University of Alberta

Music on the Periphery: Concert Programs and the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, 1920-1933

by

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ABSTRACT

Formed in 1920, the initial incarnation of the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra became an important part of the community until financial difficulties forced its dissolution in 1933. The concerts performed by the orchestra have left a wealth of material that can be examined to discover the role of the orchestra within a certain society, and the perceptions that citizens of Edmonton had about different types of music. A comparison of concert programs with various orchestras in Canada and across the world illustrates how Edmonton's orchestra was both similar and unique in the music that was programmed. Furthermore, a variety of issues emerge from closer examination that can strengthen our understanding of music and society; topics such as the way in which Western art music was construed and presented to an audience or conceptions of social class that resulted highlight the interaction between a musical organization and the people of a city.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although typically only one name appears on the front of a book or thesis, there are inevitably countless people whose efforts positively affect the final product. This has very much proven true through my experience of completing this project, and I would like to recognize a few of the valuable contributions here.

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Introduction:
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If asked to name an orchestra, the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra (ESO) would likely not be the first to come to mind for most people; the New York Philharmonic or Montreal Symphony Orchestra might be two examples of ensembles more frequently mentioned. The roles of prestigious orchestras like the New York and Montreal organizations have historically received much attention from scholars, but the operations of smaller, lesser-known orchestras has typically been underrepresented. Yet examining an organization like the ESO on the "periphery" can strengthen our understanding of the orchestra and the way in which music becomes an active agent in society.[1] Indeed, Edmonton at the time was very much on the musical periphery. In the nineteenth century, North Americans viewed themselves as being on the cultural outskirts of Europe, and hoped eventually to demonstrate their abilities within the arts. Though European musicians came to North America and many orchestras became at least equal to ensembles in the old world, the standards of repertoire, professionalism, and so forth were still set in Europe. Edmonton was not only set within this North American context, but was also on the periphery of North America itself, and Edmontonians often wanted their cultural institutions to be considered equal to those across the continent. Thus, looking at various issues

[1] Periphery here is used to define an organization or location that typically has not received much attention from the scholarly community, one that is not, for one reason or another, chosen as a topic of study.

related to the ESO in the 1920s will not only help us understand its role within a relatively new city, but can also provide insight into how different people have attempted to use music in various situations. Was their repertoire, for example, similar to or vastly different from major orchestras? What did the ESO's supporters hope to accomplish in Edmonton? A study of such questions will begin to reveal the motivations and aspirations of one group of citizens, which in turn may reflect onto the larger musical community.

As each city has its own distinct history that affects the development of cultural institutions, knowledge of Edmonton's past is essential to the present study. Furthermore, as a location that has received less attention than larger metropolitan centres across the world, the history of Edmonton is one that has not been widely disseminated. For these reasons, chapter one begins with a brief overview of the city's past, focusing on the years from the founding of Fort Edmonton in 1795 until the 1920s, when the ESO first appeared. Likewise, in order to highlight the activities of Edmonton's musical community, both historically and during the 1920s and 30s, a section on the musical history of the city is included.

The orchestra is not well known to a majority of people, and since background knowledge of the ESO is necessary for further discussion of the issues raised, the first chapter concludes with a history of the organization. Emphasis is given to not only major events and people during the orchestra's

existence, but also to the music performed by the ESO, since issues of programming are central to this discussion.

While multiple books have been written on other orchestras, one is not so fortunate when investigating the ESO, and most volumes that include some discussion of music in Edmonton or Alberta give the ESO limited attention. In *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896-1945*, for example, mention of Edmonton's orchestra is limited to but a few sentences. Beeth Gardner does discuss the ESO in *Edmonton's Musical Life: 1892-1930*, but the information provided is brief and insufficient for an investigation of this scope. As such, primary source research has proven critical, and a history of the orchestra has been reconstructed from archival and microfilm sources. Although archives in Edmonton contain limited resources pertaining to the orchestra, there are nonetheless vital components to be found; a few programs from concerts, for instance, include program notes written by a local author, providing hints into how the ESO perceived its audience. Additionally, both the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin* contain frequent mention of the orchestra and consequently become instrumental in assembling a narrative of the ESO.

Using the city's newspapers, however, has presented various challenges. First, as will become evident throughout the course of this paper, writers reporting on the orchestra were staunch supporters of the ESO and repeatedly

served as advocates for the organization. It is not unusual, for instance, to find a critic lambasting Edmontonians for their lackadaisical support of the ESO. In many cases, this subsequently leads to a condemnation of other styles of music as inferior, leaving Western art music as the one genre capable of edifying the individual. While such comments can certainly reveal much about prevalent attitudes in Edmonton at the time, this also presents the researcher with a greatly biased account of the ESO's history. I have attempted, however, to highlight such statements where possible, and have endeavored to read beyond overly exuberant articles in hopes of presenting a fair, balanced history of the ESO.

A further problem is created by the fact that the reporters of the *Journal* and *Bulletin* are individual voices that do not necessarily represent the views and opinions of the orchestra's members or patrons. For the most part, books and archives are silent as to what musicians for the ESO or patrons in the audience might have said or thought about the orchestra and music being performed. In this way, the ubiquitous voice of Edmonton's newspapers has perhaps unfairly become the voice of the orchestra at times throughout this paper. Nonetheless, I have again put forth my best attempt to represent the ESO and those associated with the orchestra as fairly and judiciously as possible.

The elements of these previous sections will then be brought together in the next three chapters in order to analyze program-related topics. Of primary

interest are the pieces and types of music performed by the orchestra, and what programming can reveal about the goals of the ESO and its place within Edmonton's musical community. For instance, was music programmed because the selections were widely enjoyed by patrons, or were certain numbers included for the edification of audience members? Additionally, which composers or genres received the most attention, and how was this similar to or distinct from other orchestras? To begin to frame these questions, one must first analyze what music was actually performed by the ESO, and this is the focus of chapter two. Listings for every concert given by the orchestra are available, providing a source by which the construction of each program can be scrutinized, and any particular patterns can thus emerge. While in and of itself the data about ESO concerts provides insights into programming decisions, to elucidate how programs relate to the broader, global music community the orchestra's programming needs to be compared to other organizations across the world. To this extent, the ESO's concerts are contrasted to historical and contemporary examples of orchestral programs from a similar organization in the Prairies in Saskatoon, a larger Canadian orchestra in Toronto, and international orchestras in Germany and Austria. This reveals both similarities and differences while further illuminating the musical and organizational goals of the ESO.

To approach an analysis of the ESO's programs, I have first reconstructed

them from primary source material. A few actual concert programs exist in archives, and a listing of every concert was printed beforehand in the *Edmonton Journal*. This allows one to create a complete listing of ESO concerts (reproduced in appendix 5), and I have used the list to detect any patterns and trends that may indicate particular methods that planners may have used in developing programs. To understand more fully how the concerts were constructed, I next use a comparative framework to highlight any similarities or differences of the ESO to the other orchestras listed above. The programs of other orchestras are analyzed in much the same way as those of the ESO, allowing for a direct comparison. In order to provide a more representative sample I have intentionally chosen a variety of different orchestras: one that is potentially similar to the ESO (Saskatoon), a larger Canadian orchestra that may exhibit a few differences (Toronto), and two major international orchestras in Germany and Austria that exist in musical centres quite different from Edmonton.

The investigation of programs in chapter two begins to illustrate the ways in which the ESO conceived of Western art music concerts, and the third chapter expands on this concept by examining how the music was represented. Compositions that were programmed or excluded from concerts created a specific representation of Western European art music for Edmonton audiences. In the premiere musical centres of the world, programs given by orchestras such as the Vienna Philharmonic included works that formed a conception of high

art, in opposition to popular forms of music. The comparisons drawn between the ESO and other orchestras will here help to show whether Edmonton's citizens were subjected to a similar portrayal of music or if the city was somehow unique. Furthermore, discovering perceptions of Western art music reveals societal attitudes prevalent at the time; repertoire focused on male composers, for instance, exhibits gender exclusiveness that was common during the period. Revealing the perspectives of Edmontonians toward this genre of music, therefore, can elucidate how a certain segment of society reacted to the otherwise widespread beliefs of a certain period.

Kiri Miller's article on the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 is an ethnographic study that illustrates how music was used in a particular situation to further the goals and aims of a particular group of people. Through the actions of those responsible for musical events at the fair, Miller suggests, different genres of music came to represent different thoughts and ideals. Western art music, for example, was viewed as an art form that could edify the American public.[2] Likewise, the actions of the ESO and the music they programmed created a certain representation of music, and so I have used Miller's article as a basis for chapter three. In part, the ESO is compared to the acts of those at the 1893 World's Fair, which helps to elucidate how and what conceptions of Western art music were being formed. Where applicable, I have

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[2] Kiri Miller, "Americanism Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893," *19th-Century Music* 27, no. 2 (2003): 137-140.

also gone beyond comparisons to the article and engaged in ethnographical analysis in order to examine those areas that are applicable to the ESO but that may not be discussed in Miller's article.

The final chapter brings the elements of the ESO's programming and the ideas of representation explored in chapter three together to examine what supporters hoped the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra would accomplish in the city. The discussion is divided into three main components: the aims of musically knowledgeable supporters, the influence of the financial and social elite, and a broader investigation of how the general public influenced decisions made by the orchestra. The presence or absence of musical elitism is explored by looking at the repertoire programmed and comments made by those associated with the orchestra. The place of the orchestra within Edmonton society, including issues such as contemporary conceptions of "highbrow" and its relation to issues of class and social hierarchy are considered in relation to earlier studies of North American cultural institutions.[3] For instance, Lawrence Levine attempts to illustrate in *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* how music and various other cultural forms were used to

[3] Here and throughout the paper, "highbrow" is used as a term from the period under discussion. In usage during the early twentieth century, highbrow was applied to music considered elite, that is to say, musical genres that were intellectual in nature and thus carried connotations of high culture. Though the term was widely used during this time, its application was not always precise. Contemporary scholars in sociology and social history, such as Lawrence Levine (whose work will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4), have utilized the term in their own work. It is important to note that Levine does not use highbrow as its own analytical category, but instead attempts to illustrate how the distinction between highbrow and the opposite, lowbrow, came about in the United States.

emphasize a social hierarchy. Not all have agreed, however, as some such as Ralph P. Locke argue that while Levine is correct to an extent, many wealthy patrons were genuinely interested in promoting music they found personally fulfilling.[4] This Levine/Locke debate provides the main analytical framework for the section on social class issues. Finally, the influence of Edmontonians themselves is ascertained through a historical analysis of various actions of the ESO, such as the many educational efforts that the orchestra engaged in.

It should be noted that this is an institutional history of the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, as opposed to a social analysis of the players, supporters and audiences. I have here attempted to reconstruct a history of the orchestra itself as much as the various sources available have allowed me to do so. From this, I have analyzed the repertoire performed by the ESO, which raises questions as to why these works were played. In this context, an examination of elements such as social class helps to elucidate the programming goals of the ESO. However, I have not gone into great detail about specific musicians or patrons associated with the orchestra. As a result, topics like the political leanings of supporters and audience members have received limited attention. This is not because these subjects are insignificant; indeed, an examination of detailed social issues would prove an interesting and informative study. The reason for the lack of inclusion here is two-fold: first, materials that might reveal

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[4] Ralph P. Locke, "Music Lovers, Patrons, and the 'Sacralization' of Culture in America," *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (1993): 149-173.

any insight into the social and political thoughts of Edmonton's musicians and audiences are significantly lacking; secondly and partly because of the first reason, I have consciously decided to focus on the orchestra as an institution and the issues surrounding the music performed by such an ensemble. A study that further investigates the participants of the ESO would be most welcome, but is consequently beyond the scope of this paper.

The study of one orchestra alone cannot bring conclusive answers to these issues, but it can deepen our awareness of the factors at work. That the ESO during the 1920s was an orchestra on the periphery adds an additional perspective to a discussion that has been dominated by organizations like the Vienna and Berlin Philharmonic. While the ESO many times follows the programming examples of these larger institutions, the orchestra also pursued its own path. A combination of elements, from geographic location to demographics, affected what the ESO programmed, and what the ESO programmed at times challenges popular conceptions created by dominant orchestras.

Chapter 1
Edmonton, Music, and the ESO: A Historical Overview

I
A History of the City: 1795 - 1930[5]

During 1795, Franz Joseph Haydn completed the twelve London symphonies, while Ludwig van Beethoven's three *Piano Trios,* op. 1 were published. Within two years, Franz Schubert would also be born. While events such as these continued to shape the musical world and culture, halfway across the earth fur traders had other concerns. A fierce rivalry erupted between two companies in North America, the North West and the Hudson's Bay, and each sought to gain the upper hand. Explorers were dispatched across what is now Western Canada to search for the ideal location for building a new post. In the late eighteenth century, fur traders for the aforementioned companies began to establish trading locations along what is now known as the North Saskatchewan River. The Hudson's Bay Company reached a position not far north of current-day Edmonton by 1795, and here the first "Edmonton House"

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[5] A detailed examination of the history of Edmonton is beyond the scope of this paper, and only a brief summary until the end of the 1920s is given here. Although now somewhat dated, for one of the most extensive accounts of Edmonton's past, see J.G. MacGregor's *Edmonton: A History,* 2nd ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975). Linda Goyette and Carolina Jakeway Roemmich's *Edmonton: In Our Own Words* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004) presents numerous stories and recollections gathered from a number of sources, including archives, libraries, relatives of past Edmontonians, and people currently living in the city. Various essays on topics derived from Edmonton's history are collected in Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa, eds. *Edmonton: The Life of a City* (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers Ltd., 1995). The origins and history of Edmonton as a fur trading post is examined in Brock Silversides, *Fort de Prairies: The Story of Fort Edmonton* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House, 2005), and Philip R. Coutu, *Castles to Forts: A True History of Edmonton* (Edmonton: Thunderwoman Ethnographics, 2004). A more current history of the city is maintained on the internet, see Edmontonhistory.ca, "Edmonton: A City Called Home," http://www.edmontonhistory.ca/prelaunch/citycalled home/index.php.

was built.[6]

Competition from the North West Company was not the only difficulty faced by this newly established settlement. The positioning of the first outpost was itself an indication of the dangers faced by the fur traders; built on the north side of the Saskatchewan River, the potentially hostile Plains Indians would first have to cross from the south in order to attack. Of the various Nations coming to trade at Fort Edmonton, MacGregor writes,

> [b]oth companies had hoped that the war-like Plains Indians, the Blackfoot, Blood, Piegans and Gros Ventres, would continue to trade two hundred miles downstream at Fort George and Buckingham House, while the Crees and Assiniboines would come to Fort Augustus and Edmonton House. Bad blood existed between the Plains Indians and these Woods Indians, and whenever they met at trading posts they fought. Usually the Crees and Assiniboines came off second best, so it was highly desirable to have a place where tribes might bring their furs with a reasonable expectation of safety.[7]

If not under threat from nearby inhabitants, settlers at the fort frequently had to contend with the elements and scarce natural resources. In 1802, for example, Edmonton House was forced to move 20 miles upriver due to a lack of firewood.[8]

Despite these and other challenges the trading post managed to continue on and over time more people arrived to assist in the day-to-day operations of

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[6] J.G. MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975), 19. Initially named "Edmonton House," the "House" began to be dropped around 1879 in favour of the "Fort" prefix. By the time the city was incorporated in 1892, the use of "Edmonton" alone was common (Ibid., 89, 107).

[7] Ibid, 20.

[8] Ibid., 21.

the establishment. In 1840, Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle became the first missionary to reside in the Edmonton area, and the noises of the men's wives and children soon echoed throughout the fort.[9] Paul Kane, an explorer and painter, visited Edmonton in 1846 and recorded a description of activity at the outpost:

> All the Company's servants, with their wives and children, numbering about 130, live within the palings of the fort in comfortable log houses...every one was busy; the men, some in hunting, some in sawing boards in the saw-pit and building the boats, which go as far as York Factory...The women find ample employment in making moccasins and clothes for the men, putting up pemmican in ninety-pound bags.[10]

Another account by Kane provides insight into the types of food consumed by local residents. A Christmas feast in 1847, for example, consisted of

> [b]oiled buffalo hump...dried moose nose...boiled buffalo calf...taken from the cow by the Caesarean operation long before it attains its full growth...white fish, delicately browned in buffalo marrow...buffalo tongue...[and] beavers' tails.[11]

As Kane's writings illustrate, Edmonton's citizens were adapting to the environment and finding ways to thrive, in many instances despite obstacles that were encountered.

Some problems faced were military in nature, ranging from fears of aggressive expansion by the United States, to an attack on Fort Edmonton by

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[9] Ibid., 45.

[10] J. Arthur Lower, *Western Canada: An Outline History* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 56. Kane's painting of Fort Edmonton from 1847 is often included in many books about the history of Edmonton including, for instance, a full-color reproduction on the cover of Philip Coutu's *Castle to Forts*.

[11] Linda Goyette and Carolina Jakeway Roemmich, *Edmonton: In Our Own Words* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), 33.

the Blackfoot Nation averted only by persuasion from Father Lacombe, to worry over local militant action inspired by the Riel Rebellion.[12] None of these attacks materialized, however, and Edmonton was even spared when a smallpox plague in 1870 killed thousands of Alberta Indians and wreaked havoc with towns such as St. Albert where 320 people died.[13]

Edmonton continued to flourish even when the railroad bypassed the town in favour of Calgary in the early 1880s, since freight heading north would more naturally pass through the former location than the latter. Frank Oliver, the founder of Alberta's first newspaper described the disappointment and perseverance of Edmontonians when noting that

> [i]n 1881 it was decided to switch the projected railway from the northern to the southern route, leaving the Edmonton settlements 200 miles off the line. The pioneers were licked but they did not quit. They had faith in the country and confidence in themselves.
> They knew the railway had to come; but they could not tell when. They only could wait and hope. But while they waited, they worked.[14]

The promise of a railway joining Edmonton to the rest of Canada was again broken in 1890 when a line was stopped just across the river from Edmonton, in effect creating what would soon become the rival city of Strathcona. However, after Edmonton was proclaimed a city in 1904 and Alberta became a province one year later, the Canadian Northern Railway finally arrived, connecting

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[12] MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 55, 76-77, 100-02.
[13] Goyette and Roemmich, *Edmonton: In Our Own Words*, 93.
[14] Ibid., 104-05, 56.

Edmonton with Winnipeg.[15]

Whether or not caused by the new railway, good fortune found the city throughout the decade. Edmonton became the capital of the newly formed province of Alberta, and in 1907, Premier Rutherford announced the city as the site for a new provincial university. Edmonton even set aside their intense rivalry with Strathcona, and the two cities voted in September 1911 to amalgamate. The population increased, new infrastructure was built, and Edmonton seemed to be entering an age of prosperity.[16]

World events beyond the control of any Edmontonian, however, soon led to World War I, which, along with an economic depression in 1914 and the great flood of 1915, took their toll on the city.[17] The flood had already washed away lumber mills and left eight hundred families homeless for varying periods, and World War I merely added to the problems Edmontonians had to face. While Edmonton did not suffer economically as much as some of Canada, human losses were inevitable.[18] Of the 600,000 soldiers and 9,000 sailors sent from Canada, 45,136 came from Alberta. Of those from the province, many of whom also came from Edmonton, 6,140 died and many more were wounded.[19]

In a cruel twist of fate, one year after the war had ended the Spanish Flu

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[15] MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 147.

