FRANK J. CIPOLLA

Patrick S. Gilmore: The Boston Years

The most prominent and celebrated bandmaster in the nineteenth century prior to John Philip Sousa was Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore (1829–92). His life story is a classic example of a poor immigrant boy who came to the United States to seek fame and fortune and attained that dream beyond all expectations. Irish by birth but American by choice, Gilmore's quick wit, flamboyant personality, and grandiose musical projects made him a figure of public interest whose activities were chronicled voluminously by the press throughout his life. Idolized by rich and poor alike, Gilmore enjoyed the pleasures and prestige afforded only the most distinguished personages of the day. Upon his death in 1892 he was laid to rest with the attending pomp of a dignitary and leader of the highest order.[1]

Boston and its environs was home to Gilmore for nearly a quarter-century of his young adult life. It was during this time that he achieved some of his greatest triumphs and earned national and international recognition as a bandmaster. Gilmore was a good musician, but he is remembered more for the gigantic concerts and festivals he staged than for his contributions to the development of the American band. An extremely energetic and enthusiastic man who constantly looked to the future with ever-greater musical aspirations, he made his reputation as a promoter par excellence and became a character in the same mold as his early employer, P. T. Barnum.[2] Gilmore's contact with the consummate entertainment salesman may have been the source of his propensity for superlatives in concert advertising. Barnum's standard jargon—GREATEST EVER, MOST SPECTACULAR, FANTASTIC, COLOSSAL—permeated Gilmore's phraseology throughout his career.[3] Visionary,

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Figure 1. Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore (ca. 1869)

dreamer, astute businessman, slick operator—Gilmore was all of these, but he was also a leader and educator who deserves recognition for his innovations in band programming and instrumentation.

Documented records of Gilmore's life are meager, for he burned or discarded his business papers as they accumulated, and most of his personal effects were sold piecemeal within a few years of his death.[4] It is difficult to separate fact from fancy when attempting to trace his career, for Gilmore was not above giving the truth a nudge in the interest of a more colorful story. A detailed description of his background is gradually emerging, however, and the opening years of that scenario unfolded in the city of Boston.

Gilmore came to the United States from his native Ireland in October of 1849. Contrary to many biographical sketches, he did not enter through Canada after having been a member of an English military band.[5] It has now been established that he was a passenger on board the ship *Roscius* that departed from Liverpool, England, and landed at New York City on October 16, 1849.[6] His final destination was Boston, where his older brother, John Hugh Gilmore, had settled the previous year.

Gilmore's first employer was John P. Ordway, a Boston music dealer. Gilmore, age nineteen at this time, was placed in charge of the in-

strumental music department, but his career really began to take shape with the formation of Ordway's Aeolian Vocalists, an exceedingly popular minstrel group.[7] Gilmore played the tambourine, sang in a quartet, played an occasional cornet solo, and acted as the group's agent. From their inaugural appearance on December 17, 1850, they performed six evenings a week through June 1851. In July they made a brief tour to Providence, Rhode Island, and then returned to their home base, Harmony Hall, located at Washington and Summer streets in Boston. Performances continued through the rest of July and into August before the group took their first break.[8] When they resumed in September Gilmore was still listed as a member, but how long he remained with the troupe is not known.

Gilmore's first bandmaster position was with the newly organized Charlestown Band, probably formed in late 1851 or early 1852. He remained with this band for only a brief period and in 1852 moved on to direct the more established Suffolk Brass Band. Then in 1853 he was elected to replace John Bartlett as leader of the Boston Brigade Band, one of the oldest bands of Boston.[9] Two years later he moved again, this time to succeed Jerome Smith as leader of the Salem Brass Band.[10] The Salem Band was already a competent local organization, but with the infusion of the new leader's enthusiasm and spirit, the group soon acquired a reputation rivaling that of the more established bands of Boston.

As his musical career began to rise, Gilmore also started to exert leadership on the promotional and business side of the profession. In 1856 he combined the Salem Band with several others for a giant Fourth of July concert on Boston Common, whose success led to an annual event. In 1857 he originated a series of summer promenade concerts at the Boston Music Hall, another first for the city. The Salem Band's first national exposure also occurred in 1857, when they were invited to Washington, D. C., to march in the inaugural parade of President James Buchanan.

