This lucrative job market

³⁵⁹ “William Gross Dead,” *Seattle Daily Times*, July 27, 1898, 5.

³⁶⁰ Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle’s Central District, from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 86.

³⁶¹ Statistics compiled by Taylor from the Bureau of the Census and cited in “Blacks and Asians in a White City: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890-1940,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 4, 407. He notes that “In 1910, 17 Filipinos resided in the state of Washington and in 1920 the population was 958. No figures are available for Seattle.” The total population in 1940 was 368,302.

³⁶² Taylor, “Blacks and Asians in a White City: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890-1940,”

brought many Japanese immigrants to Seattle, as reflected in the population increase, and the increase in both Asian American and African American Seattle residents changed the population of Seattle quite dramatically.

The entrance of the United States into World War II brought further changes to race relations in Seattle. One of the big draws for black migrants was the hope that Seattle—and the West in general—allowed for greater racial freedoms and less discrimination than in other parts of the country, as touted by influential figures such as W. E. B. Du Bois. Howard Droker summarizes that as a result of the increase in black populations in Seattle because of "[e]xpanded employment opportunities," the city "experienced the same kinds of problems (though on a lesser scale) that occurred in every major northern and western city where the black population increased during the world wars."³⁶³ Importantly, Seattle felt the same tensions as elsewhere in the country, and therefore residents (black and white) could relate to and identify with other racial conflicts and incidents in other parts of the country. However, as Droker notes, these tensions flared to a lesser degree in Seattle.

Taylor also highlights the push and pull of racial relations in Seattle during World War II, as seen in areas such as industry and housing. On the one hand, for instance, black workers who worked at Boeing faced “non-economic issues, such as segregated lunch rooms and toilet facilities,” as well as being forced to pay dues for a union in which they were not allowed to take part.³⁶⁴ On the other hand, in the shipbuilding industry in Seattle during the war, some unions

406-7.

³⁶³ Howard Droker, “Seattle Race Relations During the Second World War,” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (October 1976): 164.

³⁶⁴ Taylor, “The Great Migration: The Afro-American Communities of Seattle and Portland During the 1940s,” *Arizona and the West* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1981): 111-2.

“discourage[d]...discriminatory practices...[and] the systematic segregation of blacks that persisted throughout the war years in shipyards elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest did not evolve in Seattle.”³⁶⁵ Housing in the 1940s had similar good and bad aspects – blacks had to reside in certain areas due to “restrictive covenants,” yet “Seattle was the only city in the Pacific Northwest that did not segregate blacks in its public housing projects.”³⁶⁶ In addition, the influx of black migrants to the Pacific Northwest created a point of tension within the black community in Seattle between the original settlers and the newcomers. The established black residents had laid the foundation for the thriving black community, and the slow growth in the prewar years buffered the region from some of the racial tensions felt elsewhere. The increase of poorer, less educated blacks largely from the South created a disparity between the old and new black community members, which further complicated race relations in the city.³⁶⁷

Finally, the drastic changes in the workforce and community brought about by the forcible relocation of thousands of Japanese Americans to internment camps during World War II kept the racial landscape in flux. Taylor examines at length the complicated relationship between African American and Japanese American Seattle residents, who had lived geographically closely in the 1900s-1940s, who had taken up different roles in the workforce during that time, and whose paths diverged significantly after World War II.³⁶⁸ The ebb and flow of racial tensions due to changes in the Asian American and African American populations were a perhaps unsurprising consequence, but for the black community in particular, these tensions

³⁶⁵ Taylor, “The Great Migration,” 112.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 113. Droker also notes this in “Seattle Race Relations During the Second World War,” 165.

³⁶⁷ Droker, 167-8.

³⁶⁸ See Taylor’s “Blacks and Asians in a White City: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890-1940,” 401-429.

were in some respects less severe than in other parts of America during this time. This muted racial climate is consistent with how the Northwest was viewed by Americans who lived elsewhere in the country.

While comparatively small and geographically distant, the African American community in Seattle nevertheless was engaged by issues important to African Americans across the country. One of the foremost topics of ongoing debate in the first decades of the 20th century that captured the interest of Black and White Americans in Seattle and across the country was how African Americans should best proceed to successfully navigate American society. Two vocal and respected figures who each represented one side of the debate were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Washington, a former slave who was nationally recognized from the last decade of the 19th century until his death in 1915 as a leading advocate for African Americans, promoted industrial education and self-help as a means of “uplifting” black populations. He encouraged black Americans to work within the existing system, one that included in the South laws of segregation, and to “push forward in the face of industrial progress and to lead decent, clean lives” rather than directly challenging the segregationist Jim Crow laws in place in the South that imposed “separate-but-equal” treatment based on race.³⁶⁹ Du Bois, who emerged as an advocate slightly later and co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, favored fighting to change the system. Du Bois often wrote critically of Washington’s stance, discounting Washington’s “programme of industrial education, conciliation of the South, and submission and silence as to civil and political rights.”³⁷⁰ While

³⁶⁹ *Seattle Daily Times*, February 21, 1907, 6. The quotation was printed in a short excerpt in the newspaper. If “decent, clean lives” were led, the article concludes, “there won’t be any race issue in this country.”

³⁷⁰ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33.

disagreeing with Washington, Du Bois notes the efficacy of Washington's role, writing that "[i]t startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a programme after many decades of bitter complaint; it startled and won the applause of the South, it interested and won the admiration of the North; and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves."³⁷¹ Du Bois also provided an important link to music, for his writings became central to discussions on African American contributions to art and music.

Importantly, Washington and Du Bois both visited the West in 1913, and these trips proved influential in how the racial climate in Seattle and the West were viewed nationally. Washington came to Seattle in March of 1913 and Du Bois followed shortly after in May. Both well-known figures visited Seattle to give talks about race, and both wrote articles after their visits about the West that were printed in black publications that reached national audiences. While there is no indication of how coordinated—if at all—these visits were, the closeness in timing of the visits by two of the most influential black figures put the Pacific Northwest in the spotlight for African Americans across the country. Both Washington and Du Bois highlighted that Western cities such as Seattle and Tacoma could be desirable places for African Americans to live. While both anticipated some possible struggles in the West for black residents, they saw many favorable aspects about living in cities like Seattle and Tacoma, and Du Bois contended that African American Northwesterners had already been integrated into all layers of the social strata, in contrast to elsewhere in the country. Both recognized the same elements of racial dynamics in the West and acknowledged the ways in which African American Northwesterners had more progressive communities.

³⁷¹ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 34.

In spite of the potential upside he acknowledged for African Americans living in Seattle, Washington did not think the small numbers—and therefore smaller communities—were preferential to living in the South, where there were large and long-established black communities, even if they were segregated ones.³⁷² Du Bois, by contrast, saw Seattle as an incredibly promising place for black Americans. For Du Bois, Seattle was appealing for its temperate climate in both race and geography, and he encouraged educated African Americans to consider moving to cities like Seattle and Tacoma. Du Bois writes of the African Americans in Washington that:

They are one with the land and their spirit has grown big with its bigness. Yet they have not forgotten their people. They want them to come and find freedom as they have... To such colored men they cry on to Washington. It is a great State. It may be a great colored State. The land is there in sheer abundance. The climate is there mild and alluring. The mountains and the sea are there. Come!³⁷³

Because of Du Bois's influence and his vocal enthusiasm for the Pacific Northwest, he was viewed favorably with residents of the region.

The 1913 Washington/Du Bois trips were covered similarly and approvingly across different publications within Seattle. Readers of black and mainstream newspapers alike seemed to delight in the positive reviews of the racial climate. Topics involving race, however, were sometimes approached differently in publications targeting largely black audiences than in mainstream sources. An understanding of the unique position and influence of the black press in the Pacific Northwest is crucial in order to obtain a full picture of the reception of black performers. In Seattle, as in other cities around the country, one of the important markers of a

³⁷² Booker T. Washington, "Views of the Great Northwest," *The Chicago Defender*, March 22, 1913, 1.

³⁷³ Du Bois, "The Great Northwest," 240.

thriving community life was the establishment of regional black newspapers. Black newspapers shed light into what issues African American residents of Seattle discussed, valued, and opined and how they aligned or differed from those of the mainstream press. The black press, like other community pillars, also emerged in the 1890s, with the first successful black newspaper, *Republican*, founded in 1894.³⁷⁴ Later called the *Seattle Republican*, the weekly paper ran for nearly two decades (until 1913), and at one point had 10,000 readers and a state-wide distribution.³⁷⁵ The *Seattle Republican*'s founder and editor, Horace Cayton Sr., helped found the mainstream *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (which aimed at general readership) and other publications such as *Cayton's Weekly* and later *Cayton's Monthly* until the paper's run ended in 1921. Other publications emerged later, including the *Northwest Enterprise*, an influential and lasting publication that reported on current events and on the arts.³⁷⁶

While black publications aimed to capture black audiences, the scope of the intended audience varied in the different publications. The earlier *Republican* positioned itself as a black publication, announcing on the front page of one issue that "Negroes have a Champion in the *Republican*."³⁷⁷ However, later incarnations of *Seattle Republican* and *Cayton's* aimed at a broader audience and largely avoided the often-polarizing topics of race relations or stayed conspicuously neutral when reporting on heated racial topics.³⁷⁸ An article that appeared on the

³⁷⁴ Taylor, "The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest," 345-6. First published in 1892 by former politician and Seattle transplant Britain Oxedine, the paper failed after "less than a year, primarily because the 286 Seattle blacks were too small a group to completely finance its support."

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ The *Progressive Herald* was published monthly in 1933. The *Northwest Herald* was published weekly for two years starting in January 1944. Other black publications emerged later, including *Puget Sound Observer* in the 1950.

³⁷⁷ *The Republican* 5, no. 4 (June 17, 1898): 1.

³⁷⁸ This is possibly due to economics; it is likely that there simply weren't enough African Americans in the area to maintain an exclusively black readership, and therefore capturing a broader audience allowed for greater financial stability. This presented a problem when reporting on hot-button topics, especially racial ones. According to Taylor, Cayton speculated that a controversial headline story addressing the issue of lynchings was what led to the demise of

front page of *The Seattle Republican* in January of 1910 demonstrates the how the paper attempted to appeal to both black and white readers on a particularly sensitive and emotional issue—lynching. A closer look at this article shows how the paper carefully balanced the need to report honestly on issues facing African Americans in Seattle and elsewhere while keeping the issues directly relevant to white audiences as well. The first-page, first-column article was accompanied by the refrained byline (and not headline) “Seventy Persons Lynched.” It describes critically the state of lynchings in America as compared to elsewhere in the world, declaring: “In no other civilized country in the world is the spirit of mobocracy so prevalent as in the United States; yea, verily, it is very doubtful if in any other country in the world does there ever occur a real outbreak of the people taking the laws into their own hands as in the United States when the lynching bee gets abroad.”³⁷⁹ The article continues with lynching statistics by state for the previous year, occurring in Georgia, Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, Kentucky, South Carolina, Arkansas, Illinois, New Mexico, Missouri, and West Virginia—none close to the Pacific Northwest. While lynching was certainly a concerning issue for many black Americans across the country regardless of their state of residence, the comfort of geographic distance could have potentially diminished the timeliness of the issue for white audiences, who may have felt they had little in common with the situation. However, the article

the *Seattle Republican*, which folded just a few months after the story ran (“The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest,” 346). Given that lynchings *were* reported in *The Seattle Republican*, the four-page article in 1917 must have been particularly inflammatory to the larger Seattle community. Taylor writes that Cayton’s son “in his autobiography described the reaction to the lynching story [that caused the paper’s demise]. ‘If the story shocked members of our family, it must have come as a complete bombshell to my father’s [Horace Cayton Sr] white readers. Many of them must have found the account utterly unbelievable, a macabre joke, in bad taste at a time when America was fighting a war for democracy.’” In Horace Cayton Jr.’s *Long Old Road: An Autobiography* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 23. Quoted in Taylor’s “The Emergence of Black Communities in the Pacific Northwest,” 353 (footnote 23).

³⁷⁹ *Seattle Republican*, January 10, 1910, 1.

manages to engage white audiences as well, warning that:

When lynchings first became common only black folks were lynched, but out of the seventy lynched [in 1909] eleven white folks are numbered, a fraction over one seventh of the whole, which is indicative of the fact that the lawless spirit is becoming more prevalent and will, sooner or later, develop into a state of national anarchy.³⁸⁰

By showing the threat to both white and black Americans, the author paints it as a broader issue of national importance rather than strictly a racial matter. The author closes by compelling Congress to relegate the current issues to the backburner and instead to deal with the more pressing problem of lynching—and possible mass anarchy— reasoning that “it will not be necessary to regulate either the food question or any other vital question effecting the general good of the government” if such predicted national chaos has broken out.³⁸¹ Overall, by showing how the lynching problem could affect both black and white audiences, the article successfully conveys the issue without isolating the relevance to one or the other.

Du Bois identified the broader appeal of black newspapers in the Northwest in his article “The Great Northwest.” In his discussion of the things that make Tacoma, for instance, an exceptional place for black Americans, he writes of the “particularly free and sturdy and individual” black residents. “They have a colored paper which is not colored. They have a branch of our association [NAACP] with a genius for a secretary...Here the fight against race prejudice has been persistent and triumphant.”³⁸² For Du Bois, it was a marker of wonder and success to have a newspaper run by blacks that had a mass appeal, making it a “not colored” paper.³⁸³ Overall, the prevalence and success of the black press, along with the broad readership

³⁸⁰ *Seattle Republican*, January 10, 1910, 1.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² Du Bois, “The Great Northwest,” 239.

³⁸³ What exactly Du Bois meant by the “colored paper which is not colored” is perhaps captured by one of the

at which it was aimed and captured, was remarkable.

