

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: (MUSICAL) SALES PITCHES FROM THE
“SALESMAN OF AMERICANISM”:
THE COMIC OPERAS OF JOHN PHILIP SOUSA

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When Americans hear the name John Phillip Sousa, they likely equate him with brass band music and the Fourth of July holiday. Neither theatre scholars nor audiences generally link Sousa with musical theatre; however Sousa saw nine of his comic operas and one musical comedy produced between 1879 and 1913. This dissertation is primarily a work of musical theatre history; however, it argues that Sousa’s comic operas were constructed to play a role in how American identity was manufactured and disseminated at the turn of the twentieth-century by reflecting new definitions of the “American” from the stage and circulating these new definitions nationally and internationally. Sousa constructed himself into an American cultural icon, a “Salesman of Americanism,” during an era renegotiating national identity. His works, therefore, carry the weight of his iconic stature, casting their messages as an ‘American’ point of view. In addition to a comprehensive discussion of each operetta’s form and production history, I argue that Sousa’s comic operas can be cast as *cultural ambassadors* for social and political ideas; as musical theatre works attempting to re-define American identity in the eyes of audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. While situating Sousa’s comic operas within the framework of musical theatre history, I argue that these cultural ambassadors were powerful agents advocating political and social change, intervening in the major social debates of the period, specifically in dialogues on race, foreign policy, copyright, labor, and suffrage. Because of his status as a great ‘American,’ and as a musical theatre composer rivaling Victor Herbert and George M. Cohan, the use of Sousa’s operettas to sell ideology taught those watching that propaganda could be effectively integrated into musical theatre offerings. The musical theatre production - particularly on tour - served as one of the first forms of mass popular entertainment that could be used for political and social advantage. Sousa’s comic operas, therefore, were a small part of the redefinition of the American musical, pushing its form toward integration, and shifting it from diversion and spectacle to ideological tool.

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For my Grandparents:
John Robert Chessum, Jr.
and
Lucile Josephine Chessum

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INTRODUCTION

When Americans hear the name John Phillip Sousa (1854-1932), they most likely think of the Fourth of July holiday and little American flags waving to the sounds of a brass band - a fitting association for the self-proclaimed “Salesman of Americanism.”¹ Due to Sousa’s canonization as the “March King,” neither theatre scholars nor audiences generally link Sousa with musical theatre; however Sousa saw nine of his comic operas and one musical comedy produced between 1879 and 1913.² Sousa’s musical theatre works, especially his later comic operas, enjoyed tremendous popularity with audiences as well as a great deal of critical and commercial success.

This dissertation is primarily a work of musical theatre history; however, it argues that Sousa’s comic operas were constructed to play a role in how American identity was manufactured and disseminated between 1898 and 1907 by reflecting new definitions of the “American” from the stage and circulating these new definitions nationally and internationally. Through a series of case studies, I argue that Sousa’s comic operas can be cast as *cultural ambassadors* for social and political ideas, as musical theatre works attempting to re-define American identity in the eyes of audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.³ While situating Sousa’s comic operas within the framework of musical theatre history, I argue that these cultural ambassadors were powerful agents advocating political and social change, intervening in the major debates of the period. Sousa’s comic operas,

¹ Sousa’s title of the “Salesman of Americanism” will be discussed at length in Chapter one.

² Sousa designated his works “comic operas” rather than operettas (the exception being the “musical comedy” *Our Flirtations*); however there is no true distinction between these two terms and Sousa used the terms interchangeably in his writings. Therefore, I use the terms comic opera and operetta synonymously throughout this discussion.

³ I will elaborate on my construction of the cultural ambassador in Chapter one.

therefore, were a small part of the redefinition of the American musical, pushing its form toward integration, and shifting it from diversion and spectacle to ideological tool.⁴

Sousa was born on November 6, 1854 in Washington, D.C. to Antonio and Elisabeth Sousa. Sousa's father, Antonio, was born in Spain (though he was of Portuguese descent), his mother, Elisabeth, in Bavaria, and both immigrated to the United States in their youth. His parents met and married in Brooklyn, and subsequently Antonio enlisted as a U.S. Marine Band musician, which brought the couple to Washington. John Philip was their third child, and first son. As a child, Sousa studied music theory and violin; and after an unsuccessful attempt to run away with a circus band, Sousa's father apprenticed him to the Marine Band when he was thirteen years old. During this engagement, Sousa gained proficiency on several orchestral instruments and piano, but he excelled at the violin. He was discharged from the Marine Band when he was twenty (1874).⁵

Sousa began his theatrical career in the orchestra pits of various Washington, D.C. theatres between 1873 and 1876. He toured with impresarios Milton Nobles and Matt Morgan. He played violin under the great French operetta composer Jacques Offenbach, and sought to compose operas like Richard Wagner. Sousa's overtures and incidental

⁴ I use the phrase "helped to" because I do not mean to imply that Sousa's comic operas alone made the redefined musical theatre as an ideological tool, but one of a collection of many factors. Sousa certainly did not invent incorporating debates about American nationalism into the American musical – other composers of his era took up the theme to extol the doctrine of manifest destiny, and to tell the story of America's values and culture. For example, much has been said about George M. Cohan's patriotism and its expression from the musical stage. Cohan's *Little Johnny Jones* produced "Yankee Doodle Dandy," and he also composed "You're a Grand Old Flag" and "Over There." Florenz Ziegfeld Jr. and his "glorification of the American girl" in his Follies also contributed to specific notions of American identity. All of these examples can be conceived as cultural ambassadors in their own right. Yet while Sousa's works were not the only ones to sound patriotic themes, they were among the first and thus merit attention for the ways in which they shaped the nationalistic productions that followed.

⁵ Paul Bierely, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 8-9.

music became a fixture in the theatres of Philadelphia. By 1879, Sousa was orchestrating and touring Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. He began composing his first comic opera, *Katherine*, in 1878, and the musical comedy *Our Flirtations* in 1880.⁶ Musicians, critics and audiences believed that the young Sousa was destined for an exceptional career in the theatre. As fate would have it, Sousa left full time work in the theatre and returned to Washington, D.C. in 1880 to begin his tenure as the conductor of the United States Marine Band, a position which ultimately facilitated his transformation from musician to national icon. However, he did not abandon his theatrical pursuits.

Sousa composed a plethora of scores over the next twenty-five years, including *The Smugglers*, *Désirée*, *The Queen of Hearts*, *El Capitan*, *The Bride Elect*, *The Charlatan*, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, *The Free Lance*, and *The American Maid*. Additionally, he contributed to several musical revues, such as the Hippodrome's *Hip Hip Hooray*, *Cheer Up!*, and *Everything* (See Appendix A).⁷ During Sousa's lifetime, both critics and audiences considered these comic operas and revues significant additions to the Broadway theatrical season, flocking to his productions and positioning them as some of the first examples of 'American' operetta. The few musical theatre historians who do not overlook Sousa position him as one of the four most influential composers of American operetta between 1880 and 1920, standing along side Victor Herbert, Reginald

⁶ *Katherine* was Sousa's first completed comic opera score, several other attempts remained unfinished.

⁷ This is not a complete list of Sousa's comic opera work, but, rather, a listing of those compositions that were produced on the stage. See Appendix A for a complete listing of Sousa's operettas, theatre music, and other collaborations. Briefly, Sousa completed two other operettas, *The Wolf and The Irish Dragoon*, which were not produced; and began work on several other named works which were not completed, including *Florine*, *The Devil's Deputy*, *General Gamma* (Appendix F), *Lillian Lamoor*, and *The Victory*. Of these unfinished works, only fragments of *Florine*, *The Devil's Deputy*, and *The Victory* survive in known Sousa archival holdings.

De Koven, and Julian Edwards.⁸ However, Sousa's comic operas are virtually passed over in contemporary musical theatre scholarship, as well as in studies on Sousa and his musical compositions.

On the surface, this is not particularly surprising. Sousa's iconic status as the writer of American marches looms large over his theatrical works. His band works (and subsequent canonization as the "March King") had a more lasting impact on the American cultural landscape than did his musical theater. His marches outshone his musicals. Therefore, it is understandable that much of the scholarship on Sousa focuses on his band and band compositions. Studies that mention his comic operas incorporate them into their historical narratives, however the focus of these works preclude engaging with the operas individually. These studies usually lead to a detailed discussion of the popular marches associated with the work and away from the comic opera itself.⁹ At present there are only two studies exclusively devoted to Sousa's comic operas. Michael B. Jorgenson's 1994 dissertation "John Philip Sousa's Operetta *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide" looks at *El Capitan* from a purely performance perspective, serving as a guide for current productions seeking an authoritative edition of the work. Carol A. Hess's article, "John Phillip Sousa's *El Capitan*: Political

⁸ Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983). Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1981).

⁹ See such examples as Paul Bierley's *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, the Library of Congress's collection *Perspectives on John Philip Sousa*, Kenneth Berger's *The March King and His Band*, Bierley's *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, and even Sousa's autobiography *Marching Along* (edited by Bierley). Bierley makes brief mention of the comic operas in *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*. However, his book *The Works of John Philip Sousa* provides an entire chapter on Sousa's known comic operas, providing plot summaries, characters names, and very brief performance histories. This chapter (23 pages) constitutes the most comprehensive work on Sousa's comic operas, however it focuses on description rather than analysis. Further complicating matters, Bierley's work, while impressive and expansive, is handicapped by its lack of documentation. A notable exception is Patrick Warfield's 2003 dissertation "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893," which only addresses Sousa's musical theatre output until 1893.

Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” is a cultural study of *El Capitan*, arguing that the comic opera was re-written to support the Spanish-American War.¹⁰

Contemporary musical theatre histories display a similarly dismissive attitude toward Sousa’s theatre works. References to Sousa’s comic operas usually indicate only that he wrote comic operas, often citing his most successful work, *El Capitan*, as an example. Most, like Sheldon Patinkin’s excellent history, “*No Legs, No Jokes, No Chance*,” do not mention Sousa’s contributions to American operetta at all.¹¹ This, too, is not surprising. Sousa’s works are frequently classified with other American light operas of the period - caught in a liminal undertow between Gilbert and Sullivan and George M. Cohan, their forms and messages in constant turmoil, struggling to emerge with a distinctly American form of musical theatre, but not succeeding. American operetta is often treated as an addendum to the European operetta craze that gripped Broadway during the last half of the nineteenth century, like a footnote on the way to American musical comedy. The importation of European light opera created a unique demand for an American version of the form; however, American operetta composers like Sousa, Herbert, and De Koven, struggled to break free from the influence of their European counterparts.¹² What was seen as inherent ‘European-ness’ in American

¹⁰ Hess’s study only covers one of Sousa’s comic operas and only in one of its many versions.

¹¹ The most comprehensive discussions of Sousa’s comic operas in musical theater history come from Gerald Boardman’s *American Operetta*, and Richard Traubner’s *Operetta: A Theatrical History*. Andrew Lamb’s *150 Years of Popular Musical Theatre* also devotes time to Sousa and his works; however, his explanation reads like a synthesis of Traubner and Boardman.

¹² In discussions of American operetta, musical theatre historians usually focus on the works of Victor Herbert, and eschew engaging with the works of other operetta composers. As Herbert was the most prolific composer of American operetta, far out-stripping his counterparts, it is understandable that his works would be given priority in general histories. However, both Sousa and De Koven made contributions to the form that Herbert was quick to recognize, and they stand as Herbert’s only rivals. This

operetta became a cultural liability during a time that saw the rise of musical comedy and a new wave of American nationalism. These factors effectively pushed American operetta off the stage after 1900. Larry Stempel, in his recent musical theatre history, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theatre*, explains that American comic operas “seemed increasingly out of touch with the nationalist bent and populist temper of a younger generation whose maturing coincided with the emergence of the United States as a world power.”¹³ Therefore, American operetta and its composers, like Sousa, are often dismissed because historians, like Stempel, cultivate the view that these works were too much like their European predecessors, and “less clearly shaped by national influences.”¹⁴

These histories are wedded to a perhaps outmoded notion that the transitional period between imported European operetta and musical comedy was merely a milestone on the way towards something “uniquely American” in musical theatre, both in form and content. However, I argue that there is great value in the study of a hybrid form, like American operetta, that reveals a multitude of formulaic and national influences, for it illuminates a much more complex form that was actively engaged in negotiating ownership, integration, national boundaries, and spheres of cultural influence. Sousa’s operettas navigate a period in musical theatre history when they constantly pursue the creation of a new and unique American version of an already established form, while continually modifying their content to incorporate American national dialogues. It is a

alone should entice historians to engage with Sousa, De Koven and their works in order to bring a balanced perspective to histories of this form and era.

¹³ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theatre*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010), 127-128.

¹⁴ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theatre*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010), 119.

messy negotiation all around, yet it provides a window into an underlying societal question of at the turn of the century: “What does it mean to be American?”

While most of Sousa’s works may indeed be caught in the same liminal undertow as their contemporaries in terms of the development of the *form*, they clearly bridge the gap between English operetta and American musical comedy in their *content*. Sousa’s comic operas, as cultural ambassadors, intervene in many of the political and social anxieties of the period; contributing to the navigation of an era that Robert H. Wiebe calls “the search for order.”¹⁵ Their use as cultural ambassadors position these comic operas as some of the first operettas espousing social and political messages from the stage, paving the way for the use of musical theatre as an ideological tool.

The decades between Reconstruction and the end of the First World War brought about major transformations in the construction of American society. The move from an agrarian to an urban society, facilitated by burgeoning industrialization, high rates of immigration, the closing of the frontier and the depression of 1870, among other shifts, brought wide-spread fear about where a citizen would fit in this new society and how a government by the people would function within this new social and financial construct. Anxieties about expanding class divisions, increasing gaps among the wealthiest and poorest segments of the population, growing evidence of political and corporate corruption, worsening labor conditions, and disenfranchisement among women and racial and ethnic minorities reflected an unsettled and unsatisfied public. Wiebe characterizes the U.S. during this period as a nation that was no longer the land of opportunity, but a nation of unsatisfied dreams.

¹⁵ See Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Pub, 1967).

The U.S. government was ill-equipped to administer this new industrial society, which necessitated a more managerial engagement in markets and societal structures. Reform movements during this period, like Progressivism, the labor movement, the suffrage movement, and others, sought to persuade the government to protect and care for the people of industry and manage the shifts in moral and social values. The emergence of the U.S. as a world power made it necessary to manage its relationships with other countries as well, contributing to the development of foreign policy. The country further struggled to redefine itself with the rise of a new middle class, one that was fed by consumer culture, industry, and specialized education, and ultimately became an exceedingly influential part of American society.

The reforms and social movements of this period sought to recapture and redefine America as the land of opportunity. The search for order, therefore, was a constant renegotiating of national and state governments, international position, societal structure, financial systems and markets, and national identity to assuage the anxieties of millions of Americans across the nation. Sousa's nineteenth-century society was in constant flux, navigating these transformations, searching for options on the best way to deal with this new societal paradigm.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Sousa's early comic operas, like most light opera of the period, were also flexible documents. They were continually revised to keep up with current events and audience tastes. Evidence suggests that this was not an anomaly. In the minds of most creators and performers, there *was no* definitive form of any operetta during this period; they were *meant* to be constantly in flux, changing with audience taste, performer agenda, and national sentiment. Their flexibility and

adaptability made them useful and resonant in their historical moment; therefore, each change made to an operetta provides a window into the historical time period, giving insight into popular culture, social and political ideology as expressed from the stage, and the ideas and needs of performers and audiences. Each operetta tells its own story of American history and ideas every time a change is made on stage or in its pages, as the motivation behind each change illuminates the needs and ideas of the culture at large.

By tracing each operetta's production history, noting changes and additions made to the work both on stage and in print, a striking pattern begins to emerge.¹⁶ Sousa's earliest comic operas continually strive to be classified as 'American,' and they work to achieve this coveted designation by reworking their content to include the most recent national dialogues, both before and after the work is in production. However, with the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Sousa's 'American' comic operas turn a corner.¹⁷ By that point, Sousa, the man, had created himself into nationally-recognized cultural icon, a self-proclaimed embodiment of American identity. The operettas, beginning with *El Capitan*, use their connection to Sousa to begin to make 'sales pitches' to their audiences for new constructions of national identity to their audiences. They no longer rework their content to *reflect* national dialogues, they rework their content to *change* national dialogues. Changes made to the operettas over their production history reconstruct and exalt new, preferred versions of the 'good American' – emphasizing what

¹⁶ My methods of analysis rely heavily on archival sources, focusing on Sousa and his operas, as well as those agents tangentially associated with the production of those operas. Within these archival sources, I analyze personal correspondence, popular print culture, historical publications, scripts (usually in multiple versions), scores and images. The information gained from these archival sources is then paired with secondary sources on cultural history and historical ideological systems to situate them within a historical narrative.

¹⁷ More information on the Spanish-American war as the catalyst in the shift in Sousa's operettas from 'American' to selling the 'American' will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

he or she does, how he or she feels, what he or she thinks, what he or she buys, etc. – and they consciously manipulate the audience into accepting this new definition. Simply, they attempt to re-define portions of American identity from the stage.

These sales pitches were not the work of a single person or organization, rather Sousa's iconic name and his comic operas' status as 'American' gave anyone (or any organization) with access and an ideological position the ability to use his comic operas to sell their ideas. *El Capitan* was reworked to other the Spanish after the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in the Havana harbor. *The Charlatan* was recreated to convince both Britons and Americans that an alliance between their two countries was in everyone's best interest. *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was used to market consumer products. However, while Sousa accepted the flexibility of content as a convention of operetta, and at times participated in the revision process of his works to sell new ideas, he became increasingly uneasy with the fluidity of their content. By 1900, his operettas were becoming vehicles to which any ideology, or any marketing ploy, could be attached, and he sought to control the messages included in his works. Sousa began to control the messages by pursuing the Wagnerian concept of *gesamtkunstwerk* within his theatre works. *Gesamtkunstwerk* was defined by Wagner as the ideal, total work of art which integrates all art forms into a single unified whole.¹⁸ Sousa began composing what modern historians term "integrated" musicals, essentially creating a light opera form that was so well unified, its messages could no longer be in flux. Its message would be static, bringing only *Sousa's* ideas of 'American-ness' before audiences. Unfortunately, the tension between the use of his operettas as sales pitches for aspects of national identity

¹⁸ I will discuss Wagnerian *gesamtkunstwerk* in greater detail in Chapter six.

and his desire to compose a work of art that could not be in flux ultimately backfired and led to the end of his musical theatre career. Therefore, while Sousa's later works show great strides in the development of an American *gesamtkunstwerk*, the ultimate failure of these works, especially *The American Maid*, suggest that these innovations in the development of the form signaled a hiatus in the popularity of the American operetta form itself.

While I analyze each of Sousa's extant operettas briefly, I focus on those operettas which function as cultural ambassadors. Within each case study, every possible version of the comic opera is analyzed in order to illuminate the cultural moment, the specific people involved in its re-creation, and the specific political or social issues disseminated.¹⁹ I suggest that each comic opera, as a cultural ambassador, reflects a change in the many definitions of the "American," and changes the definition of "American" operetta.

Chapter One highlights the myth-making process that turned John Philip Sousa from a theatre musician into the "Salesman of Americanism." It traces the development of Sousa's construction as a human 'brand,' his establishment as a cultural icon, and his ability to 'sell' national identity to audiences across the country and the world. This chapter suggests how Americans conceptualized Sousa as a representative American, and discusses how his works can then be theorized as cultural ambassadors for aspects of national identity.

¹⁹ I have chosen to engage with the formal construction of Sousa's music on a superficial level for several reasons. Aside from time and factors of document length, the most pressing reason is that I do not believe I have the musicological training required to explain these forms well to a lay audience.

Chapter Two traces Sousa's development as a musical theatre composer, struggling to find his voice and style, and striving to create 'American' works of art. It highlights the growth of Sousa's mission to create music for every American, as well as music that educates. This chapter also focuses on the formal and content constructions which began to designate Sousa's comic operas as 'American,' culminating with the McCaull's Opera Comique Company's touring production of Sousa's 'American' comic opera, *Désirée*.

Chapter Three illustrates Sousa's operetta's coming of age at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. It is during this national crisis that Sousa's branding as the "Salesman of Americanism" is solidified and his comic opera *El Capitan* is used as a cultural ambassador to other the Spanish and promote support for the Spanish-American War to the American public.

Chapter Four studies the use of *The Charlatan* as a cultural ambassador by American diplomats. This chapter describes how the revisions to *The Charlatan* in 1899 transformed the work into a cultural ambassador for the McKinley Administration's foreign policy during the Boer War. The operetta defined the 'American' as a "friendly hand across the sea," selling this identity to London audiences who were sorely in need of friends at a time when most of the Western world reviled them. Ultimately, I argue that *The Charlatan* proved more helpful in persuading the general public of the value of a British-American alliance than complicated political rhetoric delivered via other mediums.

Chapter Five demonstrates that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was a turning point for Sousa as a musical theatre composer, and for the use of his comic operas as

cultural ambassadors. Using Sousa's name and iconic status, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* celebrated the virtues of American retail consumption, defining the 'American' as a consumer of products. This production was not used strictly as a cultural ambassador, but to market consumer goods. It became a 'sales pitch' that was far outside Sousa's established mission. By using his name to sell products, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* ultimately diluted his self-defined mission as a "Salesman of Americanism." Sousa responded by taking a hiatus from musical theatre composing.

Chapter Six highlights Sousa's response to *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, with the beginnings of his work towards *gesamtkunstwerk*. *The Free Lance* became synonymous with Sousa's fight for the 1909 Copyright Act, and stood as a cultural ambassador for American capitalism's protection of art, advocating for the right of compensation when an artistic work is consumed. While still paying homage to the European light opera form, *The Free Lance* had a far more integrated and unified book than any of its predecessors. Additionally, there were no reports of this comic opera being revised for a different sales-pitch. Sousa had succeeded in creating a cultural ambassador with static content.

Finally, the conclusion offers reasons for the failure of *The American Maid* as a cultural ambassador, even as it was incredibly successful in creating an American *gesamtkunstwerk*. *The American Maid*, because it was so different from its European predecessors, had a difficult time attracting a producer; therefore, it was produced over four years after its completion. Because Sousa produced a work with dated content, its sales-pitch no longer translated to audiences who were four years away from its original context. While the work was an interesting and ingeniously integrated operetta, it

ultimately failed to sell its national dialogues to its audience. Even though Sousa continued to write for the stage, producers were now unwilling to take a chance on a operetta which did not have the flexibility they thought was necessary for success in an age of changing national conceptions.

CHAPTER ONE

JOHN PHILIP SOUSA: “SALESMAN OF AMERICANISM”

John Philip Sousa, the “Pied Piper of Patriotism,” was an American cultural icon, a representative symbol of American life and culture both at home and around the world.¹

When Sousa came to town, people rolled out the proverbial red carpet:

Other activities ceased. Businesses declared a holiday, schools were dismissed, flags were flown, and people came for miles around to see the man called the “March King.” Sousa was often presented the key to the city, and it was “Sousa Day.” [...] When the train bearing the Sousa Band pulled into the railroad station, it was greeted by community bands, school bands, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, town officials, and all manner of dignitaries.²

Sousa was such an important part of American life that by 1898 the *Musical Courier* could declare: “It is Sousa in the band, Sousa in the orchestra, Sousa in the phonograph, Sousa in the hand organ, Sousa in the music box, Sousa everywhere. The American composer is the man, not of the hour or of the day, but of the time!”³

Sousa became an international celebrity in a time before radio, film or television (not to mention, automobiles). Despite these limitations in mass communication, he was, perhaps, the “most widely known musician in the world.”⁴ Few entertainers, indeed, few international political and national figures, appeared in front of more people. Over the

¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, March 7, 1932. As quoted in: Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 14. I acknowledge a great debt to Patrick Warfield’s article, “The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa” in forming my ideas for this chapter. Unlike Warfield, however, I frame Sousa’s celebrity through the use of marketing theories to emphasize Sousa’s primary occupation as “salesman.” My theoretical foundation for the cultural icon will be explained in greater detail later in this chapter.

² Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 10.

³ “The Era of Sousa,” *Musical Courier* 37 (July 4, 1898). As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, “The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 294.

⁴ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 6.

course of his lifetime, he was awarded two Honorary Doctorates, keys to numerous cities, and was named the honorary chief of three Native American tribes. His testified before Congress about military pay and copyright law. He logged more than a million miles as he toured the world, giving thousands of concerts with his band. He received honors and accolades from the governments of the United States, France, Belgium, and England. The press not only wrote about his accomplishments, music, and concerts, but about his hobbies and family. Reporters sought his ideas on music, sports, military engagements, and American national life, and Mr. Sousa was always happy to oblige them with his thoughts. However, one of the greatest factors in Sousa's celebrity-making was the fact that he put himself in the living rooms and community halls of America through sheet music sales of his marches, operettas, songs, as well as sales of his novels.⁵

After his death in 1932, Sousa was honored with "a two-cent stamp, a bridge over Washington's Anacostia River, a fountain in Philadelphia's Willow Grove, a Navy Bomber, a Liberty Ship, and a post of the American Legion."⁶ Fifty-five years after his death, the attachment to Sousa and his music remained so strong that, by act of Congress,

⁵ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 2 - 3. According to Warfield, "The honorary degrees came from The Pennsylvania Military College (27 February 1920) and Marquette University (16 November 1923). [...] The Native American tribes who honored him were the Star Blanket tribe of Saskatchewan (30 July 1925), the Ponca tribe (12 October 1928), and the Pawnee tribe (16 May 1931), both of Oklahoma. European tours were made in 1900 (originally planned for 1898) to Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland; in 1901 to England and France; in 1903 to England and Scotland; and in 1905 to England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Holland. The world tour lasted thirteen months, from December 1910 until December 1911, and included stops in North America, Africa, Australia, Great Britain, and the Canary Islands. A press release from the offices of the Sousa Band announced that the ensemble traveled its millionth mile on 8 October 1927. During the 1901 tour the band played command performances for King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra at Sandringham where Sousa became the first American awarded the Victorian Order. The 1903 tour included a command performance at Windsor." Also see Paul Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1998).

⁶ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 3.

“The Stars and Stripes Forever” was made the United States’ National March.⁷ Today, his marches are prominently featured in television commercials, at baseball games, at presidential and national events, and at Fourth of July celebrations all over the country. Sousa created a secure place for himself American collective national memory during his life, and eighty years after his death, the country is still familiar with John Philip Sousa’s music.

Sousa did not earn his place among the pantheon of American icons solely due to his musical compositions. His biographer, Paul E. Bierley, expresses:

His name was linked to the assertiveness and energy of the United States, in whose capital he was born, for he endeavored to write music which would make people stand erect and be proud to be called Americans. Even a casual perusal of the titles of his marches is enough to convince one that they could have been written only by one passionately devoted to his native land: “Hail to the Spirit of Liberty”... “The Invincible Eagle” ... “The Liberty Bell” ... “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” These and others were intended to inspire fighting men on to greater efforts and to instill in fellow citizens the loyalty and enthusiasm which he himself felt.⁸

While Bierley’s statement makes several generalizations, it illustrates an important point.

Sousa, even in his own time, was not simply a musician; he was a figure deemed worthy

⁷ Act of Congress dated December 11, 1987.

⁸ Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 13-14. While I acknowledge my indebtedness to Bierley, I echo the caveat in Patrick Warfield’s dissertation that reads: “Although both of Bierley’s books are impressive pieces of scholarship, they suffer from the serious defect of being under-documented, and the author rarely distinguishes between valuable primary sources and the less reliable warehouse of Sousa lore. The current study will often take issue with the conclusion reached by Bierley, but no mistake should be made about its reliance on his research. Without the careful and detailed studies of Sousa’s life and work, which Bierley had often published at his own expense, a study such as this would not have been possible.” Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 10. I would add that since the majority of Bierley’s interests lay with the Sousa Band and Sousa’s marches, much of his work on the comic operas is incomplete. Whenever possible, I have endeavored to track down Bierley’s original sources and explain any discrepancies I have found.

of respect from Kings and Presidents, audiences and musicians alike.⁹ This respect came because to many Sousa seemed to embody America itself. According to numerous reviews, each of Sousa's band concerts acted as "a dramatic performance, a stirring lesson in patriotism, and a popular musical event, all on the same program."¹⁰ For numerous audiences, Sousa was a cultural icon of 'Americanism.' A man who came to symbolize the model 'American.' A man Americans wanted to emulate.

Over the course of his career, Sousa came to be identified with those characteristics Americans prized as part of a distinctly 'American' identity: honesty, hard work, talent, and patriotism. Gradually, however, this ideal image became intertwined with more crudely capitalistic ventures. Sousa's name and reputation were used to hawk everything from bicycles to cigars. Ultimately, Sousa's image as an 'American,' became a carefully constructed "brand" used to sell tickets, sell music, and, at times, sell ideologies.

This chapter highlights the myth-making process that turned Sousa from a musician into the "Salesman of Americanism." Using theories of mass marketing and advertising, I trace the historical Sousa through his construction as a human brand in the public consciousness, and his advancement to the status of cultural icon. I showcase how Sousa and his creative products (his comic operas, his marches, etc.) were used to sell both products and ideology, and I demonstrate how Sousa's iconic status was tied to popular conceptions of American national identity. Sousa's symbolic status as a great

⁹ As this chapter will demonstrate, Sousa *constructed* himself as an American first, and a musician second.

¹⁰ "March King at Metropolitan," clipping labeled *Post Intelligencer* (Seattle, Wash.), October 1, 1927, HJ 72, p. 104. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 314.

‘American’ placed him in a unique position to influence identic conversations at the turn of the twentieth century, and he consciously sold his “brand” across the world.¹¹ Finally, I argue that Sousa’s cultural products (specifically, his comic operas) were used as cultural ambassadors of American national identity. These cultural ambassadors were used to favorably position chosen identic markers in the minds of audiences – to sell audiences a new version of a great ‘American.’

The Branding of John Philip Sousa

Sousa was described in his own day as the “March King,” the “Kipling of Music,” the “Berlioz of the Military Band,” and the “Pied Piper of Patriotism.” However, he styled himself as the “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter and Musician.”¹² Sousa was a salesman. His wares included his name, his world-class band, his music, and his patriotism, which were delivered to audiences around the world through entertainment.¹³ Like other celebrity performers of the time (Buffalo Bill Cody, P.T. Barnum, and Sarah Bernhardt, for example), Sousa constructed a persona and a method of delivery - a brand - that he could modify and manipulate to appeal to vastly different audiences in different parts of the country and the world.¹⁴ He presented a character who was patriotic,

¹¹ Obviously, popular conceptions of ‘Americanism’ were not static and changed from person to person, audience to audience, and region to region; however, Sousa was influential because he easily transformed his own dialogues to meet the popular concepts of the particular group of people he was addressing.

¹² Paul Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1998): 21. This was Sousa’s typical reply when asked about his occupation. It is not known exactly when he began using this phrase.

¹³ By all accounts, Sousa was a very good businessman, becoming a multi-millionaire during his lifetime. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 7.

¹⁴ Modern marketing and advertising theories of branding are dependent upon the existence of a mass market. Branding is an appropriate designation for Sousa’s marketing strategies because he began operating during the emergence of the modern mass market. While the mass market distribution of radio

masculine, staunchly Judeo-Christian, and self-made; and he delivered this construction to the nation on stage, in the press, and through his creative works.¹⁵ Sousa used the dominant social systems of the period, what Louis Althusser termed Ideological State Apparatuses, to create his brand and perpetuate his own capitalistic ventures.¹⁶

Marketing theory holds that a brand is formed when “brand markers” (like a “trademarked logo, unique packaging, unique design features”) are filled with customer experiences and expert evaluation, when those markers are used as visual props (such as in advertising), and when these visual manifestations, experiences and evaluations are circulated widely between and among consumers. In time, ideas about the product or person (as celebrities are widely accepted as human brands) “accumulate and fill the brand markers with meaning.”¹⁷ Sousa’s brand markers included physical characteristics

and film did not exist until very late in Sousa’s life, the mass market distribution through newspapers and magazines (helped by the rise of consumer culture) was in place during Sousa’s operation. Further, Sousa constant travel around the world allowed him to circulate his brand internationally in a way other brands could not during a time of print media.

¹⁵ Warfield casts Sousa as a dramatic persona. Patrick Warfield, “The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 291. Warfield says: “In examining this persona, I am borrowing from Philip Auslander’s argument that all musicians, from the relatively anonymous section violinist to the flamboyant rock guitarist are playing a part: “What musicians perform first and foremost is not music, but their own identities as musicians, their musical personae.” See Philip Auslander, “Musical Personae,” *The Drama Review* 50, no. 1 (spring 2006): 102. See also Philip Auslander, “Performance Analysis and Popular Music: A Manifesto,” *Contemporary Theatre Review* 14, no. 1 (2004): 1–13.”

¹⁶ See the essay “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation),” in Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001). A corollary to Althusser’s Ideological State Apparatuses, Antonio Gramsci’s explication of cultural hegemony is especially helpful in understanding the cultural mechanisms required to make a cultural icon. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

¹⁷ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 19. Celebrities are widely accepted as human brands. Matthew Thomson says: “Human brands may be viewed as one of several operationalizations of the broader concept of a brand. In marketing, the term “brand” is typically applied to firms, products, and services, and in general, marketers accept that brands may be described in terms of perceived quality, image, and so forth. Celebrities can also be considered brands because they can be professionally managed and because they have additional associations and features of a brand.” Matthew

such as the Sousa band's military uniforms, Sousa's own use of white kid gloves, and his "visual antics" on the podium.¹⁸ However, they also included "a ritualized event that included carefully scripted programming and a personalized, comforting interaction between Sousa and his audience."¹⁹ Sousa's compositional march form was a brand marker, as was his patriotism.²⁰ These markers *became* the Sousa brand as they were circulated to worldwide audiences at fifteen-thousand concerts, and then evaluated in the form of favorable publicity, as well as in concert and sheet music sales. This evaluation was then re-circulated by word of mouth, by concert programs and advertisements, by the thousands of articles written about Sousa and his concerts, and by more than a thousand members of the Sousa band over time.²¹

Thomson, "Human Brands: Investigating Antecedents to Consumers' Strong Attachments to Celebrities," *The Journal of Marketing* 70.3 (July 2006): 104-105.

¹⁸ Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 306. Warfield cites the following review to explain some of the visual appeal of Sousa as conductor: "Sousa was so intent on entertaining his audience that some reviews found the entire spectacle tiring:

I've just been Sousa-ed. . . . But, big as my admiration is for the Toot-toot-two Step King, I've always felt that his audiences over-estimated the value of his left hooks and uppercuts. Don't you think the piccolo would be just as tremulous without the fingers twiddling at him? Don't you reckon the big drum would butt in just as accurately in the dead centre without that jerk of an imaginary string? Doesn't it strike you that the cornet and the trombones and the triple-barrelled brass instruments would be just as ferocious without that frantic baton sawing off the atmosphere and flinging the pieces to the dogs? . . . I've got a suspicion that he might start the item and then sit down and read the newspaper comfortably, and his band would get along just as well as it does now.

But even this Australian reporter recognized Sousa's intent: "Yet, as a matter of business, I suppose he's right. The people pay just as much to see him and his energetic counters and right-crosses and double-hand punch, his hypnotic passes, cut-and-thrust-exercises, wood-chopping contests and flag-wagging gesticulations as they do to hear his band. So he gives them the goods they come for." Unlabeled clipping from Ballarat, Australia, July 7, 1911, HJ 34, p. 31.

¹⁹ Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 307, 306-311.

²⁰ For more information on the Sousa march, See Patrick Warfield, ed., *Six Marches by John Philip Sousa*, in *Music of the United States of America* (Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions), 2010.

²¹ It is important to note that Sousa could not have become a world-wide brand without the conditions of circulation. While Sousa's time enjoyed a robust press, the telegraph, as well as reasonably fast national and international transportation, without Sousa's *presence* in all of these places, branding

A brand does not begin and end with its brand markers, however; it develops as ‘authors’ generate stories about the brand. These authors usually include the producing organization, the culture industry, intermediaries (such as critics or promoters), and customers/audiences who all weigh in on the brand’s value and significance to consumers.

Brand stories have plots and characters, and they rely heavily on metaphor to communicate and to spur our imaginations. As these stories collide in everyday social life, conventions eventually form. Sometimes a single common story emerges as a consensus view. Most often, though, several different stories circulate widely in society. A brand emerges when these collective understandings become firmly established. [...] What makes a brand powerful is the collective nature of these perceptions; the stories have come conventional and so are continually reinforced because they are treated as truths in everyday interactions.²²

Therefore, the most powerful brands emerge as they are mythologized.

Storytelling and Mythmaking for the Sousa brand

While many stories are told about the “globetrotter and musician” aspects of Sousa’s brand, mythologies about Sousa as “Salesman of Americanism” are particularly relevant to this discussion. The fact that Sousa was born and raised in Washington, D.C., and that he was the conductor of the Marine Band became indispensable points in facilitating stories about his ‘Americanism.’²³ David Blakely, one of the most famous managers of the nineteenth century, enticed Sousa’s Marine superiors into allowing him

would not have been successful. Without his physical presence, consumers and others would not have been given the opportunity to connect the individual with the marketing. Therefore, the national and international branding of Sousa was dependent upon being seen. Sousa was an effective brand at this time in history because of his constant travel, because there was constant circulation of his brand.

²² Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 20.

²³ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 50. Also see Warfield, “Making the Band: John Philip Sousa, David Blakely, and the Creation of the Sousa Band.”

to tour with the Marine Band in 1891 and in 1892, and began the process of creating stories that would sell Sousa's emerging brand.²⁴ "Blakely molded Sousa into a distinctly American composer by stressing his connections to the capital city and noting that the Marine Band was the 'pride of the Navy Department,' and Sousa the country's 'Musician-in-Chief.'"²⁵ Sousa's publicity materials were covered with images of the White House, the Capitol Building, and himself, all adorned in red, white and blue.²⁶ The press elaborated on Blakely's marketing, proclaiming:

He is an American, born in Washington under the shadow of the capitol (*sic*) dome, and breathed the inspiration of his work from the center of the nation's history. He was brought up there, educated at a public school and is about as near one of us as anybody could be, with his name. John is a fine-looking, military-toned man, with good carriage and unaffected grace.²⁷

Under Blakely's tutelage, the Sousa myth began to form.

At the outset of Sousa's career, he and his promoters marketed him as a homegrown American musician. However, they also knew the value of multi-faceted marketing; in the late nineteenth century, this meant appealing to a large immigrant population as well. There were hundreds of stories invented to explain Sousa's foreign-sounding surname, and endear him to an assimilating immigrant population.

His press agent, George Frederick Hinton, went so far as to concoct a story claiming that Sousa was an English immigrant named Sam Ogden whose baggage

²⁴ For more information on Blakely's marketing techniques, see Chapter 7 of Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003).

²⁵ Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 296.

²⁶ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 435.

²⁷ Clipping labeled *Daily News* (Chicago, Ill.), March 22, 1892, Fowles Scrapbook, 53, Marine Band. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 296.

was marked for a trip to the United States with “S. O., U.S.A.” This story was varied for endless countries and immigrant groups such that the bandleader could appear local to audiences wherever he went. The trick became so widely reported that Sousa had to deny being foreign-born on several occasions, but called it “one of the best bits of advertising I have had in my long career.”²⁸

The stories told about Sousa as an immigrant endeavored to tie him to the experiences of first generation, second generation, as well as sixth generation patriots.

Sousa was part of the storytelling process as well, and he made certain his name and brand remained in the public eye. The sheer volume of Sousa-related press is staggering. “It seemed that Sousa never met a reporter he didn’t like, and he had a canny ability to manipulate the press.”²⁹ He gave interviews to newspapers and magazines, and fed journalists anecdotes about his views on American life, values, and music. He posed for photographs not only with his band or while conducting, but also in uniform, on horseback, on bicycle, or while trapshooting. However, Sousa’s stories differed from his promoter’s stories. While promoters marketed him as ‘American’ by virtue of his connection to Washington, D.C. and the Marine Band, Sousa’s stories constructed an idealized view of how he lived his ‘American’ life. His stories highlight the ‘American-ness’ of his patriotism, his performance of accepted social roles, his status as a self-made man, and his faith.

For example, in his early career, Sousa connected his patriotism to his military service, but as time passed, his statements were crafted with hints of nostalgia. For example, in 1915, Sousa gave the following quote to the *New York Review*:

²⁸ Patrick Warfield, “The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64.2 (Summer 2011): 296. Sousa, *Marching Along*, 307.

²⁹ Frank Byrne, “Patriotism and Marketing Built the Sousa Legend,” *Instrumentalist* 59.4 (November 2004): 30.

In a kind of dreamy way I used to think over old days at Washington when I was leader of the Marine Band ... when we played at all public official functions, and I could see the Stars and Stripes flying from the flagstaff in the grounds of the White House just as plainly as if I were back there again. Then I began to think of all the countries I had visited, of the foreign people I had met, of the vast difference between America and American people and other countries and other peoples, and that flag of our became glorified ... and to my imagination it seemed to be the biggest, grandest, flag in the world, and I could not get back under it quick enough.³⁰

Sousa's stories also cast him as an American who performed his accepted social roles.

As Patrick Warfield argues in his essay, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," part of Sousa's brand as a "Salesman of Americanism" was

founded in his construction of the American male as distinctly masculine and moral.³¹

Sousa made sure to connect himself with masculine activities. He allowed newspapers to photograph him playing the 'American' national pastime of baseball, boxing, and trap shooting.³² Further, he expressed his 'American-ness' as one rooted in Judeo-Christian morality. Sousa knew the value of a moral reputation, the importance of parading that reputation to the press, and making sure everyone around him maintained that same upright character. Warfield offers:

Sousa cultivated an almost virginal reputation, a reputation reinforced by his biographers. Paul Bierley reports that one of Sousa's later managers, William Schneider, "observed that Sousa gave the general impression of one trying diligently to be the most honorable man who ever walked on the face of the earth." We are told that Sousa virtually never swore, he rarely composed on

³⁰ "Sousa a National Inspiration!" *New York Review*, October 30, 1915. As quoted in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 88.

³¹ Much could also be said of Sousa's construction of the American female as feminine through his depictions of his wife and daughters in the press, however, as that is outside my present focus, I will leave this aspect to other scholars.

³² Sousa was part of a baseball team made up of members of the Gorman Church Choir Company while they were on tour with Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore*, and seems to have adopted the practice with his band. He, and other members of the Sousa band, would play against the various town teams at their concert locations.

Sundays, he wore white for concerts given on the Sabbath, he rarely smoked, and he was disgusted by drunkenness. Sousa even spoke out against music he found morally questionable, reporting that most jazz “made you want to bite your grandmother.” While Sousa may well have been a morally upstanding American citizen, much of his reputation was carefully cultivated. [...] Sousa freely used racial slurs in his own writing. While we may never know how frequently Sousa drank or smoked, he did have cigars made especially for him, and he tells at least one story of a night unwisely spent with a bottle of Kentucky whiskey. Yet, in general, Sousa was careful to present a polished image to his public. Like many artists, he knew that at the end of the nineteenth century a morally pure entertainer could find a wider audience than an ethically questionable one. There are, of course, hints of Jenny Lind and others who were presented to the public as pious, and ethical figures in this untarnished image of John Philip Sousa.³³

As Warfield demonstrates, Sousa’s stories were careful constructions. Because Sousa chose to focus on stories about his ‘American-ness’ rather than his music (or the American characteristics of his music), his brand came to inhabit a place usually reserved for Presidents, war heroes, and the like. He occupied a place in the public imagination that other American composers like Stephen Foster, Victor Herbert, Charles Ives, and Aaron Copland never achieved. Sousa had become a recognizable brand in America by 1893, and a celebrity abroad by 1897.³⁴ These stories eventually became well-circulated myths that catapulted Sousa from brand to cultural icon.

From (Sousa: the Brand) to (Sousa: the Cultural Icon)

³³ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 129. It is almost as if the Blakely affair makes Sousa absolutely certain that he must sell ideology, reputation, etc. more than his music. His legal battle with Blakely’s widow hurt him financially and in terms of bad press. He had to sell himself more than his music – sell his mythical image of the moral, masculine American – because his music would not sell to people who thought he was not properly caring for a widow. It was his image in the eyes of Americans that made him the most money. For a complete discussion of the Blakely affair, see Chapter 7 and 8 in Warfield’s dissertation.

³⁴ From the *Denver Daily News*: “Sousa is so deeply entrenched in the affections of music lovers from one end of this country to the other, that his recognition abroad as the representative composer of America, is a personal compliment to every Sousa admirer in the land.” “Sousa Last Night,” February 13, 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2, n.p.

In his book, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding*, Douglas Holt defines a cultural icon as: “a person or thing regarded as a representative symbol, especially of a culture or movement; a person or an institution considered worthy of admiration or respect.”³⁵ Holt develops a model of cultural branding, arguing that 1. Iconic brands address acute contradictions in society (they “address the collective anxieties and desires of a nation”); 2. Identity myths reside in the brand, which consumers experience and share via ritual action; 3. Identity myths are set in populist worlds (a “place separated not only from everyday life but also from the realms of commerce and elite control”); 4. Iconic brands perform as activists, leading culture (“encouraging people to think differently about themselves”); 5. Iconic brands rely on breakthrough performances, rather than consistent communications; and 6. Iconic brands enjoy a cultural halo effect.³⁶ Perhaps most importantly for my study, he argues that some brands separate themselves from other brands and become cultural icons when they “come to represent a particular kind of story – an identity myth – that their consumers use to address identity desire and anxieties.” Consumers are drawn to brands whose identity myths help them construct their own identities; flocking to “brands that embody the ideals they admire, brands that help them express who they want to be.”³⁷

³⁵ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 12. Holt maintains that he is quoting this definition from the Oxford English Dictionary; however, I am unable to find the compound “cultural icon” in the dictionary’s records. I suspect this represents a synthesis of several definitions.

³⁶ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 22-27.

³⁷ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 19.

The Sousa brand began meeting Holt's criteria for cultural iconic brand status, embodying the identity myth of a 'Salesman of Americanism,' as early as 1897. Sousa's move from brand to cultural icon is evident in the press, as reporters recapitulated his own stories about the characteristics of an 'American.' The *St. John Nebraska Globe* illustrates:

Sousa's musical conquests are a credit to the American spirit of pluck and progressiveness. He began life unknown. He owes his success to his own talent and his merit. He numbers more admirers than many before the public, and makes more money out of his writing than any composer in the world. If music lovers did not attend to Sousa's or buy his compositions he would not be earning a fortune every year. The fact that they do shows that they admire this magnetic man and love the offspring of his original musical ideas. It throbs with the spirit of American life. It echoes the memories of American struggles. It thrills the martial ear and sets the feet of a million tapping to the time of its rhythm.³⁸

Notice the article's mention of American spirit and life, its lauding of Sousa's self-made man status, and its admiration for Sousa's magnetic personality as a performer. Sousa had effectively created a myth that synthesized the most "powerful archetypes of his day – artist and general, bureaucrat and athlete, pedagogue and matinee idol."³⁹ These kinds

³⁸ "Sousa's two concerts," *St. John Nebraska Globe*, June 3, 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2, p 33a. Consider also, the following: "Quite seldom does it fall to the lot of any musician, no matter how gifted, to impress his individuality upon his time and to command success and popularity during his lifetime through the sheer force of his genius. The rewards for which all men strive when bestowed upon the composer, are usually so belated as to be merely the inheritance of his posterity, and for such to win recognition in the zenith of his powers argues abilities uncommon in their originality and force. The man who can rouse the entire nation to patriotic ardor by the stirring rhythm of his music or set the feet of every votary of Terpsichore twinkling in unison to his measures, whose music inspires the courage of our soldiery in this time of war, and whose delicate melodies delight the ears of thousands of lovers of light opera; whose fame knows no geographical limits and whose name is a household word wherever music is played, must possess to a remarkable degree commanding qualities of mind and that purely personal force we call magnetism for want of a better term. Such a man assuredly is John Philip Sousa, for in the entire broad domain of music where is there to be found such another dominating personality? The products of our own soil and to the manner born, Sousa voices, as no other native composer has ever done, the strength, buoyancy and dash of the American spirit." "The Era of Sousa," *The Musical Courier* 27 (4 July 1898): np. As quoted in Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 553.

of press reports illustrate how Sousa's embodiment of the 'American' identity myth had begun to be viewed by audiences: Sousa was an 'American' endowed with characteristics that many in the nation not only held dear, but were striving for themselves.⁴⁰

While Sousa may have already been functioning as a cultural icon in certain circles by 1897, the catalytic era of the Spanish American War (1898) cemented his iconic status. The following poem was printed in the *Philadelphia Leader* just after the Spanish-American War.

O Sousa, gallant Sousa
With the marches that you wrote
Our warriors equipped themselves
And came and saw and smote.
No matter whom they had to fight,
In any foreign c'ime.
To the music of your two-steps
They could conquer ev'ry time.

When Dewey in Manila bay
His awful sweep began,
The band upon his flagship

³⁹ Frank Byrne, "Patriotism and Marketing Built the Sousa Legend," *Instrumentalist* 59.4 (November 2004): 68.

⁴⁰ Recent self-determination research argues that because Sousa was a human brand, audiences felt an even greater attachment to him and the meanings associated with his brand than any other product or rhetoric. Matthew Thomson argues that human brands are even more effective salesmen than product brands in many ways because of feelings of attachment consumers feel for the human brand, a sort of "intimacy at a distance." Thomson says, "Attachments are a type of strong relationship that people usually first experience as children with their parents; later in life, these attachments routinely develop with other "targets," such as human brands (Leets, De Becker, and Giles 1995). A person immersed in such an emotionally significant relationship normally perceives the relationship partner as differentiated and irreplaceable (i.e. target specific; see Hazan and Shaver 1994). When these types of relationships are experienced in reference to human brands, they are typically referred to as "secondary object" attachments and have been described as "intimacy at a distance" (Horton and Wohl 1956)."

Thomson further argues that consumers/audiences can be so attached to a human brand that they become an irreplaceable symbol of desire and constitute a bigger "payout when human brand is used to market a product." The stronger the attachment to the human brand, the more "durable relationship" marketers have with consumers. Thomson hypothesizes that the more the human brand is perceived by consumers to be fulfilling their needs of autonomy, relatedness and competence, the more likely the consumer will buy into what that human brand is selling. Thomson argues that the more "direct and routine interaction between human brands and consumers," the more products can be moved. Matthew Thomson, "Human Brands: Investigating Antecedents to Consumers' Strong Attachments to Celebrities," *The Journal of Marketing* 70.3 (July 2006): 104-105.

Started up “El Capitan.”
And thus inspired, our sailor lads
Got at and let ‘er go
Till not a Spanish ship remained
To tell the tale of woe.

At Santiago, when Toral
His arms was laying down,
“The Stars and Stripes Forever”
Stirred the echoes of the town
And when our conq’ring flag was raised,
Drum, trumpet and bassoon
Topped off the ceremony
With a rattling Sousa tune.

In forests, where guerillas lurked,
In trenches damp and drear,
The grim and seasoned regular
And homesick volunteer
Alike forgot their troubles
And no more were feeling glum
When somebody bethought himself
A Sousa march to hum.

“A Hot Time” figured also:
There are words to that, you know;
But though the tune is warm, it lacks
The Sousa swing and go.
To stir our lusty lads ashore
And gallant tars afloat,
There’s nothing half so jolly as
The things that Sousa wrote.

Then here’s to Hero Sousa,
To that king of fighting men
Who routs the foe completely
With his paper and his pen.
Bow down, ye foreigners, bow down;
We do not care a cuss
For the whole confounded universe
While Sousa writes for us.⁴¹

⁴¹ “All Sorts,” *Pittsburgh Leader*, September 8, 1898 “all Sorts” “Sousa Last Night,” February 13, 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 7, p 1.

Warriors steeling themselves with Sousa's marches; "El Capitan" inspiring the Navy seamen to rout the enemy; and Sousa as the King of the American fighting men – these ideas represent the mythology that had firmly entrenched itself around Sousa.

Modeling American National Identity

As the United States moved past Reconstruction and entered Wiebe's era of the "search for order," the nation wrestled with the questions of *who* was an 'American,' and *what* was 'America.'⁴² Through his status as a cultural icon, a "Salesman of Americanism," Sousa performed an identity myth that was crucial in his historical moment.⁴³ He performed this myth so well that newspapers said of him, "Sousa is the pulse of the nation; and in case of war he would prove of more inspiration and power to our armies than ten colonels with ten braw [sic] regiments behind them."⁴⁴ However, there has never been a consensus as to what defined a unified national pulse (or a national identity).⁴⁵ In his book *American Crucible*, Gary Gerstle argues that American national

⁴² See Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Pub, 1967).

⁴³ Holt says that when a brand reaches cultural iconic status, it performs "the particular myth society especially needs at a given historical moment, and performs it charismatically." Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 19.

⁴⁴ "Music: The Sousa March," *The Criterion*, Undated (in Press Book dated Jan 29, 1897-May 9, 1898), University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2, p 7.