Over the next two years Gilmore increasingly became a center of attention, as evidenced by Salem Band advertisements and programs in which his name was displayed with greater and greater prominence. But at the same time he was billing his organization as "Gilmore's Salem Brass Band," he was thinking of leaving that post to form his own band. In a letter dated March 24, 1857, to Robert I. Burbank, Colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment, Gilmore stated that he was forced to put aside his plans to form a new band because of the strong local opposition, and that even though he had had the new project in mind for over twelve months, he felt he must remain loyal to the people of Salem.[11]

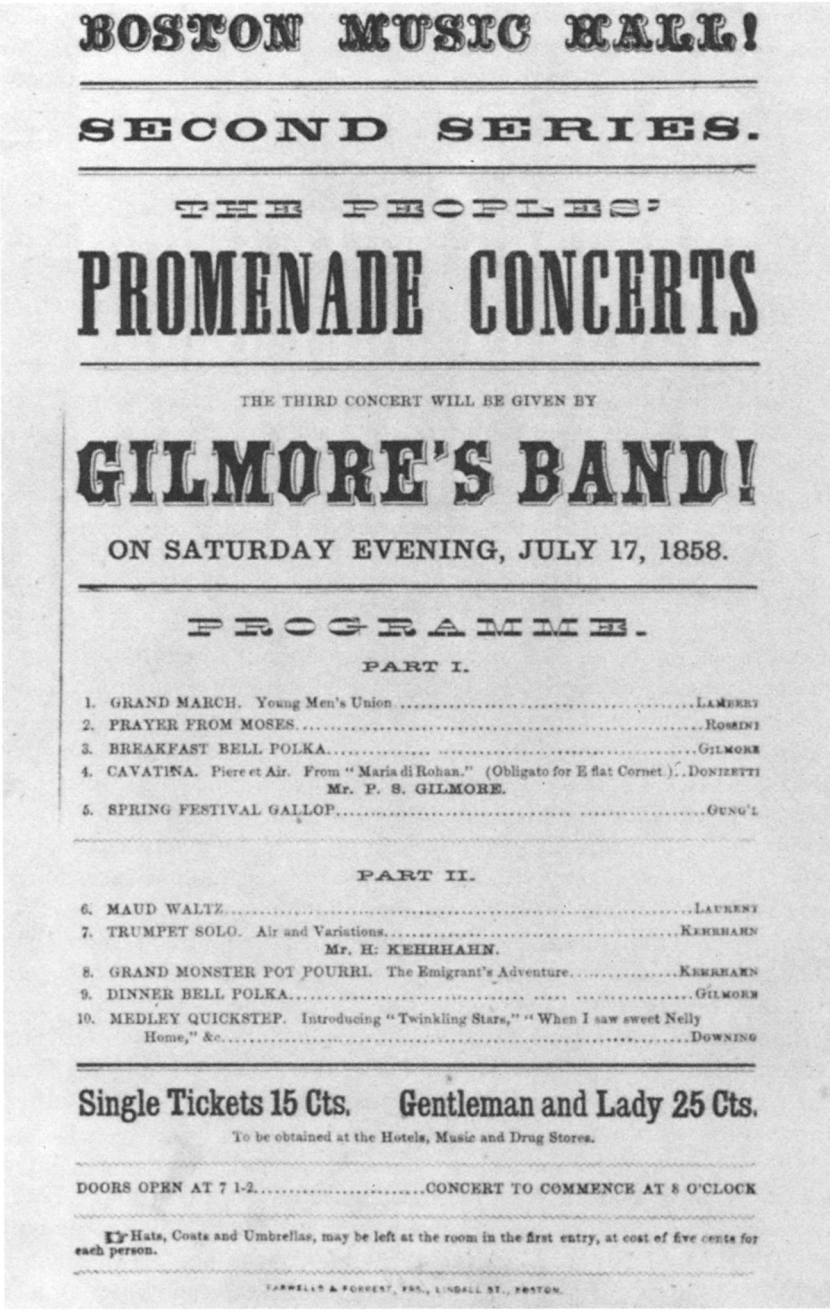
But his plan did eventually come to fruition, and the professional

ensemble known thenceforth as Gilmore's Band presented its first concert on April 9, 1859, at the Boston Music Hall. This was a new and daring personal business venture. Since the band was not attached to any particular military group or locality, Gilmore alone was responsible for its financial success. He undoubtedly felt somewhat apprehensive about public acceptance of the ensemble, for he wrote a long explanation in the first program naming many of the principal players and soliciting "the patronage of those who are interested in our welfare."[12] He need not have worried, however, for the concert was a great success, as was a subsequent series of programs.