[16] Ibid., 154, 165, 186.

[17] Edmontonhistory.ca, "War and Depression, 1913-1939," http://www.edmontonhistory.ca/prelaunch/citycalledhome/edmstory/page.php?ScreenKey=989

[18] MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 218.

[19] Lower, *Western Canada*, 173. See also Goyette and Roemmich, *Edmonton: In Our Own Words*, 230.

hit Edmonton. Details of the macabre scene were written by Grace Duggan Cook, whose husband Alex

> had the task of removing seven bodies in one night...On November 6th, 54 people died in the city, the highest mortality in any one day. By Armistice Day, November 11, the total number of deaths stood at 262, but, thankfully the number of fatalities was falling off. Finally, over the whole province, 30,000 had caught the disease and over 3,000 had died. As the flu subsided, with grateful hearts, all Edmonton turned to celebrating the Armistice.[20]

By the time the pandemic had died out, 445 Edmontonians had lost their lives.[21]

The Roaring Twenties soon arrived and Edmonton began to prosper once again, but only to a limited extent at first due to the lingering economic effects felt by events like the great flood of 1915. New technologies were introduced, however, and culture flourished. Cars and airplanes became popular new methods of transportation, and advances such as the radio allowed CJCA to broadcast programs to Edmontonians beginning in 1922. Two other forms of entertainment, film and jazz, were also popular, as evidenced by the many people who turned out to see Al Jolson in *The Jazz Singer*, the first talking picture.[22]

However, once again success was tempered with difficulty as Edmonton fell victim to the Great Depression and World War II. Nevertheless, the city would survive these trying years, eventually growing into the place that many people still call home today.

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[20] Goyette and Roemmich, *Edmonton: In Our Own Words*, 266.
[21] MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 224.
[22] Ibid., 225-39.

II
Edmonton's Music: 1880s - 1920s

While music in Edmonton certainly existed prior to the late nineteenth century, most authors do not begin to write about arts in the city until at least the 1880s.[23] By 1891, the railroad had reached South Edmonton, allowing for an influx of musical talent, as travelers could now reach the city more easily. This also meant that Edmontonians were exposed to a wide variety of musical styles and events, and the options for entertainment included community concerts, vaudeville, recitals, symphonies, and dances.[24]

Earlier in the life of the city, however, churches were one of the main locations where music was performed publically. In describing the importance of churches to the development of musical activity, Wesley Berg notes that

> [t]hey provided an audience, a tradition of music-making that could survive the setbacks that a small group of pioneers would inevitably encounter, and a repertoire that, while usually not very sophisticated to begin with, had the potential to encompass more substantial music very easily....Churches also attracted choirmasters and organists whose contributions often extended well beyond the walls of the particular church employing them.[25]

Before there was an infrastructure that could support the arts in Edmonton, churches were locations that provided a concert space for musicians.

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[23] Wesley Berg, for example, starts an examination of music in the city in 1880. See Wesley Berg, "Music in Edmonton, 1880-1905," *Canadian University Music Review* 7 (1986): 141-170. Some other authors begin around ten years later; for instance, Beeth Gardner begins her study on the musical life of Edmonton in 1892, while a book examining leisure in Alberta, *Useful Pleasures*, starts in 1896. See Beeth Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life: 1892-1930* (Edmonton: Fort Edmonton Park, 1992)., and Donald G. Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1990).

[24] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures*, 215.

[25] Berg, "Music in Edmonton," 143.

Social gatherings were also important forums for music in the 1880s. People would frequently gather, often in a church, to celebrate an occasion, and music was inevitably a key part of the evening. When the local Presbyterians gathered to greet their new pastor in 1881, for example, there were solos and duets sung, along with a number of organ solos.[26]

After the railroad arrived, vaudeville and touring shows became perhaps the most prevalent form of amusement in Edmonton. Not only a musical event, vaudeville featured "gymnasts, trained animals, short plays and films, comedians, pantomimists, musicians, singers, and minstrel performers."[27] These performances became especially popular at the beginning of the twentieth century, after the celebrated touring company Pantages came to the city in 1909. The group eventually opened their own opulent theatre, the Edmonton Pantages, in 1913 and became the primary vaudeville company within the city. However, the rise of the talking cinema eventually proved too great a competitor, and vaudeville eventually disappeared from the stage.[28]

Bands were also popular amongst local residents. Indeed, there were a plethora of different ensembles including The Fire Brigade Band, The Edmonton Brass Band, the Bicycle Club Band, The Citizens' Band, and the N.W.M.P. Band. Typically consisting of woodwinds, brass, and percussion,

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[26] Ibid, 145.

[27] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures*, 220.

[28] Ibid., 219-20. Some of the features of the Edmonton Pantages Theatre included "gold trim, a gold satin stage curtain, and a seventy-foot scenic backdrop."

these groups often performed a variety of marches, waltzes, or what might now be termed "lighter classics." A Citizen's Band program from 1894, for instance, includes "The Rifleman" march by Engebert Brepsant (dates unknown).[29]

In addition to these bands, Edmonton was also home to an Orchestral Society, though this was not comparable to what one might consider an orchestra today. Playing for a Masonic Ball in 1893, the entire ensemble consisted of two violins, and a piano, cornet, flute and piccolo. By 1894, the group had added four string players and a few woodwinds and brass, but the primary purpose for this and other similar orchestral ensembles appears to have been for dances and community events rather than concerts of Western art music.[30]

Various choirs began to form more rapidly around the turn of the century. Among the more well known were the Edmonton Male Chorus and the Mendelssohn Choir. A wide assortment of music was performed by groups across the city, including both sacred and classical music.[31] The choirs mentioned above, in fact, would also on occasion join with the ESO to present choral numbers such as Felicien David's (1810-1876) *The Desert*, an *ode-symphonie* featuring vocal soloists, male-voice chorus, and orchestra.[32]

As the city continued to grow, musically talented people continued to

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[29] Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life*, 3-5, 24.

[30] Ibid., 6.

[31] Ibid., 48-49.

[32] "Concert on Large Scale to Be Given Next Friday by Symphony and Chorus," *Edmonton Journal*, Saturday, April 23 1932.

arrive. Those such as Vernon Barford, an organist and choirmaster, came to Edmonton and became deeply involved in the musical community. In November 1903, for example, Barford formed the Edmonton Operatic and Dramatic Society, which began with a performance of Robert Planquette's (1848-1903) comic opera, *The Chimes of Normandy*. The production was a resounding success and the society went on to perform Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, including *Trial by Jury* and *Pirates of Penzance*, into the following decade.[33]

The new century also saw the formation of organizations devoted to promoting and advancing music within Edmonton. Opening in 1903, Alberta College, for instance, offered courses on music, business, and the arts. The arrival of a faculty for the school meant that there were professional musicians available to the community, and the teachers were often found giving solo concerts or participating in musical events.[34] Starting in 1908, the Alberta Musical Festival also encouraged the development of musicians within the community. There were over 100 entries in the first festival, and the proceedings concluded with a gala concert featuring "a mixed chorus of 200 singers, a male chorus of 100 voices, and an orchestra of 40."[35] Another organization, the Women's Musical Club, which was often a critical partner in the success of the ESO, raised funds for scholarships and arranged concerts of

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[33] Berg, "Music in Edmonton," 155-156.
[34] Ibid, 157-158.
[35] Ibid, 163.

different musicians and musical groups.[36]

While all of the above groups frequently received coverage in newspapers, many other styles of music existed outside of the media spotlight. For example, jazz, although popular, was viewed as degenerate and immoral within many circles. The genre was often "criticized on the grounds that it neither required skill nor exhibited good taste," and as such was at best infrequently covered in the papers, save for scathing rebukes.[37]

Individual music making within the domestic sphere also did not receive much publicity, but there are many indications that the home was an important outlet for music enjoyment in Edmonton. Indeed, as Berg observes, "[t]he geographic isolation [of the city] was still a factor even after the coming of the railroad, and the residents of prairie cities continued to depend on self-reliance and ingenuity to meet their musical needs."[38] To this effect, advertisements for instruments frequently appear in newspapers, such as one for Mason & Rich pianos that declared, "The Quality Makes the Difference."[39] Local instructors for such instruments were often listed on the same page, with lessons available for violin, piano, voice, and so on. Recitals were a key component of the training process, and some of the more prominent programs received reviews in the papers. A critique of a piano recital in February 1923 noted that the performance

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[36] Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life*, 45.
[37] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures*, 243.
[38] Berg, "Music in Edmonton," 161
[39] Mason Rich Pianos, "Buy the Best!" *Edmonton Journal*, 3 February 1923.

was "of more than average interest," with "well grounded technique and glittering technical work [that was an] undeniable triumph, [and a] model of technical accuracy."[40]

While this overview does not detail the entire spectrum of musical activity in Edmonton around the turn of the century, it does highlight the diversity that was evident.[41] As the mix of groups and genres continued to grow and develop, Edmontonians would soon be introduced to another musical option, the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra. With the development of Edmonton's musical community, the resources were now in place for the formation of an orchestra. Opportunities like local theatres and Alberta College, for example, were able to attract professional musicians to the city. As such, musical life in Edmonton had matured to the point where a professional orchestra became a very real possibility, and all that remained now was the need for people to take action and turn a vision into reality.

III
A History of the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra

Even before the introduction of the ESO in 1920, an attempt was made to form an orchestra in the city. The Edmonton Orchestral Society, as it was to be known, was unable to gain the necessary impetus to become a successful

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[40] "Youthful Pianists Arouse Enthusiasm [in] Critical Audience," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 February 1923.

[41] This leaves out, for example, music by non-Anglophone groups, genres that may have been passed down orally, and so on.

organization and soon failed. There are, however, conflicting reports about what caused the downfall of this early orchestra, and these accounts likewise do not agree on the year in which these events took place. While an article in the *Edmonton Journal* in 1927 noted the society began in 1910 and dissolved a few years later due to a lack of commitment, Vernon Barford later wrote that the Orchestral Society was probably formed in 1911. Yet another article in 1968 gives the starting year as 1914.[42]

Regardless of when the Society was created and dissolved, by 1920 some citizens were arguing that a new, larger ensemble would be a viable option for Edmonton. For instance, one writer in the *Edmonton Bulletin* declared that,

> it would be a work of inestimable value if some bold spirit amongst the city's leading musicians were to step forward and merge several of the smaller orchestras into one amateur orchestral society![43]

This vision soon became reality, as by August of the same year the ESO was formed and concerts were planned to begin by November.[44]

Legally, the ESO was incorporated according to provincial charters in Alberta, and was thus registered to collect money as an artistic organization.[45] As noted in the *Edmonton Bulletin*, the orchestra was also "capitalized" at $6,000.[46] From the outset, the ESO was not to be a money making venture; no

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[42] Beeth Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life: 1892-1930* (Edmonton: Fort Edmonton Park, 1992), 51-52. Gardner argues that existing evidence suggests the orchestra was formed around 1913-1915 and lasted a season at best.

[43] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 June 1920.

[44] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 August 1920.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

dividends would be payable to members, and any profits garnered from performances were to be used to "further the orchestra."[47] Though there were calls by some for one or more patrons to secure the ESO's financial status by acting as guarantors, the orchestra would be supported by subscriptions throughout its existence.[48] An initial proposal hoped to sell at least 500 shares at a cost of twelve dollars each, which would have given the orchestra $6,000 to use toward any necessary costs during the first season.[49]

Cities across Canada also adopted similar approaches to structuring their orchestras. In Vancouver, for instance, the Vancouver Symphony Society (VSS) was incorporated in 1919 under the Benevolent Societies Act.[50] Like the ESO, the orchestra was also supported in large part by the people who attended the concerts. The Vancouver Symphony Orchestra (VSO) gave a series of concerts before its official inauguration, some of which were not attended as well as was hoped, which sparked a response from

> Percy Shallcross...a future Vancouver Symphony Society board member, stated that "If Vancouver wishes to retain Mr. Green [the conductor] and

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[47] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920. This likely referred to paying the musicians, purchasing additional scores, advertising the orchestra more, and so forth. The "members" described in the paper were most likely concert-goers who purchased "shares" in the orchestra, which entitled them to two season tickets per share.

[48] The pleas for support from wealthy patrons are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

[49] "Weekly Review," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920. According to the Bank of Canada's inflation calculator, $6,000 in 1920 is equivalent to approximately $57,282 by 2007 standards. See http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/rates/inflation_calc.html. There is no clear indication in the newspapers, but one might suggest it was also possible that subscribers to the concerts could have donated more to the orchestra than the $12 suggested by the orchestra. There are also no reports as to how many subscriptions the ESO was actually able to sell.

[50] John Becker, *Discord: The Story of the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra* (Vancouver: Brighouse Press, 1989), 5.

> the splendid aggregation of musicians which he has collected around him, it is necessary that the citizens take a deeper interest in these concerts and show their interest by attending." Green..."explained the results of the last three concerts, in which it showed that the proceeds therefrom could not guarantee the continuance of the concerts. He suggested that strenuous efforts be made to endeavour to fill the [Opera House] on Sunday next."[51]

Though at one point a conductor, Allard de Ridder, used his life savings of $1,500 to support the orchestra and guarantee the wages of the musicians, this money was later returned to him and in its early years the VSO was a non-profit institution dependant upon the support of audience members, much like the ESO.[52]

Other orchestras were structured slightly differently, but still exhibited the same business principles as the ESO and VSO. The Saskatoon Symphony Orchestra (SSO), for example, had roots in the University of Saskatchewan Conservatory. As a result, "the business organization was looked after by the governors [of the Conservatory] and a small committee of business men."[53] Thus, the interests were once again most likely non-profit, and the two dollars charged for a series of four concerts seems to have been the primary source of funding for the orchestra.[54]

Likewise in Toronto, the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) was also a

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[51] Ibid, 4-5.

[52] Ibid, 7.

[53] Muriel Leeper, *Sounds of Music, 1931-1981: A Fifty-Year History of the Saskatoon Symphony Orchestra* (Saskatoon: Houghton Boston, 1981), 11-14.

[54] Ibid, 14. Later on in 1948 a report further supports this assumption in noting that, "[l]ast year's *gross receipts* were $2,327.25. The over-all expenditures were roughly $2,000 leaving a balance of $325 on hand." (emphasis mine) See Leeper, *Sounds of Music*, 23.

not for profit volunteer operation, and one finds that "[e]ach musician received $3.95 for the concert and four rehearsals, but these musicians were performing for the sheer joy of being able to make music as part of a symphony orchestra."[55] As with the other orchestras already mentioned, the TSO was largely supported by paying audience members. For instance, in 1923 the TSO gave a Pops Concert, which was apparently "a good indication of the rapidly developing interest of the audience in the orchestra, and its resulting financial stability."[56] Similarly, part way through the 1925-26 season "there was a deficit of $2,073, but through a concentrated effort in ticket sales, along with more innovative programming, it was reduced to $641 by the end of the season."[57] Unlike the ESO, VSO and SSO, however, Toronto's orchestra also received some support through other means. As Richard Warren writes,

> Yet another undertaking of the orchestra's first full season was the formation of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra Women's Committee (now the TS Volunteer Committee). This...group, a continuing source of substantial financial support for the orchestra, was initiated in 1923 by Mrs. Luigi von Kunits [the wife of the conductor], who enlisted a group of women to form the Women's Orchestral Association of Toronto to secure interest and finances for the New Symphony Orchestra. In 1924 this group joined with the Executive Committee of the orchestra to create the New Symphony Orchestra Association, the aim being to establish an efficient and capable organization that could sustain the orchestra.[58]

Though the TSO may have been more complex in its business structure, the

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[55] Richard S. Warren, *Begins With the Oboe: A History of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 11.

[56] Ibid, 12.

[57] Ibid, 15.

[58] Ibid, 14.

orchestra was still an institution that, as described above, relied heavily on the support of a concert-going public.

Despite the legal status and business organization of the ESO, many hoped that Edmonton's new orchestra would bring a new level of musical professionalism to the city. As the *Bulletin* noted,

> [s]ome years ago the Edmonton orchestra rendered excellent service to music in the city, but it was not quite up to either symphonic dimensions or caliber. The new orchestra aims to qualify in both respects, and if it succeeds, there is no apparent reason why it shouldn't, it will be an organization of which the city may be proud.[59]

Even with the perceived lack of quality of the earlier ensemble, the original Orchestral Society formed the nucleus of the ESO.[60] Most of this core of musicians worked for vaudeville productions and in the city's dance halls and many of the others who would join the orchestra came from similar circumstances.[61]

According to articles in the *Edmonton Journal*, the initial objective of the ESO was to bring Western art music to the citizens of Edmonton, and as such, concerts were not to be highbrow but accessible to the public.[62] This meant that a wide variety of programming would be included, from lighter works to those considered more serious. In addition to an accessible and diverse program,

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[59] "Weekly Review," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920.

[60] Vernon Barford, "Artistic Achievements Early in Newly Settled Area," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 10 July 1940.

[61] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Comes of Age: A Short History of the First Twenty-One Years," in *Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Fonds* (Edmonton: City of Edmonton Archives, 1974).

[62] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 September 1920.

organizers intended to give emphasis to British composers, reflecting the heritage shared by many of the musicians and those in the audience.[63] Finally, as mentioned above, the ESO was not created with the idea of making money from concerts, but profits were instead to be used to promote the orchestra.[64]

With goals in place, the next task was to attract people to concerts. However, the orchestra immediately encountered one problem. The ESO planned to perform on Sunday evenings, but this meant that no tickets could be sold at the door. In 1907, under pressure from the religious community, the federal government passed the Lord's Day Act, restricting commercial transactions on Sundays. While not all activity was strictly forbidden by the act and the orchestra was permitted to hold concerts, the ESO could not collect any money from ticket sales the day of each performance.[65] As such, the ESO was forced to sell only subscriptions for the entire season, and thus depended on patrons making a commitment for the whole year.[66] Subscribers could purchase one card for $12, which would reserve two seats for each of the eight upcoming concerts to be given in the first season.[67] In spite of the restrictions the Lord's Day Act posed, the orchestra was nevertheless able to attract quite a few of subscribers, and the first concert was given on 14 November 1920 to a capacity

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[63] "Concerts Arranged by Symphony Orchestra," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 October 1920.

[64] "Weekly Review," 28 August 1920.

[65] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures*, 22-23.

[66] Lilly Mullett, "Notes and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 6 November 1926. Regrettably, no known information on the size of the ESO's subscription base exists.