Another marker of black progress in white society identified by Du Bois and other influential leaders in the black community was art, and in particular, music. The portrayal of African Americans on stage for largely white audiences was a subject of great debate and concern for black Americans from the mid-to-late 19th onward. African Americans, like Native Americans, had faced decades and centuries of performed caricatures of blackness that created and perpetuated stereotypes. These stereotypes had proven hard to shake and largely detrimental. In the first decades of the 20th century, however, black performers, writers, and artists that did not adhere to established stereotypes began to gain critical favor and praise from mainstream audiences as well as the international press. Reactions from the black community were mixed, but one particular art form emerged that served as a marker of both performative and historical authenticity for black singers—the spiritual.

The status of American classical music had been a point of much discussion as the decade turned from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, as evidenced by the emergence of the Indianist movement across America. Dvořák had been at the forefront of this discussion during his tenure in New York. Dvořák was also an enthusiastic proponent of black folk music, which he identified as a uniquely American genre with which composers could use to create an authentic American classical sound. Dvořák stood as a legitimate and influential advocate, because as a non-American, European composer with a successful record of nationalist

following statements: the issues were presented universally enough to appeal to black and white audiences; whites could identify with issues important to and presented by blacks without one isolating or being polarizing to one audience or the other; or, that for Northwest residents, it wasn't a marker of difference to the readership as a whole that a paper was run by African Americans. Regardless of his specific meaning, it is still notable that he identified a presumably successful black publication as a marker of a more hospitable and exciting racial climate for African Americans.

composition he was seen as an authentic outside observer in his own right. African American songs, like the songs of Native Americans, had been catalogued and published by ethnographers since the late 1860s, and art song versions had been performed by groups such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers.

But it was Dvořák's friendship with African American singer, composer, and then-student Harry T. Burleigh at the National Conservatory that solidified Dvořák's affinity for black folk music. Dvořák was initially drawn to Burleigh's singing talents. Their relationship was initiated by an invitation by Dvořák to Burleigh for him "to come to his home to sing the plantation songs Burleigh had learned from his mother and his stepfather and from his grandfather."³⁸⁴ Upon hearing one of Burleigh's songs, Dvořák reportedly said "Burleigh, that is as great as a Beethoven theme!"³⁸⁵ From this encounter on, Burleigh copied manuscripts for the composer, continued to introduce him to spirituals, and even helped with the scoring of Dvořák's American-inspired Ninth Symphony 'From the New World,' which premiered in 1893.³⁸⁶ Snyder summarizes that "[t]hanks to the inspiration of Dvořák and the practical assistance of others...Burleigh brought the traditional spiritual into the arena of the art song."³⁸⁷ Though by no means his first published collection of spirituals, Burleigh's 1916 *Jubilee Songs of the United States* for piano and voice, especially the solo arrangement of "Deep River," marked the start of his widespread popularity as an arranger of spirituals (**Figure 34**). It also marked the beginning of the broader acceptance of spirituals as art song as many famous singers—both black and

³⁸⁴ Jean E. Snyder, "A Great and Noble School of Music: Dvořák, Harry T. Burleigh, and the African American Spiritual," in *Dvořák in America: 1892-1895*, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1993), 130.

³⁸⁵ Snyder, 131. The song was "Go Down, Moses."

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

white—began performing his arrangements on the concert stage while critics took note.³⁸⁸

Respectfully dedicated to Miss Mary Jordan

Deep River

Old Negro melody
Arranged by
H. T. BURLEIGH

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Figure 34: First Page of H. T. Burleigh’s Popular Spiritual Arrangement “Deep River”³⁸⁹

Overall, the Dvořák/Burleigh relationship became one of the catalysts for the popularization of

³⁸⁸ Snyder, 136-7.

³⁸⁹ H. T. Burleigh, “Deep River” (New York: G. Ricordi & Co., 1917).

spirituals in the context of the art song tradition.

In addition to Dvořák and Burleigh, another person who is credited with popularizing the spiritual as an authentic American art was Du Bois. Du Bois felt that spirituals represented both a living art form and a point of heritage around which blacks could rally. In his influential *The Souls of Black Folk*, each chapter was prefaced with both an excerpt from a spiritual—which Du Bois deems in his forward and in his final chapter “the Sorrow Songs”—and a few lines from a poem, suggesting a trinity of sorts formed between spirituals, art/poetry, and something essential about "Black Folk" (**Figure 35**).³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1909), viii. It is a testament to the book's popularity that this 1909 reprint is the eighth edition, appearing just six years after the book's original publication. The poems come from a variety of sources, including a passage from the Bible (from *The Song of Solomon*) in Chapter VII and lines from the poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1813-4) by British poet Lord Byron in Chapter III.

V

OF THE WINGS OF ATALANTA

O black boy of Atlanta !
 But half was spoken ;
 The slave's chains and the master's
 Alike are broken ;
 The one curse of the races
 Held both in tether ;
 They are rising — all are rising —
 The black and white together.

WHITTIER.



SOUTH of the North, yet north of the South,
 lies the City of a Hundred Hills, peering out
 from the shadows of the past into the promise
 of the future. I have seen her in the morning, when
 the first flush of day had half-roused her; she lay gray
 and still on the crimson soil of Georgia; then the blue
 smoke began to curl from her chimneys, the tinkle of
 bell and scream of whistle broke the silence, the rattle
 and roar of busy life slowly gathered and swelled,
 until the seething whirl of the city seemed a strange
 thing in a sleepy land.

Once, they say, even Atlanta slept dull and drowsy
 at the foot-hills of the Alleghanies, until the iron
 baptism of war awakened her with its sullen waters,
 aroused and maddened her, and left her listening to

Figure 35: Poem and Spiritual at the Beginning of Chapter V, *The Souls of Black Folk*³⁹¹

However, spirituals were not universally accepted from the start, especially among black Americans, and their popularity on the American concert stage was not without controversy. As Lawrence Schenbeck notes in his book *Racial Uplift and American Music, 1878-1943*, “[f]rom Reconstruction onward, a significant and vocal segment of the black elite had regarded the spirituals with some distaste, since they served as reminders of enslavement, of a heritage of poverty and ignorance from which they now wished to distance themselves.”³⁹² This had started to shift by the 1920s, however, and Schenbeck cites singer Roland Hayes as one of the major

³⁹¹ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 75.

³⁹² Lawrence Schenbeck, *Racial Uplift and American Music, 1878-1943* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 112.

drivers for black acceptance and celebration of spirituals. Over two decades after *The Souls of Black Folk* was published, Du Bois was still actively engaged in the debates surrounding spirituals and other black art forms. While Du Bois's influential voice had supported the celebration of spirituals as an African American art form, he nonetheless recognized the problems their acceptance presented. In his 1926 essay "Criteria of Negro Art," he identified the growing chatter amongst blacks and whites about the rise in recognition for black artists in America, including black singers. Though a vocal proponent of spirituals, he was suspect of the acclaim. He writes caustically that with this "growing recognition of Negro artists in spite of the severe handicaps, one comforting thing is occurring to both white and black. They are whispering, 'Here is a way out. Here is the real solution of the color problem. The recognition accorded [black artists]...show there is no real color line. Keep quiet! Don't complain! Work! All will be well!'"³⁹³ While Du Bois quickly admits that "[p]erhaps I am naturally too suspicious," he maintains his weariness of the comfortable, warning that white people "think that [the success of black artists] is going to stop agitation of the Negro question."³⁹⁴ However, while suspect, Du Bois doesn't say it's a bad thing that black singers were finding success, just as long as equal opportunity proved its companion. In fact, he considered the acknowledgement of black singers such as Roland Hayes long overdue compared to the talent pool of African Americans, and attributed the delay to America's "imitative snobbery." He writes that:

We have, to be sure, a few recognized and successful Negro artists; but they are not all those fit to survive or even a good minority. They are but the remnants of that ability and genius among us whom the accidents of education and opportunity have raised on the tidal waves of chance...It is not simply the great clear tenor of Roland Hayes that opened

³⁹³ Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," in *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892-1938*, eds. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Gene Andrew Jarrett (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 257.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 257-8.

the ears of America. We have had many voices of all kinds as fine as his and America was and is as deaf as she was for years to him. Then a foreign land heard Hayes and put its imprint on him and immediately America with all its imitative snobbery woke up. *We approved Hayes because London, Paris, and Berlin approved him and not simply because he was a great singer.*[emphasis mine]³⁹⁵

Du Bois notes correctly that the fame in America for black singers like Hayes became much more widespread only after gaining attention from international tours. However, ever the fan of the underdog, the American press also tended to rally behind “her own” artists in the face of negative press from foreign sources as well. Interestingly, Du Bois does not exclude himself from this snobbery, stating inclusively that “we” approved, rather than separating himself from the America that he is critiquing. Regardless of the reason, both spirituals and the black performers who performed them for national and international audiences had gained widespread fame by time this essay was penned in 1926.

Through the advocacy of Dvořák, Du Bois, and others, spirituals became seen as appropriate for the art music stage, and began appearing in concerts of African American classical singers amongst otherwise traditional "classical" repertoire. By the 1930s and 40s, when African American classical singers such as Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, Roland Hayes, Anne Brown, Todd Duncan, and Dorothy Maynor were an active part of the Artist Concert Series in Seattle amidst national and international tours, spirituals were a celebrated and expected part of the repertory of black classical singers.

Yet despite the world-famous stature of many black classical singers in the 1920s and 30s, and despite the aim of the series to bring the best talent in the world to Seattle stages, the

³⁹⁵Du Bois, “Criteria of Negro Art,” 258.

LMC's Artist Concert Series featured just one black performer (Paul Robeson in 1931) out of a staggering 162 concerts in its first 37 years (1900-1937). Then, seemingly overnight, things changed. Marian Anderson's appearance in the Artist Concert Series in 1937 was the start of a ten-year run during which black performers represented about twenty-five percent of the performances per season. Between the 1936-37 and 1946-47 seasons, fourteen of the fifty-three performances were by African American singers, and at least one black performer was featured in each consecutive season during this time, with some performers such as Anderson returning for back-to-back seasons. These artists include (in chronological order of the artist's first appearance): Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Roland Hayes, Anne Brown, and Todd Duncan. After the 1946-47 season, only two African American performers came to Seattle under the auspices of the LMC over the next twenty years (Mattiwilda Dobbs performed in the 1957-58 season and Adele Addison performed during the 1963-64 season). African American classical singers did not play a significant part in the LMC's Artist Concert Series through the rest of the life of the series, which ended in 1995.

A Song Recital
by — 1943 —
ROLAND HAYES, Tenor
with
REGINALD BOARDMAN at the Piano

I.

- Alma Mia (From Opera, "Floridante") G. F. Handel (1685-1759)
Si Mostra La Sorte (Aria for Tenor) W. A. Mozart (1756-1791)
Eviva Rosa Bella (Opera, "La Calamita di Cuori") Galuppi (1706-1785)
Preach Not Me Your Musty Rules (Air from Milton's "Comus")
..... Dr. Arne (1710-1778)

II.

- Die Nebensonnen Franz Schubert (1797-1828)
Die Forelle Franz Schubert
La Mer Est Plus Belle Claude Debussy (1862-1918)
L'Ombre Des Arbres (Ariettes Oubliées) Claude Debussy
Le Thé (Rondel de Th. de Banville) Charles Koehlin

III.

- Over All The Hilltops Is Peace Helen Hopekirk
To People Who Have Gardens (Scottish Folksong) Helen Hopekirk
Mother to Son (Poem: Langston Hughes) Percival Parham
Micheu Banjo (Creole Folksong) Arranged by Camille Nickerson

IV.

- Oh Gi' Me Yo' Han' Arranged by Roland Hayes
Way Up In Heaven Arranged by Roland Hayes
Lit'l David Arranged by Roland Hayes
I Can Tell The World (Afro-American Folksong)
..... Arranged by Roland Hayes

Brief Paraphrases and Song Texts

SI MOSTRA LA SORTE — This is one of the separate arias composed by Mozart either for insertion in operas or for concert performance. It was composed on May 19, 1775. Otto Jahn thinks that it must have been meant for use on the stage. It is the complaint of a bashful lover.

EVIVA ROSA BELLA (From the Opera, "Calamita di Cuori")

Long live the beautiful rose,
The herbs, the fruit and the flowers say it,
The dogs and the cats, the wise and the foolish,
Yea, all the world says, long live the beautiful rose
that has broken my heart.

DIE NEBENSONNEN (The Mock Suns)

Three suns saw I standing in the heavens
And long I watched them silently,
But you are no suns of mine, on other faces you must shine.
Three suns I had once in the past, but two of them have gone, alas!
And when the third at last may go, I grope in darkness ever more.

DIE FORELLE (The Trout) — By a clear, swift-running brook sits a fisherman angling his hook for a cunning little trout, but fails to catch him until he muddies the stream. — The opening measures of the piano accompaniment clearly characterize the swift, darting movements of the trout.

LA MER EST PLUS BELLE — The sea is more beautiful than the Cathedrals

L'OMBRE DES ARBRES

See the faint shadows of trees that fall on the river,
Fading away as they quiver.

Whilst on the soaring tremulous branches above
Softly wailing the dove.

Thou seest, O pallid wanderer: yon shadows that tremble,
Closely thine inmost self resemble.

Thus lament all thy hopes that like dust are now scattered,
Thy fondest visions now shatter'd.

Trans. — Calvescoressi

LE THE (Rondel de Th. de Banville)

Miss Ellen, pour me some tea Of those tamed monsters
In a fine China cup Where there ain't been no fight,
Where gold fish do battle A lady proud and cunning,
With a fearful rose-colored dragon. Sends out from her long turquoise eyes
I love the preposterous cruelty Ecstasy and naivete.

MOTHER TO SON (Poem by Langston Hughes)

Well, son, I'll tell you; And turnin' corners,
Life for me ain't been no crystal stair. And sometimes goin' in the dark
It's had tacks in it, Where there ain't been no light.
And splinters, So, boy, don't you turn back.
And boards torn up, Don't you set down on the steps
And places with no carpet on the floor— 'Cause you finds it kinder hard.
Bare. Don't you fall now,
But all the time For 'se still goin', honey,
I've been a-climbin' on, I've still climbin',
And reachin' landin's, And life for me ain't been no crystal stair.