Gilmore's promotional skill at publicizing concerts, plus his ability to choose music to fit every occasion, attracted large audiences from the start, and the popular leader was soon able to secure engagements both regionally and nationally. In 1860 the band was present at both the stormy Democratic convention in Charleston, South Carolina, which collapsed over the issue of slavery, and the Republican convention in Chicago, which named Abraham Lincoln its presidential candidate.[13] In the same year Gilmore secured the services of Mathew Arbuckle, the greatest cornet soloist of the time, who remained with the band for almost twenty years.[14] Gilmore's ability to attract performers of Arbuckle's caliber and his success at winning public support and recognition firmly established his name and made the Gilmore Band one of the great musical organizations of the day.

But these were uncertain times. As mounting unrest throughout the country finally led to the outbreak of the Civil War, the Gilmore Band became attached to the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. They enlisted on September 16, 1861, and within a few months accompanied the regiment to field duty in the vicinity of New Bern, North Carolina. They entertained the troops with music during quiet periods and, after a reminder of their military duties, served as hospital aides during actual fighting. They served well, but Gilmore made light of their experiences in Civil War stories retold later in his career: "I told the generals with whom I fought that I was always in advance of them—in the rear."[15]

By governmental order, all regimental bands were discharged in the summer of 1862, and in September Gilmore and his band were once again in Boston. They resumed their concert activities, many of which were benefits to raise money for the war effort. In addition, Gilmore was given the responsibility by Governor John A. Andrews of reorganizing all the military bands of Massachusetts. In January 1864 Gilmore accompanied two of the bands to New Orleans, where he served under General Nathaniel Banks.[16] It was there that he staged his first mammoth concert, a prelude of the later colossal Peace Jubilees in Boston. For the inauguration of Michael Hahn as governor of Louisiana,



BOSTON MUSIC HALL!

SECOND SERIES.

THE PEOPLES'

PROMENADE CONCERTS

THE THIRD CONCERT WILL BE GIVEN BY

GILMORE'S BAND!

ON SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 17, 1858.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

1. GRAND MARCH. Young Men's Union ..... LAMBERT
2. PRAYER FROM MOSES ..... ROSSINI
3. BREAKFAST BELL POLKA ..... GILMORE
4. CAVATINA. Piere et Air. From "Maria di Rohan." (Obligato for E flat Cornet.) .. DONIZETTI
   Mr. P. S. GILMORE.
5. SPRING FESTIVAL GALLOP ..... GUNG'L

PART II.

6. MAUD WALTZ ..... LAURENT
7. TRUMPET SOLO. Air and Variations ..... KEHRHAHN
   Mr. H. KEHRHAHN.
8. GRAND MONSTER POT POURRI. The Emigrant's Adventure ..... KEHRHAHN
9. DINNER BELL POLKA ..... GILMORE
10. MEDLEY QUICKSTEP. Introducing "Twinkling Stars," "When I saw sweet Nelly Home," &c ..... DOWNING

Single Tickets 15 Cts. Gentleman and Lady 25 Cts.

To be obtained at the Hotels, Music and Drug Stores.

DOORS OPEN AT 7 1-2 ..... CONCERT TO COMMENCE AT 8 O'CLOCK

☞ Hats, Coats and Umbrellas, may be left at the room in the first entry, at cost of five cents for each person.

FARWELL & FORREST, PRS., LINDALL ST., BOSTON.

Figure 2. Advertisement, July 17, 1858, for program probably given by the Salem Brass Band, featuring the increasingly popular Gilmore name.

Gilmore assembled a band of 500 members, a chorus of over 6,000, a battery of 50 cannons that fired on signal from the conductor's podium, and 40 soldiers striking anvils, topped off by the simultaneous ringing of all church bells in the city of New Orleans.[17] His efforts were rewarded with a testimonial dinner at the St. Charles Hotel and a silver goblet filled with gold coins.

Gilmore returned to Boston in June 1864 to present his annual series of promenade concerts. The production costs, however, especially for the musicians' salaries, had increased to the point that he could no longer afford to present concerts every night. To attract larger audiences to a more limited series he began using more soloists and special guests. The first program on July 8th, for example, featured Major Pauline Cushman relating her adventures as a federal scout and spy, including her capture and rescue. Her presence guaranteed an audience, for the citizenry was always eager to hear of special exploits connected with the war. Thus the Gilmore Band and name continued to be in the forefront of Boston's leading entertainments.