⁴⁵ William Earl Weeks, "American Nationalism, American Imperialism: An Interpretation of United States Political Economy, 1789-1861," (*Journal of the Early Republic*, 14 no.4 (Winter, 1994), 485. The volume of scholarship on national identity (and the sub-field of American national identity) is daunting, even more daunting is the fact that none of this scholarship can clearly define national identity or American national identity. American identity is what William Earl Weeks calls a "semantic and conceptual minefield," full of messy, multi-faceted theories which are created to serve specific time periods, regions, events, etc., making a cohesive definition of national identity impossible. In my reading on nationalism and American national identity, I have found a volume of theories of national identity post-Cold War or post-Korean War, but little before World War I. Because I focus on discussions of

identity embraces the tension and collision between conceptions of the American along both racial and civic lines.⁴⁶ Sousa's embodiment of the 'American' exemplifies this tension during the late nineteenth-century.⁴⁷

I turn to Benedict Anderson's and Liah Greenfeld's theories about the construction of national identity in modern societies. Americans created what Anderson terms "imagined communities" to begin building their own conceptions of national identity. Expanding on Anderson, Greenfeld offers that the 'national identity' of a society is arranged around common ideas of civic and racial formation. She indicates that national identity in a modern society:

locates the source of individual identity within a "people," which is seen as the bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity. The "people" is the mass of a population whose boundaries and nature are defined in various ways, but which is usually perceived as larger than any concrete community and always as fundamentally homogeneous, and only superficially divided by the lines of status, class, locality, and in some cases even ethnicity. [Its] specificity is conceptual. The only foundation of nationalism as such, the only condition, that is, without which no nationalism is possible, is *an idea*; nationalism is a particular perspective or a style of thought (emphasis mine).⁴⁸

nationalism at a time before pervading globalization, I chose to only focus my readings on those authors conceptualizing identity before 1920.

⁴⁶ Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001): 3-11.

⁴⁷ Sousa's brand's construction is often designed to include as many paying audience members as possible; therefore, his constructions of the 'American' can often be misconstrued as focusing solely on civic nationalism. Sousa, however, as the "Kipling of Music" does indeed contribute to the racial dialogues of national identity as well. It is clear from Sousa's autobiography that he perceived his own national identity along racial lines as well as civic; however, seeks to include as many Americans as possible in his public dialogues. For example, while touring with *Trooping of the Colors*, a promoter wrote to him about trouble in the local choir engaged to sing for the band. Several members were refusing to sing because an African-American woman was included. Sousa wrote to his promoter, referring to the woman as a "colored," and instructed him on how to appease the choir members while still allowing the African-American woman to sing in the patriotic spectacle. John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along*, (Westerville, OH: Integrity Press, 1994): 168.

⁴⁸ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1992): 3. I have found other authors that use Greenfeld as the second step (after Anderson) in creating their theories of national identity.

Using this frame, national identity in Sousa's America (conceived purely in civic terms) was an *invention* that served the common purpose of community (or connection) between broadly construed 'Americans.'⁴⁹ Greenfeld argues that identity formation is continually modified based on the needs of the community (or by those seeking to re-configure it for their own purposes). This act of creation is achieved by the institution of "organizing principles," characteristics of commonality that, when identified by the community as a shared idea, brings a sense of unity between a disparate groups of people.⁵⁰

Organizing principles create a sense of shared experience, unity or connection within a group. For example: I am a resident of this state; I am member of this church; I am a student at this university; I am a member of this political party; I believe in the "white man's burden;" I believe in a higher power. Each of these statements provides an object or principle around which people can gather. While this idea may seem simple, the creation of national identity is rarely a question of a single organizing principle. It is a messy process with many organizing principles in constant flux – the constant shedding of old organizing principles, the creation of new organizing principles, and, even, the re-imagining of the political formations themselves.

Holt, with his cultural branding theory, argues that it is plausible for one cultural icon to address multi-faceted identity desires and anxieties with a single (albeit multi-faceted) identity myth because the "desires and anxieties linked to identity are widely shared across a large fraction of a nation's citizens. These similarities result because

⁴⁹ Greenfeld's "invention" can also be an "imagined political community" as Benedict Anderson would describe it. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 2006): 6.

⁵⁰ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1992): 7.

people construct their identities in response to the same historical changes that influence the entire nation.” Holt argues that the identity myths and organizing principles of cultural icons “become consensus expressions of particular values held dear by some members of society.”⁵¹ What made Sousa’s embodiment of a multi-faceted identity myth (or in Greenfeld’s terms, his embodiment of several organizing principles of national identity) such a powerful contributor to dialogues on the negotiation of national identity was the fact that it was specifically designed to include as many people as possible (both civically and racially). By Holt’s theories, this projected onto the myth the perception of consensus. Therefore, with *perceived* consensus, Sousa’s identity myth had the ability to sway popular thought, and could, therefore, attempt to manipulate national identity by re-constituting its set of organizing principles.⁵² This gave Sousa power to modify his performance to reflect a change in the organizing principles, and allowed him to contribute to the conversation on American national identity at the turn of the century.

Using Sousa’s Status as a Cultural Icon to Sell

During the catalytic era of the Spanish American War, Sousa’s brand began to function as a true cultural icon. His status as a cultural icon was now being used to sell more than just himself, his band, and his music.⁵³ There was a Sousa gun, Sousa oysters, and Sousa cigars! Even Sousa used his own name to sell products for others. In one

⁵¹ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 20, 22.

⁵² In these statements, I am applying Holt’s theoretical framework to the conditions surrounding Sousa.

⁵³ The following discussions were helpful in formulating my ideas about how culture is marketed and sold: William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993). Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*, (London: Verso 1996). Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Steven Brown and Ulrik Volgsten, eds., *Music and Manipulation: On the Social uses and Social Control of Music*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).

town he connected himself, his compositions, and his ‘American-ness’ with bicycles, saying that “Yes, I may say ‘Stars and Stripes’ was largely composed while riding, and my new opera ‘Bride Elect’ was identified with exercise with the wheel.” He adds for good measure: “I think the bicycle will make us a better nation.”⁵⁴ What makes this anecdote so interesting is that the “Stars and Stripes Forever” March was not composed on a bicycle, it was actually composed aboard ship between London and New York; here, Sousa invented a new story to aid in the selling of bicycles.⁵⁵ Similarly, present day marketing continues to use Sousa’s branding as “Salesman of Americanism” to sell products. For example, automobile commercials use “The Stars and Stripes Forever” as background music for sales of American cars. However, perhaps one of the most interesting uses of Sousa as salesman comes from another piece of musical theatre.

Meredith Wilson, composer and librettist of *The Music Man*, was a member of the Sousa Band from 1921 to 1924. He had first-hand experience watching the great salesman at work. The title character of *The Music Man*, traveling salesman Harold Hill, who is described as “a bang beat, bell ringing, big haul, great go, neck or nothin, rip roarin, every time a bull's eye salesman,” invokes the name John Philip Sousa to give himself credibility.⁵⁶ To sell the creation of the “River City Boy’s Band” to the parents of this small Iowa town (the same parents he plans to fleece), Hill describes the feeling of

⁵⁴ “Boardman’s Latest Cycling Gossip,” No paper, No date, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2, p 83.

⁵⁵ When I examined this particular newspaper clipping from Sousa’s biographer Paul Bierley’s collection, Bierley note in the margin was: “Misquote?” I do not believe it is – Sousa is using his brand to sell other products, he is a part of this process – because for someone who was so voracious about protecting his reputation, I have never found a retraction for any other these examples.

⁵⁶ Meredith Wilson, “Rock Island,” *The Music Man, Libretto*, (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1958).

seeing their sons marching down their main street in a brass band: “And you’ll feel something akin to the electric thrill I once enjoyed, when Gilmore, Liberati, Pat Conway, the Great Creator, W.C. Handy, [dramatic pause] and [shouting] JOHN PHILIP SOUSA [dramatic pause], all came to town on the very same historic day.”⁵⁷ This cultural product reflects not only Sousa’s place in society, but also the use of his name and his iconic status to sell consumer goods.

What is of more significance to this study, however, is not the products that the Sousa brand sold, but the *ideology*. Holt argues, “people identify strongly with cultural icons and often rely on these symbols in their everyday lives. Icons serve as society’s foundational compass points – anchors of meaning continually referenced in entertainment, journalism, politics and advertising.”⁵⁸ As such, Sousa, his memory, and his music stand proxy, as anchors of meaning, for conceptions of an ‘American.’ His iconic status was used for more than just entertainment and advertisement; it was used to sell social and political ideology. Specifically, Sousa’s iconic status as ‘American’ sold new conceptions of national identity through the propagation of new organizing principles (or characteristics). For example, in interviews he offered that the ‘American’ musician did not need government funding, or that the ‘American’ was fond of outdoor exercise.

Sousa’s iconic status was just as effective in selling new organizing principles from the stage (both the literal stage and the figurative stage of the broader public

⁵⁷ Meredith Wilson, “Seventy-Six Trombones,” *The Music Man, Libretto*, (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1958).

⁵⁸ Douglas B. Holt, *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (digital edition), (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business School Press, 2004): 17.

discourse) as it was from his interviews. For example, Sousa toured the patriotic pageant “The Trooping of the Colors” in order to rally popular support for the Spanish-American War, he also enlisted in the Navy (in his sixties) at the onset of World War I.⁵⁹ Each example attempted to define (or re-define) the ideal American in order to serve what *Sousa thought* was in the best interest of the country.⁶⁰

However, Sousa did not hold a monopoly on his iconic status, and he was not always in sole control of its use. Sousa’s status as a cultural icon was also powerful because of its ability to be transferred away from Sousa’s control. His brand was used to offer up the ideological ideas of others.

Consider the following example: Sousa penned lyrics to his famous march “The Stars and Stripes Forever” for use in the touring pageant *The Trooping of the Colors* (itself, a sales pitch for new versions of national identity) in 1898. They read:

Let martial note in triumph float
And liberty extend its mighty hand
A flag appears 'mid thunderous cheers,
The banner of the Western land.
The emblem of the brave and true
Its folds protect no tyrant crew;
The red and white and starry blue
Is freedom's shield and hope.

Other nations may deem their flags the best
And cheer them with fervid elation
But the flag of the North and South and West

⁵⁹ Pictures of Sousa in his Navy uniform were printed across the country. Sousa also enlisted in the Army at the outset of the Spanish-American War, but was too ill to fulfill his service. An argument could be made for Sousa’s support for Presidential nominee James G. Blaine. He wrote Blaine’s campaign song “We will follow where the white plume waves,” which was taken from Ingersoll’s nominating speech, which described Blaine as a “plumed knight.” However, this was very early in Sousa’s branding process, and without cultural iconic status, I cannot argue that it created a following or attachment. Besides, Blaine did not win the presidency.

⁶⁰ I can find no evidence that these conceptions of identity came from anywhere but the mind of Sousa.

Is the flag of flags, the flag of Freedom's nation.

Hurrah for the flag of the free!
May it wave as our standard forever,
The gem of the land and the sea,
The banner of the right.
Let despots remember the day
When our fathers with mighty endeavor
Proclaimed as they marched to the fray
That by their might and by their right
It waves forever.

Let eagle shriek from lofty peak
The never-ending watchword of our land;
Let summer breeze waft through the trees
The echo of the chorus grand.
Sing out for liberty and light,
Sing out for freedom and the right.
Sing out for Union and its might, O patriotic sons.

Other nations may deem their flags the best
And cheer them with fervid elation,
But the flag of the North and South and West
Is the flag of flags, the flag of Freedom's nation.

Hurrah for the flag of the free.
May it wave as our standard forever
The gem of the land and the sea,
The banner of the right.
Let despots remember the day
When our fathers with mighty endeavor
Proclaimed as they marched to the fray,
That by their might and by their right
It waves forever.⁶¹

I learned these lyrics in elementary school, along with the lyrics to “The Star Spangled Banner” and “God Bless America;” however, even for those Americans who were not indoctrinated with Sousa’s lyrics, the march’s meaning (especially given its title: “The Stars and Stripes *Forever*”) is readily understood. Sheldon Harnick, the lyricist of “Fiddler on the Roof,” knew that many audiences would make this association when he

⁶¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 89.

re-wrote the lyrics to the march for their inclusion in Norman Lear's television special "I Love Liberty" in 1982.⁶² The show was produced in association with People for the American Way, a group founded by Lear and committed to protecting American citizens against infringement on their constitutional rights.⁶³ Harnick's new lyrics speak about guaranteeing the rights of citizens who hold different political, social, or moral viewpoints:

In a town today, not far away,
A shabby little man is marching proudly
Round about and quite without
The music of a marching band.
No drum provides the rhythm for his left---
(not a piccolo)
---Right---
(not a clarinet)
Not a single Sousaphone in sight

⁶² There is some speculation that Harnick was actually commissioned to write new words to Sousa's march during the 1950s, but they proved to be too controversial for the McCarthy era. I have, as of yet, been unsuccessful in determining who commissioned these lyrics.

⁶³ People for the American Way was founded in 1981. Its founding mission statement is different than its mission statement, and reflects the political climate of the early 1980s. It reads: "In times of hardship, in times of crises, societies throughout history have experienced wrenching dislocations in their fundamental values and beliefs. We are alarmed that some of the current voices of stridency and division may replace those of reason and unity. If these voices continue unchallenged, the results will be predictable: a rise in "demonology" and hostility, a breakdown in community and social spirit, a deterioration of free and open dialogue, and the temptation to grasp at simplistic solutions for complex problems. People For the American Way was established to address these matters. Our purpose is to meet the challenges of discord and fragmentation with an affirmation of "the American Way." By this, we mean pluralism, individuality, freedom of thought, expression and religion, a sense of community, and tolerance and compassion for others. People For the American Way will reach out to all Americans and affirm that in our society, the individual still matters; that there is reason to believe in the future - not to despair of it - and that we must strengthen the common cords that connect us as humans and citizens. The long-term agenda of People For the American Way is broad. It includes reducing social tension and polarizations, encouraging community participation, fostering understanding among different segments of our society, and increasing the level and quality of public dialogue. As an educational institution, we shall communicate with the American people through printed materials, radio, television, public lectures and discussions. We will gather information, analyze it, and distribute our findings to the public in a manner that provides for full and fair exposition on the issues. Our highest purpose is to nurture a national climate that encourages and enhances the human spirit rather than one which divides people into hostile camps. By educating the American people and raising their level of understanding about the basic tenets by which our society is sustained, People For the American Way will fulfill its mission." People for the American Way Board of Directors, "Founding Mission Statement for the American Way," People for the American Way Website, <http://www.pfaw.org/about-us/founding-mission> (accessed February 2, 2012).

Yet he marches on.

But as he goes around he shows
A shabby little home-made sign that tells me
Here's a man who favors
An unpalatable point of view.
It seems to me he's absolutely WRONG!
(his opinion is)
WRONG!
(my opinion is)
He and I could never get along
In a million years.

BUT the man with the sign's a friend of mine
All alone in his proud endeavor
And as long as I fight for this man's right
That's the glory of the stars and stripes forever.

Yes, the man with the sign's a friend of mine
All alone in his proud endeavor.
For the sign says to me, "This man is free!"
That's the story of the stars and stripes forever.

My flag is a full-throated choir
And it sings with the voice of a nation.
When each in a voice can be heard
Then the music is strong and clear.
My flag is a full-throated choir
And each voice adds a vital variation.
And this is the sound I revere:
The stirring music of the stars and stripes forever.

Time and time again, the voices clash!
I hear the independent voices)
Time and time again, the cymbals crash!
and time again, my heart rejoices)
When I hear the contrapuntal singing
Then I hear the sound of freedom ringing
When I hear the music swell
Then I can tell
That all is well
Because I know:

My flag is a full-throated choir
And it sings with the voice of a nation.
When each separate song can be heard

Then the music is strong and clear.
My flag is a full-throated choir
And each voice adds a vital variation.
And this is the sound I revere:
The stirring music of the stars and stripes forever.⁶⁴

Harnick lyrics are interesting because they use Sousa's tune, his iconic status, and his association with Sousa as an 'American' to remind the audience that it is an 'American' value, to respect the right of other viewpoints to be heard in our democratic society, that the "voice of the nation" is really many voices with differing perspectives. Harnick's lyrics define the 'American' as one who knows his flag stands for freedom, but also one that will fight for the freedoms of other citizens with different viewpoints. Harnick's powerful sales pitch for freedom of speech is made more poignant because it is associated with John Philip Sousa and "The Stars and Stripes Forever." While the organizing principles propagated by Harnick push back against Sousa's personal ideology, Sousa's status is still effectively used to sell Harnick's message.

Just as Harnick used the association with Sousa to propagate the ideology of the People for the American Way, other individuals and organizations during Sousa's time also capitalized on Sousa's status in order to sway ideology. Sousa's comic operas stand as excellent examples, because the comic operas toured as 'Sousa' productions but were not always under Sousa's control (because he was usually touring with his band). For example, *El Capitan*, Sousa's most popular comic opera, was in production during the time spanning the Sousa's coming of age as a cultural icon. It was, however, re-produced and re-imagined by the DeWolf Hopper Opera Company in 1898 during the Spanish-American War and received audience acclaim on Broadway as an outlet for anti-Spanish

⁶⁴ Sheldon Harnick, Re-written lyrics for "The Stars and Stripes Forever," Rodgers and Hammerstein Theatre Library.

sentiment and American patriotism. Because of its association with Sousa, *El Capitan* was reconstructed, seeking to sway public opinion in support of war.⁶⁵

Sousa's Comic Operas as Cultural Ambassadors

Sousa's comic operas provide an illuminating lens by which to view the changing conceptions of national identity at the turn of the twentieth century. In his book, *Theatre, Society and the Nation*, Steve Wilmer argues that:

theatre has offered a particularly effective means of conveying notions of what is national and what is alien [...] because plays purporting to express national values can be performed in the actual presence of the community (in a public theatre), they can serve not only to make claims for a national identity, but they can also gain immediate communal support or rejection for that assertion.⁶⁶

Wilmer believes that theater performances serve as a public forum in which the audience “assesses the validity of representations of national identity,” or, to use Greenfeld's terminology, assesses the validity of the organizing principle. Laurence Senelick extends the argument further. He says:

Most national theatres that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did so in reaction to a dominant culture imposed from without; they were a means of protest as well as of preserving what were considered to be salient features of the oppressed group. Theatre was a catalytic factor in the formation of the emerging nation's identity.⁶⁷

Senelick suggests that theater functions as a mouthpiece to educate the ‘people’ about the organizing principle itself. Therefore, if a theatre production is crafted in such a way so as to convince or manipulate the audience into thinking that a good ‘American’ is against Spain, that a good ‘American’ has a ‘friendly understanding’ with the Englishman, or that

⁶⁵ A full discussion of the use of *El Capitan* to re-define the ‘American’ from the stage will be undertaken in Chapter three.

⁶⁶ S.E. Wilmer, *Theatre, Society and the Nation*, (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002): 1.

⁶⁷ Laurence Senelick, “Recovering Repressed memories: Writing Russian Theatrical History,” *Writing and Re-writing National Theatre Histories* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004): 50.

a good ‘American’ is for tougher copyright laws (all ideas embedded in specific Sousa comic operas), this makes that particular theatre performance an integral part of the creation of national identity at that specific moment.

I conceptualize performances that seek to educate audiences about new organizing principles of national identity as *cultural ambassadors*. When I use the term *ambassador*, I am using it to reflect the role of ambassadors during the era of Sousa’s operas, 1890 - 1920. I invoke a time when ambassadors were not merely figureheads, but when they had plenipotentiary power. It was a time when the ambassador had the power to act on behalf of his government and often had to do so without having the opportunity to discuss these choices in advance. The ambassadors of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were powerful agents trusted to act in the country’s best interest. They were guided by written foreign policy, occasional letters from the Secretary of State, and their own personal ideas of what the best course of action might be. Further, their success or failure in debating their causes, manipulating sentiment, and dealing with the problems of world politics rested on their individual abilities to be effective ‘salesmen’ and adapt their plans to the current situation and sentiment. Therefore, cultural ambassadors offer new organizing principles, and argue for the assimilation of that organizing principle into conceptions of national identity.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ I have borrowed and modified the idea of the cultural ambassador from Jessica Gienow-Hecht’s recent cultural diplomatic history, *Sound Diplomacy*. Gienow-Hecht maintains that diplomacy can refer “not only to state-to-state relations conducted by officials on the payroll of their government but, increasingly, to other forms of overt or covert negotiations by individuals acting – often unwittingly – in the name or the interest of the state.” She argues that “cultural envoys” (be they teachers, missionaries, or musicians) have acted as diplomats in international relationships and should be explored in relationship to diplomatic history. I extend her argument to the cultural products of these cultural envoys as well. I have chosen to use the term cultural ambassador, instead of Gienow-Hecht’s term, ‘diplomat’, because Sousa’s operas deal with both foreign and domestic systems. In order to cast Sousa’s operettas as cultural ambassadors, the chapters that follow will explore the individual organizing principles disseminated within

I see many similarities between these plenipotentiary ambassadors and Sousa's operas. The operas are cultural products with this same type of agency – artistic works which sought to 'sell' political or social issues to a group of people. Therefore, the remaining chapters of this dissertation will argue that Sousa's operas (at least those produced after the Sousa brand had reached iconic status post-1898) were cultural ambassadors for varying political and social ideas. They were often rewritten to offer a new organizing principle for American identity, and audiences were more inclined to consider these new depictions of national identity because of their associations with John Philip Sousa.⁶⁹

In framing Sousa's comic operas as cultural ambassadors, I argue that embedded within these productions was a sales pitch for how an 'American' would respond to a particular political or social issue.⁷⁰ The operettas reflected back to the audience a version of the 'American' based on the thoughts of those individuals co-opting them, not necessarily the thoughts of America as a whole. Further, I contend that each opera (when serving as a cultural ambassador) was poised to succeed or fail based upon its effective sales pitch. Therefore, each of my case studies explores newspapers, correspondence,

each comic opera (as found in newspaper/audience and textual records) and then connect them to the specific historical perspective on national identity. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.

⁶⁹ The organizing principles propagated in the comic operas find their way into discussions about the performances in the newspapers, correspondence, and speeches. Admittedly, I am taking the writers of these social records and casting them as representatives of a society and culture at large. This can be problematic, as there is no way to measure if their reception is congruent with a general audience's. However, using Wolfgang Iser's theories, in his article "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," I would argue that the writers of the social records of the period are sufficient voices on the organizing principles of identity voiced in each of the operas because they are able to serve as the opera's "implied" and/or "ideal" audience. Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Poststructuralism*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

⁷⁰ I make a distinction between the original 'sales pitch' of the opera, as written by Sousa and his collaborators, and the 'sales pitch' of the reconfigured opera.

and other social records of the period which provide evidence of how these messages were being presented, and whether the audiences were ‘buying’ it.⁷¹ I do not suggest that Sousa’s brand, or his comic operas, were solely responsible for the redefinition of American identity at the turn of the twentieth century. Nor do I imply that these operettas permanently changed existing social imaginaries, or political or social policies. These operettas were, rather, one of *many* cultural tools meant to propagate specific political and social agendas to both a national and international audience.

⁷¹ The question remains of how to measure the effectiveness of these cultural ambassadors. Are these organizing principles actually getting through to the audience? I prefer to let the people of history speak for themselves - to gauge audience response using the social records of the period, as well as information on information about the physical aspects of spectating as Bruce McConachie suggests in his book *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). However, I also turn to McConachie’s use of cognitive blending theory to understand how audience members process a performance, and Susan Bennett’s discussions of the audience as participatory in meaning-making to nuance my arguments. Finally, I use Richard Butsch’s ideas of “the active-passive dichotomy” and “the public-private dichotomy” in his book *The Making of American Audiences: From Stage to Television, 1750-1900* to historicize Sousa’s audiences.

CHAPTER TWO
FOR THEY ARE AMERICAN!:
LEARNING TO WRITE AN ‘AMERICAN’ OPERETTA

In the late 1870s, when the United States was in the midst of what papers deemed “Pinafore mania,” an American theatre producer approached the great English lyricist, W.S. Gilbert, with an idea to “Americanize” his increasingly popular operetta, *H.M.S. Pinafore*. The producer thought this would be quite easy – change the H.M.S. to U.S.S., Portsmouth, England to New Jersey, the First Lord of the Admiralty to the Secretary of the Navy, and the operetta would be adapted for an American audience. He told Gilbert that the only real re-writing of the libretto would be in the boatswain’s song, “For He is an Englishman.” Gilbert responded that while he found the idea interesting, he did not think he had the necessary grasp of American vernacular to translate that particular song. The best he could do on the spot was:

He is Ameri-can.
 Though he himself has said it
 ‘Tis not much to his credit
That he is Ameri-can
For he might have been a Dutchman,
An Irish, Scotch, or such man,
Or perhaps an Englishman.
 But, in spite of hanky-panky,
 He remains a true-born Yankee,
A cute American.

The producer was elated, certain that this new “Americanized” version would be even more popular than the original. Gilbert, however, disagreed.¹ How could an operetta so tied to English national politics and identity be sufficiently translated to another national context? How could Americans, defined by their rejection of a rigid class system (at least

¹ “Declining U.S.S. Pinafore,” *Literary Digest* 49 (New York, 1914): 153-54, quoted in: “Sarah Cole, “For the are American!” (unpublished): 1-2. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 107, Folder 7: “Sarah Cole.”

in theory), identify with a dramatic context where class boundaries created the story's central conflict?² Gilbert understood that the work could not be disentangled from its national context; to do so would alienate audiences, not entice them. Thus, the U.S. was forced to find national composers and lyricists who could "Americanize" the operetta form. This would prove to be exceedingly difficult.

Light operatic works were never strangers to the U.S., but it took time to build a manifestation of operetta that could be designated as 'American.'³ By 1790, newspapers recorded that theatrical troupes made their way up and down the Atlantic coast performing musical works they labeled operettas and comic operas (as well as musical comedies and musical farces). Most likely, these were not operettas as defined in the late 1800s, but ballad operas using popular music with new lyrics. As European operas were imported with more regularity, and as grand opera's status began to shift toward a more highbrow conception, popular operatic alternatives labeled musical spectacles and operatic extravaganzas began to emerge. An influx of English light operas between the 1840s and 1860s, such as *The Bohemian Girl* and *Maritana*, helped to move the more operatically inclined works to the popular stages of America.⁴ These conceptually and textually complicated works retained the majestic style of grand opera, but "their

² The main conflict of *H.M.S. Pinafore* concerns love that crosses class boundaries, the love of a lowborn sailor for his superior officer's daughter.

³ For reasons of length, I am confining this discussion to the light opera tradition; therefore, I do not discuss many of the concurrent musical theatre forms available to audiences before 1900 such as the minstrel show and musical comedy. While my narrative does discuss the influence of these other forms on operetta, their forms and history of development are outside the scope of this dissertation.

⁴ *The Bohemian Girl* was written by William Michael Balfe, and *Maritana* was written by William Vincent Wallace.

uncomplicated lyricism and earnest romanticism pointed unwittingly toward generations of operettas to come.”⁵

With the production of *The Black Crook* in 1866, producers began to realize the financial rewards of musical theatre. Although the show itself was little more than what Bordman terms a “barbaric hodgepodge,” it helped to usher in a new market for operetta in the theatres. The following year, a production of Jacques Offenbach’s *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* took New York City by storm. The *Dramatic Mirror* “insisted opéra bouffe was the highest order of popular musical theatre, arguing that French composers alone took care not to sacrifice the best elements of plot and characterization while creating sparkling, meritorious music.” Interestingly, as the operetta was sung in French, American audiences believed it was a farce of infatuation, suggestive in its portrayal of unwelcome advances; however, the book was a satire of French militarism, which reference botched military campaigns and poked fun at their German neighbors.⁶ It was not until 1871, when Offenbach’s *The Princess of Trébizonde* was translated and sung in English, that audiences realized just how suggestive and satirical these operettas could be. The *New York Herald* cried for its “public condemnation,” and critics began calling even the music of “a lower school.”⁷ However, the demand for French opéra bouffe continued, as it provided American audiences with a popular and integrated musical theatre form, one that struck a balance between comedy and romance.

⁵ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 9.

⁶ Bordman offers: *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* “was a spoof of militarism (so much so that French censors made the librettists change some all too specific jabs at famous French military campaigns). Americans, however, probably saw it as much as a devastatingly funny account of infatuation and its consequences.” Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 10-11.

⁷ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 12.

When Gilbert and Sullivan burst on the theatrical landscape with *Trial by Jury* in 1875, followed by *H.M.S. Pinafore* in 1878, American audiences and critics declared English operetta a new and superior form, perhaps due to an American “puritanical revulsion against opéra bouffe.”⁸ While English operetta fared better in the U.S. than its French equivalent, it was also tied to its national context (as exemplified in this chapter’s opening example). While both opéra bouffe and English operetta were essentially cut from the same cloth as examples of light operas, they differed in their national contexts. These contexts brought about differences in language, setting, subject, and musical styles.⁹ Most notably, what set these forms of operetta apart from each other were their contributions to their own national dialogues. In 1879, Franz von Stuppé’s *Fatinitza* inaugurated Viennese operetta in America, which was sustained by Johann Strauss’s works such as *The Queen’s Lace Handkerchief*, *Prince Methusalem*, and *Die Fledermaus*. These German manifestations were often constructed as bedroom farces; however, as demand for ‘American’ operetta increased, they were often purged of their inherent national satire before they reached American shores.

In the 1880s as “Pinafore mania” and the demand for other manifestations of operetta intensified, producers were put under increasing pressure to present a uniquely American light opera. American composers, however, struggled to write operettas that were more than mere copies of Continental forms (and, in truth, most of these copies were not of good quality).¹⁰ Thus, the practice of interpolating American songs into the

⁸ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 22.

⁹ The differences in musical style, for late nineteenth-century critics, typically corresponded to the inclusion of dance forms that were first popularized in each respective country.

¹⁰ I will define an ‘American’ operetta as distinct from other Continental forms in Chapter three.

more cohesive works of French, English, and German origin was common.¹¹ ‘American’ operettas were on the horizon, however; by 1884, at least one American company, McCaull’s Opera Comique Company, included an ‘American’ work in their touring repertoire. That ‘American’ work was John Philip Sousa’s *Désirée*.¹²

Four stages in Sousa’s musical theatre career

At about nineteen years of age, Sousa was hired to play first violin for the Alice Oates Opera Company’s production of Offenbach’s *Le Bavards* at Ford’s Opera House in Washington D.C. In his autobiography, *Marching Along*, he recounts that he took the violin part to his teacher, George Felix Benkert, so that he would “mark the fingering in one or two more or less intricate passages.” He reminisces, “after going over it I said, with an outburst of boyish enthusiasm, ‘Mr. Benkert, do you think I will ever be able to write an opera?’ He put his hand on my head and said, ‘My son, you will write a better opera than this one you have just been playing’.”¹³

From a young age, Sousa showed incredible skill in performance as well as aptitude in composition, and he wanted to use those talents to write an operetta.¹⁴ In fact, while we know Sousa as a writer of marches, a good portion of his earliest compositions consisted of songs and other storytelling music. Some scholars even posit

¹¹ Composers and librettists, most notably Gilbert and Sullivan, protested this practice vehemently, however, due to copyright laws, there was little that they could do to stop the practice.

¹² Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 39.

¹³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 37-38. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893,” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 165. In this chapter, I acknowledge that I owe a debt of gratitude to the scholarship of others, especially to the dissertation of Patrick Warfield.

¹⁴ Sousa was most likely drawn to write operetta rather than other musical forms, like the symphony, because a musician in this day, and of his position, could have expected to actually make a living writing theatre works.

that Sousa would have remained a theatre musician if he had not received the offer to become the conductor of the Marine Band.¹⁵

Sousa's musical theatre career can be separated into four stages: the first stage was his developmental period, which I place from approximately 1873 to 1881. During this time, Sousa was exposed to a diverse array of musical theatre styles and productions, the philosophies of great theatrical performers and managers, and the conducting and composition styles of the premiere operetta composers of the period. He spent much of his time during this period touring with musical productions, observing and imitating the styles of other musical theatre composers, and searching for his own musical voice.

The second stage of Sousa's musical theatre career was his quest to write an 'American' operetta in line with the established formal elements of the period. I place this stage from the writing and production of *The Smugglers* in 1882, to the writing of *El Capitan* in 1896.¹⁶ Sousa did not want to write copies of the English or Continental operettas that he had been studying up to that point - he wanted to write a truly 'American' manifestation of the form.¹⁷ However, while a few of Sousa's operas during this era were designated as 'American' by the press, they were 'American' in name only. In this section, I argue that the operettas written by Sousa between 1892 and 1896 are imitations of English and French operettas, a detail that was often noted in the press of the period. These works were billed as 'American' operettas only because they were

¹⁵ Both Bierley and Warfield express this idea.

¹⁶ *The Smugglers* produced in 1882, with Wilson J. Vance as librettist, is different than *The Smugglers* produced by the Church Choir Company in 1879. Further discussion of this distinction will follow.

¹⁷ The young Sousa was so passionate about writing 'American' works that, at twenty years old, he turned down an opportunity to study music in Europe because he thought it would hurt him in trying to write 'American' compositions.

written by Americans, and not because they modified existing formal elements or incorporated national dialogues.

Stage three of Sousa's musical theatre career begins with *El Capitan*. With this comic opera, Sousa not only collaborated on a well-constructed operetta, but his branding as the 'Salesman of Americanism' helped to designate the operetta as 'American' in a way that transcended simply denoting its country of origin. While imitation of preceding national forms and interpolations remained prevalent, Sousa's operettas of this period become more 'American' in the public imagination than those written by other composers because of their relationship to him and his march music, and because they began to comment on national dialogues (like the satiric operettas of the French and English). During this stage, producers, actors, and ambassadors (sometimes in collaboration with Sousa), began to re-work Sousa's operettas, crafting them into cultural ambassadors for social and political ideas, allowing the genre to be used as an ideological tool.

The fourth and final stage of Sousa's musical theatre career comes after 1900 and the production of *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*. The two comic operas written during this period, *The Free Lance* and *The American Maid*, turn a corner in their construction and their use as cultural ambassadors. First, the construction of Sousa's operettas changed as he pursued Wagnerian *gesamtkunstwerk* in his writing process, eschewed interpolation, and was influenced by new conventions for operetta exemplified by *The Merry Widow* and *Naughty Marietta*. Second, Sousa conceived each work as a cultural

ambassador from its inception, making them vehicles by which to sell *his* ideology for *his* purposes.¹⁸

This chapter follows Sousa's early development in musical theatre until his writing of *El Capitan*. I focus on Sousa's education in musical theatre, and how that education made it difficult for him to create outside the familiar European operetta style.¹⁹ Ultimately, I position Sousa and his comic operas of these periods as examples of the navigation towards and creation of an 'American' operetta form.

Stage One: Training in the Washington D.C. Theatre Pits and First Tours

The developmental period of Sousa's musical theatre career began in the theatre orchestra pits of his hometown, Washington D.C. Between 1873 and 1876, Sousa was routinely hired to play violin in the orchestras of both Kernan's Theatre Comique and Ford's Opera House.²⁰ These two theatres participated in two different (but at times overlapping) musical theatre traditions – both light opera and burlesque, representing a significant expansion of Sousa's musical education. Patrick Warfield observes that “at Ford's he would have provided music for opera, operetta, and dramatic works. At the

¹⁸ While *El Capitan* and *The Charlatan*, and certainly sold ideology it was mostly sold by others and therefore, while I included these two works in the fourth stage of his career, Sousa's construction of his operettas in plot and music do not truly begin to change until *The Free Lance*.

¹⁹ As I indicated in the previous chapter, my desire is to focus on Sousa's operettas after 1898, and, therefore, in the fourth stage of his musical theatre career, for two reasons: First, 1898 marks the cementing of Sousa as 'American' cultural icon in the minds of audiences around the world. As such, his operettas after 1898 function as cultural ambassadors and warrant individual attention in the area of musical theatre history. Second, Patrick Warfield, in his dissertation, “‘Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician’: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893” more than adequately covers all of Sousa's operettas through 1893.

²⁰ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 68. Sousa's memory is extremely unreliable. He says in *Marching Along* that he began playing in these theatres at 12 or 13, but Warfield puts him in these theatres between 18 and 22 (about 1873 and 1876) by tracking theatre production histories and using shows Sousa specifically mentions in connection with his time at these theatres. Sousa may have been working in these theatre at 12 years of age, however there is no secondary evidence to corroborate this idea.

Theatre Comique he would have been introduced to a somewhat different fare that included performances ranging from burlesque and minstrel shows to acrobatics and athletic demonstrations.”²¹ Interestingly, there is some evidence to speculate that Sousa may have left the pit to play the violin onstage “with face blacked, as a negro minstrel” for minstrel show performances.²² “While there is no evidence that he was yet composing for the theatre, Sousa certainly had the opportunity to see the quick pace at which music had to be arranged, rehearsed, and performed in order to meet the requirements of the constantly changing stage on which a new production might appear nightly.”²³ This experience would have shown him first-hand the work of the musical theatre conductor, musical theatre orchestration practices, and allowed him to learn about the textual and musical flexibility of the musical theatre of the time period.

During this mid-1870s, Sousa also embarked on two tours as a musical theatre pit conductor. Between June 21 - 26, 1875, Sousa was a violinist for Milton Nobles’s play: *Jim Bludso, or, Bohemians and Detectives*. When the conductor fell ill, Sousa stepped in

²¹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893,” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 71. Warfield goes on to say: “While these generalizations are helpful in distinguishing between the two venues, the lines were not sharply drawn; each theatre felt free to borrow from the traditions of the other, and some acts even played at both houses. Furthermore, the word opera in the name of Ford’s house should not be taken to mean that the entertainments performed there were limited to a single genre.”

²² Rupert Hughes, “The Marches of John Philip Sousa,” University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 99. The article reads: “At sixteen he was the conductor of an orchestra in a variety theatre. Two years later he was musical director of a travelling company in Mr. Milton Nobles’ well-known play “The Phoenix,” for which he composed the incidental music. Among other incidents in a career of growing importance, was a position in the orchestra with which the great Offenbach toured this country. At the age of twenty-six, after having played, with face blacked, as a negro minstrel, after travelling with the late Matt Morgan’s Living Picture Company, and working his way through and above other such experiences in the struggle for life, Mr. Sousa became the leader of the United States Marine Band.”

²³ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 77. Warfield thoroughly analyzes the growth of his composition technique in his marches and theatre music, therefore, I will omit this analysis from my discussion.

as a substitute conductor. In *Marching Along*, Sousa noted that he was quite anxious to do well and he divulged that, “I think that no one ever took up the cues of that melodrama with greater alertness than I.”²⁴ After Nobles’s troupe left Washington, Sousa received a telegram from Nobles asking him to become the permanent orchestra director.²⁵ He traveled to Chicago to join the company as they performed at Chicago’s Academy of Music, September 6 - 11, 1875.²⁶ He then followed the troupe as they went on tour to cities in Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.²⁷ While on tour, Sousa composed a new overture and entr’acte for the production. He also took credit, in his autobiography, for changing its title to *The Phoenix*.²⁸ Bierley indicates, “because of an incident in the story bearing a resemblance to the story of the mythological phoenix bird, Sousa suggested to Nobles that *The Phoenix* would be an appropriate title for his play, and it was subsequently adopted.”²⁹

Warfield suggests that Nobles may have influenced Sousa’s aesthetic ideas on the balance between entertainment and education. In Nobles’ autobiography, he diverges

²⁴ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 39.

²⁵ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 119.

²⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, August 29, 1875. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 118.

²⁷ See Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 118, for dates and cities Sousa visited on this tour.

²⁸ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 50. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 117.

²⁹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 149.

from Aristotle's view of theatre, advocating that education is the secondary goal of theatre. Nobles argues:

People go to theatres for amusement, diversion, excitement...If it is the legitimate object of art to strengthen or to teach, that object must be attained indirectly. Its first and nearest object is to charm and to delight. That dramatist or "reformer" will live unrecognized and die unsung who writes and argues from the mistaken thesis that a play should be a sermon in disguise.³⁰

In his concerts, Sousa sought to please and then to teach, an idea he reiterated by nearly 30 years later:

My theory was, by insensible degrees, first to reach every heart by simply, stirring music. Secondly, to lift the unmusical mind to a still higher form of musical art. This was my mission. Just as armies were moved and thrilled by simple music to perform good deeds, so I had dreamed that all people by the same means could be led to conquer the more difficult and classical forms of musical expression. It was a perfectly definite project. The point was to move all America, while busied in its various pursuits, by the power of simple and direct music. I wanted to make a music for the people, a music to be grasped at once.³¹

Sousa was taught, and believed throughout his life, that music had persuasive power. He knew that, with the right emphasis and when sugar-coated as entertainment, his musical work could be devastatingly effective in "uplifting the musical mind." In the same way, he realized that *all* of his cultural products had this power of persuasion, and he would use his novels, his journalistic output, and his comic operas to persuade as well.

After the Nobles tour ended in 1875, Sousa found his way back to the orchestras of Ford's Opera House in Washington D.C. Between April 3-9, 1876, Sousa played for *Matt Morgan's Grand Art Exhibition of Living Statues*, a performance of tableaux scenes

³⁰ Milton Nobles, *Shop Talk*, (Milwaukee: Riverside Printing, 1889): 145. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 119.

³¹ "Bandmaster Sousa Explains His Mission in Music," *Musical America* 11 (April 16, 1910): 28. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 119.

and music featuring the live female nude. It was billed as “20 beautiful young ladies in their exquisite historical and mythological tableaux.”³² Sousa recollects that it was “the first time that America had seen the undraped female on the stage, in any numbers, and America gasped at the spectacle...The audiences were almost entirely men and the performance, though a harmless one, was generally considered as risqué.”³³

During the run in Washington D.C., the show’s conductor was fired and Sousa stepped into his place. He traveled with the company to its next stop in Pittsburgh, where the show was booked to run at the Fifth Avenue Comedy Theatre between approximately April 10-17, 1876.³⁴ While Washington may have been easily convinced that the tableaux was high art and not obscene in any way, Pittsburgh was not persuaded. Charges were filled against the company after its first performance because the managers had not secured a permit for the production, and for the obscene nature of the performance itself.³⁵ The *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* reported:

The news was generally circulated yesterday afternoon that informations [*sic*] had been made against the managers of the Tableaux and Variety entertainment at the Comedy Theatre. Two such were made by the Chief of Police, the defendants

³² Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 120.

³³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 52-53. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 120. While Sousa may have been a bit naïve about the novelty of this type of performance in America, this was certainly a novelty in Washington D.C. *The Washington Star* reported that, “Mr. Matt Morgan’s historical and mythological tableaux by twenty young ladies, attracted quite a large audience last night, who seem to be very well satisfied by that part of the entertainment...The statues are artistically rendered.” *Washington Star*, April 5, 1876. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 123. In *Marching Along*, Sousa refers to this show as the “Living Pictures.”

³⁴ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 124.

³⁵ See Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 124.

being the directors and performers. One information charges an indecent public exhibition, having a demoralizing tendency and causing obscene allusions by persons in the audience, and the other charged that the exhibition was given without a license. The warrants were served on the managers, who demanded a hearing at once, but this was refused, and bail was given for a hearing this morning at ten o'clock. The theatre was filled again last evening, no attempt being made to interfere with the performance.³⁶

While Sousa maintained that he was not arrested, but that the seven girls of the cast had been arrested and taken to jail, evidence suggests that he was formally arrested and charged *in absentia*.³⁷ After paying the required bail for all the directors and performers, company Manager E. Kernan, along with stage manager B.S. Hodges, treasurer Edward Clotworth, and Sousa himself, were called into court. It is unclear whether Sousa knew what was happening, or if he believed that he was simply a contracted musician and not legally responsible (as he had been employed by the production for a grand total of eight days, perhaps only 5 or 6 as music director). He did not appear to court as called. *The Daily Dispatch* reported: "Mr. Souse [*sic*], who is leader of the orchestra, was not on hand, and a long delay ensued."³⁸ The court case attracted just as much publicity as the show itself. The courtroom was filled with theatre artist and reporters. The drama that ensued only served to increase the interest in the production.³⁹

³⁶ *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*. April 12, 1876. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 125.

³⁷ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 53. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 125.

³⁸ This may be the first time Sousa is mentioned in the press. *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*. April 17, 1876. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 53. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 125.

³⁹ In the end, the show was fined \$50 per man for the license issue and \$25 per man for the moral issue. The show moved on to Baltimore's Front Street Theatre on the 19th of April, and then continued to

While Sousa makes it clear that he believed that the *Living Statues* production was “harmless,” he never created similar types of entertainment himself. Warfield contends that it may have been Sousa’s association with the *Living Statues* that prompted Sousa to foster such a moral reputation. Sousa clearly knew the financial value of an unambiguous moral reputation, and his run-in with the law taught him to steer clear of this type of entertainment altogether.⁴⁰ However, this was not the only lesson the young musical theatre composer may have learned from the *Living Statues*. Warfield suggests:

Morgan profited from the friendly disposition shown by the Pittsburgh and New York press. In both cities, his show was reviewed as an example of high art rather than risqué burlesque. No doubt, this view of the “Living Pictures” was cultivated by Morgan himself. By getting the press to focus on the artistic rendering of his *tableaux*, Morgan was able to deflect the public’s attention away from the coarse elements of his production. As a result, Morgan’s audiences were entertained by the sensual performance even as they congratulated themselves on enjoying a sophisticated art form. In this sense, Morgan played not only on the distinction between high and lowbrow art, but also between decent and indecent entertainment.⁴¹

Sousa learned that public perception was malleable. In selling coarse entertainment as high art, Morgan was rewarded with “a satisfied public and a sympathetic press.”⁴²

Sousa explained this same phenomenon in 1893, concerning the song ‘Annie Rooney,’ contending:

Annie Rooney...is a fair type of the songs over which the musically ignorant go wild. It is a very pretty little air and the music is catchy and simple, but you bring

tour through Missouri, Indiana, and Kentucky. Sousa left the tour sometime in late May. The show ran in Baltimore at the Front Street Theatre between April 19-29, 1876. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 126-128.

⁴⁰ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 129-130.

⁴¹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 130.

⁴² Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 130.

Annie Rooney (*sic*) to me in the shape of a frowsy-headed and unkempt child. In her original guise Annie is a product of the slums. Now we will suppose that we take Annie in hand. The first thing that we do is to wash her face, next we comb her hair, then we remove her tattered frock and replace it with a nice, clean garment edged with cheap lace. Now Annie has not by any means lost her identity. She is the same Annie Rooney she was before. But how differently she appeared! Even the most captious of critic can take no exception to her, and those who have loved her in her crude condition now admire her the more sincerely in her added grace.⁴³

Throughout his career, Sousa won applause for doing this very thing: for selling low art as high art, or selling controversial (but not indecent) subjects as ‘American’ perspectives,’ bringing about their appreciation in a new way. Sousa learned at a very young age that it was the *package* that sold the message, and not necessarily the message itself.

First Attempts: Continental and English Operetta Training

After touring with the *Living Statues*, Sousa spent much of 1876 through 1880 working in Philadelphia. Milton Nobles later took credit for getting the young Sousa established in Philadelphia. Nobles reminisced to a Philadelphia paper that:

At the close of the 1875 season Sousa returned to Washington and I came to Philadelphia. During the following year – the Centennial season – Simon Hassler came into my room in the Continental Hotel one day, and some of Sousa’s music was scattered over the bed. Picking it up he became interested with the fine arrangement, and as a result sent for Sousa to come to Philadelphia. He secured him a place for two weeks as second violinist in the Offenbach concerts in the Centennial grounds.⁴⁴

⁴³ Clipping labeled *New York Advertiser*, 1893, Sousa Press Book HJ 2: 76. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 130. Sousa also discussed the use of ‘Annie Rooney’ in: John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 110.

⁴⁴ *Philadelphia Times*, February 1898. Loose clipping in press book 1897-1898. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 144.

Sousa always maintained that he was hired to play first violin, not second as Nobles suggested.⁴⁵ During his engagement with this orchestra, Sousa played under the baton of the great French operetta master, Jacques Offenbach. However, contrary to Sousa's own accounts and the Sousa folklore picked up by Offenbach literature, he most likely played under Offenbach for only one week, during the composer's residence at the Exhibition (perhaps even serving as concert-master). There is no evidence to suggest that Sousa was the concertmaster for the whole of Offenbach's time in the United States.⁴⁶ However, a week under the greatest light opera composer of the time gave Sousa ample opportunity to learn from the master.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 54.

⁴⁶ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 154 -156. It is thought that Sousa was asked by Offenbach to write "The International Congress" fantasy, a fantasy on national airs. According to Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 14, it was written on July 4, 1876. "It started with a short fugue on *Yankee Doodle*, then ran the gamut of the principal national songs of the world, winding up with *The Star Spangled Banner* treated in imitation of the last part of the *Tannhauser* Overture." John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 55.

⁴⁷ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 156-157. During the Exhibition concerts, Offenbach only conducted his own works. The rest of the concert was conducted by Max Maretzek. Maretzek was a world class musician, and a world class businessman – believing that he could give audiences "the best operas, with the greatest singers to the people at the lowest prices" and still make a profit. The young Sousa would have had the opportunity to watch another world class musician market himself. Maretzek spent time in 1840s as an opera and ballet composer. He was hired as the assistant conductor at Covent Garden in London in 1844. While in London, Maretzek worked with Louis Antoine Jullien "in his flamboyant but ultimately unsuccessful efforts to produce English opera." He came to the U.S. in 1848, and was hired to lead the Astor Place Opera House Company. Warfield says, "Maretzek recognized the financial possibilities of bringing quality music to a paying public and strove to make his performances accessible to a wide audience. He used every tool at his disposal to achieve his goal of presenting 'the best operas, with the greatest singers to the people at the lowest possible price,' while still turning a profit. This is hardly surprising, as Maretzek recognized opera for what it was, a business, and he learned his tactics from Jullien and even from P. T. Barnum, who found phenomenal success promoting Jenny Lind's tour of the United States. As a violinist in an orchestra often conducted by Maretzek, [...] Sousa would have once again seen the importance of marketing and promotion as Maretzek worked to please his public."

Simon Hassler was a “fixture” in the Philadelphia theatre orchestra scene, and assisted Sousa in obtaining freelance work after the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition at the Chestnut Street Opera House.⁴⁸ During his time in Philadelphia, Sousa began composing and marketing his pieces for use in the theatres. In July 1876, playbills for *Our Boys* at the Chestnut Street Theatre showed that a work by Sousa entitled “World of Fancies” was featured as before-show entertainment. In November 1876, his “Grand International Pot-pourri: Airs of All Nations” premiered; and in February 1877, the orchestra played his quadrille “Queen of the Harvest.”⁴⁹ During a stint in the Arch Street Theatre orchestra in 1878, the production of *Masks and Faces* featured Sousa’s Fantasia “Belle Mahone.”⁵⁰ He also wrote an overture entitled “The Rivals” in 1877 or 1879 for Richard Brinsley Sheridan’s well-known play of the same name.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Hassler was a conductor at the Walnut Street Theatre between 1865-1872, the Chestnut Street Theatre between 1872-1882, and the Chestnut Street Opera House between 1882-1899. In his autobiography, Sousa recollects playing in the Chestnut Street Theatre orchestra for performances of Henry James Byron’s *Our Boys*, which ran between June 26-November 18, 1876; Charles Reade and Tom Taylor’s *Masks and Faces* which ran between January 1 -13, 1877; and *Louis XI*, (probably by Casimir Delavigne) starring W. E. Sheridan between April 22 and May 11, 1878. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 157, 160-161. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 55-58.

⁴⁹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 161. Beginning on July 31, 1876, *Our Boys* included a work by Sousa entitled “World of Fancies.” The week of November 16, 1876, the orchestra played his “Grand International Pot-pourri: Airs of All Nations,”

⁵⁰ The piece was featured on September 20-21, 1878. It is unknown if this piece was inserted into the show’s repertoire when Sousa played for the show at the Chestnut Street Theater in 1877, or if the piece was given to them for this 1878 production. It is also possible that Sousa played for the production at the Arch Street Theatre in addition to the Chestnut Street Theatre production, or that Sousa’s memory is faulty and he played for this production at the Arch Street Theatre and not the Chestnut Street Theatre. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 162.

⁵¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 151. Sousa “might have been playing violin in the orchestra at one of the two Philadelphia theaters where the play was performed,” either at The Chestnut Theatre in November, 1877, or Mrs. Drew’s Arch Street

Concurrently, Sousa was conducting and working with the W.F. Shaw publishing house correcting proofs of musical manuscripts.⁵² Beginning in the fall of 1878, Sousa was also employed by the J. M. Stoddart Company as an arranger to create fantasies for piano, and full piano arrangements of popular operas and operettas. He arranged two versions of *Boccaccio* by Franz Suppé, *La Camargo* by Charles Lecocq, *Carmen* by Bizet, two versions of *H.M.S. Pinafore* by Gilbert and Sullivan, *Indigo and the Forty Robbers* by Johann Strauss II, *The Little Duke* by Lecocq, *Paul and Virginia* by Felix Marie Masse, *The Sea Cadet: Selections* by Richard Genée, Sullivan's *The Sorcerer*, *La Traviata* by Verdi, and Sullivan's *Trial by Jury*.⁵³

By 1879, Sousa had not only played for musical masters of operetta, but had mastered their musical styles. During his time in Philadelphia, Sousa mastered French, German and English operetta to a degree where he could replicate them easily. Unlike other American operetta composers of his day, Sousa did not receive his musical training in Europe, but he was certainly well grounded in European works.⁵⁴

Orchestrating, Revising and Re-writing: *H.M.S. Pinafore* and *Our Flirtations*

Sousa's musical theatre preparation had been vast and varied – from the playing in pit orchestras, to contracting, rehearsing and conducting orchestras, to creating piano reductions of the great music theatre repertoire of the time. By 1878, he felt that the time

Theatre in February, 1879. The best guess is that the overture was composed in 1877 (as Sousa was otherwise engaged in 1879), but was also used in the 1879 production.