[67] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Starts Active Campaign," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 October 1920.

audience. The event took place at the Pantages theatre, the same one used by vaudeville group of the same name, which held 1,600 people.[68] There is no indication of whether the entire theatre was utilized for the ESO concert, and an exact number of attendees is unavailable apart from reports of filling the theatre, although the *Journal* did list a number of patrons present, such as "His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Brett."[69]

The premiere performance included Mozart's *"Jupiter" Symphony, Scenes alsaciennes* by Massenet, and Scottish composer Hamish McCunn's *Land of the Mountain and the Flood,* which were all conducted by Albert Weaver-Winston.[70] Even though the musicians were still learning to play together as a group, the *Journal* reported that the concert succeeded in "delighting" the audience.[71] The *Edmonton Bulletin* went so far as to argue that it would be difficult to hear a finer first performance of the *"Jupiter" Symphony,* even if the second movement did not fare so well. Indeed, the author of that review sensed that the concert was a momentous occasion for Edmonton, writing that

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[68] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Delighted Capacity Audience at Initial Concert of Season," *Edmonton Journal,* 15 November 1920. See also John Orrell, *Fallen Empires: Lost Theatres of Edmonton, 1881-1914* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981), 115.

[69] "Women's Activities at Home and Abroad," *Edmonton Journal,* 15 November 1920.

[70] For a complete listing of the ESO's principal conductors, see appendix 1. The pieces played by the orchestra at each concert from 1920 to 1933 are provided in appendix 5. The ESO's first conductor was actively involved in Edmonton's musical community. Upon Weaver-Winston's appointment, for instance, the *Journal* reveals that he was also the conductor of the Pantages orchestra and director of Associate Studios, which provided private music lessons. Another advertisement placed by Weaver-Winston to promote his services also indicates that he was the director of the violin department at Alberta College. See "Home Notes for Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal,* 27 March 1920, and "Albert Winston-Weaver," *Edmonton Journal,* 5 March 1921.

[71] "ESO Delighted Capacity Audience," 15 November 1920.

> [s]ome time in the future, when the musical history of Edmonton is written, the chronicler, whoever he may be, will find Sunday, Nov. 14th, 1920, ineradicably imprinted in the sequence of important events. That Sunday, Nov. 14th saw the passing of one of the most difficult milestones none will question, for last night the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra made its bow to the public and set out upon a career which should prove a boon to the community at large, and for the success of which many people earnestly hope.[72]

The initial success of the ESO was noticed by a variety of people and organizations. The Board of Trade, for instance, noticed the orchestra having what was perceived as a positive influence on the community. Furthermore, they foresaw the potential of the ESO for bringing recognition to Edmonton.[73] A newcomer to the city also praised the orchestra, noting that, "it is extremely surprising to find the comparatively new western towns in such a high state of musical development."[74]

The ESO's first season continued well, and concerts were scheduled about once every month. Reviews of performances were mostly positive, though the orchestra was certainly susceptible to unflattering critiques. A concert given in December 1920 was praised as "splendid," but certain numbers like Beethoven's *Leonore Overture No. 3* were criticized for "some monotony of

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[72] "Symphony Won Approval From Fine Audience," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 November 1920.

[73] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 December 1920. The main capacity of the Board of Trade was to help facilitate commerce in the city and to promote Edmonton across North America. For example, commenting on the accomplishments of the board, one *Journal* article notes that they "assisted the provincial government and other boards of trade in obtaining the full benefit of the Crow's nest freight rates equalization[,] established a tourist bureau for the city...[and] supported the extension of the Jasper highway and the gravelling of the Calgary trail." See "Board of Trade Campaign to Gain Members Starts Wednesday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 November 1926.

[74] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 December 1920.

tonal production" and the "markedly ragged [playing by the first violins] in certain passages."[75]

Still, the orchestra managed to improve throughout the remainder of the year, and the season ended with a tradition that would carry on until the ESO's collapse in 1933; prior to the final concert, subscribers were issued a paper ballot on which they could vote from a preselected list the numbers they wished to hear on the closing program.[76] The first request concert was deemed a success, and performances of compositions like Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* were given such accolades as being "flawless and totally artistic in interpretation."[77] The inaugural series of the ESO came to a close, and the outlook was optimistic for Edmonton's first full-fledged orchestra.

The second year began in the shadow of the failures of other orchestras across North America. Near the end of the previous season, the Seattle Symphony was forced to discontinue concerts due to financial difficulty, and the Vancouver Symphony followed the same path in September 1921.[78] Likely because of these collapses, and due to the ESO's own precarious financial position, attempts were made to promote the orchestra and secure adequate support. One such plea in the *Bulletin* begins by stating the value of the

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[75] "ESO With Mrs. Clifford Brown as Soloist Gave Splendid Concert," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 December 1920.

[76] "Symphony Concert Sixth Program," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 March 1921.

[77] "Final Series of Local Concerts by City's Symphony," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 25 April 1921.

[78] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 March 1921. See also Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 September 1921.

orchestra to the city:

> By means of the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, the name and fame of this peerless city has been prominent in musical journals in Europe and America, thus giving the city much free advertising which it would not have otherwise received. For does not a city which boasts a symphony orchestra look like a progressive and desirable place in which to settle?[79]

Because of this inherent value, the author perceived the orchestra as a "tremendous power for good" and bemoaned the lack of guarantors or an endowment fund that could support the orchestra financially.[80]

Nevertheless, the ESO continued to enjoy positive levels of public support, even though people were sometimes slow in submitting their annual subscriptions.[81] Albert Weaver-Winston once again conducted the orchestra, and reviews in both the *Journal* and *Bulletin* remained relatively favourable. Although at times minor deficiencies were detected in the orchestra's playing, the critics generally noticed an improvement in the artistic level of the ensemble.[82]

For the first time, the ESO also offered their services to raise money for a charitable cause. A large audience turned out for a special concert, and $222.70 was raised in aid of the school board's milk fund.[83] In the end, the season was deemed another success, and the *Bulletin* reported that the ESO had played 48

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[79] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 5 November 1921.

[80] Ibid.

[81] "Home Notes for the Home Musician," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 October 1921.

[82] See, for example, "Another Success Credited to Edmonton Symphony Orchestra at Fifth Concert of Season," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 March 1922.

[83] "Edmonton Symphony Concert in Aid of Milk Fund Attracted Big Audience to Empire Theatre," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 March 1922.

works representing 35 "standard" composers, consisting of six symphonies, thirteen overtures, eleven suites, and eighteen other miscellaneous compositions.[84]

The arrival of the third season brought about changes to the orchestra. Albert Weaver-Winston left to assume a position at a theatre in Calgary, and Henri Baron was elected as the ESO's second conductor.[85] Under Baron, the orchestra would experience possibly its greatest musical growth of the decade. Baron was born in France, where he gained much of his musical experience. While in the military, he enlisted with the band, which enabled Baron to continue with his musical studies. Before immigrating to Canada, he gained a working knowledge of orchestral instruments, and was apparently able to play a number of them quite well. For four years, Baron was also a member of a jury responsible for the admission of pupils to the National Conservatory in Paris. He came to Canada in 1896 and eventually took up permanent residence in Edmonton a few years before being asked to lead the orchestra.[86]

Baron's directorship of the ESO began to generate enthusiasm for the upcoming season, with orchestra rehearsals showing great promise. Indeed, a review of his first concert was overwhelmingly positive, remarking that he "used his baton with military precision," producing a concert that was a

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[84] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 May 1922.

[85] "Home Notes for Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 May 1922. See also "A. Weaver-Winston Goes to Calgary," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 September 1922.

[86] "Concert Program, 11 April 1926," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

"milestone of progress and artistic endeavour" for the ESO.[87] The audience remained enthusiastic throughout the season, and the orchestra finished financially with a balanced budget.[88]

Even though by most appearances the ESO was doing well, the recently ended season had revealed some of the struggles with which an orchestra in a burgeoning city had to contend. There are indications, for instance, that at times the ESO at times faced a shortage of musicians. On more than one occasion, the orchestra was forced to substitute one instrument for another because of the necessary player being unavailable, presumably because there was no one in Edmonton available or advanced enough to play with the ensemble. In 1923, one concert review observes the unusual coloring created by the violins and cornets filling in for the absence of horns.[89] At the next concert, the ESO had managed to procure two horn players, but was now missing an oboe.[90]

The quest for proper concert facilities in Edmonton was also highlighted during the third season. There had been calls for a concert hall right from the orchestra's inception. For example, in 1920 the Minnesota Symphony Orchestra visited the city but was forced to perform on the fairgrounds. In combination with the arrival of the ESO the same year, this caused many to argue need for a venue suitable to host such events. In fact, the lack of a concert hall was viewed

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[87] "Symphony Opens Season," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 November 1922.

[88] "Home Notes for Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 April 1923.

[89] "Edmonton Symphony Delighted Large Audience Sunday Night when Third Concert was Given," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 January 1923.

[90] "Fine Symphony Program," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 February 1923.

by many as a serious drawback to the city.[91] Then, a few months prior to the start of the third season, tentative plans for the erection of a musical arts building were drawn up in the hopes that "musically inclined people" would contribute to a fund for construction of such a building.[92] Discussion of the new centre continued into October but likely did not receive sufficient support, for further mention afterwards is not forthcoming.[93] This turned out to be somewhat ironic, for later that year the ESO was forced to perform in a venue that lacked adequate heating. In the middle of December, the weather outside was very cold, and as a result musicians and audience members alike suffered through a chilly concert. The reviewer for the *Journal*, in fact, was amazed that the orchestra had played so well, given the cold temperature inside the theatre.[94] Appeals for an adequate concert venue continued throughout the years, but would never become a reality during the first incarnation of the ESO.

As the fourth season approached, the orchestra was improving under the leadership of Henri Baron. Rather suddenly, however, Baron submitted his resignation, and had to be persuaded to stay on as the principal conductor.[95] Although not specifically mentioned as a reason for his sudden move, Baron's health may have been a contributing factor. A few weeks after this event, Vernon Barford was assigned as an assistant conductor, and Baron's health was

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[91] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 September 1921.
[92] "Home Notes for Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 June 1922.
[93] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 October 1922.
[94] "Symphony Pleased Many," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 December 1922.
[95] "Symphony Conductor to Retain Post," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 October 1923.

listed as "precarious."[96] Nevertheless, both conductors were able to lead the orchestra to generally positive reviews in a season that continued to attract many patrons.

During their fifth year, however, the ESO began to experience a number of problems. First, ill health forced Baron to resign his position with the orchestra, leaving Vernon Barford to take over as conductor.[97] While Barford was able to provide insightful musical interpretations, other troubles were still ahead. On December 20, 1924, an article appeared in the *Journal* reporting on the possible formation of a Philharmonic Orchestra. Although not stating the exact problem, the story notes that the movement was due to a general dissatisfaction among members of the ESO with the "state of affairs present in the orchestra at this time."[98] The new orchestra, under the direction of Mr. A. Fratkin, was already rehearsing and planning three subscription based concerts to begin in February 1925.[99] This prompted a response from the ESO the following week, where in the *Journal* one finds that the symphony orchestra planned to continue giving concerts according to schedule. The article also observed that rehearsals were never better attended and claimed the season would be finished with an orchestra up to full strength, suggesting that some musicians may have left the

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[96] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Continues," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 October 1923.

[97] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 October 1924.

[98] "New Philharmonic Orchestra May Be Formed in Edmonton," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 December 1924.

[99] Ibid.

organization to join the new Philharmonic Orchestra.[100] At any rate, the Philharmonic received no further mention in Edmonton papers, signifying perhaps reconciliation between the parties involved or a lack of support for the Philharmonic. Amidst this turmoil, the ESO still managed to provide a satisfactory season for their patrons.

Although Henri Baron returned to conduct for the sixth season, the ESO was now beginning the concert year with a considerable financial deficit. The amount subscribed by patrons did not cover expenses and the orchestra was forced to ask patrons for a minimum additional payment of $6 each. The lack of financial support was decried in the *Journal*, where the music editor thought the situation was inconceivable: Edmonton's citizens should not let monetary shortfalls happen, as the loss of the ESO would be incalculable to the community life of the city. Edmonton was also considering an attempt to attract a professional baseball team during this time, to which the editor argued the city should take at least as much interest in, and perhaps even more, the ESO.[101] In spite of the financial problems, most concerts, apart from one close to Christmas, played to crowded houses.

With high levels of attendance, one might expect that the orchestra would have been able to find greater financial security. The ESO's deficit, however, carried over into the following season, at which point the situation

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[100] "Give Symphony Concerts According to Schedule," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 December 1924.

[101] H.F. Mullett, "Notes - and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 10 October 1925.

became especially troublesome. Even before any concerts, articles appeared in the *Journal* appealing for greater support. Patrons were urged to secure at least one new subscriber to help cover the costs of operating an orchestra.[102] The situation became so grave that the invitation concert, a program that could be attended by anyone so that potential patrons could gauge their interest in subscribing, was to be a measure of the support for the ESO. If enough people were not at the concert, there was a very real possibility that the orchestra would have to suspend operations.[103] However, there was a sense of relief when sufficient support was obtained and the first concert drew a large audience.[104]

Financial difficulties had created an interesting start to the seventh season, and the year would also prove eventful for Baron in what would be his final term with the orchestra. Around the same time the ESO was appealing for additional support, Baron was honoured by the French government and made an "Officer de l'Academie Francaise."[105] Then in early 1927, Baron composed a transcription of *O Canada* for the orchestra to play. He dedicated his adaptation to the patrons, and the number was enthusiastically received. Sadly, only six days after his arrangement had been performed by the ESO, Baron's wife

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[102] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Appeals for Greater Support," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 October 1926.

[103] Lily Mullett, "Notes and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 6 November 1926.

[104] "First Symphony Concert of Year," *Edmonton Journal*, 9 November 1926. Neither the *Edmonton Bulletin* nor the *Journal* comment on how many additional people attended the concert in addition to regular subscribers, only that there was a "capacity audience" at the Empire Theatre. See also "Symphony Orchestra's Concert Great Success," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 November 1926.

[105] "First Symphony Concert of Year," *Edmonton Journal*, 9 November 1926.

passed away after a long and lingering illness.[106] In light of this tragedy and his own deteriorating health, Baron resigned as principal conductor at the season's end and moved to New York to stay with his son. Less than a year later, Baron himself passed away.[107]

The year was also significant as the first concert designed specifically for children was held. Children were typically not allowed to attend regular ESO performances, and the idea of an educational concert had been previously discussed between the school board and orchestra.[108] A price of fifteen cents for each child was agreed upon, and the program was to consist of Rossini's *William Tell Overture,* the first movement from the *Unfinished Symphony* by Schubert, Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slave, In a Chinese Temple Garden* by Ketelby, and Boccherini's well-known *Minuet.*[109] According to the *Edmonton Bulletin,*

> [t]he program was selected with a view to the occasion and included numbers calculated to give the pupils an idea of the best in music and at the same time not labor them with heavy or complicated works beyond their comprehension. In this the program was entirely successful.[110]

A collection was also taken to help school choruses travel to Calgary for a musical competition, and organizers hoped this would be first children's concert of many.[111]

Under Baron, the orchestra had continued to develop musically, and that

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[106] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal,* 15 January 1927.

[107] "Symphony Conductor Passes," *Edmonton Journal,* 6 October 1928.

[108] Lily Mullett, "Notes and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal,* 30 October 1926.

[109] "Public School Pupils to Hear Symphony Orchestra Concert," *Edmonton Bulletin,* 16 April 1927.

[110] "Special Treat for Children at New Empire," *Edmonton Bulletin,* 30 April 1927.

[111] "Local Symphony Play for Children," *Edmonton Journal,* 16 April 1927.

task now fell to Vernon Barford for the eighth season. Barford responded mostly to critical acclaim; one concert, for instance, was a "decided success" for which the conductor received a double encore.[112] However well received the performances were the year also had the distinction of having perhaps the worst reviewed concert of the orchestra's early history. One finds that a performance in February 1928 was "not productive of many thrills or much exhilaration," and that "an impression of dullness was strongly obtained." Specifically, Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony was generally good, but "lacked the fire necessary to wake up the audience."[113] In the end, the ESO was now on somewhat stable footing but the recent financial troubles remained clear in the minds of everyone. Nevertheless, the orchestra was able to finish the year with a balance of nearly $200.[114]

The ninth season, also under the direction of Barford, was also positive despite some problems in securing a performance space at the start of the concert year. Unable to obtain theatre arrangements, the orchestra was forced to begin the year in Memorial Hall, which only seated around 600 people, less than both the Pantages and Empire theatres could hold.[115] At the concert, the mayor of Edmonton appealed for greater support of the orchestra, and referred to the

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[112] "Symphony Orchestra," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 December 1927.

[113] "Symphony Concert," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 February 1928. Interestingly, a review of the same concert in the *Bulletin* found the orchestra in "fine fettle," with an "excellent and varied program." See "Fourth Symphony Concert Most Enjoyable Occasion," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 13 February 1928.

[114] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Ends Season with $200 Balance," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 April 1928.

[115] "E.S.O. Commences Its Ninth Season," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 October 1928.

city's need for a real auditorium for concerts.[116] By the next performance, however, the ESO was back at their usual location at the Empire Theatre, where they would remain for the rest of the year.[117]

The final season of the decade included one last change of conductors, with Frederick Holden-Rushworth assuming the duties. In a concert program from this season, Holden-Rushworth is described as a "late conductor of European Opera Houses and Kursaals," who was also currently engaged as the provincial representative for the Trinity College of Music and as an organist and choir master at First Presbyterian Church.[118] Throughout the ESO's tenth year, Holden-Rushworth led the orchestra to critical acclaim. The *Bulletin* heralded the first concert as a "masterly interpretation of [a] heavy program" that was a "complete triumph."[119] Similarly, at the final performance, the *Bulletin* said that Holden-Rushworth "conducted with finesse and precision" in a concert that was "on an elevated place, above others."[120]

In addition, this season marked a new era for the ESO as they broadcast their final concert of the year over the radio on CJCA. What had begun in 1920 as an uncertain venture was now utilizing the latest technologies in order to

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[116] "Local Symphony Orchestra Starts Its Ninth Season," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 October 1928.

[117] "Clever Symphony Orchestra Renders Splendid Program," *Edmonton Journal*, November 19, 1928.

[118] "Concert Program, 17 November 1929," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

[119] "Symphony Orchestra Opens Promising Season Sunday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 21 October 1929.

[120] "ESO Gives Last Concert This Season," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 14 April 1930.

reach a wider audience, and those in rural areas were given the opportunity to hear the orchestra.[121]

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 had passed, the Great Depression had begun, and the effects were starting to be felt by the ESO. In a 1930 letter to patrons, the board of directors outlines the financial situation of the orchestra:

> The tenth season was without doubt, the most successful the orchestra has ever had. Faced with a deficit...we started off with some misgivings as to whether we would be able to reach our objective, but thanks to the splendid support received from our patrons, it soon became evident that the efforts of the orchestra were being appreciated, and that there was reasonable certainty of financial success. Unfortunately however, the stock exchange slump came along just at a time when we needed a few more dollars to place us on a sound footing and several promises failing to materialize as a result thereof, we found ourselves at the end of the season, still on the wrong side of the ledger![122]

Despite the finances of the orchestra and the situation across the world, some were beginning to see the orchestra as one of the city's permanent institutions. F. Holden-Rushworth was back to conduct once again, and the future of the ESO seemed bright.[123]

However, optimism was soon to be replaced by the reality of a dire financial situation. As a result of low subscription numbers, attendance at the first concert was extremely poor, and in November a notice appeared in the *Journal*, stating that "to avert a very serious calamity in musical Edmonton, namely the cessation of the Edmonton Symphony orchestra concerts, definite

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[121] "Symphony Concert, Final of Season Is Most Enjoyable," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 April 1930.