Public performance and the accompanying adulation and notoriety were clearly integral to Gilmore's personality, but he was also active on the business side of the music industry through his involvement as a composer, publisher, and instrument manufacturer. His compositional interest, begun during his early training in Ireland, was strictly utilitarian, being limited to the creation of topical songs or marches, usually dedicated to a military group or person. His first publication in America (1850) was a collaboration with John Ordway on the song "Music Fills My Soul with Sadness," for which Gilmore wrote the text and Ordway the music. Gilmore's most popular piece, the minstrel ballad "Good News from Home," gave him a great deal of recognition early in his career, particularly since the handsome and enthusiastic-looking gentleman pictured on the cover of the sheet music was none other than the composer. He continued to produce music which found favor with the general public and eventually published some of it himself. As a partner in the publishing firm of Gilmore & Russell, he brought out his *First Set, P. S. Gilmore's Brass Band Music,* plus other pieces. Then early in the Civil War he wrote "God Save the Union," a tune he wished the country to use as a national anthem.

Gilmore is also credited with the famous Civil War song "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," written under the pen name Louis Lambert. The song first appeared under the name of Gilmore as part of "The Soldier's Return March."[18] Years later he clarified his authorship of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" with the following: "It was a musical waif which I happened to hear somebody humming in the early days of the rebellion, and taking a fancy to it, wrote it down, dressed it up, gave it a name, and rhymed it into usefulness for a

special purpose suited to the times."[19] This sounds plausible, but more likely Gilmore was already familiar with the tune, for it is an old Irish folk song known under the titles "Johnny Fill Up the Bowl" and "Johnny I Hardly Knew Ye."[20]

Following his return to Boston in the summer of 1864 and continuing through 1868, Gilmore was also engaged in the manufacturer of brass instruments as a partner in the firm of Gilmore, Graves & Co., which became Gilmore & Co., and later Wright, Gilmore & Co.[21] This supplement to his band performance business was a welcomed necessity, for although the band remained very popular, concert activities during this period were rather light. Short series of concerts were followed by long periods of only sporadic engagements. The year 1866 appears to be the leanest time of all. The highlight event of that year was a "Grand State Ball for all the Volunteers of the Great War." Gilmore used 110 musicians for this very elegant social affair, which attracted a crowd of 25,000. The ball was considered a great success, even though it failed to attain its goal of raising money for disabled soldiers. A similar event featuring the Gilmore Band was held in Chicago in 1868, and it too failed to raise money for charities.[22]

Gilmore's greatest Boston successes were yet to come, however—the National Peace Jubilee of 1869 and the World Peace Jubilee of 1872. The magnitude of these projects is awesome, especially if one considers the level of engineering and technical expertise of the time. The coliseum built for the 1869 jubilee, for example, had a seating capacity of 30,000 with an additional 10,000 seats for the chorus and 1,000 for the orchestra. It was by far the largest structure of its kind built in Boston up to that time. Choruses came from all parts of New England, plus New York, Ohio, and Illinois, to perform as one gigantic unit. The orchestra and military band were composed of the best professionals, also from a wide geographic area. Celebrated concert violinist Ole Bull was concertmaster, Mathew Arbuckle was cornet soloist, and Mesdames Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa and Adelaide Phillipps were vocal soloists. Conductors included Eben Tourjee, director of the New England Conservatory, who organized the chorus; Carl Zerrahn, leader of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston, principal choral conductor; and Julius Eichberg, director of the Boston Conservatory and superintendent of music for the Boston public schools, who conducted several orchestral pieces. Gilmore reserved for himself, however, the privilege of conducting the "Anvil Chorus" from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, which utilized 100 Boston firemen striking anvils, a battery of cannons, chimes, church bells, a huge bass drum, and a gigantic organ specially built for the occasion.

