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Music at the Colorado Chautauqua: A Century-Long Tradition

In 1874 John Vincent, a Methodist clergyman, and Lewis Miller, a prosperous manufacturer, began a two-week summer training program for Sunday school teachers at Fair Point on Lake Chautauqua in southwestern New York State. Their program launched a broader movement adopting the name, including both independent institutions established across the country as well as circuit, or traveling, chautauquas. The Colorado Chautauqua at Boulder is one of only three original independent chautauquas surviving continuously to this day.¹

The Colorado Assembly was founded as the Texas-Colorado Chautauqua in 1898 and became the Colorado Chautauqua in 1901.² Although begun as a summer retreat for Texas teachers wishing to escape the heat of their home state, music has always been emphasized in the Colorado Chautauqua's programming. The present study examines this sustained tradition of music programming that has survived a century of changes, including two world wars, the Great Depression, and the rise of alternative forms of popular entertainment and adult education, with remarkably consistent goals and results. The following chronological survey of the music presented traces six elements of the program: large instrumental groups, vocal and instrumental soloists, choral and vocal groups, instrumental chamber music, ethnic and folk performers, and dramatic music. The introduction of jazz, bluegrass, and country music is also discussed. In addition, comparisons with the music presented at the New York Chautauqua and the circuit chautauquas will help place the Colorado programming in perspective. First however, a closer look at the chautauqua movement in general is in order.

Theodore Roosevelt called chautauqua "the most American thing in America."³ The original New York Chautauqua and those modeled after it presented a summer program of adult education including lectures and formal course work, religious services, cultural offerings, recreation, and entertainment. The professional lecturer, however, has been described as the "backbone" of the program.⁴ Entertainment included music, drama, humor, magic, animal acts, and interpretive readings. The variety, particu-

larly in the circuits, was considerable. In his memoirs dating from 1958, circuit manager Harry Harrison made an apt comparison:

[Chautauqua] directors had to give variety, and to find an analogy, one need only consider radio and television today. No sweeping generalities about radio music could be anything but ridiculous. The broadcasters must widen the appeal of their medium and thus they offer good symphonies and operas and also a great deal of discordant frightfulness, knowing that both types of program will be appreciated by their particular devotees. Chautauqua, likewise, had to span a wide range of tastes, enlightenment and experience.⁵

When situated at a scenic location, this combination of activities for mind, body and soul attracted large numbers from the middle class. As popular culture historian Eldon Snyder explains, “the [chautauqua] movement . . . provided one means of accommodating the conflicting values of Americans regarding the work ethic and leisure.”⁶ With a new measure of prosperity, a “summer vacation” became a possibility for many who suspected the dangers of unplanned leisure time. Chautauqua provided an attractive compromise.

Within a few years, “chautauquas” were being formed all over the country. By 1901 approximately 150 had arisen.⁷ In 1904 almost 300 assemblies were flourishing.⁸ Although not formally associated with the New York Assembly, these independent chautauquas shared the same goals of self-improvement within the framework of Anglo-Protestant mores such as family loyalty, hard work, and religious piety, frequently referred to as “mother, home, and heaven.”⁹ Most of the independent assemblies were gone by the 1920s, vanquished with many other aspects of turn-of-the-century culture. As Colorado chautauquan Mary Galey points out, “Almost all observers credit the rise of personal automobile ownership, increased moving picture production and the invention of the radio for being instrumental in changing the recreational habits of America.”¹⁰ Another major contributing cause was the rise of the circuit chautauqua.

In 1904 the first “circuit” or “tent” chautauqua was organized by Keith Vawter and Roy Ellison of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau.¹¹ Their idea was to provide a traveling program during the summer months to towns with independent assemblies as well as those with no chautauqua. Each circuit typically brought a seven-day program to small towns throughout the Midwest, West, and South, mimicking the New York model. For a few years, the enterprise struggled to turn a profit, but by “the summer of 1913 circuit chautauqua became a successful business.”¹²

The growth of the circuits resulted in a corresponding failure of the independent assemblies. As circuit chautauqua scholar John E. Tapia explains:

As the circuit chautauqua movement gained momentum, it gradually pushed aside the community-based chautauqua. In 1910, approximately 1,800 American communities hosted their own chautauqua,

but within four years, the majority of these . . . had ceased operation. The “onslaught of the little Chautauqua,” reported the *New York Times* in 1914, was due to the rise of the commercial circuit chautauqua bureau. By the close of World War I in 1919, only a handful of communities continued to sustain their own chautauqua operation and most existed in name only.¹³

The so-called “sawdust circuit” peaked in 1924 when almost 10,000 communities hosted a tent chautauqua purchased from one of the fifteen major bureaus.¹⁴ In that year alone roughly one-third of the American population attended circuit programs.¹⁵ Even in 1924, however, the bureaus were not making a profit, and conditions worsened through the rest of the decade. “The amusement tax, postwar inflation and rising costs, little carnival-type ‘chautauquas,’ and the impossibility of increasing contractual amounts all had long-range, negative consequences for circuit chautauqua operations.”¹⁶ Rural banks began to close as crop and land prices fell. “The Great Depression was first directly felt by those individuals living in rural America.”¹⁷ Of course, since small towns were the bureaus’ largest market, these conditions led to the end of movement. For the most part, the circuits ended by 1930.¹⁸

Since the 1930s, some of the independent chautauquas have come back, although only three have survived since their formation. In 1976, a new type of chautauqua was formed by Everett Albers of the North Dakota Humanities Council. Funded by state humanities councils and the National Endowment for the Humanities, it functions as a cultural memory program. Using the theatrical technique of reenactment, these chautauquas present scholars who dress, speak, and answer questions as historical figures representative of a period, movement, or issue.¹⁹ The Great Plains Chautauqua Society, for example, offers characterizations of historical figures such as Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, Charles Eastman, Theodore Roosevelt, and Booker T. Washington by humanities scholars such as Charles Everett Pace (Washington).²⁰ These “new” chautauquas are springing up primarily in the areas once served by the circuits, the Midwest.²¹

The Colorado Assembly presented its first program as an independent chautauqua in 1898, the same year that the “parent” institution celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Galey has pointed out that the Colorado Chautauqua embodied a strong blend of elements from both independent and circuit assemblies:

Boulder shared the moralistic approach to culture and self-improvement and was equally dedicated to respectability. Like other independents, it had local management and permanent buildings with a returning population representing urban areas. At the same time, like the circuits, it also served a local small town and rural population. It bought individual programs through circuit bureaus, and it contracted many of its programs independently.²²

Of course, the circuit chautauqua idea was not even hatched in 1898 and did not become a major movement until 1913.²³ As early as 1902, however, the Colorado Chautauqua began to book a few performers through the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. Local control was important to the Colorado Association. An article titled "Our Chautauqua is Independent," published in the December 1913 issue of the *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin*, explains that with the then-new circuit plan "every assembly is just like every other assembly [and] all use the same talent whether it pleases citizens and patrons or not."²⁴ It continues by proudly describing the programming at Boulder:

But how different is the independent plan followed by Boulder. We buy our own talent, selected with care to meet our particular needs, wherever it can be obtained. The list of every bureau is scanned as well as all the talent which books independently and contracts are negotiated only for that which we want. We do not buy a whole program from any one person or agency.²⁵

In addition to the preference for local control, several other factors contributed to the Colorado Assembly's ability to survive the "onslaught of the little Chautauqua." Among other strengths, Boulder had a population large enough and committed enough to provide financial backing. Tapia has pointed out that the most successful independent assemblies were those in communities of at least 3,500 persons.²⁶ The 1900 census estimated Boulder's population at more than 6,000.²⁷ The metropolitan area of Denver, only about thirty miles away, was close enough to provide not only audience members but also performers. Patrons who purchased a cottage at the Colorado Chautauqua provided a stable base of returning chautauquans. One hundred fifty community guarantors insured the Assembly's financial solvency during several seasons. The support of these individuals and businesses remained firm even during periods of increasing deficits. For instance, after the 1916, 1917, and 1918 seasons, they were called upon to pay twenty-five, thirty and seventy-five percent of their subscriptions, respectively.²⁸ The Colorado Assembly has also benefited from a symbiotic relationship with the University of Colorado at Boulder.²⁹ While the Boulder population grew and changed through the decades, community support remained strong.³⁰ Citizen outrage helped to save the Chautauqua Auditorium from demolition in the 1970s. Clearly, such strong support reflects long-term patron satisfaction with the Colorado Chautauqua's offerings.

From the beginning, the programming at Boulder differed from the New York Institution in two important ways, namely with respect to the roles played by religion and music. The distinction of having been founded for public school teachers rather than Sunday school teachers, as was the New York Institution, affected offerings from the first season. Tapia has noted that this was typical for independent chautauquas in the West, which usually arose from "a broader-based, usually nondenominational, commu-



Courtesy of the Colorado Chautauqua Association

The Auditorium was one of a handful of permanent buildings during the second season of the Colorado Chautauqua.

nity effort.”³¹ The local April 1902 issue of *The Chautauqua Journal* stressed its uniqueness, however: “The Boulder Assembly differs from all other Chautauquas from the fact that it is strictly undenominational and aims more at popular entertainments than along strictly religious lines—the heavy thinkers and the scientific lecturers are greeted by smaller audiences. The Chautauqua audience of the Rocky Mountains calls for music and freedom from the cares of everyday life.”³²

The result for Boulder was much more music than at the New York Assembly. Galey compared the music offerings at Boulder with the overall schedule and concluded that, “in the first three years [1898-1900] over half of the scheduled programs were musical.”³³ Further, Galey points out that music was integrated into other programming as well:

From the beginning until in the 1930s music was integral to every type of platform or stage event at the Chautauquas regardless of the type of performance being presented. Often the featured program was preceded by, sandwiched between, and followed by unannounced pianists, violinists, sopranos, or even mandolinists.³⁴

The role of music is underlined by the following statement from the May 1902 *Journal*: “Without music the Chautauqua could not exist. All lovers of music are invited to the feast, spread daily, under the cooling shadows of the rock-ribbed mountains. It is doubtful whether any other summer assembly of the continent spends as much money upon music as is provided for at Boulder.”³⁵

While promotional statements of this sort may be suspected of hyperbole, early financial records of the Assembly bear out the emphasis. In the

following year's *Colorado Chautauqua*, the sixth season's platform is described as one that "respects the mental attitude of any normal Chautauquan, who despises a cheap show, even though he can not on vacation stomach a dissertation in metaphysics. For this reason the evenings, six nights a week, have all been filled with a selection of high grade, popular entertainments, designed especially for intelligent people of cultivated tastes who have been busy for a year, and who now need most of all to relax, but not to dissipate."³⁶ This early program director knew his audience well and evidently managed to find the right balance in his programs.

The Colorado Chautauqua has filled a niche for those aspiring to high musical taste and educational music, but also wanting a good show. The limits of titillation were strictly observed; Victorian proprieties never breached. At the same time, the programming steered clear of music that would overly tax the audience intellectually. Just as chautauqua provided a solution to the conflict between work and leisure, it also offered a compromise between popular and art music. The first thirty years of music at the Colorado Chautauqua showed remarkable consistency and represent a thread that can be traced to the present.

While instrumental groups during the first three decades of the Colorado Chautauqua varied from classical string trios to women's orchestras, band music reigned supreme. From the very first season, "large" ensembles playing band and orchestral music were integral, much more so than at the New York Assembly at the turn of the century.³⁷ Daily outdoor concerts and frequent auditorium performances were favorites. The ensem-



Courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection

Louis Rischar's group, in residence during the 1901-1906 seasons, was typical for its time in size and instrumentation.

bles in these early years were the Sousa-type groups of about fifteen to thirty musicians. As Sousa scholar Paul Bierley explains, “The Sousa Band was in actuality a compromise between a band and a symphony orchestra. Sousa’s demonstration that a concert band could play many classical selections as well as a symphony orchestra was a revelation to those who heard his band.”³⁸ Such versatility was important for groups expected to play outdoor band concerts, accompany choral groups, and also perform popular orchestral repertoire in an auditorium.