MICHEU BANJO was sung before the Civil War on the Good Hope plantation, St. Charles Parish, La. The language is corrupt French and was spoken by the Creole Negroes in that part of the state. The following is a translation: See that mulatter there, Mr. Banjo, how insolent he is a-struttin'; hat on one side, Mr. Banjo; cigar in his big mouth, Mr. Banjo; handkerchief in the pocket, Mr. Banjo; a cane in his hand. See that mulatter here, Mr. Banjo. Hair all slicked down, Mr. Banjo; cravat much too red, Mr. Banjo and his pants too large, Mr. Banjo. And shoes on that cry, "crain, crain!" Ha! Ha!

Figure 36: Program Showing Typical Distribution and Order of Spirituals³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI.

| Performer | Artist Concert Series Season Year | Date | Location |
|------------------|--|-------------|--------------------------|
| Paul Robeson | 1930-31 | 2/18/1931 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Marian Anderson | 1936-37 | 3/10/1937 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Marian Anderson | 1937-38 | 3/1/1938 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Marian Anderson | 1938-39 | 3/8/1939 | Music Hall Theater |
| Marian Anderson | 1939-40 | 3/11/1940 | Seattle Civic Auditorium |
| Dorothy Maynor | 1940-41 | 2/18/1941 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Roland Hayes | 1941-42 | 3/24/1942 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Roland Hayes | 1942-43 | 2/5/1943 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Anne Brown | 1943-44 | 1/19/1944 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Roland Hayes | 1943-44 | 2/2/1944 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Anne Brown | 1944-45 | 1/11/1945 | Moore Theater |
| Roland Hayes | 1944-45 | 2/26/1945 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Todd Duncan | 1945-46 | 12/3/1945 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Todd Duncan | 1946-47 | 1/28/1947 | Metropolitan Theater |
| Roland Hayes | 1946-47 | 3/4/1947 | Metropolitan Theater |

Table 2: Black Performers in LMC’s Artist Concert Series, 1900-1947

This notable increase of black performers—and subsequent drop off—during this defined window in the popular Artist Concert Series corresponded with the increase in black population in Seattle. As discussed, after a slow-but-steady increase in population of black Seattleites in the late 1800s and early 1900s, wartime industries in the 1930s and 40s brought many African Americans to the Pacific Northwest, and the black population during that time saw a large increase. With the amount of coverage these performances garnered in both white and black press outlets, it is clear that these performances thrilled both black and white audiences. While it

is hard to point to the exact correlation between the growing number of black Seattle residents and the appearances by black singers, it seems reasonable to assume that the potential audience base for these concerts had grown given the amount of coverage in black newspapers, as well as the packed houses for (and large profits from) most of these concerts, suggesting that the demand for these singers was quite large.

By the time that Paul Robeson, the first black singer in the LMC's Artist Concert Series, performed in Seattle in 1931, spirituals had been codified as an excitedly anticipated highlight of a black singer's program. Whether by artist choice, popular demand, or somewhere in between, spirituals were featured on the program of every black singer who performed in the Artist Concert Series without exception. And, largely due to the LMC's addition of six world-famous black performers to the Artist Concert Series lineup, spirituals and the role they played in the musical life of African Americans and in America's musical landscape became a topic of discussion and a point of excitement for the performances in Seattle. **Table 3** below details the lengthy list of spirituals performed by the six singers during their Artist Concert Series programs between Paul Robeson's 1931 concert and Roland Hayes's fifth and final performance in 1947. Note first the volume of spirituals performed; over fifteen concerts there were forty-five unique spirituals presented, with sixty-six performed in total. This speaks to the wide variety of songs in the repertory of spirituals by this time. It also highlights the artistic liberty that the singers were taking, as no one song emerged as "the" quintessential spiritual. In fact, the most times any one song was performed in the timespan was four ("Steal Away"), though multi-appearance performers Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes did have some songs that appeared on multiple programs, such as "City Called Heaven" (Anderson) and "Way Up In Heaven" (Hayes).

| Concert Date | Artist | Title | Composer/Arranger |
|---------------------|---------------|--|--------------------------|
| 2/18/1931 | Robeson | Deep River | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel? | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Every Time I Feel de Spirit | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Go Down Moses | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | I Stood On De Ribber ob Jerdon | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Steal Away* | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Weepin' Mary* | H. T. Burleigh |
| 3/10/1937 | Anderson | City Called Heaven* | Hall Johnson |
| | | Crucifixion* | John Payne |
| | | Lord, I Can't Stay Away | Roland Hayes |
| | | My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord* | Florence Price |
| 3/1/1938 | Anderson | Dere's No Hidin' Place Down Dere | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Done Foun' My Los' Sheep | Hall Johnson |
| | | Honor, Honor* | Hall Johnson |
| | | Were You There | H. T. Burleigh |
| 3/8/1939 | Anderson | Crucifixion* | John Payne |
| | | De Gospel Train | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord* | Florence Price |
| | | Steal Away* | H. T. Burleigh |
| 3/11/1940 | Anderson | City Called Heaven* | Hall Johnson |
| | | Honor, Honor* | Hall Johnson |
| | | Oh, Peter Go Ring Dem Bells | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child | Lawrence Brown |
| 2/18/1941 | Maynor | His Name So Sweet | Hall Johnson |
| | | I'm Goin' To Tell God All Ma Troubles | Nathaniel Dett |
| | | Oh, What a Beautiful City* | Edward Boatner |
| | | Ride On, Jesus | Nathaniel Dett |
| 3/24/1942 | Hayes | Dry Bones (The Book of Ezekiel) | Roland Hayes |

| Concert Date | Artist | Title | Composer/Arranger |
|---------------------|---------------|---|--------------------------|
| 3/24/1942 | Hayes | Lit'l Boy (Christ in the Temple Before the Scribes)* | Roland Hayes |
| | | O What a Beautiful City* | Edward Boatner |
| | | Roun' About de Mountain (A Recessional) | Percival Parham |
| | | Steal Away* | Unaccompanied |
| 2/5/1943 | Hayes | You're Tire, Chile | Roland Hayes |
| | | He Never Said a Mumblin' Word (The Crucifixion)* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Le' Me Shine (Negro Sea Island song)* | Percival Parham |
| | | Lit'l Boy (Christ in the Temple)* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Michieu Baingo (Louisiana Creole song in corrupt French)* | Camille Nickerson |
| | | Scandalize My Name | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | She Had But One Chile' (Nativity) | Percival Parham |
| | | The Last Supper (Jesus in Gethsemane) | Roland Hayes |
| 1/19/1944 | Brown | Weepin' Mary (Mother Mary)* | H. T. Burleigh |
| | | City Called Heaven (Unaccompanied)* | Spiritual |
| | | Every Time I Hear the Spirit* | Lawrence Brown |
| 2/2/1944 | Hayes | I Can Tell The World (Afro-American Folksong)* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Lit'l David* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Oh Gi' Me Yo' Han'* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Way Up in Heaven* | Roland Hayes |
| | | I Can Tell The World (Afro-American Folksong)* | Roland Hayes |
| 2/26/1945 | Hayes | Lit'l David* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Micheau Banjo (Creole Folksong)* | Camille Nickerson |
| 2/26/1945 | Hayes | Oh Gi' Me Yo' Han'* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Over All the Hilltops is Peace | Helen Hopekirk |
| | | Way Up in Heaven* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Everytime I Feel the Spirit* | Lawrence Brown |
| 12/3/1945 | Duncan | Give Me Jesus | Hall Johnson |

| Concert Date | Artist | Title | Composer/Arranger |
|--------------|--------|--|---------------------|
| 1/28/1947 | Duncan | Michieu Banjo (Creole Folk Song)* | Camille Nickerson |
| | | Oh, I'm A-Gwinter Sing | William Grant Still |
| | | They Led My Lord Away | Lawrence Brown |
| | | Witness | William Grant Still |
| 3/4/1947 | Hayes | Feed My Sheep | Roland Hayes |
| | | Heaven | Roland Hayes |
| | | I Can Tell de World About This* | Roland Hayes |
| | | Le' Me Shine (Afro-American Folksong)* | Percival Parham |
| | | Sit Down (Afro-American Folksong) | Roland Hayes |
| | | Steal Away* | Roland Hayes |

Table 3: Spirituals Performed in Artist Concert Series Shows by Concert, 1931-1947³⁹⁷

The performance of spirituals was an anticipated element of the programs of these six black singers. For instance, one preview for Dorothy Maynor's 1941 appearance quotes an article from the March 1940 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, noting in particular that:

I hope she (Dorothy Maynor) comes your way. And if not I hope you will go where she happens to be to hear her. She will sing simply and beautifully the spirituals beloved of her race and her people. And she will take your heart and fill it with sorrow that is too sweet to bear when her golden voice bursts in to the most magnificent spiritual of them all—"Were You There, Were You There?"³⁹⁸

Clearly, for this reviewer, Maynor's performance of spirituals is the highlight of her performances. The same enthusiasm for spirituals is also seen in reviews of Seattle concerts. For instance, in a review of Roland Hayes's first LMC Artist Concert Series appearance, reviewer

³⁹⁷ * Next to song title indicates the song appears on more than one concert program on the list.

³⁹⁸ *Seattle Sunday Times*, September 8, 1940, 32.

Richard E. Hays notes that “[f]or the audience at large the real thrills of the evening came in the artist’s singing the spirituals that followed the intermission... Hayes must have felt that the breathless stillness of the crowd was eloquent tribute to the art with which he interpreted them.”³⁹⁹ Many other examples exist that describe similar reactions by Seattle audiences to the powerful performances of spirituals by these singers.

Because of the common inclusion of spirituals on all of their concert programs, along with the obvious racial links, black singers were often seen as belonging to a similar genre of music. Frequently, they were compared to or used in reference to one another. For instance, in one advertisement for an upcoming Paul Robeson concert, promoter Cecilia Schultz urged patrons to get tickets early, because “Marian Anderson [had] sold out in four days”⁴⁰⁰:

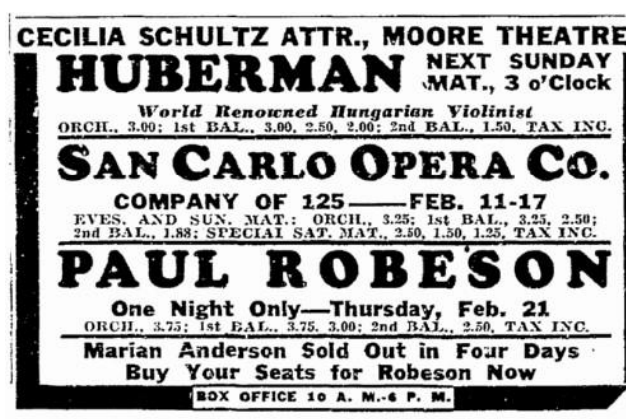


Figure 37: Paul Robeson Advertisement

This practice of grouping together black singers was not unique to Seattle, and the specific singers who came as part of the LMC’s Artist Concert Series were often named together as examples of successful African American performers. For instance, in John Tasker Howard’s

³⁹⁹ Richard E. Hays, “Hayes Enthralls Capacity Crowd,” *The Seattle Daily Times*, March 25, 1942, 23.

⁴⁰⁰ *Seattle Daily Times*, February 6, 1946, 21.

chapter on “Folk-Song and Racial Expression,” he writes that:

While the white composer may or may not be conscious of his membership in a racial or national group, the Negro could not forget his if he would. His position in society forces on him an awareness of his fellowship in a community of color. His achievements may be so remarkable as to transcend the color line, and win from critics and public superlatives that any musician, white or black, might envy--as in the cases of Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Roland Hayes or Paul Robeson.[my emphasis]⁴⁰¹

A review of Dorothy Maynor’s 1941 Seattle appearance opens that she has “recently...risen to a place with Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Marian Anderson among the ranking concert artists of today.”⁴⁰² Indeed, Howard’s assertion that “the Negro could not forget his [racial group] if he would” rings true for the previews for the initial performances of these singers in Seattle: Paul Robeson was billed as the “Giant Negro Singer”; Marian Anderson as “Famous Negro Contralto”; Dorothy Maynor as “new Negro soprano”; and Roland Hayes as “celebrated Negro tenor.”⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ John Tasker Howard, *Our Contemporary Composers: American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941), 278.

⁴⁰² Richard E. Hays, “Dorothy Maynor Wins Met Crowd,” *The Seattle Daily Times*, February 19, 1941, 20.

⁴⁰³ *Seattle Sunday Times*, February 8, 1931, 32; *Seattle Sunday Times*, March 7, 1937, 14; *Seattle Sunday Times*, June 2, 1940, 7; *Seattle Sunday Times*, March 22, 1942, 30.



Figure 38: Photographs, Ladies Musical Club Records, MOHAI Collection

While all of the performances of these black singers were received well by Seattle audiences (a few instances where inclement weather prevented packed houses notwithstanding), two events stand out in particular. The first was Marian Anderson's third appearance in the Artist Concert Series in March of 1939, a concert that occurred amidst national controversy and happened just a few weeks before one of Marian Anderson's career-defining performances at the

Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday. Anderson's Lincoln Memorial concert also became an important and lasting symbol of resistance to racial oppression in the United States.⁴⁰⁴ The second event was Roland Hayes's 1942 performance. The concert was the first of five he would give as part of the Artist Concert Series. However, he was denied hotel accommodations in Seattle, and the subsequent controversy caused by that denial made this performance exceptionally noteworthy. These two events—and how they were received by black and white audiences—highlight the racial climate in Seattle, and show the personal connection that Seattle audiences felt with these African American performers.