The National Peace Jubilee lasted five days and, although it also failed to attain its goal of raising money for widows and orphans of

the Civil War, was considered a huge success. Even its most severe critic, John Dwight, editor of the prestigious journal bearing his name, devoted several pages of that paper to a detailed review, which overall was positive, albeit guarded and not without criticism. His personal bias is obvious as he writes,

> As an occasion, of a new kind, of unexampled magnitude (unless in semi-barbarous times or Oriental countries)—whatever may have been musically—the Jubilee was a success. All acknowledge it, not without joy, even though at times it may come over some of us again in the character it wore from the first, as a strange overshadowing aspiration, a vast work of willfulness, which had intrinsically, ideally, no right to be. As a man eminent in letters and in public life remarked to me yesterday, the amount of it is this: "A ridiculous plan redeemed by a magnificent success." Its friends had a perfect right to be wild over it. Many an unbeliever has been wholly or in great part converted, or at least reconciled to it.[23]

The jubilee was praised generously by most of the press and later documented in minute detail by Gilmore in his privately published book, *The History of the National Peace Jubilee and Great Musical Festival.*[24] No words were spared in presenting this voluminous account of every stage of the festival's development along with liberal personal accolades for Mr. Gilmore. There were other critics besides John Dwight, however, and when the book appeared in print, *The Nation* published the following review:

> It is wonderful what a man completely possessed by one idea and blessed with blind faith and pugnacity sufficient to carry it out in the face of every obstacle, can accomplish. If he is fanatically inclined, he may found a sect and gather together a vast community, as Brigham Young has done in Utah. If he is musically inclined, he may get up a prodigious festival, that shall set all New England singing, as Gilmore did in Boston two years ago. If his monomania is of a very aggravated type, he may write a book of seven hundred and sixty pages about it. And this too, the irrepressible Gilmore has done. . . . Mr. Gilmore's book is exactly such a production as we might look for. To say that it is egotistical, but faintly expresses its character. . . . From the title page to conclusion, it is all Gilmore. . . . What he thought, what he said, whom he saw, what they did, and above all, what he did, is the record of every page. The ingenious man has even written out and printed the prayer that he offered up in the hour when he feared the whole affair was about to collapse.[25]

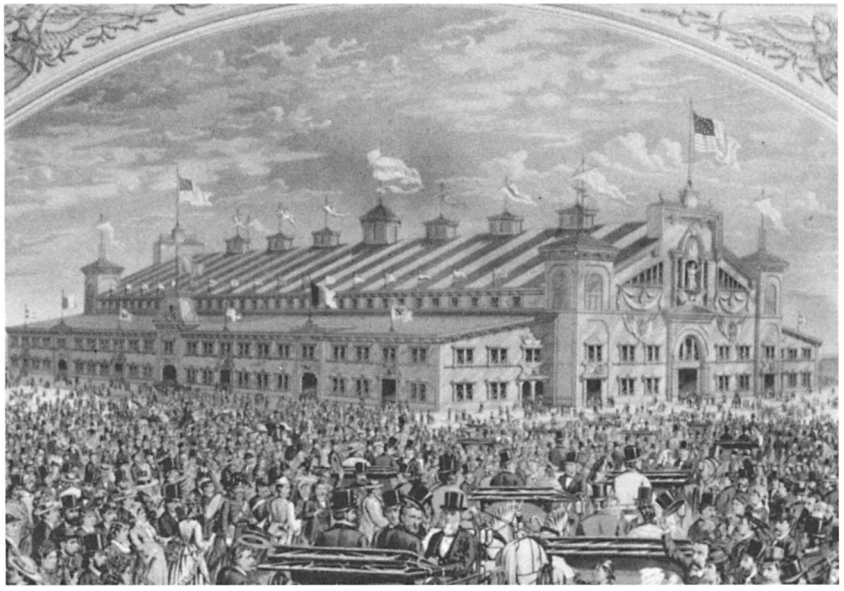


Figure 3. Lithograph of the eighteen-day World Peace Jubilee, held in Boston, June 1872.

The review closes by calling the book "a literary curiosity." In Gilmore's defense, however, the book is a thorough representation of a musical event of enormous proportions. Nothing so grand had ever taken place anywhere in the world, so it is not surprising that he wrote so glowingly and with such personal pride.