In the early years a succession of groups served as the ensemble in residence. The Kansas City Symphony Orchestra directed by John Behr performed for the first two seasons (1898-1899). During the 1900 season, Ellis Brook’s Band, which had performed at the World’s Fair in 1893, was the ensemble present. Next came Chicago’s internationally known Louis Rischar’s Band, present each season through 1906. During the 1907 session, Raffaello Cavallo conducted the orchestra that later became the Denver Symphony Orchestra and eventually the Colorado Symphony Orchestra. From 1908 until 1930 the group referred to interchangeably as the Boulder Band and the Boulder Orchestra performed under various directors. During these years the number of concerts steadily decreased from season to season. However, the Colorado Chautauqua relied heavily upon this amateur community group, particularly during times of financial difficulty.³⁹

The programming of the larger instrumental ensembles at both the Colorado and New York Assemblies was also influenced by Sousa. A typical variety concert opened with an operatic or concert overture (by Suppe, Rossini or Weber), included ballet and/or opera excerpts (Gounod, Verdi and Wagner), featured instrumental and vocal soloists, waltzes (often by Strauss), and other popular classical works (such as Brahms’s *Hungarian Dances*). Of course, marches by Sousa, F.W. Meacham, and others were popular. The following Rischar program from July 1900 illustrates a typical first half; the inclusion of an entire symphony (the program listed all four movements) in the second half, however, was very unusual.⁴⁰

Overture, “Rosamunde”	Schubert
“Dreams”	Wagner
Vocal Solo “Ave Maria”	Bach-Gounod
“The Dying Poet”	Gottscholk [<i>sic</i>]
Descriptive Fantasie	
Concerto for Violin	Mendelssohn
Andante	
Finale	
First Symphony	Beethoven ⁴¹

In comparison, New York Chautauqua did not hear a complete Beethoven Symphony (the Fifth) until 1909 when the New York Symphony presented it under the direction of Walter Damrosch.⁴² The conductor reportedly described the New York Chautauqua audience as “ . . . a fine audience to play for. . . . They took the Fifth Symphony like lambs.”⁴³ Damrosch

had been touring with the NYSO during the summer months; in fact he brought the orchestra to Denver in June 1908.⁴⁴

A typical “variety” program at New York featured the following pieces in July 1897. The ensemble was Rogers’ Orchestra, a group of fourteen musicians who functioned as a string orchestra when required.⁴⁵ The program closely resembles the first half of the Boulder sample, above.

<i>William Tell Overture</i>	Rossini
<i>Franz Schubert Overture</i>	Suppe
“The Light of the World”	Stephen Adams
“Silence”	Lessen
“Robbin and I”	Robert
“Spring Song”	Spricker
Prelude and Fugue for Organ	Bach
“The Maiden’s Wish”	Chopin-Liszt
Polonaise in E	Liszt
E Minor Concerto	Mendelssohn
<i>The Rose Maiden</i>	Cowan
“Lovely Night”	Chratal ⁴⁶

From 1903 through 1919 the group called the Chautauqua Orchestra filled a role at New York similar to that of the Boulder Band in Colorado—playing outdoor concerts, accompanying as needed—as a sort of utility band in residence. The New York group differed from Boulder’s only in that it was comprised of professional musicians who performed with various symphony orchestras during the winter concert season from 1911 on.

When Boulder conductors chose programs at odds with those popularized by Sousa and other favorite bandleaders, audiences balked. As a local reviewer explained in response to a 1903 concert, “Boulder people like jingle and ginger in their music—Rischar is catching on. They appreciate such classics as [Rossini’s] Wilhelm [*sic*] Tell [Overture], the polkas, &c., but have little appreciation of slow-moving dreamy things like the “Monastery Bells” [by Lefebure-Wely].”⁴⁷ For the 1906 season Rischar was given more players for his group, increasing it from sixteen to twenty. He took the opportunity to perform some “heavier” classical works, including symphonies by Schubert (the Unfinished) and Mozart (probably the G minor, No. 40, K. 550). The reaction was not positive. The following criticism of the program including the Schubert is typical of the season: “The concert could have been rendered more pleasing by a little livelier music.”⁴⁸ In one of the local papers, the *Daily Camera*, an anonymous reviewer—probably editor L.C. Paddock—wrote:

Rischar failed to rise to the occasion . . . the selections played were over the heads of the audience. . . . Where one appreciates and understands Grieg, Beethoven and Chopin, ninety-nine have no conception of them and little appreciation. . . . [W]e advise . . . that less of Greig [*sic*] and more of Sousa and Thomas and the rest is what is needed to stir the souls of Boulder and to fill the benches and coffers of the Chautauqua.⁴⁹

The offending Grieg composition was likely the “Peer Gynt Suite,” which was performed on 12 July 1906.⁵⁰ Rischar’s successor, Raffaello Cavallo, who later founded and conducted the Denver Symphony Orchestra, made the same mistake. A typical Cavallo program included Muler’s “Auld Lang Syne” Overture, Selections from *Martha* by Flotow, Handel’s celebrated “Largo,” and, again, the “Peer Gynt Suite.”⁵¹ Despite a call for his return at the end of the session, he only conducted for one season.⁵²

Orchestrally, the New York Chautauqua programming from 1909 on far surpassed Boulder, until 1977 when the Colorado Music Festival was founded. After the initial performance of the NYSO in 1909, there were orchestral performances every year with few exceptions through 1929 when the Chautauqua Symphony Orchestra was founded by Albert Stoessel.⁵³ These NYSO performances were supported by guarantors.⁵⁴ During his tenure as Music Director (1928–43), Stoessel promoted contemporary music, particularly contemporary American music, in his programming.

The New York Chautauqua was also able to bring in big-name “business bands” during their peak, while the Colorado Assembly was not. Boulder audiences were not deprived of hearing Sousa’s band in the Chautauqua Auditorium however. Galey recalls, “In 1904 he [Sousa] played by special arrangement at Texado Park in the Auditorium, but after the Chautauqua season was over.”⁵⁵ A similar arrangement brought Ferullo’s Band to the Auditorium under the sponsorship of the Friday Musical Club of Boulder in September 1910.⁵⁶ Sousa returned to Boulder for performances in Macky Auditorium, on the University of Colorado campus, in 1921, 1926, and 1927. Sousa and his band performed at the New York Chautauqua during several seasons between 1925 and 1931.⁵⁷ Creatore and his band also performed at New York in 1935. As for circuit audiences, they often heard performances by bands led by Bohumir Kryl, Arthur Pryor, and Creatore, but not Sousa.⁵⁸

Vocal and instrumental soloists were also enormously popular during the first thirty years with Colorado chautauquans. Instrumentalists included banjo and mandolin players in the early seasons and violinists and harpists in the later years. In the latter category, Alberto Salvi, half brother of the famed harp maker, performed five times in the late 1920s and early 1930s. According to reviews, he delighted the audiences as no other artist had with his programs, which included his own compositions and arrangements in addition to classical favorites by Liszt, Debussy, and others.⁵⁹ Another instrumental soloist, violinist Milan Lusk, appeared in 1926 and 1929. By far, however, singers outnumbered instrumentalists.

The most popular vocalists at Boulder were opera stars from the New York Metropolitan, Chicago and Boston companies; most were booked through the lyceum bureaus. Besides singing arias and art songs, favorite melodies composed by Stephen Foster and Edward MacDowell were included as well. In his book on circuit chautauquas, Tapia noted that few musical soloists of any kind were offered by the bureaus before 1913.⁶⁰ But of those offered after that time, opera singers were the most popular. Since

tent audiences had no patience with singing in foreign languages, it is interesting to note that several of the singers at the Colorado Chautauqua sang in French, Italian, and German, and were praised for doing so.⁶¹

After a 1915 recital in which Julia Claussen sang in Italian, French, and German, a local reviewer praised her “good judgment in singing to so large an audience [ca. 2,000] by placing a group of English songs at the end.”⁶² Tapia explained Claussen’s appearances on the circuits, noting that she “came to the United States directly after a group that she was touring with in Europe was halted by the Germans. After a series of successful Redpath Chautauqua engagements in 1916, she left the circuit and joined the New York Metropolitan Opera.”⁶³

Some other notable singers who performed at Colorado include Rosa Olitzka (1916), Theo Karl (1916), and Marie Rappold (1917). Frances Ingram performed each year from 1918 to 1921. Ernest Davis and Charles Norman Granville each performed several times in the 1920s. Riccardo Martin’s performance in 1924 was the most expensive booking in years according to the Chautauqua Board; although apparently he was worth the price.⁶⁴ Having sung with the Metropolitan Opera, Martin drew the largest audience of the season, about 1,500 people. The *Camera* review stated, “His great tenor voice easily filled the . . . auditorium [and] he was gracious in his response to encores and sang a number of favorite songs.”⁶⁵

Performances by Boulder’s own soprano Josephine Antoine in 1930 and 1931 were even more acclaimed. Antoine was born in Denver and her adoptive family moved to Boulder in 1914. She studied voice with Alexander Grant (another local Chautauqua performer) at the University of Colorado. Her first performance at the Colorado Chautauqua, accompanied by harpist Alberto Salvi, took place in 1928, the year before she graduated, and included songs by F. Flaxington Harker and Henry R. Bishop. She went on to study at the Curtis Institute (1930-31) and the Juilliard School (1931-34), and during these years she sang first at the Colorado and later the New York Chautauqua.

Antoine’s August 1930 performance included opera and oratorio arias as well as songs in English. One reviewer exalted that she “achieved a veritable triumph before an audience delighted and amazed by her splendid singing.”⁶⁶ Acknowledging the local prejudice in her favor, the reviewer maintained, “it is only fair to say that many went to pay tribute to a girl who had brought fame to Boulder rather than to hear her sing. They left the auditorium saying they had heard a great singer.”⁶⁷

Antoine first sang for the [N.Y.] Chautauqua Opera Company in 1932 and quickly became a favorite.⁶⁸ She signed with the Metropolitan Opera Company in 1935 and continued to sing at the New York Assembly during the summer months. L. Jeanette Wells describes the strong feelings she engendered there; her “rise to stardom at the Metropolitan had been watched with parental pride and admiration by all Chautauquans.”⁶⁹ No one was prouder than her fellow hometown citizens, however. Local soloists appeared more frequently in Boulder as the Great Depression deep-



Courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History,
Boulder Historical Society Collection

Boulder's own Josephine Antoine delighted audiences at both the Colorado and New York Chautauquas.

ened, but chautauquans and the Boulder community clearly wanted to hear this beloved local singer whenever they could. In 1940 chautauquans traveled in an auto caravan to hear her sing in the Central City Opera's production of Bedřich Smetana's *Bartered Bride*.⁷⁰

Both the Colorado and New York Assemblies drew soloists from their ranks of instructors in music and accompanists as well as their ensembles and conductors, an option the bureaus did not have. In a few cases, the same musicians taught and performed at both Chautauquas. Contralto Ella van Huff of Kansas City, for example, performed in New York in 1896 and in Colorado in 1898-99 and 1911-12. In New York, however, vocal soloists were primarily used within choral works and later opera; solo instrumental performances, primarily violin and organ, were relatively rare until the Institution installed a resident orchestra in 1920. Subsequently, New York chautauquans were offered performances by soloists such as flutist Georges Barrère and violinists Albert Stoessel and Mischa Mischakoff. Stoessel also relied heavily upon vocal soloists in his programming for the New York Symphony Orchestra.⁷¹

Choral groups ranging from trios and quartets to full choirs were often featured at the Colorado Assembly before 1930. Performances of sacred choral music were never as popular as at the New York Assembly; smaller

groups were more common. Jubilee or plantation singers were perhaps the most popular of all; these groups, which performed African-American or pseudo African-American music, appeared nearly every season.

Male quartets, especially those with bell ringers, were mainstays into the second decade of the century. In her memoirs, circuit performer Gay MacLaren quipped, "It is said that the male quartette originated on Chautauqua."⁷² These groups, the Chicago Glee Club (1904), Dunbar Male Quartette & Bell Ringers (1905-07, 1912, 1916), Parland-Newhall Company (1907, 1911), Illinois Male Quartette (1908, 1910, 1914), Orphean Musical Club (1908), and Weber Male Quartette (1909), were mostly booked from the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. Local talent was also hired, for example the Chautauqua Quartette (1900) from the University of Colorado and the Temple Male Quartet (1912) from Denver.

Versatility was important for the bureau groups. Since both instrumental and choral ensembles were popular, lyceum acts that combined the two were rewarded with more bookings. In addition to bells, many of the quartets included other "attractions." The Parland-Newall Company also performed as a brass quartet. The Illinois Quartette doubled as jubilee singers, presenting a minstrel show in blackface as the "Ebony Four" during the second half of their performance during the 1914 season!⁷³ The Orphean Musical Club not only sang and played brass instruments, but also included an impersonator and crayon artist. Groups that were primarily instrumental put down their instruments to become a choir. For exam-



Courtesy of the Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Libraries

The Illinois Male Quartette performed in blackface as jubilee singers as early as 1914, a trend that grew in the 1920s on the sawdust circuit.

ple the Anitas, a singing orchestra, and the White Hussars, a singing band, both appeared in Boulder during the second decade of the century.