⁵² John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 58. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 163.

⁵³ For dates and copyright information, see: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 165.

⁵⁴ Julian Edwards was born in England and received his education there. Reginald De Koven was born in the U.S. but educated in England. Victor Herbert was born in Ireland and educated in Germany.

was right to begin composing his own operetta. Simon Hassler must have believed that Sousa was equal to the task because he put the young composer in contact with the well-established Philadelphia humorist Charles Heber Clark in an effort to forge a partnership between the two. The collaboration ended (in truth, it never really launched) when Clark required a fee to write the libretto, which Sousa could not afford. Another early collaboration with Mary Andrews Denison, a Washington writer and one of Sousa's former violin students, was scrapped when Denison's husband died in 1881.⁵⁵ The collaboration yielded a preliminary title, *Florine*, and sections of a first act.

These early setbacks did not crush young Sousa's ambitions, as he continued to find work creating revisions of established operettas, and imitating their styles. Sousa created a piano arrangement of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Sorcerer* for the Stoddart Company sometime in 1879. Around the same time, Sousa collaborated with the Arch Street Theatre on an orchestration of *The Sorcerer* for the theatre's production presented between February 24 and March 1, 1879.⁵⁶ Reviews do not mention Sousa's orchestration, but they do mention the inadequacies of the production:

To maltreat a decent opera in such a shameful fashion as Sullivan's *Sorcerer* (*sic*) was maltreated at the Arch Street Theatre last night ought to be made an indictable offense. There was not a redeeming feature in the entire representation, unless we except certain symptoms of intelligence on the part of the chorus, which indicated that something might be developed in that direction after the

⁵⁵ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 27. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 166.

⁵⁶ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 60. Sousa names the orchestra leader as Zimmerman. Warfield offers, "The Zimmerman Sousa refers to is probably John Frederick Nicholas Zimmerman (ca 1848-1925), a Philadelphia theater musician and perhaps producer." Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 167.

proper training and rehearsal; but, in its entirety, the performance was simply the worst we have ever heard.⁵⁷

In February of 1879, Sousa became the music director for John F. Gorman's Amateur Opera Company and created orchestrations for their pirated production of *H.M.S. Pinafore*.⁵⁸ Sousa's association with this company, and with Gilbert and Sullivan's repertoire, provided him with his first success at composing librettos, it also brought him to the attention of the Marine Band as a dynamic orchestrator and conductor.

The company's production of *H.M.S. Pinafore* opened February 20, 1879 at the Newsboy's Home in Philadelphia, followed by St. George's Hall on February 24, and venues in Pottsville, Pennsylvania on February 27 and Wilmington, Delaware on February 28.⁵⁹ These were, perhaps, the only performances the company was engaged to play; however, their exceptional musical performance drew the attention of a professional manager named James H. Meade.

Meade took over the management of the company, renaming them the Church Choir Company, and took them to New York City's Broadway Theatre on March 10,

⁵⁷ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 25, 1879. There is a similar review in: *New York Dramatic Mirror*, 1 March 1879.

⁵⁸ Copyright laws in the U.S. did not cover any work that was not premiered in the U.S.; therefore, any operetta premiered in England or France could be used without royalty. Sousa's *Pinafore* orchestration was also used by James Cassius Williamson, an actor and theatre manager, for his official production in Australia. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 271-273. Sarah Cole, "For they are American!" (unpublished): 38-40. In spite of the company's designation, its members were not exactly amateurs. Most of them were paid singers in Philadelphia church choirs, but they had little acting experience. Thus, the company excelled in singing the *Pinafore* choruses and were usually praised for their amazing choral performances under Sousa's guidance. Warfield says, "almost all reviews praised the company's choral performance, but took issue with their acting. Furthermore, the company's sacred roots translated into a wholesome reputation that may have helped attract ticket buyers who would have otherwise scoffed at the theatre's questionable moral standing." Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 171.

⁵⁹ Sarah Cole, "For the are American!" (unpublished): 58. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 107, Folder 7: "Sarah Cole."

1879.⁶⁰ By March 23, the company was playing to sold-out houses and being hailed as the best sung *Pinafore* in the city. The production enjoyed an “astonishingly successful and profitable” run, and closed April 26, 1879.⁶¹ The company toured Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware until May.⁶²

Interest in their production was so great that the company returned to the Broadway Theatre in New York City from May 12-24, 1879 with “new scenery, an augmented chorus, and a Marine drill provided by the Pennsylvania State Fencibles.”⁶³ The press revolted, however, when they discovered that the company had a professional manager, and their amateurish acting could no longer be overlooked. The company left New York and toured Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts between July and November, 1879.⁶⁴ The company performed

⁶⁰ The company is also advertised as the Pinafore Church Choir Company, Gorman’s Church Choir Company, etc.

⁶¹ *New York Times*, April 26, 1879. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 174. Reviewers seemed to overlook their acting because of their association with the church, one such saying, “they sing well enough, most of them, but are ecclesiastically amateurish in acting. It is amusing to see the various routes whereby they endeavor to get from Handel to Sullivan, from David to Gilbert, without changing cars.” Undated clipping, Pinafore scrapbook, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; as quoted in Sarah Cole, “For they are American!” (unpublished): 16. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 107, Folder 7: “Sarah Cole.”

⁶² For more information on the touring location of the Church Choir Company, see: Sarah Cole, “For they are American!” (unpublished). University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 107, Folder 7: “Sarah Cole.”

⁶³ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 175.

⁶⁴ For a more complete listing of the *H.M.S. Pinafore* tour, see: Sarah Cole, “For they are American!” (unpublished): 58-59. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 107, Folder 7: “Sarah Cole.”

one final time in New York City from November 10-29, 1879 for the re-opening of the Broadway Opera House.⁶⁵

In November of 1879, Gilbert and Sullivan visited New York City, with the purpose of bringing an official production of *H.M.S. Pinafore* to the city.⁶⁶ On November 11, Sousa recalls that Gilbert & Sullivan attended the Gorman Company's performance. Someone from the company was sent as a spy to ascertain how the creators enjoyed the production. Sousa recalled, "Sullivan thought the orchestration excellent. (This of course, delighted me, as it was mine!)." ⁶⁷

Knowing that the official production of *H.M.S. Pinafore* now rendered the amateur one defunct, the Gorman Company replaced *Pinafore* with a reworked version of F.C. Burnand (of London's *Punch*)⁶⁸ and Arthur Sullivan's *The Contrabandista*. Sousa recalled that the producers planned to make the work "more of a chorus piece. (Ensemble numbers were our strong point.) It fell to my lot to prepare the music. Charles Gaylord, author of the successful play, *Our Fritz*, was to write the libretto."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 175-176.

⁶⁶ The official production was scheduled to open December 1, 1879.

⁶⁷ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 64.

⁶⁸ "Chestnut Street Opera House - "The Smugglers," *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 28, 1882. Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9. The paper writes: "The librettist frankly acknowledged that the plot of the opera is the same as that of the "Contrabandista," written by F.O. Burnand of London's *Punch*."

⁶⁹ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 65. Sousa is also quoted saying: "I was conductor for a church choir opera company then," he said. "They wanted to do Sullivan's *Contrabandista* – used recently in amplified form by Francis Wilson as *The Cheiftain* – and the choruses were found to be wanting. I undertook first to supply this lack, and ended by writing a new opera with the same story." Clipping labeled New York Mirror, October 1897. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 111b.

The reworked *Contrabandista* played between December 19-25, 1879 in various venues in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Sousa remembers that the work was first produced in Jersey City, where press reports indicated that many thought the production was superior to *Pinafore*.⁷⁰ There are indications in the press that the show was headed to Broadway; however, the company was disbanded at the end of the year because of financial mismanagement.⁷¹

After the Church Choir Company folded, Sousa returned to Philadelphia. Between 1876 and 1878, Sousa had worked with the F.F. Mackay and Louise Sylvester's Comedy Company as a conductor for one of their productions.⁷² Upon Sousa's return to Philadelphia, Mackay, a well-known comedian in the city, wanted to meet with him. Mackay showed him the libretto of, what Sousa termed over forty years later, "a musical comedy."⁷³ Sousa soon found himself collaborating with Mackay and Sylvester on a play with music entitled *Our Flirtations* (Appendix B).⁷⁴

Billed as an "American Comedy," *Our Flirtations* is reminiscent of the 'down-on-their-luck kid who ends up having rich parents in the end' plot popular during the period;

⁷⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 5.

⁷¹ A press report indicates: "Smugglers" was produced with great success a year ago in New Jersey, New York, and New England, and arrangements were about to be entered into for placing it upon the boards in New York City, where it would undoubtedly have had a prolonged run, but a misunderstanding between the two business managers of the company rendering it resulted in the breaking up of the organization." Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 5.

⁷² It is unclear which production Sousa conducted. Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 14.

⁷³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 65.

⁷⁴ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 149. Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 14. There is a discrepancy about the spelling of Mackay's name – Mackay in Bierely, Mackey in Berger. This is most likely a simple spelling error in Berger.

in fact, many newspaper reviews commented that the musical comedy seemed to be yet another imitation of previous European and American works, comparing it to other shows such as *The Tourist*, *The Brook*, *Goblin* and a previous version of the show, entitled *Flirtations*.⁷⁵ *Our Flirtations* included both original incidental music and songs by Sousa, as well as several popular songs of the day. The show was most likely first produced by at Park Theatre Philadelphia on August 30, 1880.⁷⁶ Significant praise was granted to Sousa's music:

J.P. Sousa, musical director of the company, has composed expressly for the play all of these numbers save a melody, and even that has been specially arranged by him. The music, with the exception of two numbers, is not of a character likely to become popular – not because it is not good, but because it is too good. It is of too high a class, and is far above the character of the play.⁷⁷

While the show interpolated other American melodies (as was the custom of the time), *Our Flirtations* marks the first time Sousa succeeded in composing both incidental and vocal music for a musical theatre entertainment that was not solely based on the material of others.

A Musical Theatre Man in a Marine Band World

While he was on tour with *Our Flirtations*, Sousa received a telegram from his father indicating that Sousa had been offered the conductor's position with the U.S.

⁷⁵ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 148. Sousa was most likely not associated with this earlier show, but that is still speculation. The plot of *Our Flirtations* was similar to another play called *Flirtations* which was performed in Philadelphia in 1876 by F. F. Mackay's Comedy Company. "Grand Opera House," Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. Berger maintains that *Our Flirtations* premiered at Abbey's Theatre, Philadelphia in 1879. However, the author is probably confusing the early production of *Flirtations* with the musical comedy associated with Sousa. Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 66.

⁷⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

Marine Band.⁷⁸ Sousa returned to Washington and accepted the position as Bandmaster of the U.S. Marine Band on October 1, 1880. While this was the job that would become synonymous with the Sousa myth, it did not mean that Sousa stopped composing for the theater.

Sousa joined forces with librettist Wilson J. Vance sometime prior to September 1879 and began work on a full operetta, entitled *Katherine*.⁷⁹ Sousa later described this work as his first operetta. While some sketches of this work survive, the only selection ever performed was its overture, and that was not offered until the late 1920s.⁸⁰ Bierley notes, “in all probability Sousa appropriated some of the better melodies for use in later works, because only fragments of the manuscript have survived. Constructing a synopsis from these fragments would be impractical, but the names of the principal characters and some of the songs are known.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ Sousa insinuates in *Marching Along* that Mackay was not happy that Sousa wanted to leave the company mid-tour, and Sousa, “after much wiring,” was able to “secure Charles Zimmerman” to join the tour in his place. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 67.

⁷⁹ The piece was copyrighted only as “Opera in three acts.” As authors were not required to submit copies of the work to register a copyright at that time, the operetta may have not been completed as there is no full copy in Sousa’s archives. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 29. Warfield offers, “A contract drawn up between Sousa and the librettist Wilson J. Vance bound them together for the composition of an opera titled ‘Love’s Liltng or such other name as may by the said parties be agreed upon.’ This contract was signed on 3 September, just a few days before Sousa and Vance’s operetta “Katherine” was submitted for copyright on 18 September. It is possible that this contract was simply a formalizing of their agreement on “Katherine,” or it may have been the beginning of another unfinished work.” Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 175.

⁸⁰ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 29. Bierley cites that the overture appears in a few Sousa Band concert programs in the 1920s.

⁸¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 29. See Bierley for information on characters and story fragments.

Bierley gives a date of 1879 for this piece due to sketches dated in November and December of 1878, and the copyright date of September 18, 1879; however it is more likely that the bulk of this work was written during Sousa's tenure with the Mackay Comedy Company, with the intention of the work going into production in January of 1881. Newspapers reported its existence while Sousa was still on tour with *Our*

Flirtations:

“Catherine” [*sic*] is the title of a new comic opera for which J.P. Sousa of Philadelphia, musical director of F. F. Mackay & Louise Sylvester's Comedy Company, has just finished composing the music. The libretto is by Wilson J. Vance, who has charge of the Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, Washington D.C., and who has written one or two plays, besides other works. It is in three acts, the first of which takes place in the White Mountains, the second in New York, and the third at a fashionable seaside resort. It is the intention of Messrs. Sousa and Vance to organize a company and produce the opera some time next January.⁸²

The physical production of *Katherine* never materialized; however there were some public hearings of parts of this work. A Washington newspaper noted:

A new opera is in preparation in this city, the music by Mr. John P. Sousa; the libretto by Wilson T. Vance, Esq., journalist. Those who know about the production as far as it has gone say the musical composition partakes of the beauty of the opera of Martha, interspersed with the frothy effervescence of the Pinafore order. This libretto is said to be very fine. Mr. Sousa is quite successful as a musical composer. His pieces are popular, especially in Philadelphia.⁸³

After the demise of *Katherine*, Sousa and Vance drew up a new contract, dated February 8, 1881 to produce an operetta entitled *The Smugglers*.⁸⁴ While working on *The*

⁸² Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

⁸³ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. Because this notice was printed in a Washington paper, it reinforces the idea that this was late 1880 and the opera was meant to be given a performance in January of 1881.

⁸⁴ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003),307. Warfield cites: “Contract between Sousa and Vance, 8 February 1881, Blakely archives, Furrer collection.”

Smugglers, and in addition to his duties for the Marine Band, Sousa served as music director for the Washington Philharmonic Society and the Washington Operatic Association. The Operatic Association was an amateur organization designed to offer Washington audiences a wider variety of musical entertainments.⁸⁵ As a master teacher of amateur singers and actors by this point in his career, Sousa was well-loved for bringing quality music to the city. One 1882 paper declared:

At the end of the first act here were loud calls of “Sousa” from all parts of the house, and the curtains were at once drawn aside, disclosing all the chorus and principals upon the stage. Colonel Burnside, the president of the Operatic Association, then stepped forward, bearing in his hand a magnificent floral lyre over four feet in height, which he presented to Mr. Sousa in a neat speech, saying that the association recognized the fact that their success was mainly due to his careful teaching and instruction. Mr. Sousa was taken completely by surprise, and could only bow his acknowledgements as he received the handsome offering.⁸⁶

The Association then announced that it would be premiering Sousa’s first operetta a month later.

The association will at once commence rehearsing “The Smugglers,” the music of which is by Mr. Sousa and the libretto by Captain William J. Vance, and the first rehearsal will be to-morrow night at the armory of the National Rifles, under whose auspices it will be produced early in February.⁸⁷

And, thus, rehearsals began on Sousa’s first “original” operetta, an ironic designation as Sousa returned to Burnand and Sullivan’s *The Contrabandista* as a basis for his “new” and “original” operetta.

⁸⁵ The first production of the Operatic Association was *The Chimes of Normandy*, which played in Lincoln Hall on January 13 and 14, 1882. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 306.

⁸⁶ “The Operatic Association: Tribute to Mr. John Philip Sousa on Saturday Night – “The Smugglers,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 6.

⁸⁷ “The Operatic Association: Tribute to Mr. John Philip Sousa on Saturday Night – “The Smugglers,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 6.

During the first stage of his musical theatre career, Sousa was not only exposed to a diverse array of musical theatre styles and productions, the philosophies of great theatrical performers and managers, and the conducting and composition styles of the premiere operetta composers of the period, but also the diversity of audiences in different regions of the United States. He had learned that music had persuasive power, and that he could change public perception based on how he packaged his message. Further, he had mastered the musical styles of French, German and English operetta. Sousa took these skills, this American training in operetta, with him to Washington, D.C. and began to formulate an ‘American’ manifestation of operetta.

Stage Two: Trying to Write the ‘American’ Operetta

With the looming production of his first full-length, original operetta, Sousa entered the second stage of his musical theatre career. Sousa’s quest to write an ‘American’ operetta began with *The Smugglers*. However, Sousa did not know what an ‘American’ operetta looked like – nor did anyone else. Therefore, during this time of “Pinafore mania,” Sousa and his contemporaries began to create imitations of the English and French operettas that toured the countryside. While these operettas were written in English, their settings, subjects, and musical styles mirrored those of Continental manifestations. Contributions to American national dialogues were absent from these productions.

The Smugglers premiered at Lincoln Hall, Washington D.C., on March 25, 1882 as an operetta in two acts with a libretto by Wilson J. Vance.⁸⁸ According to Warfield, “on 4 March 1882, Sousa and Vance received a letter regarding *The Smugglers* that was

⁸⁸ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 31.

signed by more than fifty prominent Washingtonians who were ‘desirous of hearing the opera again before its introduction elsewhere’ and offering to fund a Washington production of *The Smugglers*.⁸⁹ According to several newspapers, this request came “in compliance with the wish of many of our citizens and public men, to whome [sic] the ability and extraordinary talents of the young composer have become known.”⁹⁰

The Smugglers emerged as a reworking of the music Sousa wrote for the Church Choir company’s production of Burnand and Sullivan’s *The Contrabandista*. While the story mirrors that of *The Contrabandista*, Vance completely re-wrote the libretto, and Sousa, the music (although the music retained a great deal of Sullivan’s style).⁹¹ As I noted earlier, Sousa had found the choruses in *The Contrabandista* wanting, and significantly rewrote the music adding some original compositions in Sullivan’s style.⁹² Sousa copyrighted the new orchestrations and revisions as “The Musical Numbers of *Smugglers*.”⁹³

⁸⁹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003),307. Warfield cites: “Typescript of letter to Vance and Souse, 4 March 1882, Printed Ephemera, Blakely Papers, NYPL. The signers included Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, Sen. John F. Miller, and Rep. John Floyd King (D-La).”

⁹⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 5.

⁹¹ A reliable synopsis of *The Smugglers* does not exist. Bierley attempts to provide a synopsis but admits that it is constructed from the score of *The Smugglers*, the plot of *The Contrabandista* and *The Chieftain* (another work based on the plot of *The Contrabandista*), and newspaper reviews from Philadelphia. Presumably, the four original songs from the 1879 production were included in the 1882 score. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 32.

⁹² Clipping labeled New York Mirror, October 1897. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 111b.

⁹³ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 31.

The Washington production, amply funded, was scheduled for a week-long run with professionals in the leads, leaving the Washington Operatic Association to serve as the chorus. The show received a positive response from the audience:

‘The Smugglers’ was a genuine surprise to the large audience at Lincoln Hall last night. Whenever a new play is placed before the public there is a natural anxiety as to its reception, but the enthusiastic applause that greeted each number, and the frequent encores that were demanded left no doubt as to the success and popularity of this production of Messrs. Vance and Sousa, both residents of this city.⁹⁴

Critics praised Sousa’s music, calling it “excellent.” One critic noticed that Sousa’s music was “heavier” than was normal for the light opera of the period (most likely because there were marches included in the score), but added that:

It never becomes tedious. Mr. Sousa availed himself of every artifice known to the science of music to heighten the effect. His orchestration is free and bright, his harmonies bold, but not abrupt. While the melodies in this opera are smooth and sparkling, the main success is in the concerted numbers and choruses. The music allotted the tenor was not great [...]. The chorus was the main feature of the performance. The seventy fresh voices sang the heavy choruses with great effect, and were repeatedly encored. More especially was this the case in the second act, which if possible is brighter than the first.⁹⁵

In the second act, there was a squadron of the National Rifles (led by Lieutenant J.F. Oyster – perhaps one of Sousa’s Marine colleagues) took the stage as “curbineers” [*sic*] and “carried the house by storm with their magnificent maneuvering.”⁹⁶ Overall, the

⁹⁴ “Public Amusements, Production of a New Opera Messrs. Sousa and Vance’s Work – “The Smugglers” at Lincoln Hall by the Operatic Association Scores a Success – Other Attractions To-day,” Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 7.

⁹⁵ “Public Amusements, Production of a New Opera Messrs. Sousa and Vance’s Work – “The Smugglers” at Lincoln Hall by the Operatic Association Scores a Success – Other Attractions To-day,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 7. Also quoted in: Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003),307.

⁹⁶ “Public Amusements, Production of a New Opera Messrs. Sousa and Vance’s Work – “The Smugglers” at Lincoln Hall by the Operatic Association Scores a Success – Other Attractions To-day,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 7.

performance made an “unusually good impression, considering the imperfections that usually attend the first public rendition of such a work,” and all went very smoothly.⁹⁷

It is interesting to note that after the first performance of the show, audiences and critics were quick to label the operetta an ‘American’ work. One critic observing:

Mr. Sousa’s music savors somewhat of the French school, while it partakes also of the old-fashioned quaintness of the numbers which have made Sullivan so famous; but in the opinion of competent critics, while there is this resemblance, Mr. Sousa’s compositions (and there is scarcely a band in the country that does not play them nor a piano upon which they may not be found) are of a much higher order of excellence, and will enjoy a more enduring popularity. This is gratifying not only because Mr. Sousa is an American composer, but also because he is a native-born Washingtonian – he having first seen the light twenty-six years ago on classic old Capitol Hill.⁹⁸

Notice that while the reviewer acknowledged that the music was imitative of French and English operetta styles, the work was ‘American’ because of its connection to Sousa. *The Smugglers* was American because he was native-born, not because it provided an American musical style or because it incorporated national dialogues. Another paper offered this excuse: “it is scarcely to be expected that English comic opera should be perfectly free from reminiscences of Sullivan or Offenbach or Loersing [*sic*]; but Sullivan copies more or less from Mendelssohn, and the Cat-bird and the Nightingale occasionally strike similar melodies.”⁹⁹ In the end, the only aspect that made *The Smugglers* different from its Continental counterparts was the birthplace of its composer; and it would soon

⁹⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 8. “Public Amusements, Production of a New Opera Messrs. Sousa and Vance’s Work – “The Smugglers” at Lincoln Hall by the Operatic Association Scores a Success – Other Attractions To-day,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 7. One paper went as far as to label the operetta “a go.” Clipping from Philadelphia, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 11.

⁹⁸ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 5.

⁹⁹ “Monday Night’s Novelties,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 10.

become obvious to critics and audiences alike that birthplace could not be the only characteristic of ‘American’ operetta.

Emboldened by their success, Sousa and Vance took the show north to Philadelphia, where Sousa was even more well known as a theatre composer. The show opened at the Chestnut Street Opera House on March 27, 1882 with its Washington cast.¹⁰⁰ There was a performance in Lancaster, Pennsylvania on March 28, after which, the company returned to the Chestnut Street Opera House for more performances between March 29 and April 1, 1882.¹⁰¹ Papers indicated that expectations were high, given Sousa’s reputation in the city.¹⁰² But, while the show was favorably received by a large audience, it was castigated by Philadelphia critics.¹⁰³

Sousa’s music fared the best of all the elements in the production. Critical response to the work indicated the city’s knowledge of Sousa’s compositional skills, but their dismay at the military sound of the music.

Mr. Sousa’s musical training has been largely in a military school and the results are seen constantly in his opera in the repeated march [which is] introduced at every opportunity. The instrumentation, however, is admirable, and shows a thorough [...] knowledge of the proper uses and capacities of the various instruments and he produced some remarkably broad and harmonious effects from what for grand opera, would be called a very small orchestra.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9. “Chestnut Street Opera House - “The Smugglers,” *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 28, 1882, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003),307. George K. Goodwin and Fred Zimmerman were named as managers in Clipping from Philadelphia, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 11.

¹⁰² “Chestnut Street Opera House - “The Smugglers,” *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 28, 1882, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰³ “Dramatic and Musical,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

Another reviewer added that “the technical part of the work – the orchestration – shows the influence of a well-disciplined mind, but one more prone to nice detail and finish than to the dash of genius.”¹⁰⁵ General consensus was that Sousa’s musical theatre work would indeed get better.¹⁰⁶

Critics had nothing good to say about Vance’s libretto, one saying, “Mr. Vance’s new libretto is not in the least an improvement. The dialogue is either vapid or ludicrously stilted, and where he has departed from Burnand in the action it is only to show his ignorance of dramatic effect.”¹⁰⁷ Another paper commented, “The idea upon which the plot turns is ingenious, but there is not enough of it to go round, and it has to be spread out pretty thin to give the composer a chance to afford an evening’s entertainment.”¹⁰⁸ However, critics reserved their special displeasure for the performers,

¹⁰⁴ “Chestnut Street Opera House - “The Smugglers,” *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 28, 1882, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ “The Theatres – Sousa’s Opera,” Clipping labeled *Inquirer*, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9. The *Philadelphia Ledger* reported: “From a musical point of view, it is a work of considerable merit. Though not so well provided as could have been desired with airs of that tuneful and catching sort which take the fancy of the average audience, it contains a great deal of vigorous and effective music, and is evidently the work of a cultivated and experienced composer. Perhaps its best feature is its orchestration, which is scored in a masterly manner, and is exceptionally spirited and striking and this is the more creditable to Mr. souse, because in most of the new comic operas to which, since the success of “Pinafore” set the fashion, a patient and much-enduring public has been invited to listen, the instrumentation has been the weakest point. “Chestnut Street Opera House - “The Smugglers,” *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 28, 1882, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ “The music is be no means of a high order, and much of it is the result of a good musical memory. There are some really beautiful numbers, however, and it is likely that Mr. Sousa may yet write something more worthy his very evident musical scholarship.” “Dramatic and Musical,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ “At the Theatres: A Variety of Music and Dramatic Entertainments of Various Merit,” March 29, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ “Production of “The Smugglers” at the Chestnut-Street Opera House,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9.

referring to them as “Washington amateurs,” of which it was “kindest to say little.”¹⁰⁹

One critic contended, “‘The Smugglers’ is a fair opera and it should be given here again by a good company. The one last week was about the worst we have ever seen.”¹¹⁰

In the end, Philadelphia critics blamed the fifty Washington financiers for *The Smugglers*. The *Lancaster Daily Intelligencer* blatantly declared, “the abundance of untamed congressmen from the boundless prairies of the West” accounted for the Capital’s willingness to accept the “painful paucity of merit in the score.”¹¹¹ While the show received slightly better press at the second performance, the tour ended as a colossal failure, and the group had to borrow money to get home.¹¹²

Sousa was so upset by the critical failure that he “buried [*The Smugglers*] in the vast dramatic cemetery of musical failures.” He later remembered that he went to his hotel “disillusioned and disconsolate. I examined myself and could only see that I was a colossal failure as a composer, as a dramatist, and as a man.”¹¹³ Later in his life, Sousa said of the work that, “The Smugglers fell flat, but it was a well-graduated composition,

¹⁰⁹ “At the Theatres: A Variety of Music and Dramatic Entertainments of Various Merit,” March 29, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 9. Another paper reported: “The music, by J.P. Sousa, is about what we should expect from a very good band-master. It is appropriate, melodious and occasionally – as in a quintette (*sic*) in the first act – very well written, but without anything that especially attracts attention of that would have left the world the poorer had it remained unperformed. As for the singers, it were kindest to say little. [unreadable] but is to be much feared that the success ‘The Smugglers’ [unreadable] reported to have attained in Washington w[unreadable] succeed “esteem.” “Musical and Dramatic: The Smugglers at the Opera House,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 11.

¹¹¹ The paper insinuates that these Western congressmen lacked artistic taste. *Lancaster Daily Intelligencer*, March 29, 1882. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 308-309.

¹¹² Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 10.

¹¹³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 82. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 309.

nevertheless,” [...] the first act was bad; the second worse, and the third was the most monumental failure known to comic opera history.”¹¹⁴

Désirée

Sousa’s next operetta was *Désirée*, with a libretto by Edward M. Taber.¹¹⁵ It was written between 1882 and 1883, and was based on the 1856 English comedy, *Our Wife, or The Rose of Amiens*, by John Maddison Morton.¹¹⁶ *Désirée* premiered at the National Theatre, Washington, D.C. May 1, 1884, and played there until May 3rd under the direction of Sousa and Taber.¹¹⁷ The reviews were extremely positive and characterized a sense of pride in the Washingtonian creators. Many critics ignored similarities to Offenbach and Gilbert and Sullivan, and pronounced the work a “new American comic opera.”¹¹⁸

The story was set in Amiens, France during the rule of Cardinal Richelieu, and concerned a young girl caught in a romantic entanglement. A young Count wishes to marry *Désirée*, but is prohibited from doing so because she is a commoner. The Count’s superior officer, a Marquis, devises a plan that will allow the Count to marry *Désirée* by

¹¹⁴ Clipping labeled *New York Mirror*, October 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 111b.

¹¹⁵ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 25. Taber was a government employee in Washington D.C. For more information on Taber, see: Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 309.

¹¹⁶ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 309.

¹¹⁷ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 25. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 309.

¹¹⁸ *Washington Post*, May 2, 1884. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 309-310.

offering to marry her himself and make her a wealthy (and titled) widow, as he has been sentenced to die in battle for treason. The Marquis marries Désirée, but the Count remains uninformed of the plan devised for his benefit and ends up in jail. The Marquis is pardoned, and lives through the battle designed to take his life, returning to declare his love for Désirée. All ends well, as the Count falls in love with Désirée's cousin and marries her instead.¹¹⁹

Désirée closely mirrors Gilbert and Sullivan operettas with “the requisite military choruses, patter songs, love arias, and fight duets. The plot’s concern for military and social rank immediately ties the opera to *H.M.S. Pinafore*, and at times the musical similarity to Sullivan’s operetta is uncanny.”¹²⁰ By way of example, Désirée’s uncle, Pomeret, sings a patter song called “With Intense Exhilaration” which shows striking similarities to the word play and verbosity of “I am the Very Model of a Modern Major-General” from *The Pirates of Penzance*.¹²¹ In the song, Pomeret uses his tools of knowledge to find a way out of his predicament. He sings:

It’s an awkward situation,
She will have no explanation,
But demands a separation
From her spouse without delay;
And my peerage in the nation,
Novel by approximation,
Like Othella’s occupation
Will have vanished in a day.

I’ve perused a commentary,

¹¹⁹ A more comprehensive summary can be found in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 25-26.

¹²⁰ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 380.

¹²¹ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 381.

Read a large vocabulary,
 Pondered o'er a dictionary,
 With a view to learn the cause,
 And must say that I am very sure
 It is not customary
 Or accords with military
 Technicalities or laws.¹²²

Désirée used English operetta musical forms with some French themes and music thrown in for good measure. It was hardly an ‘American’ operetta; it was, however, a very good imitation of English operetta.

In contrast to the fate of *The Smugglers*, *Désirée* came to the attention of the well-known McCaull’s Opera Comique Company, who thought the show was good enough to add to their repertoire, and purchased the performance rights from Sousa and Taber.¹²³

The Company first produced the work at Harverly’s Theatre in Philadelphia on November 10-29, 1884, to a full house.¹²⁴ Unlike his last operetta production in

¹²² “With Intense Exhilaration,” *Désirée*, Act 2, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 77.

¹²³ McCaull’s Opera Comique Company was one of two influential comic opera touring companies in the United States between the 1870s and 1890s (the other being the Boston Ideal Opera Company), responsible for bringing American operetta works to theatres up and down the Eastern seaboard.

¹²⁴ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1981): 31. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 11 and 21, 1884. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003): 310. The cast was as follows:

Désirée	Lillie Post
Marie	Emma Elsner
Laurie	Rose Leighton
Gertrude	Ida Mosher
Rose	Kate Rose
Marquis De Lavaree	Walter Whitney
Count De Courville	Mark Smith
Pomaret	De Wolf Hopper
Demont	E. H. Sandford
Antonio	George R. Wade

The Musical Director was Henry Wannemacher, and the Stage Manager was H.A. Cripps. *Désirée* Program, Monday November 10, 1884, NYPL Schwartzman Library, David Blakely Papers, Box 18: Folder 1, JP Sousa, Misc. Ephemera.

Philadelphia, the audience applauded the work and Sousa received his first curtain call outside Washington, D.C.¹²⁵ Warfield reports that critics and audiences continued to note that the only difference between Sousa's operettas and other imported works was the composer's birthplace:

Philadelphia reporters concurred that the libretto was well written and that "the composer has wide control of musical resources, and the score abounds with melodies lavished with confidence of wealth. The solos and concerted numbers are, many of them, very sweet and pleasing, and the choruses are rich and harmonious." But like other Sousa operettas, this one seemed marred with a reliance on "Offenbach and Sullivan, which could be spared with advantage."¹²⁶

The McCaull Company produced the work again in Boston at the Bijou Theatre from December 15-27, 1884.¹²⁷ Once again reviews began by noting that the work was "American," but the *Boston Globe* found the piece "undeniably dull. Even Mr. Sousa's music, which is always melodious and sometimes thoroughly effective, especially in the choruses, would fail to make the opera a 'go' at all." However, the papers indicated that because the creative team was American, "the interest of a full house is doubly assured."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Both Sousa and Tabor gave a curtain call appearance at Haverley's Theater on November 10, 1884. "New Comic Opera," *New York Times*, November 11, 1884. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008): 5. Accessed March 18, 2012.

¹²⁶ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 11, 1884. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 310.

¹²⁷ Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003): 310-311. The performances by the McCaull Company made the operetta's music well-known enough that its tunes began to be interpolated into other operettas. The *New York Advisor* indicated: "The topical song 'For All of Which My Son-in-Law Will Pay,' which is well known to theater goers through its introduction in the 'Tin Soldier' and other light operas into which it was grafted, is one of the best things in 'Désirée.'" "Sousa as a Composer," *New York Advertiser*, August 27, 1893, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 2. Pg. 76.

¹²⁸ *Boston Globe*, December 16, 1884. There are some mentions of an "initial" production of the work at the Broad Street Theatre in Philadelphia, but this is most likely a misprint. "Attractions at Local

It is understandable that *Désirée* was pronounced an ‘American’ operetta by audiences and critics. The show was aggressively marketed to play-goers as an ‘American’ opera by Col. John McCaull, head of the McCaull Company. McCaull used the birthplace of the creators to sell tickets, giving a speech about “the qualities of an American opera on opening night.”¹²⁹ He also made sure that each theatre was decorated with American and tri-color flags. This would not be the last theatre adorned in red, white, and blue in an effort to tie a Sousa operetta to its ‘American’ birthright, but in this case, that birthright was misplaced. Warfield comments that, “in the end, it seems that *Désirée*’s success was achieved more by publicizing the American parties involved in its creation than through any musical or dramatic qualities that went beyond the ordinary.”¹³⁰ It is expected that Sousa’s hometown newspaper, and the producer of his operetta would declaim it as a truly ‘American’ manifestation of operetta, but *Désirée*’s similarities to other established operettas were too great to overlook. The *New York Dramatic Mirror*, reviewing the production in its final performance in Boston, shared this sentiment. The critic for the *Mirror* admitted that the show was good but it could “scarcely be called an American opera. That is yet to come.”¹³¹

After *Désirée*, Sousa wrote a short “juvenile jingle” entitled *The Queen of Hearts*, which only received three performances in April of 1886, as well as *The Devil’s Deputy*

Theatres,” Clipping labeled *Newark New Jersey Advertiser*, Oct 7, 1897. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 109a.

¹²⁹ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 11 and 21, 1884. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 310.

¹³⁰ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 311.

¹³¹ *New York Dramatic Mirror*, December 27, 1884. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003): 310-311.

and *The Wolf*, which never found producers (Appendix C). It would be another ten years before a Sousa operetta was produced, and this operetta would be truly ‘American.’

CHAPTER THREE

CREATING THE 'AMERICAN' OPERETTA: *EL CAPITAN*

In the late 1880s, Sousa turned his attention to establishing his brand as a “Salesman of Americanism.” His brand began to circulate throughout the country in the early 1890s through a series of national tours with the Marine Band (he left the Marines in 1892), and then with his own Sousa Band in 1893. Sousa’s popularity as a band leader and ‘American’ grew exponentially during these years, taking him from an unknown military musician to a popular celebrity with the ability to sustain multiple national tours. However, success eluded Sousa in his quest to write an ‘American’ operetta, and it was eluding his contemporaries as well.

There were several American attempts at the operetta form in the 1880s, including *The First Life Guards at Brighton*, *Deseret*, *L’Afrique*, and *The Little Tycoon* in addition to Sousa’s *The Smugglers*, *Désirée*, and *The Queen of Hearts*.¹ The first operetta by an American composer to receive modest success was *The Begum* in 1887. It was not until the 1890-1891 season that ‘American’ operettas on Broadway outnumbered imported operetta. However, like Sousa’s *Désirée*, these operettas were marketed as ‘American’ based merely on the citizenship of their composer.

Of the four composers modern musical theatre historians classify as “American’ operetta composers, only Reginald De Koven and Sousa were working during this early period (Julian Edwards and Victor Herbert would not begin offering operettas until the mid- to late 1890s). De Koven, composer of *The Begum*, was born in Connecticut but was educated in England. He was the first of the ‘American’ operetta composers of the period to contribute well-constructed and successful imitations of Continental operettas to

¹ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 40-41.

the stage. He would go on to work with his *Begum* librettist Harry B. Smith on *Don Quixote* (1890), and the first ‘American’ operetta hit of the period, *Robin Hood* (1891).² De Koven often expressed his frustration at critics and audiences alike for their insistence that ‘American’ operetta was somehow different than its Continental counterparts.

Bordman offers:

[De Koven] lamented the confusion among comic opera, operetta, and opera bouffe, and unsuccessfully attempted to clarify the distinctions. But to charges of repetition and even of outright plagiarism [of Continental musical styles, especially of Offenbach,] De Koven had little to say, except to insist that all composers were “imitative.” This was especially true of American composers, he added, since as a nation we were “too young” to have developed a native musical style. He argued simply, “what we need is music in America, not American music.”³

The general consensus was that ‘American’ operetta was somehow different than the others, however no one – neither composers nor critics – could define how these forms were different or what made an operetta ‘American.’ Therefore, Broadway continued to be flooded with imitations of other national operetta styles. Because these imitations sounded so much like continental operetta, the practice of interpolating other ‘American’ songs continued to be prevalent, even in operettas billed as ‘American’ themselves!⁴ “Oh Promise Me,” the most recognizable and popular tune from *Robin Hood* was interpolated into the show after its opening from another De Koven work.

² Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre, 2nd edition*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1992): 104, 126.

³ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 48.

⁴ The interpolating of new material into operettas was also influenced by the rise of the star system. The repertory stock opera companies of the 1880s were replaced by companies surrounding a single ‘star’ performer in the 1890s, and stars were expected to sing their ‘signature’ songs at every performance they gave, whether that song was part of the show or not.

Composers sought a rubric for classifying an operetta as ‘American’ based on its intrinsic qualities, something akin to the distinctions, though superficial, between French and English operettas. As I offered in the previous chapter, what set apart French and English operettas in the 1870s were their national contexts. These contexts brought about differences in language, setting, subject, and musical styles, as well as nation-specific dialogues. Therefore, ‘American’ operettas were to be held to these same types of distinctions: they were to be defined (1) by the American citizenship of their composer, (2) by their use of English as the primary language, (3) by the conventions of their plot (including an ‘American’ setting and subject), and (4) by their American musical elements.⁵ As De Koven exemplified, a difference in citizenship and language was not enough for his operettas to be universally considered ‘American.’ However, these distinctions illuminate why he was so frustrated. Other than citizenship and language, the distinctions seem arbitrary: What defines an ‘American’ setting and subject? What defines ‘American’ musical elements? De Koven did not believe there *was* American music. Through the mid-1890s, composers offered operettas that met some of the above criteria, but not all – until Sousa’s *El Capitan* was “hailed as the genuine American comic opera.”⁶

El Capitan was Sousa’s most famous and successful comic opera.⁷ It played consistently from its debut in 1896 for four years in the U.S. and Canada, and then for six

⁵ See: Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): chapter 3. W.J. Henderson, “Music,” *The New York Times Supplement*, February 14, 1897. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 42.

⁶ “Seen and Heard in Many Places,” Philadelphia paper, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 33a.

months in England.⁸ Many in the press proclaimed that the operetta met all the distinctions of being a truly ‘American’ construction, and began to hail Sousa as “the representative composer of American comic operas, as well as the undisputed ruler in the stirring realms of march music.”⁹ The *New York Times* unpacked its ‘American’ credentials:

Nationalism in music is a topic which suggests a question bearing on one of the lighter forms of entertainment: “What is an American operetta?” It may be regarded by some as one of American production, and if that is the truth, then Sousa’s “El Capitan,” which is soon to be brought forward once more at the Broadway Theatre, would answer the definition. It was certainly made in the country, and pretty well made in some respects. [...] Its subject is, perhaps, sufficiently American. The scene is laid in Peru, which by a literal construction of the Monroe doctrine may be regarded as not, indeed, a part of this country, but under its protection. [...] Mr. Sousa’s music is a good deal more American than it may appear at the first hearing. To be sure, there are no National themes in it, but the character of the Sousa marches is distinctly indigenous to this soil. Compare them with those of France, Germany, or Italy, and their individuality becomes manifest at once. There is an American dash about them, and there is something significant in the swift and sure appeal which they make to the American nervous energy and love of trip hammer rhythms.¹⁰

While *El Capitan* met all of the criteria, the passage displays a sense of doubt: was the setting ‘American’ enough? I argue that in addition to the distinctions listed above, what critics and audiences alike were looking for in their ‘American’ operetta was (5) a clear

⁷ I acknowledge a debt to Michael Jorgenson’s dissertation “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” and Carol A. Hess’s article, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” in the construction of this chapter. Due to their thorough scholarship, there is not accompanying appendix to *El Capitan* included in this dissertation.

⁸ Tours of *El Capitan* continued to work their way across the United States after 1900 as well.

⁹ “Seen and Heard in Many Places,” Philadelphia paper, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 33a.

¹⁰ W.J. Henderson, “Music,” *The New York Times Supplement*, February 14, 1897. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 42.

contribution to national dialogues. The designation of ‘American’ needed a clear way to tie the operetta to America because the established distinctions were so flimsy.¹¹

El Capitan was as ‘American’ an operetta as had been seen on the stage in the 1890s; however, it cemented its position as “the genuine American comic opera” when it was re-crafted by its performers as a cultural ambassador for anti-Spanish sentiment and pro-war fervor after the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine, and became tied in the national consciousness to the Spanish American War. Thus, I argue that the initial inauguration of the national form of ‘American’ operetta happened when these works began to contribute to national dialogues. After operettas began consciously commenting on national life, the discussion of ‘What is an American operetta?’ began to disappear.

This chapter focuses on the beginning of the third stage of Sousa’s musical theatre career, exploring how Sousa’s growing fame helped to brand *El Capitan* as ‘American’ upon its debut, and how the collision of Sousa’s status as a cultural icon and the re-creation of *El Capitan* as a cultural ambassador resulted in a powerful tool for selling and circulating ideology. Ultimately, this production marked the transformation of Sousa’s comic operas into cultural ambassadors.

Finding the Formula: *El Capitan* as ‘American’

El Capitan was initially conceived by the American librettist Charles Klein.

Klein had very little success with his theatre works up to that point, but took a chance and

¹¹ While modern musical theatre histories tend to claim composers and operettas as ‘American’ even when they don’t contribute to national dialogues, it is important to point out that reviewers of the period did not! Histories today often base a composer’s or operetta’s ‘American-ness’ on whether they achieved this designation at a later date, or whether they were billed as American in their own time. For example, De Koven is often classified in modern histories as an ‘American’ operetta composer in the early 1890s because he and his works were classified as such at a later date, even though his ‘American’ credentials were often called into question in the press of the period.

sent his libretto to the Broadway manager B. D. Stevens hoping to find a composer and lyricist. His story was set during the Spanish possession of Peru, and tells the tale of a young viceroy, Don Medigua, who impersonates a rebel leader, the notorious El Capitan, in order to control the rebels and ensure the safety of his position. Medigua murders El Capitan and assumes his identity, and then circulates a rumor that he has been captured by the rebels. His plan goes awry when a young woman falls desperately in love with the man she believes to be El Capitan, and then Medigua's wife and daughter show up in the rebel camp seeking the captured Medigua's freedom. He can no longer conceal his identity in front of his wife, however, before the mistaken identities can be worked out, the Spanish army is sighted and Medigua (as El Capitan) is obliged to lead the rebels against them. He leads his army in circles until they are overtaken by the Spanish, the rebels are defeated, Medigua is restored to his position, the confusion caused by mistaken identities is rectified, and all ends happily.¹²

Stevens passed the libretto onto the operetta star De Wolf Hopper. Hopper was an American stage comedian, and, like Sousa, was destined to become an American legend in his own right. Known in the United States for his performance and popularization of the American baseball poem, "Casey at the Bat," a poem that he interpolated between the acts of various productions throughout his career (including *El Capitan*), Hopper used his unusually large and awkward physique ("something more than 6 feet, [with] a bass rumble and proper enunciation") to become one of the most celebrated physical comedians of his day.¹³ After reading *El Capitan*, Hopper

¹² A more comprehensive summary is available in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 20.

“immediately wanted it for himself,” believing that the role of Medigua/El Capitan would give him ample opportunity to indulge in his brand of comic business.¹⁴

Hopper approached Sousa about collaborating with Klein on the libretto. The two men had established a productive working relationship ten years earlier while working on *Désirée*, and Hopper felt that the martial nature of the libretto would suit Sousa’s composition skills.¹⁵ After reading it, Sousa indicated that he “was equally enthusiastic” about collaborating on the show.¹⁶ Years later, Sousa would remark, “the libretto is probably the best ever written on this side of the water.”¹⁷

Klein had only written the libretto and did not feel that he had the experience to write the lyrics. So, contrary to some published reports attributing authorship elsewhere, Sousa worked with Tom Frost to produce the lyrics, each man contributing about half the lyrics required for the show.¹⁸ Sousa was primarily responsible for the lyrics to the “El

¹³ De Wolf Hopper and Wesley Winans Stout, *Reminiscences of De Wolf Hopper: Once a Clown, Always a Clown*, (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1927): 46.

¹⁴ *Boston Post*, October 1922. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 150. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 19.

¹⁵ Hopper made his stage debut playing Pomeret in *Désirée*, a role that he felt later pigeonholed him. This may have been the reason why Sousa & Klein went to such lengths to create a comic role for Hopper in *The Charlatan* that was outside his usual buffoonery. Unfortunately, this backfired. However, *Désirée* marked the beginning of a fruitful partnership between Hopper and Sousa, and they held each other in high regard throughout their careers. Newspapers affirmed that, “Sousa and Hopper have told each other that neither would have been known as creators of mirth and music but for the other.” “Hopper’s New Role,” *New York Recorder*, July 24, 1893, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 111b.

¹⁶ *Boston Post*, October 1922. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 150. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 19.

¹⁷ Many musical theatre historians would disagree with this statement; however, it expresses the nostalgic attachment Sousa had to his first comic opera “hit.” John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 150.

¹⁸ Two incorrect reports surrounding the libretto were published: one falsely attributed the lyrics to Charles Klein. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984),

Capitan song (You See in Me),” “Sweetheart I’m Waiting,” “The Typical Tune of Zanzibar,”¹⁹ and “The Ditty of the Drill (the opening of the second act).”²⁰ Additionally, Sousa recycled music from prior operettas in *El Capitan*. “The Fable of the Frogs” from *The Queen of Hearts*, was retitled “The Legend of the Frogs” and placed in the third act; however, it was cut early in production, and replaced with “The Typical Tune of Zanzibar.” “Sweetheart, I’m Waiting” was an adaptation of “Sighing, Ah Sighing” from *The Smugglers*. Sousa completed the first draft of the score while at Manhattan Beach in August 1895.²¹

Unlike his earlier experiences writing operetta, Sousa was able to focus on writing the music and allow the practiced hands of other comic opera professionals to develop the rest of the show. Both Hopper and Stevens had a great deal of influence over the operetta, and were vocal about what they thought the show needed to be successful. For example, when Sousa delivered the score to Hopper, he was not happy with the song Sousa had composed for the entrance of the El Capitan character. He asked Sousa to

19. Another attributed the story to Sousa as well: “John Philip Sousa writes from Manhattan Beach to compliment THE MIRROR for the general accuracy which characterized his interview in last week’s issue, but there was one mistake in it which calls for correction. “THE MIRROR’s commissioner,” he says, “reports me as saying that in addition to writing some of the lyrics of El Capitan, I also ‘concocted the story.’ This is erroneous, as the full credit for the original scenario and the lines of the opera as presented is due entirely to Charles Klein.” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2. Pg. 78b.

¹⁹ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 149. According to Bierley, the words Sousa used for “The Typical Tune of Zanzibar” were from an old poem Sousa had written for a magazine. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 19. Sousa confirms this, but says that the poem was for a “now defunct magazine,” and does not give the magazine’s title. In this discussion, Sousa also indicates that he wrote the music for “Typical Tune” while on tour with the Sousa band on the train between Omaha and Chicago. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 150.

²⁰ Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 31.

²¹ The completion date of August 29, 1895 is written in Sousa’s hand on the original manuscript copy of *El Capitan* in the Sousa Archives. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 31.

write him something different, and Sousa wrote “You See in Me,” one of the most famous pieces in the operetta.²² Likewise, Stevens was not happy with music for the third act because it did not match the scope of the set design. Sousa recalled that:

In the third act there was a cumbersome and expensive change of scene. B.D. Stevens – who sometimes because of his initials was called Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper Stevens – was a careful and thrifty manager. He saw no necessity of spending a large sum of money on scenery that might prove valueless, so he wrote me, “Hopper wants a knockout song for this act. Send as soon as possible.”²³

Both men exerted their influence to craft the libretto and the score into a work they thought they could sell to audiences. There was a great deal of reworking of the score from its original completion date in 1895 until the piano-vocal score was published in late 1896, especially within acts one and two. Sousa was forced to discard a great deal of the score’s first draft, which still survives in the archives under the *El Capitan* name.²⁴

Stevens set up an out-of-town tryout for *El Capitan* in Boston in April of 1896. The De Wolf Hopper Opera Company began rehearsals in Boston, and they were joined by Sousa who had canceled dates on his band tour to be with the production through its Broadway opening. Sousa rehearsed the chorus along with the company’s resident music director, John Sebastian Hiller.²⁵ Reporters allowed to attend these rehearsals confirmed

²² John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 149. About the creation of “You See in Me:” “Sousa claimed that one day a melody “just came to him” and, with his wife’s encouragement, he developed it and wrote it out. Sousa later combined the piece with part of the finale from the second act to create the “El Capitan March.” Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 32.

²³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 150.

²⁴ See Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 32-35, for a detailed description of the cuts and additions to the score.

that they thought it would “prove the best vehicle [that] Hopper has yet had.”²⁶ The operetta was given a preview performance on April 12, 1896. The press proclaimed, “‘El Capitan’ promises to be one of the most gorgeous productions of the present season, and from what can be learned from the local management, it will far outshine any of Mr. Hopper’s previous efforts.”²⁷

El Capitan premiered at the Tremont Theatre in Boston, Massachusetts on April 13, 1896, where it was engaged to play for a one week.²⁸ From the Boston tryout, the show moved to the Broadway Theatre in New York City on April 21, 1896. The opening night audience proved large and friendly.²⁹ The *New York Times* hailed the show:

²⁵ The production was managed by Mr. T. H. French, and stage managed by Herbert Cripps. Unlabeled Clipping, April 19, 1896. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 62, Folder 6: 1896. Herbert Cripps name does not appear in the newspapers until 1897, however he was the resident stage manager of Hopper’s company, and is listed as the stage manager in later publications. “De Wolf Hopper Will Stick to ‘El Capitan,’” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 74a. Ernest M. Gros, the “celebrated Parisian scenic artist,” provided the scenic design; and Dazian, the “well-known costumer,” provided the costumes from sketches by Mrs. Caroline F. Seidle. The *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1896, reports that Dazian “has furnished a wealth of brilliant costumes, armor, dresses and draperies, from sketches made by Mrs. Caroline F. Seidle, the wife of Edward Seidle of the metropolitan opera house (*sic*), who has equipped (*sic*) the production with all the unique properties and novel effects.” Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 40.

²⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 62, Folder 6: 1896. The report read, “John Philip Sousa, the composer of the new opera ‘El Capitan’, which De Wolf Hopper will produce at Boston 13, will join the co. here and the first rehearsal under his direction was held at the Gilmore Opera House 3. He will attend rehearsals daily on tour, and be with the co. for three weeks, having canceled his band engagements until 24. Mr. Hopper is greatly pleased with the opera and says that since receiving the manuscript and music they have not changed a line either. Those who attended rehearsal think it will prove the best vehicle for Hopper has yet had.”

²⁷ *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 39-40.

²⁸ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 19. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 43.

²⁹ Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 44.