Those proportions were soon transcended, for almost immediately Gilmore began to plan the World Peace Jubilee of 1872. This mammoth enterprise included such internationally famous organizations as Johann Strauss and his orchestra from Austria, the Grenadier Guards Band of England, the Garde Republicaine of France, and the Prussian Band of Kaiser Franz Grenadiers, plus the United States Marine Band and a host of instrumental and vocal performers totaling 20,000. Unfortunately, the eighteen-day event was plagued by mishaps even before it commenced. The coliseum, which was to cover seven acres and have a roof span of 300 feet with no internal posts, collapsed during construction, and a larger version of the 1869 coliseum was hurriedly erected in its place. Despite these problems, the festival did manage to open on schedule, and on June 17, 1872, Boston was once again the center of attention of the musical world.[26]

Attendance at the jubilee was poor, even though ticket prices were lowered. The chorus dwindled in size with each performance. There were problems with the great organ, which broke down on opening

day, and the Boston businessmen who backed the project lost a considerable sum of money. Musically, however, the festival had many high points. Johann Strauss was very well received, and the foreign bands played with a precision and clarity unheard of by most in attendance. For the most part the press was favorable, but John Dwight was again the Jubilee's severest critic. His account, spread over three issues of *Dwight's Journal,* included some complimentary statements, but overall it was extremely negative. Dwight came under a great deal of criticism in Gilmore's book on the first jubilee, and perhaps Dwight saw this as an opportunity to retaliate. His first installment begins, "The great, usurping, tyrannizing, noisy and pretentious thing is over, and there is a general feeling of relief, as if a heavy, brooding nightmare had been lifted from us all."[27]

Probably the greatest good to come out of the festival was the expanded interest it generated in choral singing. Many already-established singing groups were strengthened in membership by those eager to participate in so vast a project, and new choral groups, organized specifically for the jubilee, remained permanently intact. Also, the high caliber of the foreign bands, with their fully developed instrumentations, awakened new enthusiasm for wind music and hastened the development and improvement of bands in the U.S.[28]

Patrick Gilmore remained in Boston only one more year after the World Peace Jubilee. In the fall of 1873 he accepted the position of bandmaster for the 22nd Regiment of New York, but he always retained a strong personal attachment to Boston and returned regularly for concert engagements. When asked once if he was really born in Ireland, he humorously replied, "No, I was born in Boston at the age of eighteen."[29] He counted life from the time his musical career commenced, and Boston is where it all began.

NOTES

1. Every detail, from the announcement of his death in St. Louis through his burial on Long Island, was written up in series of articles in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Sept. 25–28, 1892) and the *New York Times* (Sept. 25–29, 1892) as well as in all the Boston papers and city newspapers throughout the country.

2. An article by Frank M. Brogan in the *Salem Evening News,* Jan. 30, 1931, recounts an interview with Herbert A. Rugg, a music store proprietor in Lowell, Mass. Rugg recalls that his father was invited by Barnum to meet Jenny Lind on her arrival at New York City from England and on that occasion met Gilmore, who was working for Barnum to promote Lind's concert tour of 1850.

3. An obvious commonality between the two men was the use of initials—P. T. Barnum and P. S. Gilmore—in their names for public billing. This could be coincidental, but is likely another example of Gilmore's borrowing from his mentor.

4. Letter of July 3, 1871, addressed to "My Dear Major," in which Gilmore says he was "burning up a lot of old letters—last year's correspondence—in the band room" (Dreer Collection, letter no. 175, Musicians and Composers, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.). Also, the National Archives in Washington, D. C., has a voluminous file concerning the application for widow's pension of Ellen Gilmore, Patrick's wife, in which she recounts how she periodically sold her possessions to pay current bills.

5. Most biographical sketches written during Gilmore's lifetime skip over how, or from where, he came to the U. S., but simply state that he "arrived in Boston." Exactly when the notion of his entering through Canada first appeared, I cannot say, but it is stated in F. O. Jones, *Handbook of American Music and Musicians* (Canaseraga, N. Y.: F. O. Jones, 1886; Buffalo, N. Y.: C. W. Moulton & Co., 1887); James G. Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1888); and William Hubbard, *History of American Music* (Toledo, Ohio: Squire, 1908). Contemporary sources such as William C. White, *A History of Military Music in America* (New York: Exposition Press, 1944); H. W. Schwartz, *Bands of America* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1957); Richard Franko Goldman, *The Wind Band* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1961); and the Gilmore biography by Marwood Darlington, *Irish Orpheus* (Philadelphia: Oliver-Maney Klein Co., 1950) also state that Gilmore came to the U. S. from Canada. One possible explanation for this misinformation is that Thomas Gilmore, Patrick's brother and senior by three years, supposedly left a military band in Canada before coming to the U. S. This, however, is unverified family genealogical information obtained by Frank Damon for a series of articles on Gilmore he wrote for the *Salem Evening News*, Apr. 3, 1936, to July 2, 1937.