Performances of this type of group, largely booked through lyceum bureaus, represent the bulk of the instrumental chamber music presented at the Colorado Chautauqua before 1930. In addition to those mentioned above, a number of other chamber groups are noteworthy. In 1900 and 1901 a local group, the Dawkins Violin Quartet, was described as “a prime favorite at Boulder.”⁷⁴ A typical performance without comedy or novelty included the “Wedding Music” from Mendelssohn’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Reinsdorff’s “Romance,” and Haydn’s “Presto.”⁷⁵

Sometimes strictly instrumental groups also tried to sell their performances in novel ways. For example, the Redpath group called the Schumann Quintet (1915) performed in Louis XIV-era costumes. The program encouraged audiences to give chamber music a try by proclaiming, “The Schumann Quintet is convincing the people that they really enjoy the very best in instrumental music when properly presented.”⁷⁶ The Boston Sextet, also booked through the Redpath Bureau, performed at Boulder the following year. The group consisted of a string quartet plus flute and double bass, all members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.⁷⁷ With the reputation of the BSO, this group did not need promotional gimmicks. The Sextet’s program included the following arrangements of popular pieces: Rossini’s *William Tell Overture*, selections from Gounod’s *Faust* and Wagner’s *Lohengrin*, Weber’s “Invitation to the Dance,” and several solos.⁷⁸ A brief, but positive reviewer stated that the “large audience . . . was delighted” and the Sextet’s “harmonies and interpretations are like dreams of musical grandeur.”⁷⁹

The Saslavsky Quartet, a piano trio plus vocalist, also made its first appearance at the Colorado Chautauqua in 1916 with a program reviewed as being, “of a very high quality—too high for most of the audience.”⁸⁰ Russian violinist Alexander Saslavsky, then concertmaster of the New York Symphony, founded the Quartet in 1907 and toured with it during the summer months, often coming to Colorado. The Quartet performed a benefit concert after the 1916 season, with half the proceeds dedicated to the Chautauqua building fund.⁸¹ Saslavsky returned to Boulder several times over the next few years, with the instrumentation of his group changing often.

The Zoellner String Quartet was booked at Colorado twice before it actually performed in 1921. The family group had to cancel performances scheduled for the 1917 and 1918 seasons, the latter necessitated by the onset of the War. In fact the Saslavsky Quartet was substituted in 1918 when the Zoellner group “was broken up by members entering the United States army.”⁸² Their long-awaited performance in 1921 “delighted chautauquans,” and the reviewer concurred that “[t]he high praise accorded this quartette of players of stringed instruments was fully justified.”⁸³ Other chamber groups included string trios and more unusual ensembles, such as Lucile Lawrence’s Harp Quintet, throughout the 1920s and into the early 1930s.

In comparison to Boulder, the New York Chautauqua's chamber music offerings were meager until 1928. In 1924 Albert Stoessel formed a string quartet program that resulted in a single concert.⁸⁴ Comprised of members of the New York Symphony, the performance included the Quartet in D by Mozart, folk song arrangements, "Four Novelettes" by Glazounov and a "Moment Musical" by Schubert. Wells noted, as did a reviewer of the concert, that chamber programming "had been noticeably absent from Chautauqua's summer offerings."⁸⁵ In 1926 violinist Mischa Mischakoff performed at the New York Assembly for the first time. Single performances by the Mischakoff String Quartet in 1926 and 1927 provided impetus for the formation of the Chautauqua Chamber Music Society, which became a regular part of the Institution's programming.⁸⁶

Performances of large choral works such as oratorios and cantatas were rare at Boulder. They remained quite popular at the more religious New York Assembly, however, where chautauquans never seemed to tire of hearing and singing works such as Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. In 1925, for example, under the direction of H. Augustine Smith, the "Hallelujah Chorus" from the *Messiah* was sung by a 1,000 voice choir on-stage and 8,000 audience participants; it was deemed the greatest choral event at Chautauqua.⁸⁷

At the Colorado Chautauqua the choral presentations were much more modest. Following the New York model, a three-day music festival, including Handel's *Messiah* and Rossini's *Stabat Mater* performed by the Chautauqua chorus, ended the first season. The chautauquans had rehearsed all season. The former was presented with the assistance of the Denver Choral Society and a mix of local and non-local soloists. During the following season, 1899, Gaul's oratorio *Holy City* was performed by a chorus of fifty local soloists and the resident orchestra and chorus. Although well-received, the effort required to prepare these performances must have been prohibitive. After these early seasons, oratorio performances all but ceased, and when they did occur were usually restricted to excerpts. The closing concert of 1903, for example, included a few movements from Handel's *Messiah*.

The choral groups performing at the Colorado Chautauqua were often local; the following were all from Boulder or Denver: Apollo Club (1898), Orpheus Club (1901), Boulder Friday Music Club Chorus (1909), Rocky Mountain Male Chorus (1916), Denver Choral Union (1926), and St. John's Choir (1928).

Other notable choral groups in Boulder which were booked through bureaus include children's choirs and ethnic groups. Roney's Boys performed in 1900 and 1905, as did the African Boy Choir in 1901 and 1905.⁸⁸ In the early 1930s two Russian choirs performed in Boulder, the Russian Cossack Chorus (1931-32), and "Princess" Slaviansky's Russian Chorus (1934). Slaviansky's group was struggling to find engagements. As Pettem explains:

Supposedly, the group arrived in Boulder after a “triumphant tour of more than fifty nations.” They hoped to fill their American performance schedule after they arrived, but once in Boulder no one else could afford to book them. They chorus ended up spending the summer at Chautauqua. They performed twice at the end of the season in exchange for partial cost of their lodging.⁸⁹

Jubilee singers also cross boundaries in another sense. These were groups of Black musicians, usually male quartets, who sang plantation songs, spirituals, anthems, operatic selections, and popular ballads. Slayton’s Jubilee Singers performed several times before 1920 (1906-07, 1909-10), while the Williams Jubilee Singers (a double mixed quartet) were the most in demand during the 1910s and 1920s (1911, 1913, 1915-17, 1922, 1926).

The world-famous Fisk Jubilee Singers performed both at the New York and Colorado Chautauquas, one of only a handful of ensembles to do so. This long-lived group was founded at Fisk University in 1871 and was widely imitated by other jubilee singers. The first of several performances in New York took place in 1880, and the ensemble performed twice in Boulder, in 1921 and 1939.

Jubilee singers were one of the few types of ensembles regularly brought in to the New York Assembly. In the 1911 *Handbook of Information*, the New York Chautauqua proudly stated that it had no need to hire outside musicians:

Music at Chautauqua is in charge of a Musical Director and is presented by a large volunteer chorus, an orchestra, and two groups of special soloists. These resources make it unnecessary for Chautauqua Institution to engage special traveling musical organizations as such.⁹⁰

Despite this statement, however, the Institution clearly needed to bring in Black performers. Hiring a resident Black group would have represented too radical a step politically, yet failing to include them—given their religious patina and proven drawing power—would have been equally foolish. Jubilee singers were popular through the 1920s at New York and through the 1930s and into the 1940s in Boulder, although most other chautauqua audiences lost interest in them during the 1920s.⁹¹

Foreign and folk performers were also an attraction. As Harrison recalled, “Redpath records show that by and large people never tired of foreign groups, though the songs themselves, preferably, were in English.”⁹² Performing in native costume and presenting the folk music of the “homeland,” these acts were viewed as educational. Tapia explains the way these presentations, including those by Black performers, were promoted:

The circuit chautauqua bureaus used three dominant images when commercially presenting ethnic entertainers. First, they were presented as entertaining in such a manner as was consistent with popular Anglo-American stereotypes about “primitive people.” Second, ethnic

performers were generally described as having been culturally enlightened through “Christian pursuits” or a “college education.” Third, the substance of their performances contained nothing that could be construed as offensive or controversial to the chautauqua audiences.⁹³

A look at the promotional materials for jubilee singers, particularly for groups that were not as well established, at the Colorado Chautauqua illustrates Tapia’s observations. In 1904 Ferguson’s Dixie Jubilee Concert Company was described as “[representing] the highest type of the college-bred, cultured negro vocalists.”⁹⁴ The notes continue by stating that the group has been accepted by “Christian and cultured people everywhere” due to their “musical excellence and moral rectitude.” When Buckner’s Famous Dixie Jubilee Concert Company performed in 1918, the *Chautauqua Bulletin* assured patrons that the group’s leader, W.C. Buckner “has never had to utter a word of apology for either the work or actions of his singers.”⁹⁵ Even as late as 1929 the Utica Jubilee Singers were described as musically primitive:

For natural harmony they are unsurpassed. They shun any attempt at being “arty,” retaining all the native freshness, the abandon, the deep feeling, so characteristic of these songs when sung in their native haunts. They preserve the striking rhythm, which more than anything else sets negro music apart.⁹⁶

The intrigue of tamed primitivism was used again as part of the appeal of the African Boy Choir, mentioned above. Originally organized by J.H. Balmer as the Kaffir Boy Choir, the group became a popular lyceum attraction after performing at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago.⁹⁷ It performed at the New York Assembly in 1894 as the South African Choir, and as early as 1901, the African Boy Choir was brought to Boulder. During that season only Sam P. Jones, the famous religious speaker, was booked at a higher fee.⁹⁸ The boys’ exoticism was tempered by singing most of their selections in English. The promotional material included the characteristically patronizing remark that audiences “have been most enthusiastic in expressing the pleasure and inspiration gained, and of interest aroused, through learning and seeing what can be achieved with the rough human material of the Dark Continent.”⁹⁹ A reporter for the *Denver Post* was not nearly so impressed:

If it were not for the names they bear the members of the Kaffir Boy choir might easily be taken for Missouri boys. The language they speak is very much on the order of “Hog Latin” with which every youth has been more or less familiar ¹⁰⁰

Other ethnic groups at the Colorado Chautauqua included the Tyrolean Alpine Singers (1910), Waikiki Hawaiian Singers & Players (1917), and the Colangelos Italian Musicians (1917).

Stimulated by a number of converging factors, programming related to Native Americans was also popular at the Colorado Chautauqua and on the circuits.¹⁰¹ Indian programs for children developed by Ernest Seton, the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls all became popular during the first decade of the century.¹⁰² These programs, like chautauqua itself, idealized a simpler lifestyle in concert with nature and a transcendental universal spirituality. Moreover, these programs were designed for the same socio-economic groups that patronized chautauquas, primarily middle-class whites seeking to identify with a romantic Rousseauian purity. In fact, Victoria and Robert Case have noted that the circuits borrowed from Seton's program:

... along the circuit the Junior Chautauqua Girls carried the trappings and supervised the ceremonials and work classes. Along the line the tiny warriors whooped and grunted; their sisters in costume applauded the braves; their mothers indulgently donned the squaw costumes and sat, hiding their discomfort, around the council fires.¹⁰³

The "Indianist" movement in American composition also grew as composers such as Charles Wakefield Cadman, Arthur Farwell, Henry Gilbert, and Arthur Nevin used Native American musical elements in their compositions. "Indian" acts, described variously as ethnic and folk, were marketed primarily as "civilized savages."

In 1911 the Hiawatha Indians were touted as the "Greatest Event of the Chautauqua Season."¹⁰⁴ The group's performance included white actors presenting Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha." In 1914 the white husband and wife duo Albert and Martha Gale presented their "Songs and Stories of the Red Man" with Martha in costume. A series of non-musical lectures in 1916 by William McGinnies was devoted to the Navajo Indians. In 1919 a troupe of Boy Scouts presented a concert of "Indian Songs and Dances."¹⁰⁵ A lecture by Harold Loring, assisted by two "native Indians" was given in 1926. Finally, another white husband and wife duo, Thurlow and Edna Lieurance, presented a musical program in 1929. Lieurance composed the popular song "By the Waters of Minnetonka." He lectured while his wife sang in costume. Tapia comments that watching white performers playing Indian, was "safe" for Anglo chautauquans, and he notes that performances by genuine Native Americans were rare before World War I.¹⁰⁶

One of the few Native Americans to perform at the Colorado Chautauqua after the War was the Creek mezzo-soprano "Princess" Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone, who sang at Boulder in 1924 and 1930. The promotion of her program added a new twist. Not only was she deemed "civilized," with a "title" and testimonials by Nellie Melba and Ernestine Schumann-Heink to prove it, she was also a national treasure. "America's Own Prima Donna" had inspired an American opera.¹⁰⁷ Tsianina was the subject of Charles Cadman's successful opera *Shanewis*, which was premiered at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1918 and given a rare second production the following year.¹⁰⁸ Tsianina had ties to Colorado; she studied voice in Den-

ver, met Cadman there, and sang the role she inspired in the Denver premiere of *Shanewis* on 5 December, 1924. She had toured with Cadman for several years in a very popular lyceum program before performing alone.