Marian Anderson had endeared herself to Seattle audiences several years before her famous Lincoln Memorial Concert. First appearing in the Artist Concert Series in 1937, Anderson's performances were much-anticipated events and met with high acclaim from local news outlets. One preview for her first LMC appearance appeared in the *Seattle Sunday Times* on March 7, 1937. Anderson had just premiered in a series of concerts in Vienna that were widely covered by nationally-read publications such as the *New York Times*. The Viennese reaction to the American "Negro contralto" was closely followed by American readers. As the *New York Times* correspondent writes, "She has given two recitals. The first was attended by a handful. The second was mobbed. It took only one number to effect such a conquest as has not been witnessed here in a decade."⁴⁰⁵ Echoes of Du Bois's "imitative snobbery" ring here, but regardless, her concert was much anticipated, and she was greeted in Seattle by a "Capacity Audience [Who Paid] Hearty Tribute to Miss Anderson at 'Met.'"⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Anderson's importance is still felt today. It was announced last year by the United States Department of Treasury that a depiction of her performance at the Lincoln Memorial would be printed on the forthcoming U.S. five-dollar bill.

⁴⁰⁵ "Famous Negro Contralto To Sing at Met," *Seattle Sunday Times*, March 7, 1937, 14.

⁴⁰⁶ "Capacity Audience Pays Hearty Tribute to Miss Anderson at 'Met,'" *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 11,

Similarly, Anderson's 1939 Seattle concert occurred amidst weeks of controversy. This time, the scandal had been spurred at home, when Anderson was denied access to play at Constitution Hall in Washington DC because of her race by the organization called the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). This event (or lack of) had flamed a national debate on the state of art and race in America and had unwittingly thrust Anderson into the spotlight as a symbol of protest. She notes in her autobiography that "I had become, whether I liked it or not, a symbol representing my people."⁴⁰⁷ Famous figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt weighed in on the controversy—in Roosevelt's case, she publicly withdrew her membership from the DAR and helped organize a follow-up performance at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC for the same date she was denied her performance at Constitution Hall. Her appearance on the Seattle stage happened just four weeks prior to what would be one of the most famous and symbolic concerts of her career, a performance on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter, April 9, 1939. As with many other parts of the country, Seattle followed the events as they unfolded. For instance, *The Northwest Enterprise*, a local black newspaper, as well as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *Seattle Daily Times*, two local mainstream newspapers, all published stories when Anderson's Lincoln Memorial concert was scheduled.⁴⁰⁸

Importantly, Anderson's performance in 1939 allowed Seattle audiences to connect with and react to the greater problems facing the country with regards to race. People turned out in droves to see Anderson's performance, and reportedly many people were turned away (**Figure**

1937, 13.

⁴⁰⁷ Marian Anderson, *My Lord, What a Morning: An Autobiography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 189. Anderson's quote also appears in Janell Hobson's "Everybody's Protest Song: Music as Social Protest in the Performances of Marian Anderson and Billie Holiday," *Signs* 33, no. 2 (2008): 443.

⁴⁰⁸ "Marian Anderson Will Sing in The 'Open Air' Free," *The Northwest Enterprise*, March 3, 1939, 1; "Negro Singer Gets Hall at Capital," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 4, 1939, 8.

39).

Figure 39: Notable Audience at Anderson’s 1939 Seattle LMC Concert

Audiences experienced a physical reaction to the performance, and her performance was met with an “Enthusiastic Throng” of “Seattle Music Lovers [Who] Fill[ed] Music Hall For Singer’s Appearance.”⁴⁰⁹ According to one “bemused socialite... as she left Marian Anderson’s concert at the Music Hall Theater,” “She gives me the same feeling I get in an elevator—only pleasant.”⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ Dolly Madison, “Enthusiastic Throng Lauds Miss Anderson’s Concert,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 9, 1939, 9.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Reviewer Dolly Madison concluded that “[w]ith applause (as well as box office) Seattle told Miss Anderson and the Ladies’ Musical Club, which presented her, that *she is the city’s favorite artist. And if the city has any color prejudice, it was not apparent at the Music Hall last night*”[emphasis mine].⁴¹¹ This declaration demonstrates how this performance was seen as part of a greater cause to Madison, and likely to the audience as well. For Madison—and by extension, Seattle—the concert demonstrated a sort of solidarity with Anderson and the cause she had come to represent, despite the fact that “color prejudice” may exist in the city outside the concert hall.

In 1942, Roland Hayes made a celebrated appearance in Seattle under the auspices of the Ladies Musical Club. Hayes, the Internationally-acclaimed African American tenor, found himself similarly confronted by issues of racism surrounding his performance. His performance was widely covered in the local newspapers, which universally reasserted his standing as an artist and a national treasure. Previews appealed to “Seattle Music Lovers” to come hear the “distinguished artist,” who was to present a “Famed Group of Spirituals” on the program.⁴¹² However, his stay in the city also became noteworthy when Hayes was denied accommodations at two hotels because he was black. The news of his rejection was published on the day of the performance, March 24, 1942. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published an article with the headline “Hayes Declares Racial Differences Increasing,” in which it is revealed that “[w]ithout resentment, [Hayes] related yesterday how two leading Seattle hotels had declined to accommodate him unless he would promise to take his meals in his room, be seen as little as

⁴¹¹ Ibid. Anderson’s concert the following year in 1940—after the Lincoln Memorial Concert—drew exceptionally large crowds and won her even more favor with Seattle audiences. Participating in the concert continued to be an important and cathartic experience for the audience; a lengthy review by Virginia Boren appeared in the *Seattle Daily Times* (March 12, 1940, 10) with the headline “Tears of Joy Flow as Marian Anderson Sings.”

⁴¹² Willard Coghlan, “Negro Tenor Artist Offers Fine Program,” *Seattle Star*, March 24, 1942, 7; The last quotation is from another article in the *Seattle Star* on March 21, 1942, 7.

possible in the lobby and would entertain members of his race only in his room.”⁴¹³ Instead, the “Ladies’ Musical Club [Was A] Good Samaritan,” and put up Hayes “at a private home [of one of its members] on Queen Anne Hill.”⁴¹⁴

Reviews for the concert hinted at the controversy but were hopeful that the music had been able to “Triumph” over issues of racism. Reviewer Willard Coghlan writes that “[a]ltho nearest to Roland Hayes’ heart may be the differences of race, music seems to be the magic sesame which reduces all such barriers. At least, it seemed that way as the great negro lyric-tenor charmed a packed house of music lovers last night at the Metropolitan Theater.”⁴¹⁵ Another review declared that “something of the dignity of man and the purity of great art were with the great Negro tenor last night on the stage.”⁴¹⁶ Some local publications expressed outrage at the incident, with several letters submitted to *The Northwest Enterprise* and published in the following weeks that berated the hotels and bemoaned the racial discrimination that Hayes encountered. “We say we stand for democracy and brotherhood, and for the principles of Christ, and just after celebrating Brotherhood Week a world Famed Negro of fine character is denied the hotel services usually accorded guests, and only because he is a Negro,” wrote outraged (white) citizen Hester J. Miller. “How do our people account for this?”⁴¹⁷ As a follow up, a group of “five white women called on Arnold J. Barash, secretary of the Seattle Hotel Association and demanded an explanation. They left...feeling they ‘didn’t get much satisfaction.’”⁴¹⁸ In spite of the disappointing outcome, supporting Hayes—and by extension, black residents who may be

⁴¹³ Doug Welch, “Hayes Declares Racial Differences Increasing: Famous Negro Tenor Cites Letters From Hotels,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 24, 1942, 3.

⁴¹⁴ “Hotels Impose Curfew For The Duration; Ladies’ Musical Club Is Good Samaritan,” *The Northwest Enterprise*, March 27, 1942, 1; Welch, “Hayes Declares Racial Differences Increasing,” 3.

⁴¹⁵ Coghlan, “Roland Hayes Concert Real Triumph Here,” *Seattle Star*, March 25, 1942, 8.

⁴¹⁶ *Seattle Daily Times*, March 25, 1942, 11.

⁴¹⁷ “Hotels Impose Curfew For The Duration,” 2.

⁴¹⁸ Welch, “Hotels Scored in Hayes Incident,” printed in *The Northwest Enterprise*, April 3, 1942, 1.

faced with similar discriminatory practices—through this incident seemed to be a way for Seattle audiences to connect to the issues tied to race and art faced by communities across the country.

So why did the LMC's Artist Concert Series stop featuring African American singers in 1947, despite the fact that Seattle audiences were clearly attached to performers such as Anderson and Hayes? The answer is that the market for these artists was competitive, and other presenters had won the contracts for prior and later years. Anderson, for instance, continued to return to Seattle through 1945 to packed houses, with "2,000 persons turned away" from just one performance in 1943.⁴¹⁹ Anderson also had a much longer relationship with Seattle audiences than the LMC's Artist Concert Series demonstrates – her first appearance in Seattle actually occurred in 1929, when she performed for four Summer concerts at the University of Washington Stadium.⁴²⁰ Roland Hayes's first concert was not in 1942, when he was first presented by the LMC, but instead took place in 1925. A review of his 1942 LMC performance cites how "[t]he famed Negro tenor has given ten recitals in Seattle in the last 17 years," and continued on to praise yet another great performance.⁴²¹ Dorothy Maynor returned again after her 1941 LMC performance, this time under the auspices of Cecilia Schultz in 1942 and 1943.⁴²² What this suggests is two things. First, while the LMC Artist Concert Series performances that featured these black singers were important, celebrated events, the Seattle public's demand for these artists was actually even greater than the large number in the LMC lineup suggests. And second, the LMC was a dominant musical player in the Seattle scene during this time, since the organization was able to monopolize the contracts of many of these popular artists amidst a

⁴¹⁹ Hays, "Miss Anderson's Concert Turns Away 2,000," *Seattle Daily Times*, February 14, 1943, 9.

⁴²⁰ The dates of her performances were June 9th and 12th, and August 4th and 11th of 1929.

⁴²¹ Hays, "Hayes Enthralls Capacity Crowd," *Seattle Daily Times*, March 25, 1942, 23.

⁴²² Her performances were on April 17, 1942 and April 10, 1943.

competitive market for the span of an entire decade. When Gottstein passed away suddenly in 1939, the Artist Concert Series was without its leader. The personal relationships between Gottstein and other managers and artists that had made the series so successful had been forged over many decades. While the LMC's reputation allowed the LMC to keep the Artist Concert Series running, Gottstein's shoes were hard to fill, and the LMC soon decided to broaden its focus with the Series to favor up-and-coming artists in addition to the blockbuster performers. In a sense, the decline of black performers in the LMC Artist Concert Series marks the subtle shift of the LMC into its next phase, that of presenting new talent and investing more focused energy into the civic work of the LMC.⁴²³ The Artist Concert Series would continue another half of a century, when the LMC once again shifted its focus to programs that are more behind-the-scenes, a space where it currently excels today.

⁴²³ 1947 also marks the year that the LMC reinvigorated its focus on scholarships. LMC historian Mary Rhodes notes that "[i]n 1947 LMC sponsored the [Claudio] Arrau Concert for School Students. The great pianist donated his services; the Paramount Theatre and other services were donated, and from the small student admission the Arrau Cash Scholarships were awarded to two outstanding piano students of the Northwest" ('History of Ladies Musical Club: Seattle, WA 1891-2001,' 4.)

Conclusion

The Ladies Musical Club of Seattle was formed by twenty capable and motivated women musicians. From the first meeting in March of 1891, the LMC was off and running in its crusade to develop the musical talent of its members and to cultivate musical interest in Seattle. Through the strong direction of early leaders and its early support of its composers, the LMC became known as both a successful charitable entity and a collection of individual, productive musical women. By the time the Artist Concert Series began in the 1900-1901 season of the LMC, the organization already had a decade of service under its belt. The success of the second season of the LMC—which brought international stars to the Seattle stages such as Lillian Nordica and Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler—allowed the Club to officially incorporate in 1902. In 1905, two important functions were added to the schedule: a Seattle Composers' Concert was held that provided a platform for LMC composers as well as those in the Seattle community, and the first of many scholarships was offered by the LMC to a budding Seattle musician. The concert chair for the Artist Concert Series, Rose Gottstein, led the Club as president from 1906-1908, after which time, the LMC's keen business practices became revered in the community. Run by women but popular with men and women alike, the LMC demonstrated a "business-sense" that was publicly renowned. The LMC's history came to be celebrated through its financial, cultural, and philanthropic achievements. And, the visibility of these successful women contributed to the establishment of Seattle as progressive place for women by the mid-1920s.

The Indianist music presented by the LMC resonated with people in the region because much of their own recent history was intertwined with interactions between Native Americans and settlers. In addition, black singers like Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes, and the

spirituals they brought to the Seattle stages, invigorated the small but visible African American community and captivated the rest of the region. With Anderson, Hayes, and other African American singers, Seattle audiences (at least those who were able to get tickets to the sold-out shows) were able to chime in on the national debate about race and prejudice, while also being forced to confront and reexamine their own racial climate. Both of these musical streams—the Indianist movement and African American influences in American music—were part of important musicological discussions about the broader definitions and directions of American music. And, neither of these has been studied to this point in relation to the Pacific Northwest.

After the sudden death of Rose Gottstein in 1939, the LMC was forced to reevaluate the direction of the Artist Concert Series. Opting for a slow transition, the LMC gradually shifted the focus of the popular series from established international stars to rising talent. By 1950, the LMC was presenting mainly new artists to Seattle, providing a viable platform for these artists to have their “big break.” Overall, the Ladies Musical Club of Seattle, as a collective group of these Seattle women, helped define the musical scene in Seattle from its founding through the first half of the twentieth century.

Epilogue

On Friday March 2, 1990 at 10:00 am, members of the Ladies Musical Club of Seattle met for a special meeting in the University Public Library in Seattle, Washington to discuss a pressing matter. The meeting was called to order at 10:07 am and lasted just thirty-five minutes, an efficient use of time given the “lively discussion” that occurred and the serious implications of the meeting.⁴²⁴ The date of the meeting was significant as was the subject upon which the quorum of thirty-six members would be voting: exactly ninety-nine years to the day, the Ladies Musical Club was holding a special vote to change its original, historical name.