In every sense the work has successfully attained its aims. Every number was applauded last night, and some had to be sung three or four times, while after the finale of the second act there was such an outburst of enthusiasm as has not been heard at any operetta performance this season. Mr. Hopper and his associates were called out half a dozen times. [...] The librettist and the composer then received two hearty calls.³⁰

Some critics of the show believed the audience must have been “a host of De Wolf Hopper’s friends.”³¹ However, most reviews were exceedingly positive, with the *New York World* proclaiming that *El Capitan* “marched to success.”³²

Klein’s libretto garnered the best reviews. The *New York World* declared that the book “has substance and form. It has a well-defined plot – sequential and coherent. It’s (*sic*) construction is ingenious (*sic*). The exposition is clear, the development is consistent and the resolution is logical.” The *New York Sun* went on:

Mr [*sic*] Klein wrote a libretto so different from the average comic opera that it is easiest to describe it by mentioning the qualities it lacked. It told no complicated story which began ages before the curtain rose, its language was vivacious and well written, and its development was not accomplished through the alternation of a series of amazon marches and clog dances. It was clear, logical in its progress, and never dull. More than this, it contains several scenes ingeniously and well constructed, and the piece seemed last night so much superior to the average specimen of its kind that it might have been acted without the music and still proved amusing.³³

³⁰ *New York Times*, April 21, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 44.

³¹ *New York Tribune*, April 21, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 44.

³² *New York World*, April 21, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 44.

³³ *New York Sun*, April 21, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 45.

The only criticism of Klein's work was levied by the *New York World*, which stated that Klein's lyrics were "commonplace;" the reporter did not realize that the lyricists were actually Sousa and Frost.³⁴

Sousa's marches received excellent reviews, though some of his vocal work was panned. The *New York World* found *El Capitan*'s marches "as striking, as pleasing, as fascinating, as any [of his marches] which are familiar to every American." However, it found Sousa's songs "uninspired and ordinary" and "commonplace to an extraordinary [sic] degree." It added, "it is evident that Mr. John Philip Sousa, the composer, does not know how to write music for the voice." The *New York Times* gave Sousa better reviews saying that "Mr. Sousa's music is of a kind that will add to his popularity. It is perfectly simple in form and rhythm, but it is full of tunefulness, vim and sparkle. [...] On the whole, it must be said that Sousa has written a bright and melodious score."³⁵ The *El Capitan* marches were responsible for the show's popularity, one reviewer asserting:

Perhaps the most potent factor in the remarkable success achieved by "El Capitan," is the music of the two great march finales at the end of the second and last acts of the opera. The spirit of this swinging, inspiring music not only take entire possession, for the time being, of every auditor, but it is infectious behind the curtain, as its martial strains sets in motion the feet of every man comprising the stage force. The great "Boom" march which concludes the second act of the opera, is one of delicious harmony and lively motion, and the extremely pretty girls and comely young men of the organization, as well as every principal, from star to utility man, simply throw themselves into this impressive scene, as if their very lives depended upon their efforts.³⁶

³⁴ *New York World*, April 21, 1896. Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 45.

³⁵ *New York Tribune*, April 21, 1896. *New York World*, April 21, 1896. *New York Times*, April 21, 1896, 4. Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 46.

³⁶ "Sousa's Marches," Unlabeled Clipping, Late 1897/Early 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 105. The

What set *El Capitan* apart as an ‘American’ operetta was Sousa’s march music. While march music in operetta was not a new offering (Gilbert and Sullivan used military music throughout their operettas), Sousa’s marches stood apart as ‘American’ because of his specific changes to the established march form, and because of the cultural capital they held due to their relationship to the Sousa brand.³⁷ While Sousa’s contemporaries grappled for the coveted ‘American’ operetta designation only to fall short, Sousa had soared above them because he alone could provide ‘American’ music.

Hopper, the opera’s star, ensured the ongoing success of *El Capitan*. What *El Capitan* lacked in libretto and, at some points, music, was covered by Hopper’s instinctive knowledge of his audience. He was famous for interpolating the audience’s favorite speeches and music into his performances, introducing new material based on current cultural trends and the specific make-up of his crowd each night. Thus, he held a great deal of power to essentially rewrite the book every night in order to keep the show filled with enough new material to create business. For example, when *El Capitan* was on tour, it made a featured stop in New Haven, where Hopper was asked by a group of Yale students to write fight song lyrics to the “El Capitan” march for the upcoming football game between Yale and Princeton. Hopper collaborated with Sousa, each writing a verse for the school’s use. Sousa’s verse read:

Behold the boys from Yale!
Never say die when on the field,
Making the Tigers quickly yield,
See Nassau’s men grow pale,

march at the conclusion of the second act was nicknamed the “Boom” march because the chorus frequently yelled “Boom, Boom!” in time with the music.

³⁷ See: Patrick Warfield, ed., *Six Marches by John Philip Sousa*, (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2010).

They are aware their doom by us is sealed.³⁸

The cast premiered the new lyrics for Yale fans during one of the evening performances, and it served as yet another way to sell tickets. For Hopper, a libretto had to be an ever-evolving work-in-progress if it was going to survive.

After the successful opening, Sousa went back on tour with the Sousa Band, but returned to New York to conduct the fiftieth performance of *El Capitan* personally on June 11, 1896. For a bit of extra flair, he brought the Sousa Band on stage to play the second and third act march finales. These June performances were marketed as a magnificent affair. Advertisements were made for ‘Sousa night,’ and ‘West Point night’ among others, all attempting to capitalize on Sousa’s image as well as the operetta’s popularity.³⁹ The show continued to be a favorite with audiences. As Michael Jorgensen notes, its “run of 112 performances over thirteen weeks could easily have been extended, but it is likely that the operetta, in the custom of the time, was completely booked for its road tour before its premiere.”⁴⁰

The De Wolf Hopper Opera Company took the show on a transcontinental tour during the 1896-97 season.⁴¹ The company returned to the Broadway Theatre for thirty-two performances beginning February 22, 1897. During this run, *El Capitan* celebrated

³⁸*Bridgeport, Connecticut Union*, November 18, 1897, JPS Book 5, p. 167. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 55.

³⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Times*, June 14, 1896, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 62, Folder 6: “1893,” pg. 7.

⁴⁰ Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 47.

⁴¹ For a complete listing of the first *El Capitan* national tour, see Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 47-50.

its three-hundredth performance; the longest Sousa run ever, and a phenomenal run for any comic opera of the time when “hits” averaged 80 performances. The show continued to generate several hundred dollars in royalties for Sousa every week.⁴² The company spent the summer season of 1897 at Manhattan Beach, a popular summer destination, along with Sousa and the Sousa Band.⁴³ Nineteen hundred people attended *El Capitan*'s initial Manhattan Beach performance, and crowds continued to be sizeable throughout the summer.⁴⁴ The papers observed that “Sousa, conducting his own ‘El Capitan’ music, is an added attraction, which works wonders in the way of thronging the box office.”⁴⁵

⁴² H.M. Bosworth, “King Sousa as a Business Man,” *San Francisco Examiner*, February 28, 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 43. The clipping reads: “‘El Capitan’ celebrated its 300th representation on February 1st, and is still dropping \$500 a week into Sousa’s hat, though there is only one march in it. He has almost completed ‘The Bride Elect,’ to a libretto by Charles Klein, who wrote ‘El Capitan,’ which will be produced this fall.”

⁴³ Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 50. It was thought that Sousa would make several changes to the score during the summer, but this does not appear to have happened. The papers reported: “Sousa, it is understood, will make several changes for the better in this already charming opera while it is at the Beach.” “Amusements: ‘El Capitan’ at Manhattan,” Summer 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 69. It was also during the Manhattan Beach season that Sousa received an inquiry about securing the French rights to *El Capitan*. “Want ‘El Capitan’ in France,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 85a.

⁴⁴ “‘El Capitan’ at Manhattan,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 67.

⁴⁵ “‘El Capitan’ at Manhattan,” *The Musical Age*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 65a. The summer season at Manhattan Beach brings to light yet another factor which contributed to *El Capitan*'s notoriety: the marital escapades of De Wolf Hopper and his wife, Edna Wallace Hopper. During the *El Capitan* tour, Hopper and his wife decided to divorce, but were obligated to continue to play opposite each other on stage. This added a hint of scandal to the Manhattan Beach performances when they were forced to act as if they were in love. “At such times subdued snickers from the front of the house bear evidence to the fact that the audience appreciates the situation.” The situation became much more dire when the show continued on tour after the summer at Manhattan Beach. The papers began to report: “The feelings between the star and his wife are said to have become so bitter that it is no unusual thing for them to pass slurring remarks whenever they pass each other. Sometimes in their scenes on the stage they give way to the temptation to scrap, and on at least one occasion when they came to the part of the opera where the lines call on Hopper to say to his wife: ‘I love you.’ He added in a most emphatic and quite audible aside the expressive word ‘nit.’” Stevens was forced to offer Edna Wallace Hopper the lead and a good deal of

Overall, *El Capitan* showed no signs of slowing down, and Stevens was anxious to capitalize on the show's popularity. At one point during the Manhattan Beach engagement, it was announced that Sousa and Hopper had decided to tour the production together, but that tour never materialized.⁴⁶ The show continued to tour throughout the fall of 1897, still making enough money to employ a company of eighty people (fifty of those comprising the chorus).⁴⁷

managing control in Sousa's next musical, *The Bride Elect*, to keep her with the production until a replacement could be found. However, it was Nella Bergen, Hopper's new girlfriend (who he eventually married), who left the company to star in *The Bride Elect*. Edna Wallace Hopper continued to perform in *El Capitan*. "El Capitan' at Manhattan," Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 67. "De Wolf Hopper and Edna Wallace Part," Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 78a. "Miss Bergen Leaves Hopper," *New York Times*, December 2, 1897, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008): 7.

⁴⁶ "Sousa Goes to Europe," Summer 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 69. The following explanation appeared under the sub-title of "Bandmaster John Philip Sousa and De Wolf Hopper will not tour together next Spring: 'Ben' D. Stevens, Hopper's manager, declares that Sousa and De Wolf are still friends." It reads: "Stevens hatched the idea of combining Hopper and Sousa, and with a company of fifty and Sousa's band in special cars visiting the largest cities. Sousa thought so well of the plan that he authorized Stevens to count him in. Stevens then filled the time for the Spring of 1898, and he was hugging himself as he mused on prospective profits, when he learned that Sousa had arranged to go to England on his own hook, and go he will and take the band with him. Hopper must play 'El Capitan' without the accompaniment of the band." Another paper offered: "The combination deal under which the Hopper company and the Sousa Band were to travel together for a time next Spring is off, as has been already stated in *The Daily Telegraph*. 'Sousa was very anxious to get away just at that time,' said Mr. Stevens yesterday, 'and I could not say no to him. In the first place, he is too good a fellow to unnecessarily inconvenience and in the second he has furnished us with a line of productions of the most valuable sort, and we feel under a certain obligation to him outside the ordinary limitations of business. I am still confident that the trip would have turned out to be a big thing in a financial sense, but even at that I don't regret having allowed Mr. Sousa to have his way.'" "DeWolf Hopper Will Stick to 'El Capitan,'" Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 74a.

⁴⁷ Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 54. At some point during this leg of the tour, the company lost their musical director, John Hiller, and Herbert Cripps took his place. Hiller rejoined the production in New York in February. The reports state: "John Hiller, who has been the musical director of the Hopper company for several years, has retired from that organization and will remain in New York this coming Winter devoting himself to teaching. He does not wish to travel. His place will be taken by Herbert Cripps, the stage manager of the company, who will combine both functions. Cripps has often led the orchestra in Hiller's temporary absence, and the position therefore is not in any sense new to him." "De Wolf Hopper Will Stick to 'El Capitan,'" Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 74a. This clipping was published sometime between September and November of 1897.

In November of 1897, the show made its way to Philadelphia for a two-week engagement at Sousa's former employer and site of one of his greatest failures, the Chestnut Street Opera House.⁴⁸ Sousa attended one of the performances; however, he was late for the curtain because he was seeing another show in Philadelphia that same night called *One Round of Pleasure*. *One Round of Pleasure* had interpolated "an inspiring hodge-podge of Sousa marches to a spirited accompaniment of waving American flags" into its finale, and Sousa was invited to see the spectacle.⁴⁹

Interestingly, as *El Capitan* continued on tour, Hopper began interpolating "The Stars and Stripes Forever" into the second act finale with the addition of a forty piece brass band and the entire opera company on stage waving American flags.⁵⁰ There is no indication why this new ending was added; however, it did follow on the heels of Sousa's viewing of *One Round of Pleasure*, and the growing anti-Spanish sentiment regarding the Philippine revolution. Press reports reveal that this new finale became a standard offering. Critics were "taken" with Sousa's march; one saying, "Sousa's chorus is something more than swing. It has song. Sousa shows that he is going beyond mere form in composition; he is going after content. Like a true poet, rhyme is no longer his first consideration. *He has a message* (emphasis mine)."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Performances at the Chestnut Street Opera House began on November 8, 1897.

⁴⁹ See Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 57.

⁵⁰ *New York Telegraph*, January 4, 1898, JPS Book 5, p. 179. As quoted in Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 58.

⁵¹ Unlabeled Clipping, JPS book 5, p. 189. As quoted in Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 58-59. Jorgensen reports that the first time the press specifically mentions accompanying lyrics to "The Stars and Stripes Forever," is not for another week at the Cleveland, Ohio engagement; however, the

While it is unclear from the review what message was being proclaimed in “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” this was the first time the press referenced the fact that someone (even though it is attributed to Sousa, it could also be Hopper) was using the *El Capitan* stage to give audience members the message: “The Stars and Stripes *Forever*.” By writing new lyrics to Sousa’s march, the operetta is given a new significance – it became a way to please and entertain audiences while teaching them and disseminating messages from the stage. I argue that with the incorporation of national dialogues into their performances, ‘American’ operettas truly began to emerge.⁵² As tensions between the U.S. and Spain continued to escalate, *El Capitan* was poised to become a mouthpiece to propagate ideas about the coming Spanish American War.⁵³

Remember the Maine!: *El Capitan* as Cultural Ambassador

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded in the Havana Harbor, killing 266 American sailors. While a definitive reason for the explosion has never been established, Americans were quick to blame Spain, even though the country denied any military action and sent its prompt condolences. While the McKinley administration urged “moderation,” politicians continued to speak out against Spain. Theodore Roosevelt (then Secretary of the Navy) declared publically, “The Maine was sunk by an

critic’s discussion of the march begin a “chorus” suggests that the lyrics may have indeed been used at these performances as well.

⁵² Subsequent reviews indicate that the march had lyrics, which were sung by the entire cast. Jorgensen says: “Interestingly, an article regarding the Cleveland run states that the interpolated “Stars and Stripes Forever” was sung as well as played.” “Amusements,” Unlabeled Clipping, JPS Book 5, p. 207. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 60. There are no reports that list the lyrics or partial lyrics of “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” Sousa wrote lyrics for this march (which are included in Chapter one of this dissertation) in early 1898 (a few months after this performance) for use in *The Trooping of the Colors*.

⁵³ In February of 1898, around the time lyrics were added to the interpolation of “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” the *New York Journal* published a critique of President McKinley attributed to the Spanish ambassador to the U.S., who had recently resigned.

act of dirty treachery on the part of the Spaniards.”⁵⁴ Fueled by newspaper headlines, Americans found a voice in the slogan “Remember the Maine! To Hell with Spain!”

Sousa’s *El Capitan* was playing in Ohio when word reached Hopper and his company about the destruction of the U.S. battleship. The company finished their engagement in Cleveland and headed straight for New York City. Less than a week after the Maine was destroyed, the company opened *El Capitan* at the Fifth Avenue Theatre on February 21, 1898, where it played for over four and a half months (the show’s longest Broadway run).⁵⁵ However, it was not the same *El Capitan* which audiences had seen for the past three years. The rallying cry of “Remember the Maine! To Hell with Spain!” was picked up by Hopper, and its sentiments were interpolated into *El Capitan*.

Carol A. Hess deals specifically with this production in her article, “John Phillip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War.” She explains that, “given the plot’s emphasis on deceit, ineptitude, and drunkenness, all humorously treated, the overriding suggestion seems to be that the Spanish empire is little more than a farce.”⁵⁶ Hopper did not have to change the opera to have it take on new meaning - he simply had to overdo his presentation of the quixotic El Capitan figure and make him look even more of a buffoon than he had in earlier productions. El Capitan, the comic hero, became El Capitan the Spanish buffoon.

⁵⁴ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 17.

⁵⁵ The show ran for 224 performances. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 47.

⁵⁶ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 2.

As soon as the audience arrived at the opening performance at the Fifth Avenue Theatre on February 21, they were presented with tiny American flags. The theatre had also been decked in red, white, and blue.⁵⁷ The operetta proceeded without incident until the third act. Hess' article indicates that when the Spanish army arrived to overtake the rebels and declare their victory in the final act of the opera, the audience went silent. One reviewer said, "at least no one hissed."⁵⁸ However, at that moment, a band wearing American colors trooped onto the stage and began playing "The Stars and Stripes Forever." Hess describes it this way:

At this point, emotions broke loose. The crowd jumped to its feet, shouting and waving the miniature flags as the band continued to play in the brightly decorated theater. Amidst the hubbub De Wolf Hopper acceded to demands for a speech, thanking the audience for its support, noting the "evidence of so much patriotism," and expressing gratitude that "the meaning of the Stars and Stripes had not been forgotten."⁵⁹

Hopper had revised the finale to effectively banish the victorious Spanish from the stage and replace them with a uniformed display of American pride.

The Fifth Avenue Theatre was not the only playhouse participating in the popular outpouring of patriotism. The day before *El Capitan* opened, the *New York Times* reported that "patriotic appeals from the stage and demonstrations from the audience [were becoming] the rule at the theatres. Flags, music, and sentiments calculated to arouse enthusiasm [were] introduced at every opportunity, and hailed everywhere with

⁵⁷ Carol A. Hess, "John Phillip Sousa's *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War," *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 17.

⁵⁸ "Mr. Hopper at Fifth Avenue," *New York Herald*, February 22, 1898, pg. 14; "The Theatres and the Maine," *New York Daily Tribune*, February 22, 1898, pg. 3; "Hopper in *El Capitan*," *New York Times*, February 22, 1898, 3. As quoted in Carol A. Hess, "John Phillip Sousa's *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War," *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 18.

⁵⁹ Carol A. Hess, "John Phillip Sousa's *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War," *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 18.

applause and cheers.” However, there was something decidedly different about the patriotism expressed from the *El Capitan* stage.⁶⁰

El Capitan was a Spanish-themed operetta, with a quixotic Spanish buffoon as the main character, which had interpolated “The Stars and Stripes Forever” into its finales. Other productions on Broadway, like De Koven’s *The Highwayman*, was not blessed with such a fortuitous and timely plot; the remaining farce-comedies and minstrel acts simply interpolated patriotic expressions, but were not able to do so within the context of a cohesive plot.⁶¹ Hess maintains that because theatrical conventions ask for the suspension of disbelief, “the juxtaposition of the Spanish flag with ‘The Stars and Stripes’ offered the public a visual representation of direct confrontation between the two nations.”⁶² Hess characterizes this performance of *El Capitan* as a symbolic victory over Spain in the minds of American audiences. She argues:

In their response to this staged confrontation [between the Spanish army and the playing of “The Stars and Stripes Forever” by an American military band], audience members found themselves as much a part of the production as any of the actors on stage. By suddenly improvising a crowd scene, they entered into the world of the operetta itself, momentarily participating with the cast. Through this blurring of the customary distinction between players and public, audience members “performed” their support for the “Stars and Stripes” along with Hopper and the other actors. Moreover, in their wild burst of emotion, audience members voiced sentiments that corresponded not only to the libretto of *El Capitan* but to political reality as they knew it. Surely it was the synchronicity of theater, music, and actuality that “brought down the house.”⁶³

⁶⁰ See “Patriotism in the Theatres,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1898, 2; and “The Theatres and the Maine,” *New York Daily Tribune*, February 22, 1898, pg. 3. As quoted in Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 19.

⁶¹ Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre, 2nd edition*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1992): 179-180.

⁶² Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 19.

Hess adds, “lending its decisive commentary to this visual representation was that ultimate rhetorical device, the Sousa march.”⁶⁴ Since Sousa was now a figure whose cultural products provided a focal point in times of need and change, it is not surprising that audience members could turn to Sousa’s marches to express their patriotism.

Hess argues that this particular production was “a prototype for similar rituals throughout the country during the aftermath of the Maine incident.”⁶⁵ Two of these rituals were also connected to Sousa. Sousa’s operetta, *The Bride Elect* (Appendix D), opened in New York on April 11, 1898 at the Knickerbocker Theatre, the day that President McKinley asked the U.S. Congress for authorization to intervene in Cuba.⁶⁶ While response to the operetta as a whole remained mixed, its fleeting popularity hinged on the march “Unchain the Dogs of War,” which served as a battle cry and a reminder of support and comfort to soldiers.

Unchain the dogs of war,
The enemy will find us unrelenting;
When our cannons roar,
King Papagallo then will be lamenting.
March o’er hill and valley
Dashing, crashing
With a mighty rally
Like knights of yore.

Rah!

⁶³ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 18-19.

⁶⁴ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 19.

⁶⁵ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 19.

⁶⁶ “Dramatic and Musical: Some of the Easter Holiday Offerings of the Principle Theatres,” *New York Times*, April 12, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008): 9.

Unfold our country's flag
Let regimental bands begin their drumming
Though we will not brag,
Inform the craven foe that we are coming!
Sound the call for battle
Steady, ready,
Hear our bullets rattle,
'Gainst jutting crag.

Oh, tremble Papagallo
Clear the track we're on our way
Oh, tremble Papagallo
We will rout you in dismay
All ready, steady, march.

In serried ranks, onward press to meet the foe,
He'll quail before our battle cry
Rah! Rah!
Our might he will very quickly know,
We'll never flee but victors be or else die.

The bugle's brazen blare
Will fill the land with warlike demonstration
Meet us, if you dare,
Will be the daily challenge from each nation.
On to death and glory,
Slaying, flaying,
You will live in story
As soldiers rare.
Your nation looks to all
To immolate yourselves on duty's altar
Forward, though you fall,
Proud, patriotic hearts should never falter.
Loving lips will bless you
Truly, duly,
Arms of love caress you
Hear beauty's call

Oh, tremble Papagallo
Clear the track we're on our way
Oh, tremble Papagallo
We will rout you in dismay
All ready, steady, march.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *The Bride Elect* prompt book, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C., Box 18.

The popularity of “The Bride Elect” march was so widely reported that President McKinley’s wife had a room at the White House set up so that she and her guests could listen to the march live at the Knickerbocker via long distance telephone.⁶⁸

Hess also cites Sousa’s own patriotic pageant, *The Trooping of the Colors*, which began touring after the sinking of the Maine. Sousa organized and toured this production to several of the U.S.’s largest cities, as “advertisements heralded is (*sic*) as a ‘grand international spectacle.’” Large audiences used the pageant as an opportunity to celebrate and affirm their own patriotism, in what has been described as a “wild public reaction.” The show utilized local choirs comprised of hundreds of voices to sing with his sixty-piece Sousa Band, and enlisted local military units to participate in the spectacle.⁶⁹ Sousa remembered that the pageants “started with a company of trumpeters proclaiming in a fanfare, *Liberty throughout the world!*”⁷⁰ Bierley described the events as follows:

Fifes and drums played “The Spirit of 76” and “Yankee Doodle,” and nations friendly to the United States were recognized. The band played “British Grenadier” and a quartet sang “God Save the Queen.” “The Marseillaise” was sung by a soloist and chorus, and the chorus continued with “Die Wacht am Rhine.” After the band played “The Wearing of the Green,” “De Wasserfal” was sung by a trio. The excitement began in earnest as bagpipers entered playing “The Campbells (*sic*) are Coming.” A Cuban military attachment marched in to the tune of “You’ll Remember Me.” Then the band, chorus, and a soloist rang out with stirring words to Sousa’s newest march: “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” Meanwhile, U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine troops moved in with flags and banners flying. A pretty girl entered wearing the costume of Columbia, and all joined together in the finale, “The Star Spangled Banner.”⁷¹

⁶⁸ “‘Shenandoah’ in Chicago,” *New York Times*, May 26, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2008).

⁶⁹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 122.

⁷⁰ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 122, 167.

⁷¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 122.

The pageant obviously struck a chord with audiences. “Newspapers reported everything from the waving of handkerchiefs to near bedlam.”⁷² Sousa cited an 1898 *New York*

Times article about these performances to describe the mood of audiences:

An encore was demanded, but Sousa stood calmly awaiting quiet before he would go on. Then when he could be heard he said, “Ladies and Gentlemen: It seems the only appropriate encore I can give in these days is *Johnny, Get your Gun*. But stop! There’s another air we all will cheer tonight.” The musicians swung into Dixie.

If there had been enthusiasm before, there was bedlam let loose now, and while the cheers went up as heartily as ever, there burst from certainly a thousand throats the famous rebel yell. It came from all parts of the house. For quite a time this continued, men and women joining in the uproar, the ladies leaning out of the boxes, and waving their handkerchiefs while the southern air was played. The audience had hardly quieted when a man in one of the boxes leaped over the rail and yelled, “Who says we’re not ready for war?” and the house went wild again, with another combination of Union cheers and Rebel yells. Then someone in the orchestra jumped into the aisle and called for three cheers for “our flag and our country, the north and the south – we’re all ready,” and the previous scene was repeated.

When *The Stars and Stripes Forever* (*sic*) was sung, there was still another demonstration, and then five thousand tired and hoarse individuals took themselves home.⁷³

The *Baltimore Sun* proclaimed that with *The Trooping of the Colors*, Sousa “now comes forward as an apostle of patriotism, with his superb band and scenic and choral accessories, to preach his gospel.”⁷⁴ Sousa the Salesman set up his pageant, with its celebration of nations friendly to the U.S., to reinforce an ‘us versus them,’ or ‘if you’re not with us, you’re against us’ attitude. His gospel sought to promote unity within the

⁷² Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 122-123.

⁷³ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 172.

⁷⁴ “Afire with patriotism,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 10, 1899. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

country by identifying a common organizing principle, that of a common ‘enemy’ (those not in support of the U.S.), around which audiences could gather. Rooted in ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority, this ritual, and others like *El Capitan* and *The Bride Elect*, only enhanced and perpetuated current dialogues about the barbaric nature of the “Hispano-Catholic-mestizo-Indian-Negro-mulatto” other, their threat to North America and American survival.⁷⁵ I contend that these rituals also supported war against Spain as an extension of the “white man’s burden,” to save the oppressed from Spain’s domination. These were ideas that audiences around the country were asked to get behind; indeed, they were asked to perform their patriotism and support in theatres throughout the country.

El Capitan, as a cultural ambassador, led the way - literally. On May 1, 1898, Admiral George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila in about 30 minutes. Sousa notes that “when Dewey’s squadron sailed up Mirs Bay to attack Manila, the Olympia [ship’s] band played ‘El Capitan.’” When the Sousa Band marched in the Dewey Day Parade, they were asked to play “El Capitan” as well.⁷⁶ The march, and the comic opera with which it was associated, retained its place as symbol of victory over Spain in the minds of American audiences throughout the nation. It became a cultural ambassador for the political and social ideology that fueled the Spanish conflict, and educated audiences about organizing principles of national identity – in this case, it redefined an American as a citizen who supported the war against Spain.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s El Capitan: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 4-5.

⁷⁶ Sousa’s geography is incorrect. He means ‘out’ of Mirs Bay. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 177.

‘American’ Operetta Conventions

As the fall of 1898 approached and *El Capitan* closed at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, the future of ‘American’ comic opera seemed bright. The prior season saw two operettas that earned the designation of ‘American,’ De Koven’s *The Highwayman* and Sousa’s *The Bride Elect*.⁷⁸ The De Wolf Hopper Opera Company began work on Sousa and Klein’s new work, *The Charlatan*, and a new touring company was formed to take *El Capitan* on another forty-week tour of the U.S.⁷⁹ Victor Herbert would begin his dominance of the operetta form in September with his masterpiece, *The Fortune Teller*.

After the designation of ‘American’ operetta became clearer, a set of conventions quickly grew up around the form. Operettas hoped to distinguish themselves from musical comedy and revues (which were also extremely popular), by utilizing a variety of stock high-born and high society characters, mythical settings, the short-lived social leveling of characters, and a less jaded view of life’s battles than its musical comedy

⁷⁷ Hess argues that the show was also a cultural ambassador for the heightening of U.S. global power. She concludes, “The ‘El Capitan’ march, heard not only on the lyric stage and in the American parlor, also came to epitomize the United States’ emergence as a global power at the dawn of the new century.” Carol A. Hess, “John Phillip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: Political Appropriation and the Spanish American War,” *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 19.

⁷⁸ Both works struggled to meet this designation in the press, but eventually, critics acknowledged them as viable ‘American’ works.

⁷⁹ “In late March of 1899 this touring company was playing at the Academy in Raleigh, North Carolina.” Raleigh, North Carolina paper, 30 (?) March 1899, JPS Book 8, p. 236. Michael R. Jorgensen, “John Philip Sousa’s *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide,” (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 60. An earlier clipping states: “Ben” D. Stevens yesterday completely booked the route of the De Wolf Hopper Opera Company for the season of 1898-1899. Forty weeks of time have been held, and the tour does not include a single railway double or a “repeat.” The season is scheduled to open at the Knickerbocker Theatre in September, just about a year hence, when, according to present intentions, the new opera by Charles Klein and John Philip Sousa will be produced. This work is to be called “The Charlatan,” and the scenario has already been submitted and declared entirely satisfactory. The production of the new piece, however, will wait entirely upon the vitality exhibited hereafter by “El Capitan.” Should that opera show no further sign of weakness than it has developed up to the present time, it will doubtless be carried on indefinitely. It has demonstrated almost unprecedented strength, and has continued to draw “capacity” houses no matter how often it may have been played in the same theatres.” “De Wolf Hopper Will Stick to “El Capitan,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 74a. This clipping was published sometime between September and November of 1897.

counterparts. Bordman describes the operettas of this period by saying “a well-bred artificiality was the keynote of operetta, at least during this period.”⁸⁰ As the 1890s went on, new English operetta went into decline in America, as Gilbert and Sullivan had essentially ended their productive partnership in 1889 with *The Gondoliers*.⁸¹ And, the more satiric elements of all operetta forms (‘American’ and importations) were replaced by romantic idealism.

El Capitan was lucky. It helped to inaugurate a national form, and it found new ways to contribute to national dialogues. While the initial use of *El Capitan* as a cultural ambassador may have been coincidence, the show taught its creators and others a very valuable lesson – that an operetta (that any work of musical theatre) at the right place, at the right time, could indeed sell ideology. All of Sousa’s post-1898 operettas were used in this way - they were no longer simply comic operas for entertainment; they became vehicles for disseminating political and social ideas.

⁸⁰ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 45.

⁸¹ Gilbert and Sullivan collaborated on two more shows in 1893 and 1896, but both were failures in England and never made it to the U.S.

CHAPTER FOUR
“HANDS ACROSS THE SEA:”
THE CHARLATAN AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

“Let England and America clasp hands across the sea, and the peace of the world is absolutely secure.”¹ These words, spoken by Joseph H. Choate, the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain in 1899, summed up U.S. President William McKinley’s Administration’s foreign policy toward Britain. Ultimately, the sentiment behind “hands across the sea” infiltrated the London production of John Philip Sousa's comic opera, *The Charlatan*. De Wolf Hopper, an American comic opera star and a veteran performer of Sousa’s operettas, produced the *The Charlatan* in London under the title *The Mystical Miss* in December of 1899. In an effort to boost ticket sales, Hopper interpolated new lyrics and scenes into the operetta, infusing the work with a new theme that, curiously, mirrored diplomatic propaganda espoused by U.S. Ambassador Choate on the topic of a stronger British-American alliance.

While theatre has often been used as a medium to deliver social or political propaganda, the motivations and maneuverings of the people who manufacture those messages are often hard to trace. In the case of *The Mystical Miss*, a fortuitous combination of luck, talent, financial interests, political connections, and timing helped to create one of the United States' most effective cultural ambassadors of the late nineteenth century. This chapter unravels the complex strands of influence, policy, and theatrical history that produced *The Mystical Miss* phenomenon of 1899.

¹ “CHOATE ON THE BOER WAR,” *New York Times (1857-Current file)*, Dec 1, 1899. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851 - 2004): 3.

The Charlatan: Not an ‘American’ operetta?

Following the amazing U.S. success of *El Capitan*, Sousa again collaborated with Charles Klein to create a new comic opera entitled *The Charlatan*. Klein provided the libretto, and Sousa provided the music and lyrics. The work was devised as a performance vehicle for De Wolf Hopper, the star of *El Capitan*, and sought to give the actor a chance to show off the breadth of his talent and stretch his performance abilities.² Instead of creating a comic opera based on Hopper’s normal fare of buffoonish characters and plots of mistaken identities, Klein took pains to develop the comic moments out of character-driven situations, with far more realistic character motivations than were common on the stage at this point, while working within the established operetta conventions of character types and plots.

The operetta is set in a Russian village. Prince Boris is obliged to marry a woman of his rank or station or risk losing his fortunes to his uncle, Gogul. Gogul attempts to gain Boris’ property by presenting the peasant, Anna, daughter of Demidoff (the charlatan of the title – played by Hopper), to Boris disguised as Princess Ruchkowski. The Prince is tricked into marrying Anna and loses his fortunes to his uncle. In the meantime, the real Princess Ruchkowski appears out of nowhere and demands to see the imposter, Anna, who by this time has fled. Demidoff, says he has made Anna disappear by “magic” and he is, then, arrested for witchcraft. At his trial, Anna returns to tell the court that she fled because she had brought suffering to Prince Boris, and that her father

² Hopper often lamented that he was pigeonholed by his debut role in Sousa’s *Désirée*, and sought to expand his work into more serious roles. He indicated in his autobiography that he was never “able to live down [his *Désirée*] success. At the outset I was hugely gratified with it, as one is likely to be with first victories, and when I had tired of it, it was too late. I was catalogued in the card index of the theatre and of theatergoers as a singing comedian and a singing comedian I have remained. There are worst destinies.” De Wolf Hopper and Wesley Winans Stout, *Reminiscences of De Wolf Hopper: Once a Clown, Always a Clown*, (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1927).

could not do magic. Gogul is exposed, Demidoff pardoned, and the Prince's fortunes are returned. All ends happily.³

Sousa, in trying to make his music match Klein's book, composed the score with mostly waltzes, rather than his usual marches. He even added the Russian national anthem to the end of the second act in an effort to add an authentic musical style to the setting.⁴ Both the composer and librettist expressed high hopes for their efforts in the work. Klein stated that *The Charlatan* had "exceeded even his own expectations," and he was "confident that *The Charlatan (sic)* [would] eclipse the extraordinary success of 'El Capitan.'"⁵

The De Wolf Hopper Opera Company debuted *The Charlatan* at the Academy of Music in Montreal on August 29, 1898.⁶ The combination of Sousa's iconic name, a character-driven story, Hopper's star power, and the success of the last Sousa-Klein collaboration gave the production team every reason to anticipate that the show would be extremely popular and successful. Reports from the out-of-town tryout were extremely positive, noting that "the house was thronged and the audience appeared enthusiastic.

³ A full summary is available in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 22.

⁴ Sousa and others tell a rather amusing anecdote about this situation. "Americans are often twitted by their European brethren for not knowing the words of their own national anthem. But it would seem that we are not the only ones in the same boat. Some time ago, John Philip Sousa decided to use the Russian national hymn in the second act of "The Charlatan," the scene of the opera being laid in that lad (*sic*). So he wrote to the Imperial Russian Consul in New York asking him for the words. That gentleman had to reply that he didn't know them; that, he would have to write home and have them sent to him. So, after all, there is such a thing as being patriotic without an acquaintance with a national song book." Author: "The Stroller", *New York Evening World*, August 31, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁵ Unlabeled Clipping, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 5.2, p. 111.

⁶ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 21.

The brilliant staging, especially, seemed to appeal to the spectators. The costumes and scenery in the second act were particularly artistic. The score seems in Sousa's happiest vein."⁷ The premiere went so well that the production team did not feel the need to have a rehearsal the following morning, pointing to the confidence they had in their product.⁸ With so many recognizable and competent names attached the production, and the fact that the production was the long awaited follow-up to the great 'American' operetta *El Capitan*, how could this production go wrong?

The show transferred to the Knickerbocker Theatre in New York City and opened on the exceedingly hot and humid evening of September 5, 1898.⁹ *The New York Morning Telegraph* ran a story following its Broadway opening - the headline read:

De Wolf Hopper in Sousa's Worst
Score of "The Charlatan" appears to have been made to Order
Klein Book No Inspiration
The Star did his best¹⁰

Despite the creator's confidence, everything about the comic opera was wrong. The most diplomatic press the show received after opening night was: "The operetta is beautifully staged and has the merit of brevity."¹¹ Critics took issue with several aspects of the work,

⁷ "The Charlatan in Montreal," *New York Morning Telegraph*, Aug 30, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁸ "Hopper Seems All Right," *New York Morning Telegraph*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, August 28, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

¹⁰ "DeWolf Hopper in Sousa's Worst," *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

including Sousa's music and lyrics, Klein's book, and the construction of the title character.¹² However, the overarching critique was that *The Charlatan* lacked the distinctions of 'American' operetta – something they had come to expect from “the representative composer of American comic operas.”¹³

Sousa, Klein and Hopper found themselves indicted by the very distinctions they had helped to ratify with *El Capitan*. *The Charlatan* did not meet critics' standards of an 'American' setting and subject, nor did it contribute to national dialogues. However, the most egregious offense was the lack of 'American' musical elements. Sousa's decision to use primarily the waltz music associated with continental operettas, playing down the march melodies that audiences had come to expect throughout his comic operas, was considered an abandonment of all that was “good” in an 'American' Sousa comic opera.¹⁴

The *New York Evening Telegram* noted:

I don't know who furnished the music. Mr. John Philip Sousa's name appears on the programme, but no one for a minute believes that the “March King,” the master of melody and tune, and composer of “El Capitan” and “The Bride Elect,” ever turned the score of “The Charlatan” out of his note factory. The first act of “The Charlatan” drags wearily along as drag the minutes to a gentleman awaiting the skilled services of the electrocutioner. There is no ringing chorus.¹⁵

The general consensus was that the operetta simply did not sound like Sousa.

¹¹ “Music and Drama: ‘The Charlatan,’” *New York Evening Post*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

¹² See Appendix E for more information on critical response to the premiere of *The Charlatan*.

¹³ “Seen and Heard in Many Places,” Philadelphia paper, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 33a.

¹⁴ “At the theatres,” *New York Dramatic Mirror*, September 17, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 28

¹⁵ W.W. Aulick, “‘The Charlatan’ is an Astonisher,” *New York Evening Telegram*, September 6, 1898, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 8.

Music and Drama correctly observed: “Mr. John Philip Sousa has departed from his original methods and has written something more than a mere succession of marches. It shows little of the hand of the man who wrote “El Capitan” and “The Bride Elect,” but is of better musical quality than either. There is a march in the operetta, but it is not a prominent feature, while waltz measures predominate.”¹⁶ Even though *Music and Drama* may have found Sousa’s choices of better musical quality, the *New York Morning Telegraph* cut to the heart of the issue, proclaiming:

Mr. Sousa, who has been hailed as the founder of a new school of national opera, in his latest composition palpably has tried to break away from the march style of music with which his name is identified. As a consequence, *The Charlatan* is the least characteristic of his works. In aspiring to something better than march music he has evolved a nondescript score that will probably prove disappointing to that multitude who place the name of Sousa above that of Wagner, even above that of Sir Arthur Sullivan.¹⁷

Sousa’s marches had become branded as ‘American,’ and their inclusion in his operettas had helped to secure an ‘American’ operetta form. Without the march, the operetta was not a Sousa comic opera. Without the march, it was not an American operetta. It was, as

¹⁶ “Music and Drama: “The Charlatan,” *New York Evening Post*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12. Some critics, however, realized that the addition of the waltz was necessary in poignant love scenes. For example, *News of the Theatre* praised the waltzes as an “effective” element during the wedding of Prince Boris. Additionally, many critics commented on the use of the Russian National Anthem as “truly wonderful and slightly confused.” However, they seemed to miss the topical songs in the work, the *News of the Theatre* saying: “The Charlatan” is a bit lacking in its topical songs. One was of “Ammonia,” with the chorus women sneezing at Hopper’s solo; the other was about “Little Slimy Frogs,” with a croaking accompaniment from the men. Neither one had point enough to wake last night’s sufferers from heat prostration, though the war verses of the frog song may prove acceptable enough in cooler weather. Perhaps Hopper should have just held the opening until the weather cooled off?” “News of the Theatre,” *New York Evening Sun*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

¹⁷ “DeWolf Hopper in Sousa’s Worst,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

the *New York Morning Telegraph* reported, “colorless, mechanical, hollow, bloodless and without heart.”¹⁸

Papers did report that there was a large audience for the New York opening which was “disposed to be very friendly;” however, it seems as though even the audience felt as uneasy as the critics.¹⁹ *The New York Evening Telegram* described the atmosphere:

‘This is not Sousa,’ you say as the curtain descends on the act. And everyone around you is saying the same thing. Even the management is disappointed. ‘It’s a great first act,’ they say, ‘a great first act, but it didn’t go well to-night (*sic*), that’s a fact. We can’t imagine what the trouble is. It went all right in Montreal.’²⁰

It went “all right” in Montreal because Canada did not have the same national connection to Sousa and his works, nor did it expect Sousa to be the bastion of a new national form. Audiences and critics alike wanted the Sousa and Hopper from *El Capitan* – the creative energy that generated ‘American’ operetta – and so the revisions began.

Hopper began by converting his straight comic character into his more familiar buffoon, and then made significant changes to the libretto and music. He cut and replaced six pieces of music, and collaborated with Sousa on a new patter song for the title character entitled “Have You Got That Tired Feeling?” He also inserted political “gag lines” (“I’m about as popular around here as Secretary Alger is in a camp of Rough Riders.” To which the *New York Morning Telegraph* responded: “This of course is

¹⁸ “DeWolf Hopper in Sousa’s Worst,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

¹⁹ “DeWolf Hopper in Sousa’s Worst,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

²⁰ W.W. Aulick, “‘The Charlatan’ is an Astonisher,” *New York Evening Telegram*, September 6, 1898, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 8.

always good for a hearty laugh.”) and material poking fun at current events (with lines such as, “They were as slow in parting with their money as Russell Sage at a church fair.”), which were sure to get a laugh from the audience.²¹ Hopper rewrote the lyrics to the show’s final song, “The Legend of the Frogs” to include references to the Dreyfus Affair in France and Emile Zola’s “Letter to the President of the Republic: I Accuse.”

The *Times* reported:

On Friday night Mr. Hopper added a new verse to his popular song in the last act which has caught the fancy of the public, and the hearty applause it receives causes him to repeat it two and three times at every performance. The stanza reads as follows:

That virtue is its own reward
Great authors have decided,
It surely should be so in France
Where it is most derided.
The gods who run the mills of fate
At last have set in motion
Wheels, which as they accelerate,
Bring Dreyfus o’er the ocean.
REFRAIN
For the moral that I deduce we haven’t
Far to look
What a cinch for Mr. Zola when he writes
Another book!²²

The *New York Herald* applauded Hopper’s initial changes saying, “This has brightened up the opera considerable (*sic*) and has added much to its effectiveness as a comedy entertainment.”²³

²¹ “Merry Wights of Witdom Town,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 25, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

²² Unlabeled Clipping, *Buffalo Times* (New York), October 3, 1898, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 41.

²³ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Herald*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

Hopper decided not to continue the engagement at the Knickerbocker, and the show closed on October 8, 1898.²⁴ The show went on tour for six months, and when Hopper felt he had finally worked through the show's problems, he brought the show back to New York and opened at the Fifth Avenue Theatre on May 4, 1899.²⁵ Sousa, no doubt responding to calls for more of the "Sousaesque," wrote a march chorus for the new Broadway opening entitled "Right up on the Firing Line" to open the third act, which pleased some of his earlier critics.²⁶ It fared much better in the press, the *New York Times* exclaiming:

Since being presented here last September the opera has undergone a complete revision. That this work has been well and satisfactorily done is proved by the fact that the critics of other cities have almost without exception proclaimed "The Charlatan" the very best comic opera that Mr. Hopper has ever presented. That the theatergoing public has agreed with this opinion has been demonstrated by Mr. Hopper's business, which was larger during this year than any previous season since becoming a star.²⁷

Reports began to blame *The Charlatan's* initial failure on the weather around its opening, saying "It was put forward then under distressing circumstances. The weather was so hot

²⁴ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Journal*, September 22, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

²⁵ "Sousa's New March in Opera 'Charlatan,'" *New York Morning World*, May 5 1899, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 87.

²⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Tribune*, (maybe April) 1899. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 94. Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Evening Sun*, May 6, 1899, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 87. Some critics were not happy about the changes, saying "The story is the same, but the score has been amended – and, let it be said mutilated – to give it a popular quality, which it was believed by its exploiters it did not possess at first. Some of the best numbers from a musical point of view have been eliminated and replaced by jingling tunes that have a certain [unreadable] but, no distinction. These changes were made after the original production in this city and the great financial success which they have brought to the parties interested [unreadable] eloquent messages of an inferior public taste and of discouragement to the composer [unreadable] striving to write good music. There were new ditties and ensembles and a march chorus, On the Finny(sic) Line," with which the third act now opens." "Sousa's New March in Opera 'Charlatan,'" *New York Morning World*, May 5, 1899, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 87.

²⁷ "Notes of Music," *New York Times*, April 30, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 94.

that collars wilted while you stood in line at the box-office. Furthermore neither Sousa nor Charles Klein, composer and the librettist respectively, had put on their finishing touches.” News that the opera had undergone a satisfactory re-haul boosted advance sales for tickets after opening night and the show began to play to sold-out houses.²⁸

This popularity was short-lived. Even with extensive revisions, *The Charlatan* could not sustain its run at the Fifth Avenue Theatre. Hopper revisions and interpolations endeavored to furnish the work with at least a few of the distinctions of ‘American’ operetta, hoping to make it a viable performance vehicle. However, some papers still grumbled that while the operetta was indeed “better”, it still was not “Sousa.” *The Charlatan* was still not ‘American’ enough.

The Boer War and U.S. Diplomacy

The demise of *The Charlatan*, coupled with the fact that *El Capitan* was still touring the U.S. and there were no replacement operas available, led Hopper to seek new audiences elsewhere. So, in June of 1899, the De Wolf Hopper Opera Company traveled across the Atlantic to London. The company arrived in the West End at a tense time in British history, and at a complex moment in the diplomatic relationship between England and the United States. In 1899, Britain was beginning the road to war in South Africa. The Second Boer War officially began in October 1899, and caused a massive outcry across the world. The Boers descended from the white, Dutch-speaking settlers of South Africa, and had formed their own republics to escape British rule and the wars between

²⁸ The *New York Morning Telegraph* reported: “Hopper’s new version of ‘The Charlatan’ has unmistakably ‘caught on’ at the Fifth Avenue Theatre. On the night after the opening, when the receipts were eminently satisfactory, the box office takings advanced almost \$100, and on Saturday evening the house was packed to the doors.” “Hopper is All Right,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, May 7, 1899, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 87.

the British and native tribes. While the causes of this war were many, the British sought to expand their influence into the Boer republics because of the land's wealth of natural resources, and the Boers resisted. Many countries believed Britain had taken its imperialism too far and were preparing to arm and fight with the Boers to stop what they perceived as the uncontrolled expansion of Britain.²⁹

Richard B. Mulanax, in his book *The Boer War in American Politics and Diplomacy*, states that “the attention of the American people was riveted to events in South Africa;” however the country was split in its response. Many U.S. citizens held sympathy for a people defying British imperial rule; however, others saw the “parallel between the United States position in the Philippines and the British position in South Africa.”³⁰ Thus, the outcome of the Boer War could have great consequences for American expansion interests.

John Hay, the Secretary of State in McKinley's administration, expressed concerns about the impact of the Boer War on the future of U.S. interests in the Caribbean and on their world position. Hay's emissary in London was Ambassador Joseph H. Choate (Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James between 1899 and 1905), and as early as August 1899, Hay's letters to Ambassador Choate in London attest that “The fight of England is the fight of civilization and progress and all our interests are bound up in her success.”³¹ Hay was not the only American leader to express this

²⁹ The underlying issues behind the Boer War are, obvious, far more complicated than the present discussion can explain. For further information, see: Denis Judd & Keith Surridge, *The Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). And, Richard B. Mulanax, *The Boer War in American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994).

³⁰ Richard B. Mulanax, *The Boer War in American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994): 1.

sentiment; in January 1900, Theodore Roosevelt wrote that if the Boers prevailed and British imperialism fell, “I believe in five years it will mean a war between us and some of the great continental European nations [...] unless we are content to abandon our Monroe Doctrine for South America.”³²

Hay saw an opportunity in the diplomatic minefield of the Boer War, and his guiding instruction to Choate was that “the one indispensable feature of our foreign policy should be a friendly understanding with England.”³³ However, Hay and Choate were forced to negotiate this friendship without attracting the attention of European powers and the U.S. Senate. Hay knew that, given the international climate, a formal alliance with England would be seen as a hostile act towards Germany and other countries that had interests in Africa. Furthermore, since the watch-word of many politicians in the Senate was “no entangling alliances,” Hay knew that there was no way that he could drum up the two-thirds vote necessary to ratify such an alliance (the Senate was controlled by McKinley’s Republicans, but fell just short of the two-thirds majority).³⁴ The McKinley administration believed that if it pursued a formal alliance with England it would be rejected by the Senate and would cost McKinley re-election (even though in his private conversations with Hay, McKinley said that he would support

³¹ Keith Wilson, ed, *The International Impact of the Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 109.

³² Keith Wilson, ed, *The International Impact of the Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 111.

³³ Keith Wilson, ed, *The International Impact of the Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 108.

³⁴ Denis Judd & Keith Surridge, *The Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2002), 1. 56th Congress (1899-1901): Majority Party: Republican (53 seats). Minority Party: Democrat (26 seats). Other Parties: 5 Populist; 3 Silver Republican; 2 Silver. Vacant: 1. Total Seats: 90. http://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one_item_and_teasers/partydiv.htm.

trying to forge an alliance with England if it was the best thing for the country, even though it would cost him the presidency).³⁵

In addition to the administration's anxiety about the demise of imperialism, the U.S. found itself embroiled in the beginning of a long dispute over the boundary between Canada and Alaska. Hay knew that without Britain's mediation with Canada, the U.S. would lose its interests in Alaska. He wrote to the Ambassador in London:

You can understand with what distress I have written this letter. After a year of labor and anxiety, we have got from England a proposition which was worth the year's work. The way to an honorable and advantageous settlement was open to us, - and a blunder of our constitution-makers gives a chance to the worst third of our Senate to block the way.³⁶

Hay knew he was tangled in an international mess. He needed an alliance with Britain to protect what he saw as American interests, but he knew that there was no way he was going to be able to make that alliance happen even though the primary players in both governments believed was in everyone's best interest.

Therefore, the McKinley administration (unofficially and contrary to the position of Congress) took a stance of pro-British neutrality, ensuring that it stayed out of a European and African war while still being able to pursue an unofficial alliance with Britain. Mulanax agrees, stating that Hay formulated U.S. foreign policy during the Boer War:

To strengthen ties with Britain in support of American interests in the Caribbean and Far East, but more than that, [friendship with England] was designed to wrest concessions from Britain whenever possible, but primarily in the negotiations to

³⁵ Letter from Hay to Choate (labeled confidential), dated August 18, 1899, p. 11, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 14: General Correspondence, 1899.

³⁶ Letter from Hay to Choate (labeled confidential), dated August 18, 1899, p. 11, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 14: General Correspondence, 1899.

abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and in regard to the Alaskan boundary question.³⁷

Due to these new policies (coupled with the fact that most of the U.S. was pro-Boer), there was a great need for propaganda, both in England and stateside, that called for the support of a friendly understanding, if not a formal alliance, between the two countries.

It was Ambassador Choate's London office that held most of the responsibility for assuring the British government of the U.S.'s official policy of pro-British neutrality, and Choate attempted to accomplish this directive by taking the message to the British people rather than to just the British government. Choate held that the best way for two nations to form an alliance was through the mutual understanding of their people. Elihu Root, Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt, said this of Choate:

His service in direct relation to the people of Great Britain was perhaps even greater than his services in negotiation with the British Government. The most important thing in the relations between modern democracies is the feeling of two peoples towards each other. If they like each other and trust each other, any question can be settled. [...] He was clever and stimulating, and enveloped his serious thought there as he did here with a mantle of humor and fun.³⁸

Root's comments sum up Choate's methods for establishing an unofficial alliance: go about convincing each nation that they like each other, and do so with "humor and fun."

Choate was charged by President McKinley to "promote the welfare of both countries by the constant cultivation of friendly relations between them."³⁹ He explained:

I considered that I could not fulfill the president's instruction, unless I came into close contact with the British people [...] and brought home to them the message

³⁷ Richard B. Mulanax, *The Boer War in American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994): 2.

³⁸ "The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, memorial for Joseph Hodges Choate," remarks by Elihu Root, p. 25, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 31: Memorial 1917.

³⁹ "Farewell Address," p. 8, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 25: Addresses England 1900-1905.

of friendship and good-will from the great mass of the American people whose messenger I was.⁴⁰

However, while Choate believed “that every man, woman and child in Great Britain is friendly to the United States,”⁴¹ he had to convince the British people that Americans were friendly to them as well, especially those who spoke forcefully against British actions in South Africa.