While some of these ethnic/native performers were authentic, like Tsi-anina, others clearly were not. In describing the popularity of the White Hussar singing band mentioned above, Harrison wrote that their manager, Ralph Dunbar, “found it necessary to send out several ‘original’ Hussar troupes into different parts of the country.” He goes on to clarify that the young men were not really Russian, but “Midwest college boys earning their next year’s tuition and keep.”¹⁰⁹ MacLaren mentioned the



Courtesy of the Colorado Chautauqua Association (Tsianina) Photo by John Running, Courtesy of Canyon Records Productions (Nakai)

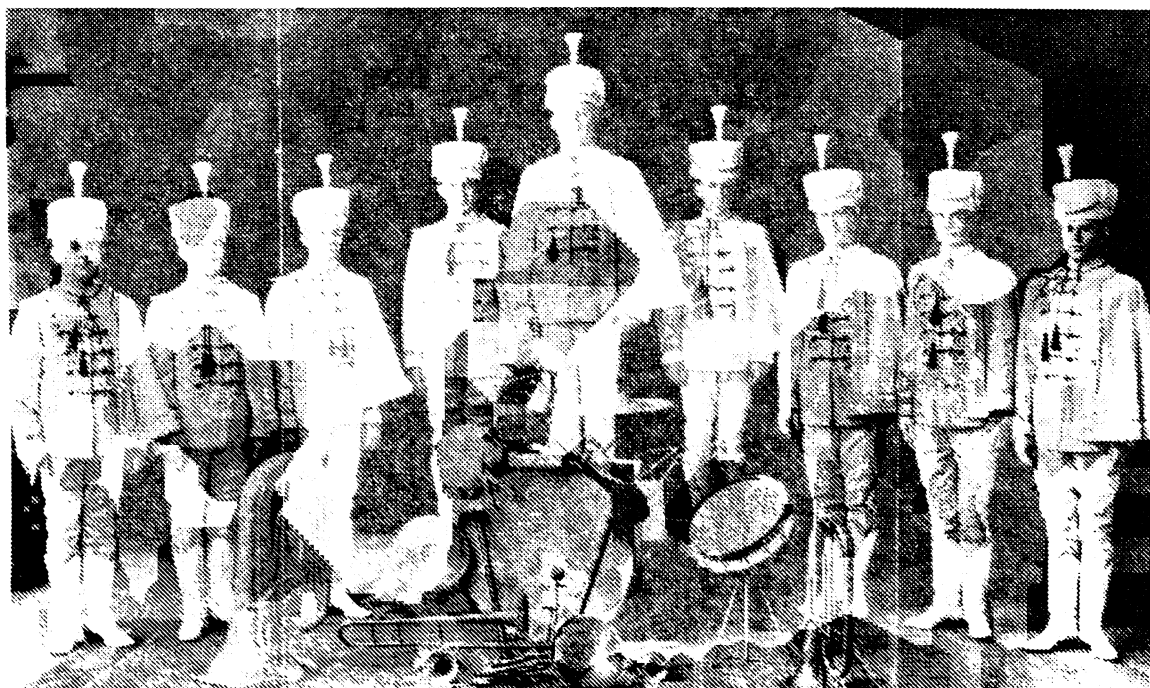
Native American performers at the Colorado Chautauqua have included Tsianina Redfeather Blackstone who performed in 1924 and 1930 and current favorite R. Carlos Nakai.

Hussars in her memoirs as well. She pointed out that they had originally been a vaudeville act, and that although Dunbar “always had an extra supply of White Hussars and could send them out at a minute’s notice in companies from eight to twenty-five,” he also personally made sure each group was well-prepared for its performances.¹¹⁰ Clearly Dunbar’s primary goal was providing a good show. By the time the Hussars performed in Colorado (1916 and 1924), they were promoted simply as a “singing band.”¹¹¹ As desperate bureau managers began to struggle with financial difficulties, the situation deteriorated still further. The trend of bureaus presenting whites in blackface as jubilee singers grew.¹¹² Tapia explains one of the worst abuses:

By the mid-1920s, chautauqua programs had even gone so far as to include cross-over ethnic musical acts. South Sea native and black jubilee images were merged into one in the performance of the Filipino Jackies. According to 1923 and 1924 Redpath promotion, the group was a “combination musical company of south seas islanders and black jubilees.”¹¹³

The Colorado Chautauqua Association never booked this type of cross-over act, and the Illinois Male Quartet mentioned above is the only performance by whites in blackface (1914) at Boulder that the authors are aware of in the history of the Institution.

The final musical element popular before 1930 at Colorado was dramatic music. Offerings on the chautauqua stage ranged from opera scenes in costume to condensed versions of operettas and musical comedies to



Courtesy of the Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Libraries

Close inspection suggests that these “White Hussars” more nearly resemble Midwestern farm or college boys than Central European cavalrymen.

fully staged opera productions. Here, as with instrumental chamber music, the Colorado Chautauqua took the lead in introducing staged drama well before New York.

In the first few seasons at Boulder the performances were mounted by amateurs, the culmination of a summer of rehearsals. In 1901, for example, Robert Planquette's three-act comic opera *Chimes of Normandy* was produced by local talent. A reviewer described the turnout as "without doubt, the largest evening audience of the session."¹¹⁴

Later, groups performing scenes in costume, abbreviated versions of musicals, or medleys of famous ensembles and scenes were booked through bureaus. Such companies as the Kellogg-Haines Singing Party (1907), Chicago Operatic Company (1910-11, 1917), and English Opera Company (1913) were well received. The following Kellogg-Haines program description is typical: "Each evening the Company will introduce costumed scenes from the various English and comic operas. *Il Trovatore*, *Faust*, *Dainty Dolly Varden*, *Pinafore*, and the *Mikado* will be used."¹¹⁵

Tapia notes "three major operettas frequently produced on the chautauqua circuit during the early 1920s were the *Mikado*, the *Mascot*, and especially *Robin Hood*."¹¹⁶ Because the plots of each of these musicals had been used in films, Tapia asserts that "[b]y featuring one [or] more of these three particular operettas on their programs, the circuit bureaus were subtly attempting to compete with the growing interest in film."¹¹⁷ Two of the three were presented at the Colorado Chautauqua.

In 1922 Redpath's Brandon Light Opera Company performed complete versions of *Mikado*, *Chimes of Normandy*, and Balfe's perennial *Bohemian Girl*. According to one local reviewer, the Company "made the big auditorium reverberate with music" and received "the applause of the large audience who unstintingly expressed their hearty approval of each succeeding number."¹¹⁸ In 1924 May Valentine's Original Opera Company, booked through the Ellison-White Bureau, presented Smith and DeKoven's *Robin Hood* to a "satisfied audience of two thousand."¹¹⁹ The following year a local production of Cowen's *Rose Maiden* given by soloists and a chorus was described as a "decided success."¹²⁰ In 1930 the Redpath-Horner Light Opera Mirror Company presented an abbreviated version of *Bohemian Girl*.

In contrast, at the New York Assembly very little dramatic music was staged before the late 1920s. Rather concert performances of sacred and secular cantatas and even Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas were presented.¹²¹ A rare early concert performance of Verdi's *Aida* and a concert adaptation of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godounov* were given as part of "Music Week" in 1915.¹²² The first staged drama was a presentation of a sacred oratorio, Mendelssohn's very popular *Elijah* in 1921.¹²³ Staged opera was not presented at the New York Assembly until 1926, when the Rochester Opera Company was engaged to present six audience-pleasing operas in English: Flotow's *Martha*, Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci*, and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pi-*

rates of Penzance and *H.M.S. Pinafore*.¹²⁴ Not surprisingly, the performances were declared a triumph. H. Augustine Smith, Music Director from 1921 to 1927, was responsible for bringing both the 1921 staged oratorio and 1926 opera performances to chautauquans. In 1929, Music Director Albert Stoessel organized the New York Assembly's Opera Company, one of the oldest in the country.¹²⁵

During the economically difficult years of the Great Depression all programming, including music, was greatly curtailed at the Colorado Chautauqua. However, each of the categories represented up to that time continued in a limited way. Instrumental groups included primarily trios and quintets. Mostly local musicians provided the few solo performances. More choral groups were booked than any other type, including jubilee singers, quartets and a few larger choirs. Ethnic performers, mentioned above, included the Russian Cossack Chorus and Margarita Slaviansky's Russian Chorus. In 1933 the Philharmonic Choir from Willamette University in Oregon performed en route both to and from the World's Fair at Chicago. Dramatic music was limited to quartets and quintets of opera stars and sponsored auto caravans from Chautauqua to the Central City Opera House.

The Great Depression took a toll on the finances of the Colorado and New York Assemblies as well as the bureaus. Generally speaking, however, the Colorado Chautauqua fared better than either the circuits or the New York Assembly. The last circuit chautauqua company ceased operations in 1932.¹²⁶ Mary Galey notes that "The effects of the depression probably came closer to actually closing New York's Chautauqua than it did Boulder's."¹²⁷ As Galey explains, "Through its darkest years, 1930 through 1934, the Colorado Chautauqua hung on with the best efforts of the Association directors, the manager, and Boulder's local bankers and merchants."¹²⁸ While the Colorado Assembly amassed debts which were not paid off until the early 1940s, they were tiny in comparison to those of the original Assembly. The New York Chautauqua went into receivership in 1933 with a debt of nearly \$800,000.¹²⁹ The Institution was fiscally sound again in 1936, and, in the meantime kept the music going pretty much at the same level. Wells rightly praises the Assembly: "It is a credit to Chautauqua Institution that its officers and leaders were able to pursue the ideals and objectives on which Chautauqua was founded, and to sustain with undiminished effort the quantity and quality of the Music Festival offerings."¹³⁰ Of course, if the receivers had not been sympathetic, the Chautauqua might not have survived at all. Financial assistance from donors was also forthcoming to assist with the debt, and in 1938 and 1939 several famous vocal soloists were funded by donors.¹³¹ Changes in the programming are also evident. Seasons were lengthened, performances by the "Little Symphony" under Barrère replaced many by the full Orchestra, the full Orchestra gave "popular" programs, programming of American music was curtailed, Gilbert and Sullivan was performed by the Opera Company, popular groups guaranteed to draw an audience such as Cre-

atore's Band performed, and Denver's own Paul Whiteman and his All-American Band brought jazz to New York's Chautauqua.¹³²

In the early 1940s the entertainment at the Colorado Chautauqua continued to be supplemented by auto caravans to Central City to attend the annual Play Festival. These caravans ended after 1941 as a result of America's involvement in World War II and the gasoline rationing that ensued. Movies now made up the main entertainment in the Auditorium supplemented when possible with live programming, about half of which consisted of musical acts. A typical yearly program in the 1940s included travelogues and professional readings as well as operatic groups, gospel singers, instrumentalists, and folk dancers. After the war the live programming expanded to a maximum of eleven acts in 1947, and then was drastically reduced to one live performance in 1949.

In 1947 the fiftieth anniversary program was more elaborate than any other during the decade, but was still much smaller than the summer schedules of the earlier years. Five of the eleven live events had musical content. The Deep River Singers, a national group of Black entertainers from the original cast of *Swing Mikado* (a jazz version of the Gilbert and Sullivan classic) gave two performances; the Chapel Choir of the Capital University Conservatory of Music in Ohio presented a program of religious, classical, and semi-popular choral songs; the Gospelairens, another African-American group, sang spirituals and gospel songs; and the Men of the West, a male quartet from the Denver radio station KOA, sang cowboy songs. Although these were lean years for New York, too, the Chautauqua Symphony there presented twenty-four concerts, including once-a-week pop concerts during the 1947 season.¹³³

In 1941 the Colorado Chautauqua Association renewed its contract to operate its Assembly with the city of Boulder. Both the city and the Association agreed that the presence of the Colorado Chautauqua was desirable, although most of the chautauqua institutions in the country had disappeared by this time. The new contract, for twenty years with an option to extend the period for an additional twenty, amounted to a continuation of the original agreement with only minor changes. The Chautauqua organization stated its intention "to make all repairs and improvements and advances on an enduring basis with an objective of keeping its accommodations modern. . . ."¹³⁴ The Auditorium was painted in 1947 for the fiftieth anniversary, and other renovations were made to the buildings during the 1940s. Some of the Association's rental cottages were winterized to provide off-season housing for University of Colorado students, for instance, but it became more difficult to keep the public buildings in a state of complete repair. Reduced programming did not seem to warrant improving the facilities.

In the 1950s live programming in the Auditorium continued to decline to an average of two per season. In 1957, the celebration of the sixtieth year of the Chautauqua, only one live program took place. Although some type of "picture" performance was presented at the Colorado Chautauqua

from the earliest times,¹³⁵ motion pictures were the main event in the Auditorium from the 1930s through the early 1970s. The movies shown were carefully selected for their content and late vintage so as not to compete with the more recent releases at the theaters in the city of Boulder. The showing of movie musicals, as a popular part of the cinematic fare, offered a slim but continuing musical presence.