Some of the “important ideas expressed” in the meeting were captured by the Recording Secretary, Carol Jeane Brown, and they show the breadth and gravity of the discussion. These ideas include:

That our logo and letterhead should forever include “founded as Ladies Musical Club in 1891”; that we should not forget anything important in our history through the name change; that the question of name change has been handled in a fair and efficient manner; that the concert committee and the grants committee have found our present name to be holding us back; that the new name should truly reflect who we are, comes from deep with us, and be good for a number of years, not just catchy and designed to “sell” us; that we should think of our work in music beyond our city, in fact, internationally and include all ethnic groups; that we have talked about this change for many years, and that it will take us awhile to get used to any name, and before it becomes a part of us; and that we take all the time needed to choose this name, without pressure of a tight time schedule.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ Minutes, Ladies Musical Club General Membership Special Meeting, March 2, 1990, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

Following the discussion, a vote was taken by secret ballot. Brown writes succinctly of the verdict, “[t]he name of the LMC club will be changed.”⁴²⁶ But why would an organization whose history is so intrinsic to its value try to change its name on the eve of its Centennial?

This name-change quorum recalls themes from the LMC’s history, and specifically the financial, cultural, and philanthropic themes of its “biography.” The minutes give nod to the ongoing nature of the controversy, acknowledging “that we have talked about this change for many years.” The early change of “ladies” to “women” in the LMC’s constitution around 1900, in the first decade of the Club, was probably a similar attempt to downplay the cultural implications of class and behavior that the term “ladies” carried--and still evokes. Though not explicitly stated in these terms, members who rejected the original name likely felt that it also hindered the work of the LMC in financial and philanthropic ways, for it was the complaints from the “concert” and “grant” committees who seemed to carry the most weight. Whether objecting to “Ladies” or “Club” or both, or neither, all members seemed to agree that the historical importance of the LMC should not be disrupted by the renaming of the organization, nor its authenticity diminished.

Interestingly, the LMC did not go on to change its name, despite the vote. It seems the weight of the legacy that the name represented tipped the scales in favor of leaving the moniker unchanged, at least for the time being. But the cultural and financial ramifications raised by members throughout the LMC’s history will likely only grow more complex, and potentially more consequential. The recent broadening of gender categories to include male, female, and non-binary may bring the issue before the LMC again soon, moving beyond issues of class or

⁴²⁶ Minutes, Ladies Musical Club General Membership Special Meeting, March 2, 1990, Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, MOHAI.

quaintness or history, to the question of how the LMC plans to define itself in relation to not one but two other categories of musicians and citizens. In Bedermanian terms, there are now three voices in the conversation on gender, now two other gender categories from which women will need to define themselves, which will certainly change the tone of the dialogue (trialogue?)—if not the entire narrative.

...

David Gramit recently published an article that seeks to reevaluate the idea of local music history in the American and Canadian west. In his article, Gramit reflects on two broad but important questions about his own research: “What role did music play in the settlement of Edmonton, Alberta, and why should anyone who lives outside that city care?”⁴²⁷ He found in the study of music in Edmonton, prior scholarship on the subject turned up “curiously segregated from the academic field of American music studies,” and that, importantly, “this phenomenon seemed to be widely replicated when...looking for studies of other western Canadian or US cities that might be comparable.”⁴²⁸ Gramit found that:

[t]here were indeed earlier studies of musical life in Edmonton...but they were largely and justifiably concerned with documenting the local rather than with linking it to external historiographical issues...[s]tudies of the early musical life of individual western cities certainly exist, but despite their often considerable level of accomplishment, they seemed curiously segregated from the academic field of American music studies. Articles were more likely to appear in local history publications than in national or international musicological publications...and longer studies were dominated by either dissertations or books by nonmusicologists.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ David Gramit, “The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism and the Music of the Urban West: Resituating a Local Music History,” *American Music* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 272.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

In contrast to the study of local, western American and Canadian music, Gramit notes how “[o]n the whole, the attention of music scholars, and thus the collective interest of the field, have gravitated instead toward the study of metropolitan areas known to have had vital musical cultures and institutions, which require a scale and resources that were most often unavailable on the frontiers of settlement.”⁴³⁰ And, in contrast to prominent musical centers like “New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles,” less-prominent locales like Edmonton have, he surmises, music scenes showing little “demonstrable impact beyond the immediate vicinity.”⁴³¹ Gramit’s solution is to step outside the hegemonic umbrella of a singular national identity (“American Music”) that has characterized the study of music in the United States, embracing instead the “mundane,” everyday local occurrences instead of just major musical events or centers.

The same could be said of the state of the study of Seattle music, as shown in the first chapter. Only one article on the topic of music in Seattle has appeared in a musicological journal in recent years, Knighton’s “Mary Davenport Engberg,” an overview of Engberg’s career as a reflection of the prevailing progressive climate toward women in the Pacific Northwest.⁴³² The rest of scholarship used to inform this study has been, with some exceptions, self-contained within studies of the West or within a non-musicological discipline, such as women’s or African American studies, as described by Gramit of his study of Edmonton. Yet, while Gramit presents the study of music in western America and Canada as a dichotomy between the “remote” and the

⁴³⁰ Gramit, 273.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Self-published, local interest books such as *Seattle Had A Tin Pan Alley, Too!* and *Out of the Cultural Dustbin* also echo Gramit’s findings of Edmonton’s music literature, and show the struggle with identity that some Seattle music enthusiasts felt as Seattle’s music scene was ignored, or--even worse--recognized by outsiders as a “cultural dustbin” or wasteland. See Merle Irene Smith’s *Seattle Had a Tin Pan Alley, Too!* (Seattle: M.I. Smith, 1989), and Hans and Thelma Lehmann’s, *Out of the Cultural Dustbin : Sentimental Musings on Art and Music in Seattle from 1936 to 1992* (Seattle: Crowley Associates, 1992).

“center,” between the “mundane” and the “cosmopolitan,” between the Northwest and the non-West, this study presents a third option: the undiscovered musical center. Seattle is a Northwestern city whose historical vibrant musical climate has gone largely unrecognized. As this study illuminates, Seattle *did* have “vital musical cultures and institutions” such as the Ladies Musical Club which provided the “scale and resources” for musical events that reached beyond the local. In some ways, Gramit’s positioning of local versus national musics mirrors Bederman’s definitions of gender as a process defined and redefined by local, everyday interactions as well as broader political structures. Perhaps this discussion--and broader discussions of “American music”—can also be non-binary, as with current discussions of gender.

Seven years have passed since Knighton’s article appeared in the *Journal of the Society for American Music*. It isn't immediately clear why Seattle's music scene has continued to be overlooked by musicologists. In my own study of the Ladies Musical Club, I could not help feeling an excited sense of discovery, one of pioneer navigating minimally-charted territory, a sense heightened by the “uncovering” of the LMC’s rich archival artifacts like the opening of the lid on the proverbial buried treasure. But perhaps it is precisely this parallel between the mythologized west and the western reality that is the reason for Seattle’s continued absence from musicological discussions. To fully “discover” Seattle’s music history would be to signal a definitive endpoint to the mythological west. If Seattle is rewritten as a long-standing cultural center, then the timeline of the west must also change.

Now is the perfect time to make these connections and changes. Seattle now stands as an undisputed technological center, not just of the United States but also of the global economy. While technology has continued to collapse our geographic boundaries, Seattle’s recognized location as a hub of technology puts it now in a unique position. Technology is arguably one of

the most important cultural mechanisms, serving as the disseminator of cultural products (such as music) as well as embodying and creating its own distinctive cultural practices and currencies (e.g. the status claimed by owning an iPhone). A look at Seattle's musical history through the work of the Ladies Musical Club reveals that Seattle's emergence as a technological—and by extension, cultural—center is perhaps not so surprising, for Seattle has long been a progressive place, and music remains one of the most important markers of culture.

Appendix A

Ladies Musical Club Artist Concert Series Performers⁴³³

Note: Concerts listed as “Extra” were added late to the concert schedule, after the four regular concerts of the season were booked.

| Season | Performers (In Order of Appearance) |
|-------------|---|
| 1900 - 1901 | Andrew Bogart, Mr. & Mrs. Henschel, Mme. Teresa Carreño, Kneisel Quartette |
| 1901 - 1902 | Mme. Charlotte Maconda, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Mme. Lilian Nordica, Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler |
| 1902 - 1903 | Ossip Gabrilowitsch, Zelig DeLussan, Wenzel Kopta, Spiering Quartette, William C. Carl, Gertrude Foster (Mrs. Raymond) Brown |
| 1903 - 1904 | Augusta Cottlow, Mme. Lillian Blauvelt, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Wenzel Kopta |
| 1904 - 1905 | Josef Hoffmann, David Bispham, Fritz Kreisler, Maude Ulmer Jones & Marc Lagen |
| 1905 - 1906 | Mme. Emma Eames Concert Co., Watkins Mills English Vocal Quartette, Jan Kubelik, Jean Gerardy |
| 1906 - 1907 | Emilio DeGogorza, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Arthur Hartmann, Moritz Rosenthal |
| 1907 - 1908 | George Hamlin, Mme. Teresa Carreño, Fritz Kreisler & Harold Bauer, Walter Damrosch & the New York Symphony Orchestra (Two Concerts) |
| 1908 - 1909 | Emilio DeGogorza, Arthur Hartmann, Mme. Johanna Gadski, Ossip Gabrilowitsch |
| 1909 - 1910 | Mme. Jeanne Jomelli, Mme. Marcella Sembrich, Mme. Schumann-Heink, Mme. Antonia Dolores Walter Damrosch & the New York Symphony Orchestra (Two Concerts) |
| 1910 - 1911 | Antonio Scotti & Mme. DePasquali, Tetrizzini, Alessandro Bonci, Ferruccio Busoni, Mischa Elman |
| 1911 - 1912 | Eames & DeGogorza, Jan Kubelik, Vladimir DePachmann, John McCormack, The Flonzaley Quartette |
| 1912 - 1913 | Riccardo Martin & Rudolph Ganz, Alice Neilson Operatic Concert Co., Leopold Godowsky, Eugene Ysaye |

⁴³³ “LMC Artist Series Performers 1900–1995,” Ladies Musical Club of Seattle Website, accessed August 14, 2017, <http://lmcseattle.org/wp-content/uploads/International-Artist-Series-1900-1995.pdf>.

| Season | Performers (In Order of Appearance) |
|---------------|---|
| 1913 - 1914 | Geraldine Ferrar, Melba-Kubelik, Fritz Kreisler, The Flonzaley Quartette |
| 1914 - 1915 | Mme. Olive Fremstad, John McCormack, Alma Gluck & Efrem Zimbalist, Rudolf Ganz, Barrere Ensemble of Wind Instruments |
| 1915 - 1916 | Fritz Kreisler, Mme. Johanna Gadski, Ossip Gabrilowitsch & Clara Clemens-Gabrilowitsch, Mme. Emmy Destinn |
| 1916 - 1917 | Mischa Elman, Mme. Julia Culp, The Flonzaley Quartette, Charles Wakefield Cadman & Princess Tsianina, Walter Damrosch & The New York Symphony Orchestra (Efrem Zimbalist, Soloist-Two Concerts) |
| 1917 - 1918 | Mme. Margaret Matzenauer, Eugene Ysaye, Harold Bauer, Miss Frieda Hempel, Amelita Galli-Curci (Extra) |
| 1918 - 1919 | Lucy Gates Trio, Josef Hofmann, Frances Alda, John McCormack |
| 1919 - 1920 | Rudolph Ganz, Jascha Heifetz (Two Concerts), Sophie Braslau, Galli-Curci (Two Concerts) |
| 1920 - 1921 | Scotti Grand Opera Co. (Three Performances), Pasquale Amato, Josef Lhevinne, Bolm Ballet & Little Symphony |
| 1921 - 1922 | Jascha Heifetz (Two Concerts), Reinald Werrenrath, Galli-Curci, Percy Grainger |
| 1922 - 1923 | Geraldine Farrar, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Edward Johnson, Jacques Thibaud, Alfred Cortot, Feodor Chaliapin |
| 1923 - 1924 | Mary Garden, Tito Schipa, Elena Gerhardt, Ignace Jan Paderewski, Harold Bauer, Pablo Casals |
| 1924 - 1925 | Percy Grainger. Maria Jeritza, Rosa Ponselle, The Flonzaley Quartette, Sergei Rachmaninoff |
| 1925 - 1926 | Elizabeth Rethberg, Josef Lhevinne, Sigrid Onegin, Beniamino Gigli |
| 1926 - 1927 | Mischa Elman String Quartette, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, Fritz Kreisler, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Tito Schipa |
| 1927 - 1928 | Marian Talley, Lawrence Tibbett, Jascha Heifetz, The English Singers |
| 1928 - 1929 | Fritz Kreisler (Extra), Louis Graveure, Mischa Elman, Rosa Ponselle, The Flonzaley Quartette |
| 1929 - 1930 | Amelita Galli-Curci, Efrem Zimbalist, Lawrence Tibbett, Sigrid Onegin |
| 1930 - 1931 | Fritz Kreisler, Maier & Pattison, La Argentina, Paul Robeson, Yehudi Menuhin |
| 1931 - 1932 | Mary Wigman, Efrem Zimbalist, Myra Hess, John Charles Thomas, Ignace Jan Paderewski |
| 1932 - 1933 | Vincente Escudero, Fritz Kreisler, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Florence Austral |

Season Performers (In Order of Appearance)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 1933 - 1934 | Winifred Christie |
| 1934 - 1935 | Fritz Kreisler, Grace Moore, Jose Iturbi, Lawrence Tibbett |
| 1935 - 1936 | Roth Quartette, Nelson Eddy, Bartlett & Robertson, Lotte Lehmann |
| 1936 - 1937 | The Kolisch Quartette, Nelson Eddy, Marian Anderson, Stravinsky & Dushkin |
| 1937 - 1938 | Ezio Pinza, Rudolph Serkin, Marian Anderson, Kirsten Flagstad |
| 1938 - 1939 | Ezio Pinza, Richard Tauber, Marian Anderson, Robert Casadesus |
| 1939 - 1940 | Marjorie Lawrence, Artur Rubinstein, Nelson Eddy (Extra) Joseph Szigeti, Marian Anderson |
| 1940 - 1941 | Dorothy Maynor, Artur Rubinstein, Albert Spalding, Alexander Kipnis |
| 1941 - 1942 | Ezio Pinza, Nathan Milstein, Robert Casadesus, Roland Hayes |
| 1942 - 1943 | Carroll Glenn, Blanche Thebom, Artur Schnabel, Roland Hayes |
| 1943 - 1944 | John Charles Thomas, Florence Kirk, Anne Brown, Carroll Glenn, Claudio Arrau, Roland Hayes (Extra) |
| 1944 - 1945 | Martial Singher, Bidu Sayão, Erica Morini, American Ballad Singers, Claudio Arrau, Anne Brown (Extra), Roland Hayes (Extra) |
| 1945 - 1946 | Jan Peerce, Erica Morini, Vladimir Horowitz, Todd Duncan, Rudolf Serkin |
| 1946 - 1947 | Eugene List, Jennie Tourel, Todd Duncan, Roland Hayes, Claudio Arrau, Mario Berini |
| 1947 - 1948 | Mario Berini, Witold Malcuzyński, Jennie Tourel, Erica Morini, William Kapell, Artur Schnabel |
| 1948 - 1949 | Vladimir Horowitz, Eleanor Steber, Isaac Stern, Eula Beal, Rudolf Serkin |
| 1949 - 1950 | Italo Tajo, Lucia Albanese, Morley & Gearhart, Luigi Silva, William Kapell |

Appendix B

Two Ladies Musical Club Histories, 1943 and 2001

These two histories are part of the Ladies Musical Club Records, 1891-2014, Museum of History & Industry. The first is by Rita Bricker (1943), and the second is by Mary Rhodes (2001). Minor adjustments have been made to correct spelling and grammar errors. Some formatting is preserved.