[122] "Here and There, In the Realm of Music," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 September 1930.

[123] "Orchestra Enters Second Decade," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 April 1930.

steps are being taken by the management of that body."[124] At the time, the board was uncertain as to whether the season could be completed without a serious deficit. In an attempt to secure better financial support, the orchestra sent out a questionnaire proposing concerts be held on Mondays rather than Sundays.[125] If passed, the ESO would not be hindered by the Lord's Day Act and would be able to charge admission on a single ticket basis in addition to subscriptions. Symphony patrons were overwhelmingly in favour of the move, and the orchestra subsequently announced the availability of single tickets priced at 50 cents, 75 cents, and one dollar.[126]

The move to Monday was a success with audiences, and the orchestra enjoyed strong turnouts for the remainder of the season. In fact, the ESO even scheduled an additional "guest" concert, to which patrons could bring a friend. The event was attended by dignitaries such as His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Egbert, and the sight of a capacity house gave the board of directors a "grand and glorious feeling."[127]

There is no indication as to how financially successful the Monday night concerts were, however, and heading into the twelfth season the financial situation remained dire, overshadowing any artistic accomplishments of the

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[124] "Symphony Members Send Questionnaire," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 November 1930.
[125] Ibid.
[126] "Symphony Patrons Vote for Monday," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 December 1930.
[127] "Guest Symphony Concert Notable Event Monday," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 February 1931. See also "Popular Symphony Concert Offering Proves Success," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 February 1931.

orchestra. The year began with a deficit, and although the initial invitation concert managed to meet half of the shortfall, the situation was still precarious.[128] In January of the New Year, season ticket prices had been reduced by half, and a full-fledged campaign was underway to find sponsors. As the *Journal* noted, "the regular patrons have been circularized during the past week, and most of the large business firms in the city are being approached by the members of the junior chamber of commerce, who are actively sponsoring the Symphony under the direction of F.G. Winspear."[129]

The efforts of Winspear and others were successful, but only to a certain extent. Although the ESO reportedly ended the year with a small balance, none of the musicians received remuneration for their efforts.[130] As a result, the board decided to put the orchestra in stasis for the thirteenth season. No public performances were planned for the upcoming year, but rehearsals would continue as they had in the past. Musicians would render their services for free, and all involved hoped that the orchestra could continue giving concerts when Edmontonians were once again able to provide financial support.[131]

Members of the ESO met faithfully for practice every Tuesday evening, but in January F. Holden-Rushworth left for Eastern Canada leaving the

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[128] "Matters of Musical Moment," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 November 1931. The amount of the orchestra's deficit is not given.

[129] "Big Campaign Now in Progress For Symphony," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 January 1932.

[130] "Edmonton Symphony is Not Disbanding," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 October 1932.

[131] Ibid.

conducting position vacant.[132] Mrs. J.B. Carmichael soon took over and became the only woman conductor in Canada at the time and the first ever to lead the ESO. Under her guidance, the orchestra soon planned a concert for March, which was subsequently termed an "unqualified success."[133]

In spite of the trying times caused by the Great Depression, the ESO had managed to endure, albeit in a reduced mode since 1932. The next year, however, the orchestra was nowhere to be found, and the Depression had claimed another victim. The ESO gradually faded from the pages of the *Journal* and *Bulletin* and would not return until the orchestra was resurrected almost twenty years later in 1952.

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[132] "Popular Edmonton Musician Is Leaving City Shortly," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 January 1933.

[133] "Symphony Gives First Concert," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 March 1933. Mrs. Carmichael came to Edmonton in 1920 as a violinist in a vaudeville show. She became involved in other musical activities, including conducting at the University of Alberta and the Edmonton Women's Musical Club. Carmichael was also a regular violinist for the ESO, and for many years was the only female instrumentalist playing in the orchestra. See Wesley Berg and Gerry Paulson, "Mrs. J.B. Carmichael and the Edmonton Civic Opera Society, 1935-1971," *Canadian University Music Review* 17, no. 2 (1997): 30-48, and Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 212.

Chapter 2
Programming the ESO

I
Analysing ESO Programs

One of the initial goals of the ESO, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was to make Western art music accessible to the citizens of Edmonton through a balance of "lighter" and more "serious" compositions.[134] Such a statement carries a number of connotations ranging from conceptions at the time of highbrow to perceived divides between a supposed musically educated elite and an uninformed public. However, before these matters can be discussed, the actual programming of the ESO needs to be examined to determine how closely the objectives of the orchestra were followed; this will allow for an accurate analysis of the forthcoming issues.

Concert programs, in and of themselves, can reveal much useful information about a musical event. Apart from listing the pieces played, these sources also reveal details such as the homogeneity (a performance of all symphonies, for instance) or variety of a concert. Furthermore, significant changes, or lack thereof, from one set time to another are detectable through a study of programs, providing clues about the musical tastes of the audience, changing goals of the orchestra itself, and so forth.

While the compositions to be performed at each concert were always printed in advance in Edmonton's newspapers and are thus available to anyone

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[134] See chapter 1, page 27.

today, the actual number of extant concert programs is limited.[135] This can create some problems, for the listing provided in the papers was not meant to be indicative of the order in which the pieces were to be played.[136] Furthermore, the concert programs available are all from 1926 onward, leaving a sizeable gap in the first half of the orchestra's existence. Thus, tracking subtle changes can be difficult, but an examination of the existing programs can still elucidate various aspects of the ESO. For instance, a basic arrangement of the music becomes evident through an examination of the programs, which can be illustrated by the following example:

First Concert, November 17, 1929
Overture to "Coriolanus"...Beethoven
Andante to Fourth Symphony...Tchaikovsky
Part Song, "Victory"...Jenkins (choir)
Soldiers Chorus from *Faust*...Gounod (choir)
Trepak...Rubinstein
Scenes from Childhood...Bizet
British Folk Song Setting, "Country Gardens"...Arr. Grainger
Allegro con fuoco from Fourth Symphony...Tchaikovsky[137]

Here, an overture opens the concert, which is followed by an excerpt from a symphonic work. In the middle, guest performances are given by a men's choir, and then the orchestra closes with four mixed compositions. This pattern

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[135] A more complete collection may exist in an unknown private collection, but to date local archives only house a limited number of programs.

[136] There are also no guarantees, however, that the listing presented in the program was also the order at the concert, as last minute changes, for example, could have altered the sequence. Nevertheless, the program still presents a clearer indication of the *intended* concert performance.

[137] "Concert Program, 17 November, 1929," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta) See appendix 4 for the complete concert listings from extant ESO programs.

permeates other concerts with only minor exceptions. The overture is sometimes replaced with another composition, and occasionally switches places on the program with the symphony. Elsewhere, an additional movement from a symphony is sometimes set at the end of a program, but each time they are only single movements, fitting the concept of having shorter, separate works in the second half. Despite these differences, a general tripartite arrangement can be deduced from the programs, whereby an overture and symphony, or individual movements from a symphony, precede a non-orchestral solo or ensemble performance. The concert is then concluded with an assortment of shorter, individual pieces or a suite.

Given this formula, the pattern can also be detected in other ESO programs where the order cannot be as easily assumed. A concert from the first season, for example, can be rearranged from the listing given in the newspaper to a format similar to the November 17 program given above:

Fourth Concert, February 13, 1921
(Rearrangement from listing in the *Edmonton Journal*)
Overture to *The Bartered Bride*...Smetana
Andante cantabile from *Fifth Symphony*...Tchaikovsky
Arias from *Acis and Galatea*...Handel (solo)
Minuet...Boccherini
Suite, "A Pagoda of Flowers"...Woodforde-Finden[138]

Not every performance so readily follows this pattern, however. In 1924, the

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[138] "Home Notes for the Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 February 1921. Amy Woodforde-Finden (1860-1919) was a British composer. She lived for a time in India, inspiring her *Four Indian Love Lyrics* that achieved some success. Her music is notable for oriental subjects and sentimental melodies. See Andrew Lamb, "Woodforde-Finden, Amy," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

Journal lists a variety of overtures and short pieces to be mixed with solos:

Fourth Concert, February 17, 1924
(As listed in the *Edmonton Journal*)
Scenes from the Bavarian Highland...Elgar
Overture to *La Forza del Destino*...Verdi
Italian Wedding Festival...Maurice Baron
The Dark Road...W.J. Hendra
Brittania Overture...Sir Alexander MacKenzie
Excerpts from Scheherazade...Rimsky-Korsakov
"It is Enough" from *Elijah*...Mendelssohn (solo)
"Who is Sylvia"...Schubert (solo)[139]

Still, despite such exceptions the majority of concerts followed a typical pattern that includes the elements described above.

As these programs suggest, the music presented at any given concert could be quite diverse. Throughout the course of an evening, audiences might experience both a traditional Western symphony and music incorporating exoticism, such as Amy Woodforde-Finden's *Indian Love Lyrics*.[140] The genres of music performed were as varied, with symphonies, suites, overtures, symphonic poems, dances, marches, concertos, and more routinely being added to programs. Within these genres, Baroque, Classical, Romantic, and Contemporary composers were all represented by the ESO, but there was a strong bias toward Romantic and early twentieth-century music. In fact, Handel and Purcell were the only composers selected from the Baroque era, while the ESO only ever performed Classical compositions by Mozart, Haydn, and

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[139] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 February 1924.

[140] Woodforde-Finden's *Indian Love Lyrics* was performed on December 10, 1922. See appendix 5 for complete concert listings.

Boccherini.[141] Thus, concerts were typically historically and stylistically homogeneous; even the works selected from the early part of the century were musicians who typically composed in a Romantic style as opposed to the new atonal and neoclassical method of Schoenberg, Prokofiev, and others.

Furthermore, contemporary music from living composers, whether avant-garde or in a Romantic vein, was underrepresented in proportion to pieces from deceased historical figures. During the ninth season, for instance, only 7.7% of the works performed by the ESO were by composers who were still alive. Only in the last season did the number rise above 30%, but this number is deceptive since the orchestra was only able to give one concert that year due to financial constraints. Over the course of the ESO's existence, an average of 22% of all pieces performed were composed by those alive at the time of the concert.[142]

The dominance of the past might in part be attributed to the popularity of certain works and composers. For instance, Mendelssohn was heard a total of eighteen times, Schubert twenty-one, and Tchaikovsky thirty-six, while many pieces by other composers were only performed once or twice. At the same time, however, individual pieces accounted for many appearances by these and other composers on concert programs. Tchaikovsky's *Sixth* and *Fifth Symphonies*, or excerpts from them, were each performed six times. More astonishing, nearly

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[141] For a complete reference of composers performed by the ESO, see appendix 3.

[142] See appendix 6 for a complete table illustrating the ratio of performances of living and dead composers.

half of the time that Schubert was included on a program, the work in question was the *Unfinished Symphony*. Indeed, some composers who received multiple performances were only known by one particular work; audiences, who heard Boccherini played on eight different occasions, were only ever introduced to his *Minuet for Strings*.[143]

Whatever the relation between past and present, the promotion of contemporary music was not part of the ESO's original goal. However, there was a desire to give special emphasis to British composers, given the shared heritage among many of the members.[144] An analysis of the nationality of composers performed by the ESO shows that while English works did garner attention, they were hardly given preferential treatment. Germanic composers (those from Germany or Austria) were the most dominant, comprising 28.5% of the ESO's performances. A preponderance of Tchaikovsky raised Russian composers into second, while the British finished third at 13.6%, but barely so, for the French followed close behind.[145] Still, the large presence of English music might suggest that organizers deliberately sought to include British composers on the program. At any rate, although music from countries around the world such as Brazil and Australia was performed by the ESO, over 90% of

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[143] Appendix 3 lists the number of performances each composer played by the ESO received, while appendix 5 provides a complete concert listing for the ESO, showing which compositions were performed when.

[144] See above, chapter 1, page 27.

[145] See appendices 7 and 8 for an analysis of the nationality of composers programmed by the ESO.

compositions programmed by the orchestra originated from European countries. Even though the orchestra included a diverse selection of composers in their concerts, including those from Britain, the programs were decidedly Eurocentric in nature.

Perhaps in an effort to make classical music accessible to the public, the ESO included a wide variety of music on their programs. Despite the diversity of genres and music from various countries, however, concerts were very limited in their historical scope, focusing primarily on deceased, Romantic composers. As such, interesting dynamics remain, like that between musical elitism, thinking that only Romantic music was interesting to a paying public, and musical inclusion, hoping to attract the masses by offering an extensive sampling of different compositions. Whether or not the orchestra achieved its goals is debatable, but this examination of the ESO's programming will help to elucidate the issues to which I now turn.

II
The ESO and the Contemporaneous Canadian Orchestra: Professionalism and Programming

As the previous section of this chapter has demonstrated, examining the music programmed and performed by the ESO reveals issues that may not be apparent through a cursory look. Thus, comparisons to other orchestras both historical and contemporary, and analysis utilizing the ideas and concepts that others have proposed, will help to develop further the concerns that arise. One

such topic is the relation between musical professionalism and the compositions performed at concerts. Contrasting the ESO with other orchestras in Canada during the same period uncovers how the aptitude of musicians in Edmonton's orchestra dictated, to a certain extent, what music could be played.

A complete survey of orchestra programs in Canada alone would require extensive research in archives across the country. Nevertheless, various historical accounts provide examples of some concert programs that are suitable for comparison and analysis in the present study. One such volume, detailing the history of the Saskatoon Symphony Orchestra (SSO) from its inception in 1931 until the publication of the book in 1981, prints an example of a "plebiscite programme" similar to the request concerts given by the ESO. The program, from 31 March 1940, was as follows:

PLEBISCITE PROGRAM
"O Canada"
1. Overture, Fingal's Cave.....Mendelssohn
2. Symphony No. 8 in B minor (Unfinished).....Schubert
   Allegro moderato – Andante con moto
3. Elegaic Melody (for strings).....Grieg
4. Tone Poem, Finlandia.....Sibelius

Intermission

5. Marche Militaire.....Schubert
6. Overture, Merry Wives of Windsor.....Nicolai
7. Two Choral-Orchestral Excerpts – Tannhäuser.....Wagner[146]

Although the order varies slightly from ESO programs described in the previous section, the same elements are still included. An overture and symphony open the program, there are a variety of shorter, individual

[146] Leeper, *Sounds of Music*, 15.

orchestral pieces, and the excerpts from *Tannhäuser* performed by the University Choral Society and orchestra form a "solo" section featuring a guest artist. The pieces themselves, in fact, were also frequently programmed by the ESO. With the exception of Schubert's *Marche Militaire* and *Tannhäuser* excerpts, all the compositions at some point appeared on ESO programs, with the *Unfinished Symphony* one of the most frequently performed works in Edmonton.

Indeed, one paragraph from Leeper's book on the SSO could almost be read as if the passage were instead written for the ESO. Leeper states that

> [a]lthough Collingwood included a certain percentage of the usual works by classical composers, the programs tilted towards British and American composers. Sir Edward Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance, Fould's Keltic Lament and Eric Coates' Knightsbridge March were repeated at many concerts. Edward German's Dances from Henry VIII and Sousa's Marches were also favorites as well as works by the national composers of Finland and Norway. (Sibelius and Grieg.)[147]

Here one finds the same focus on British music, the performance of the light classics of Elgar and German, and the suites and symphonic poems of Grieg and Sibelius. In many regards, then, the programs of the two orchestras were very similar.

In another Canadian city, however, the concerts were quite different. A documentary history of the TSO describes the music selected for the 1923-24 season, noting that

> [t]he first concert of the second season opened with the Overture to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* - undoubtedly Dr von Kunits was anxious to make good use of the enlarged orchestra. J. Campbell

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[147] Ibid, 18.

> McInnes sang an aria from Handel's opera *Berenice* and the concert ended with Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 in E flat major ('Eroica')...Other major works presented during the 1923-4 season included the Piano Concerto No. 5 in E flat major ('Emperor') by Ludwig van Beethoven, the Symphony No. 9 in E minor ('From the New World') by Antonin Dvorak, the Piano Concerto in A minor by Edvard Grieg, and two Tchaikovsky compositions – *Variations on a Rococo Theme* and the Symphony No. 6 in B minor ('Pathetique').[148]

Again, there are resemblances to the ESO, with a solo number as well as compositions that were attempted by Edmonton's orchestra, but now other works such as piano concertos and lengthy Beethoven symphonies appear on the program. Two other concerts from the TSO's past further elucidate some key differences between the orchestras. One, from 7 April 1931, featured a variety of composers,

Overture	Ernest MacMillan
Symphony in D minor	César Franck
Violin Concerto in E minor (Léon Zighéra, violin)	Felix Mendelssohn
Prelude and Fugue in G minor	J.S. Bach, arr. Ernest MacMillan
St. Patrick's Breastplate	Arnold Bax[149]

One year later, audiences heard somewhat different repertoire,

Overture to *Ruslan and Lyudmila*	Mikhail Glinka
Suite from *Water Music*	George Frideric Handel, arr. Hamilton Harry
Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major (Viggo Kihl, piano)	Ludwig van Beethoven
Symphony No. 1 in C minor	Johannes Brahms[150]

While one might still notice the presence of familiar elements, such

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[148] Warren, *Begins With the Oboe*, 12.

[149] Ibid, 18. Also noteworthy is that this performance of Bax's *St. Patrick's Breastplate* was, in fact, the North American premiere of the piece.

[150] Ibid, 24.

MacMillan's *Overture* followed by Franck's *Symphony in D minor*, these programs are in reality quite different from those of the ESO. First, there is the inclusion of piano and violin concertos in the Toronto Symphony's concerts. The ESO only programmed a concerto on three occasions; twice only excerpts were played, while Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto* was performed by a guest artist with only piano accompaniment. This is in stark contrast to the TSO that, as can be seen, frequently programmed entire concertos complete with orchestra and solo artist.[151]

Additionally, the TSO programs include compositions generally conceived of as more difficult or "serious." ESO concerts, in contrast, typically incorporated an assortment of shorter, individual pieces, many of which are considered "lighter" works, such as Boccherini's *Minuet* or Sir Alexander MacKenzie's *Brittania Overture*. Indeed, concerts throughout the ESO's existence typically contained such light classics; the *Mock Morris Dance* by Grainger was performed at one of the orchestra's earliest events, while Mozart's *Minuetto* appeared on the final program in 1933.[152] While one cannot readily assume that all ESO concerts were thus "light" in nature, as symphonies were often performed, the programs do contrast to those of the TSO. Bach fugues,

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[151] Various other programs provided in Warren's book, as well as his descriptions of pieces performed, also indicate that the TSO included a variety of concertos on programs throughout its history. One must also remember that, as a large orchestra, the TSO would have had access to greater resources (musicians, finances, and, consequently, repertoire), giving them the ability to perform works such as concertos.