The establishment of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barbershop Quartet Singing in America (SPEBSQSA) in 1938 helped to bring about a revival of the four-part harmony style of singing that was first associated with Black southern quartets of the 1870s.¹³⁶ As this self-consciously nostalgic style caught on, many new barbershop quartets were formed throughout the country, singing a repertory of tunes from the time of the chautauqua movement's early days (1890-1920), such as "Sweet Adeline" and "Down by the Old Mill Stream." The Boulder Chapter of the SPEBSQSA gave its first concert at Chautauqua in 1950, beginning a tradition that provided live musical entertainment during years when there was no other. From 1952 through 1977 the annual Barbershop Concert was the only live musical program, and many times the only live program of any kind, held in the Auditorium. This concert continues as part of the musical programming at the Colorado Chautauqua today.¹³⁷

As musical programming ebbed at the Auditorium, it began to appear more often in the smaller neighborhood building known as the Community House, a structure that comfortably accommodated about 100 people (in comparison to 1,200 seats of the Auditorium). Performances, for which no admission was charged, originally took place in the afternoons but over the years migrated to the evening schedule. Talent came from the Boulder community or the guest population in residence at Chautauqua. Paul Parmalee, a professor of piano at the University of Colorado, and his wife, Phyllis, also an accomplished pianist, gave duo recitals. David Hornsby, a perennial summer Chautauqua resident from Texas, gave solo piano performances as well. Boulder and Colorado groups such as the University of Colorado School of Music, the Boulder Opera Workshop, the Society of Colorado Composers, and the Boulder Women's Club Chorus provided other programs. By 1954 there were more musical programs held in the Community House than in the Auditorium, and this trend continued through the early 1970s.¹³⁸

Musical downsizing persisted into the 1960s with the annual barbershop concert now being the only live entertainment in the Auditorium, which for all practical purposes had become a movie theater. Even travelogues, which had shared live programming honors in the Auditorium with the barbershop music during these lean years, were now presented in the smaller venue of the Community House. The Boulder chapter of Sweet Adelines, a women's barbershop group, began making appearances in the Community House in this decade, joining the University of Colorado School of Music and other local music organizations in providing live concerts. The chautauquans themselves also created and performed amateur en-

tertainments in the Community House as they had done since the early days.¹³⁹

During and immediately after World War II Boulder's population increased significantly, from approximately 13,000 in 1940 to 20,000 as reported in the 1950 census.¹⁴⁰ The following decades also saw changes in the makeup of the population of the city of Boulder and Boulder County as the National Center for Atmospheric Research, the National Institute of Standards, and International Business Machines all opened regional centers in the area. Mining and farming occupations decreased as new scientific and technological industries brought many highly skilled, white-collar employees to the area. The University of Colorado at Boulder and its patrons grew rapidly as well. With the entry and growth of these new enterprises on the local scene, the population of the city increased by approximately 29,000 (from 38,000 in 1960 to 67,000 in 1970).¹⁴¹ Boulder, along with many other boom towns of postwar America, was becoming a suburban satellite of a greater metropolitan area rather than an isolated rural community in need of traveling lecturers and performers such as the original chautauquas provided.

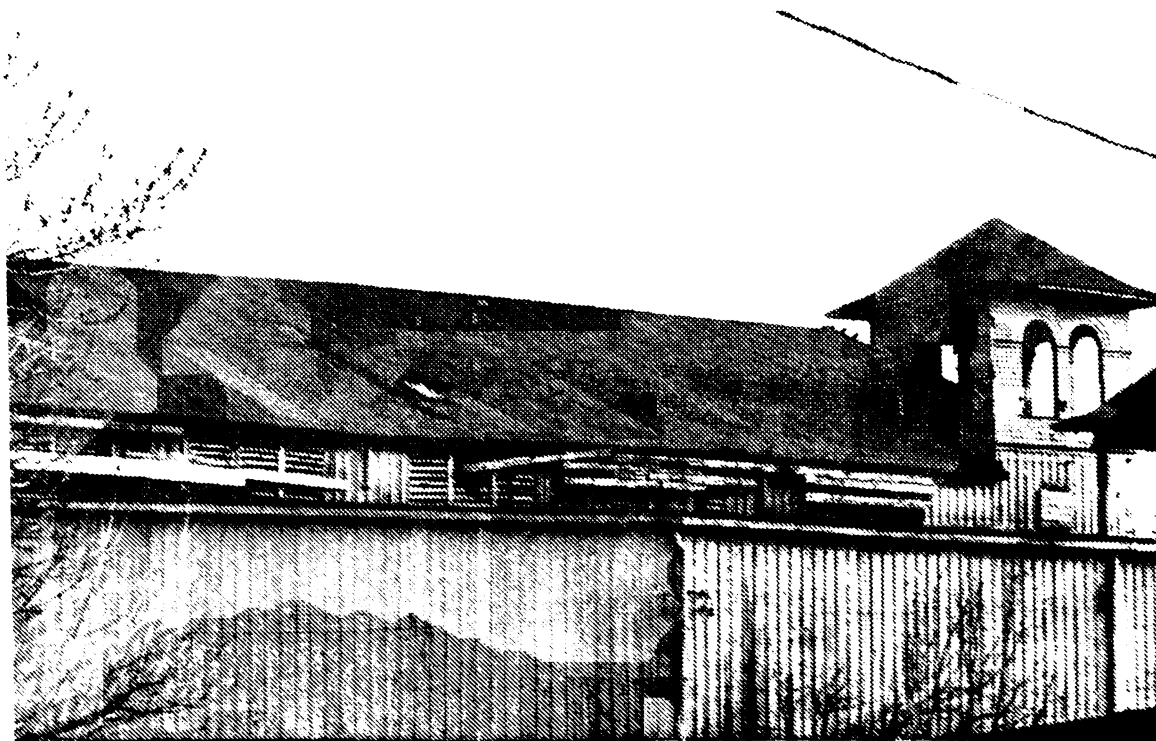
At the New York Chautauqua, the 1950s and 1960s were a period of complacency and conservatism according to chronicler Jeffrey Simpson.¹⁴² The residents resisted change in any part of the Chautauqua experience, including the extensive but old-fashioned programming. "Nothing ever changes," people said at the beginning of another season, ". . . and that's the way we like it."¹⁴³ The addition of jazz to the music schedule, along with some modest changes in other areas, was accomplished but failed to please many summer residents. The New York organization's revenues were steadily decreasing, but that did not noticeably affect the extensive programming.¹⁴⁴ The music included symphony concerts and opera performances by the Chautauqua Symphony and Opera organizations as well as visits by such popular performers as the Kingston Trio and Marian Anderson.

Although a symphony orchestra had not performed at Boulder's Chautauqua since the early years, and only an occasional opera program took place in the Community House during the 1950s and 1960s, its summer audiences remained loyal. Fortunately the Institution had been free of debt since the mid-1940s, and modest programming helped to maintain this status.¹⁴⁵

Remaining barely in the black did nothing to repair decaying facilities, however, and in 1961 the Boulder City Manager called the Auditorium "a fire hazard."¹⁴⁶ In the 1970s city officials began talking about "tearing down a lot of old buildings," including the buildings at Chautauqua.¹⁴⁷ The facilities continued to be used, however, with occasional glimpses of past glory. In 1972, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Colorado Chautauqua, the State Arts Council presented an evening of music, opera and puppetry in a "revival of the Chautauqua ideal."¹⁴⁸ Performers included a brass quintet from the University of Colorado, singers in an opera workshop from the University of Denver, and members of the Norwood Puppet Theater. An

“old days” program was held on the grounds later that summer in which the University of Colorado Summer Band played Sousa marches, and the audience sang old-time songs like “She’ll Be Coming Round the Mountain” and the “Chautauqua Rally Song.”¹⁴⁹ For three decades the Colorado Chautauqua had been a shadow of its former musical self. Then events began to unfold which led to a renaissance of both the institution and the music programming.

In 1972 the old Central School at Fifteenth and Walnut Streets in Boulder was demolished.¹⁵⁰ Public outrage over the destruction of this historic building led to a campaign to save others, such as the Chautauqua Auditorium. Steps to preserve the old building were in process when in 1974, the new Parks and Recreation manager for the city of Boulder proposed the removal of the Chautauqua buildings to make way for a new city-owned, year-round resort. Just in time, Laurence T. Paddock, the editor of the *Boulder Daily Camera* and Boulder Historical Society president, completed the necessary procedures for placement of the Auditorium on the National Register of Historic Buildings, forestalling any attempt to raze it.¹⁵¹ Public discussion about the future of the Chautauqua in Boulder came to a head in early 1977. Fifteen editorials in the span of one month (March 1977) appeared in Boulder and Denver newspapers.¹⁵² A consensus was building in favor of keeping and improving the Chautauqua along with a rethinking of the Institution’s governance. In 1977 a new Board of Directors was elected for the Chautauqua Association, a conscious effort to



Courtesy of the Colorado Chautauqua Association

The Colorado Chautauqua Auditorium was in a state of disrepair in the early 1970s.

inject new blood and programming activism. All the members of the former Board resigned, and the new members enthusiastically went about restoring Chautauqua rather than eliminating it. These events paved the way for various grants and programs that finally brought about its physical restoration.

The Colorado Chautauqua revival was further spurred with the 1975 arrival of Giora Bernstein in Boulder to become the Director of Orchestras at the University of Colorado. Bernstein had founded the Claremont Music Festival in California when he was in that city, and in 1976 he established a similar festival in Boulder. The Colorado Music Festival (CMF) gave its first performances in 1977 in the First Presbyterian Church to enthusiastic audiences. The five concerts played by this original group of forty-three musicians completely sold out the 900-seat facility.¹⁵³ Looking for a larger venue for his fledgling orchestra, Bernstein discovered the Chautauqua Auditorium soon after and sought permission to perform there the following season.¹⁵⁴ The Colorado Music Festival has been held at the Colorado Chautauqua ever since, and thus follows the example set by the New York Chautauqua when president Arthur Bestor brought the New York Symphony there in 1909. Jeffrey Simpson argues that Bestor's actions circa 1910-15 "allowed the Institution to survive and made it the model for the summer arts festivals that would develop across the country over the next fifty years."¹⁵⁵ A similar statement could also describe Giora Bernstein's contribution to the restoration of the Colorado Chautauqua and its programming.

While maintaining separate identities, budgets, and personnel, the Colorado Music Festival and the Colorado Chautauqua Association have displayed a high degree of cooperation that has aided both organizations for over twenty years. The CMF holds its concerts at the Chautauqua Auditorium, and the contract between the two organizations is such that the Association allows no other classical music programming during the time the Colorado Music Festival is in residence. According to Assistant Program Director Ray Tuomey, the Association also charges the CMF a lower rental fee than that charged other groups for the use of the Auditorium.¹⁵⁶

The *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* of June 1916 declared, "We call it the Colorado Chautauqua but it might well be called the Colorado Musical Festival."¹⁵⁷ Sixty-two years later this optimistic statement was fulfilled beyond the author's dreams when the Colorado Music Festival performed for the first time in the Chautauqua Auditorium. The 1978 season ran from June 23 to July 16 with five performances by the Colorado Festival Orchestra (a resident, auditioned, full-sized symphony) and four performances by the Colorado Festival Chamber Orchestra (a smaller subgroup of the main orchestra). These professional musicians, selected by the director from all over the world, played classical standards by Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, and Strauss as well as a selection by Cecil Effinger, a Colorado composer and professor at the University of Colorado. Large audiences turned out for the second season of the CMF, the first on the Chau-



Giora Bernstein, founder of the Colorado Music Festival, and conductor of the CMF from 1977 to 2000.