History 1 (Rita Bricker, 1943):

Ladies Musical Club of Seattle

Organized 1891

Incorporated 1902

Seattle in 1891 was a lusty, growing young city, emerging with new vigor from the devastating fire which had leveled its buildings to ashes two years before. This was the year the State University was moved from its downtown site to its present location and property near its campus was selling for \$200 per acre. This was the year that one local paper boasted that it had the largest circulation of any daily newspaper north of the City of San Francisco. In its pages, music houses featured guitars, mandolin and banjos and offered for sale gramophones – “the improved talking machine.” The society pages which bore musical notices as well, included notes from Tacoma, Carbonado and Coupeville. The musical reviews spoke in glowing terms about local performers, such as “She possesses a rich contralto voice which shows careful cultivation.” Also, on the society page, were advertisements showing women with yard long

tresses, eulogizing “Skookum Root Hair Grower.” Another told of a face bleach “guaranteed not to poison the skin.”

In this setting, then in 1891, one Friday afternoon in March, twenty earnest, “be-bustled” young women met at the home of Mrs. Geo. F. Bacon, 65-8th Street, to form a musical club, organized for “the uplifting of the musical standards and growth and development of each member along the broadest lines of culture.” They felt, quite justly, that their city, prosperous and robust as it was, needed some fine music to temper its vigorous western disposition.

The Ladies Musical Club was the name chosen that afternoon, and Mrs. Bacon, the hostess, was elected the first president. This was the first organization of its kind on the Pacific Coast and it attracted wide attention in the press at the time.

On the list of those attending that first meeting fifty-two years ago, were Miss Nellie Beach, Miss Blanche Mills (Mrs. J. B. Eagleson), Miss Mattie Brown (Mrs. W. E. Nichols), Mrs. G. S. Meachum, Mrs. J. S. Chase, Mrs. Geo. W. Bacon, Mrs. G. A. Hawley, Mrs. G. H. King, Mrs. C. E. Patterson, Mrs. A. B. Stewart, Mrs. Mitchell Gilliam, Mrs. C. Hughes, Mrs. Martha Churchill, Mrs. S. K. Waterman, Mrs. James W. Clise, Mrs. C. C. Conner, Miss Henrietta Hamilton, Miss Julia Chamberlain, Miss Anna Furth, Miss Beatrice Teel and her sister, also a Miss Teel, and Miss Arthur. Of these charter members, three are still active members of the club and are Miss Beach, Mrs. Patterson and Mrs. Nichols.

In the early years the members met at one another’s homes with each participating in the musical programs. Miss Beach, who was the Club’s first treasurer, says, regarding these first meetings, “These meetings every month were fun. We’d scurry around to borrow the neighbor’s chairs when it was at our house. That was when we lived at 916 Fifth Street, near Madison, you know. Mother was pleased about the Club. She said she hoped it would spur me on to keeping

up my practicing.” Now, whenever Miss Beach hears an annual report of the Club with its impressive bank balance, she is reminded of those early days when the first season showed a balance of 28 cents! The dues charged then were very little and while profits were small, one member expressed the general attitude of this small group as “the treasury of their minds were memories of happy meetings and friendships cemented.”

One of the highlights in this period of the club’s life, was the invitation received in 1893 to participate in the convention of amateur musical clubs at the Chicago World’s Fair. Nine members were sent and gave an excellent program which won them a diploma of honor. It was the youngest club represented and it was felt that Seattle, through the organization, had been recognized as the musical center of the Pacific Northwest.

About this time, too, came the financial panic that shook banks and business houses but according to Mrs. A. B. Stewart, who was president then, “our band worked shoulder to shoulder, determined that our little craft should weather the gale. We laugh now at the time when our exchequer was down to 18 cents. But we didn’t laugh then. That was a taste of real tragedy.”

Soon, however, the country and Seattle prospered again and the club grew and expanded. It had the usual staff of officers; president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. Its membership consisted of active members (dues \$2.00) and associate members (dues \$3.00). Monthly concerts were given, open to the public, and active members’ meetings were also held each month, a policy continued to the present time. For the open concerts, it was necessary to rent a hall because tickets were sold and accommodations in the homes were limited.

By 1900, the idea of Artists’ Concerts was conceived. Up to this time, no great concert artists had appeared in Seattle other than to “change trains or view Mt. Rainier.” It took much

persuasion to convince artists appearing in San Francisco that it would pay them to come to Seattle, that young city in the Northwest. The concert season was duly opened in 1900-1901 with Andrew Bogart, Mr. and Mrs. Henschel, Mme. Teresa Carreno and the Kneisel Quartette. It was necessary to pay Mr. Bogart \$40.00 to appear in Seattle. A far cry indeed from the thousands that have to be guaranteed to the Artists appearing here each season now! A far cry indeed from the thousands that have to be guaranteed to the Artists appearing here each season now!

It was in 1901, when Madam Lillian Nordica, then in the height of her career, sang here and created such a musical sensation that the Ladies Musical Club definitely began the program of Artists' Concerts. Four such concerts were given each year and because this decision meant large business transactions, the club was incorporated in 1902.

By 1903, the active membership had grown from the original twenty-one to ninety-four. In addition there were about 175 associate members, student members and one honorary, Mrs. Bacon. Active members consisted of women only, were chosen, after performing before the group by a two-thirds vote and the endorsement of two members of the club. The associate members did not participate in club affairs, they merely paid dues and attended the concerts. The student members were required to be studying at the time, must be over 16, and be recommended by a teacher. They could attend meetings but had no part in the club management. The executive committee (board of trustees) had been added to the club's governing body at this time. A chorus had been organized which had about fifty members and appeared at many affairs in the city and in smaller towns near Seattle.

By 1910, the active membership had reached 123, the student membership 13, and the associate 462. In 1920, the active membership had reached 155. And the associate and student had grown even more. In 1929, the student membership was abolished and the Ladies

Musical Club Auxiliary was formed. The active membership in 1930 was 185, and in 1940 was 180. Since then, more active members have been taken into the club.

In March 1922, the first President's Day was observed. On this occasion, all of the past presidents of the club were honored at a luncheon at the New Washington Hotel Annex. This affair established a precedent that has continued through the ensuing years. Presidents' Day is an occasion that has continued and cherished by the older members of the club for it means renewing of old times. To the younger members it serves as an inspiration to carry on the work begun by these faithful ones.

During World War One (1917-1918), the club donated all of the proceeds of the Artist Concerts to war relief purposes. It claimed also the distinction of being the first large women's organization to buy Liberty Bonds, purchasing \$18,0000.00 worth. In addition the club gave an Army ambulance to base hospital unit No. 50. It was a duplicate of the one sent to General Pershing by Wellesley College as a memorial to his wife, and was a standardized ambulance such as was used at that time by the U.S. Government in foreign service.

From the beginning in 1891 to the present time, the club's finances have been in good shape. Never once has the bank balance shown a deficit. Each year there has been a profit, from 28 cents in 1891 to thousands in 1943. Much of the credit of this excellent financial condition must go to the late Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, who for 40 years was executive secretary of the club and the concert manager.

Mrs. Gottstein and the Ladies Musical Club were thought of almost synonymously. She was a brilliant, keen little woman, a "musical financier" if such a combination is possible. Not only was she wholeheartedly devoted to music – in addition she worked untiringly for the Children's Orthopedic Hospital. She took all of the responsibility for the concert management in

her own hands, down to the last detail and preferred to work alone. She handled all of the press work, advertising and all of the myriad things connected with bringing international artists to Seattle.

That was why it was so difficult to pick up the threads when she died so suddenly in the fall of 1939. Mrs. Erroll Rawson, who was president at that time, gave the following testimonial to her: "She can never be replaced. The success of the club was built by her own labor and energy and foresight. It was because of her efforts that the club is in such splendid financial condition. Her idea of a concert season came after she went to New York. She thought how splendid it would be if Seattle could have something like it. And that was her gift to 'this city'". The Seattle Times expressed the feelings of the Seattle citizens as a whole when it paid her this tribute: "For many years Seattle has been by so much a better and happier city for all its people because of the presence, the influence and the activities of Rose Gottstein. We know of no one who has been as busy on behalf of others, nor of one more successful in utterly unselfish efforts of public benefit. Mrs. Gottstein will be remembered by many for what she brought them in rare privileges of musical enjoyment; by many others for her highly inspired and affective labors for relief and repair of crippled children. Yet these were only the larger manifestations of her daily devotion, year after year, to the welfare of those about her and the community as a whole. A keen mind; a sincere, sweet and generous woman, her passing leaves empty a place in Seattle's life that none can fill.

Naturally, over such a long period of dealing with artists and their so-called temperaments, Mrs. Gottstein was full of reminiscences. At different times she would tell of some of her experiences and they were interesting and often amusing.

She said she first met Madame Schumann-Heink in in 1903. “I have known her jolly and carefree; and I have seen her weeping for her dead, finding her solace in the sympathetic response of her audience; but she is always the same whole-souled and generous, a figure of commanding nobility. The world will never have a Schumann-Heink – life is made too easy for the modern generation – art like Schumann-Heink’s is only perfected through suffering.

She managed the concert given in Seattle by Jan Kubelik, the week of the San Francisco earthquake, and at her request, he remained in the city to give a benefit matinee concert which netted \$1500 for the relief of the earthquake sufferers. It was the first contribution of that kind received.

Then there is the story of Jeritza (1924). Mrs. Gottstein said that the club had secured a beautiful hall on the Campus of the University of Washington but much to their consternation, the members discovered the day before the concert that the building was being remodeled, half the roof was off and the stage was being rebuilt. All of the seats had been sold and the artist guaranteed \$5000.00 for this performance. She said, “By herculean work, the roof was closed over in part, and an enclosed set of scenery was erected on what remained of the stage. We borrowed a huge arc light for over the piano and Jeritza sang, with the breezes from above blowing her diaphanous draperies about her, all unknowing that the only overhead was a flimsy ceiling of scenery separating her from the stars in the heavens above. Fortunately it did not rain. She was a mighty good sport and never asked why she was blue with cold and her teeth rattled like castanets.”

There are just a few interesting things that made the huge task undertaken by Mrs. Gottstein all of those years, a little brighter. The club owes its life, perhaps, to Rose Gottstein and does indeed cherish her memory.

The organization enjoyed a steady growth thru the years, bringing many artists to the city as well as giving complimentary afternoon musicales for members and their friends. For only one season was the Artist Series omitted. That was in 1933-34 when conditions in the country as a whole and in Seattle were so bad that a concert season was thought to be unwise. The concerts were resumed in 1934 when Kreisler, Grace Moore, Iturti and Laurence Tibbett were presented.

In 1929, the student membership was abolished and the Ladies Musical Club Auxiliary was organized. This group is composed of young women musicians between the ages of 18 and 25. A committee, headed by and appointed by the Auxiliary advisor, who in turn is appointed by the president, acts as judge of the try-outs held each year to decide upon those who wish to belong to the Auxiliary. Membership in this group does not mean, necessarily, eventual membership in the club. This young group is self-governing and conducts its own business and musical programs. The club was maintained almost from the beginning, a student loan fund and many a young musician has received help from the organization at different times. The fund to date amounts to \$1400,00. The Seattle Symphony Orchestra receives \$150 a year and the Children's Orthopedic Hospital [note in paper: "This ceased in 1940"] is given \$250 yearly. In addition, the club presented the hospital with a perpetual endowment of \$5000.00 in memory of Mrs. Gottstein.

At different times, especially in the early days, the subject of a permanent home for the club was brought up. At one time it was suggested that the goal should be "a temple of music in the Queen City."

When Mrs. Gottstein passed away, leaving at the beginning of the 1939 season, the plans of the concert season incomplete, Mrs. Erroll Rawson, the president of the Club at that time very capably "took over" with the assistance of the Board. She says she was utterly unprepared to

handle so great a responsibility but her success was such that since that time she has been the executive secretary. [note in paper: "concert chairman"]

Since 1900, the club has published a Year Book and it is most interesting to look thru the old ones for names and address, advertisements and the like.