[152] See appendix 5 for a listing of these concerts.

Beethoven piano concertos, and symphonies by Franck and Brahms are types of music that never appear on the programs of the Edmonton Symphony in its 1920-1933 incarnation. Moreover, many of the works that did find their way onto ESO programs were repeated many times, as discussed previously, whereas Toronto's concerts usually display a mixture of compositions that varied from concert to concert.

One reason for the difference of musical numbers could be attributed to the cost of orchestral scores. For an organization that was regularly coping with financial difficulties, a price of 50 to 75 dollars for one complete set of scores would have been somewhat prohibitive, requiring that certain pieces be repeated from year to year.[153] As well, one might quite feasibly assume that shorter works would have cost less than entire symphonies, allowing the ESO to more readily purchase "lighter" music as opposed to the "serious" works common to the TSO.

Furthermore, in a city like Toronto a certain musical framework already existed. The Toronto Conservatory of Music, for instance, actively trained new musicians while employing specialized teachers. Thus, when the Toronto Symphony was formed in 1922, there was a wealth of professional musicians across the city eager to form an ensemble devoted to the performance of

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[153] "Symphony Orchestra Concludes With Pleasing Concert," *Edmonton Journal*, 31 March 1924.

Western art music.[154] Musicians in Edmonton cannot be said to have been lacking the same enthusiasm, but the city would not have had as much time to develop musically as Toronto. Consequently, the relative newness of Edmonton might also have had an impact on the shape of the ESO's programs. The orchestra, for example, occasionally dealt with a shortage of musicians and was forced to substitute one instrument for another when the required instrumentalist was unavailable.[155]

Whether the missing instruments could easily be covered up or not, the lack of musicians points to another problem in programming the ESO. The Toronto Symphony, with institutions such as the Conservatory of Music, had little trouble finding not only musicians, but *professional* musicians. Upon the initial formation of the TSO, Warren notes that "[a]ll the musicians in the new orchestra were professionals except for two: R.L. Jose, who played French horn, and Dr. J. Pilcher, a bass clarinettist who was on the faculty of Wycliffe College."[156] As time progressed, the calibre of the orchestra increased, as did the size of the ensemble and the wages earned by each musician.[157] The TSO also became more renowned, and was thus able to attract guest artists including

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[154] Warren, *Begins With the Oboe*, 5-11

[155] One may remember, for instance, the 1923 concert at which violins and cornets substituted for missing horns, followed by the absence of an oboe at the very next concert. See "Edmonton Symphony Delighted Large Audience Sunday Night when Third Concert was Given," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 January 1923, and "Fine Symphony Program," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 February 1923. For a list of instrumental forces in the ESO during various seasons, see appendix 2. Examples of modern-day orchestras are also provided for comparison.

[156] Warren, *Begins With the Oboe*, 11.

[157] In 1924, for instance, the musicians received a raise to at least $12.00 per concert, an increase of over 300% from their original salary of $3.95 for each performance. See Ibid., 14.

Fritz Kreisler, Eugene Ysaÿe, and Jan Kubelík.[158]

This is not to suggest that Edmonton was by any means devoid of musical culture or professionals. As illustrated in Chapter I, music had been thriving in Edmonton since the city's formation, and was continuing to develop even as the ESO was formed. Although the orchestra itself never attracted any internationally prominent guest artists, the city still received an occasional visit; Sergei Rachmaninoff, for instance, arrived in 1925 to give a recital.[159] Nevertheless, problems such as the shortage of required musicians for the orchestra affected how, and possibly what, the ESO could perform. Without the resources of a city like Toronto the musicians were likely, in many cases, not as technically advanced, and therefore would have found more complex works such as Brahms's *Symphony No. 1* more challenging.

This musical ability of the ESO's musicians was, in fact, often a focus of concert reviews in the newspapers. In a 1921 review, for instance, one critic observed that the horn soloist seemed to be suffering from a bout of nervousness during a performance of the Andante cantabile from Tchaikovsky's *Fifth Symphony*.[160] As the seasons passed, the reviews continued to comment on the musical progression of the orchestra. By the first concert of the second

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[158] Warren, *Begins With the Oboe*, 7.

[159] "Notes—and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 7 March 1925. The impact of Rachmaninoff's visit on the ESO itself appears to have been negligible, apart from perhaps inspiring some of the orchestra's musicians who were perhaps at the concert to work harder in developing their own musical abilities, an idea for which no evidence exists.

[160] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 February, 1921.

season, the *Edmonton Journal* noted that the cellos were smoother, and that one could hear a "decided improvement" in the intonation of the basses and brass.[161] Despite the occasional harsh criticism, reviews were generally positive. One article from 1930, for example, exudes praise, and declares that

> [t]he Edmonton Symphony Orchestra is indeed to be congratulated on its first performance this season. Besides the program being carefully chosen from the point of view of balance, it was given with rare spirit and verve which portends great things for the Sunday concerts in the next few months.
> Mr. Holden-Rushworth seems to have complete control of each of his fifty-one instruments, and has that close touch with them which counts so much in the success of any orchestra.[162]

Deserved as though this admiration may have been, one cannot help but sense a bias on the part of reviewers. According to newspaper critics, the ESO was an integral part of the community that deserved support from citizens, and common are the warnings of what a great loss Edmonton would face should the orchestra have to cease operations due to financial constraints. For example, one month after the above review, the ESO was considering moving concerts to Mondays in an attempt to generate more revenue and alleviate serious monetary concerns. A questionnaire, as discussed previously, was being sent to patrons to gauge interest in the proposed move, to which the music editor of the *Journal* appealed for support, writing that, "it is to be hoped that this project succeeds, as the failure of the orchestra would be a very serious detriment to the

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[161] "First Symphony Concert Proved Musical Treat," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 November, 1921.

[162] "Symphony Orchestra Performs Brilliantly," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 October, 1930.

musical growth of the city."[163]

As has been suggested, this did not mean that the ESO was immune to criticism. The "decided improvement" of the basses and brass indicates that the orchestra was at some point not meeting a perceived standard. Furthermore, the newspapers did not hesitate to point out the problems with a performance when they were especially apparent. One may recall, for example, the 1928 concert mentioned in Chapter I that the *Journal* reviewer found to be devoid of "thrills" or "exhilaration."[164] In fact, at this same time, eight years into the orchestra's tenure, the *Journal* noted that the ESO was still making artistic advances, and that the ensemble was showing more cohesion.[165] Likewise, the *Bulletin*, while listing many positives, occasionally found fault in certain performances. Played at a preview concert given before the orchestra's first season, the paper noted of Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* overture that the

> opening subject...was quite weak on the bassoons, while the development was not worked up to the climax expected...there was also a tendency for the brass to override the strings in the forte passages - an error prevailing throughout, but which was partially unavoidable owing to the awkwardness of [the] placing [of] the orchestra.[166]

Comments like these, in conjunction with the desire of music critics to promote an institution they found culturally valuable, suggest that the ability of the ESO, or at least of certain members, was not at a level consistent with major

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[163] "Symphony Members Send Questionnaire," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 November, 1930.
[164] "Symphony Concert," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 February 1928.
[165] "Notes—and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 17 March 1928.
[166] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra is Heard for the First Time," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 11 September 1920.

orchestras across North America and Europe.

This was a problem not only faced by the ESO, as the SSO also did not have a vast pool of professional musicians from which to draw. In describing the technical capabilities of the Saskatchewan orchestra, Leeper observes that

> it wasn't until 1945 that conductor Dean Collingwood began to feature Beethoven's Fifth Symphony...It was probably not until this time that the members of the orchestra were able to cope technically with Beethoven's great work.[167]

Consequently, the similarity of programs for both orchestras can point to the inclusion of some amateur musicians within each organization. The lack of compositions akin to Brahms's symphonies, or even Beethoven's *Fifth* for a certain period, and the addition of lighter pieces and suites, suggest that the ESO and SSO were unable to handle capably the more complex works.

Indeed, examining the backgrounds of the musicians associated with the orchestras reveals that, in many cases, music was a secondary pursuit to their regular, full-time employment. For instance, Leeper relays the experiences of one musician,

> Ed Ruggles, clarinettist and engineer, one of the early members of the SSO [who] was a student at the University [of Saskatchewan] during the 1930's..."I [Ruggles] was rather easily lured away from studying, particularly by musical opportunities." Usually he played oboe or clarinet, but on one occasion, Collingwood walked over to him and said: "Ruggles, I want you to come over here and play the flute parts."
> "That was a real challenge" and Ruggles spent the short time available between the rehearsal and concert transposing passages that were much beyond the upper range of his instrument.[168]

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[167] Leeper, *Sounds of Music*, 18.
[168] Ibid, 18.

Furthermore, the author notes that a system of teachers in Saskatoon was largely responsible for training students who could then perform with the orchestra. The drawing of musicians from within the city indicates that the SSO was a largely a community venture, rather than one that relied on professional artists from across the globe.[169]

Newspaper reports initially make the ESO appear to be somewhat different, as one account contends that the city's orchestra "was made up of Edmonton's leading musicians who played in dance and theatre orchestras."[170] Prior to the start of the first season, the *Edmonton Bulletin* also reported that the orchestra would contain approximately fifty *professional* musicians.[171] Many of the performers involved were indeed well known in the city's cultural circles; Vernon Barford, Henri Baron, and Mrs. J.B. Carmichael were but a few of the people actively involved in Edmonton's musical life and the ESO. Likewise, one description of a violinist in the orchestra, Frank Darimont, notes that he was "active in Edmonton... [and] also conducted theatre and other orchestras."[172]

Thus, one might be tempted to conclude the ESO was a professional orchestra, unlike the SSO. Of note, however, is that many of the ESO's musicians were involved with other forms of musical entertainment such as the

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[169] Ibid, 7-9.

[170] Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life*, 52.

[171] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920.

[172] See Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life*, 53-55 for a listing and description of some of the more prominent figures in Edmonton's musical circles in the early 1900s.

theatre, and they were consequently given a label of "professional" since much of their life was devoted to various forms of music and performance. Donald G. Wetherell and Irene Kmet expound upon this observation further, noting that

> [a]n immense variety of amateur musical events prevailed alongside a good deal of professional activity, though professionalism was less clear cut than in stage events. Many paid musicians would never have defined themselves as professionals, normally receiving an honorarium rather than a fee. This was frequently the case with Saturday night dance bands made up of local musicians. Consequently, "professionalism" does not provide a consistent reference, rather attention to the receptive or participatory nature of musical experiences proves more useful. On the one hand, people often attended musical events such as recitals and concerts to listen to the music. On the other hand, many participated, either by performing the music or by taking part in some other activity contingent on music, such as dancing.[173]

Wetherell and Kmet, in fact, later note that the Edmonton Symphony "[relied] mainly upon local volunteer musicians," while another source claims that the orchestra was composed of the city's dance hall and vaudeville musicians.[174]

Furthermore, not all of the orchestra's members were dedicated, full-time instrumentalists. A number had commitments elsewhere, and although they were also mostly music-related, they still would have been major priorities apart from playing in an orchestra. For instance, Abe Fratkin, a violinist for the ESO, was also the owner of a music store, Art Music Company Ltd. Others, such as Harry Sedgwick and William G. Strachan, tuned and repaired pianos.[175] This, of course, does not indicate that these musicians were automatically

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[173] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures*, 232-233.
[174] Ibid, 241. See also "ESO Comes of Age," City of Edmonton Archives.
[175] Gardner, *Edmonton's Musical Life*, 53-54.

inferior or less accomplished, but it does differ from contemporary conceptions of the professional musician, namely one devoted full-time to their instrument.[176]

Consequently, the aptitude of the orchestra was one factor that contributed to the programming of the ESO. The concerts of the TSO, filled with Brahms, Beethoven piano concertos, and other similarly technically demanding works, were beyond the reach of orchestras like the SSO and ESO. While the ESO did occasionally attempt more difficult compositions, programs filled with lighter fare suggest that Edmonton had not yet attracted top-tier musicians to the city. Certainly, as will be seen in upcoming chapters, the goals and aims of the orchestra affected what music was to be performed, but this was ultimately tempered by the musical ability of the musicians available.

III
ESO Programs and the Worldwide Orchestra: Patterns and Innovations

In modern orchestral concerts, the audience can come to expect certain patterns in programming. Occasionally, an entire program might be devoted to a single work, such as Mahler's *Symphony No. 9* or Bach's *Matthäuspassion*.[177]

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[176] The current information available does not fully clarify the economic workings of the ESO, and further study into the careers of individual performers would likely be necessary to make clear what "professional" as used in reports from the time really meant.

[177] These compositions are, in fact, being performed at concerts during the 2007-08 season. See: Berliner Philharmoniker, "Calendar Programme Details, 27 August and 31 August 2007," http://www.berliner-philharmoniker.de/en/details/477. Also: New York Philharmonic Orchestra, "New York Philharmonic: March 2008," http://nyphil.org/attend/season/index.cfm

More frequently, however, concerts are more similar to the early TSO programs explored earlier. The current-day ESO, for instance, scheduled the following works for 24 May 2008:

> Beethoven - Coriolan Overture, Op. 62
> Mozart - Piano Concerto No. 22 in E-flat Major, K. 482
> Vaughan Williams - Symphony No. 2 in C Major "London"[178]

This style of programming is not exclusive to the ESO, and can be found on a global scale. The Vienna Philharmonic, in a format akin to the one to be performed by the Edmonton Symphony, planned the following concert for 15 December 2007:

> Richard Wagner: Vorspiel und Liebestod from "Tristan und Isolde," WWV 90
> Edward Elgar: Concerto for Violincello and Orchestra, E minor, op. 85
> Carl Nielsen: Symphony No. 4, op. 29, "The Inextinguishable"[179]

There are exceptions to this style of programming, evidenced by pops concerts or programs of lighter classics, but the format (Overture - concerto - symphony) of the examples cited above have been the traditional mainstay of 20th century orchestras.

As William Weber has illustrated, in the 1840s, and particularly after the revolutions in 1848, musical taste in Europe with regard to orchestral concerts

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?page=eventsByMonth&dateRequest=3/01/2008&seasonNum=7.

[178] Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, "Calendar Events for: 5/24/2008," http://www.winspearcentre.com/calendar.asp?action=detail&id=3530&incDate=5/24/2008&CatID=86. Compare this program to the TSO concerts provided on page 55. The structure of the concerts is very similar, save for the addition of an additional suite, Handel's *Water Music*, on the Toronto program.

[179] Wiener Philharmoniker, "4th Subscription Concert, 2007-12-15," http://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/index.php?set_language=en&cccpage=concerts_subscription_detail&set_z_concerts=483.

changed as patrons reacted against a perceived commercial establishment. Weber writes that,

> [w]hen musical life resumed after the revolutions of 1848-1849, there was a serious trend in public taste that favored the orchestras and the classical repertoire. The public seemed tired of the musical razzle-dazzle of the earlier period; it seems to have wanted something more substantial than vocal or technical display.[180]

Also during this time, greater interest was placed on works of the past, a revival that began prominently with Mendelssohn's resurrection of the *Matthäuspassion*.[181] Concerts, such as those in Leipzig, changed and became dominated by the music of deceased composers.[182] Additionally, symphonies increased in both length and popularity, breaking the pattern of alternating vocal and instrumental genres that had been previously fashionable at concerts, since a symphony could now easily dominate a large part of the program.[183] Such trends combined to produce what might be termed an average or typical orchestral concert that is frequently given by orchestras like the Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics.

As has been shown, however, the ESO was quite different from these "normal" programs. Although the orchestra's programming was in part based

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[180] William Weber, "The Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century Orchestral Concerts," in *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 372.

[181] Ibid, 373. For a detailed examination of the Bach revival and the increasing interest in older music, see Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[182] Weber, "Rise of the Classical Repertoire," 376-77.

[183] Tim Carter and Erik Levi, "The History of the Orchestra," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*, ed. Colin Lawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11-12.

on the players' ability, the format of the concerts was not without historical precedent, despite its lack of resemblance to twentieth-century programs. Prior to 1848, for instance, concerts in European orchestras featured a wide variety of musical styles including opera and chamber music, as there was a "traditional assumption that different genres and tastes could cohabit the same program."[184]

Keeping in mind the British heritage of many who were involved with the orchestra, and the goal of the ESO to feature British composers, one can partly trace the varied programs presented in Edmonton back to England in the eighteenth century. Beginning with the Bach-Abel concerts from 1765-1782, a number of subscription-based series featured similarly diverse musical selections. The Bach-Abel programs themselves featured vocal selections, concertos, overtures, and symphonies, which in many respects reflects the style of concerts given by the ESO.[185] Also popular in London were Haydn's concerts, one of which, from 19 February 1791, was comprised of a mix of music:

An overture, by Rosetti
A song, performed by Signora Storace
An oboe concerto, performed by Mr. Harrington
A song, sung by Signor David
A violin concerto, performed by Madame Guatherot
A grand new overture, by Haydn
A song, sung by Signora Storace
A concerto for pedal harp, performed by Madame Krumpholtz
A song, sung by Signor David

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[184] William Weber, "Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800-1848," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXVI:3 (2006): 518.

[185] John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 286.

A full piece, by Kozeluch[186]

The order of Haydn's concert does not resemble those of the ESO but many of the same elements are there, albeit on a longer and larger scale.

In the same manner, British light music concerts nearer to the ESO's own time also exhibit some similar traits. With events such as the Promenade concerts, there was a strong tradition of light music programming to which the ESO could look back. One concert from the 1867 Proms, for example, consisted of the following works:

PART I

Overture, La Gazza Ladra — Rossini
Elegie, violin solo — Ernst
Mr. R. Levey, accompanied on the pianoforte by Madame Ross
Grand Fantasia
The Courtois Brass Band Union
Valse, Morgenblatten (Feuilles du Matin) — Johann Strauss
Brindisi (Herculaneum) — Felicien David
Fantasia on themes from Gounod's Faust, - pianoforte — Wehli
M. Wehli
Polka, Annen — Johann Strauss
Aria (Don Pasquale) — Donizetti
Mdlle Sarolta
Fantasia, - xylophone, Air varie
Le petit Bonnay
Grand march, Tannhauser — Wagner
The National Anthem

Part II

Grand Orchestral Selection, Romeo and Juliet — Gounod[187]

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[186] George B. Stauffer, "The Modern Orchestra: A Creation of the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 56.

[187] Andrew Lamb, "Covent Garden Promenade Concerts, 1867," *The Musical Times* 108 no. 1494 (1967), 692.