Choate cleverly laid the groundwork for a future, formal alliance by redefining the American as a friendly hand across the sea to both the British government and the British people. The phrase “hands across the sea” can be traced to the nineteenth century English poet Byron Webber’s poem of the same name:

Hands across the sea,
Feet on English ground,
The old blood is bold blood, the wide world round.

The New York Times suggests that the phrase “hands across the sea” was invented to suggest “a venturesome metaphor indicating the obstacles which common blood and common ideals would overcome.”⁴² Choate did not invent the phrase or its meaning; in fact one of Choate’s predecessors, Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard, began using the phrase in diplomatic circles as early 1890s. Choate, however, reappropriated the phrase

⁴⁰ “Farewell Address,” p. 9, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 25: Addresses England 1900-1905.

⁴¹ “Farewell Address,” p. 5-6, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 25: Addresses England 1900-1905.

⁴² Untitled Clipping, *The New York Times*, Feb 24, 1908. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *The New York Times* (1851 - 2004). While I have yet to find a date associated with this poem, it is reprinted in several English newspapers of the period. Webber was a poet from South Durham. He also published under the name Cecil Devon. George Markham Tweddell, *The bards and authors of Cleveland and south Durham, and the vicinage*, (Tweddell and Sons, 1872): 238-240.

to act as a buffer between the U.S. and Britain, using it to sustain peaceful negotiations and support between the two countries, while avoiding a military or political alliance.

There are few speeches recorded in British and American newspapers in which Choate did not reinforce the rhetoric of “hands across the sea.” For example, at a Thanksgiving banquet of the American Society in London Choate stated, “Let England and America clasp hands across the sea, and the peace of the world is absolutely secure.” He reassured the British that the U.S. would continue to supply them, because “carrying trade is the white man’s burden, and we must do our full share. The supreme interest of the United States is to preserve the peace of the world.”⁴³ Choate’s references to Rudyard Kipling’s poem, *The White Man’s Burden*, served to ensure British audience members that the U.S. understood their “burden” in the Boer conflict.⁴⁴ He explained that while the American government had to preserve its neutrality, the American people could not remain neutral; therefore, the U.S. was sending humanitarian workers to South Africa (several of whom were in the audience, doctors and nurses from the American hospital ship *Maine*). He conveyed the U.S.’s sympathy to those affected by the Boer War, and especially those bereft of loved ones, and assured the public that the U.S. would continue to use its Consul in Praetoria to try to bring news of Englishmen in the hands of the Boers back to England (even though this was proving to be exceptionally difficult).⁴⁵

⁴³ “Thanksgiving Day Banquet,” p. 17, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 25: Addresses England 1900-1905. “CHOATE ON THE BOER WAR.” *New York Times* (1857-Current file); Dec 1, 1899. ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 - 2004): 3.

⁴⁴ Rudyard Kipling’s *The White Man’s Burden*, (which was subtitled, *The United States and the Philippine Islands*), sought to remind the United States that imperialism was the highest of callings, though it came at a high cost. According to the poem, it was, essentially, the U.S.’s duty to colonize the Philippines. Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” *McClure’s Magazine* 12 (Feb. 1899).

In this speech, and in hundreds of others across the country, Choate exercised very ‘diplomatic’ diplomacy. He implied that the U.S. and her people supported the British morally and intellectually, and that the U.S. would continue to supply the British in their fight, and that the neutrality of the U.S. was of more support to the British than an official alliance for it ensured the safety of trade. A friendly “hand across the sea” was in everyone’s best interest.⁴⁶

Coincidentally, Ambassador Choate had been a family friend of De Wolf Hopper’s parents since DeWolf’s childhood. In his autobiography, Hopper speaks about waiting for Choate’s arrival at one of his early birthday parties, and Choate writes about Hopper’s birth in several of his letters.⁴⁷ In fact, letters from Hopper’s father to Ambassador Choate in 1905 reminisce about having the Choates at their home for dinner when Hopper “was four weeks old!”⁴⁸ Choate was able to be of some assistance to Hopper and his company while they were performing in England; so much so that Hopper’s father thanks the Ambassador for his “kindness” to DeWolf while he was in England.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Untitled Clipping, *Daily Chronicle*, November 30, 1899, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 33: Press Book.

⁴⁶ “Dinner of Bench and Bar of London for Bench and Bar of U.S.,” July 1900, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 25: Addresses London, Edinburgh.

⁴⁷ De Wolf Hopper and Wesley Winans Stout, *Reminiscences of De Wolf Hopper: Once a Clown, Always a Clown*, (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1927). Edward Sandford Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1927).

⁴⁸ Letter to Choate from Mr. R. DeW. Hopper, December 9, 1905, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 13: Personal Correspondence, 1897-1916.

⁴⁹ Letter to Choate from Mr. R.DeW. Hopper, June 9, 1905, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 13: Personal Correspondence, 1897-1916. There is no record of DeWolf Hopper visiting Choate in his official capacity as Ambassador, as his card does not appear in Choate’s calling card archive. However, given their history, and the suggestion from this correspondence, it seems likely that Hopper would have visited the Ambassador more informally.

In fact, Choate gave a speech at a banquet in Hopper's honor at London's Eccentric Club.⁵⁰ After "toasts to the Queen and the President of the United States – the Americans singing 'God Save the Queen,' and the Englishmen 'The Star Spangled Banner,'" Choate honored the son of his friend, however, not without turning to his diplomatic agenda. In his speech, he poked fun at Hopper while referencing their past relationship and Hopper's present circumstances, commenting that "the music I heard Mr. Hopper produce in America in those early days [...] is re-echoed nearly forty years after in England." But, he praised Hopper's West End productions, saying that: "although diplomacy will keep our countries united, I am not sure but that the interchange of fun and music will do still more to cement the union, as we learn to know each other better."⁵¹ This may be a passing comment, but with this statement Choate assigned political relevance to the stage, particularly Hopper's stage, as an institution that had the power to help bring the United States and Britain together in friendship. Hopper took Choate at his word, and his productions in England took on a new significance. After the banquet at the Eccentric Club, Hopper's productions incorporated Choate's "hands across the seas" rhetoric into their dialogue and music, becoming cultural ambassadors for U.S. foreign policy.

Hopper "Marches" Across the Atlantic

It was in the midst of Choate's "hands across the sea" campaign that Hopper and his company arrived in London. Hopper decided to premiere the proven money-maker *El*

⁵⁰ A few days after the opening of *El Capitan* (July 11, 1899), the Eccentric Club in London gave a dinner honoring members of New York's Lamb's Club, specifically DeWolf Hopper.

⁵¹ "ECCENTRIC CLUB DINNER," *New York Times* (1857-Current file), Jul 12, 1899. ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 - 2004): 2.

Capitan on July 10, 1899, at London's Lyric Theatre.⁵² The first reactions to *El Capitan* were haltingly positive. Hopper fared well with the critics, however, as the run continued, the response to Sousa and Klein was unenthusiastic. The *New York Journal* reports, "In the criticisms Sousa fared badly. His music was not 'pretty' enough; it was too noise (*sic*); it was all tonic and dominant; it was too marchy... The librettist, Mr. Klein, was congratulated with a triumph of the commonplace."⁵³ Again, Hopper immediately began making changes to the piece.

Hopper returned to his use of the patriotic, inserting "God Save the Queen" at the end of the Third Act (the same place where he had inserted "The Stars and Stripes Forever" in *El Capitan's* 1898 Broadway performance run).⁵⁴ However, simply invoking the name of Queen Victoria did not save *El Capitan* from bad reviews. In July, Hopper interpolated a new march into the work, a march reportedly by Sousa called "The Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes."⁵⁵ As a showcase for the premiere of the new march, Hopper invited a visiting delegation of Harvard-Yale athletes and their Oxford-Cambridge hosts to see the production for free.⁵⁶ There is no record of this march in the

⁵² Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 60.

⁵³ Alan Dale, "Dewolf Hopper in Cockneyville," *New York Journal*, July 26, 1899.

⁵⁴ Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 62-3.

⁵⁵ Unlabeled Clipping from Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 27, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 9, p. 48. The paper reports the first use of the "new" Sousa march was on July 25, 1899.

⁵⁶ "Ascor's London News," *New York Mail & Express*, August 12, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 9, p. 26. Unlabeled Clipping, *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 9.2, p. 10.

Sousa archives; however, the interpolation did nothing for business and *El Capitan* closed in early November.⁵⁷

With the demise of *El Capitan*, Hopper quickly opened *The Charlatan*, re-titled *The Mystical Miss* due to copyright issues, at the Comedy Theatre on December 13, 1899.⁵⁸ The script was submitted in a rush to the Lord Chamberlain's office on day of its opening, December 13, and was granted its official license on December 28, 1899.⁵⁹ The initially reserved London response to *El Capitan* grew into fond admiration for both Sousa and Hopper with the premier of *The Mystical Miss*.⁶⁰ While none of the reviews hailed *The Mystical Miss* as an unequivocal triumph, most reviewed it favorably as a "merry bit of fun." American papers reported that the lengthy applause at the premiere stopped the performance on several occasions:

The pit and galleries howled with delight. Hopper was obliged in the middle of the second act, after one of his topical songs, to make a little speech asking the audience to permit the opera to proceed. The company was called before the curtain three times at the close of the piece and other speech was demanded from Hopper.⁶¹

Apparently, in this speech, Hopper told the audience that he was determined to have a good night with the piece and that he would be cabling Sousa and Klein to tell them about the work's great success in London...at their expense. Obviously Hopper thought

⁵⁷ Michael R. Jorgensen, "John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1994), 63.

⁵⁸ Michael B. Jorgenson, "John Phillip Sousa's Operetta *El Capitan*: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide," (Ph.D. diss, Ball State University, 1994), 63.

⁵⁹ Dates handwritten on submission stamp, "The Mystical Miss," The British Library, Lord Chamberlain's Play Script Archive, 53699M.

⁶⁰ There were, of course, detractors.

⁶¹ "Hopper Scores in London," *New York Morning Journal*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 97.

it had been well received, but he may have inflated the audience's response. According to a somewhat cynical report in *The Reference*:

It was certainly a very friendly gathering that greeted the first production in London; that laughed at some-what feeble jokes; that applauded when clever actors indulged in buffoonery; and that sat patiently when there were forced upon them encores for which they had not asked. I confess that I have learnt to like Mr. Hopper – he has such a frank and pleasant manner – and that I am quite prepared to pardon in him any number of inartistic sins.⁶²

After the overwhelming criticism of *El Capitan*, DeWolf Hopper and Sousa's operas finally seemed to be growing on London audiences.

Initial reviews of Hopper were inclined to be friendly. One critic explained: "Mr. Hopper is, I am fairly convinced, an acquired taste. His is a humour you have to get accustomed to, and when you have got accustomed to it you like it immensely. [...] Speaking for myself, I am free to admit that the first time I saw and heard Mr. Hopper, I could not for the life of me see where the laugh came in."⁶³ Reviews portrayed Hopper as "a man acquainted with the limits of the stage and understanding the respect due to his audience." The press praised his interpolations as "so far as can be judged, spontaneous and hearty, and his impromptus have obviously undergone no careful rehearsals."⁶⁴

As for Sousa, the West End seemed to hail the toning down of the "persistent and insistent" march, thinking that this change made the music "more catchy and singable."⁶⁵

⁶² Unlabeled Clipping, *The Reference*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 97.

⁶³ Unlabeled Clipping, *The Pelican*, December 1, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 106.

⁶⁴ "Comedy Theatre: 'The Mystical Miss,'" *Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 26a 98.

⁶⁵ "Comedy," *The People*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 101.

Critics praised Sousa for having “bourne (*sic*) in mind the general needs of comic opera, and liberally provided for his principals. Melody reigns supreme.”⁶⁶ Overall, *The Mystical Miss* was extremely well received, and the “despised comic opera [became] quite tolerable again,”⁶⁷ in the eyes of the English audience. *The Daily Mail* commented:

It is a merry bit of nonsense – the management are handicapping it unduly by calling it ‘comic-opera.’ It is just a roaring farce set to music. [...] there is a dash and a swing about “The Mystical Miss” which mask the absolute absurdity of the story and the nondescript nature of the humour. Perhaps the public in these gloomy days will be glad of an hour or two’s rollicking fun. [...] It rattles on without rhyme or reason, with incident and songs utterly out of place, but amusing in themselves. We can find nothing good to say of the work of the librettist, Mr. Charles Klein, but the composer, Mr. Sousa, has provided insistent tunes which catch the ear, and the company work splendidly. [...] The gaily-coloured (*sic*) dresses and an alertness and general high spirits on the part of everybody, including the chorus, help the thing immensely. ‘*The Mystical Miss*’ is really well worth seeing. It prevents one thinking.⁶⁸

This sentiment was repeated in several newspapers, with the *Morning Post* explaining that *The Mystical Miss* “has one decided merit: it will cause no one on earth to think or attempt to think.”⁶⁹

The overwhelming positive response to *The Mystical Miss* as opposed to *El Capitan* can be attributed to two distinctions: first, *The Mystical Miss* was not as ‘American’ in construction as *El Capitan*; and second, *The Mystical Miss* had been

⁶⁶ “Comedy Theatre: ‘The Mystical Miss,’” *Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 26a 98.

⁶⁷ “The Mystical Miss at the Comedy,” *The Echo*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 100.

⁶⁸ “The Mystical Miss,” *The Daily Mail*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 100. “The Mystical Miss: Haphazard Fun at the Comedy Theatre,” *The Daily Mail*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, . 100.

⁶⁹ “Comedy Theatre,” *The Morning Post*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 101.

infused with Choate's "hands across the seas" rhetoric. London audiences were not as preoccupied with whether the operetta was 'American' or 'Sousa' enough as American audiences had been. The *Sunday Times* mused:

What is American comic opera – I mean, as distinguished from English, French, or German comic opera? Thanks to successes like "The Belle of New York" and "El Capitan," the term is coming into such general use that one might imagine it to imply a special form of art production not less distinct in its way than that embodied in a "Savoy opera" or a "musical comedy." In reality, however, its significance and application are purely national. [...] as regards the comic operas of [...] Charles Klein and John Philip Sousa, there is nothing in them so essentially American that one can differentiate between them and the comic operas of other lands. They are, in my opinion, distinctly based upon the original prototype of their class – the opera-bouffe invented (and, shall I say, immortalised (*sic*)) by Offenbach – a model so familiar that any attempts to describe it would be superfluous. This resemblance was striking in the case of "El Capitan," is even more strongly marked in "The Mystical Miss" (known in America as "The Charlatan"), which had such a favourable (*sic*) reception at the Comedy Theatre on Wednesday. Here the old theatrical hand instantly recognized the various attributes of the "Belle Helene," the "Grande Duchesse," and the "Orphée aux Enfers," the same spirit of genuine extravaganza, the same delightful mixture of serious motive and wildly improbably burlesque.⁷⁰

As the *Sunday Times* notes, British audiences were not seeking to define an 'American' national form of operetta, therefore, they focused on the operetta's similarities to continental forms, rather than its differences. For example, London critics rightly identified that *The Mystical Miss* was patterned after continental operetta; as opposed to 'American' critics, London critics warmly referenced the influence of Offenbach on the score and book.⁷¹ This had been *The Charlatan's* most egregious offense to American audiences.

⁷⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, *Sunday Times*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 101.

⁷¹ Strand, "'The Mystical Miss' at the Comedy," *The Graphic*, December 23, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 103.

Further, London critics applauded the fact that the operetta was entertaining. The idea that *The Mystical Miss* prevented “one thinking,” that it was all about laughter, an avenue of escape for London audiences, is echoed in many of the newspaper critiques. However, this observation was often coupled with high praise for the fact that the opera was not didactic. *The Daily Telegraph* observed:

It teaches no lesson; it points no moral; it adorns no tale. It is simply a piece of irresponsible extravagance, set against pretty backgrounds and charming dresses. The intellectual thirster may see it and thirst the more. For him “The Mystical Miss” is not intended. No lofty sentiments, no epigrams born of the midnight oil, no problem-puzzling will be found in the theatrical pudding compounded by Mr. Klein, wherein Mr. Sousa has inserted the plums. To folk who want to laugh, who wish to forget for awhile the worries which so easily beset them; to folk who can appreciate lively songs and good singing; to folk who use the theatre as a pick-me-up, “The Mystical Miss” will be highly acceptable. Mr. De Wolf Hopper is no missionary from the United States. He does not want to create a new school of anything or to divert Old England from a path of frivolity which she may have chosen to tread in the past. Laughter is his goal – laughter is his reward. It is good to find a stranger unconsumed with a desire to instruct us.⁷²

While American audiences looked for a contribution to national dialogues and national-sounding music, British audiences were not looking to be inundated with “instruction” from other countries. The social satire inherent in English operetta taught audiences to look for messages. Perhaps this highlights why *El Capitan* struggled in London. *El Capitan* had a definite message - it was still tied to dialogues about American expansion. The story of *El Capitan* did not sit well with audiences. Its subtext of the buffoonery of a military oppressor who tricks the rebels into defeat would not have been a popular dialogue in a country being shamed for its imperial policies. *The Mystical Miss*, without a clear tie to national or international debates antagonistic toward England, was an easier

⁷² “Comedy Theatre: The Mystical Miss,” *The Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 26a 98.

sell to audiences. However, these audiences completely overlooked the persuasive nature of the message in *The Mystical Miss* because it perpetuated dialogues that they found pleasing.

The second reason *The Mystical Miss* fared better in England was because it was rewritten to include British patriotic interpolations, punctuated with reminders of American friendship.⁷³ Included in *The Reference's* opening night press is an interesting description of an interpolation of a British patriotic song:

You will be surprised to hear that that which most stirred the first night audience was an interpolation that was altogether out of place. It was "The Good Old Guards Brigade," a song in praise of Tommy Atkins, sung, *mirabile dictu*, by a Grand Duke of Russia, with chorus sung by Russian soldiers.⁷⁴

The song was written by *The Mystical Miss's* British conductor, John Sebastian Hiller, and specifically celebrated the British soldier.⁷⁵ *The Daily Telegraph* commented:

It will provide our military bands and smoking-concert performers with another stirring addition to their repertory:

They call him Tommy Atkins and the leader of the band,
There never was a jolly boy so loved throughout the land.
The girls smile on him sweetly, and they always kiss their hand;
So keep your eye upon him and you will be well repaid
If you follow Tommy Atkins of the good old Guards' Brigade.

The felicitous setting of this unexceptionable view set the pit and gallery clamouring like so many *Oliver Twists*.⁷⁶

⁷³ Unfortunately, while the Lord Chamberlain's Archive copy is helpful in reconstructing the work, this copy more clearly represents what had been played in New York previously, and does not include most of the changes made on-stage during the London production. Hopper did not re-submit his revisions to the Lord Chamberlain's office.

⁷⁴ Unlabeled Clipping, *The Reference*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 97.

⁷⁵ Hiller was the conductor for most of Hopper's and Sousa's shows in America as well. The status of Hiller's citizenship is unknown.

⁷⁶ "Comedy Theatre: The Mystical Miss," *The Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 26a 98.

According to *The Daily Telegraph*, this was “clearly a concession to the English feeling of the moment – [it] was encored again and again.”⁷⁷

Further, there was the addition of a new march, written by Sousa, ironically named “Hands across the Sea.” One reviewer wrote:

It is pleasant to find that if France, or a portion of France, be against us, America is in perfect sympathy with our efforts and eager to give expression to her feelings from the stage. A fortnight ago, at the Victoria Theatre, New York, Mr. Sousa produced, amid a scene of the greatest enthusiasm, his latest march, “Hands Across the Sea.” Not less zealous, Mr. De Wolf Hopper has lost no time in incorporating it into the performance at the Shaftesbury, and every evening now may be heard these words at that close of the second act of the “The Mystical Miss”:

Lingers for ever
In fair Columbia’s land
The mem’ry of the pressure
Of Britannia’s friendly hand;
Her best endeavour
Is the sacred debt to pay,
And as you felt to her in need
She feels to you to-day,
CHORUS:
Our hands across the sea
Joined in friendship now shall be
And let posterity
The bond revere.⁷⁸

The song became a standard offering every night at the close of the second act. Sung by Hopper and the chorus, it included the marching in of a military band (reminiscent of the February 1898 production of *El Capitan*), “a troop of gentlemen in khaki” marching onto the stage,⁷⁹ along with “the waving of the Stars and Stripes with the Union Jack, [which]

⁷⁷ “Comedy Theatre: The Mystical Miss,” *The Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 26a 98.

⁷⁸ “Hail Columbia!,” *St. James’s*, January 12, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 106.

⁷⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, *Topical Times*, January 14, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 104.

is, of course, greeted with hearty applause.”⁸⁰ The song reportedly received “five or six curtains every night.”⁸¹

In dozens of newspaper critiques, the English press tied this production to debates about the ongoing Boer War, most exclaiming that the production “savour[ed] of patriotism.”⁸² The show became an outlet for British patriotism and a reminder of a unique brotherhood between Americans and Englishmen. *The Mystical Miss* did better in London and was more useful as a cultural ambassador because it lacked the distinctive of ‘American’ operetta construction. Through this imperfect ‘American’ comic opera, Hopper presented London audiences with propaganda for U.S. foreign policy that reminded them of the “perfect sympathy” between Britain and the U.S. Hopper designed to display of friendship that reminded the British public that while the rest of Europe may be against them, they were not alone. Choate’s prediction seems to have come to pass, and Hopper’s production served as one small step in paving the way toward a true diplomatic alliance.

In spite of its success, *The Mystical Miss* had a very limited run. Its last performance was reported to be February 17, 1900.⁸³ Hopper and his company made an abrupt return to the U.S. later that month. This was likely due to the “demoralization of

⁸⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, *The Clipper*, Feb, 9, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 107.

⁸¹ “De Wolf Hopper Scoring at the Shaftesbury,” *Dramatic News*, February 3, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 107.

⁸² “Table Talk,” *Warwick*, December 23, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 103.

⁸³ Unlabeled Clipping, *Times*, May 10, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

the theatrical business in the British capital by the South African war,⁸⁴ a possible threat of invasion from France (French troops were massing on the English Channel),⁸⁵ and the fact that most of the commercial steam-liner fleet had to be rerouted to serve the war effort. Many Americans were concerned that they would not be able to return home if they did not leave immediately.⁸⁶ The last performance was a grand farewell. British audiences made sure that the:

Farewellers should not be sent away to the accompaniment of long faces and doleful sighs, but to the good old British custom of hearty cheers and heartfelt toasting and handshaking. From an early hour in the evening the Shaftesbury was crammed by an enthusiastic audience that punctuated the final performance of *The Mystical Miss* with lavish applause, many of these applauders seizing every possible occasion to fling floral tributes and other tangible marks of affection and esteem to the members of this excellent company.

Hopper and his company sailed back to New York on February 24, 1900.⁸⁷

Upon his return to New York, Hopper reopened *The Charlatan* at the Columbia Theatre on March 12, 1900.⁸⁸ American audiences were keen to see Hopper and the new interpolations in the show. *The Editor* reported:

⁸⁴ “De Wolf Hopper Coming,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 108.

⁸⁵ Denis Judd & Keith Surridge, *The Boer War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 247.

⁸⁶ Edward Sandford Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1927), 116. One clipping explained: “From an American point of view the most important news item of the week is that which has to do with the announcement that the De Wolf Hopper season at the Shaftesbury Theatre will come to an end 17, and that the entire company will return to the United States to begin a Spring tour during the following week. The company may sail on the White Star liner *Germanic* from Liverpool 21, or on the American Line steamer – I forget the name for the moment – from Southampton 24. It is a fair shade of odds on the latter.” Unlabeled Clipping, *Times*, May 10, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

⁸⁷ “The Foreign Stage,” *New York City Paper*, March 10, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

⁸⁸ Unlabeled Clipping, *Times*, May 10, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

Much was made of De Wolf Hopper last night at the Columbia Theatre. It was a case of "Home Again from a Foreign Shore," and there was no doubt that it made the gathering's heart rejoice to see the long-legged friend once more. Having converted Londoners to his ideas of humor, Hopper hopped a peg higher in the estimation of his American admirers and was made to feel that there is indeed no place like home. As the comedian bowed to his first American audience since his return he was greeted with glad acclaim and it was some time before he could go on with his song. Later he was compelled to make a speech and in exchange for his flowers of rhetoric received a huge floral horseshoe.⁸⁹

However, critics and audiences alike realized that something unique had happened to *The Charlatan* in England. *The Times* saying:

If John Philip Sousa and Charles Klein recognize now the product of their handwork, they must fain do it through the eye of faith. Nor English wit, nor London fog, nor Piccadilly dialect have left their mark, to be sure, but *an active something has been at work* (emphasis mine).⁹⁰

"Hands Across the Sea"

The Mystical Miss was the first in a long line of cultural ambassadors to Britain, usually affiliated with Ambassador Choate, that cast the people of the U.S. as allies and friends to the British people and nation (as opposed to the people of Germany, France and other countries). The groundwork the Ambassador laid with these cultural projects shifted public opinion and, it can be argued, contributed to the future formal alliance between the two countries, shifting international politics.

When Hopper and his company returned home, they realized that they had not been alone in their campaign for "hands across the sea." Interestingly, this foundation was being laid in America during their absence. As early as December 1899, American

⁸⁹ "The Foreign Stage," *The Editor*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

⁹⁰ "The Charlatan," *Times* (Brooklyn, New York), March 13, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 110.

papers began to register anxiety about what the McKinley administration was really doing in their dealings with England. *The Boston Daily Advertiser* commented:

The authorities at Washington continue to deny very specifically and emphatically that there is any open treaty or binding arrangement with Great Britain, and they protest that it is very unfair of anybody to keep on hinting that there is any secret understanding between the two countries that is kept secret from the American people. They are right in condemning the people who are pursuing such unfair tactics. The trouble is, however, that it is people in London, rather than in the United States, who are responsible for keeping the absurd story alive. Here is Ambassador Choate talking continually of “hands across the sea” between Great Britain and the United States, to keep the other nations of the world in order, while Mr. Chamberlain still talks of “the alliance between these two great nations.” Perhaps Mr. Choate may be suppressed, but how can we choke off Mr. Chamberlain?⁹¹

American sentiment against a formal relationship with Britain was widespread. For this unofficial relationship to be beneficial, Americans had to be behind it as well as the British. As such, the idea of “hands across the sea” would soon work its way into American dialogues as well.

The Sousa comic operas touring around the country began incorporating sentiment and speaking positively about “hands across the sea.” A march with this title first appears in *The Bride Elect* as a finale for the Third Act in early 1899, along with displays of the Union Jack with the Stars and Stripes.⁹² In January of 1900, a version of “Hands Across the Sea” was used in *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, where the title was super-imposed upon another march, with additional lyrics. During this production, the “the British flag was flown and was well received, suggesting that few Boer sympathizers

⁹¹ “Hands Across the Sea,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 2, 1899, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 33: Press Book.

⁹² Unlabeled Clipping, Newport, Rhode Island *Herald*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 9.2, p. 9. This clipping references that the operetta was “under the direction of Mr. Frank Pallma,” placing the date in the spring of 1899 (see Appendix D).

were present.”⁹³ It was the inclusion of “Hands Across the Sea” in *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* that was described to London audiences by Hopper, a description that led London’s *St. James’* to comment that “America is in perfect sympathy with our efforts and eager to give expression to her feelings from the stage.”⁹⁴ It is unclear who is embedding “hands across the sea” into Sousa’s comic operas, or if all of these titles reference the Sousa’s march of the same name. It is likely that these represent four different songs, with four different sets of lyrics, all given the title “Hands Across the Sea.” It does, however, represent a coordinated effort to disseminate U.S. foreign policy from the stage.

By using the *The Mystical Miss* in England, and the march “Hands Across the Sea” stateside, as a cultural ambassador for foreign policy, the U.S. government assigned political relevance to the stage as an institution that had the power to bring the United States and Britain together. Its success taught its creators, and those watching with a careful eye, that propaganda could be effectively sugarcoated and presented as entertainment, and still prove devastatingly effective.

Choate’s six-year ambassadorial “hands across the sea” campaign worked. The U.S. continued to have a cordial working relationship with the British government – including satisfactory outcomes to the Alaska Boundary dispute, trade relationships with China and Hong Kong (as well as Samoa), among others. Choate helped to lead the two countries out of the “Great Rapprochement” and laid a foundation for the future formal

⁹³ Edward A. Dithmar, “At the Play and With the Players,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1900, p 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

⁹⁴ “Hail Columbia!,” *St. James’*, January 12, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Vol 77, p. 106.

alliance.⁹⁵ Upon Choate's death, Elihu Root praised his efforts, saying that the "good understanding" Choate forged between the two countries "led to us fighting together and standing together for what was right" during World War I.⁹⁶

At Choate's Memorial Service in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury offered a eulogy, in which he reflected that "as [Choate] stood for what was best in American life, he stood not less strenuously for what cements in bonds of healthiest friendship the American and British people."⁹⁷ Choate's archive at the Library of Congress contains many letters from people on both sides of the Atlantic offering praise for a man who, in the words of Lady Grant-Duff "achieved a great success [in bringing] America and England nearer together."⁹⁸ Choate was a beloved figure in England – and, at his Farewell Banquet in London in 1905, the first work on the bill was Sousa's "Hands Across the Sea."⁹⁹

⁹⁵ See: Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, (Scribner, 1968).

⁹⁶ "The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, memorial for Joseph Hodges Choate," remarks by Elihu Root, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 31: Memorial 1917.

⁹⁷ "Memorials in London with Addresses by the Archbishop of Canterbury," Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 31: Memorial 1917.

⁹⁸ Letter from Lady Grant-Duff, May 11, 1905, Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 31: Memorial 1917.

⁹⁹ Program, "Farewell Banquet for Choate," Library of Congress, Joseph H. Choate Papers, Box 19: Ambassador to Great Britain 1905.

CHAPTER FIVE
MANHATTAN COCKTAILS, CHEWING GUM, & CIGARETTES:
CHRIS AND THE WONDERFUL LAMP

In the spring of 1899, John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan* was completing its second forty-week tour of the United States; *The Bride Elect* was completing a forty-week tour of the Midwest and Eastern United States; *The Charlatan* was touring the Eastern seaboard and about to reopen on Broadway (to much better reviews); and De Wolf Hopper was preparing to take both *El Capitan* and *The Charlatan* to be premiered in London. With this modest amount of success behind him, Klaw and Erlanger, the producers of *The Bride Elect*, approached Sousa with a proposition. The producers asked him to compose for their new extravaganza entitled *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*.¹

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp stands as an example of the colliding ideologies and musical theatre forms that inhabit turn-of-the-century offerings. It attempted to combine nineteenth century depictions of Orientalism with a celebration of American consumer products, as well as combine the lighter musical entertainment traditions of burlesque, revue, and musical comedy with operetta to portray American life and progress within a cohesive storyline.²

As the U.S. emerged as a world power at the turn of the century, it brought with it an optimism and enthusiasm about the progress of the nation and its products (both cultural and consumer). Bordman offers, "A catch phrase of the era was 'up to date.' Whatever was new and modern, especially if it was Yankee-contrived, was eagerly embraced. Thus, as the quality and vogue of early comic opera dwindled, Americans

¹ Note that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was never labeled an operetta, thus, my assertion at the end of Chapter three that "all" of Sousa's operettas were used as cultural ambassadors remains sound.

² See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

turned for light diversion to musical comedies and revues, both so ‘up to date’ and generally topical.”³ The prevalence of children’s extravaganzas like *Humpty-Dumpty up to Date* (1894), *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1896), and *Little Red Riding Hood* (1899); revues, like *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1898) and *The Rogers Brothers in Wall Street* (1899); and musical comedies in the tradition of George Edwardes’ *A Gaiety Girl*, exemplify this turn towards a lighter fare. The obsession with the ‘up to date’ also gave rise to a string of musical offerings on Broadway that featured the “up to date” products of the nation, like Weber and Fields *Whirl-i-gig* (1899) and Smith’s *Papa’s Wife* (1899), which featured an automobile that was driven on stage.

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp also followed in a long tradition of Orientalist musical offerings on Broadway with shows such as Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Mikado* in 1885, and Charles Hoyt’s *A Trip to Chinatown* in 1891. The interest in Oriental subjects in musical theatre offerings surged between 1896 and the turn of the century, with shows such as Sidney Jones’s *The Geisha*, Reginald De Koven and Harry B. Smith’s *The Mandarin* (1896) and Smith’s *Sinbad, or, The Maid of Balsora, Hurly Burly* (1898), and Jones’s *San Toy* (1900). Some of the most successful offerings during this era were those which had dual settings in both Oriental and Western locales, like Victor Herbert’s *The Ameer* (1899), and A. Baldwin Sloane’s hodge-podge *Broadway to Tokio* (1900).⁴

Like *The Ameer* and *Broadway to Tokio*, the story of *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* inhabits America at the turn of the century and a mythical representation of Persia. It recounts the tale of a young boy, Chris, in 1899 who purchases Aladdin’s lamp at an

³ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 65.

⁴ DeKoven was also a musical contributor to *Broadway to Tokio*. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre, 2nd edition*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

auction. Chris's first wish is that the lamp's Genie enable him to see his girlfriend, Fanny, who has been imprisoned by her parents at a strict girls boarding school. The Genie disguises Chris as a professor at the school, but when he is found out, the Genie transports everyone, including Miss Prisms, the school's headmistress, to Aladdin's kingdom of Etheria. Chris and the Genie astonish Aladdin's court by introducing them to champagne, cigarettes, and other amenities of modern society. In the meantime, Aladdin falls in love with Fanny and attempts to regain possession of his lamp by having Chris executed; however Fanny escapes Aladdin's advances, recaptures the lamp, and saves Chris and the others. The Genie transports them all back to modern times, where he decides to sacrifice his supernatural powers to live in the comforts of the modern world.⁵

With its collision of settings and form, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* seemed to be an answer to the last three musical offerings of the previous Broadway season (1898-1899): *The Man in the Moon*, a revue in which a statue of Diana comes to life and enjoys a tour of modern New York City; *An Arabian Girl and Forty Thieves*, an Oriental extravaganza that featured an onstage waterfall in a moonlit forest and ballet chorus which formed a giant dragon; and the children's extravaganza *Mother Goose*. From its inception, the extravaganza set itself up as a work of musical theatre that had something for everyone.

In this chapter, I argue that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was a turning point in both Sousa's career and in the use of his comic operas as cultural ambassadors; the climax, as it were, of his musical theatre story. This production was largely out of Sousa's control from its inception; a late change of librettist and constant demands for

⁵ A complete summary is available in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 24.

new material during the production led to a product that lacked theatrical cohesion. While this lack of cohesion is expected in a work that so well exemplifies the theatrical collision at the turn of the century, it creates a rupture in the use of Sousa's musical theatre works as cultural ambassadors. *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was not used as a cultural ambassador for a political message (as Sousa's previous operettas); it was, first and foremost, a marketer of American products, a cheerleader for consumer culture. It misses the opportunity to comment on important identic issues like race and otherness; losing them in commercials for consumer products. With its competing forms and messages, the extravaganza's ability to be used as an effective ideological tool was destroyed.

The destruction of his extravaganza's capacity to be an effective cultural ambassador represents a turning point in Sousa's musical theatre career as well. I argue that Sousa's silence on *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* indicates his own misgivings about the use of his works by others. Sousa's subsequent actions reveal that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* taught him that he must be the only message-maker for his works.

Chris and the Wonderful World of Consumer Goods

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp was based on a short story of the same name by Albert Stearns, which appeared in *The St. Nicolas Magazine*.⁶ Klaw and Erlanger had purchased the stage rights to Stearn's well-known story from the Century Company (who presumably owned the magazine), and had engaged George H. Broadhurst to write the

⁶ "Little Red Riding Hood," Clipping Labeled New York, January 20, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p.106.

libretto (or “dramatization” as it was being labeled).⁷ They asked Sousa to provide the music and he enthusiastically agreed.

In August of 1899, in addition to reporting that Jerome Sykes and Edna Wallace-Hopper were to star in the extravaganza, the press reported that Broadhurst had completed at least a first draft of the book.⁸ At some point during the composition process, the libretto was rewritten by Glen MacDonough, who later collaborated with Victor Herbert on *Babes in Toyland* (1903). It is unknown why the change from Broadhurst to MacDonough was made; however, Broadhurst’s play *Why Smith Left Home* opened on Broadway in September of 1899 and he may have needed to turn his attention to that production.⁹ This brings out a very curious complication in Sousa’s collaboration on the project. Sousa wrote a good deal of *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* while in residence at Manhattan Beach during the summer of 1899, and told the press in early September that the work was almost completed.¹⁰ If the reports are accurate, then Sousa composed the bulk of his score to Broadhurst’s libretto, and MacDonough rewrote the lyrics to Sousa’s already completed music. Sousa told the press that he considered MacDonough’s book “extremely ingenious,” and that it required him to produce “the

⁷ “Siegfried” in the Cycle,” *New York Times*, January 20, 1899, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012. “Chris and the Wonderful Lamp,” *New York Times*, June 24, 1899, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

⁸ The report stated emphatically that Broadhurst “has written the book.” Unlabeled Clipping, Detroit, Michigan *Free Press*, August 18, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.35.

⁹ “George H. Broadhurst,” *Internet Broadway Database*, <http://www.ibdb.com/person.php?id=5787>, accessed February 18, 2012.

¹⁰ “Sousa and his Whale,” Clipping Labeled Toledo, Ohio, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9.3, p.38. “Sousa is Here,” *Pittsburgh Leader*, September 6, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.65.

largest score I have ever written for a comic opera,” however, this is one of his last public comments about the extravaganza.¹¹

The producers, Klaw and Erlanger, were drawn to the production possibilities of a story about a 1890s “Yankee Boy” who brings to Aladdin’s court the modern marvels of American culture because of its production possibilities. The two worlds created by 1899 Connecticut and the mythical Etheria would allow the production to have extravagant scenery and costuming, creating a period piece laced with the finery of America’s thriving consumer culture. The work became a lavish spectacle in praise of consumer culture, marketing everything from gum to cigarettes to telephones to alcohol.

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp capitalized on the late nineteenth century boom in consumer goods. By the end of the nineteenth-century, many middle-class Americans finally had more money than they needed to simply survive. Instead of consumers needing producers, the producers began to need the consumers.¹² A surplus of consumer goods (a by-product of industrialization) forced businesses to rethink mass-marketing ploys. With the advent of modern marketing, producers aggressively courted consumers. This led to an increase in consumer growth, and this growth contributed to a change the values of the middle and lower classes. In his book *Land of Desire*, William Leach argues that “American corporate business, in league with key institutions, began the transformation of American society into a society preoccupied with consumption, with comfort and bodily well-being, with luxury, spending, and acquisition, with more goods

¹¹ “Sousa Talks About Dewey,” Clipping Labeled 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.2.

¹² William Leach, *Land of Desire*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), Ch. 6.

this year than last, more next year than this."¹³ While consumer culture had been around for some time (the upper classes had always had the ability to buy whatever they wanted, whenever they wanted), the rise of consumer culture that began in the late nineteenth century was, according to Leach, facilitated by marketing that propagated four notions: "acquisition and consumption as the means of achieving happiness; the cult of the new; the democratization of desire; and money value as the predominant measure of all value in society." The rise of consumer culture created a new stratum of professionals, thinkers, and white-collar workers.¹⁴ What made this rise of consumer culture possible was the fact that this new culture was propagated to all members of society – not just the elite.¹⁵

The opening chorus from *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* shows just how far consumer culture had permeated the popular imagination:

The fourth of July has its [unreadable] of joy,
And Washington's birthday our hearts employ,
But naught, not even a circus clown
Can waken the folks of this old town
Like auction sales,
For in that case
The sober-minded populace
Without regard to rank or race
Finds pleasure without alloy

Bargains! Bargains!
Cloisonné and rarest crockery
Bargains! Bargains!
Roguish imps that laugh in mockery
Silken goods and jewels antique;
With statuettes that seemingly speak

¹³ William Leach, *Land of Desire*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993): xiii.

¹⁴ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Pub, 1967), Ch. 5.

¹⁵ William Leach, *Land of Desire*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993): 3.

Old guns and pistols, very unique,
Will all be sold off today (off today)

We never bid high on the goods for sale
Connecticut thrift-o-ness must prevail,
But when a bargain comes our way
Our “grab-it-quick” instincts we obey.

We know a gold brick in the dark
Likewise a buzzard from alark;
Therefore, we’re not an easy mark
For sharpers, they always fail.¹⁶

The show became an ambassador (but not a cultural ambassador) for Leach’s democratization of desire: the idea that everyone deserved to live the middle-class lifestyle, whether they could afford to or not. However, according to the lyrics above, “bargains” were more exciting than patriotic celebrations of national pride. While these opening lines may exemplify America’s consumer culture of the period, they stand in opposition to the Sousa brand.

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp praised consumer culture, marketing it from the stage. The show not only describes characters who believe they need chafing dishes, “Goodwin’s Turf Guide,” green tea, highball glasses, ice chests, coal bins, folding pianos, cigars, champagne, Martini cocktails, and Waterbury watches; it produced these objects on stage. The consumption of goods was always at the forefront of the characters’ minds. For example, the Genie, in attempting to propose to Miss Prisms says: “think of the bright furniture...I mean future!” However, the show also offered another mode of consumption - the consumption of experiences. The dialogue alludes to trips to see the Eiffel Tower, the Coral Reefs, San Francisco and the Philippines, transportation on the

¹⁶ *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, Act 1, Scene 1, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

Empire State Express, nights dancing the “hootchie cootchie,” and dinners at Delmonicos. The first act finale proclaims:

Tho’ we brag about our horses
Or our speedy automobile,
Praise our trotter’s great resources,
And our chain or chainless low wheel,
We discover, tho’ we’re bumptious,
Careless or particular
That there is nothing quite so scrumptious
As a Pullman Palace car.

Ah! Oh iron horse, we praise you!

The lyrics ask the audience to applaud these products and expensive excursions as representations of American ingenuity and pride. Again, it is important to point out that Sousa, because of his carefully cultivated moral reputation, consciously eschewed things that could be construed as morally questionable, like alcohol, cigars, and most assuredly, the “hootchie cootchie.”

The show goes on to argue that Fanny, the heroine, should not stay with Prince Aladdin because she *deserves* to live the middle-class life with Chris, she deserves more than Aladdin’s lifestyle can give her. The chorus reasons that Chris can give her more, not only because he lives in a world with consumer culture, but also because he is “an American Boy” and Aladdin is not. The chorus sings:

To the maid who would mate, No prize is so great
As the love of a true born Yankee boy
Of a Kentucky boy
Or a New Hampshire boy
An American boy

The bold Yankee boy is the pride of his nation
There’s no land where his equal has ever been known
He’s the careless and crownless young king of creation
Mighty monarch who needs neither scepter nor throne¹⁷

The chorus exhorts Fanny to show herself to be a true American by following her American boy back to a world of consumable goods and democracy.

For all that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* celebrates as ‘American,’ it is no wonder that the Genie laments “Oh, what is Fairyland [Etheria] after Broadway!”¹⁸

Critical Response to *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*

The show had an out-of-town tryout tour through several cities in anticipation of its move to Broadway. Its premiere performance was given on October 23, 1899 at New Haven, Connecticut’s Hyperion Theatre.¹⁹ The production elements were considered phenomenal. Klaw and Erlanger spared no expense to create the collision between America in 1899 and the mythical world of Aladdin. Papers reported that they went “to

¹⁷ *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, Act 3, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

¹⁸ *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, Act 2, Scene 1, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

¹⁹ “Chris and the Wonderful Lamp”: The New Musical Extravaganza Produced in New Haven,” *New York Times*, October, 24, 1899, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012. B.D. Stevens shared producing credit with Klaw and Erlanger, and Ben Teal provided stage direction. The show opened with the following cast:

Genie, the original slave of the Lamp	Jerome Sykes
Chris Wagstaff, a “boy about town”	Edna Wallace-Hopper
Scotty Jones, boy of all work at Miss Prisms’ Academy	John Page
Lovemoney/The Grand Vizier in Etheria	Randolph Curry
Pettingill/Al Khizar, chief of Etheria’s Secret Police	Herbert Carter
Selwell, an auctioneer	Charles H. Drew
Captain of the Guards	Frank Todd
Fanny Wiggins, star pupil at Prisms’ Academy	Ethel Irene Stuart
Aladdin, Prince of Etheria	Emile Beanpre
Miss Prisms, principal of the the (sic) Academy	Mabella Baker
Katie Claney, maid of all work at the Academy	Nellie Lynch
Amine, a talking doll in Etheria	Nellie Lynch
Stella	Edna Hunter
Della	Edith Barr
Bella	Violet Jewell
Ella	Adele Nott
Nella	Stella Madison
Queen of Dreams	May Norton

The company, including the chorus was said to number between 98 and 120.

the extreme of grandeur,” employing only the best scenic and costume artists, and producing a “a magnificent spectacle.”²⁰

According to one news report, a thousand Yale undergraduates attended the premiere, which was extremely well received. Both Edna Wallace-Hopper and Jerome Sykes were demanded for curtain calls at the end of every act. Sousa was in attendance on opening night, along with “a party of his New York musical friends, and a number of metropolitan critics;” however he remained silent, not giving his usual curtain speech or giving interviews to reporters.²¹

The show moved to Washington D.C, where it opened on October 30, 1899 at the New National Theatre for a week’s engagement. The press raved that it was a first-rate production, saying “nothing quite up to its standard in this respect has been seen in Washington in many months.” Reports praised Klaw and Erlanger for engaging such young and pretty women for the chorus, which allowed critics to overlook their deficiencies of voice. There was much praise for Sousa’s music. The critics found it catchy and singable, but perhaps “almost too simple.”²² They applauded the March King for writing a score that was more “popular,” satisfying both his musical excellence and the audience’s need for fun.

²⁰ “Coming to the Playhouses,” *The Washington Post*, October 29, 1899, pg. 25. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1995), accessed February 18, 2012.

²¹ “News of Theatres,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 24, 1899, p. 8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849-1988), accessed February 18, 2012.

²² “At the Theaters: ‘Chris and the Wonderful Lamp,’” *The Washington Post*, October 31, 1899, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1995), accessed February 18, 2012.

The show moved to Baltimore's Academy of Music during the second week of November, and then to the Boston Museum on December 4, 1899.²³ Boston hailed the extravaganza as pure entertainment, a production whose "sole aim is to please." The Boston press also began to discuss the prevalence of consumer culture objects and experiences in the work, finding it hilarious that the Genie, after being confined for so long in the lamp, desired "a flying squadron of Manhattan cocktails," and highlighting that the dance Chris engages in to retrieve his lamp from Aladdin was a minstrel show cakewalk. Because of this dual emphasis on popular culture and extravagant entertainment, the *Boston Globe* predicted that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was "sure to reach the heart of every crowd."²⁴

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp opened on Broadway at Hammerstein's Victoria Theatre on January 1, 1900, giving it the distinction of being the first musical offering to open on Broadway in the twentieth century.²⁵ The *New York Times* declared that opening night was extremely well received and that the show was likely to run for the remainder of the season. Wallace-Hopper and Sykes gave curtain speeches at the opening, but Sousa was not in attendance.

²³ The show most likely opened in Baltimore between November 6 and 8, 1899. "Theatres Next Week: Academy of Music," *The Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1899, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun (1837-1986), accessed February 18, 2012. The production most likely had additional tour stops between its Baltimore and Boston productions, but I have been unable to trace them. "Drama and Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 5, 1899, p. 11. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Boston Globe (1872-1979), accessed February 18, 2012.

²⁴ "Drama and Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 3, 1899, p. 11. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Boston Globe (1872-1979), accessed February 18, 2012.

²⁵ "Dramatic and Musical: A New Musical Burletta at the Victoria Theatre," *New York Times*, January 2, 1900, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

New York reviews established just how far Klaw and Erlanger went to show off the spectacle of consumer culture. The show created a series of tableaux that were highly praised. The most striking picture was “a panoramic view of an ocean voyage.” The highest praise, however, was saved for the Electric ballet. The ballet in Act Two was performed on a completely dark stage by chorus girls with incandescent lights sewn into their costumes.²⁶ Each girl was plugged in, and when electricity began flowing, reviewers hailed it as “startling and beautiful,” One reviewer said that the ballet was “one of the loveliest terpsichorean divertissements seen in New York in my time.”²⁷

The *New York Times* rightly classified the show as a burletta, because it felt that it was not a burlesque, but it also was not a comic opera. The production ranged “from variety farce of the very latest brand to fairy ballet spectacle of the old pattern.”²⁸

Unfortunately, the mixing of structural forms confused some people. The references to pop culture and the dancing showgirls led many to think that the piece was meant to be a burlesque; however, its music was strong enough to be operetta. This same confusion was noted in earlier *Washington Post* reviews, which declared that MacDonough “evidently was governed by the idea that he was writing an opera comique; instead his book has been treated, very properly, as a comic opera, in which little except the broadest

²⁶ “Dramatic and Musical: A New Musical Burletta at the Victoria Theatre,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1900, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

²⁷ “Dramatic and Musical: A New Musical Burletta at the Victoria Theatre,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1900, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012. Edward A. Dithmar, “At the Play and With the Players,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1900, p. 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

²⁸ “Dramatic and Musical: A New Musical Burletta at the Victoria Theatre,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1900, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

burlesque can be expected.”²⁹ While reviews make it clear that the audiences and the critics enjoyed the performance, they did not know how to classify it.³⁰ Classification was important because audiences had come to expect ‘American’ operetta to contain political and social messages, an expectation counter to the anticipation of spectacle so prevalent in the viewing of burlesque and early musical comedy. The mixing of forms left audiences wondering if there was a message embedded into the work; and if there was, what was it (or, in this case, which one was it)?

Not only were audiences asked to sift through a variety of messages and forms inherent in the construction of the extravaganza, they were also faced with interpolated messages as well. A week after the show opened at the Victoria Theatre, papers began noting that the patriotic aspect of Sousa’s music was played up at end of Act Two, which had a “characteristic patriotic [finale], with a brass band to supplement the orchestra, and a crowded stage, [which] set last night’s audience cheering.”³¹ The paper references the second act march finale entitled “The Man behind the Gun.” This march is placed within a scene depicting the American youth, Chris, fighting Aladdin’s men in battle (with a gun

²⁹ “At the Theaters: ‘Chris and the Wonderful Lamp,’” *The Washington Post*, October 31, 1899, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1995), accessed February 18, 2012.

³⁰ Reports also indicated that there was no mention or credit given to Albert Stearns for his original story, one critic attributed this to the fact that “perhaps because its author does not care to share the uncertain glory of Mr. Glen MacDonough.” Edward A. Dithmar, “At the Play and With the Players,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1900, p. 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012. Other New York papers complained that the work was “childish.” “Little Red Riding Hood,” Clipping Labeled New York, January 20, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p.106.

³¹ Edward A. Dithmar, “At the Play and With the Players,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1900, p. 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

rather than a sword) in an effort to save Fanny from a life with Aladdin. The lyrics to the march are a generic call to battle, without any specific national ties.

The Man Behind the Gun,
Stand Ever Ready to Defend Him!
When the Call to battle's sounding,
Anxious words he's not propounding,

But it's "Up and at 'Em, boys."
'Tis not the hour for meditation,
Mincing words of explanation,
For it's "Up and at 'Em, boys."

Ah, see the gallant charge,
May luck and victory attend him!
Watch him rallying and fighting,
Now the foe the dust is biting,

For it's "Up and at 'Em, boys."
The battle rages fast and faster,
To the foeman's great disaster,
For it's "Up and at 'Em, boys."

Oh, Crown Him, hero of our Land!
He'll fight till the battle's won.
Oh, brave heart of a valiant band,
The man behind the gun.

The *New York Times*, however, reported that during this patriotic scene, the British flag was flown and was well received, suggesting that "few Boer sympathizers were present."³² Interestingly, a leaf of paper stuffed into the *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* prompt script contained at the Marine Band Library sheds light on the *New York Times*' depiction of the patriotic scene. An encore was written for "The Man Behind the Gun," entitled "Hands Across the Sea."

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

³² Edward A. Dithmar, "At the Play and With the Players," *New York Times*, January 7, 1900, p. 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed February 18, 2012.

(This march to be considered a continuation of, and encore for “The Man Behind the Gun”)

1st strain

Oh, welcome to the soldiers!
Merrily they march to the crashing brass,
Cheerily the step to the drums arolling,
Heartily we cheer as the heroes pass.
O! Wave welcome to the soldiers!
Sturdily they fought for their land so dear,
Daringly they heard all the calls of duty,
For ‘tis naught that they know of fear!

2nd strain

Oh, see the flag they bear,
Tattered, worn, with bullets torn,
Oh, see it waving there.
Flashing in the sun!
Ev’ry rant and tear,
Telling of a fight hard fought,
Of a victr’y dearly bought
Of battles lost or won (chorus repeats 2nd strain)

Trio (Handwritten: Skykes solo):

But no an
End has come to war,
To war!
They’ll hear the cannons’ roar
No more!
Make glorious the day, the day!
Uproarious and gay, and gay!
Our boys are coming home to stay!