The first one, 1900, prints the officers, the program, words of a song cycle sung by Mrs. Gottstein, club notes, telling of the coming visit of the Ladies Musical Club of Tacoma to "render" a program. "Interesting Books in the Library" on music were listed and six pages were devoted to paid advertisements, including those of music teachers among whom were Miss Katherine Glen (the late Mrs. A. S. Kerry) and Harry F. West, who started the Seattle Symphony Orchestra.

By 1903, the advertisements were gone and in their place appeared the membership list which named such general addresses as Fremont, West Seattle and University Station.

The concerts in the early years were held in Christensen's Hall, Grand Opera House, Egan's Hall, First M.E. Church, First Presbyterian Church, Plymouth Church, Y.M.C.A., Hall, Moore Theatre, Hotel Washington, Butler Hotel Annex, Seattle Press Club and the Sorrento Hotel.

Perhaps the most treasured possession of the Ladies Musical Club is the Scrap Book. It tells in pictures, programs and newspaper clippings, the story of the beginning and growth of the organization from 1891 to 1943. Each year there is someone appointed to keep the Scrap Book up-to-date, filling it with the important current notices of the Club's Activities.

At the beginning, on Page One is the original program of the first meeting, written in the old-fashioned script of Mrs. Bacon, the first president. It is torn and wrinkled but it is the authentic original and is priceless. There are printed programs of the years 1895-96; there is a

long newspaper article on the 12th anniversary in March 1903; another on the 20th anniversary; the 25th (1916) with pictures of the past presidents. On another page is the picture of the ambulance donated in 1918 to the Hospital Unit.

The first President's Day in 1922 takes a full page with notices and pictures; three pages are devoted to clippings and pictures about Mrs. Gottstein and her role of impresario and civic leader; there are programs of the concerts of famous artists, also pictures; there are notices and programs of the monthly meetings.

As the years go on, the publicity is more copious, denoting that the prestige of the club has grown consistently in the eyes of the newspapers as well as those of the musically inclined.

The Golden Anniversary of the Club was celebrated in March 1941 and at that time, pictures were taken of the four remaining charter members. These are in the Scrap Book along with the program, a replica, with modern additions, of the first program, and the feature articles and pictures in the papers.

To the older members, this book is an ever-present reminder of the past which means so much to them as they were so definitely a part of it. To the younger members, it is a manifestation of the untiring work and pure devotion to an ideal that has grown into a reality and makes them feel increasingly proud and privileged to belong to a group of this kind.

We may say that the Ladies Musical Club has grown along with Seattle, sharing her changes of fortune, yet consistently contributing to her cultural life. Its members devote hours of time and effort which go unheralded and unsung into making the Concert Season a success. The club is not only known in Seattle but in the entire Northwest as is attested by the ticket reservations which come from as far away as British Columbia, Grays Harbor, and Portland. It is

mentioned in the Washington Guide Book, an impressive volume recently compiled by the W.P.A. Writers' Project as being an outstanding club of its kind.

Perhaps there are those who say that the organization has become mercenary. In fact one member, a past president of the club, said concerning the Concert Series: "This service to our community, which started out to be a crusade has become a highly competitive business. We should find new paths of service. While we have our feet on the ground, we should let our heads be a bit in the clouds and continue to carry on the banner of service".

Perhaps the club's new policy of presenting worthy but as yet little known young artists to Seattle audiences, often at a considerable financial loss, is an answer to this challenge.

The Ladies Musical Club has worked for its double purpose constantly for 52 years, namely "to develop the musical talents of its members and to stimulate musical interest in Seattle." There is no doubt that the organization has proved of immeasurable value in contributing to and raising the level of the cultural life of Seattle and Northwest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Newspaper files at the Public Library from 1891

Scrap Book of Club, items dating from 1891

Year Books of Club, dating from 1900

Thanks also to Mrs. MacBride, Mrs. Rawson and Mrs. Henning Carlson.

Note: The Year Books were the property of Mrs. Gottstein and contain notations of different sorts pertaining to the concerts and artists.

Dr. Gates of the University suggested that the Club should present its Scrap Book to the Public Library for the good of the community. Imagine!

1400 Thesis – History of N.E. with Dr. Gates term paper on an organization that contributed to the cultural growth of the City of Seattle.

[Signed in ink on the bottom of the document: “by Rita Bricker (Mrs. J.P.)”]

History 2 (Mary Rhodes, 2001):

History
of
Ladies Musical Club
Seattle, WA
1891-2001

“Ladies Musical Club: 110 Years of Tradition, Growth and Change”

In order to completely understand the origins of the Ladies Musical Club in 1891, it is helpful to consider the social and musical environment for women in the 19th Century. Most women, primarily of the middle and upper classes, were trained in the arts as a means of rendering them more attractive to discriminating husbands. Musical careers were allowed for women though definitely not encouraged, only in certain areas and under specific circumstances. Women could sing and teach singing, play the piano and teach piano

performance, and perform on the harp and on string instruments. Women were discouraged from becoming composers or conductors.

It was not permissible for a woman to tour unless she was chaperoned at all times by a member of the family, her husband or a close female friend. A paid companion was not acceptable. The famous pianist Clara Schumann was scorned by Parisian audiences when, prior to her marriage to Robert Schumann, she traveled with a paid companion. Not until she arranged to have a friend's aunt accompany her was she accepted.

If a woman married, her husband and family were expected to be her primary concern. Many careers were interrupted or ended by their marriages. Talented and well-trained ladies used their gifts solely to sing to their babies and to oversee their children's piano practice. In 19th Century American society women were expected to encourage and support men. Wives of well-to-do individuals, eager to contribute to the cultural life of the community, donated countless dollars to the arts. They built concert halls, served as fund-raisers and docents, as well as supporters of male composers, performers and conductors.

Some dedicated female musicians, however, sought means of continuing their own musical growth and expression. Since the male-dominated environment of musical performance and composition was closed to them, they organized women's musical societies in which they could perform, compose and hone their musical skills. Here they would be taken seriously by their peers and would be inspired to develop their talents to the fullest.

It was in this social and cultural climate, only 40 years after the first settlers of Seattle landed at Alki in 1851, that the Ladies Musical Club was born. (Incidentally it was the same year in which the University of Washington expanded to its present campus.) Despite the destructive

fire in 1889, by the following two years Seattle had grown and matured sufficiently to facilitate the development of cultural activity. On March 20, 1891, Mrs. George W. Bacon, nee Ellen Bartlett, invited 24 women to her home for the express purpose of forming an musical club. (Remember that it was in 1891, when women were called “Ladies.”) The stated purpose of the organization was to develop the musical talent of its members and to stimulate musical interest in Seattle. A constitution and by-laws were drawn up that first day.

The Club’s first Music Director, Martha Blake Churchill, brought to Seattle broad musical knowledge and an exceptional musical training. Her father was a professor at the Hamburg Conservatory in which the young Martha was enrolled as a pupil. Later she studied at Weimar with Franz Liszt. When, as a concert pianist touring in America, she met Dr. Churchill their marriage brought her to Seattle. She set and maintained, until her death in 1894, high musical standards for the Club and left it a tradition which has been invaluable ever since.

At first the activities of the Ladies Musical Club were limited to the organization and encouragement of local musical expression. The first Year Book, issued on September 7, 1891, for example, listed a membership of 0 and described plans for 12 active members’ concerts and 12 general concerts (open to the public). Women were eager to audition, by invitation only for the privilege of performing and attending monthly meetings from October to May. By 1905 there were 98 active members; by 1916, 150; by 1921, 158; by 1932, 177. Though the social mores of the time prohibited a concert career for most married women, at least they could sharpen their skills by performing for each other at meetings in private homes. They were expected to perform regularly – alone, in duets, trios, chamber groups, in chorus (existing from 1913 to 1922) or string quartets (1922-1927). The early rules stated that “an active member who refuses to perform at the club concerts during six months will forfeit her membership, unless her

refusal had been caused by some reason considered adequate by the Executive Committee.” Members who were composers enjoyed regular hearings. Entire meetings were devoted to their compositions. This feature of club life was crucial for the growth of women composers, who enjoyed few such opportunities outside the clubs. In this capacity women’s clubs fulfilled an obligation to women unmet by any other institution in society. From 1913 to 1922 the Ladies Musical Club (which is now often referred to as “LMC”) maintained a flourishing chorus consisting of its own members. Many old-timers in Seattle will remember one of the directors, Claude Madden, who was well-known to the Northwest. During the life of the chorus, LMC engaged the New York Symphony Orchestra for two concerts, and the chorus experienced the never-to-be-forgotten thrill of singing with that orchestra under the direction of Walter Damrosch.

Like most of their counterparts elsewhere in the country, early members of the LMC were white and middle-class. Most appear to have been leisured women, married to prominent professionals or businessmen in the community. They were women who had forsaken their early musical background, usually in piano or voice, for marriage, child-rearing and participation in Seattle’s social, charity and study clubs. Some members worked to maintain or advance their professional careers as much as possible. Mary Carr Moore, who arrived in Seattle with her physician husband in 1901, achieved moderate success as a composer. In 1912 she presented a world premiere of her four-act opera Narcissa, based on a libretto by her mother, Sara Pratt Carr. Narcissa, the story of the early Pacific Northwest missionary Narcissa Whitman, was the first grand opera ever composed and conducted by a woman. The great event was produced at the Moore Theatre in downtown Seattle in April, 1912. Moore engaged a tenor and a soprano from the New York Metropolitan Opera and selected 70 local singers for her cast. Among them,

naturally, were a great many women from the Club, including members of the chorus and several principal characters. The work opened to critical acclaim, which brought great satisfaction to members of LMC, and then moved on to San Francisco for more performances. The clubwomen took enormous pride in Moore and other members who went on to seek and attain success in the larger musical world. Other working composers in the club included Kate Gilmore Black, organist at Westminster Presbyterian Church, Amy Worth, who directed the Women's University Club Chorus for 25 years and published 30 songs, including one recorded by Lotte Lehman. Daisy Wood Hildreth also published her compositions.

Clara Hartle, who had studied voice in Chicago, came to Seattle when she married in 1904. For four decades, until her death, she instructed students, directed the University Methodist Church choir, and adapted 15 operas in lecture-recital form to present to audiences all over the state. Cecilia Augsburg Schultz [*sic*] developed arts-management skills through her musical circle. She had studied piano with Emil Liebling in Chicago and headed the piano department of Kansas State Agricultural College. She fell in love with Seattle while performing on a concert tour, settled here as a piano teacher and married druggist Gustov Schultz. She became the central musical personage in Seattle as the concert manager of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra and an impresario for the Seattle Musical Art Society.

Early monthly members' concerts took place at a variety of venues until 1960, when the auditorium of the downtown Public Library became the monthly music hall. Since the Library had no piano, the Club bought a Steinway Grand piano and donated it to the city. Six years later LMC gave the Library the handsome background curtains for the stage, along with the piano bench, 4 walnut chairs for ensemble players and 4 music stands.

At first the activities of the Club were limited to local performance. However members soon desired wider exposure. They shared their work with other regional organizations, performing, for example at the Women's Century Club Arts and Crafts Exposition held in 1906. They brought their music to the meetings of other societies and conventions as well. In 1893 the members of LMC won a "Diploma of Honor" for their concert given at the Chicago World's Fair where, along with clubs from various parts of the country, they had been invited by Mrs. Theodore Thomas, wife of the famous conductor.

In an old newspaper clipping from March, 1911, appeared the prediction that "It may well be said that the founding of this Club was the planting of the seed whose growth and maturity will make of Seattle the musical center of this great Northwest." The Ladies Musical Club was the first of its kind on the Pacific coast and it has been a controlling factor in the cultural development of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest. In addition to their deep desire to provide musical opportunities for the women of the group, much of the club's resources money and energies were devoted to serving the wider community of Seattle.

The Seattle Symphony, called Seattle Philharmonic at the time was organized in 1903. In May of 1905 LMC gave a benefit matinee concert at Christensen's Hall for the new symphony. It featured Mr. Venino, pianist, and club member Ella Helm Boardman, contralto. LMC continued to support the Symphony for many years, contributing \$100 a year in the early days from 1915 to 1931, \$250 for two years during the depression, \$150 through the 1930's, \$100 annually. Considering inflation, the sums were considerable.

In 1915, \$100 was donated to the local "Standard Grand Opera," an organization of Seattle musicians, ably directed by Madame Hesse-Sprotti. From 1919 to 1930 the Club aided Cornish School. A gift was made to the "Cornish School Realty Co." in 1920. When that

organization built its present school, LMC contributed annual gifts of \$300 for scholarships and purchased \$1,000 of Cornish Realty stocks which were later donated to Cornish.

LMC supported a number of other musical organizations, including the Seattle Youth Symphony, the Seattle Young artists Festival and the San Francisco and Metropolitan Opera Auditions. The student Loan Fund was established in 1920 to aid those deserving active members who wished to engage in advanced musical study. The Loan Fund was administered by the Board of Trustees, and the recipient paid no interest on the borrowed money. As early as 1913 a scholarship fund was established, which need not be paid back. The fund was soon increased by a gift of \$10,000 by Mr. William Kilpatrick in memory of his sister. Mrs. Harry Rhodes, President of the Club from 1944 to 1946.

In 1947, LMC sponsored the Arrau Concert for School Students. The great pianist donated his services; the Paramount Theatre and other services were donated, and from the small student admission the Arrau Cash Scholarships were awarded to two outstanding piano students of the Northwest. Subsequently LMC cooperated with the United Northwest Artists and the King County and Seattle Schools in arranging Great Artist Concerts for the school students. These "Music for Youth" concerts provided the Issac Stern Scholarship, the Morley and Gearhart Scholarship and the Kapell Scholarship. The club rendered a three-fold service in making its artists available to "Music for Youth." Thousands of young people received the inspiring experience of hearing great music played by famous artists; a future audience was being built and outstanding Northwest talents received the encouragement and financial aid of the cash scholarships given by the great artists who played without fee.