Again, while the order clearly does not coincide with the ESO's programming, the inclusion of items such as an overture, piano solo, and assortment of shorter pieces provides a historical basis for the concerts given by the orchestra in Edmonton in its early years. Although by 1920 the Promenade concerts were starting to feature music by composers the Edmonton Symphony fervently sought to avoid, such as Richard Strauss, Ravel, and Debussy, the tradition of light music at these events could still have offered an example for the ESO to follow.[188]

While there are certain relations to English programs of the eighteenth century, striking similarities are also found in concerts across Europe. In the 1880s and 90s, the Vienna Philharmonic typically followed a format similar to the contemporary programs described above; an overture was followed by a concerto, after which the second half would be devoted to the performance of an entire symphony.[189] Once a year, however, the orchestra presented the "Nicolai-Concert" that, as in this example from 1889, included a number of shorter pieces:

Schumann	Overture and Chorus for Large Orchestra
Mozart	Aria from *Le Nozze di Figaro*
Beethoven	Minuet and Finale from String Quartet in C Major (Op. 59, No. 3)
	Lieder
Berlioz	"Ballet des sylphes" from *La damnation de Faust*

[188] British Broadcasting Corporation, "About the Proms: History," http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/2007/abouttheproms/history.shtml

[189] Margaret Notley, "'Volksconcerte' in Vienna and Late Nineteenth-Century Ideology of the Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (1997): 440.

Haydn Hunters' Chorus and Winter Chorus from *Die Jahresseiten*[190]

Were one to switch the Mozart and Beethoven, the program could easily pass as an ESO concert from the 1920s. There is further significance in this observation, for as Notley notes, the "diverse [Vienna Philharmonic] program, meant to appeal to a broad audience, was billed as a *'popular'* concert."[191] Whether consciously or not, the ESO adopted a format used by the Vienna Philharmonic to reach a larger section of the public, coinciding with the Edmonton Symphony's goals as stated in the *Edmonton Journal* of bringing classical music to the citizens of the city by making the programming "accessible."

While the inclusion of the Nicolai-Concert in Vienna caused division amongst various musical camps, in Edmonton this perhaps helps one better understand the motivations of the ESO. Certainly, many thought other "popular" forms of music in Edmonton to be inferior to Western art music, but at the same time, the *accessibility* of lighter concerts was a way through which the ESO could attract patrons in a relatively new city without an established musical community of cities such as New York and Vienna.[192] In the end, then, despite the lack of resemblance of the ESO's programs to contemporary orchestras, a historical basis through which the concerts can be framed remains.

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[190] Ibid, 441.

[191] Ibid, 441 (italics added).

[192] In regards to perceptions of "popular" music, the music editors of the *Journal* and *Bulletin* frequently compared the high art created by the ESO to supposedly inferior genres of music. For instance, while discussing the apparent appeal of Western art music to a wider constituency, the *Journal* music editor commented that "syncopated rubbish [jazz] must therefore be losing its hold." See Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 January 1923.

Consequently, the factors contributing to the selection of certain compositions are varied. In one respect, the ESO's repertoire was limited by tangible elements like the musical ability of the musicians and cost of printed scores. Established practices within the global music scene also affected what music was played, as concerts with works that might have been considered highbrow were avoided in favor of a format thought more conducive to attracting the general public. When the concerts were finally planned, and the music eventually performed, a particular conception of Western art music was created and presented to the audience, one that was varied and yet similar to the perceptions of larger musical centres.

Chapter 3
ESO Concerts and Representation

As we have seen, the organizers of the ESO were motivated by a number of goals, prominent among them both a very real desire to present the orchestra as an example of what the community was capable of, and a determination to make the music accessible to anyone, giving them a concert experience that would provide an education of sorts. This affected the music that was programmed, and in turn created a particular conception of Western art music for audience members. The impression of music formed by the ESO was in many ways similar to dominant views, but at the same time, introduced subtle nuances that differentiated the orchestra from its contemporaries.

Kiri Miller's article on the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago provides one methodological example of how to conceptualize the issues faced by the ESO in another situation. Miller shows how the fair's organizers deemed music to be an integral part of the proceedings: it was presented with the dual intent of exposing an advanced American musical culture to the world, and of serving as an educational medium for the country's own citizens. Miller observes the friction inherent in these two aspirations, noting that

> [t]he tensions and ironies generated by the twin goals of outward-oriented nationalist display and inward-oriented education are nowhere clearer than in the musical plans for the fair. The official advance announcement on musical activities, to be directed by the preeminent...conductor Theodore Thomas...expressed an intention to group "all intended illustrations around two central ideas:
>
> 1. To make a complete showing to the world of musical progress in this country in all grades and departments, from the lowest

to the highest.

2. To bring before the people of the United States a full illustration of music in its highest form, as exemplified by the most enlightened nations of the world."[193]

Miller's detailed study of the music at the World's Fair provides an unusually explicit exploration of the motivations and tensions among patrons and practitioners of Western art music in America around the turn of the century. With the eyes of the world focused on Chicago, there existed a desire to showcase how far American musical culture had advanced, or at the very least, what those involved thought the country could achieve.[194] Thomas, himself a prominent musician in the United States, conceptualizes on a grand scale and thus reveals attitudes prevalent at the time: the desire for a musically vibrant community to demonstrate a society's advanced culture, and the aim of educating an uninformed public to appreciate what was thought to be highbrow, issues that were also central to the ESO.

The prevailing view of Western art music was already discussed to some extent in the previous section, so only a summary will be given here. Articles by William Weber, Margaret Notley, and others all reveal a similar situation and from this, a workable definition of the music presented at late 19th-century and early 20th-century concerts can be created. The traditional perception of Western

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[193] Miller, "Americanism Musically," 140.

[194] As Miller notes, the "Columbian Exposition's planners intended to remedy the perceived lack of an American cultural heritage by "proving that America was capable of artistic enlightenment as well as massive industry and unrefined ostentation." See Miller, "Americanism Musically," 137.

art music was focused nearly exclusively on the works of dead, white, male European composers. Furthermore, the aura surrounding these compositions was that the music was learned, of high value, and high-class.[195] As mentioned, the music performed by the ESO reveals that the orchestra, in fact, did subscribe to much of this description. Looking beneath the surface, however, exposes critical differences.

An interest in music of earlier periods began to dominate late 19th and early 20th century concert halls, and the programs of worldwide orchestras already considered have illustrated the influence of the past. Statistics provided by William Weber further highlight a growing historical emphasis in concerts throughout the 19th century:

> Among the 173 works played [at the *Gewandhaus* in Leipzig] between 1782 and 1791, 60 percent were by living composers, 12 percent by dead composers, 24 percent had no composer cited, and three percent were unidentifiable. Exactly the same was true during the early 1830's. But between 1850 and 1854 only 56 percent of the works played were by living composers and 39 percent by dead composers. By the first five seasons of the 1860's only 38 percent of the repertoire came from living composers.[196]

The trend toward more frequent performances of music by dead composers is echoed by data from the ESO. As stated before, only once did the percentage of repertoire by living composers reach 33 percent; with an average of 22 percent,

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[195] Although not referred to explicitly in the previous chapter, issues of class are alluded to (as in the Vienna Philharmonic's addition of a "popular" concert) and are very important in the conception of Western art music. This topic will be explored in greater detail later, and as such will only be occasionally touched upon here.

[196] William Weber, "Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8, no. 1 (1977): 18.

the lowest figure of 7.7 percent came during the ESO's ninth season. In fact, a fondness for music of the past is hinted at by the *Edmonton Bulletin*. In discussing the size of the newly formed ESO, the music editor notes that, "fifty [musicians] is a proud number to have, and can do justice to all but the most ultra-modern scores of Richard Strauss, Schonberg [*sic*] and company, which no one wants to hear anyway - at least not more than once."[197] Naturally, modern composers were by no means shunned by the ESO, but nevertheless, Western art music was presented as a largely a historical phenomenon. The concert hall, as J. Peter Burkholder has argued, became a type of museum.[198]

Furthermore, the focus of the ESO on the past was, as we have seen, concentrated on a specific style of Western art music. The music of Strauss, Schoenberg, and other modern composers was eschewed in favour of works from the Romantic period, or perhaps for contemporary artists who composed in a Romantic manner. Very little Baroque or Classical music was programmed, and as such, audiences received a historically limited view of music history. If indeed one of the objectives of the ESO was to educate and make Western art music accessible to the public, an extremely partial curriculum was used for the task. Newcomers to the genre, therefore, may have only formulated a narrow view of the style, judging its attributes based on a small, stylistically restricted

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[197] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920.

[198] J. Peter Burkholder, "Museum Pieces: The Historicist Mainstream in Music of the Last Hundred Years," *The Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (1983): 116. See also J. Peter Burkholder, "The Twentieth Century and the Orchestra as Museum," in *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 409-433.

sample.

In addition to concentrating on the music of deceased composers, the Western art music presented to North American audiences was exactly that - Western - and even more specifically, decidedly Eurocentric. At the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, where American culture was on display, the music was centred around German repertoire. As Miller observes,

> America's musical elite did not aim to demonstrate American supremacy in music at the fair. That honor had to remain Germany's, if only because so much of American musical culture was dominated by Germans...An American canon was unthinkable, and the fair's American premieres do not suggest an effort to represent America's liberation from the musical constraints of Europe.[199]

Near the turn of the century, American culture was not seen to have progressed enough to generate music worthy of comparison to their European counterparts, and thereby had to rely on towering figures such as Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner for an infusion of culture.

Likewise, the ESO rarely programmed works by either American or Canadian composers. In fact, six out of the orchestra's thirteen seasons did not feature any compositions from either country. Canadian works were programmed in three years only, totaling 7.1, 3.8, and 2.1 percent of the total repertoire performed in each of these seasons.[200] Part of the reason for such low

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[199] Miller, "Americanism Musically," 144-145.

[200] Of note is that the season with the highest percentage of Canadian composers contained a concert that, in addition to Sir Alexander MacKenzie's *Britannia Overture*, featured music by ESO member W.J. Hendra as well as conductor Henri Baron's son, Maurice. This

numbers could have been the comparatively lower number of Canadian composers at the time. As a relatively young country with a smaller population, there was likely less of an opportunity for new Canadian compositions to emerge.[201] Furthermore, just as the Americans at the 1893 World's Fair were focused on Germanic works because of a significant German influence, so to did the ESO concentrate on English and European works because of a strong and recent British heritage. Thus, while composers from countries such as Canada, Chile, Brazil, and Australia were included in a few ESO concerts, the majority of music performed remained what had traditionally been played by orchestras across Europe and North America.

At this point, the ESO begins to deviate from the prescribed customs that had become institutionalized within many orchestras. Along with a concentration on dead European composers, a specific canon of works was formed that continues to influence concerts today. There is difficulty, however, in speaking of an established canon, for as William Weber contends, one can point to any number of canons and the music within them has not remained constant and unchanging throughout history. Weber himself highlights three distinct types of canon: scholarly, pedagogical, and performing.[202] Each of these,

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observation suggests that if the orchestra was intent on including Canadian composers, they were focused on promoting local musicians as opposed to a national culture.

[201] This is, naturally, but one possible reason for the low number of performances of Canadian composers, and the issue is more complex than what has been suggested here.

[202] William Weber, "The History of Musical Canon," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 339-341.

as the result of varying historical circumstances, developed in a unique way. One can, though, examine canon formation with regards to more general trends. For example, Weber asserts that in most cases musical canon "emerged from respect for the master composer, for the mastery of his *craft*, his ability to compose artfully, especially in learned idioms."[203] As such, certain composers like J.S. Bach and Mozart became exalted above others, because of their facility with contrapuntal technique.

While there was not a single and definitive established musical canon, then, certain music was indeed more frequently performed. The music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and others, for instance, was thought to embody an "eternal standard of taste," and thus became the focal point for high-class orchestral concerts.[204] Certainly, the ESO did attempt to perform works which may have been considered part of a canon; Beethoven's *Symphony No. 7*, Tchaikovsky's *Symphony Pathétique*, and Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* all made appearances on ESO programs. More frequently, however, works from what would be considered "obscure" composers were performed at concerts. Edward German, for instance, was programmed more frequently than Mozart, Coleridge-Taylor more often than Dvořák, and almost anyone more regularly

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[203] Ibid, 341. Weber also suggests four aspects of canon: craft, repertory, criticism, and ideology. See Ibid, 341-355.

[204] William Weber, "Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century Orchestral Concerts," in *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 367. Weber's article contains an extended discussion of how the Western art music canon developed, from eighteenth-century antecedents to its formation in nineteenth-century orchestras. See also William Weber, "The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 1 (1989): 6-17.

than Brahms, whose music (the third and fourth movements from the *Symphony No. 1*) was scheduled only once.[205]

In some respects, then, the ESO can be said to have formed a canon particular to the orchestra. Repeated performances of certain pieces and composers would have created familiarity amongst regular audience members, inevitably creating a definitive or accepted set of works for the orchestra and its patrons. Though this canon may have been authoritative within Edmonton, in this context we should recall the orchestra's position on the periphery; citizens received rather than influenced any contemporary notions of what comprised the musical canon. In any case, the ESO's concert repertoire differed in many instances from the greater canon of Western art music.[206] Not only were less "serious" composers often performed, but the works were also typically shorter lighter works; even when the ESO featured symphonies, only one or two movements were typically performed. Likewise, the lighter mood of the pieces contrasted with the unrelenting seriousness popularly associated with the so-called classics.

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[205] This is, naturally, due at least in part to the focus on lighter classics that has already been discussed.

[206] As has been noted, speaking of particular repertoire in relation to a specific canon is frequently a difficult task. William Weber suggests, however, that the Western art music canon from 1870 to 1945 was "a stable, though not untroubled, relationship between canonic repertories and contemporary music by which first concert programmes, then opera repertoires, were dominated by the classics, but new works none the less maintained considerable prominence." For the purposes of this study, the "greater canon of Western art music" corresponds to the repertory of music performed by major European and American orchestras, such as the Gewandhaus Orchestra, who frequently performed the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and so forth. See Weber, *History of Musical Canon*, 341, 346.

A canon centred on dead European composers also raises racial issues; one glance at the works typically performed by orchestras reveals that Caucasian composers have a hegemonic influence over the canon to the near exclusion of other peoples. In many cases, this was by no means an accidental omission. To return to the World's Fair in Chicago, for instance, ethnic villages featuring the art and popular music of other cultures was relegated to the Midway, which was not even considered an official part of the Exposition.[207] With respect to Western art music, other races were considered by the dominant culture not to have reached a sufficient stage of development, and thus were not able to make a positive contribution to the "advanced" music of the whites. According to Miller,

> at the Columbian Exposition, framed as the second discovery of the New World, the savage races were exhibits fixed in the past, no longer needed in their capacity as subjects to be civilized. According to the standards of the progressive politics of that era, the progress of African Americans in conforming to the norms of Western civilization could have been a highlight of the fair. But that race could not be considered part of an American nation, being required at the other end of the evolutionary scale.[208]

Some musicians did attempt to break the racial barrier, the Afro-British composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor being one example; his music was also performed by the ESO on several occasions. Edmontonians involved with the orchestra were thus not completely adverse to hearing music written by someone not white, but the ESO also stuck mostly with composers of Caucasian

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[207] Miller, "Americanism Musically," 150.
[208] Ibid, 153.

descent.[209] The orchestra may simply not have had adequate access to the music of African Americans and other races; however, by performing predominantly white, European compositions the ESO unwittingly subscribed to the hegemony of the canon, subtly conveying conceptions of musical superiority to audiences. In the end, given the racial attitudes that were predominant at the time, it seems unlikely that there were conscious decisions to include more music by composers from non-white races. Rather, the predominance of Caucasian composers was likely assumed to be "natural," and was thus not questioned by the ESO or other orchestras.

Furthermore, Western art music was, and arguably still is, male dominated. Women were involved in many aspects of orchestral and musical life, but historically they are noticeably absent from both the ensembles and the programs of the world's orchestras. Recognizing the valuable contributions that women have made to the music field, Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr nevertheless lament that this participation does not extend to composition, but is rather focused in the consumption and, to varying extents, the production of music.[210] William Weber likewise observes the control men had in musical life during the nineteenth century, noting that

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[209] It is also quite possible that some may not have been aware of the race of certain composers.

[210] Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1. For a classic introductory text to music and gender, see also Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

> [c]ustoms of sexual discrimination in home musical life dictated that women learn to sing or play the piano but not to take up orchestral instruments. Men were therefore the overwhelming majority of amateurs who performed the instruments central to the classical tradition. They also became the dominant force in the publics of orchestral and chamber-music concerts. Of course, just as many women attended the events as men...[b]ut men held all of the offices of classical-music societies in every one of the cities [London, Paris, and Vienna].[211]

Certain female composers, such as Fanny Mendelssohn or Clara Schumann, were able to achieve a limited amount of success, but even today their music is relegated to the background in favour of works by their male counterparts like Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann. Consequently, women musicians were shut out of both composing for and performing in the orchestra. The ESO certainly did not inspire any revolutions in their treatment of female composers and musicians, but it was at least somewhat open to programming women composers. Music by Amy Woodforde-Finden, for example, was performed three different times on ESO programs.

Overall, women were actively involved with the ESO, particularly as patrons and supporters.[212] Although the orchestra was predominantly run by men, a number of women were able to become involved, and at times their participation was crucial to the operation of the ESO. For example, during one of the ESO's most troubled seasons in 1926/27, an executive meeting of the

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[211] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*, 2nd ed. (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 63.

[212] For a more general discussion of women music patrons and activists, see Locke and Barr's *Cultivating Music in America*, as well as Ralph P. Locke, "Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America," *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 798-825.

Edmonton Women's Club resolved to donate $100 to the orchestra.[213] This illustrates the dedication of women, at least within a certain circle, to preserving the musical life of Edmonton. Women were also instrumental within the orchestra itself, playing a variety of instruments. In the inaugural season, for instance, Mrs. C.J. Emsley was part of the viola section.[214] By 1927, the number of women in the orchestra had expanded to three: Ms. Constance Gagner played the cello, while Mrs. J.B. Carmichael and Ms. Gladys Flint were both part of the first violins.[215]

Perhaps more significantly, in January of 1933 the orchestra's principal conductor, F. Holden-Rushworth, left Edmonton to pursue another opportunity in eastern Canada. At the time, there was no news on who would succeed Holden-Rushworth in the position.[216] One week later, however, the orchestra announced that Mrs. J.B. Carmichael would assume the post, moving from the first violins to the podium. The *Edmonton Journal*, noting that Carmichael was the only woman conductor in Western Canada, was confident that under her leadership the orchestra's success would be assured.[217] The first concert with Carmichael as conductor featured, among other works, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* and Grieg's *Peer Gynt*, was performed with "refreshing vitality," and

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[213] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 November 1926.
[214] "ESO Comes of Age," City of Edmonton Archives.
[215] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 December 1927.
[216] "Popular Edmonton Musician Is Leaving City Shortly," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 January 1933.
[217] "Musical Notes," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 February 1933.

was generally well received.[218] Although the ESO was unable to give any further concerts because of financial constraints, the fact that Mrs. Carmichael was chosen to conduct the orchestra and actually given the opportunity to lead a concert, is significant. The conductor, over the course of the twentieth century, has become the star of the orchestra to the point that the ensemble's identity is sometimes defined by the personality in charge. Rufus Hallmark, quoting Bernard Jacobsen, scrutinizes the attention conductors receive:

> *He* seems to receive a larger share than his orchestra of the audience's applause, though *he* has not normally played a note. And...*he* also receives the largest fee in an age [in] which his kind has replaced all but the most extraordinary sopranos as [the] principal object of public respect and adulation.[219]

This is not to denigrate the centrality of the star conductor, but simply to acknowledge that the conductor was a crucial factor in twentieth-century orchestras, even in Edmonton. The appointment of Henri Baron at the beginning of the third season, for instance, generated much excitement and anticipation. After attending the ESO's rehearsals many thought they noticed an improvement in the ensemble, and predictions were made that the orchestra, because of Baron's leadership, would excel in the upcoming season.[220] This suggests how important the conductor's post was, and the selection of Mrs. Carmichael for the position reveals a certain open-mindedness toward the

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[218] "Symphony Gives First Concert," *Edmonton Journal.*

[219] Rufus Hallmark, "The Star Conductor and Musical Virtuosity," in *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 552 (italics added).