Male Voices:

So therefore it is well,
And likewise the proper thing,
That trumpet calls should ring,,
While the bass drums go b’zing
Oh! That’s the thing
B’zing! B’zing! B’zing!
That is the proper capter (*sic*)!
For now at last an end has come to war, etc. etc.
(Repeat Trio).³³

³³*Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

The march interpolated into the extravaganza was, obviously, not the same “Hands Across the Sea” that De Wolf Hopper was using concurrently in his London production of *The Charlatan*. The differences in lyrics and in music (as the *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* version was meant to be sung to the music of “The Man Behind the Gun”), however, do not remove the lyric’s sentiment. Newspaper reports attest to the idea that the march’s title, along with the presentation of the British flag, tied it to similar debates about the need for a stronger alliance between the U.S. and Britain, and the cause for support surrounding British involvement in the Boer War.

In addition to the interpolation of “Hands Across the Sea,” more changes were made to the piece as it continued in production, although there are no indications as to why changes were necessary as the show was enjoying good business. The *New York Tribune* related to readers that “the Oriental march and cocoanut (*sic*) dance introduced as a special feature at the opening of the second act last week will be continued as a part of the programming. Tomorrow evening several new musical features will be introduced, and before the end of the week it is expected that Sousa’s new march will be performed for the first time.”³⁴ This report indicates that outside interpolations were being added to the show, most likely creating a further lack of cohesion. A new march by Sousa never materialized in the extravaganza, nor did he promise a new march to the press; however, it may be that “Hail to the Spirit of Liberty” was meant to be used in the production.³⁵

³⁴ “Notes of the Stage,” *New York Tribune*, January 28, 1900, p. B8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: New York Tribune (1841-1922), accessed February 18, 2012. “Notes of the Stage,” *New York Tribune*, February 4, 1900, p. B8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: New York Tribune (1841-1922), accessed February 18, 2012.

³⁵ There is evidence that Sousa was writing a new march for the piece, as several newspapers anticipated the work, most likely on information from Klaw and Erlanger. Sousa wrote and published only one march in 1900, “Hail to the Spirit of Liberty,” which he composed for the unveiling of the Lafayette

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp played on Broadway for nine weeks, and closed on March 4, 1900.³⁶ It enjoyed large houses for its entire run, but was most likely booked at tour houses and, therefore, contractually obligated to cease its production on Broadway. On its closing night, the *Brooklyn Citizen* reported that *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* had generated “large profits for everybody concerned.”³⁷ The show embarked on the beginnings of a national tour, playing four performances at Parson’s Theatre in Hartford, Connecticut between March 12 -14, 1900; however, the production seems to have ceased after its first touring engagement.³⁸ There is no explanation for why the production did not go on its expected tour, especially as it had been so popular with New York and other regional audiences.

Sousa and the Wonderful ‘American’ Operetta Form

Chris and the Wonderful Lamp is a useful case study, not only because of its relationship to consumer culture, but for its significance in Sousa’s musical theatre

Monument (a gift presented to France on behalf of the children of the United States) on July 4, 1900 during the Paris Exposition. Bierley reports that “certain sections of the march evidently were taken from an unidentified earlier operetta and revised, because in 1964 fragments which were probably meant to be discarded were found in a stack of [operetta] manuscripts.”³⁵ While there is no way to know where these fragments were found in relationship to the *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* manuscripts, their existence in the operetta pile suggests that “Hail to the Spirit of Liberty,” could have been the beginnings of the much talked about new Sousa march for *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*.

³⁶ No reports of the final performance of *Chris* could be found. I have arrived at the March 4 date because the following clipping indicated that the show is scheduled to close in three weeks. “Notes of the Stage,” *New York Tribune*, February 4, 1900, p. B8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: New York Tribune (1841-1922), accessed February 18, 2012.

³⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, Brooklyn, New York *Citizen*, March 4, 1900, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 77, p.110.

³⁸ “Entertainments: ‘Chris and the Wonderful Lamp,’” *The Hartford Courant*, March 13, 1900, p.8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Hartford Courant (1887-1922), accessed February 18, 2012. Bierley says that the show ran for five months total, but this is problematic as he does not indicate if his figures are based on the start date of the premiere or the Broadway opening. I have only found evidence of consistent performance between October 23, 1899 and March 14, 1900, so I think Bierley is also of the opinion that the tour did not get very far. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 23.

career. While the variety of messages inherent in and interpolated into the work were all part of the dialogues surrounding the emergence of the U.S. as world power, their potency is lost in their sheer number. As the production became less cohesive over time, with competing messages straining for dominance, the extravaganza lost its ability to be an effective ideological tool. It became a ‘catch-all’ to sell political and social messages, while advertising consumer products, without differentiating or prioritizing those messages. It missed out on making a clear contribution to ‘American’ dialogues, and instead stands as an example of the competition of voices contributing to ‘American’ identity and life at the turn of the century. *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* does not qualify as a cultural ambassador because its sales pitch is inherently different from the sales pitches in Sousa’s other operettas – it was not unified, and it did not argue for a new conception of national identity.

The failure of *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* to be an effective cultural ambassador, as well as a cohesive piece of operetta, represents a turning point for Sousa as well. Sousa did not talk about the show to the press after beginning work on the show in August of 1899. There are no quotes from him at either of the premiere performances. Sousa *always* talked up his projects in the press, and compared to the multiple interviews he gave about his other works, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* was completely ignored. During the Broadway production, Sousa talked only about Hopper’s success in London, and his latest collaboration with Charles Klein, entitled *General Gamma* (Appendix F). The virtual absence of remarks by Sousa about the show is deafening.

Sousa’s silence effectively separated his brand from the production; and I argue that this separation indicates Sousa’s own misgivings about the use of his works by

others. While Sousa was known to sell consumer culture items like bicycles, and while he depended on a robust consumer culture for his continued success in music (through ticket and sheet music sales, etc.), the Sousa *brand* could not sell the ideology behind consumer culture and remain a viable selling tool for the rest of his ventures. By using his name to sell products, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* diluted Sousa's self-defined mission as a "Salesman of Americanism."

After *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* closed on Broadway, Sousa ended his collaboration with Klein on *General Gamma*. He did not compose any operettas for five years. When he returned to the world of musical theatre, he no longer yielded creative control to anyone else during a show's development or production. After *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, Sousa took care to be the sole message-maker, the sole Salesman, for his operettas; and he started using them as cultural ambassadors for his own purposes.

CHAPTER SIX
SONGS OF SALARIED WARRIORS:
COPYRIGHT, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND *THE FREE LANCE*

As John Philip Sousa began his self-imposed hiatus from operetta, the genre went through a rupture that would help define the modern trajectory of musical theatre in America. Between 1900 and 1902, critics complained that comic operas conventions were worn out, and musical comedies and revues were waning in popularity and originality. The emergence of new talent on Broadway began to revolutionize the musical theatre world. George M. Cohan offered Broadway his first “maiden” effort in *The Governor’s Song* (1901). He would follow with the popular *Little Johnny Jones* in 1904, and *Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway*, as well as *George Washington, Jr.* in 1906.¹ Egbert Williams, Florenz Ziegfeld, Jerome Kern and others would all make their mark on musical theatre in the first decade of the new century; and the Gaiety musical comedies became the standard of modern musical theatre conventions, with modern settings and simple melodies. Consequently, these Gaiety musical comedies and the precursors to Kern’s Princess musicals, with their positive and bright outlook riding a wave of American optimism and enthusiasm, supplanted American comic opera at the turn of the century, leaving it to be seen as “musty with age.”² If American operetta was to survive as a genre, it would have to change its conventions.

With the influx of talent came new musical theatre conventions. Increasingly, musical comedies and revues began to use modern city life as their landscape. Sousa’s *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* foreshadowed this change in setting; as the Genie

¹ *In Dahomy* and *Bandana Land* also premiered in the early 1900s.

² Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 82.

proclaimed, “Oh, what is Fairyland after Broadway!”³ “Up to date” cities like New York City, London, and Paris became musical theatre’s playground. Operetta, however, was resistant to change. Turn of the century offerings shied away from more mythic plots and settings, but remained staunchly attached to historical subjects or continental high society life, or the exotic, like *The Regatta Girl* and *The Monks of Malabar* (1900). Julian Edwards, one of the four great American operetta composers of the period, premiered *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* in 1902 and used the backdrop of the American Civil War to create a show very successful by the day’s standards. There was an unusual amount of praise for the show’s First Act finale, “My Own United States.”

As musical comedies and revues began to change around them, American operettas were forced to modify their content to remain on the boards, and operetta began a move toward the more realistic, and less complicated, plot conventions of the past. Bordman says, “the preposterous events and figures that enlivened every turn in the works of the older school were increasingly left behind. Situations, characters, and even characters’ names were kept well within the bounds of ordinary dramatic license.”⁴ To satisfy audiences obsessed with modern, everyday life, operetta began incorporating characters that inhabited both low and high society lifestyles. For example, Charles Klein’s *A Royal Rogue*, Victor Herbert’s *Mlle. Modiste* and *The Red Mill*, as well as Gustav Luders *The Prince of Pilsen* (in which a Cincinnati brewer is mistaken as the Prince of Pilsen while vacationing in Nice), exemplify this trend.⁵ Further, the music of

³ *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, Act 2, Scene 1, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

⁴ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 52.

American operetta began to move away from more sophisticated continental patterns towards the simple melodies of musical comedy. Bordman explains:

Authors and producers had discerned that American audiences responded more immediately to homier, simpler, and more familiar musical patterns. Because of its very nature comic opera would never be able to fully abandon its older, continental inspirations, but it was to employ them more cautiously. To the extent that these forms sounded alien to American, their disappearance from musical programs represented another move away from extreme artificiality.

American operetta, like the rest of the art world, began to move toward simplicity.⁶ The emergence of operettas such as *The Dollar Princess*, *The Chocolate Soldier*, *A Waltz Dream*, and especially *The Merry Widow*, helped to move operetta more in line with musical comedies; and set the stage for the dominance of waltz-operetta that would enjoy prominence on Broadway through the mid-1910s.

Between 1900 and 1905, while the operetta world was undergoing its transformation from the conventions that grew up around *El Capitan* toward waltz-operetta, Sousa embarked on four European tours with his band.⁷ When Sousa returned to operetta in 1905, the form and its conventions had changed. His previous extravaganza, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, had taught him that he needed greater control over the messages embedded into his works, and he focused his next operetta attempt, *The Free Lance*, on controlling the operetta's message through form. Therefore, he ignored the shifts in setting, plot and music that were becoming so evident in contemporary operettas. *The Free Lance* retains a mythical setting, a complex plot

⁵ Herbert insisted that *The Red Mill* was a musical comedy, further exemplifying the change from American operetta to a more hybrid form. See Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 54-56.

⁶ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 52. Bordman explains this as "streamlining."

⁷ Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 69-70.

containing several secondary sub-plots, and Sousa's standard fare of march and patter music (he ignored the movement towards waltz-operetta as well). However, this comic opera has a dramatic unity unlike Sousa's previous works - a unity akin to the dramatic and musical cohesiveness expected from modern "integrated" musicals – and it retained this unity throughout its production history. While contemporary comic operas were still riddled with interpolated material, there is not one mention of an interpolated song or march, nor any expressions of American patriotism throughout *The Free Lance's* development, Broadway run or national tour.

I argue that Sousa took pains to create a work that would be free of interpolations in an effort to control its content. There is simply no way to interpolate new material into *The Free Lance* without ruining the cohesion of the operetta's plot. While Sousa most likely made the lack of interpolation a contractual issue, he pursued a broader application of the Wagnerian concept of *gesamtkunstwerk* beginning with *The Free Lance*.

Above all other composers, Sousa respected Richard Wagner. He considered the composer the "Shakespeare of Music," and the "giant of the music drama."⁸ Sousa made a special effort to visit Wagner's grave on his first trip to Europe, and when asked about the greatest composers of opera, he said "I should name Wagner first."⁹ Sousa programmed Wagner in Sousa Band concerts more frequently than any other composer (save his own works), and was often accused of being a "disciple of Wagner." In fact, the *Chicago Tribune* blamed the demise of *The Bride Elect* on Sousa's pursuit of

⁸ Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 120. John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 329.

⁹ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 180. Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing, 2001): 54.

Wagnerian composition techniques, saying “if Mr. Sousa was not such a father disciple of Wagner to the extent of insisting on writing his own librettos, “The Bride Elect” would be an exceedingly good comic opera.”¹⁰ Sousa was extremely well acquainted with Wagner, his music, and his ideas on aesthetics; and Wagnerian ideas found their way into Sousa’s cultural output.

Gesamtkunstwerk was loosely defined by Wagner as the ideal, total work of art which integrates all art forms into a single unified whole.¹¹ He argued that “the elements of dance, music, and poetry, harmonized so perfectly in Greek drama, were deprived of their expressive potential when divorced from one another.”¹² Therefore, Wagner advocated total integration of visual art, movement, drama, and music in opera.¹³ It is unclear if Sousa read Wagner’s writings on aesthetics and opera as drama, or if he simply responded to the principles he saw in Wagner’s compositions and integrated them into his own work.¹⁴ As early as *El Capitan*, Wagner’s principles of musical cohesion shined forth in Sousa’s use of leitmotif and musical tension. Bordman offers:

¹⁰ “Drama,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1898. “News of the Theatres,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1898.

¹¹ Wagner only used the term *gesamtkunstwerk* in his essays, *Art and Revolution* and *The Artwork of the Future*. Much of his aesthetic views on opera are laid out in his 1851 treatise *Opera and Drama*.

¹² Stanley Sadie, ed., *Wagner and His Operas*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000): 11.

¹³ Wagner’s aesthetic theories are quite complicated because his philosophies shifted throughout his lifetime. Thus, a complete discussion of Wagnerian philosophies of *gesamtkunstwerk* is unwise. See the following discussions for a full understanding: Stanley Sadie, ed., *Wagner and His Operas*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000). Carl Dahlhaus, *Richard Wagner’s Music Dramas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971). Dieter Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). H. F. Garten, *Wagner: The Dramatist*, (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977); and Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn, *Wagner on Music and Drama*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1964).

¹⁴ Sousa gave evidence that he ascribed to, at least, some of Wagner’s ideas. In address given by Sousa at meeting of Republican Club to discuss “Is the Drama Advancing or Declining in Character and Influence?,” papers quote him as saying: “In the various forms of theatrical entertainment music is

Far more than either De Koven or Edwards but to a lesser degree than Herbert, Sousa did possess the unique ability to provide his show pieces with a requisite tension. The listener genuinely cares to learn what phrase of invention comes next, and, equally important, is irresistibly caught up in the emotional demands of the song – the thrill of an excited march, the tenderness of a romantic ballad. Yet, this requisite tension also sometimes gives way to an unfortunate tightness, a certain circumscribed formality that asserts itself at the expense of melodic freedom.¹⁵

Sousa's works after *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* created operettas that were not only musically integrated, but which integrated movement and drama as well (something wholly lacking in his other works).

The best example of this pursuit towards further integration of music and drama began with his choice of librettist. All of Sousa's librettos had been disasters and he needed someone who could write a cohesive and dramatic story embedded with his message. There was only one candidate: Harry B. Smith. Smith was the best librettist of the period, having written hundreds of operettas. He was the principle librettist for both De Koven and Herbert's operettas, and he was the first American librettist honored with a "compendium of his best work in hardcover."¹⁶ With Smith, Sousa created an operetta with a dramatic formula similar Eugene Scribe's "well-made play," music, dance and movement that enhance the plot, and a singular message. Sousa's work in *The Free*

paramount as the mode for expression and companion of another art [...] In tragedy and comedy music is used to heighten the effect of a dramatic situation; in pantomime, to make clearer the intention to be conveyed by the actor; music's fascination makes the ballet enduring and possible. Grand opera is the most powerful of stage appeals, and that almost entirely through the beauty of its music. Opera is drama for the sake of music, while in the spoken tragedy and comedy music is for the sake of the drama. In the spoken drama the definite classes are the farce, the comedy, the romantic play and the tragedy. These are paralleled in melody by the musical comedy, the comic opera, the romantic opera, and grand opera – each independent of the other and judged by a standard set for its kind." "Discusses Music as Ally of the Drama," *Musical American*, April 1, 1916, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 62, Folder 2: Clippings and articles.

¹⁵ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 61.

¹⁶ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 5.

Lance showcases his pursuit of the ideal of integration, the pursuit of his understanding of *gesamtkunstwerk*.¹⁷

The War on Musical Piracy

In 1905 a war erupted between British music publishers and Parliament over music piracy. Several music publishers staged a strike, making “an agreement not to print any new compositions or to sign any new contracts with singers, players or composers until Parliament consents to amend the musical copyright law, the object of the strike being to bring strong pressure to bear upon the British Government to stop the present wholesale pirating of music.” Parliament, however, was unwilling to interfere in music piracy taking the position that music was a “necessity for the poorer classes” and that the Government should not be in the business of protecting musical property.¹⁸ The government reasoned that if the music publishers had heeded the needs of the masses and sold their music for less money, musical piracy would not exist. The publishers took issue with the idea, claiming that they could not afford to sell the music at a lower price because they had to pay fees to the composers, and the music pirates did not.¹⁹ William Boosey (general manager of Chappell Publishing Company) called the government’s attitude “a proposal to legalize robbery by act of Parliament.”²⁰

¹⁷ Sousa achieved further integration and unity in his next operetta, *The American Maid*, especially with movement; however, *The Free Lance* stands as a close second which could stand up today to the likes of Gilbert and Sullivan.

¹⁸ “A Music Publishers’ Strike,” *Musical Courier*, April 26, 1905, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.12.

¹⁹ “John Philip Wilds a Verbal Baton in London Town,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.15.

²⁰ “A Music Publishers’ Strike,” *Musical Courier*, April 26, 1905, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.12.

Boosey and other publishers, feeling blocked by members of Parliament, sought a spokesman who could bring this issue before the public. John Philip Sousa, March King and international celebrity, fit the bill. While Sousa was making a European tour with his band during 1905, Boosey asked him to write a series of letters to English newspapers explaining the need for tougher music piracy laws. Sousa complied and wrote the following letter to the editor of the *Times*:

Sir,

I should like to invite your attention to the international aspects of the question of music piracy. The British Government participated in the Berne Conferences of 1885 and 1887, and the International Copyright Convention which resulted was adopted in full by English orders in Council, which were intended to afford foreign authors and composers protection for their works in Great Britain in return for reciprocal advantages for British authors and composers in the other countries parties to the said agreement. To the best of my belief, music piracy does not exist in any country where there is an international copyright law in force except Great Britain. Certainly it has been unknown in the United States since 1891, and when a British subject has complied with the copyright laws of my country he is immediately clothed with clearly defined legal rights which are protected for him by the strong arm of the American law. I know that my compositions, after having been entered for copyright in Germany, France, Belgium, &c., are not stolen, and only in Great Britain do I fail to receive the complete protection for my music which was clearly the intent of the Berne Convention and the consequent copyright agreement with the United States. Reciprocity is of no value if it does not reciprocate!

I have before me a pirated edition of my latest composition which was printed and hawked about the streets of London within a few days of the authorized publication of this march at a price at which my publishers could not afford to print it. And this has been the case with all my compositions in Great Britain for several years. It has had the effect of practically stopping the sale of my genuine publications, thus depriving me of the substantial income from that source that the popularity of my music in this country gives me every reason to expect. I am informed that the opposition of one of the lawmakers of this country has heretofore prevented the enactment of proper legislation to remedy this evil. Whatever reason this gentleman may have for refusing the British composer the legitimate return for the work of his brain I certainly deny his right to say that the American composer must come under the same ban, when the international copyright treaty guarantees to the American composer the same protection in Great Britain that he enjoys at home,

Yours, &c.,
John Philip Sousa²¹

Sousa wrote several additional letters that suggested that the piracy of his works was taking money out of the pockets of British workers as well. He told the public that he had come to England with the intention of having another of his comic operas, *The Bride Elect*, produced in the West End. However, he was forced to withhold licensing for the production because of the rampant musical piracy.²² He noted that if *The Bride Elect* was not produced, “the singers, actors, chorus people, orchestral players, costumiers, printers, advertising departments of newspapers, stage hands, sandwich men, the various theatrical advertising agents, &c. – they are the ones that will care. A production of the opera, such as I would have like to make here, affects the well-being of at least 300 people, and they care.”²³

Sousa’s efforts on behalf of British music publishers yielded considerable press commentary, most of which was in favor of new music piracy laws. One paper went as far as to say that it was one thing to rip-off a national composer, but when pirates stole from international composers like Mr. Sousa, something had to be done.²⁴ In 1906,

²¹ Clipping from the *Manchester Guardian*, March 2, 1905, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 65, Folder 2: “1905.” This article originally appeared in the *London Times*.

²² Unlabeled Clipping from early 1905, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.9.

²³ John Philip Sousa, “Musical Piracy,” *Daily Telegraph*, 27 April 1905, HJ22, p.109. As quoted in Patrick Warfield, “John Philip Sousa and ‘The Menace of Mechanical Music,’” *Journal for the Society for American Music* 3.4 (2009): 445.

²⁴ Patrick Warfield, “John Philip Sousa and ‘The Menace of Mechanical Music,’” *Journal for the Society for American Music* 3.4 (2009): 445.

Parliament passed a copyright revision that allowed for a jail sentence for the possession of pirated music.²⁵

Earliest Mentions of *The Free Lance*

While Sousa was fighting for copyright enforcement in England, he was working on a new operetta with established librettist Harry B. Smith. While he was on tour, Sousa indicated that he had the score “pretty well under way at the present time,” however the grand march for the finale of the second act was still eluding him.²⁶ Smith was working on the book for “The Belle of Avenue A” at the time, but had obviously provided Sousa with enough material prior to his departure so that he could get started.²⁷

When Sousa returned to U.S. soil in the spring of 1905, he told the press that the operetta dealt with the Mexican-American War and that it was nearly complete, however the show had yet to be picked up by a producer.²⁸ Smith reported to the press that the subject “is a very strong American one and several friends say he [Sousa] is doing the

²⁵ Patrick Warfield, “John Philip Sousa and ‘The Menace of Mechanical Music,’” *Journal for the Society for American Music* 3.4 (2009): 446.

²⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.4.

²⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.4. The clipping reads: “Harry B. Smith has another work in hand, as usual. He is writing the book for “The Belle of Avenue A,” in which Elfie Fay will star next season.”

²⁸ “Sousa Back Home, Writes New Opera,” University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 22.1, p.15. The clipping reads: “With Harry B. Smith, Mr. Sousa is writing a new comic opera around the border of Mexico and the United States. ‘I am not doing it for any special manager,’ he said, ‘nor any special star.’ ‘But there are no longer any stars, papa,’ interrupted his daughter, who was present. ‘They have all gone the soft and milky way of vaudeville.’ ‘Quite right,’ continued the composer. ‘In this connection I might say that an author or composer handicaps himself when he writes for any particular person.’”

best work on it that he has ever done.” The report said that Smith and Sousa had half of the work completed and it was “quite possible” that it would be produced in the fall.²⁹

During the summer of 1905, Sousa and Smith were calling the work “Lillian Lamoor,” a work whose subject was supposed to be “perculiarty (*sic*) American in every sense.” Even though “no definite statements have been made concerning it,” papers began to report that the show would most likely open in the fall of 1905 and have a “prominent woman star in the title role.”³⁰ Sousa and Smith announced that they were “positive that their efforts [would] result in producing what will closely approach that long looked for ‘American comic opera.’”³¹ However, the operetta’s topic changed drastically during the summer of 1905 after Sousa realized that he was fighting a legal war on two fronts – printed music piracy in England and aural music piracy in the U.S.

Copyright in the United States

Prior to the 1909 Copyright Act the manufacturers of player-piano rolls and recordings offered no compensation to creators and composers of the recorded works. While recordings were made from authorized printed music, Sousa and other composers, found it unfair that they were paid once for a recording that was produced and sold tens of thousands of times over. In 1905, the Library of Congress held a series of conferences aimed at creating a new act to extend copyright protection beyond reproductions that

²⁹ “Sousa and Smith – New Operatic Concern,” *Evening Telegram*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.1, p.21.

³⁰ “Sousa-Smith Opera,” Summer 1905, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.1, p.27. “It is said that the new opera on which John Philip Sousa and Harry B. Smith are collaborating will be known as “Lillian Lamoor,” though this is subject to a change when the work gets a little farther along. It has been reported that the theme is that of a mock kingdom similar in effect to the Ruritania, of which Anthon Hapa wrote, but this is a mistake.”

³¹ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.1, p.27.

could be physically seen with the eyes, to those reproductions meant for the ear.

President Roosevelt, who had his own works recorded without compensation, asked for the needed reforms in his 1905 State of Union letter, but the act would not be easily passed because many in America, including many in Congress, were unwilling to limit the nature of this progressive new technology. Sousa lamented:

Do they not realize that if the accredited composers, who have come into vogue by reason of merit and labor, are refused a just reward for their efforts, a condition is almost sure to arise where all incentive to further creative work is lacking, and compositions will no longer flow from their pens; or where they will be compelled to refrain from publishing their compositions at all, and control them in manuscript? What, then, of the playing and talking machines?³²

For Sousa, work, artistic, intellectual or physical, had to be rewarded – without reward there would be no impetus to complete any further work. Therefore, Sousa, by this point a master manipulator of the public sphere and knowing how to use his status to sway public opinion, took his message to the public in the form of a comic opera. Sousa and Smith scrapped their earlier operetta drafts and created an operetta whose message wrestled with issues of intellectual property and copyright, and illustrated the fate of governments that turned a blind eye to the intellectual property of their citizens.³³

On January 10, 1906, Sousa released the title of the show and said that he had completed the work “10 days ago” (either December 31 or January 1), and sold the production “on royalty” to Klaw and Erlanger.³⁴ He said that “the opera was heard,

³² John Philip Sousa, “The Menace of Mechanical Music,” *Appleton's Magazine* 8 (1906), p. 284.

³³ As stated previously, Sousa and Smith both discussed two distinctly different operettas prior to this moment. One dealt with the Mexican American War, the other was titled “Lillian Lamoor.”

³⁴ Unlabeled Clipping, January University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.1. The name of the new operetta is advertised as *The Free Lance*. “Sousa Writes Comic Opera to Come Out Soon,” *Hartford (Connecticut) Post*, January

accepted and the contract signed within 24 hours, which is said to have been the record made by any manager in the country.”³⁵ Klaw and Erlanger announced that actor Joseph Cawthorne had been contracted to play the title role, and they began arranging for an out-of-town tryout. They initially settled on the Chestnut Street Opera House in Philadelphia at the beginning of April, and reaching their New Amsterdam Theatre in New York on Easter Monday.³⁶ Klaw and Erlanger hired Nella Bergen, a popular Sousa leading lady many times over, as the lead soprano on January 29, 1906, on the recommendation of “the bandmaster himself.”³⁷

Sousa boasted to the press: “Our present plans are to make New York the scene of the initial production, which will be on a gorgeous scale. For four years, I have written nothing for the stage, and one day Smith came to me and suggested that the public wanted something else from me besides military music. While I felt that I was, so to speak, removed from the boards, I finally relented and the result is ‘The Free Lance’.”³⁸

10, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.1.

³⁵ *Minneapolis Evening Tribune*, March 19, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.1, p.94.

³⁶ “News of Plays and Players,” *New York Sun*, January 24, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.1.

³⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Herald*, January 30, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4. Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, January 30, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4.

George Tollman was hired as the tenor around February 8, 1906. Unlabeled Clipping, *Baltimore Herald*, February 9, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4. Irene Bentley was hired on the February 9, 1906. Unlabeled Clipping, New York, February 10, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4. Jeanette Lowrie, the vaudeville star, was hired on February 10, 1906. Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, February 11, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4.

Interestingly, as the production was being rehearsed on the roof of the New York Theatre, news of the show's plot began to leak to the press and it became obvious that the show had nothing to do with the Mexican-American War as Sousa had originally announced.³⁹ The realistic setting of the Mexican-American War had been scrapped, and replaced with the fictional countries of Braggadocia and Graftiana.

Braggadocia is a country of artisans who introduce themselves to the audience with the opening chorus, "O Wise and Worthy Art."

On parchment fair, with grey-goose quill
With easel, brushes and palette;
With lyre and lute
Or Cithern or flute
Or else with chisel and mallet,
We work all day with zeal and will
Contented and optimistic
It's the proper thing
At the court of a king
Who is nothing, - if not artistic.

[...]

All lovely art
We worship at thy shrine!
With lowly heart
We beg thy grave divine.
We give no heed
To sordid things of earth.
To us indeed
They are of little worth.
Our creditors may rail
From them we gladly part
To worship thee! All hail,
O wise and lovely art!⁴⁰

³⁸ "Hotel Gossip," *Baltimore American*, January 21, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.4.

³⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, *Salt Lake City News*, February 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 3. Clipping reads: The Free Lance "is being rehearsed daily on the roof of the New York theatre; Eugene Cowles, Nellie Bergen, Joe Cawthorne (*sic*), Irene Bentley and a host of other good comedians, form an ideal cast."

In the musical drama, this artistic kingdom goes bankrupt because its Emperor steals the artistic intellectual property of his subjects and claims them as his own, thereby depriving them of any ability to make money and plunging their nation into debt. The Emperor congratulates himself for being a master of art “by proxy.” Audiences are first introduced to the Emperor with his opening solo, where he sings:

I grant that there are people who have talents rather various
Quite capable and clever
In some few fields of endeavor;
But I opine my genius is as much more multifarious
My general Proficiency [*sic*]
Is the next thing to omniscience
Of course there may be others with a little stray ability;
But I’m the sole monopolist of wholesale versatility
There’s not an art or science of which anyone may tell
In which I do not perfectly excel.

But I do it all by proxy!
By proxy! By proxy!
I hire a clever chap to represent me, don’t you see.
I think it’s rather foxy
It certainly is foxy.
Another fellow does the work. The credit comes to me.⁴¹

The Emperor is cast as a lovable but greedy thief, who tries to marry off his only daughter to the prince of a neighboring country (Graftiana), hoping to receive a loan to bail his country, and himself, out of debt. What the Emperor does not know is that the Duke of Graftiana is also deeply in debt and seeks a loan from the Emperor. The Princess and Prince object to being part of this financial transaction and flee, forcing their fathers to conscript two common laborers, Griselda and Sigmund Lump, into impersonating their royal children. When the sham marriage is exposed, the kingdoms

⁴⁰ *The Free Lance*, Act 1, Scene 1, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C., Box 17, Folder B6.

⁴¹ *The Free Lance*, Act 1, Scene 1, U.S. Marine Band Archives.

go to war. However, Sigmund Lump, the Free Lance of the title, was an independent war hero from times past, and both kingdoms go looking for him, not realizing that he is already in their midst. When his disguise is discovered, Lump admits that he cannot fight for either kingdom “by proxy.” Lump’s skill in battle left him when he lost his hair (like the biblical Sampson). After this unfortunate hair loss, Lump was forced to return to the kingdom and raise goats, taking for himself the name “Philemon” (itself a reference to the runaway slave of the New Testament, who returns to his master - or kingdom - and thus to slavery). Lump, by chance, meets a witch looking for her long lost daughter, who can only be identified “by the usual copyrighted signs;” and he correctly recognizes and restores the daughter to her mother. The witch repays him by re-growing his hair, allowing Lump to regain his battle skills and he subsequently vanquishes both armies. When both governments cannot pay him for his work, he exclaims, “What!!! Do you mean to say that after my fighting like a demon, on both sides I can’t collect what’s coming to me?” As payment, he assumes the crown of both countries, all the while reminding the audience that there must be a financial reward for one’s work. He sings:

I am a salaried warrior
And I do not fight for fame;
For I’m a regular business man
And the cash is all I claim.
O glory may be all right enough
But it pays no bills you see;
So when a victory grand I win
My terms are C.O.D.⁴²

This narrative mirrors Sousa’s ideas about intellectual property: work must be rewarded financially, those that recognize and return the property of others are rewarded, and those

⁴² *The Free Lance*, Act 2, U.S. Marine Band Archives. For a complete summary of *The Free Lance*, see: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 27-28.

who gain “by proxy,” or allow others to gain “by proxy,” will be swiftly taken out of power. However, even though it may seem that there was an obvious connection between Sousa’s copyright issues and his operetta, it was not obvious to everyone. At the end of February, while Sousa was touring with his band, Klaw and Erlanger changed the title of the piece from “The Free Lance” to “King for a Day.”⁴³ Sometime in early March, Sousa heard that his producers had changed the title, and he wrote to them to protest. The title was significant and deliberately chosen; a Free Lance was a medieval mercenary, but Sousa was also a freelance musician. Thus, Klaw and Erlanger’s substitute title took away from the show’s intended message: Free Lances should be paid for their work. The title was immediately changed back to “The Free Lance,” even though all of the artwork and printing had been completed in the “King for Day” name. Klaw and Erlanger, as well as Sousa, covered the name change misstep by telling the *New York Morning Telegraph* reported that Sousa was “superstitious” of the new title, and that it gave him “the spooks.”⁴⁴

The Free Lance Premiere:

In March, reports began to surface that the premiere of *The Free Lance*, now with a new director, Herbert Gresham, had been moved to the Court Square Theatre in Springfield, Massachusetts and set for March 26, 1906.⁴⁵ Sousa did not attend the premiere, however, the show “scored an instant success. It was difficult to realize that it

⁴³ Clipping Labeled *Philadelphia Telegraph*, February 24, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.3.

⁴⁴ “Superstitious Sousa Has Title Changed,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, March 9, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 5.

⁴⁵ “King for a Day,” *Musical America* New York, March 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.3.

was a ‘first night,’ so smoothly did it run.”⁴⁶ *The Free Lance* then traveled to Hartford, Connecticut and gave four performances at the Parsons Theatre beginning March 29, 1906, prior to its Philadelphia engagement.⁴⁷ The production made its way to the Chestnut Street Opera House, and opened their two-week out-of-town tryout on April 2, 1906.⁴⁸ The comic opera was exceptionally well received by Philadelphia standards, as Sousa’s harshest critics seemed to live in that city. Smith’s lyrics were praised, as well as the talent and performances of the cast. Critics went so far as to classify the work as opera comique or a “minor grand opera,” which testifies to the cohesion of Smith’s book and Sousa’s musical collaboration.⁴⁹

As the production made its way to New York, Sousa was nowhere to be found. The *New York Morning Telegraph* reported that: “Strange as it may seem, Mr. Sousa has never been present at any of the rehearsals and was not among the cheering multitudes that greeted Joseph Cawthorn and his supporters.”⁵⁰ He finally caught up with the production on April 10, 1906 and told the press that he was “very proud” of *The Free*

⁴⁶ “Sousa’s Latest Opera Produced,” *New York Telegraph*, March 27, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 40.

⁴⁷ “Sousa’s New Opera Is Heard Here,” Hartford, Connecticut, March 30, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 8.

⁴⁸ “Philadelphia, April 7,” *New York Dramatic Mirror*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, Philadelphia News, April 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 12. “Sousa has written more ambitious music than ever before, and the score really suggests opera comique, or the minor grand operas, so finished is it and so rich in concerted work, in contrapuntal effects and in elaborate ensembles and finales.”

⁵⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, April 11, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 12.

Lance, but that he would be writing an additional song for the second act before the show went to Broadway.⁵¹

An interesting rash of newspaper reports surrounded the Philadelphia tryout. When the show was retitled, and then returned to its original title of *The Free Lance*, the character of the “King” of Braggadocia became the “Emperor” of Braggadocia. With this change, critics surmised that *The Free Lance* was, perhaps, a commentary on America’s relationship with Germany as a “war without battles.” One critic wrote:

The principle (*sic*) characters are said to be life portraits of President Roosevelt and Emperor William of Germany thinly disguised as the ‘Duke of Graftiana’ and the ‘Emperor of Braggadocio.’ Their respective armies are represented as a band of Amazons (Germans) and a bunch of brigands (Americans). [...] The armies never get together, because the one is occupied in writing war songs, while the other spends its time in drinking.⁵²

Critics and audiences had come to expect political messages from Sousa’s operettas; in fact, they were taught through *El Capitan*, *The Bride Elect*, and, to a certain extent, *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*, to seek them out. It is not surprising, then, that a message was sought from *The Free Lance*. While a message about the relationship between the U.S. and Germany was a very interesting guess, it may have come about due to Cawthorn’s use of a comic German accent as the character of Philemon, an accent that he was known for and used in many productions.⁵³ Sousa knew that his audience would be looking for

⁵¹ “Sousa Proud of ‘The Free Lance,’” *Philadelphia Press*, April 11, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 13.

⁵² “President Roosevelt and Kaiser Wilhelm Apparently Satirized in ‘Free Lance,’” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7. “Real War Lords in Sousa’s Opera,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, March 16, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 5.

⁵³ Unlabeled Clipping, *Telegraph*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 26.

messages, and he had skillfully embedded one into his work, however, it would not become clear to audiences for another month.

The Free Lance finished its out-of-town tryout in Philadelphia with a “Professional Matinee” for George M. Cohan and the *George Washington Jr.* Company on April 12, 1906. Sousa conducted this performance personally and introduced his new song into the second act.⁵⁴ Response from audiences had been so overwhelming that the piano-vocal arrangements were already being sold - with copyright protection.⁵⁵

Broadway Premiere

The Free Lance opened on April 16, 1906 at the New Amsterdam Theatre to a full house and garnered Sousa the best press he had ever received for his comic operas.⁵⁶ The *New York Times* declared it, a “return to genuine old fashioned comic opera.”⁵⁷ Others dubbed it a “new-style, old-fashioned [opera]. That is, the plot is somewhat whimsical, but the music is of a high order of excellence, the humor is infectious, and there is a total absence of the slap-stick methods which are too frequently depended upon to win mirth.”⁵⁸ While some critics believed that Smith’s plot followed the plot of Fredrick

⁵⁴ “Professional Matinee To-day,” *Philadelphia Record*, April 12, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 13.

⁵⁵ *Music and Musicians* 24, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 14.

⁵⁶ “‘The Free Lance’ Hit Comic Opera Bullseye,” *New York Press*, April 17, 1906 University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 30. The Broadway production saw Harry Macdonough in the role of the Emperor of Braggadocia. 26p25 Algernon St. John-Brenon, “Sousa Wields ‘The Free Lance,’” *New York Morning*, April 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 25.

⁵⁷ “‘The Free Lance’ put on at the New Amsterdam,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 16.

Ranken's *Happyland* too closely, others celebrated it as "consistent in mind [of the author] and [with] an amount of coherence and consistency not as a rule characteristic of works of the kind."⁵⁹ Sousa conducted the marches at the end of both acts to great applause. The *New York Herald* related that "Mr. Sousa's appearance in the orchestra to conduct the first act closing number, 'On to Victory,' marked the climax of the night and paved the way for a big demonstration to the composer, who responded in an extended speech."⁶⁰

The following week, Klaw and Erlanger announced to the press that they had contracted with Sousa and Smith to establish "The Sousa Opera Company as a permanent institution and each Easter Monday, at the New Amsterdam theatre, a new comic opera by Mr. Sousa and Mr. Smith will be presented. This is to be made the feature of the spring season in New York hereafter."⁶¹ A month after the Broadway opening, the producers received an offer from the Prince of Wales Theatre in the West End to begin producing *The Free Lance* in June. Klaw and Erlanger declined the offer, with every intention of sending the show to London in 1907.⁶²

⁵⁸ "Great 'Free Lance' Success," *Cincinnati Star*, April 21, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 28.

⁵⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, New York City, April 28, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 34. Algernon St. John-Brenon, "Sousa Wields 'The Free Lance,'" *New York Morning*, April 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 25.

⁶⁰ "'Free Lance' Is Real Comic Opera," *New York Herald*, April 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 24. The audience attempted to win a speech from Mr. Smith as well, however he could not be found and admitted days later that he was hiding in an elevator shaft due to nerves. "John Philip Sousa in a Talk with His Collaborator, Harry B. Smith, Tells How Comic Operas are Written and Explains the Harmfulness of Encores," *New York Herald*, April 22, 1906, University of Illinois,

⁶¹ "In New York Theatres," *Chronicle*, April 21, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 26.

Copyright Act Congressional Hearings

In May and June of 1906, shortly after *The Free Lance* opened on Broadway, Sousa's message became known as Congress held hearings on the new copyright act. Sousa had positioned *The Free Lance* to be a cultural ambassador for his stance on copyright. Victor Herbert asked Sousa to serve as the celebrity spokesmen and testify at the hearings. Sousa argued that musical compositions, in their aural form, were an extension of the "writings" granted protection under section eight of the Constitution; and that allowing recording producers to purchase one set of music for thousands of copies was morally inequitable. When these two arguments failed to sway the hearing in his favor, Sousa suggested that further growth of mechanical music would mean the demise of the amateur musician and of American music as a whole. Sousa attempted to use humor to get his point across, adding to the congressmen:

We will not have a vocal chord [*sic*] left. [Laughter.] The vocal chords will be eliminated by a process of evolution, as was the tail of man when he came from the ape. The vocal chords will go because no one will have a chance to sing, the phonograph supplying a mechanical imitation of the voice, accompaniment, and effort.⁶³

While his comments were "tongue-in-cheek," and before a male rather than a female audience, they demonstrate how unsettled Sousa was by this kind of copyright infringement. At the end of the hearings, neither Herbert and Sousa felt that they had

⁶² "'The Free Lance' to be heard in London," *New York Evening Telegram*, May 15 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 37. Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Dramatic Mirror*, May 26, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p. 39. The clipping reads: "Since Klaw & Erlanger gave out the above announcement they have decided to send the opera to London with an entire American company headed by Joseph Cawthorn to appear at the Prince of Wales Theatre on Easter Monday, 1907. Mr. Sousa will go with the company."

⁶³ Patrick Warfield, "John Philip Sousa and 'The Menace of Mechanical Music,'" *Journal for the Society for American Music* 3.4 (2009): 451.

persuaded the congressmen who had voted to reconvene the hearings in December 1906. Sousa took a bolder argument to the people.

As *The Free Lance* began its national tour in August of 1906, Sousa began writing “The Menace of Mechanical Music.” Its first paragraph reads:

Sweeping across the country with the speed of a transient fashion in slang or Panama hats, political war cries or popular novels, comes now the mechanical device to sing for us a song or play for us a piano, in substitute for human skill, intelligence, and soul. Only by harking back to the day of the roller skate or the bicycle craze, when sports of admitted utility ran to extravagance and virtual madness, can we find a parallel to the way in which these ingenious instruments have invaded every community in the land. And if we turn from this comparison in pure mechanics to another which may fairly claim a similar proportion of music in its soul, we may observe the English sparrow, which, introduced and welcomed in all innocence, lost no time in multiplying itself to the dignity of a pest, to the destruction of numberless native song birds, and the invariable regret of those who did not stop to think in time.⁶⁴

The article declared that mechanical music would tear apart the fabric of society and lead to a demise in patriotism, saying “Then what of the national throat? Will it not weaken? What of the national chest? Will it not shrink?”⁶⁵

Sousa’s attitude towards this “crisis” was understandable given his very nineteenth-century view of work.⁶⁶ E. Anthony Rotundo suggests that the shift away from an eighteenth-century communal context to a world which stressed the importance of the individual; a man’s work, his own individual achievements, was the focal point of his identity. He further argues that work gave a man the “power of social creation” – the power to make himself and his family, to raise their social position – and the ability to

⁶⁴ John Philip Sousa, “The Menace of Mechanical Music,” *Appleton's Magazine* 8 (1906), p. 278.

⁶⁵ John Philip Sousa, “The Menace of Mechanical Music,” *Appleton's Magazine* 8 (1906), p. 281.

⁶⁶ Sousa was born in 1854.

“exercise their manliness through dominance.”⁶⁷ Therefore, Sousa’s definitions of manliness were being challenged in this battle, and his reactions must be understood within this context. Specifically, while mechanical music did not stop Sousa from performing his work, it stopped him from reaping the social rewards and benefits of his work. If the ‘work of his original brain’ was not respected, he had a right and a duty to use everything at his disposal to rail against the attitudes that were, in his view, emasculating the nation.

It was no mere coincidence that after closing on Broadway in July of 1906 and embarking on a forty-week national tour, *The Free Lance* tour reached Washington, D.C. the week that the congressional hearings on copyright were set to resume.⁶⁸ Congressmen had to continue their hearings against the backdrop of *The Free Lance*, where those who gain “by proxy” and support those who gain “by proxy,” are taken out of power. The character of Sigmund Lump, therefore, stands as a theatrical embodiment of Sousa himself. However bumbling Lump may be as Philemon, as the Free Lance, he pursued his work valiantly and thus was entitled to respect and payment; and when he did not get respect and payment, he fought for what was his and won. Therefore, Lump’s performance of manhood through the physical action of work was an extension of Sousa’s performance of American national manhood through the defense of his intellectual property, and *The Free Lance* served as the cultural ambassador for these performances.

⁶⁷ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood*, (New York: New York: Basic Books, 1993): 176. See discussion in chapter 8: Work and Identity, and chapter 9: The Male Culture of the Workplace.

⁶⁸ See Appendix G for more information on *The Free Lance* production and national tour.

Sousa and his fellow composers were ultimately successful, as the bill they fought for was made law on March 4, 1909. The American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers was founded in 1914 to collect the royalties from the Copyright Act of 1909.⁶⁹ *The Free Lance* was one way Sousa brought his message on copyright to the American people. His work with Smith towards *gesamtkunstwerk* was instrumental in keeping the operetta from being co-opted by others, giving Sousa greater control over the messages propagated in his name. It taught Sousa that an operetta that was *conceived* as a cultural ambassador could be even more useful in influencing opinion.

⁶⁹ Patrick Warfield, "John Philip Sousa and 'The Menace of Mechanical Music,'" *Journal for the Society for American Music* 3.4 (2009): 456.

CONCLUSION
THE ONE AND ONLY UNION WITH *GESAMTKUNSTWERK* AND SUFFRAGE FOR
ALL!
THE AMERICAN MAID AND BEYOND

By 1907, American operetta was in rapid decline and Viennese operetta was on the rise. Composers of American operetta, with the exception of Victor Herbert, could not break away from established conventions in an effort to turn the tide. De Koven's *The Girls of Holland* and Edwards's *The Gay Musician* appeared during the 1907-1908 season and both flopped. During the 1908-1909 season, there were only four offerings of American operetta: Gustav Luders's *Marcelle*, De Koven's *Golden Butterfly*, and Herbert's *Algeria* and *The Prima Donna*.¹ The downward spiral continued, with notable exceptions such as Herbert's *Naughty Marrietta* in 1910; however, by that time, American comic opera was all but obsolete.² Sousa was now a relic in an ever-changing world of musical theatre forms, still holding true to his established conventions, and trying to sell his ideas about American life.

In 1907, on the heels of Sousa's *The Free Lance*, reports began to surface that Sousa had completed collaboration on a new "musical play" with Leonard Liebbling.³ Sousa and Liebbling were reported to have already signed contracts with managers to produce the work.⁴ *American Musician* reported that "The few who have been privileged

¹ Herbert's *Little Nemo* also premiered in 1908. It was billed as a "musical comedy extravaganza." Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

² Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre, 2nd edition*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

³ Liebbling was the writer of the "Variations" section, and Associate Editor of *The Musical Courier*. "A New Sousa Opera," *American Musician*, October 25, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.3, p. 243. Liebbling was the brother of soprano Estelle Liebbling (who traveled extensively with the Sousa Band). Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 15.

to hear excerpts from the March King's score declare it to be unequivocally the finest work he ever has done, and he makes no secret of the fact that he thinks so himself."⁵

In interviews, Liebling gave a very cohesive description of the musical play that would come to be known as *The American Maid*:

Mr. Sousa and I [...] have put ourselves under heavy bonds to speak of the new piece only as a musical play, for it is all that a comic opera should not be. There is no jiggling king with comedy legs; nobody seeks a magic island, iniquitous isthmus or promontory of plenty; there is no parental objection to the heroine's marrying the man of her choice, and – best of all, perhaps – there is to be no flannel suited tenor warbling into the upper boxes ditties about violets, seashells or the moon.

The whole thing is an attempt to tell a modern story in a pleasant and plausible way, and to make the music grow out of the situations as much as possible. The acts are three, two in New York and the last in Cuba; time, 1898, but it is not a war play. The atmosphere of the second act will be something new and rather surprising in the way of stage setting. [...]

If all this mystery about the plot sounds a bit far-fetched, it is intentional, for the production will not be until after the holidays, and unduly premature disclosures are not good omens or good business. Mr. Sousa and I have so far guarded the name of the play even from our wives, to whom no comic opera writing husbands are heroes.⁶

However, the operetta did not appear after the holidays. It did not appear until 1913.

Liebling and Sousa had gone to great lengths to create a fully integrated musical play; however, producers were unwilling to take a chance on a form un-tested on popular audiences. John Cort, a west coast producer, agreed to produce the work in 1912.

Though *The American Maid*, originally titled *The Glassblowers*, was originally meant to be a cultural ambassador for Sousa's views on labor disputes, unions and strikes, Sousa

⁴ "Another Sousa Opera," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, October 18, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.3, p.241.

⁵ "A New Sousa Opera," *American Musician*, October 25, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.3, p. 243.

⁶ "A New Sousa Opera," *American Musician*, October 25, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.3, p. 243.

began to tie the show to additional messages about women's suffrage as the show neared production. This confused critics and audiences, and coupled with the show's out of date (rather than up to date) music, humor and setting, led to the show's demise.

The American Maid

The American Maid is the story of Annabelle Vandever, a wealthy socialite, who is engaged to the dashing Duke of Branford. Through a series of unfortunate circumstances, the Vandeveres lose their fortune and Annabelle is forced to go to work in a Glass factory. Jack Bartlett, a wealthy young man who has been in love with Annabelle for some time, promises her that he will show his character and love by becoming a common laborer as well. Jack is ill-suited to a laborer's life, however, and organizes a strike against the management. As the strike begins, news of the Spanish American War reaches the factory and Jack encourages the workers to abandon their strike to join the army, saying, "We're only one union now! The U.S. of A!" The final act takes place in Cuba, with the men fighting and the women tending to the wounded as Red Cross nurses. At the end of the war, Jack wins Annabelle because of his bravery in the face of death, and the Vandeveres recover their fortune.⁷

The production opened at the Shubert Theatre in Rochester, New York on January 27, 1913, and embarked on a two-month tour of the Northeastern U.S. in preparation for its Broadway opening on March 3, 1913.⁸ Sousa gave several interviews to the press about *The American Maid*, touting it as "first melodramatic light opera ever written."

⁷ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 15-16.

⁸ For more information on *The American Maid*, see Appendix H.

Papers seized upon the fact that this was the first of Sousa's dramatic works in which the characters were "every-day" Americans.⁹ Sousa explained:

My other productions followed traditional lines for opera...I sought a foreign setting, or some mythical kingdom; but I wanted to see what could be done with a distinctly American and modern theme. [...] I have tried to make a comedy in which the music and lyrics will be more than incidental, in which they will contribute to the dramatic action and facilitate the movement of the story. I do not think there is a spot in the piece where a song could be interpolated without destroying its unity, and the songs that are now included are all part of the theme and appropriate to its development. [...] I hope that perhaps it may encourage others to seek their material nearer to home, and to give a worthy musical interpretation to those things that are part of American life and character."¹⁰

Sousa attempted to combine the conventions of operetta with the modern themes and everyday comic situations of musical comedy, and his excitement for the work came through in his press interviews. Sousa said, "I sincerely believe it is the best I have ever done, [...] and I think it is something entirely new [...] a musical melodrama."¹¹

No price was too great for Sousa's grand musical play. The papers reported that the producer had "spent money lavishly" on the design elements.¹² The Second Act featured a factory scene with real glassblowers who created pieces of glasswork on stage.¹³ The Third Act, set in Cuba, used film projections to create the battle scenes of

⁹ "Maybe Ragtime will get Sousa," *Rochester Democrat/Dramatic Chronicle*, January 27, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 64.

¹⁰ "Sousa Comes To Louisville To See Child of His Pen Staged," *Louisville Herald*, February 19, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 30.

¹¹ "A Musical Melodrama, Says Sousa," *Rochester Union Advertiser*, January 27, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 4.

¹² "Good For Long Run," *Brooklyn Citizen*, March 9, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 57.

the Spanish American War. This was reported to be the first time a work of musical theatre used moving pictures to illustrate a setting, and it was hailed as a “striking piece of realism.”¹⁴ The *New York Morning Telegraph* reported, “here, for the first time in the history of Broadway theatricals, moving pictures are used to depict one scene, the charge up San Juan Hill. The picture is realistic and patrioticistic (*sic*), if one may coin a word. So much in fact that when the orchestra struck up a few bars of the “Star Spangled Banner” several persons in the audience stood at attention.”¹⁵ The trade magazine *Moving Picture World* described the film and its use:

The audience sees the troop pass along the tropical road. A change of scene depicts a large body of Spaniards in possession of a block-house, and as the Americans approach they are fired upon. A charge is made up the hill and one can almost hear the Mausers (*sic*) flying through the air. The color bearer is shot down and the young lieutenant, the hero of the day, rallies his troops and leads the men to a hand-to-hand combat with the enemy. The Americans carry the day and the soldiers march out of the picture, back to the stage. The pictures and the stage setting, as well as the marching order of the soldiers, have been arranged with such skill that the illusion is perfect.

The Kalem Company, which specializes on military productions, made the motion picture scenes in Florida, in accordance with specifications furnished by Mr. Sousa, and the tropical locations are very impressive. Several companies of the state militia and a complete hospital corps were engaged for this work and the fineness of the trained military men is apparent.”¹⁶

¹³ “The Glassblowers,” *Syracuse Herald*, January 31, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 5.