In 1914, LMC sponsored music lessons for immigrant children at Settlement House in Seattle and pressured educators to permit extracurricular music societies in the schools, first for pleasure and then for credit.

During W.W.I., LMC made substantial contributions to the Red Cross. The Club outfitted and gave an ambulance costing \$2100 to a base hospital, donated money for the “Relief of Soldiers’ Families” and invested \$18,000 in Liberty Bonds and War Saving Stamps.

In April of 1906, the week of the San Francisco earthquake, LMC presented the great Czech violinist Jan Kubelik. At the Club’s request, Kubelik agreed to remain in Seattle and donate his services for a benefit recital, netting \$1500 to be sent to San Francisco for the relief of earthquake victims. It was the first contribution of its kind and \$1500 was a large sum in 1906, comparable today to many thousands of dollars.

From 1920 to 1938 LMC contributed \$250 annually to the Children’s Orthopedic Hospital. This support culminated in a gift in 1940 of \$5000 presented to the hospital to endow a bed in memory of Mrs. Gottstein, our long-time Concert Manager who was devoted to the Orthopedic Hospital.

By 1895 the Club had become strong enough to attempt a concert season of great visiting artists, the first of its kind in Seattle. Mrs. M.A. Gottstein, a trained singer and new member of LMC, proposed that the Club guarantee fees for a series of programs by selected artists. A few years later she returned from a trip to New York with a concert season organized, and thereafter assumed the responsibility of managing Seattle’s first and for many years its only musical artists’ series. Her 40 years of such service left the Club permanently in her debt for both the high musical standards which she fostered and the sound financial foundation which she laid. LMC’s first Artist Series was successfully inaugurated in 1900 with a concert by the noted pianist Teresa

Carreno, as well as recitals by three other fine artists. The next season, 1901-02, brought the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the great soprano Lillian Nordica plus two other fine artist recitals. The Nordica concert was a sellout, and it created a musical sensation in Seattle. Fortified by the artistic and financial success of its first venture, LMC was incorporated and the International Artist Series was born. There was no radio or television in those early days, so one would expect to travel to New York or Chicago to hear the greatest singers, pianists and string players, but those artists now came to Seattle. To hear Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Kreisler, Galli-Curci, etc. (all the great of the day) who were willing to travel to the West was really an unforgettable experience. Mrs. Gottstein commented, "No artist fee or musical event was too large for the Club. Thus we find, in a Club brochure for the 1920-21 series, the announcement of the Scotti Grand Opera. The series was to be opened with an event unprecedented in the musical history of Seattle. The Scotti Grand Opera Company, including orchestra, chorus and principals was making its first transcontinental tour in 1920. The Company numbered 125 people; the costumes and scenery, designed in New York, were exact duplicates of those used in the Metropolitan Opera House. Three performances were given here: "Pagliacci" and "Leoni's "The Oracle" on Monday, September 27, "La Boheme" on Tuesday and "Tosca" on Wednesday. On September 30 a newspaper editorial stated, "The bringing of the Scotti Grand Opera Co. to Seattle might well be the greatest musical event in the history of Seattle and we owe all this to the enterprises of an organization of which any city, however large might well be proud – to the Ladies Musical Club. Seattle is indebted to this Club for many rare privileges running back through the years. It is no small thing to assume financial responsibility for so costly a venture. It was distinctly a public service."

The International Artist Series continued uninterrupted from 1900 through the 1994-95 season, bringing countless musical greats to Seattle. In addition, LMC established a policy of introducing superb up-and coming artists to its audiences. In 1991-92 in honor of its 100 Anniversary, the Club presented a series consisting of Marilyn Horne, Cicile Licad, Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg and Ilana Vered, all women who had been presented when not as internationally famous as they ultimately became.

In 1995 LMC embarked on a collaboration with the U. of W. Meany Hall for the Performing Arts. LMC recommended five of the Meany Hall concerts each season. Because of the Club's time-honored reputation for recognizing superior musical talent, audiences have confidence in the quality of the recommended programs. In addition LMC provides pre-concert lectures as well as service for box-suppers preceding those sponsored concerts.

For over 35 years members have performed free monthly programs at the downtown Seattle Public Library. Recently other performances have been added at the Seattle Art Museum, the Seattle Asian Art Museum, the Frye Art Museum and the new Town Hall.

The Club has a fund which provides awards to deserving young professionals, and in 1991 instituted a Debut Tour Program. The award winners travel to several towns and cities in Washington State, especially areas that provide little opportunity for much musical activity. The artists present a public performance and also go to the schools to work with and perform for the students.

Through the Music in Schools Program, well-planned presentations are made by club members and others to Seattle elementary classrooms. These are especially valuable in schools whose musical activities have been curtailed or abolished completely. These programs introduce children to classical music and, it is hoped, stimulate an interest in music.

In its 90th year, LMC deposited its records and autographed photos of early artists with the Museum of History and Industry, thus making these documents and other memorabilia available for public study.

LMC is a fixture in the community and, it is hoped, will contribute to the musical richness of Seattle indefinitely.

Acknowledgements: Karen J. Blair, reported for the Weekly; Mrs. A. E. Boardman, Mrs. J.P. Brecker and Mrs. Joseph Harrison, LMC members.

Appendix C

List of Spirituals Performed in Artist Concert Series Performances, 1931-1947 (Arranged by Song)

| Title | Composer/Arranger | Artist | Concert Date |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| City Called Heaven | Hall Johnson | Marian Anderson | 3/10/1937 |
| City Called Heaven | Hall Johnson | Marian Anderson | 3/11/1940 |
| City Called Heaven (Unaccompanied) | Spiritual | Anne Brown | 1/19/1944 |
| He Never Said a Mumblin' Word (The Crucifixion) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| Crucifixion | John Payne | Marian Anderson | 3/10/1937 |
| Crucifixion | John Payne | Marian Anderson | 3/8/1939 |
| De Gospel Train | H. T. Burleigh | Marian Anderson | 3/8/1939 |
| Deep River | H. T. Burleigh | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Dere's No Hidin' Place Down Dere | Lawrence Brown | Marian Anderson | 3/1/1938 |
| Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel? | Lawrence Brown | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Done Foun' My Los' Sheep | Hall Johnson | Marian Anderson | 3/1/1938 |
| Dry Bones (The Book of Ezekiel) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |
| Every Time I Feel de Spirit | Lawrence Brown | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Every Time I Hear the Spirit | Lawrence Brown | Anne Brown | 1/19/1944 |
| Everytime I Feel the Spirit | Lawrence Brown | Todd Duncan | 12/3/1945 |
| Feed My Sheep | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| Give Me Jesus | Hall Johnson | Todd Duncan | 12/3/1945 |
| Go Down Moses | H. T. Burleigh | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |

| Title | Composer/Arranger | Artist | Concert Date |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Heaven | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| His Name So Sweet | Hall Johnson | Dorothy Maynor | 2/18/1941 |
| Honor, Honor | Hall Johnson | Marian Anderson | 3/1/1938 |
| Honor, Honor | Hall Johnson | Marian Anderson | 3/11/1940 |
| I Can Tell de World About This | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| I Can Tell The World (Afro-American Folksong) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/2/1944 |
| I Can Tell The World (Afro-American Folksong) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| I Stood On De Ribber ob Jerdon | H. T. Burleigh | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| I'm Goin' To Tell God All Ma Troubles | Nathaniel Dett | Dorothy Maynor | 2/18/1941 |
| Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jerico | Lawrence Brown | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Le' Me Shine (Afro-American Folksong) | Percival Parham | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| Le' Me Shine (Negro Sea Island song) | Percival Parham | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| Lit'l Boy (Christ in the Temple Before the Scribes) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |
| Lit'l Boy (Christ in the Temple) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| Lit'l David | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/2/1944 |
| Lit'l David | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| Lord, I Can't Stay Away | Roland Hayes | Marian Anderson | 3/10/1937 |
| Micheau Banjo (Creole Folksong) | Camille Nickerson | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| Michieu Baingo (Louisiana Creole song in corrupt French) | Camille Nickerson | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |

| Title | Composer/Arranger | Artist | Concert Date |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Michieu Banjo (Creole Folk Song) | Camille Nickerson | Todd Duncan | 1/28/1947 |
| My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord | Florence Price | Marian Anderson | 3/10/1937 |
| My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord | Florence Price | Marian Anderson | 3/8/1939 |
| O What a Beautiful City | Edward Boatner | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |
| Oh Gi' Me Yo' Han' | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/2/1944 |
| Oh Gi' Me Yo' Han' | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| Oh, I'm A-Gwinter Sing | William Grant Still | Todd Duncan | 1/28/1947 |
| Oh, Peter Go Ring Dem Bells | H. T. Burleigh | Marian Anderson | 3/11/1940 |
| Oh, What a Beautiful City | Edward Boatner | Dorothy Maynor | 2/18/1941 |
| Over All the Hilltops is Peace | Helen Hopekirk | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| Ride On, Jesus | Nathaniel Dett | Dorothy Maynor | 2/18/1941 |
| Roun' About de Mountain (A Recessional) | Percival Parham | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |
| Scandalize My Name | H. T. Burleigh | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| She Had But One Chile' (Nativity) | Percival Parham | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| Sit Down (Afro-American Folksong) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child | Lawrence Brown | Marian Anderson | 3/11/1940 |
| Steal Away | Lawrence Brown | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Steal Away | H. T. Burleigh | Marian Anderson | 3/8/1939 |
| Steal Away | Unaccompanied | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |
| Steal Away | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/4/1947 |
| The Last Supper (Jesus in Gethsemane) | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |

| Title | Composer/Arranger | Artist | Concert Date |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| They Led My Lord Away | Lawrence Brown | Todd Duncan | 1/28/1947 |
| Way Up in Heaven | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/2/1944 |
| Way Up in Heaven | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 2/26/1945 |
| Weepin' Mary | H. T. Burleigh | Paul Robeson | 2/18/1931 |
| Weepin' Mary (Mother Mary) | H. T. Burleigh | Roland Hayes | 2/5/1943 |
| Were You There | H. T. Burleigh | Marian Anderson | 3/1/1938 |
| Witness | William Grant Still | Todd Duncan | 1/28/1947 |
| You're Tire, Chile | Roland Hayes | Roland Hayes | 3/24/1942 |

Appendix D

Selected Excerpts on the Influence of Rose Gottstein on Seattle

As a mark of deep appreciation for the untiring efforts of Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, who for seventeen seasons has ably filled the position of executive secretary, the Ladies' Musical Club presented her with a beautiful silver service consisting of seven large pieces, suitably engraved.

Mrs. Gottstein has been the most important factor in the financial success of the club, and to her capable management of the seventy-five artists' concerts which were under her direction the club owes its substantial balance in the treasury, which now amounts to \$21,000. The series this season which closed with the Damrosch concert netted the club \$3,000, which is an indication of the patronage given to high-class artists, and none other have ever been presented by this club.

Town Crier 12, no. 17 (April 28, 1917): 14

Mrs. M. A. Gottstein: Had the upbuilding of a private business or industry claimed of Mrs. Gottstein the same attention and time she has given to the public and semi-public work of the Ladies Musical Club during the past twenty years, she would today, without doubt, be rated as Seattle's foremost business woman and one of the wealthiest. She has been affectionately spoken of as "the mother of music in Seattle," and certainly her efforts, coupled with those of other older members of the Club, make up the first chapter in Seattle's musical history and fill many of its later pages. It is from this organization, now as heretofore the center of musical interest, that real inspiration radiates throughout the whole community.

Town Crier 13, no. 22 (June 1, 1918): 3

During twenty of these years, which cover the musical situation from pioneer days, Mrs. Rose M. Gottstein, the executive secretary, has served in various capacities, as president and as secretary, until finally the office of executive secretary was created that she might continue the work that has been the keystone of success, and has given the Club much of the prestige it justly holds...Presidents have come, served their terms well and faithfully and gone back into the ranks as loyal members, but Mrs. Gottstein has continued on what might be called the even tenor of her way, if such a thing as an even tenor in connection with an impresario could ever be imagined. Her ability as a financier in this line of work is unquestioned, as is her devotion to the club.

Town Crier 13, no. 22 (June 1, 1918): 13

Mrs. M. A. Gottstein: There are those who, if asked to name the most important factor in Seattle's musical life, would without hesitation name the charming woman whose photograph appears above. And there are not many who would challenge their nomination. Mrs. Gottstein has directed the activities of the Ladies Musical Club for many years and there are few similar organizations that enjoy the standing that is the club's, a standing that is as enviable financially, thanks to the business genius of Mrs. Gottstein, as it is artistically. The Orthopedic Hospital is another of Mrs. Gottstein's interests. For seven years she has been a member of the board of trustees of that institution and for the last year has held a place on the executive board."

Town Crier 15, no. 7 (February 14, 1920): 3

Mrs. A. S. Kerry added to the joyousness of the occasion ["the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Ladies Musical Club which stood out as the most important event of Holy Week"] by coming up from Portland, and singing one of her own compositions which she has dedicated to Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, the indefatigable, capable and loyal secretary of the Club to whom must go the credit for a large share of the remarkable success of the Club during its thirty years of active life in this community.

Town Crier 16, no. 13 (March 26, 1921): 7

Many in the theatre lobby were looking for the woman who for thirty-seven years has been executive secretary of the Ladies' Musical Club, who during this period has met more artists, no doubt, than any one in Seattle, who has arranged the artist series for the club all these years. She is Mrs. M. A. Gottstein, Seattle's first woman impresario.

Mrs. Gottstein was working "behind the scenes" last evening, lending a hand here and there with the evening's arrangements, but she did not come into the main theatre as she just skipped down for a time because her husband was in an accident the first of the week and suffered a broken leg.

"Tell Mrs. Gottstein it was a glorious evening," was the message her many admirers and friends sent her concerning the opening concert.

Virginia Boren, "With Virginia Boren," *Seattle Daily Times*, October 22, 1936, 23.

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