6. Passenger Ship Files, Oct. 16, 1849, National Archives, Washington, D. C. This date corresponds to the date on Gilmore's declaration to become a United States citizen filed October 13, 1856, in the U. S. Circuit Court, Massachusetts District. On that application, however, he lists *1850* as the year of his arrival. This is clearly an error, since he is listed on the rolls of the Federal Census taken Aug. 9, 1850, as living in the 9th Ward, Boston, Mass.

7. *Boston Evening Transcript*, Dec. 18, 1850. Review of first performance.

8. Gilmore seemed to thrive on the rigors of continuously performing six or seven days a week, for he often toured for months at a time with hardly a break in the routine of daily performing and/or traveling.

9. This series of events is documented in concert programs, sheet music covers, and such news and trade papers as Frank Leslie's *Illustrated History of the Great National Peace Jubilee*, June 1869.

10. T. Carroll, "Bands and Band Music in Salem," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* 36 (1900): 273. See also the *Salem Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1854, and Jan. 9, 1855.

11. Letter from P. S. Gilmore to Col. Robert I. Burbank, Gratz Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

12. *Program File* for the Boston Music Hall, Harvard Theatre Library, Cambridge, Mass.

13. S. Brainard's *Western Musical World* 5 (1868): 63; and G. R. Leighton, "Bandmaster Gilmore," *American Mercury* 30 (1933): 173.

14. Gilmore heard Arbuckle in Worcester, Mass., on the band's return to Boston from Charleston, S. C. Arbuckle had been in the United States for only about six months, having left an English regiment in Canada. Conceivably this is another source for the misinformation that Gilmore came to the U. S. from Canada.

15. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 14, 1890.

16. Gilmore was supposedly named bandmaster general by Banks shortly after his arrival in New Orleans. Although no confirmation of the appointment has been found, the appointment is mentioned in the biographical sketch by Gilmore's daughter, Mary

Gilmore Carter, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1909), 567.

17. Inaugural program for Governor Michael Hahn, Mar. 4, 1864, Gilmore Collection, American Bandmaster's Association Research Center, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

18. This piece was published in 1863 by S. Brainard's Sons, Chicago. The cover page states, "*The Soldier's Return March*, introducing the popular song *When Johnny Comes Marching Home*, as played by Gilmore's Band. Composed by P. S. Gilmore." The sheet music for "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" was published the same year by Henry Tolman, Boston. That cover states, "Music introduced in the *Soldier's Return March* by Gilmore's Band. Words and music by Louis Lambert."

19. *Musical Herald*, June 1883, 56–57.

20. See "Johnny Fill Up the Bowl," in *O'Neills Music of Ireland*, ed. Capt. Francis O'Neill (Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1905), 82; and "Johnny I Hardly Knew Ye," *Oxford Folk-Song Series* (Mixed Voices, No. F46), arr. John Vine (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

21. C. M. Ayars; *Contributions to the Art of Music in America by the Music Industry of Boston* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1937), 267.

22. Most of the major festivals he planned were connected to raising funds for disabled veterans of the war, widows, and/or orphans, but the costs involved in presenting these musical extravaganzas usually left little or no money for the intended recipients.

23. *Dwight's Journal of Music* 29 (1869): 62–63.

24. The 758-page book was published by Gilmore and sold by Lee and Shepard, Boston; and Lee, Shepard, and Dillingham, New York, 1871. A portion of the book was taken from newspaper accounts compiled in a scrapbook by George B. Reed. The scrapbook, which can be found at the Massachusetts Historical Society, also includes a letter from Gilmore to Reed acknowledging the use of the material, apologizing for the fingerprints from the printers, and asking Reed "to accept a copy of the 'History' which, although of very little literary value, cost me a great deal of time and trouble."

25. *The Nation*, Dec. 7, 1871. Reprinted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 31 (1872): 163.

26. See especially *Orpheus* 7 (Jan.–June, 1871). Other trade papers and the daily newspapers covered developments leading up to the festival and then carried extensive details of the festival proper.

27. *Dwight's Journal of Music* 32 (1872): 270–271, 277–279, 286–287.

28. *Orpheus* 8 (1872): 22. See also *Brainard's Musical World*, "Peace Jubilee Extra," June 17, 1872, 1–8.

29. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 14, 1890.