¹⁴ “Moving Pictures in Opera,” *New York Moving Picture World*, March 15, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 61.

¹⁵ John W. Blauvelt, “New Sousa Opera At The Broadway,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 45.

¹⁶ “Moving Pictures in Opera,” *New York Moving Picture World*, March 15, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 61.

Sousa explained that he was drawn to using film in the operetta because it was an art form that could be used effectively in an integrated work. The lengths that Sousa and Liebling went to achieve the integration of art forms and realism was astonishing for the time. However, the creators stressed that none of the new innovations had been “introduced extraneously, [... but follow] the plot of the story [...] naturally.”¹⁷

The tour press praised the work as a “simple and straight forward story of true love, parental oppression, the democracy of labor and the call to arms,” that “just shrieks with the red, white and blue spirit of the U.S.A.”¹⁸ The *Musical Courier* proclaimed it “a timely exploitation of the present taste for melodrama, [that] told a story of politics, social strife and patriotism, all treated from the satirical standpoint.”¹⁹ Another critic alleged the “piece represented as high a level of excellence as has been attained in American light opera.”²⁰

The American Maid closed abruptly on March 15, having only a two-week run on Broadway. Audience attendance was sporadic, with some performances sold out and others empty; and the show failed to acquire a consistent enough audience to continue.

A great number of reviews indicated that the new integrated form was to blame for its mild reception. The show had departed from the established comic opera and

¹⁷ “Sousa Says Moving Pictures to Remain,” Richmond Paper, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 17.

¹⁸ “Sousa’s New Opera,” *Syracuse Post Standard*, January 31, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 7. “Garrick,” *Detroit Times*, February 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 10.

¹⁹ “Sousa Opera Opens,” *Musical Courier*, January 29, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 6.

²⁰ “Sousa Here Last Evening,” Anderson, Indiana *Herald*, February 12, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 12.

musical comedy conventions, that most of the critical response sought some consensus on how to classify it.²¹ The producer was calling it “melodramatic light opera,” but reviews rarely called it grand opera, light opera, musical comedy, or music for a new play. Only a small handful of reviews called it comic opera. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* engaged in a thoughtful and prophetic discussion of the work as it left for Broadway:

The question is this: Does the American public want a change in its style of comic opera? Does it want to get away from the gay scenes of ball-room, throne-room, brilliantly lighted café, and gay white way? Does it want to discard the ermine of pompous royalty, the shimmer of Parisian frivolity, the doublet and hose of romantic history? Does it want to abstain from spice and highly seasoned food? Or, does it want the bright lights and the pink tights, rather than the red blood of melodrama and the habiliments of American everyday life?²²

The *Enquirer* implies that American musical theatre was at a crossroads – that Americans would answer with attendance on whether this was what they wanted from their entertainment. It called the work a “jolt to American public,” and while it thought that Sousa and Liebling were “courageous” for striving to change perspectives and forms, they did not know if it would work.

The press further speculated that audiences found the material dated.

The score sounds far from new. It revealed the fact that Mr. Sousa seems to have lost his cunning in writing snappy, stirring marches. When motion pictures of a battle aroused enthusiasm, the orchestra played one of the composer’s older marches.²³

²¹ “Sousa’s New Opera Has Some Novelties,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 44.

²² Untitled Clipping, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 2, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 49.

²³ “Sousa’s New Opera,” *Chicago Record Herald*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 36.

The *New York Evening Telegram* complained, “Mr. Sousa admitted that he wrote the opera four years ago. The score sounded as if it was that old as that at least.”²⁴

Additionally, while the critics praised the creators for attempting an American theme, many questioned why they chose the Spanish American War. One said:

But it seems to me the Spanish war is too remotely recent, or recently remote – for an episode in even a comic opera of today. [...] If the war business was necessary, and it evidently was, why not bring it up to date and place the scene of action in Mexico? That would lay effectively the pricking reminder that women did not wear panniers and hobble skirts in 1898. Catch the idea? Too recent for a costume piece and too old to be timely.²⁵

This sentiment was echoed by many critics who thought the show “arrived at the Broadway Monday night just 13 years overdue,” and that the “Spanish-American war (*sic*) subjects in the year of grace, 1913, are about as topical as last Friday’s newspapers.”²⁶ What Sousa thought was modern and up to date was not received that way.

Others critics disapproved of the subject matter and how Sousa’s brand of ‘Americanism’ was being used to sell strikes and violence, saying:

The way in which John Philip Sousa muddles up the patriotic “innerds” of the audiences at the Broadway Theatre, where his opera “The American Girl” is being played, is shameful. Not only does it force them to applaud the Stars and Stripes every time it is swung onto the stage, and get them enthusiastically excited by showing the flag in a series of moving pictures, but strains the feelings so far that the swell audiences not only approve of a strike in a glass factory, but applaud vociferously when the boss, who has just fired all his employees, is

²⁴ “Miss Gunning In New Sousa Opera,” *New York Evening Telegram*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 48.

²⁵ “‘The American Maid’ At the Broadway Theatre,” Clipping Labeled New York, March 6, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 52.

²⁶ “American Maid,” *New York Variety*, March 7, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 59.

grabbed by the scrug of the neck and bounced out of his own plant. Some excitement – what? And it’s all because of John Philip’s stirring music.²⁷

While the show obviously comments on labor debates during the time of its writing, Sousa, in an effort to make the show more current, paired *The American Maid* with the woman suffrage movement in interviews saying that his heroine was “inclined to the blue-stocking order of femininity and to independence of thought and action.”²⁸ One critic commented on this new message, saying, “‘The American Maid’ has the right to live long enough to vote if women in this weary world ever get their rights and some librettists, including Mr. Leonard Liebling, get their due.”²⁹

The press reports reveal that there was no consensus as to the flaw of *The American Maid*. It is clear that the sales-pitch no longer translated to audiences who were four years away from its original context; however, I argue that the show, while being a solid example of integrated musical theatre (on par with *Show Boat*), simply had too many messages. Not only was it arguing for integration in musical theatre forms, but it also attempted to contribute to labor debates and women’s suffrage, all in a dated manner. Sousa made a critical error. His work on *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* had taught him that operettas with competing messages could not be effective cultural ambassadors, however, this is exactly what he did with *The American Maid*. By

²⁷ “John Philip Sousa Muddles Patriotic “Innerds” (*sic*) With His ‘American Girl’ At The Broadway Theatre,” *New York Call*, March 6, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 53.

²⁸ Louise Satterthwaite, “Sousa writing Opera about New Woman,” University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 149, Folder 8: General Sousa Files. “Sousa will be in Orchestra pit,” *Detroit Times*, February 5, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 7.

²⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Evening Sun*, March 8, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 54.

attempting to make the operetta speak to current debates, rather than the debates that were conceived within the work, Sousa ruined its ability to be used as an ideological tool. While the work was an interesting and ingeniously integrated operetta, it ultimately failed to sell its national dialogues to its audience.

Conclusion

While Sousa's later works show great strides in the development of an American *gesamtkunstwerk*, the ultimate failure of these works, especially *The American Maid*, suggest that these innovations in the development of the form signaled a hiatus in the popularity of the American operetta form itself. The final years of Viennese operetta's dominance on the Broadway stage, 1911- 1914, saw little in the way of new American operettas. Most composers, like Herbert, would try to find their way in the evolving form of musical comedy. American operetta may have continued to survive, however, gratifying a small segment of musical theatre audiences, if it were not for the events of August 1914 that hastened world war.³⁰ After the events in Sarajevo, operetta was effectively "caught in a cross fire of international enmity" as American audiences gave their money to those entertainments that felt more "homegrown." Operetta's connections to the continent became suspect, and it meant the demise of the American form of operetta Sousa helped to create.³¹

Sousa continued to compose more comic operas like *The American Maid*, but they were never produced. While his musical theatre career was cut short by his own inability to compose within the confines of period expectations, Sousa's comic operas

³⁰ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 89.

³¹ Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): chapter 6.

represent a fascinating glimpse into debates about American national identity and life as portrayed from the stage. Further, these operettas help to situate the turn of the century American operetta form within musical theatre history. Musical theatre studies have long overlooked the musical stage's political and social use prior to World War I. Given the use of Sousa's comic operas as cultural ambassadors, I argue that the late 1890s and early 1900s served as a training ground for the political and social use of the musical stage during the World Wars.

Because of his status as a great 'American' and his status as a musical theatre composer rivaling the likes of Victor Herbert and George M. Cohan, the use of Sousa's operettas to sell ideology taught those watching that propaganda could be effectively integrated into musical theatre offerings. The musical theatre production - particularly on tour - served as one of the first forms of mass popular entertainment that could be used for political and social advantage. Sousa's comic operas, like *El Capitan* and *The Charlatan*, with their cross-country and trans-continental tours, provided a picture of how the musical stage could be used for the dissemination of information. As seen in the preceding case studies, these cultural ambassadors were powerful agents advocating political and social change, intervening in debates about national identity, race, foreign policy, copyright, labor, and suffrage. Sousa's comic operas, therefore, were a small part of the redefinition of the American musical, pushing its form toward integration, and shifting it from diversion and spectacle to ideological tool.

APPENDIX A

SOUSA'S COMIC OPERAS, THEATRE MUSIC, AND OTHER DRAMATIC COLLABORATIONS

The following table represents a catalogue of Sousa's music for the theatre. For the sake of clarity, I have attempted to include all of Sousa's dramatic collaborations, whether in the form of incidental music (for an entire production) or comic opera composition. Further, I have also listed those compositions which were started and then abandoned, including those which Sousa discusses in the press but do not survive in his archival materials.

TITLE/ (SUBJECT)	LIBRETTO	LYRICS	START/ COMPLETED	COMPANY	PREMIERE	BROADWAY	TOUR
<i>Jim Bludso, or, Bohemians and Detectives, or The Phoenix</i> Incidental Music			Start: 1875 Complete: 1875	Milton Nobles			East of Mississippi
<i>Matt Morgan's Grand Art Exhibition of Living Statues,</i> Incidental Music			Start: 1876 Completed: 1876	Matt Morgan			East of Mississippi
	Charles Heber Clark		Start: 1878 Abandoned: 1878 Sousa could not afford the libretto fee.				
<i>Florine,</i> Comic Opera	Mary Andrews Denison	Mary Andrews Denison	Start: ? Abandoned: 1881 Denison abandoned after the death of her husband.				
<i>Our Flirtations,</i> Musical Comedy	Based on the play by James Bird Wilson.	J.P. Sousa, Wilson J. Vance, Emma	Start: January, 1880 Completed: July, 1880	F.F. Mackay and Louise Sylvester's Comedy Company	August 30, 1880 Park Theatre, Philadelphia, PA		East of Mississippi, Fall 1880-?

	Collaboration with F.F. Mackay and Louise Sylvester.	Swallow Bartlett					
<i>Katherine</i> , Comic Opera	Wilson J. Vance	Wilson J. Vance	Start: November 1878 Completed: Sept./Oct. 1880 Unproduced.				
<i>The Smugglers</i> , Comic Opera	Wilson J. Vance	Wilson J. Vance	Start: ? Contract signed: February 8, 1881 Completed: January, 1882	Washington Operatic Association	March 25, 1882 Lincoln Hall, Washington, D.C		March 27, 1882 – April 1, 1882. Philadelphia & Lancaster, PA
<i>Désirée</i> , Comic Opera	Edward M. Taber Based on the play <i>Our Wife, or The Rose of Amiens</i> , by John Maddison Morton	Edward M. Taber	Start: 1882 Completed: 1883	Unknown for Premiere; performance rights sold to McCaull's Opera Comique Company after premiere, added to Company repertoire	May 1, 1884 National Theatre, Washington, D.C.		November 10-29, 1884 Philadelphia, PA; December 15-27, 1884 Boston, MA; Sporadic dates with McCaull company
<i>The Queen of Hearts</i> , "Juvenile Jingle"	Edward M. Taber Based on the Mother Goose Rhyme	Edward M. Taber	Start: ? Completed: 1886	Sousa/Taber Production	April 12, 1886 Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D.C.		
<i>The Devil's Deputy</i> , Comic Opera	J. Cheever Goodwin		Start: ? Completed: 1893 Abandoned: 1893 Wilson and Sousa could not agree on terms of payment.	Francis Wilson			
<i>The Wolf</i> , Comic Opera	J.P. Sousa	J.P. Sousa	Start: ? Completed: August,				

			1893 Unproduced.				
<i>El Capitan</i> , Comic Opera	Charles Klein	Tom Frost/ J.P. Sousa	Start: ? Completed: August 29, 1895 Several revision undertaken until April 1896	De Wolf Hopper Opera Company	April 13, 1896 Tremont Theatre, Boston, MA	April 21, 1896, Broadway Theatre (112 perf.); February 22, 1897, Broadway Theater (32 perf.); February 21, 1898, Fifth Avenue Theater (224 perf.)	1896-1897 U.S. National; Summer 1897 Manhattan Beach; 1897- 1898, U.S. National; July 10, 1899, Lyric Theatre, London (transferred to the Comedy Theatre) closed mid-November 2 nd Touring Co: 1898-1899 U.S. National Additional Touring Companies through 1900
<i>The Bride Elect</i> , Comic Opera	J.P. Sousa (solicited help from Charles Klein, Klein un- credited)	J.P. Sousa	Start: Summer, 1897 Completed: ?	Ben D. Steven, Klaw & Erlanger Production	December 28, 1897 Hyperion Theatre, New Haven, CT	April 11, 1898, Knickerbocker Theatre (64 perf.)	1898-1899, U.S. National. Reports of U.S. National Tour beginning September 25, 1899.
<i>The Charlatan</i> , Comic Opera	Charles Klein	J.P. Sousa	Start: ? Most written between April- August 1898.	De Wolf Hopper Opera Company	August 29, 1898 Academy of Music, Montreal	September 5, 1898 – October 8, 1898 Knickerbocker Theatre;	1898-1899 U.S. National; December 13, 1899 - February

			Completed: ? Revisions continued after the production opened, into the summer of 1899.			May 4, 1899, Fifth Avenue Theatre (one month of performances); March 12, 1900, Columbia Theatre (length of run unknown)	17, 1900, Comedy Theatre, London (Retitled: <i>The Mystical Miss</i>)
<i>Chris and the Wonderful Lamp, Extravaganza</i>	Glen MacDonough Based on the story by Albert Stearns.	Glen MacDonough	Start: ? Most written at Manhattan Beach, Summer 1899 Completed: 1899	Klaw & Erlanger Production	October 23, 1899 Hyperion Theatre, New Haven, Connecticut	January 1, 1900 – March 4, 1900 Victoria Theatre (9 weeks)	Pre-Broadway tour: Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD; Post-Broadway tour to Hartford, Conn. March 12-14, 1900
<i>General Gamma, Comic Opera</i>	Charles Klein	Grant Stewart	Start: Summer 1899 Abandoned: 1900 Libretto transferred to W.T. Francis and produces as <i>A Royal Rogue</i>	De Wolf Hopper Opera Company			
(Mexican American War)/ <i>Lillian Lamoor, Comic Opera</i>	Harry B. Smith	Harry B. Smith	Start: Late 1904/Early 1905 Abandoned: 1905				
<i>The Free Lance, Comic Opera</i>	Harry B. Smith	Harry B. Smith	Start: Summer 1905 Completed: December 31/ January 1, 1906	Sousa Opera Company	March 26, 1906 Court Square Theatre, Springfield, MA	April 16, 1906 – July, 1906 New Amsterdam Theatre	Pre-Broadway tour: Hartford, Connecticut, Philadelphia, PA; 1906-1907, U.S. National
<i>The Glassblowers/</i>	Leonard Liebling	Leonard Liebling	Start: Summer 1907 Completed: October	John Cort Production	January 27, 1913	March 3-15, 1913 Broadway Theatre	Pre-Broadway tour: Midwest

<i>The American Maid</i> , Comic Opera			1907/July 1909		Shubert Theatre, Rochester, NY		and Eastern U.S.
<i>The Victory</i> , Extravaganza	Ella Wheeler Wilcox Based on the play by Wilcox and Ruth Helen Davis		Start: Early 1913 Abandoned: 1915 Unknown				
(Dolly Madison), Grand Opera			Start: Abandoned: ? Unknown.				
<i>The Irish Dragoon</i> , Comic Opera	Joseph W. Herbert Based on Charles Lever's novel, <i>Charles O'Malley</i> .	Joseph Herbert	Start: ??? Completed: 1915				
<i>Hip Hip Hooray</i> , Extravaganza – Incidental Music			Start: 1915 Completed: 1915	Charles Dillingham & R.H. Burnside Production	September 30, 1915 The Hippodrome	September 30, 1915 to June 1916 The Hippodrome,	October 1916 – March 1917 U.S. Regional, East and Midwest
<i>The Land of Liberty</i> , Historical Pageant within <i>Cheer Up!</i>	R.H. "Bunny" Burnside		Start: 1915 Completed: 1917	Charles Dillingham & R.H. Burnside Production	August 23, 1917 The Hippodrome	The Hippodrome	
<i>In Lampland</i> , Ballet within <i>Everything</i>			Start: Completed:	Charles Dillingham & R.H. Burnside Production	The Hippodrome	The Hippodrome	
	George M. Cohan		Start: 1920 Abandoned Unknown				
(Mexican- American War)	Harry B. Smith	Harry B. Smith	Start: November 1930				

			Abandoned Unknown				
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APPENDIX B *OUR FLIRTATIONS*

Our Flirtations was a three-act “society comedy” with music, by James Bird Wilson, centered around a group of society picnickers who engage in several flirtations with other members of the party. A summary of the plot follows below:

The piece opens with a scene in a Pullman parlor-car, in which are all the characters of the piece, except Roger Ruffin. Laura Lighthouse is smitten at once with the handsome face and gentlemanly manners of Percy Vere, the train-boy, as he also is with her. He determines to leave the wares he is peddling, and, in the disguise of an English swell, to spend the day at the picnic to which Laura and the others are on their way. Much amusement, as well as some annoyance, is afforded to those in the car by Sara Seeker, and eccentric old maid, who makes herself known to the members of the picnic-party, insists on accompanying them, and conceives a violent affection for Richard Raymond, the old comedian, greatly to his disgust. At the picnic-ground the flirtation between Percy and Laura, the young lady failing to penetrate through his disguise, continues and quiet a serious flirtation is indulged in by Mrs. Fanny Fleetwing and Lieut. Hastings, who is the affianced lover of Laura. The audience learn from Percy that he is the son of wealthy but respectable parents, and that, in consequence of a quarrel with his father relative to his going upon the stage, he left home at an early age, and suppressing his real identity, found employment in his present calling of a train-boy. The old comedian lies down on a mossy bank to take a nap, all the others having strolled off in various directions and left him alone. Roger Ruffin, a tramp, comes in and is on the point of robbing Raymond when that child of Thespis awakes, struggles with him and calls for help. In the excitement of the moment Percy Vere rushes on the scene divested of his disguise, and thus discloses himself. The picnickers go to a country-hotel to await the train that is to take them home. Lieutenant Hastings and Fanny Fleetwing are about to elope, when their guilty purpose is frustrated by Miss Seeker who induces Fanny to give up Hastings and be true to her husband. The lieutenant implores Miss Seeker not to expose his little faux pas, and she consents on condition that he resign all pretensions to the hand of Laura Lighthouse, to which he consents and ‘ol Miss Seeker, divests herself of her spectacles and her other habiliments of old maidenhood, and Laura Lighthouse stands revealed. Percy has meanwhile received a letter from his father begging him to come home and take his father’s interest in a large and prosperous business from which the old gentleman wishes to retire. Both of these things the young man wisely decides to do, his happiness being made complete by having Laura bestow her hand upon him.¹

¹ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. This summary is also included in Warfield’s dissertation, transcribed from the same source. The faded

The show was interspersed with music and dance throughout. The music, dance and story were cohesive enough that many have suggested that this production was one of the forerunners of the American musical comedy.²

As stated in Chapter two, *Our Flirtations* included both original incidental music and songs by Sousa, as well as several popular songs of the day. Surviving scores indicate that Sousa wrote a successful march entitled “Our Flirtations,”³ and the songs: “Oh My! De Sight” with lyrics by Sousa, “Love’s Beguiling” with lyrics by Wilson J. Vance, “The Lily Bells” “with words by Sousa’s former – and supposedly alienated – sweetheart, Emma (Swallow) Bartlett,” and “Here Goes.”⁴ All of Sousa’s compositions for the show were published, with the exception of “Here Goes.” According to press reports, the show also included song titles, “Of the Girls I am so Shy”, the duet “Hush, Be Still,” and solos “The Skids” and “Jamie” sung by Sylvester.⁵

The show was most likely first produced by the Park Theatre in Philadelphia on August 30, 1880.⁶ However, Sousa’s recollection was that it was first produced in late

condition of the newspapers in this particular scrapbook account for the slight differences between Warfield’s transcription and my own.

² Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 148. Tom Spain interview with Jon Newsome and Loras Schissel. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 61, Folder 4.

³ The “Our Flirtations March” was dedicated to Henry L. West, a Washington Post staff member. It is likely that the dedication appeared long after the work premiered. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 76.

⁴ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 149.

⁵ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. “Of the Girls I am So Shy” was sung with only banjo accompaniment.

⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. Berger maintains that *Our Flirtations* premiered at Abbey’s Theatre, Philadelphia in 1879. However, the author is probably confusing the early production of *Flirtations* with the musical comedy associated with Sousa. Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 66.

July at Abbey's Theatre on Arch Street. The musical play was performed by members of the F. F. Mackay and Louise Sylvester's Comedy Company, with Sousa as musical director and conductor. The production included the following cast:

Richard Raymond	F.F. Mackay
Percy Vere	Edwin Hammond
Lieut. Hugh Hastings	W.A. Whitecare
Frank Fleetwing	Edward Francis
Roger Ruffin	Jerry Taylor
Laura Lighthouse/ Sara Seeker	Miss Louise Sylvester
Fanny Fleetwing	Miss Belle Melville
Merry Mystie	Miss Kate Griffiths ⁷

While newspapers noted that the libretto fostered “no opportunity for good acting” and that the “dialogue was pointless,” the piece was well-received by the audience. Newspapers gave special praise to Mackay's impromptu speeches (he gave an “imitation of a Frenchman delivering Othello's address to the Venetian Senate, and recited Edgar A Poe's beautiful poem ‘The Bells’”), and to the scenery designed by Walter W. Burrigge, scenic artist of the Chestnut-Street Theatre.⁸ Significant praise was granted to Sousa's music:

There is a good deal of vocal music in the piece, solos, duets, quarters, choruses, etc., being liberally distributed throughout its three acts. J.P. Sousa, musical director of the company, has composed expressly for the play all of these numbers save a melody, and even that has been specially arranged by him. The music, with the exception of two numbers, is not of a character likely to become popular – not because it is not good, but because it is too good. It is of too high a class, and is far above the character of the play. The two exceptions noted are a double song-and-dance and a plantation jubilee hymn. The former, “Lily Bells”, is really very taking and pretty, and just the thing to please all neat song-and-dance artists and their audiences. The latter, “Oh, My, De Sight,” is a lively catching air, and will be a bonanza to performers who want a new jubilee end-song.⁹

⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

⁸ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1.

While the dialogue may have been deemed pointless, the critics conceded, “with some compression, ‘Our Flirtations’ would be much improved. As it was, the good points in it provoked hearty laughter, and it is to be said of its humor that it is void of anything offensive. Tasteful and appropriate scenery and a full orchestra contributed towards the success of the performance.”¹⁰

¹⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 1. An interesting anecdote is told about the *Our Flirtations* tour: “The company were without their baggage and special scenery last night, having missed their trunks by some accident. This defect will be remedied tonight, when the piece will be repeated. It is an excellent entertainment. The company and the orchestra were much embarrassed by the absence of all the music. The only music before the orchestra was such as Mr. Sousa, the author, could jot down between acts. This, together with the loss of scenery, caused a depression among the company, who feared the audience would feel that they were not getting their money’s worth. We feel certain, however, that the audience did not entertain any such feeling. This evening the scenery and the music will be on hand.” “Grand Opera House,” Sousa Scrapbook, David Blakely Papers, New York Public Library, p. 4.

APPENDIX C
WORKS FOR THE THEATRE AFTER *DÉSIRÉE*

Sousa's last collaboration with Edward M. Taber was *The Queen of Hearts*. The one-act "juvenile jingle" in three tableaux was based on Mother Goose rhyme:

The Queen of Hearts
She made some tarts
Upon a summer day'
The Knave of Hearts,
He found the tarts
And with them ran away.

The operetta was produced at Albaugh's Opera House in Washington D.C. on April 12, 1886, with Sousa conducting.¹ Due to the brief nature of the source material, Taber and Sousa embellished the plot.² Still, the work was extremely short and shared the bill with Gilbert and Sullivan's *Trial by Jury* in order to make a complete evening of theatre.³

Although performed by amateurs, it was enthusiastically received, but, as one newspaper remarked, "some allowance must necessarily be made for the evident friendliness of the audience."⁴ The *Washington Star* proclaimed that it was "graceful and pleasing, if not absorbingly interesting operetta,"⁵ with the *Washington Post* remarking

¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30. Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 311.

² A summary of the embellished plot is available in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30-31.

³ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30.

⁴ *Washington Post*, April 13, 1886. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30.

⁵ *Washington Star*, April 13, 1886. As quoted in Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 312.

that the music “is not, and makes no pretensions to be, of a high order, but it is melodious, bright and pretty.”⁶

The Queen of Hearts had the shortest run of any of Sousa’s produced operas, only three performances between April 12 and 14, 1886.⁷ This may have been due to the extremely large cast who were all costumed as “various members of a deck of cards.” In later years, Sousa thought of modifying the work for a small cast – but this never came to fruition. Although most of the operetta’s manuscript is lost, it seems likely that much of the music from this short operetta was used in Sousa’s later works. The “‘Ammonia’ [song] turned up in *The Charlatan*. ‘Fable of the Frogs’ reappeared in *El Capitan* and also in *The Charlatan*. And ‘March of the Cards’ was the basis for ‘The Loyal Legion’ march.”⁸

During the mid-1880s, Sousa composed several pieces of incidental music for the theatre as well as full length operettas. In 1886, he composed an overture for Joaquin Miller’s play, *Tally- Ho!*; and the overture for Adolphe Eugene Philippe D’Ennery’s play *Vautour, the Vulture*.⁹ Sousa struck out on his own and began working on both the music and libretto for *The Wolf*. This operetta was another reworking of *The Smugglers*,

⁶ *Washington Post*, April 13, 1886. As quoted in Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 312.

⁷ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 311.

⁸ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 30.

⁹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 151. This overture was played by the Sousa Band on tour. Foreign editions of the printed overture are entitled “Sans Souci.”

featuring much of the same music and plot.¹⁰ According to newspaper reports, *The Wolf* was completed in August of 1893, and then sold to Francis Wilson.¹¹ Sousa had worked with Wilson on several previous occasions, orchestrating *The Merry Monarch* for him in 1890,¹² and *The Lion Tamer* in 1891.¹³ He even began work composing an operetta for Wilson with a libretto written by J. Cheever Goodwin, called *The Devil's Deputy*.¹⁴ The collaboration ended when the two could not reach a monetary settlement. Bierley explains:

¹⁰ A summary of the convoluted plot is available in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 33-35.

¹¹ *The Leader* reported: "John Philip Sousa, the leader of the Marine Band, has just completed the music of the second act of the opera he is writing for Francis Wilson. He says the book, which is in French, is far superior to the "Oolah" or "The Lion Tamer" which he helped to write. We trust that Mr. Sousa's music for Mr. Wilson's topical song – that is, if he has any – is bright and catchy. Some people think that topical songs are obsolete, but theatre-goers don't agree with this opinion." Clipping labeled *The Leader*, most likely August 1893, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Box 62, Folder 6: "1893." Another paper reports: "John Philip Sousa, the leader of the Marine Band, has just completed the music of the second act of the opera he is writing for Francis Wilson. He says the book, which is in French, is far superior to the "Oolah", or "The Lion Tamer." Clipping labeled August 26, 1893, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 2. Pg. 75.

¹² Warfield writes, "Their first known collaboration was on *The Merry Monarch*, and Sousa probably orchestrated Emmanuel Chabrier's music for this operetta in August 1890. Some additional music was provided by Woolson Morse, again orchestrated by Sousa. The show opened the week of 13 September 1890 at the Broadway Theatre in New York, and reviewers praised Wilson but largely dismissed the rest of the cast. The music was well liked, and the melodies "so impressed themselves upon the ears of music-lovers that they form the staple articles of melodic-commerce in Gotham." Much of the success was attributed to Sousa, who with "admirable instrumentation...scored the numbers with great taste and skill." Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 313. Warfield cites: Program and clippings labeled *Chicago Tribune*, 19 October 1890, *New York World*, 1 January 1892, Fowles scrapbook, 78-79.

¹³ Warfield writes: "Wilson again engaged Sousa in late 1891 to orchestrate *The Lion Tamer*, an operetta with music by Richard Stahl. Most reviewers praised Sousa, noting the "to his excellent work a great deal of credit falls." One reviewer, however, found little to like in the work and his complaints echoed others Sousa had heard: "the music of Messrs. Stahl and Sousa...is trifling and piratic. The Mikado, Poor Jonathan and other works have been either pillaged or imitated by the composers of the Lion Tamer score." Patrick Warfield, "Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician": The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893." (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 313. Warfield cites: Clippings labeled *New York Mail and Express*, 31 December 1891, *New York Herald*, 3 January 1892, Fowles scrapbook, 78-79.

¹⁴ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 26.

After Act I and part of Act II had been completed, Wilson and Sousa could not agree on terms. Wilson wanted to purchase the music outright rather than divide the royalties. Sousa asked for \$1,500, and Wilson offered \$1000. Neither would yield, so negotiations were broken off. The music was subsequently written by another composer, but that production was not a notable success (*Denver Times*, February 19, 1899). Sousa later used part of his score in “The Liberty Bell” march.¹⁵

This was a smart move on Sousa’s part, as a 1905 article confirms: “Up to date, this one selection from the opera for which Francis Wilson refused to pay fifteen hundred dollars has netted its composer thirty-five thousand dollars.”¹⁶ Sousa continued to work with Wilson, however, orchestrating Charles Lecocq’s *La Jolie Persane*, re-titled *The Oolah*, for Wilson’s 1888-89 production.¹⁷

When Wilson forfeited the contract on *The Wolf*, the piece was sold to Locke and Davis who planned to produce it with De Wolf Hopper in the title role, however the contract was forfeited again.¹⁸ Since Sousa could not find a producer for the work, he

¹⁵ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 26-27. The operetta was eventually completed by Edward Jacobowski. Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 313.

¹⁶ “John Philip Sousa,” p. 387, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 65, Folder 2: “1905.”

¹⁷ Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 313. He says, “Sousa’s orchestration for Charles Lecocq’s *La Jolie Persane*, under the title *The Oolah*, was probably for Wilson’s 1888-1889 production. See clipping labeled “Plainfield (N.J.) Press,” ca. 26 September 1892, Sousa Press Book HJ 1:1.”

¹⁸ Bierley offers: “Little is known of the reasons for the operetta’s demise except for some information given in a faded clipping from a newspaper called the Advertiser, found on p. 76 of the Sousa Band press book for 1893.” Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 33. The clipping in question reads: “The fifth and most ambitious effort of Mr. Sousa in the operatic line is entitled “The Wolf.” This he sold to Francis Wilson, who forfeited his contract. Then he sold it to Locke and Davis, for De Wolf Hopper, who did likewise. The failure of these comedians to produce the opera was, in the estimation of Mr. Sousa, because the leading role is for a prima donna and it consequently does not afford an opportunity for the male comedian to occupy the center of the stage from the rise of the curtain until its fall.” “Sousa as a Composer,” New York Advertiser, August 27, 1893, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 2. Pg. 76.

recycled much of the plot and music in his later musical, *The Bride Elect*. Other songs were also used in *El Capitan* and *The Charlatan*.¹⁹ In later interviews about this ill-fated piece, Sousa conceded that a producer told him that *The Wolf* “violated every known principle of comic opera construction” – a challenge that may have accounted for its failure to reach production.²⁰

¹⁹ Bierley offers: “Then, since *The Wolf* was not produced in the nine years of its existence, much of the plot and music were used later for *The Bride Elect* (1897). Some of the songs were also used in *El Capitan* (1895) and *The Charlatan* (1898). This accounts for the fact that only fragments of the manuscript are known to exist under the original title.” Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 33.

²⁰ Clipping labeled *New York Telegraph*, March 30, 1898, Souse clippings file, Library for the Performing Arts, New York Public Library. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 312.

APPENDIX D
THE BRIDE ELECT

In October of 1897, just after Sousa and Hopper's summer-long engagement with *El Capitan* at Manhattan Beach, reports began to surface that Sousa was working on a new operetta. The *New York Mirror* exclaimed:

John Philip Sousa, who has enjoyed a few days' rest – the first in months – tells me that he has been eating, drinking, and sleeping with his new opera for the past four months. He has just put the finishing touches to the score. He says that *The Bride Elect* (*sic*) will be a [different kind of] comic opera, because its plot has nothing to do with mistaken identities, and although he has written the libretto himself there is more score than we have been accustomed to find lately in works of this class. There will be a march in it, of course, and Mr. Sousa believes it will cast all his previous march compositions in the shade. It is introduced logically, and at a dramatic moment that permits the use of rich and barbaric musical effect.¹

However, Sousa was having trouble. Much of the music and story for *The Bride Elect* were cannibalized from his earlier operettas, *The Smugglers* and *The Wolf* – mostly from *The Wolf* – the operetta which Sousa said a producer once told him “violated every known principle of comic opera construction.”² So, Sousa enlisted the help of Charles Klein to help him make the story work for comic opera.

Charles Klein, who was already hard at work on a new comic opera for Sousa and Hopper entitled *The Charlatan*, began work on *The Bride Elect* but could not complete his revisions due to a series of family emergencies. Reports surfaced that:

The combined troubles affected his spirit so seriously that he was obliged to give up the work which he had undertaken of furnishing a partly new libretto for the

¹ Clipping labeled *New York Mirror*, October 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 111b.

² Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 17. Clipping labeled *New York Telegraph*, March 30, 1898, Sousa clippings file, Library for the Performing Arts, New York Public Library. As quoted in: Patrick Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003), 312.

next Sousa opera, to be called “The Bride Elect.” This book was originally written by Sousa himself, but it had been decided to make a number of quite important changes in it. Upon these the composer is now at work, and when the opera is produced, some time during the Autumn or early Winter, none of Klein’s material will be in it. He is, however, endeavoring to pull himself together sufficiently to write the libretto for the new Hopper piece, for which Sousa will compose the score, after he has finished the work he is now doing on “The Bride Elect.”³

While reports made it evident that Klein’s rewrites would not be included in the final libretto of *The Bride Elect*, it is unclear whether he influenced or suggested any of the “important changes” made to the work.⁴

Sousa decided to rewrite the libretto himself instead of finding a replacement for Klein.⁵ The story closely mirrors the plot of *The Wolf*, but is more streamlined and set in a more fanciful locale.⁶ Given that the work was considered a more romantic comic opera (as opposed to farcical pieces like *El Capitan*), Sousa made sure to head off any questions ahead of time about the demands placed on the actors. His prior experience in romantic comic opera, *Désirée*, was hounded by criticism that the tenor’s horrific acting

³ The paper gives this explanation of Klein’s troubles: “Charles Klein, the dramatists who wrote the libretto of ‘El Capitan,’ and who has done considerable other work for the stage, has encountered a series of misfortunes lately which are of unusual severity. Early in the Spring, Mrs. Klein met with a physical accident, which resulted in nervous prostration from which she may not recover. At about this period one of the children who had been away from home some time returned suffering from scarlet fever and rupture, sustained through a fall. The fever was communicated to the other children, and one of them died. When this occurred Mrs. Klein’s condition was so precarious that her husband, under the advice of his physician took her to Europe for treatment and change of scene. A little before these unhappy events Klein’s two nearest female relatives in England died.” “Charles Klein’s Hard Luck,” Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 73b.

⁴ My speculation is that Klein did indeed suggest changes to Sousa, but did not ask for credit as he did not complete the revisions. The plot is so much more cohesive that it is unlikely that Sousa was able to streamline the work himself.

⁵ “Sousa as a Librettist,” Unlabeled Clipping, Summer 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 65a.

⁶ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 17-18.

skills contributed to the failure of the work. This time, Sousa made sure that would not happen. *The Eagle* reported:

Sousa has learned wisdom by experience. Years ago he wrote an opera for the McCaull Opera Company and made his chief tenor a superb part with great dramatic and musical possibilities; result, nobody who could sing the music could begin to act the part, and the opera failed. In his new opera, "The Bride Elect," the tenor has nothing to do but stand around, sing pretty tunes and help out in the concerted music, while the combination of dramatic and musical requirements falls to the first soprano. Sopranos who can both sing and act are not so very plenty, but there are at least three of them to every tenor so endowed, and Manager Stevens has one in view who he feels sure will meet the requirements of the new opera.⁷

The Bride Elect was to be produced by B. D. Stevens (De Wolf Hopper's manager) at the Knickerbocker Theatre in the fall of 1897.⁸ However, there was a delay, most likely due to the fact that *El Capitan* was still going strong on tour. Stevens was hesitant to saturate the market with a competing Sousa operetta and lose out on money that was still going to *El Capitan*. As a result, producers Klaw and Erlanger acquired an interest in the piece, and planned to produce the work, with Stevens' help, in January of 1898.⁹ Since *El Capitan* had been so successful, Sousa's royalties for the work were reported to be "largely in excess of any ever paid to an American composer."¹⁰

⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, *Eagle*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 62.

⁸ "Sousa as a Librettist," Unlabeled Clipping, Summer 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 65a.

⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 79a. The *Metropolitan Magazine* reported that the Boston out-of-town premiere was set for January 3, 1898; however, a change was made and the show was premiered in New Haven instead. E.W. Sargent, "The March King: John Philip Sousa," *Metropolitan Magazine*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 95. It seems that Sousa was happy with the additions of producers Klaw and Erlanger, who went on to produce many more of his comic operas. He says, "My experience with Messrs. Klaw and Erlanger was a happy one. When I wrote *The Bride Elect*, the first opera I had ever done for them, a formal contract was drawn up, every provision of which was carried out to the letter."

The out-of-town tryout was given on December 28, 1897 at the Hyperion Theatre in New Haven, Connecticut.¹¹ The production had scene painting by Ernest Gros, costumes by F. Richard Anderson, musical direction by John McGhie, ballet by Carl Marwig, and staging by Ben Teal.¹² Sousa arranged his band schedule so that he could personally supervise the music rehearsals.¹³ The cast of the premiere performance included:

Papagallo:	Albert Hart
Guido:	Frank Pollock
Frescobaldi:	Edward P. Wilks
Gambo:	Melville Stewart
Buscato:	Harry Luckstone
Pietro:	E. G. Schaffer
Bianca:	Lillian Carlsmith
Minutezza:	Christie MacDonald
Pastorella:	Nella Bergen
Margherita:	Alice Campbell
Rea:	Bertha A. Davis
Zadena:	Nana Fairhurst
Rosamonda:	Emma Lackey ¹⁴

The premiere was met with enthusiastic applause, and seemed destined to be another Sousa “hit.” Sousa remembered the premiere in his autobiography, saying:

¹⁰ E.W. Sargent, “The March King: John Philip Sousa,” *Metropolitan Magazine*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 95.

¹¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 17.

¹² “Lyrics of ‘The Bride Elect,’” University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 76, Folder 2. A few months earlier, the St. Louis Star reported that Frank Barnes had been hired to design the costumes. Clipping labeled *St. Louis Star*, September 26, 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 106a.

¹³ The *New York Mirror* indicates that *The Bride Elect*’s was to have a production at the Broadway Theatre in New York City. Clipping labeled *New York Mirror*, October 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 111b.

¹⁴ “Lyrics of ‘The Bride Elect,’” University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 76, Folder 2.

So great had been the success of El Capitan [*sic*] that naturally there was great interest everywhere as to whether “he could do it again.” The piece soared completely over the top, although the cast boasted not a single star. At the finale of the second act, Unchain the Dogs of War, the enthusiasm of the audience was tremendous.¹⁵

Given the political climate, it is understandable that audiences responded well to Sousa’s war march. The work ‘struck a chord’ with the premiere audience and, according to Sousa, the manager of the Hyperion Theatre offered him \$100,000 for exclusive rights to the show before the curtain came down. He was also offered \$10,000 from the *New York Journal* to publish *The Bride Elect* march in its pages. Sousa declined both offers, which was, ultimately, unwise as neither the operetta, nor the sheet music, netted Sousa in excess of those amounts.¹⁶

Press reports from the premiere indicated that “Mr. Sousa has arranged his engagements so that he will have ample time to supervise the preparations himself for *The Bride Elect*’s production at the Broadway,” which was expected to open in January.¹⁷ However, the show did not make it to the Broadway Theatre for another three and a half months. There is no indication in the press reports as to why the show did not open as scheduled at the Broadway Theatre in January; however, the *New York Times* reported in early January that De Koven’s *The Highwayman*, which was running at the Broadway

¹⁵ John Philip Sousa, Paul Bierley ed., *Marching Along*, (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1928): 163. Sousa is correct in his memory that there was not a single star in the cast. Hopper’s ex-wife, Edna Wallace Hopper, did not play the lead in *The Bride Elect* as she was promised by B.D. Stevens, instead she was given the lead in Sousa’s 1899 operetta *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*.

¹⁶ Many sources recount Sousa’s refusal to sell the rights. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984): 17. “Sousa’s *Bride Elect*,” *Music*, February 1898. Kenneth Berger, *The March King and His Band*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957): 31.

¹⁷ Clipping labeled *New York Mirror*, October 1897, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 5.2, pg. 111b.

Theatre at the time, was “expected to run the entire season.”¹⁸ In the meantime, *The Bride Elect* embarked on a pre-Broadway tour of the Northeast U.S.¹⁹ It included the following cities:

*December 31, 1897	Hartford, New Jersey	Parsons Theatre ²⁰
*January 3-29, 1898	Boston, Massachusetts	Boston Theatre ²¹
March 14-20, 1898	Baltimore, Maryland	Academy of Music ²²
March 21-27, 1898	Washington D.C.	Lafayette Theatre ²³

There were, perhaps, several more engagements during these three months. Between engagements in Boston and Baltimore, new “mechanical constructions” were added by Claude Hagen, Paul Steindorff became the music director, Charles H. Drew became the stage manager, and the following changes were made to the cast in anticipation of the Broadway production:

Frescobaldi:	Charles H. Drew
Sardinia:	Wesley Johnstone

¹⁸ “Notes of the Week,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008).

¹⁹ For these, and the other tour listings, I have given end dates for those where the date was specified and for those that specify that the show played for a certain amount of time (a week). I know this is imprecise uncertain, but it does give a clearer picture to those tracking Sousa’s operettas.

²⁰ An asterisk denotes productions where Sousa was reported to be in the audience. “‘The Bride Elect’ at Parson’s Theatre,” *The Hartford Courant*, January 1, 1898, p. 6. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

²¹ Sousa was only reported to be in the audience on opening night. “Sousa’s New Opera a Success,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 4, 1898, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. “The Bride Elect,” *Boston Daily Globe*, January 16, 1898, p. 17. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. During his second act curtain speech, Sousa’s was reported as “saying he felt that “The Bride Elect” had been well received; that American opera heretofore had not been appreciated; that now the American public had shown that it did recognize native talent. Then there was another tempestuous burst of applause.” Sousa’s New Opera a Success, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 4, 1898, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

²² “The Bride Elect,” *The Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1898, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

²³ “Display Ad 17,” *Washington Post*, March 18, 1898, p. 9. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. “Coming to the Theatres,” *Washington Post*, March 17, 1898, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

Bianca: Mabella Baker
Margherita: Ursula Gurnett²⁴

The Bride Elect opened in New York on April 11, 1898, at the Knickerbocker Theatre.²⁵ There was considerable enthusiasm for Sousa's new march at the opening performance. Reviewers commented that the demand for "Sousa!" was so great that "Mr. Sousa appeared from one of the wings and delivered in easy tones a typical after dinner speech, with a reference to patriotism and an anecdote about Lincoln."²⁶ However, response to the operetta as a whole remained mixed. The *New York Times* review said *The Bride Elect*:

possesses few of the characteristics of the carefully composed and brilliantly phrased opera comique, but, on the other hand, it has not one dash of the horseplay that too often forms the greater part of what is known as the American comic opera. "The Bride-Elect" stands almost alone, and fills a very interesting niche in the scenic music of the day.

The review indicates that critics realized that even though *The Bride Elect* was not a well-constructed romantic opera, it did push the boundaries of the standard comic opera conventions of the day. For example, it was not written as a star vehicle, and it did not include a host of interpolations. It was an interesting example of the melding of both opera comique and American comic opera forms. However, response to the operetta as a whole remained mixed, and its popularity hinged on the march "Unchain the Dogs of

²⁴ *The Bride Elect* prompt book, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C., Box 18. "The Bride Elect," *The Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1898, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

²⁵ "Dramatic and Musical: Some of the Easter Holiday Offerings of the Principle Theatres," *New York Times*, April 12, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008): 9.

²⁶ "Dramatic and Musical: Some of the Easter Holiday Offerings of the Principle Theatres," *New York Times*, April 12, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008): 9.

War.” This popularity is understandable as *The Bride Elect* opened less than a month before war was declared on Spain.

Unfortunately, after General Dewey routed the Spanish “enemy” on May 1, 1898 and the celebrations subsided, the enthusiasm for *The Bride Elect* did not last long. Unlike *El Capitan* which had enjoyed the good fortune of being the only new work on Broadway for the first six weeks of its run, *The Bride Elect* opened within days of three other works: *La Poupée*, *The Wedding Day*, and *The Lady Slavey*.²⁷ Additionally, the show opened in competition with De Wolf Hopper in *El Capitan*, an entire operetta which spoke to the sentiments surrounding the Spanish American War (rather than a single march). The show ran for sixty-four performances until it closed due to “hot weather” in June. It was a respectable run, but disappointing given the success of *El Capitan*.

A national tour was organized for the following fall, with Edward Shultz as Manager and Tunis F. Dean as the Advance Agent.²⁸ Frank Pallina replaced Paul Steindorff as Music Director.²⁹ The tour visited the following cities:

October 16 (18), 1898	Harlem, New York	Harlem Opera House ³⁰
November 14-19, 1898	Detroit, Michigan	Detroit Opera House ³¹

²⁷ *La Poupée* at Daly’s on April 15, 1898, as did *The Wedding Day*. *The Lady Slavey* opened on April 25, 1898. DeKoven and Smith’s *The Highwayman*, which opened December 13, 1897, was still running. *A Trip to Coontown* opened on April 4, 1898 at the Third Avenue Theatre, however its run most likely did not effect *The Bride Elect* in any way. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 181.

²⁸ “Edward D. Shultz A Suicide,” *New York Times*, November 3, 1899, pg. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. “An Old Front Street Play Bill,” *The Baltimore Sun*, November 28, 1898, pg. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

²⁹ *The Bride Elect* prompt book, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C., Box 18.

³⁰ “Notes of the Week,” *New York Times*, October 16, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* (1851-2008).

November 20, 1898	Chicago, Illinois	Columbia Theatre ³²
January 5, 1899	St. Louis, Missouri	Olympic Theatre ³³
January 25, 1899	Atlanta, Georgia	Grand Opera House ³⁴
February 20-27/28, 1899	Boston, Massachusetts	Boston Theatre ³⁵
March 27, 1899	Washington, D.C.	New National Theatre ³⁶

While the show retained much of its cast, many of the leading actors began taking roles in other productions during the tour. Nella Bergen left to rejoin Hopper in preparation for the premier of *The Charlatan*, and was replaced by Hilda Clark. By the Chicago engagement in November of 1898, the following cast was listed:

Papagollo:	Albert Hart
Guido:	George Lyding
Fescobaldi:	Charles H. Drew
Gandro:	Melville Stewart
Buscato:	Harry Luckstone
Cespino:	William Smith
Pastorella:	Hilda Clark
Bianca:	Mabella Baker
Minutezza:	Christie Macdonald
Margherita:	Frances Brooks
Rex:	Lola Allen
Zadena:	Minnie Britton

³¹ "The Next Opera," *Detroit Free Press*, October 30, 1898, p. A7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. "Hit or Miss," *Detroit Free Press*, November 14, 1898, p. 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³² "Drama," *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1898, p. 47. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. "News of the Theatres," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1898, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³³ "Display Ad 5," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, January 5, 1899, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³⁴ "Amusements," *The Atlanta Constitution*, January 26, 1899, p. 9. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³⁵ The *Boston Daily Globe* reported: "Tomorrow evening [February 20, 1899] will be "souvenir night." Between the first and second acts the curtain will be raised and a quartet of the principals and the full chorus will sing Mr. Sousa's setting of Abraham Lincoln's favorite poem, "O, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud?" This will be its first public presentation. Souvenirs containing the full score of the composition will be distributed to the ladies in the audience." "Drama and Music," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 19, 1899, p. 18. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³⁶ "Lent at the Theatres," *The Washington Post*, March 26, 1899, p. 25. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

Rosamonda: Alice Campbell
The Curate: Charles A Goettler³⁷

During the national tour, *The Bride Elect* endeavored to increase its popularity by interpolations of cakewalks, and by tying itself to tensions in Cuba and support for an “Anglo-Saxon alliance.”³⁸ Chicago papers reported that during “Unchain the Dogs of War,” “the flags wave, and this time, of course, the Union Jack and the Cuban pennant float between the Stars and Stripes. This is rather a weighty compliment to the hypothetical Republic of Cuba, but the audience was not too discriminating upon that point and shouted loudly for a speech.” The audience was disappointed, as Sousa was not in the audience as expected. Sousa had apparently told the papers that he would speak that evening on the Anglo-Saxon alliance and, of all things, “the subject of ‘Hands Across the Seas’.”³⁹

³⁷ Albert Hart left the company after the new year. “Drama,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1898, p. 47. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. “News of the Theatres,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1898, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012.

³⁸ Chicago papers reported that the interpolated “cake walk and the Anglo-Saxon alliance were potent factors in the success of “The Bride-Elect” last night.”

³⁹ “Drama,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1898, p. 47. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. “News of the Theatres,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1898, p. 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, accessed March 14, 2012. There were rumors of another national tour during the 1899-1900 season, beginning on September 25th, however no records have been found to suggest that this tour ever got off the ground. Unlabeled Clipping, Pittsburg, PA *Times*, September 16, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9.2, pg. 6.

APPENDIX E
THE CHARLATAN/THE MYSTICAL MISS

Montreal Premiere:

The De Wolf Hopper Opera Company debuted *The Charlatan* at the Academy of Music in Montreal on August 29, 1898.¹ The premiere was managed by E.R. Reynolds, directed by the H.A. Cripps (who also directed *Wang, Panjandrum*, and *El Capitan*), and Music Directed by Paul Steindorff.² It was conducted in Montreal by Steindorff, but conducted in New York by William T. Francis. Scenery was painted by Ernest Gros (who also worked on *El Capitan*), and costumes were designed by Mrs. C. F. Seidle, and constructed by Dazian.³ No expense was spared on the show's design and implementation. The Montreal Gazette reported that "the dresses used in 'The Charlatan' are described as exceptionally brilliant and expensive. Many of the chorus girls' costumes cost \$150 apiece – a very tidy sum when one comes to reflect upon the number of them."⁴

The cast included the following players:

Demidoff	De Wolf Hopper
Prince Boris	Edmund Stanley
Gogol	Mark Price
Jelikoff	Alfred Klein
Captain Peshofki	Geo. W. Barnum
Grand Duke	Arthur Cunningham

¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 21.

² Unlabeled Clipping, *The Gazette* (Montreal), August 24, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

³ While this particular source spells the name of costume construction house "Sazian," the correct spelling is "Dazian." *The Gazette* (Montreal), August 24, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁴ "Hopper Seems All Right," *New York Morning Telegraph*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

Koreff
Showman
Anna
Katrinka
Sophia
Grand Duchess

Harry P. Stone
Charles Arthur
Nella Bergen
Alice Judson
Katherine Carlisle
Adine Bouvier⁵

Broadway Premiere:

The show transferred to the Knickerbocker Theatre in New York City and opened on September 5, 1898.⁶ *The New York Morning Telegraph*, which had been reporting that the show was a hit in Toronto, had very little that was positive to say about the work. However, it laid a good deal of the blame on Charles Klein, saying that Sousa was not given much to work with by way of the book. The reviewer observed that:

It is true that Mr. Sousa had little to awaken his senses or exalt his muse in the book or the lyrics prepared for his use by Charles Klein. Neither in humor nor in poesy are the words of this work worthy of more than passing consideration. The story is feeble, and the telling of it is generally clumsy. Its versification is stiff and lumpy like the hand of a man afflicted with chronic inflammatory rheumatism. There is nothing graceful or imaginative or pictorial or animated about it – nothing to move the sympathies or stir the pulses or open the wellspring of music in the soul of even the most gifted composer. So perhaps, Mr. Sousa may not be too severely (*sic*) arraigned, for the reason that the material given into his hands was neither fit for his tools nor worthy of his skill as a master workman.⁷

It is important to note, that while *The New York Morning Telegraph* lays the blame on Klein, it was, in fact, Sousa who wrote all the lyrics.⁸ However, Klein's book does not

⁵ Unlabeled Clipping, *The Gazette* (Montreal), August 24, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Morning Telegraph*, August 28, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 1.