Courtesy of the Colorado Music Festival

tauqua grounds. The “Chautauqua Auditorium was absolutely packed”¹⁵⁸ for the second concert, and the final performance had “standing room only.”¹⁵⁹ “It was a glorious end to a glorious season,” wrote David Pocock, music critic for the Boulder *Daily Camera*, after the final 1978 performance of the CMF. The evening ended with a performance of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony that the critic stated “was easily the match of a Tanglewood, Aspen, or Blossom production.”¹⁶⁰

This restoration of the physical Chautauqua and the programming in Boulder paralleled a similar occurrence in upstate New York. Almost broke in 1970, the New York Institution rallied for its centennial in 1974. Grants were sought and received to pay off the debt, and a more extensive program was offered to mark the occasion. In addition to the usual scheduling that included the symphony, theater, lectures, summer-school classes, and recreation, the world premiere of the opera *Philip Marshall* by Seymour Barah was performed and a ball was held with Peter Duchin leading the orchestra. The grounds in New York were added to the National Historic Register in 1973, and, in 1979, repairs were undertaken on the public buildings that were nearing collapse. Money had been borrowed to replace the roof of the Amphitheater in 1974 when it could not pass the insurance inspec-

tion. The New York Chautauqua applied for and received grants to restore and renovate its buildings and also began to build townhouses and condominiums on previously undeveloped parts of the property. This more affordable housing in turn attracted new groups of guests but also forced changes in the adjacent town of Chautauqua, which had been more or less undisturbed during the previous 125 years. An architectural review board was established and preservation guidelines were written to avoid the loss of the historical essence of the grounds and buildings. Younger and more forward-thinking leadership gradually assumed control of the Board at the New York Chautauqua. This change affected the decisions that were made to allow more building, to preserve and improve the old buildings and to bring innovations to the programming. Thus, in the 1970s, the original structures were rescued and the governing leadership changed in both mother and daughter institutions, paving the way for the maintenance of the two Chautauquas now reinvigorated with fresh ideas.

In the 1980s the Colorado Music Festival grew rapidly.¹⁶¹ Fueled by the energy and ideas of its conductor/founder, Giora Bernstein, the festival was able to attract promising new soloists as guests as well as seasoned musicians for the orchestra itself. Richard Stoltzman, clarinetist, Claudine Carlson, mezzo-soprano, and Yo-Yo Ma, cellist, all appeared in the early years of the festival when they were on the brink of fame.¹⁶² Many of the musicians in the festival orchestra were (and continue to be) principal players in major orchestras of the world during the regular season. For many years the festival had a theme, such as the music of Vienna, or Paris, or of a particular decade. These themes were multifaceted as Bernstein strove to teach his audiences about music within the setting and time in which it was composed.¹⁶³ Visiting composers performed their own works, as Toru Takemitsu did when he presented the premier of his *Rain Spell* in 1982. New works were balanced by the classics, and Bernstein consistently programmed works that had not been previously performed in the region.¹⁶⁴ The late twentieth-century audiences in Boulder differed from the early chautauquans in their acceptance of modern works amidst the standards. "Boulder is a unique community," Bernstein noted in an article in the *Daily Camera* in 1982. "It's a university town with many research institutions, and we have a special audience that responds to this kind of programming. People can relate to all art on different levels, and even if people don't recognize the relationship between the pieces, they can still enjoy them."¹⁶⁵

Popular music programming at the Colorado Chautauqua also grew steadily during this decade as "the most American thing in America" became a venue for American music. At first bluegrass and folk music predominated. Performers such as well-known bluegrass banjo players and composers Bill Monroe and John Hartford often appeared on the program in the 1980s. A local bluegrass group, Hot Rize, performed every year from 1981 through 1989 and gained national prominence during that time. Folk music star Norman Blake appeared in 1980, 1983, and 1986 while Steve

Goodman sang alone or with “his friends” in 1981, 1982, and 1983. The Mother Folkers, a local women’s group, gave their first Chautauqua performance in 1989.

Other musical genres were represented on the popular side but in smaller numbers. Jazz soloists and groups, such as Oregon, the Dave Brubeck Quartet, pianist Mose Allison, and the Ramsey Lewis Trio all came to Boulder in the 1980s. Peter Kater, a local pianist of national reputation, gave a solo concert each year from 1983 through 1989. University professor Oswald Lehnert played the violin in 1989, and Richard Thompson gave a classical guitar concert in 1988. Blues musicians John Lee Hooker and Corky Siegel brought their music to Chautauqua in the 1980s as did New Age keyboardists George Winston and Liz Story. Vocal groups and soloists also made their way back onto the Chautauqua program. Bobby McFerrin, a nationally known vocalist, performed in 1986 and 1987. The Bobs, an a cappella quartet, sang in 1986, 1987, and 1988. The Lettermen, a male trio with a national reputation dating from the 1960s, sang popular standards as part of a come-back tour in 1987, and Donovan Leitch, former flower child and vocalist, appeared that year as well. One band of the Sousa type, the First Marine Band, performed in 1983.¹⁶⁶ The modish and experimental Kronos Quartet joined the program with local groups such as New Age pianist/composer Bill Douglas and the Boulder Bassoon Band. Multi-talented figures such as singer/songwriters Randy Newman and Karla Bonoff made the first of multiple appearances in the 1980s. Gospel singing, the direct descendent of spiritual and jubilee singing of a century earlier, returned to the program in 1983 when both the Sounds of Pentecost and the Zion Crusaders sang. These choirs formed part of the Gospel Extravaganza founded by Ginger Perry of Perry Productions in Boulder in that year.¹⁶⁷ This local organization brings together the best regional and gospel groups each year, and has been part of the Chautauqua program since its inception.

Clearly both quality and variety had returned to Chautauqua music by the 1980s. The number of live performances on the Chautauqua Auditorium stage increased dramatically during the decade. The year 1980 saw seven live acts (excluding the Colorado Music Festival), four with music. By 1989, twenty-two live programs appeared, fifteen of which were mainly or exclusively music. The concerts of the CMF added an additional twenty-nine musical programs to this total.

In the late 1980s donations saved the Colorado Music Festival from the debt resulting from some lean seasons. By the mid-1990s grant money and an endowment created to provide stable funding had returned the organization to financial soundness. Bernstein’s impeccable programming had from the first kept audiences happy with all-Mozart and all-Beethoven evenings for the traditionalists balanced with works by contemporary composers such as Joan Tower, Bernard Rands, and Krzysztof Penderecki. Newer works provided variety and challenge to his musicians and hopefully stimulated listeners. In 1978, David Pocock wrote in the Boulder *Daily Camera*:

The only discord of the evening was the chilly reception given Bernstein and the CFO [Colorado Festival Orchestra] for a masterful rendition of *Fourth of July* by Charles Ives. How can a work written 35 years ago be shocking? Perhaps Boulder audiences need far more of an introduction to truly contemporary music to be able to put Ives' work in perspective.¹⁶⁸

Boulderites, like most contemporary audiences, had and continue to have a limited tolerance for newer classical works. Despite Bernstein's brave words, concern over alienating the audience remains to the present day.

Bernstein said in 1996 upon winning the American Society for Composers and Performers (ASCAP) Award for Adventuresome Programming of Contemporary Music,¹⁶⁹ "It's right in line with our mission: to introduce new music and music of a wider scope to the community."¹⁷⁰ In 1996 the twentieth anniversary program of the CMF included an all-Stravinsky evening with performances of *Firebird*, *Petrushka*, and *Rite of Spring* plus a performance of his *Variations on a Theme* two weeks later. "Written within a period of six years, these works changed the course of music," Bernstein said. "You won't find these four on a single program anywhere in the world today."¹⁷¹ Later, referring to the programming over the course of twenty years, Bernstein said, "So much has changed in American music since our first season. And in spite of the ups and downs, we maintained our high standard of performance and kept programming innovative. We've never played down to our audience and we've never jumped on trends."¹⁷² Slightly less idealistic was Bernstein's 1999 comment, however. "You don't have to be a brain surgeon to find that Beethoven draws more than Schoenberg. The majority of the audience goes for the traditional works. But there are those who come for contemporary works, and so we provide them."¹⁷³ A few months later he admitted, "In the last two years [1998 and 1999], we have been more timid about [programming]. There are less interdisciplinary projects, largely out of financial considerations."¹⁷⁴

In the 1990s musical performances made up the majority of the live programming at the Colorado Chautauqua Auditorium. Approximately twenty musical programs per season supplemented the CMF concerts during its seven-week season. Bluegrass and instrumental folk music still remained prominent but vocal music of some type was included in the majority of popular acts. The growing national enthusiasm for country music was reflected in the overall schedule, as was ethnic music.

Country stars such as Lyle Lovett, Emmy Lou Harris, and Rosanne Cash came to Chautauqua in the 1990s. Many of the same bluegrass and folk performers who had appeared at the Chautauqua in the 1980s were booked in the 1990s, joined by newcomers who blended a variety of folk and popular sounds, such as Alison Kraus, Union Station, and the David Grisman Quintet. Ethnic music, which had been popular in the earlier days of Chautauqua programming, finally returned in the 1990s. The Armenian Little Singers performed and the Rainbow Warrior World Music Festival took place at Chautauqua in 1992; an Irish group, Altan, sang in 1998; and the

Tamburitsans of Duquesne University, from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, performed Eastern European songs and dances in 1999.

The Community House, where musical programming continued on a smaller scale after 1950, now has a stronger musical presence as well. The building was winterized in 1995 to enable year-round use. Musical programs for children, cultural presentations that include music and local performing groups have all added music to the traditional offering of community discussion/speaker presentations held in the smaller building. Some of the University of Colorado College of Music student recitals are now held in the Community House, too.

Motion pictures, including movie musicals, continued to be a part of the regular programming until 1995 when they were discontinued. Silent films with live musical accompaniment were added in 1981 and grew into an annual Silent Film Festival in 1985 that continues to the present. In the late 1990s the Boulder Arts Academy produced *Guys and Dolls*, *The Music Man*, and *Fiddler on the Roof* bringing the live musical back to the Colorado Chautauqua Auditorium stage.

As in the earlier days at Chautauqua, the ability of one performer to provide several kinds of entertainment is still highly valued. Two performers personify this mix of talents that is often found in the current Chautauqua soloists. R. Carlos Nakai plays the traditional wood flute as a soloist and in a variety of ensembles. A Native American of Navajo-Ute heritage, his musical philosophy is reflected in his fusion of ethnic or traditional music with modern sounds.¹⁷⁵ At Chautauqua he has performed both traditional Native American melodies and collaborated with pianist Peter Kater on New Age music. Leo Kottke plays both six- and twelve-string acoustic guitar at a level that has earned him the title of "Best Acoustic Guitarist" in *Guitar Magazine* five times.¹⁷⁶ He is considered a player's player, and his performances at Chautauqua have included both his superlative guitar playing as well as the singing of his own compositions. The 1998 program for the Chautauqua Summer Festival says of Kottke: "With his forceful, rhythmic right hand, Kottke can transform his guitar into a symphonic orchestra or twist simple songs into full-bore show-stoppers."¹⁷⁷ This promotion of dazzling technique and the versatility of popular soloists also ties the different generations of Chautauqua together. Virtuoso harpist Alberto Salvi (who performed in the 1920s and 1930s) was celebrated in terms surprisingly similar to Kottke. The *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* for 1930 quotes *Musical America* on Salvi: "A one man orchestra! Effects not unlike a French horn, a choir of woodwinds, the pizzicato of the string section of an orchestra, a mandolin tremolo, guitar chords, approximations of the zither and flashes of the celesta!"¹⁷⁸

The Colorado Chautauqua was not created nor has it ever existed on the same scale as the New York Chautauqua.¹⁷⁹ The total amount of programming done in Boulder is, of course, smaller as well. But institutional size does not tell the whole story. The New York Chautauqua still serves a relatively rural area while Boulder, a city of nearly 100,000, is only minutes



Two instrumental virtuosos from different eras, Alberto Salvi and Leo Kottke, both delighted Colorado chautauquans.



Courtesy of the Colorado Chautauqua Association (Salvi)
Photo by Michael Wilson, Courtesy of Chuck Morris Entertainment (Kottke)

away from Denver. Thus, the Colorado Chautauqua can draw large audiences from the surrounding metropolitan area in addition to the onsite audience but must also compete with the many activities offered to audiences in a large metropolitan area.¹⁸⁰ The University of Colorado is only a mile or two away from the Colorado Chautauqua. Summer programs at the university, such as CU Opera in the Summer, the Colorado Shakespeare Festival, and the Colorado Dance Festival provide supplemental programming to that offered to the guests at the Chautauqua.