[220] "Home Notes for Home Musicians," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 October 1922.

involvement of women in Edmonton's musical community.

Some might argue that the presence of women in the orchestra, both as instrumentalists and conductor, might simply be due to the shortage of musicians in Edmonton described earlier, a shortage that sometimes required one instrument to fill in for another. As a result, the addition of women to the ESO could be attributed to an attempt to fill out certain areas of the orchestra, but regardless of the reason, the fact that women were called upon to fulfill this role remains significant. The distribution of men and women in orchestras has long been unequal, particularly in Europe where for many years women were excluded from these institutions. Tim Carter and Erik Levi expound on this concept, observing that

> the symphony orchestra has remained strongly resistant to engaging women until relatively recently. Although the Second World War radically changed women's position in the work place...the only female instrumentalist who was almost guaranteed employment in an orchestra was the harpist...Even after 1945, when many countries ostensibly outlawed sexual discrimination in the workplace, the percentage of female orchestra members has risen very slowly...Amongst the most chauvinist institutions was the Vienna Philharmonic, which only admitted a few women into its ranks in 1997, but continues to oppose any dilution of the sexes.[221]

The strong opposition to women in orchestras thus lends credibility to the important role of the ESO in providing opportunities to women. This was a position that parts of the community were proud of, as exemplified by a response in the *Journal*. The introduction of Ms. Gagner to the cello section

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[221] Carter and Levi, "The History of the Orchestra," 14.

prompted the editor of the music page to declare this as a triumph for women, reminiscent of gaining the right to vote.[222] As a result, through the inclusion of both women composers and musicians, the orchestra projected an image of openness, however slight, to the female side of the population. Unlike institutions such as the Vienna Philharmonic, the ESO created a representation of Western art music that, at least partially, included both sexes. What the ESO offered could hardly be mistaken for equal opportunity; nevertheless, the possibility of greater inclusion still existed.

The suggestion of the *Journal* music editor that the inclusion of women in the orchestra was similar to the victory of women's suffrage in Canada exposes another aspect of the ESO's involvement in the community, as an organization that could generate civic pride. One of Thomas's goals at the World's Fair in Chicago, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, was to demonstrate the enlightenment the United States had achieved, through the means of a musical exhibition. The classics of Beethoven and others, performed by an American orchestra, would expose to the world the sophisticated cultural status the country had managed to obtain. Presenting American musicians at a World's Fair as one means to show cultural advancement is perhaps understandable, and the idea of the orchestra itself a source of civic pride is also not unusual at this time. In Berlin, for example,

[the orchestra was...already the pride and honour of the city...Berlin...

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[222] "Personal Paragraphs," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 December 1927.

> regarded the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra...as a symbol of the Teutonic excellence and eminence in classical music that had arisen during the nineteenth century.[223]

In a similar way, the ESO was seen by many as a source of pride and was an institution that could reveal Edmonton's progressing cultural status on a global level.

Articles in Edmonton's newspapers reveal a partial, yet positive, response to the presence of the ESO in the city. As we have seen in other contexts, repeated mention is made in the *Journal* of the city's good fortunes for having a symphony orchestra. The music editor points to the failure of orchestras in other cities, while upholding the ESO as an example of which the citizens of Edmonton should be proud. As early as 1921 there are instances of comparing Edmonton's orchestra to other cities. For example, in September 1921, the *Journal* reported that the Vancouver Symphony decided to suspend any further concerts, evoking a response from the editor, who argued that having a symphony orchestra is a sign of intellectual and musical growth. As such, Edmonton should do everything possible to keep the "progressive" and "ambitious" ESO in operation.[224] Similar examples appear throughout the decade, such as on 12 November 1927, when the *Journal* urged patrons to send their payments in quickly since supporting the orchestra was an important obligation. As a reminder of the magnitude of this responsibility, the writer

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[223] Jon Tolanski, "International Case Studies," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*, ed. Colin Lawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 128-29.

[224] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 September 1921.

mentions the lack of a symphony orchestra in Vancouver and suggests that this causes a city to become culturally wanting.[225] Ultimately, however, the fact that Edmonton has an orchestra while other cities do not becomes a source of civic pride. The frequent mentions of Vancouver, a city larger than Edmonton, served to reinforce the notion that the ESO was a valuable and indispensable element of city life. The accomplishment of the city in maintaining an orchestra is vividly illustrated in the following statement, written as the ESO was entering a second decade of concerts:

> There are few, if any, communities of Edmonton's size anywhere in which so much has been accomplished in this branch of musical effort. Usually it is necessary to wait until a city's population is well up in the hundred thousands before it can boast of such an orchestra as we now possess. Its strength and the quality of its performances have astonished visitors from the larger centres of the continent. As a cultural agency it is of the greatest value and the standing that it has acquired is a source of the most legitimate civic pride.[226]

The civic pride expressed by the newspapers was, in and of itself, a viewpoint exclusive to the music editors. To what extent their views were shared by others is not directly determinable, but other situations suggest that larger segments of the city did indeed place a high cultural value on the ESO. The quest to build a concert hall, for instance, illustrates how certain people in Edmonton attempted to work together to bring the concept of an adequate

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[225] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Opens Actual Concert Season Sunday," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 November 1927. One might also recall the quotation from the *Journal* on page 32, which implicated the ESO as a positive generator of recognition for Edmonton across the United States and Europe.

[226] "Orchestra Enters Second Decade," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 April 1930.

performing venue to reality. That a concert hall was never constructed might imply that not everyone experienced the same devotion to the ESO, or signify a shortage of resources to invest in such projects. Regardless, the loud cries for the ESO's own performance space demonstrates the high regard in which many did hold the orchestra. To them, the ESO was worthy of significant support and was an institution vital to maintaining a vibrant cultural life in Edmonton.

Apart from these apparent sources, another more subtle factor also contributes to the perception of the ESO as an institution of civic pride. There was, for instance, the orchestra's frequent involvement in the community as a whole. The ESO did not try to restrict itself to an enclosed circle of music patrons, but rather strove to reach out and support causes throughout the city. Beginning in 1922, the orchestra gave its services freely on a number of occasions by holding additional programs. Beneficiaries of these concerts included the school board's milk fund, the Alberta Music Festival, the University Memorial Organ Fund, and the Children's Aid Society. While the amount of money raised in each instance is not available, we do know that the orchestra managed to collect $281 for the music festival, and, as mentioned above, $222.70 for the milk fund.[227]

Involvement in the community created more exposure for the ESO, but more importantly, these concerts exemplified the positive impact an orchestra could have on a city. In addition to being a cultural institution that bettered

[227] H.F. Mullett, "Notes - and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal*, 10 October 1925.

artistic and intellectual life, the ESO demonstrated that the orchestra could inspire aid to worthy causes. While no direct evidence exists linking these events to the perceived importance of the orchestra, one can easily grasp how the charity of the ESO could produce such notions. The ability of the orchestra to procure funds for these causes would likely have created an increased sense of the importance of having an orchestra in Edmonton.

Consequently, the view of the orchestra for many was one of an institution integral to the city's cultural life, and one that could enrich the quality of life of Edmonton's citizens. The music performed by the ESO was thought to be a cultural experience that would better the individual, and the orchestra also worked to create the image of an organization that could positively impact the community. In effect, the ESO gained additional credence from the representation of Western art music in Edmonton as a timeless art form capable of enlightening and enriching humankind. The acts and concepts of gender equality, civic pride, and charity became inextricably linked to the orchestra, and thus to the music performed.

That Western art music could inspire the individual to greater awareness and insight is suggested by Thomas in his second goal for the Chicago Fair, to present Americans with music in "its highest form, as exemplified *by the most enlightened nations of the world.*" (italics added) Music from culturally advanced parts of the world would, according to Thomas, educate the American public

who came to hear the concerts, and convert them "into musical missionaries" to spread Western art music to their communities upon their return home.[228] The desire to share this musical "gospel" with American citizens is further exemplified by the creation of concerts for the working class. As Miller notes,

> Accordingly, many who believed that music possessed quasi-religious reformative moral qualities hoped that its great historical role for America might come in its influence on the working classes. A few years before the fair, William Tomlins's Apollo Club and (subsequently) Theodore Thomas's Chicago Symphony Orchestra had instituted concerts for laborers...George Upton wrote...of the Apollo Club's efforts: "One of its grandest achievements from the point of view of social economy is the scheme of wageworker's concerts, which has given the toiling masses an opportunity to hear high-class concerts at a price easily within their means."[229]

The initial goals of the ESO, quoted earlier, are again similar to the objectives of the Chicago World's Fair. Desiring to make Western art music accessible to Edmonton's citizens, the orchestra also took care to make their concerts an educational and enlightening experience. A review for one of the ESO's earlier concerts, for example, states that the program was lighter in nature and that in this way there "was nothing presented that every unit of the audience could fail to understand and appreciate...no number was too deep for sustained interest."[230] Indeed, the orchestra started a number of educational initiatives, including concerts designed especially for school children and program notes

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[228] Miller, "Americanism Musically," 140-141.
[229] Ibid, 148.
[230] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 January 1921.

written for audiences by John Oliver.[231]

In the end, the ESO's programs, apart from being concerts of Western art music, were attempts to display Edmonton's cultural prowess to the world and to edify those who attended the performances. As a result, the ESO formed a distinct representation of music. For the citizens of Edmonton, Western art music as presented by the local symphony came to signify a historical, Romantic art form that combined both "serious" and "lighter" works. The ESO's canon was decidedly Euro-centric, and was to some extent racially and gender exclusive. The music could also have a proactive effect, affecting civic pride and ultimately, proponents hoped, enlightening the patron. Performances of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and company were more than simply a passive presentation of music; the compositions rather became an entity with eternal value with the potential of influencing both city and individual.

[231] The nature and content of Oliver's program notes will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 4
The ESO in Edmonton Society

As the last chapter demonstrated, the ESO created a specific representation of Western art music through its performances. This, however, raises another question: what did supporters of the ESO hope the orchestra would accomplish in Edmonton? In many cases, the works of Beethoven, Mozart, and others were considered an elevated art form that, as was illustrated previously, had the potential to edify individuals who invested time and energy into listening to and engaging the music. Did the ESO likewise perform such works in the hopes the audience would be enlightened, or were concerts programmed to satiate the public? Likewise, in many American cities the orchestra had become to some a symbol of status and class in the early twentieth century, and one may wonder how the ESO fit into Edmonton's society, either as an orchestra for all or for only a select few to benefit from. In any case, an investigation of the music performed by the orchestra in conjunction with the actions of the ESO's supporters begins to reveal what those involved hoped the ensemble could achieve within the city.

In some instances, those knowledgeable about music and associated with the ESO exhibited an air of musical elitism, detectable throughout the orchestra's history. On one occasion, for example, the music editor of the *Edmonton Journal* was relieved when the ESO decided to remove Wagner's prelude to *Tristan und Isolde* from an upcoming concert. In her view, the public

was not yet ready for this more complex and "heavy" music, and was of the opinion that the orchestra should only gradually lead the community into these heavier works.[232] This attitude can produce an impression of the "other," or put another way, a musically informed circle in opposition to a public perceived as musically infantile. In this situation the "music nobility" become the purveyors of culture while the general community are left on the outside to adhere to cultural standards formed and dictated by the musical elite.

In other cases, contempt for other genres of music is displayed, revealing beliefs that live orchestral music was superior to other styles, even to recordings of Western art music. One letter sent to patrons by the ESO, for instance, closes with the following thoughts:

> In conclusion, may we again urge our patrons...to renew their own subscriptions...and thus enable us to carry on a work which, in this age of "mechanized music" is so very necessary, if the artistic side of our daily lives is to be developed. The Edmonton Symphony Orchestra through its series of concerts gives the citizens of Edmonton the only opportunity they have of listening to music of the highest type, rendered by "flesh and blood," musicians who can be seen as well as heard![233]

Elsewhere, different music such as jazz, as we have seen, was denounced for being "syncopated rubbish."[234] This concept of Western art music as the greatest form of music is clearly evidenced through repeated statements in Edmonton's

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[232] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 December 1920.

[233] "Here and There, In the Realm of Music," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 September 1930. Beliefs about Western art music were not limited only to recordings, however. As we have seen, the ESO focused much of their attention on music written in a Romantic vein, while more modern genres were frequently criticized as a style no one really wanted to hear.

[234] See Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 January 1923.

newspapers. In advocating support for the ESO, one writer contends, "we want music that is great and divine - we will not always be content with common stuff that is oft times a weariness to listen to."[235] In another instance, before the first concert of the 1925/26 season, the *Journal* music editor confidently looks forward to a new season while remarking that the ESO "plays better music than what is heard elsewhere."[236]

These examples might suggest that the musically informed viewed the ESO as an institution of high art and was an orchestra that, were it not for an uneducated public, would be able to perform masterworks such as the prelude to *Tristan und Isolde.* There is more evidence to indicate, however, that the reverse was the norm, and that the musically knowledgeable supporters of the ESO hoped the orchestra would be relevant to anyone. Rather than having a musical elite group dictate the programs and actions of the orchestra, the information available shows a group of people keen to involve and perform music interesting to the public. Moreover, when serious music was programmed for concerts, the orchestra often took steps to ensure that patrons would be begin to gain some of the knowledge held by those who were musically literate.

As mentioned above, for example, compositions were frequently chosen that would be easily accessible to a wide audience. Furthermore, as has been

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[235] Musicus, "The Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal,* 29 October 1921.
[236] "Notes—and Pauses!" *Edmonton Journal,* 24 October 1925.

shown, works were often repeated throughout the 1920s and 30s so that patrons would have heard, as an example, movements from Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique Symphony* a number of times. The repetition of music was partly due to the costs of scores that limited the amount of music a financially challenged orchestra could purchase. Throughout the course of the decade, however, there are numerous comments in the newspapers pertaining to the audience's growing familiarity with certain works. The *Bulletin*, for instance, contended that the repetition of pieces "[enables] the audience to appreciate more fully and to become more vastly familiar with the manifold beauties with which [the music is] permeated."[237] Thus, whether intentionally planned or not, the frequent recurrence of certain compositions helped those with less knowledge of music become more accustomed to the symphonic repertoire.

One must be careful, for the repetition of certain works does not necessarily suggest that concerts were programmed with only the musically uneducated in mind. In terms of class, for example, a member of the social elite would not have automatically received a musical education simply because of their economic status. As such, music may have been repeated to appeal to the financially well off who were often depended upon for their support of the orchestra. The interest of the social elite in Edmonton may have been more for "lighter" classics, forcing the orchestra repeatedly to program such works in the interest of financial aid. In other musical centres, orchestras were able to depend

[237] "Final Concert of Symphony Orchestra," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 March 1923.

on generous donations from philanthropists and performed what the musical elite wished. The Boston Symphony Orchestra, for example, was created and initially maintained through the philanthropy of Henry Lee Higginson, a businessman.[238] Similarly, Joseph Pulitzer made frequent contributions to the New York Philharmonic, and bequeathed $900,000 to the orchestra.[239] Edmonton, on the other hand, had yet to find a comparable figure. Consequently, the orchestra was potentially bound by the desires of their supporters who provided the most money, but even still, the actions of the musical elite in repeating works benefited people of any class, rich or poor. In this way, the orchestra managed to become accessible to a broad audience, allowing a broad audience to become familiar with symphonic music.

Furthermore, the "request concerts," where patrons voted for their favourite pieces and compositions receiving the most votes were then performed, gave the audience a measure of control over the operation of the ESO. For at least one concert per year, average citizens could voice their opinion as to the music performed by the orchestra. Other announcements also exemplify how patrons were able to influence the musical direction of the orchestra. The ability of supporters to affect programming decisions is reflected in the *Edmonton Journal*, which once reported, "[o]wing to an increased demand and in answer to many requests, the Edmonton symphony orchestra is already

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[238] Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 123.

[239] Ibid, 128.

rehearsing some Wagner numbers to be played at the end of the season."[240] In this respect, then, an amount of control was taken from the musical elite involved with the ESO and given to the patron, indicating that the programming of the orchestra was not controlled solely by one group, but was shared amongst those with an interest in the ESO, musically knowledgeable or not.

Furthermore, though comments such as those regarding the public's inability to comprehend more complex music can reflect an air of superiority, this also suggests a real desire for the ESO to become a culturally relevant institution in Edmonton. As such, these remarks more accurately reflect the desire for the orchestra to be accessible to all. Also, the belief that any one type of music is superior, as unfounded as the conviction might be, does not automatically insinuate that the ESO was a culturally exclusive organization; the ambition of making the orchestra relevant to the city, for example, suggests that those associated with the ESO were attempting to make the music familiar to Edmontonians as well.

The mention of social classes and of patrons able to financially support the orchestra brings the interests of another group of people into the overall picture. In fact, in the discourse of class much attention has been given to the orchestra. Many scholars describe the ensemble and relations to class in purely social terms, and often point to cultural organizations like orchestras as

[240] "Here and There in Edmonton's Musical Circles," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 October 1930.

institutions designed for the upper class. Michael Broyles observes that a certain duality has always existed in Western music; while traditionally there was a political and economic distinction, this gradually gained political and class implications in the United States.[241] More specifically, a prime example is found in *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America,* where Lawrence Levine studies the beginnings of the orchestra in the United States. Levine contends that orchestras initially programmed a wide variety of music to promote themselves to a larger audience and to ensure financial stability.[242] In one instance, Levine relates the experiences of Theodore Thomas, who established the Theodore Thomas Orchestra in 1865. Levine explains that

> [in order] to expose the American people to the music he loved and to keep his orchestra together, Thomas was willing to perform the compositions of the great classical and contemporary composers to an audience that was drinking, smoking, and often chatting.[243]

Other late nineteenth-century concerts were prone to sensationalism, employing huge orchestra and choral forces to lure potential spectators. One series of performances in 1869 consisted of ten thousand singers, a thousand member orchestra, and advertising for "a performance of the Anvil Chorus from *Il Trovatore* that would include a hundred firemen beating anvils with sledge hammers and close with the firing of a hundred canons."[244]

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[241] Michael Broyles, "Music and Class Structure in Antebellum Boston," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no. 3 (1991): 451.

[242] Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow,* 104-115.

[243] Ibid, 114.

[244] Ibid, 105.