⁷ "DeWolf Hopper in Sousa's Worst," *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

⁸ Later in the run, the newspapers began to absolve Klein of some of the blame for the book's problems, saying that Sousa was not an available collaborator. One comments: "Perhaps the reception of

escape blame either, as the reviewer adds, “To dwell at length upon the dialogue would be a waste of energy quite beyond patient contemplation on a night of such temperature as characterizes the time of this writing. It will be sufficient for the moment to say that there is less humor, less romance and still less brilliancy about it.”⁹ *The Dramatic Mirror* agreed saying that:

Nor can Mr. Klein, the author of the book, be felicitated upon anything like his achievement in *El Capitan*. In that book he showed his possession of the faculty for inventing a good comic intrigue. The story of *The Charlatan (sic)* is better in intention than in fulfillment. Mr. Klein started on a clever idea, but he has failed to vitalize it with that natural spirit of fun which only a writer of inherent humor like W.S. Gilbert can hope to make plausible.¹⁰

The Telegraph's reviewer commented that while a good amount of money was spent on the design elements, it was “interpreted by a company which, in most instances, is worthy of far better occupation.”¹¹

this work may have a tendency to induce Mr. Sousa to dismount from his high horse. The gentleman is a conspicuously talented musician, but his successes have come along so steadily one upon the other that they have given him a rather exalted idea of his own puissance. I understand that when poor little Klein was at work on this particular libretto, he had to chase Sousa all over the country on every conceivable occasion when it was necessary that they should compare notes. Souse treated him with a lofty disdain that must have been intensely aggravating even to one so patient and plodding as this librettist. He wouldn't answer Klein's letters, or keep him posted as to his whereabouts, and appeared in various ways to be completely convinced that if there had ever been any other pebbles on the beach the remorseless tide had swept them out to sea. The growing difficulty of the task of handing ripe peaches to Mr. Sousa was assuming such proportions that something was necessary to bing(sic) about a shift. Maybe the commonplace character of his newest score will have the right effect. Sousa is a new fellow, but he is not due to set up in business in opposition to the Creator.” “Hopper's Business if Off,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 26, 1898, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 41.

⁹ “DeWolf Hopper in Sousa's Worst,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 12.

¹⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Dramatic Mirror*, September 17, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 28.

¹¹ “DeWolf Hopper in Sousa's Worst,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 6, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol. 77, p. 12.

Despite the criticism of Klein and Sousa, not all reviews dismissed the work so quickly. The critic at the *New York Dramatic Mirror* realized what the composer and librettist were trying to accomplish, saying that “it is to the credit of both composer and librettist that they have here endeavored to produce an operetta of distinctly higher type than any in which Mr. Hopper has heretofore been seen. They have conscientiously sought to provide Mr. Hopper with something besides noisy march music and rollicking horse play.” However, most critics decried the book’s attempts to make Hopper a straight comic actor. Klein’s title character was constructed in such a way that the humor lay “in the incongruity of his commonplace personality and his super-natural attributes;”¹² therefore, Hopper played the character ‘straight’ as the book mandated, but this was not what audiences wanted. *The New York Mail & Express* said that Hopper “gives a capital legitimate – or, as they say behind the scenes, ‘straight performance,’ and the cry is: “Why, yes, Hopper is a fine actor – that we see; but why, oh why, has he ceased to make us guffaw at his antics?”¹³ *The New York Evening Telegram* lamented:

Truly the old order changeth and it’s an even bet that most of us know not where we’re at. Here is De Wolf Hopper – the capering, clownish, comical De Wolf, for many seasons, the famous Sir Fool of the Round Table of Comic Opera – transformed, without even a gradual development, into a cantankerous and careworn creature as unmirth (*sic*) as the moddy Modred, and as provokingly placid as the pure Sir Percivale. “The Charlatan” the play is called in which this metamorphosis is to be observed. There is a hope in the name that Mr. Hopper may be merely shamining(*sic*) a solemnity which so ill befits him.¹⁴

¹² Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Dramatic Mirror*, September 17, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 28.

¹³ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Mail & Express*, September 17, 1898. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 28.

¹⁴ W.W. Aulick, “‘The Charlatan’ is an Astonisher,” *New York Evening Telegram*, September 6, 1898, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 8.

In trying to make the character less melodramatic, Klein and Hopper only added to the show's problems.

Changes to the Script and Score:

The first substantial changes Hopper made were to his character's appearance, and then his blocking and stage business. Soon the papers were reporting that "he mussed up his clothes, made up his face grotesquely and introduced gags that were decidedly Hopperesque. Now the piece is a go."¹⁵ Others commented that he "changed his make-up in 'The Charlatan' to make it more comical, and has dropped undesired dignity in favor of popular facetiousness, much to the improvement of the opera."¹⁶ Hopper returned to caricature, which pleased his audiences.

By May of 1899, Hopper had cut Music No. 1d: "The philosophic tale is told," Music No. 7: "I am the Seventh Son of a Seventh Son," Music No. 10d: "It is a well established fact," Music No. 13: "Oh, Sunlit Sea beyond the West" and the Reprise of "Seventh Son", and the finale, Music No. 15: "The college man."¹⁷ He also replaced Music No. 2b: "Pluto's Partner" with "Have you got that tired feeling?" which Sousa wrote for Hopper after the operetta's opening on Broadway. Considering the lyrics, it was most likely added to help play up the new buffoon aspects of the title character.¹⁸

¹⁵ Unlabeled Clipping, *Boston Post*, September 18, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 28.

¹⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, *The Commercial* (Buffalo, New York), September 18, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 28.

¹⁷ See my transcription of the work on the NYPL website.
<http://www.nypl.org/blog/2011/09/16/musical-month-sousas-charlatan-guest-blogger>.

¹⁸ The piece was not published until 1899, a year after the piano-vocal score in 1898 under separate cover.

I'm known as the Jonah's hoo-doo, And the hoo-doo's Jonah too.
 I am on to all you do, I can read you through and through.
 By the Power of hypnotism, I can make an English pun,
 Stand out as a witticism, And the choicest sort of fun;
 I can make by incantation, A shin-bone seem a roast,
 And the av'rage army ration, Parade as quail on toast,
 In fact I'm quite potential, In a mystic sort of way,
 But this is the essential, Can I ever make it pay?
 [CHORUS]
 Ah, I'm the king pin of esoteric science. The crack-a-jack of sorcery.
 Would be rivals I treat with mute defiance, I'm the pebble folks come to see.¹⁹

Two weeks after the opening, the *New York Telegraph* reported, "De Wolf Hopper and the entire company have been at work ever since the opening night of "The Charlatan" cutting out the superfluous material and adding situation and gag lines [infusing the opera] with a briskness and dash that was wholly lacking in the earlier performances."²⁰
 The *New York Mail & Express* proclaimed the operetta "quite a little way off from being the best comic opera I have seen."²¹

Hopper decided not to continue the engagement at the Knickerbocker, and the show closed on October 8, 1898.²² Hopper opted to continue working on the show on

¹⁹ John Philip Sousa, "Have you got that tired feeling?" *The Charlatan*. Accessed 14 May 2008; <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.sousa.200028408/pageturner.html>.

²⁰ "Merry Wights of Witdom Town," *New York Morning Telegraph*, September 25, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

²¹ Frederic Edward McKay, "A New 'Charlatan,'" *New York Mail & Express*, May 5, 1899, U.S. Marine Band Archives, HJ 76, p. 86.

²² Unlabeled Clipping, *New York Journal*, September 22, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

tour and moved to Boston.²³ While on tour, Hilda Clark, Jessie Mackaye, Emily Edwards and Jeanne Towler were added to the cast.²⁴

London Premiere:

The London production's cast was made up of many of Hopper's company with some English additions:

Demidoff	Mr. De Wolf Hopper
Prince Boris	Mr. Harold Blake
Gogol (his Uncle)	Mr. Arthur Herbert
Jellikoff	Mr. Charles Swain
Captain Peshofski	Mr. Harry P. Stone
Grand Duke	Mr. Henry Norman
Koreff	Mr. H. S. Preston
Skobeioff (Showman)	Mr. J. Mathews Fisk
Anna (Demidoff's Daughter)	Miss Nella Bergen
Katrinka	Miss Jessie MacKaye
Sophia	Miss Ida Lester
Grand Duchess	Miss Annie Cameron

Bridesmaids – Gertrude Burton, Clara Franton, Grace Franton, Ethel Norcross, Minnie Salvin, Nellie Sydney, Belle Lynam, Natalie Allien.
Groomsmen – Grace Lindsey, Marie Franklin, Estelle Hamilton, Georgie Stewart, Margaret Donaldson, Emma Allien.
Court Ladies – Virginia Foltz, Georgie Irving, Lillian Williams, Gladys Earlcott, Helen Barrie, Marion Barker.
Pages – Estelle Ward, Mattie Lill, Irene Beresford, Grace Huntley, Ida Elliot, Grace Page, Rita Shrada.²⁵

With the opening of *The Mystical Miss*, E.R. Reynolds, Hopper's manager, stepped aside because he was also engaged to manage the Sousa band during Hopper's London engagement. It was thought that Hopper would serve as his own manager for the

²³ Hillary Bell, *New York Morning Press*, September 30, 1898, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 34.

²⁴ "The Charlatan Again," *New York Evening World*, April 29, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 94.

²⁵ "Comedy Theatre," *The Morning Post*. University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 101.

remainder of their time in England. However, Hopper assigned management duties to Tom B. Davis, who assigned several 'acting managers' to the show over its run, including F. C. Upton and Seymour Hodges. The new production was stage-managed by H. A. Cripps.²⁶ This new production was financially backed by American jockey J. Tod Sloane, who had recently married Hopper's ex-wife, Edna Wallace.²⁷

²⁶ *The Charlatan* program, Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, Folder: The Charlatan.

²⁷ "Jockey in Theatrical Deal," *New York Times*, November 26, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 95. "Tod Sloan Adopts Career of an Angel," *New York Morning World*, November 26, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Books Vol 77, p. 95.

APPENDIX F
GENERAL GAMMA

A great source of mystery in the study of Sousa's comic operas is the mentions of the comic opera *General Gamma*. While there are neither surviving manuscripts bearing this title, nor any ephemera in Sousa's archives indicating his involvement, the overwhelming number of references to this piece in the press as an operetta written by Sousa warrant its discussion.

In August of 1899, reports circulated that Sousa had begun collaborating on a new operetta for De Wolf Hopper entitled *General Gamma*.¹ These reports indicate that Charles Klein had written the libretto, with Grant Stewart contributing the lyrics, and that the first two acts of the operetta were already complete.² At this point, Sousa told the press that he would wait to begin composing for the operetta in earnest until after *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp* had been produced.³

According to the press, *General Gamma* was poised to be Hopper's next hit. The show was scheduled to be produced as early as November 1899; however, that date was revised to February 1900 when it became obvious that Hopper would not be returning from London until after the New Year.⁴ At first, it seems that there were plans to

¹ "And Will He Not Come Again?," August 27, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.51.

² "And Will He Not Come Again?," August 27, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.51. Unlabeled Clipping, Detroit, Michigan Tribune, September 1, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9.2, p.20.

³ "And Will He Not Come Again?," August 27, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.51.

⁴ Unlabeled Clipping, *Indianapolis Journal*, August 28, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.48. Danbury,

produce the show on Broadway; however, since Hopper was enjoying success in London and had no pressing reason to return to the States, subsequent reports indicate that the show would be used as a replacement for *El Capitan* in London.⁵ This, obviously, never happened, as Hopper redesigned *The Charlatan* as a replacement for *El Capitan* in London and then continued with *The Charlatan* upon his return to the U.S.

Even though there is no record of this operetta in Sousa's archives, it is clear that Sousa had, indeed, begun collaborating with Klein and Stewart. Sousa is quoted by various sources in September of 1899 announcing that his next operetta was to be called *General Gamma*. He added that the libretto had been completed and that he was to begin composing the work "after I have had a vacation this fall." He also indicated that the production would "probably be made in London."⁶ The press reported that Sousa felt no need to complete the opera quickly because reports from London on the success of *El Capitan* were still positive. The *Pittsburgh Leader* declared that "increases in the box office receipts [for *El Capitan* were] likely to encourage the backers of the enterprise to accept an offer to run the show all winter. In this event 'General Gamma' will be slowly completed by the composer and given its first performance in London in the height of the fashionable season, June 1900. At about that time Mr. Sousa will be in Paris with his band."⁷

Connecticut Evening News, September 8, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.66.

⁵ Unlabeled Clipping, Cedar Rapids, IA, August 27, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.50. *Pittsburg, Pennsylvania Times*, September 16, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9.2, p.6.

⁶ "Opening Night at Exposition," Unlabeled Clipping, September 6, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9.2, p.10.

Several papers continued to announce that Sousa was working on *General Gamma* well into the spring of 1900, however, the production never materialized. Whether Sousa truly began work on this operetta is unknown. If Sousa did begin composing for the work and the full production was scrapped for some reason, it is likely that his work for the piece was incorporated into another operetta or into one of his marches, as was his habit. However, it is also possible that *General Gamma* succumbed to Sousa's hiatus from operatic composing after *Chris and the Wonderful Lamp*.⁸

It is still a mystery as to why Sousa did not complete this production, and why Hopper did not have the work completed by another composer. Interestingly, Hopper seems to have abandoned the production as well. However, a similar libretto by Klein with lyrics by Stewart was produced in December of 1900. Klein & Stewart retitled the show, and contracted with composer W.T. Francis to write the music. Ultimately, *General Gamma* became *A Royal Rogue* and opened at the Broadway Theatre on December 24, 1900 starring Jefferson De Angelis.⁹

⁷ "Sousa is Here," *Pittsburgh Leader*, September 6, 1899, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 9, p.65.

⁸ It is also possible that Hopper abandoned the work.

⁹ There is evidence to indicate that this was, most likely, the same work that was submitted to Sousa based on its similar subject matter (however its setting may have been changed). Further, this was the only known collaboration by Klein and Stewart. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 199, 217, 226. "Dramatic and Musical," *New York Times*, December 25, 1900, p. 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993), accessed March 11, 2012.

APPENDIX G
THE FREE LANCE

The Free Lance premiered at the Court Square Theatre in Springfield, Massachusetts on March 26, 1906.¹ The show was directed by Herbert Gresham, had scenic painting by Ernest Albert of the Lee Lash Studio, scenery by T. B. McDonald, costumes designed by F. Richard Anderson and made by the Klaw & Erlanger Costume Company, shoes by Cammeyer, wigs by Hepner, and properties by John Brunton.² The premiere featured the following cast:

Sigmund Lump	Joseph Cawthorn
Duke of Graftiana	Albert Hart
Emperor of Braggadocia	Felix Haney
Pertinax	William H. MacDonald
Prince Florian	George Tallman
Dagonet	Louis Haines
Herald	Sim Pulen
Princess Yolande	Nella Bergen
Griselda	Jeanette Lowrie
Mopsa	Junia Allen
Leander	Geraldine Malone
Silvandre	Monte Elmo
Jacqueline	Estella Thebaud
Diane	Dorothy Southwick ³

The program also mentions the following as executive staff for Klaw & Erlanger:

Manager	Sam'l Harrison
Business Manager	Walter R. Brown
Stage Manager	Louis Abrams
Master Machinist	George Foley
Master of Properties	J. Brady
Electrician	Jno. Egstern

¹ "King for a Day," *Musical America* New York, March 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.3.

² *The Free Lance* program from the Court Square Theatre, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.11g.

³ "Sousa's Latest Opera Produced," *New York Telegraph*, March 27, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 40.

In the audience the night of the premiere was A. L. Erlanger, Marc Klaw, Frank McKee, W. M. Bates, Harry B. Smith, Sam Harris and William Slark (Klaw & Erlanger's London representative).⁴

Tragedy struck the production following the premiere when W.H. MacDonald, the actor hired to play Pertinax, the Court Censor, suddenly died. The *New York Telegraph* reported: "he came here Saturday with "The Free Lance" company [...] He was taken with a chill at the rehearsal Sunday night, but appeared for the rehearsal Monday morning. He was unable to leave his bed in the evening, and an understudy took his part in the initial presentation of the play."⁵ The understudy was most likely Sim Pulen as he took over the role in subsequent performances.⁶

National Tour Schedule:

April 16-July 1906	New York City	New Amsterdam Theatre ⁷
Late August 1906	Buffalo, New York	Star Theatre ⁸
September 2-18/19, 1906	Chicago, Illinois	Illinois Theatre ⁹

⁴ "Sousa's Latest Opera Produced," *New York Telegraph*, March 27, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 40.

⁵ "W.H. MacDonald Has Passed Away," *New York Telegraph*, March 28, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 25.2, p. 89.

⁶ "Sousa's Latest at Opera House," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 26, p. 42.

⁷ Unlabeled Clipping, *New York City Magazine*, July 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.44.

⁸ "Free Lance in Buffalo," *New York Morning Telegram*, August 31, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.39.

⁹ Warren A. Patrick, *Billboard Magazine* (Cincinnati, Ohio), September 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.41. Patrick states that the show "opened the regular fall and winter season of the Illinois Theatre Sunday night." Sunday night was September 2, 1906. Unlabeled Clipping, September 22, 1906, University of

September 20, 1906	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	Green's Opera House ¹⁰
October 3, 1906	Winona ¹¹	
October 7, 1906	Denver, Colorado	Broadway Theatre ¹²
October 14-16, 1906	Omaha, Nebraska	The Boyd Theatre ¹³
October 22, 1906	Minneapolis, Minnesota	Metropolitan Opera House ¹⁴
November 1-3, 1906	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Davidson Theatre ¹⁵
November 17 (-19), 1906	Cincinnati, Ohio	Grand Opera House ¹⁶
November 20-25/26, 1906	Cleveland, Ohio	Cleveland Opera House ¹⁷
December 1, 1906	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Nixon Theatre ¹⁸

Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.45. This clipping indicates that the show was still playing in Chicago, even though the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* places the show in Iowa.

¹⁰ "The Free Lance" Scores Big Hit," *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 21, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.46.

¹¹ This clipping only indicates "Winona," this could be Winona, Minnesota, or Winona Lake, Indiana. Unlabeled Clipping, October 3, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.2.

¹² "Tonight at the Broadway – 'The Free Lance,'" *Denver Post*, October 7, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.47.

¹³ Unlabeled Clipping, *Omaha Daily*, October 15, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.48.

¹⁴ "Metropolitan Opera House," *Minneapolis Tribune*, October 22, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 80, p.49.

¹⁵ "The Free Lance," *Milwaukee Souvenir*, October 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 21.2, n.p.

¹⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, *Cincinnati Tribune*, November 17, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.2. Unlabeled Clipping, *Cincinnati Grand*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.2. This clipping indicates that the show opened in Cincinnati on the 19th, however this contradicts a clipping from Cleveland, Ohio which indicates that the show opened in Cleveland on the 20th.

¹⁷ Cleveland, Ohio, November 20, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.3.

¹⁸ "Pittsburgh, Nov. 26," *New York Dramatic Mirror*, December 1, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p. 6. It is during this stop on the tour that the news of Harry B. Smith's marriage reaches the cast and city critics. Charles M. Bregg, a critic from the *Gazette Times* had this to say about the show: "When I returned to my desk last evening from the Nixon theater I found a telegram announcing that Harry B. Smith had confessed his marriage to Miss Irene Bentley, a member of "The Belle of Mayfair" company, now playing in Boston. In the presence of marriage bells, orange blossoms and honeymoon joys, the best-intentioned critic is disarmed. What if I do think the libretto of "The Free Lance," which is at the Nixon this week, is quite the

December 3-8, 1906	Washington, D.C. ¹⁹	
December 9-15 (-18), 1906	Baltimore, Maryland	Academy of Music ²⁰
December 19, 1906	Scranton, Pennsylvania	Lyceum Theatre ²¹
December 24-26, 1906	Rochester, New York	Lyceum Theatre ²²
December 27, 1906	Elmira, New York	Lyceum Theatre ²³
December 31 - January 3, 1907	Montauk, New York	New Montauk Theatre ²⁴
Jan 7-13/14, 1907	New York City	Grand Opera House ²⁵
January 15, 1907	Plainfield, New Jersey	New Plainfield Theatre ²⁶
January 18, 1907	Trenton, New Jersey	Taylor Opera House ²⁷

poorest thing I have known Mr. Smith to perpetrate, I am not going to say so now, in the face of this announcement. Congratulations, Mr. Smith, and here's hoping you may live happy ever after, and never again write such silly stuff as "The Free Lance" and call it a libretto." Charles M. Bregg, "Nixon- "The Free Lance,"" *Gazette Times*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.7.

¹⁹ Unlabeled Clipping, Washington, D.C., University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.10.

²⁰ The show played in Baltimore until at least the 15th, it most likely ran until the 17th or 18th. Unlabeled Clipping, Baltimore, Maryland, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.11. "Baltimore, Dec 10," *New York Dramatic Mirror*, December 15, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.12. The *Baltimore Sun* indicates that the following changes were made to the cast sometime prior to the Baltimore performances:

Emperor	George Schiller
Dagonet	Stanley Murphy
Mopsa	Harriet Marlotte
Leandre	Grace Clemmens
Diane	Margaret Cullington

Clipping Labeled *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.12.

²¹ Scranton, Pennsylvania, December 20, 1906, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.13.

²² Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.14.

²³ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.14.

²⁴ "Last Night," *Montauk Press*, January 1, 1907, Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.14.

²⁵ Clipping Labeled *New York American*, January 8, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.18.

²⁶ Unlabeled Clipping, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.20.

²⁷ "'The Free Lance' Only Ordinary," Trenton, New Jersey, January 18, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.19.

January 24-25, 1907 Late January, 1907	Lynchburg, Virginia Charleston, South Carolina Columbia, South Carolina ²⁹	Academy of Music ²⁸
Early February, 1907	Atlantic City, New Jersey ³⁰	
February 9 (-10), 1907 February 11-17/18, 1907 February, 1907	Mobile, Alabama New Orleans, Louisiana Paducah, Kentucky ³³	The Mobile Theatre ³¹ Tulane Theatre ³²
February 26, 1907 February 28, 1907 March 15, 1907	Nashville, Tennessee ³⁴ Little Rock Arkansas San Antonio Texas ³⁶	Capital Theatre ³⁵
March 18-23, 1907	Los Angeles, California	Mason Theatre ³⁷

²⁸ At this performance, the musical director of the show is identified as Professor Anton Heidi. "Busy Scenes at the Academy of Music," Lynchburg, Virginia, January 24, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.19.

²⁹ Clipping Labeled *Spartanburg (South Carolina) Journal*, January 22, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.19. Clipping indicates that *The Free Lance* was coming very soon to Charleston and Columbia.

³⁰ Clipping Labeled February, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.20.

³¹ "The Mobile Theatre," February 10, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.21.

³² "'The Free Lance' at the Tulane," February 11, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.21. The clipping indicates that the following changes were made to the cast sometime prior to the Tulane performances:

Graftiana	W.J. Smith
Herald	William Myers
Leandre	Monte Klug
Silvandre	Gladys Coleman
Jacqueline	Lou Garrert
Diane	Helen Southern

³³ Clipping Labeled *Paducah Sun*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.22.

³⁴ Clipping labeled *Nashville*, Feb 26, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.22.

³⁵ "The Free Lance," *Little Rock Democrat*, February 28, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.22.

³⁶ "'Free Lance' Co. In A Hotel Fire," University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.23. Apparently, many of the cast members "were caught in a fire early in the morning of March 15, at the Vance apartments, San Antonio, Tex. But all escaped unharmed."

March ?-31, 1907	Oakland, California ³⁸	
April 1-7/8, 1907	San Francisco, California	Van Ness Theatre ³⁹
May 4-11, 1907	Winnipeg, Manitoba	New Walker Theatre ⁴⁰
May 16, 1907	Detroit, Michigan	Detroit Opera House ⁴¹
May 22, 1907	Back in New York City	End of tour ⁴²

³⁷ “Los Angeles,” *New York City Press*, April 5, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.23. “‘Free Lance’ Hits the Mark,” *Herald*, March 19, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.25.

³⁸ “Sousa Opera Company,” Oakland, CA, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.23. Clipping indicates that the 31st was the show’s last matinee and performance.

³⁹ Clipping Labeled San Francisco, April 2, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.23. “Sousa Opera is Old Fashioned,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 2, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.23.

⁴⁰ Unlabeled Clipping, May 4, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.26. “New York Comic Opera,” *Free Press*, May 11, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.27.

⁴¹ Clipping Labeled Detroit, Michigan, May 17, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.27.

⁴² Rennold Wolf, “Jos. Cawthorn Returns To Town To Relate An Uncanny Tale,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, May 22, 1907, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 33.1, p.26.

APPENDIX H
THE GLASSBLOWERS/THE AMERICAN MAID

The Glassblower's Premiere

The production opened at the Shubert Theatre in Rochester, New York on January 27, 1913 and ran for four performances. Produced by John Cort, the show was billed as a “melodramatic opera” and the book treated, “in a more or less satirical manner the conflict between capital and labor.”¹ Cort was a California producer who controlled his own syndicate of one hundred and sixteen theatres west of the Mississippi. He, however, was looking to conquer the theatrical centers of Chicago and New York City, and thought that a Sousa opera would be a good investment.² In addition to a chorus of seventy-five, the cast was as follows:

Jack Bartlett	John Park
Duke of Branford	Charles Brown
Stumpy	Gilbert Gregory
Colonel Vandever	George O'Donnell
Silas Pompton	Edward Wade
Annabel Vandever	Edna Blanche Showalter
Geraldine Pompton	Dorothea Maynard
Rose Green	Marguerite Farrell
Mrs. Pompton	Maude Turner Gordon
Mrs. Vandever	Louise Ford

George Marion directed.³ Librettist Leonard Liebling wrote most of the show's lyrics; additional lyrics were supplied by Franklin P. Adams, and R.J. Burdette and R.M.

¹ Untitled Clipping, *New York Telegram*, January 28, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 1.

² “Says Melodrama Will Never Return,” *Detroit News*, February 8, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 12.

³ Untitled Clipping, *New York Telegram*, January 28, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 1.

Skinner.⁴ J. Sebastian von Hiller provided the music direction, as he had done for several of Sousa's earlier operas.⁵ The show traveled with its own orchestra of 25 players, which were augmented with the theatre's house orchestra.⁶ Sousa conducted both the overture, and the march at the close of the Second Act, entitled "From Maine to Oregon," at the premiere.

The *New York Dramatic Mirror* judged that the work was a "departure from the old-fashioned light opera and much of the music is destined to popularity."⁷ While many critics knew that the *The Glassblowers* was a departure from established forms, they did not have a vocabulary to discuss it. The *Rochester Post Express* hailed its "lively, spirited, martial numbers," but decried its "common place [...] plot and dialogue." Its setting was too realistic for comic opera conventions; the *Post Express* saying:

The scenes devoted to conversation and exposition of the plot seem dull. Of course the showing of a factory in a musical comedy is unusual, it might as well be a shirt waist factory as a glassblowing, however, for all the effective use that is made of the occupation, and the introduction of the walking delegate and the strike made a spirited moment, but the spirit with which it is worked up is largely due to the music.⁸

⁴ "Shubert," *Rochester Morning Advertiser*, January 28, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 3. The Advertiser says: "Franklin P. Adams, the *New York Evening Mail's* humorist, contributes the verses for the first song, "Cleopatra's a Strawberry Blonde," while R.J. Burdette and R.M. Skinner furnish words for two other melodies."

⁵ "'Glassblowers' Blow Us Lot of Beauties," *Syracuse Journal*, January 31, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 9.

⁶ "Lyric: 'American Maid,'" *Cincinnati Enquirer*, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 30.

⁷ Untitled Clipping, *New York Dramatic Mirror*, February 1, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 1.

⁸ "Shubert Theater," *Rochester Post Express*, January 18, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 2.

In the end, critics judged it a musical comedy, saying, however, “it possesses some features more original and more pretentious and departs somewhat from the musical comedy environment.”⁹

Pre-Broadway Tour:

The following represents the performance dates of Sousa’s *The Glassblowers/The American Maid*. According to newspapers, Sousa personally conducted the work during most of the tour (indicated by an * in front of the tour date of performance). The librettist, Leonard Liebling, was all reported by the press to be “in the front row” on February 11, 1913, and at the piano in the orchestra pit on February 18, 1913.

January 27-29, 1913	Rochester, New York	Shubert Theatre ¹⁰
January 30-1, 1913	Syracuse, New York	Wieting Theatre ¹¹
*February 5/3-8, 1913	Detroit, Michigan	Garrick Theatre ¹²
February 10, 1913	Muncie, Indiana	Wysor Grand Theatre ¹³
*February 11, 1913	Anderson, Indiana	Grand Opera House ¹⁴
*February 12, 1913	Richmond, Indiana	Gennett Theatre ¹⁵

⁹ “Shubert Theater,” *Rochester Post Express*, January 18, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 2.

¹⁰ “Maybe Ragtime will get Sousa,” *Rochester Democrat/Dramatic Chronicle*, January 27, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p.64.

¹¹ “The Glassblowers,” *Syracuse Herald*, January 31, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p.5.

¹² Sousa was reported to have conducted the show on February 5th, however the New York Dramatic Mirror suggests that the show was at the Garrick Theatre for an entire week. It is unknown if Sousa conducted the full week of performances. Unlabeled Clipping, *Detroit Free Press*, February 6, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p.4. “Detroit,” *New York Dramatic Mirror*, February 12, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p.11.

¹³ “Amusements,” *Muncie, Indiana Star*, February 11, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p.90.

¹⁴ “Sousa Here Last Evening,” *Anderson, Indiana Herald*, February 12, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p.12.

February 13, 1913	Columbus, Ohio	Southern Theatre ¹⁶
February 14, 1913	Springfield, Ohio	Fairbanks Theatre ¹⁷
February 15, 1913	Dayton, Ohio	Victoria Theatre ¹⁸
*February 17, 1913	Lexington, Kentucky	Lexington Opera House ¹⁹
*February 18, 1913	Louisville, Kentucky	Shubert Masonic ²⁰
February 20-22, 1913	Indianapolis, Indiana	Shriners Murat ²¹
*February 23-March 1, 1913	Cincinnati, Ohio	Lyric Theatre ²²
March 3-15 1913	New York City, New York	Broadway Theatre ²³

¹⁵ “Sousa to be Here,” *Richmond, Indiana Star*, February 2, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 11.

¹⁶ “The Glassblowers,” *Columbus Dispatch*, February 2, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 3.

¹⁷ “Glass Blowers,” *Springfield Paper*, February 14, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 17.

¹⁸ The following articles do not specify a date for this stop on *The American Maid* tour. The *Dayton News* reported on February 10th that the production would come “on Friday night,” and that the production was in Dayton “last week” on the 21st. This would indicate that the production was in Dayton on Friday, the 14th. However, *Springfield Papers* put the show in that city on the 14th. Because the Columbus, Springfield and Lexington dates are emphatically stated, it is likely that the show was in Dayton on Saturday the 15th. Unlabeled Clipping, *Dayton News*, February 10, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 13. Unlabeled Clipping, *Dayton News*, February 21, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 37.

¹⁹ *Lexington Herald*, February 17, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 24.

²⁰ *Louisville Evening Journal*, February 19, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 28.

²¹ “Potentate Sends Out Arabic Cry to Nobels,” *Indianapolis News*, February 15, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 19. *Indianapolis News*, February 19, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 26.

²² Reports indicate that the show was set to play a week of performances – therefore, the show most likely closed on February 28th or March 1st. *New York Herald*, February 18, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 9. “Sousa Changes Title,” *New York Star*, February 15, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 12. “Sousa Operetta Next,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 16, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 17. “Will Lead Here,” *Cincinnati Times Star*, February 21, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 30.

²³ “Little humor or snappy music in ‘American Maid,’” *New York Herald*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 43. “Broadway,” *Clipper*, March 22, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p 37.

The American Maid Broadway Premiere

The show opened at the Broadway Theatre on March 3, 1913.²⁴ The names of the cast and chorus were as follows:

Jack	John Park
Duke of Branford	Charles Brown
Silas	Edward Wade
Stumpy	Georgie Mack
Col. Vandever	George O'Donnell
Lefty	John G. Sparks
Anabelle	Louise Gunning
Geraldine	Dorothy Maynard
Pompton	Maude Turner Gordon
Mrs. Vandever	Adèle Archer
Rose Green	Marguerite Farrell
Nellie Brown	Mary Smith
Hans Hipple	H. Hooper
Pietro Nuttini	Pietro Canova
Gawkins	J. Kern

Gladys	Katherine Slossel
Helen	Julia Bruns
Alice	Amy Russell
Veronica	Nellie Gould
Hazel	Marie Elliot
Madge	Marjorie Edwards
Lilith	Naomi Summers
Mabel	Marie Dolber
Beatrice	Irma Bertrand
Irene	Carrie Landers
Footman	Albert Sachs
1 st Glassblower	James Yunen
2 nd Glassblower	Ella Yunen
A Batchman	George Wilson

6 maids: Misses McKay, Barahon, Sullivan, Jordon M. Sullivan, Brown

The review by John W. Blauvelt in the *New York Morning Telegraph* following the show's Broadway premiere seemed to appreciate the innovations Sousa and Liebling

²⁴ "Little humor or snappy music in 'American Maid,'" *New York Herald*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 43.

attempted to make to the form, but correctly indicated that the material was dated. The review read:

“The American Maid,” by Louise Gunning.
Stirring, satisfying, scintillating music by John Philip Sousa.
Book, an interesting and connected story, by Leonard Liebling.
Battle scene, thrilling, by the Kalem Company.
Comedy (jokes), by Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham and the prophets, the court jester to Julius Caesar, Rigoletto, the 1813 Farmer Almanack and Joe Miller.

Sample #1

Mrs. Pompton – Duke, my daughter is much like your sister. She’s blond, is she not?

Duke – Well, a’al y’know, I caan’t (*sic*) say, I’ve not seen sister in a month!

Ha! Ha!

Sample 2:

Rich man turned working man – What are the hours at your factory?

Factory Owner – Seven to six.

Rich man, etc. – What time do I have to report for work?

Factory Owner – Seven o’clock

Rich Man, etc. – Why, that’s the middle of the night!

Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!

But, to be serious for a moment, it is really a shame that such good music as Mr. Sousa has produced – he has never done nearly so well – should be belittled by such piffle as the above, which only examples. “The American Maid” is worthy of kinder treatment.”²⁵

Blauvelt went on to praise the use of motion pictures on stage and praised the new form Sousa and Liebling were trying to create, but added, “If she (the show) dies. See the jokes above.” The great theatre critic of the period, Alan Dale, offered the epithet: ““The American Maid’ is at least a hard worker.”²⁶

²⁵ John W. Blauvelt, “New Sousa Opera At The Broadway,” *New York Morning Telegraph*, March 4, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 45.

²⁶ Alan Dale, ““American Maid’ Not Like Sousa. Vociferous Music, Says Alan Dale,” *New York American*, March 2, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 51.

The show closed abruptly on March 15, having only a two-week run on Broadway. The theatre re-opened on March 24th with a Loew's picture show.²⁷ While there was some speculation that the show would re-open in Boston in September and then try its luck on the West Coast, a tour never materialized.²⁸

²⁷ "Broadway," *Clipper*, March 22, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 37.

²⁸ Unlabeled Clipping, *American Musician*, March 29, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 79, p. 86.

APPENDIX I
WORKS FOR THE THEATRE AFTER *THE AMERICAN MAID*

In 1913, Sousa began work on an extravaganza called *The Victory*, an adaptation of the play by Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Ruth Helen Davis (the libretto was adapted by Wilcox).¹ While none of Sousa's music survives, the libretto found in his materials indicates that the work had a "fairy-tale plot, reportedly inspired by World War I, takes place in the land of "Once-upon-a-Time" and concerns the victory of love over many vices."² In early July 1913, Sousa told the press that he would complete the work in 1914, saying, "the new opera is rapidly taking shape. [...] It will be widely different from my opera of last year. This is to be an extravaganza, with a leaning toward the light and amusing, if I can work out my present idea. There will be two acts in the opera. I have nearly finished the first. The name has not been decided upon. It will represent the light, airy, free spirit of the American people."³ There were some suggestions that the work had been picked up for production in August of 1915, but the project was ultimately abandoned.⁴

Hot on the heels of Sousa's announcement that he was writing his extravaganza, he began suggesting that he was working on yet another piece of musical theatre. Even

¹ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 33.

² Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 33.

³ Sousa, at point with Indians, happy with finger on trigger," *Sandusky Star-Journal*, July 7, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 99. Untitled Clipping, *New York Telegraph*, July 6, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 95. Some reports say that Sousa suggested that the score would be completed by Labor Day, 1913. Untitled Clipping, *New York Player*, July 11, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 97.

⁴ *New York Morning Telegraph*, April 21, 1915. As cited in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 33.

after the failure of *The American Maid*, Sousa was keen to try his hand at his grand opera and suggested that he had been working on an American grand opera to be completed in two to three years.⁵ He told the papers:

It is curious [...] that ‘The American Maid’ was the [only] comic opera that I have written on an American theme. It was the custom in times now past to set the scene of action in some kingdom or principality where the postal service did not reach, and then to build a story about the mythical personages inhabiting that strange and unfamiliar land. That seeming necessity for migration no longer exists. [...] For some years I have had in mind the writing of a grand opera with the theme on an American subject. The time of Dolly Madison, or of the Mexican war, seemed to me to be the most inviting, and I have that period in mind in advance of any attempt at writing. Of course, I would endeavor to create something that would be wholly original and distinctive.⁶

The majority of reports suggest that Sousa had settled on Dolly Madison as a subject, but he was also considering returning to the time of the Mexican-American War. Sousa’s daughter, Helen, indicated he was also looking at adapting *The Demi-Monde* by Alexandre Dumas, which she had translated for him.⁷

In 1915, Sousa was working on *The Irish Dragoon*. The integrated comic opera was to be produced in New York in the winter of 1916, and as always, Sousa thought it would “be one of his best.”⁸ The libretto was based on a novel of the same name by the Irish novelist Charles Lever written in 1841. Because the work took place in Ireland,

⁵ “Sousa Finds Time to Work on New Opera,” *Philadelphia Press*, August 31, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 116.

⁶ “March King Preparing to Write American Grand Opera,” *Philadelphia Times*, August 28, 1913, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Press Book 37, p. 117.

⁷ “Sousa’s Daughter Finds ‘Forgotten’ Operetta Score” [El Capitan], *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 3, 1965. As cited in: Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 14.

⁸ “Sousa Lost Fond Friend on Lusitania,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, May 15, 1915, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 62, Folder 2: Clippings and Articles.

Sousa's music has an entirely different sound than his earlier operettas and those produced concurrently on Broadway. The score utilizes madrigals, several Irish dance forms, and, in a departure from Sousa's style, also assimilated a great deal of the popular forms of "Tin Pan Alley."⁹

Two almost complete versions of the operetta still survive in the archive. One version was composed by an unknown composer, and the other by Sousa. Of Sousa's version, the archive contains two complete acts and parts of the third. Sousa purchased the libretto from librettist Joseph Herbert, and the first composer's draft was included with the purchase.¹⁰ It is possible that Sousa had completely finished *The Irish Dragoons*, and the missing parts of Act Three were turned into marches for the Sousa band when he had difficulty finding a librettist to fix the work's structural problems.¹¹ Joseph Herbert died in the 1920s, so Sousa went looking for another librettist. In the late 1920s, he was introduced to Bennet Chapple, the head of the American Rolling Mill Company, at an American Bandmaster Association meeting. Chapple was a freelance writer, and Sousa asked him to rework the third act. Chapple completed the revisions and sent them to Sousa in November of 1930, but the operetta remained unfinished.¹²

⁹ Transcript of Tom Spain interview with Jon Newsome and Loras Schissel, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 61, Folder 4.

¹⁰ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 29. Transcript of Tom Spain interview with Jon Newsome and Loras Schissel, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 61, Folder 4.

¹¹ Bierley cites that a march called "The Dragoons" "appears on the inaccurate list of compositions appended to Sousa's autobiography, there is no evidence of the existence of such a march. The unpublished, unproduced operetta contains no significant march melodies, but several pages are missing. It must be assumed that, if a march was extracted, it reappeared under another title." Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 50.

¹² Bennet Chapple to John Philip Sousa, November 29, 1930, Irish Dragoon Folder, John Philip Sousa Collection, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C. Transcript of Tom Spain interview with Jon

In addition to his operetta collaborations, Sousa composed incidental music for three New York Hippodrome extravaganzas between 1915 and 1918. Charles Dillingham approached Sousa in the summer of 1915 while he was performing with the Sousa Band at the Panama-Pacific Exhibition in San Francisco. Dillingham, along with his producer R.H. Burnside, had obtained the Hippodrome from the Shuberts and renovated it to be a venue for spectacle, and he asked Sousa to compose incidental music and star in the new venue's premiere production. Running in opposition to *Ziegfeld Follies of 1915*, the production was entitled *Hip Hip Hooray* and was the most successful Hippodrome extravaganza to that date. The Sousa Band was prominently featured in the work, playing a concert on stage during the first act, and becoming the pit orchestra for the remaining two acts. Sousa wrote "The Ballet of the States" for the production, which was "used to accompany a ballet in which each of the forty-eight states was represented by a sextet of dancing girls. Sousa arranged and composed characteristic tunes for each state. The act was climaxed with "The Stars and Stripes Forever." The production ran from September 30, 1915 to June 1916, and then continued on a tour of the East and Midwest from October 1916 to March 1917.¹³

Sousa's second collaboration with Dillingham for the Hippodrome was *Cheer Up*. This production, in three acts (appropriately named Cheer One, Two, and Three), was more lavish than the last, opened on August 23, 1917, and featured elephants, diving horses, a hobo-filled train which pulled railroad cars across the stage, cornfields which

Newsome and Loras Schissel, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 61, Folder 4.

¹³ Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 355-356. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 147. "Ballet of the States" was also called "March of the States" and "Sisterhood of the States."

miraculously turned into poppies, and hundreds of performers. Sousa collaborated with Burnside on *The Land of Liberty*, a historical pageant, which climaxed Cheer Two. Originally titled “The Making of a Nation,” the pageant was, in Sousa’s term, “an allegory” which celebrated the countries whose immigrants helped to make the nation great. The pageant included over fifty great Americans from history, including Christopher Columbus and Woodrow Wilson.¹⁴

Sousa’s third and final collaboration on the Hippodrome productions was *Everything* which opened on August 22, 1918. The review included music by Irving Berlin and starred De Wolf Hopper. Sousa contributed the incidental music for *In Lampland*, the review’s twelfth act, which featured exotic dances from around the world.¹⁵

Sousa and George M. Cohan collaborated on a project in 1920, however no records of the products of this collaboration survive.¹⁶ In 1930, Sousa and Harry B.

¹⁴ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 147. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 371.

¹⁵ Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa*, (Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984), 147. Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 381.

¹⁶ Carbon Copy, John Philip Sousa to George M. Cohan, March 10, 1920, Cohan, George M. Folder, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C. The letter reads:
My dear Mr. Cohan,
You will perhaps recall our conversation at the Manhattan Opera House last Summer about the new opera for which I have written the music. If you are not very busy and will appoint some time next week I will be pleased to sit down and chat with you a few minutes about it and give my ideas of what should be done regarding the piece. Believe me,
Very sincerely.

Transcript of Tom Spain interview with Jon Newsome and Loras Schissel, University of Illinois, Center for American Music & Sousa Archives, Paul Bierley Collection, Series 7: Box 61, Folder 4. Schissel indicates that there are additional letters from Cohan to Sousa that I was not able to locate, he says, “But even as late as the 1930s he was getting letters from George M. Cohan about – about ‘We need to get together, Mr. Sousa, and work on this show.’ What show, I don’t know.”

Smith, his collaborator on *The Free Lance* began another attempt at a Mexican-American War operetta, however little, if any, of this work was actually begun.¹⁷

John Philip Sousa died on March 6, 1932.

¹⁷ Harry B. Smith to John Philip Sousa, October 3, 1930, Smith, Harry B. Folder, Marine Band Archives, Washington, D.C. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Sousa:

Pardon my delay in replying to your letter. I have been out of town. The libretto I have is the story of the Mexican war of 1848. It is founded on a play of the Civil War which is owned by the Shubert Co. Consequently they have something to say about it. I tried to get to Mr. J.J. Shubert yesterday, but he is rehearsing two plays which open next week. I could not connect with him., but left a note at his office saying that I wanted to given the book to you. I will probably hear from him to-day. This is all a formality on my part as I am sure he will be glad to have me give you the book. The moment I hear about it I will send the MS. To your office and if it gets there after you leave, it can be forwarded to you. As it is Mexican and military and is based on a very successful drama, I think it will appeal to you. With regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours.

Harry B. Smith

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- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 21.1: *Press Notices, January 2, 1905-June 12, 1908*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 21.2: *Press Notices, January 2, 1905-June 12, 1908*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 21.3: *Press Notices, January 2, 1905-June 12, 1908*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 25.2: *Press Book, January 8, 1906-April 2, 1906*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 26: *Press Book, April 3, 1906-October 29, 1906*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 33.1: *The Free Lance, October 31, 1906-May 17, 1907*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Sousa Press Books, Vol. 37: *Band and Personal Clippings, August 17, 1912-December 13, 1913*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.

Illinois.

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Sousa Press Books, Vol. 79: *Press Notices of The Glassblowers (American Maid, January 28, 1913-May 1913)*. Paul Bierley Papers, Series 7: Press Books. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.

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“Theatres Next Week: Academy of Music,” *The Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1899. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun (1837-1986).

Dissertations:

Bly, Loen Joseph. “The March in American Society.” PhD diss., University of Miami (Florida), 1977.

Church, Charles Fremont. “The Life and Influence of John Philip Sousa.” PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1942.

Jorgenson, Michael B. “John Philip Sousa’s Operetta El Capitan: A Historical, Analytical and Performance Guide.” Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1994.

Warfield, Patrick. “Salesman of Americanism, Globetrotter, and Musician”: The Nineteenth-Century John Philip Sousa, 1854-1893.” Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2003.

Other Sources:

Cole, Sarah. “For they are American”: The Gorman’s Philadelphia Church Choir’s Production of *H.M.S. Pinafore*.” Paul Bierley Papers. The Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.

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EDUCATION:

- Ph.D. 2012 **University of Maryland, College Park** (Theater & Performance Studies)
Dissertation: “(Musical) Sales Pitches from the “Salesman of Americanism”: The Comic Operas of John Philip Sousa.”
- M.A. 2008 **California State University, Dominguez Hills** (Humanities)
Thesis: “Distinctly Female: Shakespearean Women in Modern Film”
- M.M. 2004 **Azusa Pacific University** (Music Performance: Conducting)
- B.A. 2000 **The Master’s College** (Music; Communications: Theater Arts)

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- Vocal Training: Kimberlyn Jones, Daniel Huff, Richard Medrano
Vocal Coaching: Sue Lange, Mark Vogel
Vocal Pedagogy: Kimberlyn Jones
- Acting: John & Pam Wood (of J.P. Nightingale), Tait Lihme, Ken Gray, Philip Shahbaz
- Technical/Design: Don Ehret, Guido Girardi, John W. Martin
Directing: Ken Gray, Scot Reese
Dance: Kay Ballard, Colleen Kelly
- Workshops: Alexander Technique (1999), Shakespearean Performance (2003), Restoration Protocol (2008)
- Master Classes: Al Clift (2001), Rod Cathey (2003), Shawna Cross Stewart (2004), Norm Lewis (2010)

EMPLOYMENT:

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|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Warner Memorial Presbyterian | Asst. Music Director | 2011-present |
| Pallas Theatre Collective | Co-Artistic Director | 2010-present |
| College of Southern Maryland | Adjunct Instructor | 2011 |
| University of Maryland, College Park | Graduate Teaching Assistant | 2007-2011 |
| Westwood College | Adjunct Instructor | 2005-2007 |
| Maranatha High School | Performing Arts Teacher | 2003-2005 |
| Azusa Pacific University | Graduate Assistant | 2003-2004 |
| Pacific Christian on the Hill | Fine Arts Director | 2000-2003 |
| The Master’s College | Theater Arts Coordinator | 1998-2002 |

PUBLICATIONS:

Book Reviews:

Fall 2010 *Theatre History Studies*, Vol. XXI
"Shakespeare and the American Musical"

Online Publications:

September 16, 2011 New York Public Library Musical of the Month Blog Series
"The Charlatan" with Guest Blogger Tracey Chessum"

September 30, 2011 New York Public Library Musical of the Month Blog Series
"The Charlatan." Flexible Operetta and Micro-History (Guest blogger Tracey Chessum)"

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES:

Invited Lectures:

November 2012 University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Center for American Music
American Music Month 2011: A Century of Stories and Sounds from the Stage: Music, Dance and Theatre in America 1880-1980.
"The Politics of Politicizing Sousa's Marches."
"Theatrical Exploitation of John Philip Sousa as 'Salesman of Americanism.'"

Conference Papers:

March 2012 MATC Regional Conference
Chicago, IL
"Songs of Salaried Warriors: Copyright, Intellectual Property and John Philip Sousa's *The Free Lance*."

August 2011 ATHE National Conference
Chicago, IL
"Revivals of John Philip Sousa's Comic Operas: Patriotic Opportunists or Political Propaganda?"

September 2010 Song, Stage & Screen V Conference
University of Winchester, UK
"Hands Across the Sea': The Voice of U.S. Diplomacy in the West End."

March 2009 Comparative Drama Conference
Loyola Marymount University
"Hands Across the Sea": The Stage as a Tool of Diplomacy"

April 2008 West End Musical Theatre Conference
Goldsmith College, Univ. of London
"John Phillip Sousa Marches Across the Atlantic"

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES:

2011-2012 ATHE Music/Dance Graduate Representative
December 2009 Co-Organizer, *Song Stage and Screen IV Conference*.

Member: Association of Theatre in Higher Education
 American Theatre and Drama Society
 American Choral Directors Association

COLLEGIATE TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Courses as Primary Instructor:

College of Southern Maryland
Fall 2011 Basic Principles of Speech Communication

University of Maryland, College Park
Fall 2010 Musical Theatre and Popular Culture
Summer 2009 Introduction to Theatre
 Musicianship and Sight-singing for the Actor
Spring 2009 Musical Theater and Popular Culture (Univ. CORE Requirement)
Summer 2008 Introduction to Theater

Westwood College
2005-2007 Developmental English
 College Writing I (on-ground and online correspondence)
 College Writing II (on-ground and online correspondence)
 Research Methodologies (on-ground and online correspondence)
 Critical Thinking
 Public Speaking
 Introduction to the Humanities
 Contemporary Literature
 Contemporary Art
 College Success Strategies

AP High School Courses
2004-05 AP Music Theory Maranatha High School
2001-03 AP Music Theory Pacific Christian on the Hill

Courses as Teaching Assistant:

University of Maryland
Spring 2010 Musical Theatre Workshop 2 Assisting Scot Reese
Fall 2009 Black Theatre & Performance 1 Assisting Scot Reese
Fall 2008 Subversive Culture Assisting Dr. Laurie Meer
 Black Theatre & Performance 2 Assisting Scot Reese
2007-2008 Introduction to Theater Assisting Dr. Laurie Meer

Azusa Pacific University
2003-2004 Bel Canto Women's Choir Assisting Dr. David Hughes

The Master's College 2000-2002	Theater Performance Practicum Theater Production Practicum Theater Management Practicum	Assisting Dr. Kimberlyn Jones
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Guest Lectures:

University of Maryland		
Fall 2009	Black Musical Theatre & Performance	for Scot Reese
Fall 2008	An Overview of Musical Theatre	for Justin Poole
Spring 2008	Overview of European Musical Theatre	for Dr. Chrystyna Dail
Fall 2007	An Overview of Musical Theatre	for Dr. Chrystyna Dail

The Master's College		
Spring 2000	An Overview of Musical Theatre Street Theatre Lecture with Workshop	for Dr. Carolyn Simons for Dan Vanderbijl

A record of elementary and secondary teaching experience and courses taught available upon request.

HONORS AND AWARDS:

2010	UMD Theatre International Initiatives Grant
2010	UMD Summer Research Grant
2008	UMD Summer Research Grant
2007-2011	UMD Graduate Teaching Assistantship, 1 Semester Sabbatical
2005	Who's Who Among American High School Teachers
2003	Fine Arts Department awarded ACSI's National Exemplary School Program Award based on curriculum design and implementation.
2003	ACSI Honor Choir award.

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE:

2011	Development and Grant Writing for The Art Gallery at UMD.
2009-2011	Worked with Theatre Administration on student recruitment, lead prospective student tours and information sessions for students and parents.
2009	Course Design for "Musical Theatre and Popular Culture" accepted as University wide CORE history requirement course.
2007	Implemented campus-wide technology program (Turnitin.com) for Westwood College-South Bay. Led faculty workshops, tutorials, and general support for educational internet-based technology (including turnitin.com, web gradebooks, classroom weblogs, etc).
2001	Designed and developed a Theatre Arts Emphasis (major requirements, courses and course content) within the Communications Department at the request of The Master's College.

- 2000-01 Participated in the Accreditation process for the Fine Arts Department of Pacific Christian on the Hill through WASC.
- 2000-2003 Provided direction for growing high school Fine Arts Department. Designed comprehensive fine arts required curriculum (requirements, courses and course content) for Pacific Christian on the Hill for grades 5 through 12.