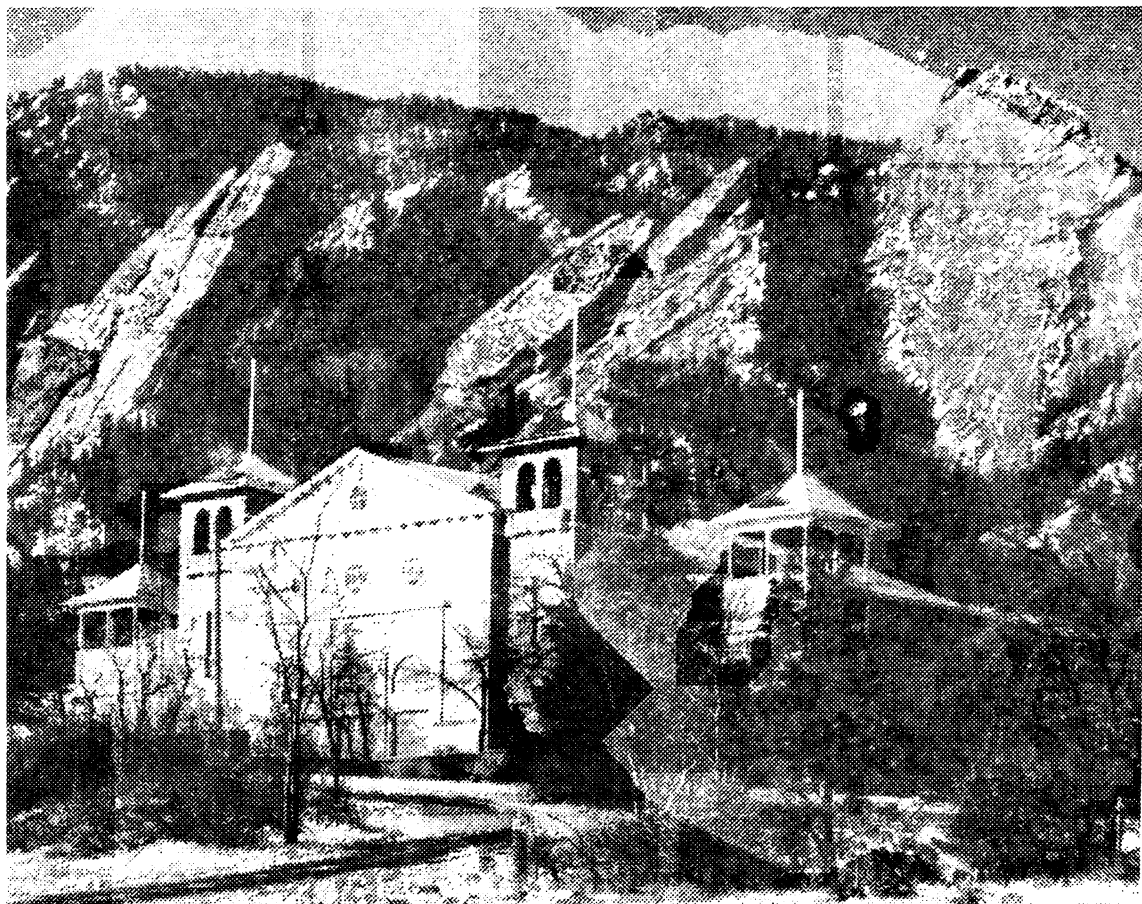
The musical programs of the New York and Colorado Chautauquas for the year 2000 illustrate both the differences and the similarities that continue to distinguish the two institutions. In Colorado fifteen popular musical programs plus eighteen orchestral and three chamber music programs of the CMF occurred as part of the summer season. The New York Chautauqua presented twenty-five popular musical programs with sixteen orchestral concerts, eight chamber music concerts, three Music School Orchestra concerts and six opera programs. The performers of popular mu-

sic in New York tend to be well-known but somewhat past their prime, such as Peter, Paul and Mary, Paul Anka, and Ray Charles who all performed there in 2000. The performers in Boulder usually come from a less well-known group but include one big-name performer per season with others more likely to be heard in more intimate venues. Wynton Marsalis performed at the Colorado Chautauqua in 2000 with the Lincoln Center Jazz Band while other featured entertainers that year included guitarists, singers, and songwriters with distinctive musical personalities but whose audiences are somewhat smaller than Marsalis's.

There are many similarities between the musical programming of the early heyday of the Colorado Chautauqua (1898-1928) and that of the resurrected Chautauqua of the last two decades. All the generic types and categories of musical performance presented to early audiences have returned to Chautauqua in some form. Large instrumental groups are represented by the Colorado Music Festival Orchestra; vocal (both solo and choral) and instrumental ensembles are too numerous to mention; players in the Colorado Music Festival Chamber Orchestra provide instrumental chamber music; the Boulder Arts Academy has performed several musicals; and ethnic and folk performers again attract large crowds. Many of the current groups cross boundaries of musical style as did their earlier counterparts. For instance, the Paul Winter Consort (who entertained at Chautauqua in 1989, 1990, and 1993) combines jazz with the music of various international cultures for a unique sound that defies traditional classification. The Dirty Dozen Brass Band (1990) combines rhythm and blues with jazz while Corky Siegel's Chamber Blues (1996) fuses blues and classical music in a traditional string quartet with the addition of tabla/percussion.¹⁸²

The Colorado Chautauqua programming continues to reflect the ideals of the original Chautauqua Association, the desire to educate and uplift without sacrificing entertainment value. According to Assistant Programming Director Ray Tuomey, the Colorado Chautauqua Association focuses on "programs that are good for the community. Such programs are not necessarily moneymakers and would probably not be booked by for-profit organizations, which depend solely on ticket receipts to fund their programming. Musical programs must also not overwhelm the size of the facility or its acoustical system."¹⁸³

The current programming standards that bring a variety of musical genres to the Chautauqua stage that may not be heard elsewhere in the area has contributed to the continuing attendance at the Boulder programs. The ability to change the programming to meet the desires of the current audience has also helped. As Dr. George E. Vincent said of the New York Chautauqua in 1901, "Chautauqua seeks to adapt itself to the wants of the time. It tries to be flexible and supply whatever it sees needed."¹⁸⁴ With the increase and consequent changes in the Boulder County population in the last decade, there may be more programming changes yet to come. Giora Bernstein retired after the 2000 season, and Michael Christie, a young



Courtesy of the Colorado Chautauqua Association

Today the Colorado Chautauqua Auditorium, restored to its former glory, glistens in its magnificent setting.

conductor from Long Island with an impressive resume of guest conductorships, was selected to replace him. Although the CMF plans to build on Bernstein's legacy, some variations in the orchestral menu are inevitable. The old concern about contemporary versus standard classical programming appeared again in 2000 when the *Daily Camera* reported that some of the more innovative programs of the CMF orchestra this past summer were the most poorly attended.¹⁸⁵

The Colorado Chautauqua has survived for more than a century—one of only three chautauqua institutions in the country to do so—for many reasons. Musical performances have comprised a significantly large part of the entertainment provided in both the early and later versions. Thus, it is safe to say as was said long ago, "Without music the Colorado Chautauqua could not exist."

Notes

1. Leslie Durgin, executive director of the Colorado Chautauqua Association, interview with the authors, May 1998. The other two chautauquas in continuous existence since their founding are the original New York Chautauqua and the one at Lakeside, Ohio.

2. Mary Galey, *The Grand Assembly: The Story of Life at the Colorado Chautauqua*, Centennial ed. (Sun City, Calif.: Winlock Publishing, 1998), 56.
3. See Joseph Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution* (New York: State University of New York, 1961), 97; Harry P. Harrison as told to Karl Detzer, *Culture under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House, 1958), xvii; and Theodore Morrison, *Chautauqua: A Center for Education, Religion, and the Arts in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 235. See also Jeffrey Simpson, *Chautauqua: An American Utopia* (New York: H. Abrams and The Chautauqua Institution, 1999), 70. Simpson clarifies that Roosevelt's exact comment was that "Chautauqua was typically American, in that it was typical of America at its best."
4. Gay MacLaren, *Morally We Roll Along* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938), 172.
5. Harrison was the head of the Redpath Chicago office for many years. Harrison, op. cit., 98.
6. Eldon Snyder, "The Chautauqua Movement in Popular Culture: A Sociological Analysis," *Journal of American Culture* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 89.
7. Galey, op. cit., 57.
8. Simpson, op. cit., 48.
9. David Mead, "1914: The Chautauqua and American Innocence," *Journal of Popular Culture* 1, no. 4 (Spring 1968): 342.
10. Galey, op. cit., 127.
11. John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1997), 27. See also 12-13. The lyceum was an earlier adult education movement. Dating from 1826 and begun by Josiah Holbrook, the lyceum created a national network for education primarily through lecture-demonstrations.
12. Ibid., *Circuit Chautauqua*, 31.
13. Ibid., *Circuit Chautauqua*, 25. See also Snyder, op. cit., 89, for more on the effect of the circuits on the independent chautauquas.
14. John E. Tapia, "Circuit Chautauqua Program Brochures: A Study in Social and Intellectual History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 67, no. 2 (May 1981): 167.
15. Mead, op. cit., 352.
16. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 182.
17. Ibid., 183.
18. Gould, op.cit., 85.
19. The North Dakota Humanities Council was the first to provide this type of programming in 1976. Since then other Humanities Councils have followed suit. See New Hampshire Humanities Council, *Council Initiatives: Chautauqua* [web site]; (The Council [cited 24 October 2000]); originally available from www.nhhc.org/chautauqua/index.html.
20. See The Great Plains Chautauqua Society, *Chautauqua 2000* [web site]; (The Society [cited 21 September 2000]); originally available from www.gp-chautauqua.org.
21. See Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 48.
22. Galey, op. cit., 59.
23. See Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 27-32.
24. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Our Chautauqua Is Independent," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (1 December 1913): 7.
25. Ibid.
26. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 24.
27. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900*. Census Reports, vol. 1. Population part I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1900), 81.
28. Colorado Chautauqua Assembly, "Was the 1918 Assembly a Success?" *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (November 1918): 3.
29. Likewise, the New York Chautauqua has had relationships with New York University, Syracuse University, and SUNY College at Fredonia.
30. Unlike most chautauquas, the Colorado grounds are not gated, rather they are

a part of, and open to, the community. This may be part of the reason Boulderites support it so strongly.

31. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 22.
32. "A Growing Institution," *The Chautauqua Journal* 5, no. 3 (April 1902): 21.
33. Galey, op. cit., 20.
34. Ibid., op. cit., 63.
35. "Music at Chautauqua," *The Chautauqua Journal* 4, no. 4 (May 1902): 14.
36. "Recreation and Learning: Platform," *The Colorado Chautauqua: Sixth Annual Session, July 3 to Aug. 14, 1903*, 3.
37. Choral music, especially sacred choral music, was the heart of the programming at New York into the 1920s.
38. Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), 13.
39. For example a note on page 7 of the Assembly's "Comparative Statement of Income and Expense for Years 1929-1930" states "The Boulder Band scheduled a concert for each Monday evening. This, with the entertainment provided in the Auditorium for the other six nights of the week, gave the visitors a full schedule." These performances were gratis for the Association.
40. It was not unprecedented at Boulder, however. During the very first season, Schubert's Unfinished Symphony was programmed. See "Talmage Day," *Daily Camera*, 6 August 1898.
41. "Chautauqua," *Daily Camera*, 26 July 1900.
42. L. Jeanette Wells, "A History of the Music Festival at Chautauqua Institution from 1874 to 1957" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1958), 78. Smaller bands, such as the Northwestern Band of Meadville [Penn.] had performed at the NY Institution before this performance. See Wells p. 24 for example.
43. Ibid., 78.
44. Sanford Linscome, "A History of Musical Development in Denver, Colorado, 1858-1908" (DMA diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1970), 538.
45. Wells, op. cit., 41.
46. Ibid., 46.
47. "Rischar's Fine Concert," *Daily Camera*, 11 July 1903.
48. "Chautauqua Happenings," *Daily Camera*, 1 August 1906.
49. "Lessons of the Chautauqua," *Daily Camera*, 8 August 1906. Sylvia Pettem attributes this review to *Daily Camera* editor Paddock. See Sylvia Pettem, *Chautauqua Centennial, Boulder, Colorado: A Hundred Years of Programs* (Boulder, Colo.: Book Lode in cooperation with the Colorado Chautauqua Association, 1998), 12.
50. See "Splendid Concert," *Daily Camera*, 13 July 1906.
51. "Chautauqua Notes," *Daily Camera*, 12 August 1907.
52. "Chautauqua Notes," *Daily Camera*, 15 August 1907.
53. Wells, op. cit., 166.
54. See Wells, op. cit., 133.
55. Galey, op. cit., 64. She continues by explaining that the Auditorium was rented out from 1901 on.
56. "Ferullo's Band," *Daily Camera*, 10 September 1910.
57. See Wells, op. cit., 144, 149, 168, and 180.
58. See Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 62. Other than a few performances in for the Redpath Bureau in 1910 Sousa didn't appear on circuit programs. The bandleader would not commit to the Bureau for an entire season.
59. For example see "Salvi's Ovation Never Equalled at Chautauqua," *Daily Camera*, 3 July 1926, and "Salvi, The Great Harpist Delighted Large Chautauqua Audience at First Concert," *Daily Camera*, 21 July 1927.
60. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 65.
61. Ibid., 97. See also, Harrison, op. cit., 108. Interestingly, this ties in with one of Albert Stoessel's guiding principals in founding the Chautauqua Opera Company in 1929.
62. "Claussen Concert an Artistic Success," *Daily Herald*, 6 August 1915.
63. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 98.

64. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Colorado Chautauqua Program: Aug. 16th to Aug. 27th, [1924]."
65. "Riccardo Martin, Tenor, Delighted Chautauqua by Concert Last Night," *Daily Camera*, 25 August 1924.
66. "Josephine Antoine Was Acclaimed by Thousand People at Chautauqua," *Boulder Daily Camera*, 14 July 1930.
67. Ibid.
68. See Wells, op. cit., 191 and 201.
69. Ibid., 201.
70. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Josephine Is Coming," *Newsletter* 7, no. 5 (31 May 1940) p. [2].
71. Wells, op. cit., 138.
72. MacLaren, op. cit., 141.
73. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "The Official Daily Program, Boulder, Colorado, July 10, 1914": 4, 6.
74. "The Chautauqua Draws the Crowd," *Daily Camera*, 23 July 1901.
75. "Boulder Guests See the Sights," *Daily Camera*, 24 July 1901.
76. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "The Official Daily Program, Boulder, Colorado, July 28, 1915": 4.
77. Colorado Chautauqua Assembly, "Musical Attraction Which Has Nation Wide Reputation Coming to Boulder's Assembly," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 5, no. 3 (1 January 1916): 13-14.
78. "At the Chautauqua Tonight," *Daily Camera*, 26 July 1916.
79. "The Boston Sextette Pleases Its Audiences," *Daily Camera*, 27 July 1916.
80. "This Week's Attractions at Colorado Chautauqua," *Daily Camera*, 10 July 1916.
81. "The Chautauqua Closed with Record Crowd," *Daily Camera*, 15 August 1916.
82. Colorado Chautauqua Assembly, "Music at the Assembly," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (November 1918): 3.
83. "Zoellner Quartette Delighted Chautauquans," *Daily Camera*, 3 August 1921.
84. Wells, op. cit., 140.
85. Ibid., op. cit., 140-41.
86. Ibid., 156.
87. Ibid., 145.
88. The African Boy Choir was also booked in 1902, but cancelled the performance.
89. Pettem, op. cit., 77-78.
90. Chautauqua Institution, *Handbook of Information* (Chautauqua, The Institution, 1911), 52, quoted in Wells, op. cit., 85.
91. Harrison, op. cit., 105.
92. Ibid., 108.
93. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 100.
94. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "The Colorado Chautauqua. Boulder, Colorado. General Program: Seventh Annual Session July 4 to August 7, 1904": 9.
95. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Buckner's Famous Dixie Jubilee Concert Company," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 7, no. 3 (February 1918): 12.
96. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Utica Jubilee Singers," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 18, no. 5 (June 1929): [8].
97. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 101.
98. Due to problems with his transportation, Jones was unable to fulfill his commitment to speak at Boulder that season.
99. *From Africa: J.H. Balmer* (n.p., 19-?), 2. Brochure reproduced by the University of Iowa Libraries, *Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century* [web site]: (The University [cited 28 September 2000]): available from sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/traveling-culture.
100. "A Noble Lecture," *Daily Camera*, 8 July 1904. Article quotes an unattributed piece from the *Denver Post*.
101. Lake Chautauqua was named by the Seneca Indians.
102. See Philip Deloria, "Natural Indians and Identities of Modernity," in *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and Victoria and Robert Case, "Ten

Little, Nine Little Indians,” in *We Called it Culture: The Story of Chautauqua* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948), especially 149-153.

103. Case, op. cit., 151.

104. Colorado Chautauqua Association, “The Official Daily Program of the Colorado Chautauqua Assembly, Boulder, Colorado, August 12, 13, and 14, 1911”: [1].

105. See Deloria, op. cit.

106. See discussion in Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 104-05.

107. Colorado Chautauqua Association, “A Real Indian Princess to Sing,” *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 13, no. 2 (February 1924): 11.

108. *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. “Cadman, Charles Wakefield,” by David Campbell.

109. Harrison, op. cit., 105-106.

110. MacLaren, op. cit., 226-228.

111. Colorado Chautauqua Association, “Once More Chautauqua Secures Headliner in the Musical World. Great Feast in Store Next Summer,” *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 5, no. 2 (1 December 1915): 7 and “A Word About Music,” *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 5, no. 8 (June 1916): [11].

112. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 173.

113. Ibid., 172.

114. “Merry Choruses, Tuneful Solos,” *Daily Camera*, 18 July 1901.

115. Colorado Chautauqua Association, “Other Singing Companies,” *General Announcement of the Tenth Annual Session. Boulder, Colorado, July 4 to August 14, 1907*: 14.

116. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 166.

117. Ibid.

118. “Boulder Audience was Thrilled and Laughed at the Comedy of *The Mikado* Last Night in Opera at the Chautauqua,” *Daily Camera*, 25 July 1922.

119. “Nearly 2,000 Saw and Enjoyed Opera at the Chautauqua,” *Daily Camera*, 20 August 1924.

120. “Cantata *Rose Maiden* Given at Chautauqua Was a Decided Success,” *Daily Camera*, 15 August 1925.

121. For example, in 1904 *H.M.S. Pinafore* was presented in concert form and in 1905 concert performances of *Pirates of Penzance* and *Mikado* were presented. See Wells, op. cit., 64-65 and 67.

122. Wells, op. cit., 99.

123. Ibid., 132.

124. Ibid., 146-48.

125. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Chautauqua Institution,” by Rita H. Mead.

126. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 204.

127. Galey, op. cit., 133.

128. Ibid., 132.

129. Wells, op. cit., 190.

130. Ibid., 175.

131. Ibid., 207 and 209-10.

132. See Wells, op. cit., chapter 8, “Albert Stoessel, Director of Music.”

133. Wells, op. cit., 243. This was the nineteenth year of the symphony’s existence and the fourth year with Franco Autori as conductor. He had succeeded Stoessel as conductor in 1944. Autori became known for his devotion to contemporary composers and many were represented in the 1947 program. Works by Dello Joio, Hindemith, Copland, and Bloch were included with those of Brahms and Beethoven. Seven operas were presented by the Chautauqua Opera Company (also celebrating its nineteenth anniversary); the Chautauqua Choir, the Motet Choir, and the Columbus boy-choir all performed choral works; and three recitals of chamber music were given.

134. Colorado Chautauqua Association, *Newsletter* 3, no. 3 (26 March 1940).

135. Galey, op. cit., 70. On 21 July 1898, one of the first motion pictures produced was the evening’s feature event.

136. *SPEBSQSA Online Press Kit*, [web site] (SPEBSQSA, Inc., [cited 24 May 1998]); originally available from www.spebsqsa.org/presskit/releases/r-origin.html.

137. Barbershop concerts began at the New York Chautauqua in 1946 and have continued up through the present to be a part of the music programming there. *Chautauqua Popular Concerts Announced*, [web site] (Chautauqua Institution Online [cited September 2000]); originally available from www.chautauqua-inst.org/Amp%20Special%20Overview.html.

138. The numbers were still slight with five musical programs in 1954 (up from zero in 1940), then averaging two to three per year through 1976.

139. Pam Thompson, Dallas, Texas, Chautauqua summer resident for many years in Boulder, telephone interview with M. D'Avis, October 2000.

140. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1952) vol.2, pt. 6, *Colorado*, 6, table 4.

141. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population* (Washington, D.C. 1973) vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, *Colorado*, 5.

142. Simpson, op. cit., 94.

143. *Ibid.*, 94.

144. *Ibid.*, 102. The gate receipts were covering only about one-third to one-half of the expenses. Radio and television had supplanted Chautauqua as a platform for political and other speakers on issues of the times. Invitations to speak at the New York Chautauqua were declined by many (including General MacArthur, Adlai Stevenson and Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nixon) during this period as television and other arts festivals that were being established drew the audience away from the New York Chautauqua. See also *Ibid.*, 95.

145. Galey, op. cit., 139. Although the programming at the Colorado Chautauqua did not come close to emulating its mother institution, the programming receipts covered the programming expenses and basic maintenance costs for the public buildings and the grounds.

146. Pettem, op. cit., 100.

147. *Ibid.*, 103.

148. *Ibid.*

149. *Ibid.*, 104.

150. *Ibid.*, 106.

151. Galey, op. cit., 144. The Chautauqua Auditorium was the first edifice in Boulder to be placed on this important register. L.T. Paddock was a descendant of the earlier editor.

152. Chautauqua: Phase I. Reconnaissance Analysis and Historic Significance Assessment, 1977.

153. Linda Cornett, "Colorado Music Festival: At 20 Mountain Music CMF Sees Stability in Future," *Daily Camera*, 23 June 1996.

154. The Auditorium was restored over a three-year period, completed in 1979. See Pettem, op. cit., 110.

155. Simpson, op. cit., 73.

156. Ray Tuomey, Assistant Program Director, Colorado Chautauqua Association, interview with the authors, May 1998.

157. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "A Word About Music," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 5, no. 8 (June 1916): [11].

158. David Pocock, "Colorado Music Festival Reaches Peak," *Daily Camera*, 16 July 1978.

159. David Pocock, "Festival Orchestra Ends Year on Good Note," *Daily Camera*, 23 July 1978.

160. *Ibid.*

161. *The Colorado Music Festival*, [web site] (The Colorado Music Festival [cited 24 April 1998]); originally available from www.aescon.com/music.cmf/indexa.htm.

162. Sally Merril, "Colorado Music Festival," *Daily Camera*, 21 May 1982.

163. Colorado Music Festival Season 2000: Toward a New Century. 10. Themes were used in a different manner as early as 1902 at the New York Chautauqua when Alfred

Hallam programmed and conducted a concert of American composers. See Wells, op. cit., 55.

164. Autori had programmed contemporary works, including many American and world premiers, in tandem with the traditional offerings at New York in the 1940s. See Wells, op. cit., 260.

165. Bernheimer, Kathryn, "Bernstein: 'The Best from the Best,'" *Daily Camera*, 8 May 1983.

166. The First Marine Band was the only band of this type to perform at the late twentieth-century version of the Chautauqua until the Boulder Concert Band began a tradition of an annual performance on the lawn in 1988.

167. Chautauqua Summer Festival Program, 1997, 13.

168. David Pocock, "Bernstein Concert Goes Beyond Criticism," *Daily Camera*, 2 July 1978.

169. Niki Hayden, "Colorado Music Festival Honored for Innovation," *Daily Camera*, 30 May 1996. Bernstein and the CMF won this award eight times during his tenure. See also *The Colorado Music Festival* at www.coloradomusicfest.org for further information.

170. Ibid.

171. Wes Blomster, "Colorado Music Festival Looks Forward in 20th Season," *Daily Camera*, 28 April 1996.

172. Ibid.

173. Tara McLain, "Colorado Conductor to Bid Farewell to Tradition for New Season," *Colorado Daily*, July 6, 1999.

174. Ibid.

175. *Contemporary Musicians*, Gale Research Inc., 1989, v. 24, 145.

176. Chautauqua 2000 Summer Festival Schedule, 30.

177. Chautauqua 1998 Summer Festival Program, 30.

178. Colorado Chautauqua Association, "Alberto Salvi," *Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin* 19 no. 5 (June 1930): 16.

179. This lack of similarity in size includes the grounds—750 acres in New York and ninety acres (forty-six developed acres) in Boulder; the facility size—the Amphitheater in New York seats 5,000 and the Auditorium in Colorado seats 1,200; and residential capacity on the grounds—7,500 in New York and approximately 450 (ninety-nine cottages, thirty-nine privately owned and sixty owned by the Association and available for rent; two lodges, one with twelve rooms and one with three rooms) in Boulder. For additional information see *Chautauqua Institution Online* at www.chautauqua-inst.org and *Colorado Chautauqua Association* at www.chautauqua.com.

180. For instance, when Denver obtained a professional baseball team in 1992, attendance at the Colorado Chautauqua declined. See Tuomey, op. cit.

181. Tish Hinojosa appeared at Chautauqua on the public radio show E-Town as part of the Center of the American West Music Conference, "Listening to the West: Music in the Soul of a Region," a three-day conference and festival sponsored by the Center for the American West, the American Music Research Center and the Chautauqua Association held at the University of Colorado and on the Chautauqua grounds. See Chautauqua 2000 Summer Festival Program, 34.

182. *Corky Siegel's Chamber Blues*, (Centerstage Chicago, [cited November 2000]); originally available from www.centerstage.net/music/whoswho/CorkySiegel'sCh.html.

183. Tuomey, op. cit.

184. Alfreda L. Irwin, *Three Taps of the Gavel*, (Westfield Republican, Inc., 1970), 56, quoting from Scrapbook III [of the New York Chautauqua], 78. George Vincent was the son of founder John Vincent and an early New York Chautauqua president.

185. Wes Blomster, "CMF Plans to Name New Director by Thanksgiving," *Daily Camera*, 13 August 2000.