While the earliest orchestras in America had to appeal to a wide audience to survive, Levine argues that this position was only temporary. As many Americans gained wealth and education, the symphony orchestra gradually became an institution that catered to the needs of the financially elite. Since the elite had the resources to support institutions of the arts, they could begin to impose their will on the way these organizations were run. Levine does acknowledge that "[t]his was by no means an absolute monopoly," and that "[t]he symphony hall, opera house, and museum were never declared off limits to anyone."[245] Admission to these cultural organizations was not without cost, however, as Levine asserts that

> there was one price that had to be paid: these cultural products *had* to be accepted on the terms proffered by those who controlled the cultural institutions. In that sense, while there was never a total monopoly of access, there was a tight control over the terms of access. The taste that now prevailed was that of one segment of the social and economic spectrum which convinced itself and the nation at large that its way of seeing, understanding, and appreciating music...was the only legitimate one...They became both the promoters and arbiters of this corner of the cultural world and gradually appropriated the term "culture" itself, which in the popular parlance came more and more to signify the high arts.[246]

A question that naturally arises from this discussion concerns the existence of classes within Edmonton during the 1920s. While the city was continuing to grow, Edmonton could not boast an established financial elite with prominent figures such as John D. Rockefeller in the United States. As a

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[245] Ibid, 230.
[246] Ibid, 230-231.

result, one may wonder whether class structure merits attention at all in relation to the ESO. However, though there may have been less disparity between classes, there was still a distinct separation between the affluent and the average citizen. One may remember that at the beginning of the Great Depression, the ESO's financial situation looked rather bleak, and that companies were being approached by "prominent business men" like Francis Winspear to sponsor the orchestra.[247] The use of "prominent" here suggests that some had been able to distinguish themselves within the business community, and those familiar with Edmonton's history will recall the success Winspear managed to achieve through his accounting firm.[248] Another article explores the life of Frank Pike, a manager for the Merchant Bank of Canada (which eventually became the Bank of Montreal) who came to the city in 1915. Provided by the bank with a three-storey brick house, Pike frequently played host to many important guests including "investors, actors, and dignitaries" from across Europe and Canada. The house likewise became an important locale at which to host Edmonton's own elite, and by the 1920s, Pike was considered one of the city's most prominent citizens.[249]

Just as there were the financially well off in Edmonton, so too there were

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[247] "Big Campaign Now in Progress For Symphony," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 January 1932.

[248] For a brief biography on Francis Winspear, see Winspear Centre, "History of the Winspear: Dr. Francis Winspear," http://www.edmontonsymphony.com/content.asp?contentid =122&catid=13&rootid=2.

[249] Rodney Pike, "Frank Pike, Banker and Poet," in *Edmonton: The Life of a City*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1995), 184, 188-190.

those at the other end of the spectrum. While not mired in poverty, coal miners in Edmonton in 1922 could expect to earn an average of $5 in daily wages, which translates to approximately $61 by 2007 standards.[250] Many others struggled even more with finances, as an article about the Great Western Garment Company (GWG) in Edmonton illustrates:

> The low wages paid to women factory workers had implications for the wider community. When the issue of women's inability to support themselves was raised in 1913, the City of Edmonton considered providing a grant to subsidize rooming houses for women from rural areas to prevent them from turning to prostitution or other desperate measures...to pay their rent...A 1921 *Alberta Labour News* article about GWG stated that a number of the women working for the firm were "mothers of large families, who in some cases entirely support them and in others help materially."...One former GWG employee notes that she worked throughout her marriage taking as little as two weeks off to have a baby. Her husband, a printer by trade, was often unable to find work of any sort.[251]

Edmonton, like other cities, was thus constructed of different classes. Although arguably there were no extremely wealthy citizens, evidence exists to indicate that there was nonetheless a wide disparity between rich and poor.

Despite the existence of various social classes, however, there was a real desire amongst ESO supporters to make the orchestra accessible to as many people as possible, demonstrated through various statements made by organizers and newspapers throughout the Edmonton Symphony's existence.

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[250] Geoff Ironside, "Slopes and Shafts," in *Edmonton: The Life of a City*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1995), 200. Inflation was calculated using the Bank of Canada's Inflation Calculator, which can be found at http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/ rates/inflation_calc.html.

[251] Catherine Cole, "Garment Manufacturing in Edmonton," in *Edmonton: The Life of a City*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1995), 164-165.

Indeed, part of the ESO's original goal as indicated in the *Edmonton Journal* was to be accessible to everyone by avoiding associations of a highbrow organization.[252] When the orchestra was in dire financial straits during the 1926/27 season, the theme of openness was once again reiterated; the ESO attempted to attract more patrons to the orchestra, making a special appeal to those who might have thought the concerts were over their head. The article carrying this plea spoke of the tremendous appeal of the music played by the ESO, which was certainly not intended for highbrow people alone.[253] Furthermore, the newspapers make frequent reference to the orchestra being an institution for all of Edmonton, and not only a limited circle of socially elite citizens. Some statements in the papers, however, do not automatically indicate such a broad scope. After the orchestra's first concert, one critic wrote, "[w]hen a *city* rises to the distinction of boasting a symphony orchestra, it is generally conceded that a *city* is progressing musically."[254] While the writer acknowledges that the ESO is a valuable asset to the city and its people, there is no suggestion that the orchestra was necessarily accessible to everyone regardless of class. Nevertheless, other evidence depicts an orchestra receptive the involvement of all social strata. An early advertisement for the ESO, for example, urges residents not to "fail to participate in the inauguration of Edmonton's First

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[252] Musicus, "Week in Retrospect," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 September 1920.

[253] "ESO Appeals for Greater Support, *Edmonton Journal*, 23 October 1926.

[254] "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra Is Heard for the First Time," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 11 September 1920.

Symphony Orchestra."[255] Likewise, after an invitation concert in 1931, the *Journal* praises Edmontonians for their strong support of the event:

> The...concert of the Edmonton Symphony orchestra, given on November 15, was financially successful to the extent of meeting half the present deficit in funds. The Concert received the unanimous support of the public, and it is to be hoped that the citizens of Edmonton will be equally generous for the invitation concert to be given during the latter part of December.[256]

These excerpts, though they are to a certain degree attempting to elicit financial support, illustrate how the ESO and newspapers appealed for support from all of Edmonton's inhabitants.

Furthermore, during the 1929/30 season, the ESO also gave people living in rural areas an opportunity to hear the orchestra, as the final concert was broadcast over the radio. Now, not only could those unable to attend the concerts read about the music, they could actually hear a live performance. The use of radio to broadcast a concert also illustrates the desire to reach a broader audience; while the ESO perhaps hoped that this undertaking would result in greater interest for subscriptions, the program nonetheless opened up the orchestra to anyone with the right equipment. With the radio, class was largely not a factor, and almost everyone had the ability to build their own set. During the 1920s, the *Journal* ran a number of articles that demonstrated how to construct a radio for three dollars, and as a result, many would be able to take

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[255] "Are you a Patron of the E.S.O.? If Not Why Not?" *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 October 1920.

[256] "Here and There in Edmonton's Musical Circles," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 November 1931.

in the ESO concert.[257]

One might also consider that the supporters of the ESO, high class or not, may simply have wanted to bring an institution that performed music they enjoyed to Edmonton. Ralph P. Locke, for example, seeks to add another dimension to Levine's reasoning. While maintaining to a certain extent the validity of Levine's argument, Locke alleges that he avoids the role of music.[258] According to Locke, Levine does not take into consideration the desires of musicians and music lovers; there was often a "countervailing force" that expressed a "desire for an intense aesthetic experience."[259] Locke believes that

> by and large, the people who established and shaped our cities' orchestras were not merely purchasing playthings for...themselves. On the contrary, they were interested in supporting an aesthetically rich culture of whose broad civic value they were utterly convinced.[260]

Consequently, Locke proposes a different view of the orchestra in early America, namely as an institution created to promote music that many concertgoers were passionate about. From this perspective, the motives of the social and financial elite are not to create an atmosphere in which they can distinguish themselves (although this may certainly be a contributing factor), but rather to support an organization that performed music they enjoy. As a result, the concert is genuinely an attempt to bring culture to a city for all to benefit from.

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[257] MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 233.
[258] Locke, "'Sacralization' of Culture in America," 149-173.
[259] Ibid, 158.
[260] Ibid, 154.

This concept is perhaps best illustrated by introducing a contradictory idea, namely that Edmonton was a city that did not have a large upper class committed to high culture, for whatever reason. As has already been indicated, the ESO frequently made requests for greater financial support, and the music editors of the city's newspapers often wished someone with financial resources would sustain the orchestra, much as Henry Lee Higginson did in Boston. Prior to the 1830s, however, the situation in Boston may have been in some respect similar to that in Edmonton. Michael Broyles writes that "until the 1830s the socioeconomic elite were for the most part musically illiterate and thus played only a minor role in the musical life of Boston."[261] With respect to Edmonton, supporters of the ESO, free from any demands that may have been imposed by a benefactor, were therefore free to present music the music they found fulfilling.

On the other hand, the lack of support from the social elite meant the orchestra needed to obtain financial sustenance through other means if the ESO was to survive. As a result, the interests of the paying public had to be taken into consideration. When the Sunday concerts were lacking in attendance, for example, the ESO put the option of a change to Monday performances before all patrons in a vote. According to the *Journal*, "[t]he result of the vote taken...among symphony patrons, on account of lack of support for the Sunday evening concerts, [was] overwhelmingly in favor of Monday concerts, in a ratio,

[261] Broyles, "Music in Antebellum Boston," 453.

four to one."[262] Previously, the Lord's Day Act had prevented the orchestra from charging admission to each individual program, and patrons paid a subscription fee to cover the entire season. By changing concerts to Monday, the ESO could charge for each program separately, thereby allowing those who could perhaps only afford only a few tickets every year to attend. Locke argues that one of the most powerful decision-making abilities ultimately rested with the patron's ability to "vote with their feet;" Edmontonians thus were able directly to influence the orchestra with their attendance or lack thereof.[263] At the same time, while seeking to appease patrons, the move was one supporters hoped would provide the orchestra with additional funds.

The nature of ESO programs also provided the orchestra with an opportunity to reach out to a wider audience. Even though the orchestra occasionally attempted more "serious" works like Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5*, the ESO generally performed lighter classics in programs that reflected European counterparts such as the *Volksconcerte* in Vienna and Promenade Concerts in Britain. In contrast, the examples provided by Levine focus on major orchestras, where the music of certain composers was exalted above others, much as Theodore Thomas stated in 1898, "Bach, Handel, Mozart and Beethoven were the sons of God!"[264] For some conductors, the mere thought of including lighter popular works was often unthinkable, such as for Fritz Scheel

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[262] "Symphony Patrons Vote for Monday," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 December 1930.
[263] Ralph P. Locke, "'Sacralization' of Culture in America," 157.
[264] Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 118.

and the Philadelphia Orchestra at the turn of the century. Scheel, according to Levine, sought "artistic purity," and upon a suggestion from the board to include waltzes in order to appeal to the public replied, "You [the board] represent the business end of this association; I stand for art...As long as I am conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, waltzes will not be played on a symphony programme."[265]

In some sense, then, highbrow became related in part to concerts of serious music, those that were deemed of "superior" artistic value. Conversely, lighter music was viewed as "popular" and a style appropriate for a wider public consumption. Events like the Promenade Concerts were specifically marketed toward a general audience, and were "unashamedly popular."[266]

At the same time, however, the *Volksconcerte* and Promenade concerts merely provided potential *examples* that the ESO could follow. The orchestra did imitate the program model and much of the repertoire of the lighter concerts, but also continually sought to develop into an organization that could be considered akin to the calibre of major orchestras throughout the continent. Frequent performances of Coleridge-Taylor, German, and others do indicate an association at some level with traditional lighter concerts, but the frequent repetition of Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 6*, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, Dvořák's *New World Symphony*, and others hint that the ESO aimed to be an

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[265] Ibid, 130.

[266] Lamb, "Promenade Concerts, 1867," 692.

orchestra that could also easily present works from the realm of "serious" music. Still, the inclusion of lighter works deemed more popular indicates how the orchestra had to include a mixture of music to lure a paying audience.

Moreover, the ESO furthered its attempts to appeal to the broader public by promoting educational opportunities. Indeed, in 1920 the *Bulletin* initially reported that the ESO was proposing to give eight concerts per year, three of which would contain lectures. Although there is no indication of what the content of these planned talks would be, the *Bulletin* hoped that "any lectures given will pertain to music, as there is a crying need for further enlightenment on the subject."[267] While these lecture concerts appear never to have materialized as no mention is ever again made of them in the newspapers, the ESO still pursued other educational initiatives. For example, many orchestras provided program notes for their patrons, and the ESO was no exception. For all thirteen years of the ESO's existence, John Oliver supplied historical information and musical analyses about the works performed.[268] Oliver was frequently recognized for his insightful notes, and by the latter part of the 1920s, the *Edmonton Journal* was publishing an abbreviated portion of his work prior to concerts.[269] While not an unexpected part of symphonic concert life, these notes

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[267] "Weekly Review of Music in Edmonton," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1920.

[268] Biographical information about Oliver is limited, though there is some suggestion that he was related to Frank Oliver, founder of the *Edmonton Bulletin*.

[269] "'Nutcracker' Suite Outstanding Number of Symphony Program," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 November 1924; also "Symphony Orchestra Has Very Promising Program," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 November 1929.

would have helped to increase the audience's knowledge of the compositions being performed, shrinking the gap between musical elite and the average concertgoer. Additionally, the innovation of printing the program notes in the newspaper the day before a concert not only would allow patrons to study them in greater detail, but could also reach those who did not attend concerts. As a result of this idea, those who could not attend the ESO's programs but were interested in Western art music were afforded the opportunity to learn more about various composers and their works. Printing the notes in the paper could additionally reach those living outside Edmonton; anyone living in rural areas would have a similar opportunity to obtain basic musical knowledge.[270]

Moreover, Oliver's program notes most often do not involve an overabundance of in-depth musical jargon or analysis. The programs typically concentrate instead on biographical details of composers or historical information about the piece being performed.[271] For the Andante cantabile from Tchaikovsky's *Fifth Symphony*, Oliver begins with biographical information about the composer, leading up to the time the work was written. This is

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[270] The argument can be made, and rightly so, that only those who subscribed to the *Journal* had access to this information, giving exclusive access only to those able to pay for the newspaper. At the same time, however, this was an opportunity for a financially challenged orchestra to spread the program notes far beyond what the ESO itself could achieve. Providing the information free of charge may simply have been beyond the ESO's means; printing enough programs for large amounts of people, for instance, would have proved prohibitively expensive. As such, the *Journal* offered a way to spread educational information further, even if the method of delivery may have been less than ideal.

[271] As Oliver's notes appeared in concert programs and a few select *Journal* articles, the entire catalogue of his writings are not available. There are seven programs available through archival sources, each of which contains information provided by Oliver. A few abbreviated versions of his work can be found in the *Edmonton Journal*, beginning in November of 1929.

followed by details about the symphony that do not involve complex musical terminology, such as in the following example:

> In his orchestral works, Tchaikovsky was want [*sic*] to alternate between the symphonic poem and the symphony. Each of his symphonies shows progress in the form and a decided artistic advance over its predecessors...In the Fifth Symphony there are touches of religious sentiment not found in his other works.[272]

Certainly, some knowledge of classical forms like the symphonic poem would be required for a complete understanding of the passage, but Oliver keeps the information basic enough that non-musical members of the audience could gain general knowledge of the piece. Some terminology is introduced, such as when Oliver observes that the religious sentiment is "particularly noticeable in the 'choral-like' intro to the Andante cantabile," but this never pervades so much as to make the notes incomprehensible.[273]

In fact, when discussing musical elements of the works being presented, Oliver frequently attempts to explain the pieces in terms that the average person with no training can understand. Of Edward German's *Three Dances from "Nell Gwynn,"* Oliver writes that

> [t]hese numbers are excellent examples of German's work. They are light and graceful, the themes are refreshing in their originality, the method of their presentation reveals the hand of a profound musician, while the orchestration is remarkable for its delicacy, refinement and exquisite workmanship.[274]

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[272] "Concert Program, 11 April 1926," in *Madeleine McCormick Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid.

The description borders on critique rather than an educational description, but explains concepts such as the theme using language accessible to most anyone. Likewise, a description of a movement from one of Schubert's symphonies attempts to explain the orchestration of the trio:

> The trio opens with horns and clarinets leading to a broad melody for the woodwinds with string accompaniment. This produces a brilliant orchestral effect and a repetition of the Scherzo brings the movement to a close.[275]

Once again, Oliver uses non-technical language to describe what takes place in the music. While an understanding of trios and scherzos would undoubtedly enhance one's comprehension of the program notes, they are still easily understood regardless of personal knowledge.

This is not to suggest, however, that Oliver never employed more complex descriptions that only the informed could grasp. Musical vocabulary is found, for instance, in a description of the final movement from Mozart's *Symphony No. 40*:

> The fourth movement (Allegro Assai, G-minor, 2-2 time) is replete with passion and energy, though there is little suspicion of sorrow. It remains in the minor key, and is notable for the definite conciseness in form of its phrases. The first theme is a spirited and vigorous passage of sixteen bars, made up of four repetitions of one phrase, which is in itself two distinct halves.[276]

This depiction has the potential of becoming confusing to the reader not well

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[275] "Concert Program, 5 December 1926," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

[276] "Concert Program, 16 February 1931," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

versed in theory; concepts of time signatures, minor keys, and four-bar phrases would be difficult to understand for those untrained in music. To some, this might begin to suggest a type of elitism, that only people refined enough to have received a musical education were fit for the ESO's concerts, but these passages are the exception rather than the norm. For the most part, readers could peruse descriptive commentary unhindered by vocabulary with which they would be unfamiliar. At the same time, Oliver's inclusion of more technical passages provides information for those who may have had the opportunity to learn about music, and would have potentially been educational for them as well. There is, consequently, a balance in Oliver's program notes, ensuring that audience members would be able to learn about the music being performed, regardless of their educational backgrounds.

As discussed above, the ESO also made efforts to hold a special educational concert for children. The policy of the orchestra was not to allow children at season concerts, so the educational concert was a way to bring the ESO to yet another group of people. Much of the program consisted of works familiar to patrons, allowing the students to have an experience similar to that of regular audiences.[277] John Oliver provided program notes once more, which were written with the target group of grades five through eight in mind. For Rossini's *William Tell Overture*, Oliver gives introductory information on the

[277] "Local Symphony Play for Children," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 April 1927. The concert program is provided in Appendix 4.

composer and piece, as illustrated by his description of the instrumentation: "It is bright and brilliant and contains many combinations of instrumental color that served as models for later composers to follow."[278] The performance shows a genuine concern for the musical education of children, further demonstrating the orchestra's desire to be included in many various aspects of community life.

These educational initiatives demonstrate how the orchestra reached out and attempted to share Western art music with the public. Some may contend that these efforts were made in an attempt to secure additional financial funding, but the extent of events such as the children's concert suggest that the ESO's supporters also genuinely wanted to share their music with everyone. As Locke suggests, "many people attended...symphony concerts...because they knew and loved that kind of music...and were eager to hear more and better examples of it."[279] The evidence I have just reviewed suggests that this was true of the ESO and its supporters. While they needed to appeal to a wide audience to survive, the orchestra involved patrons in many decisions. Those who directed the orchestra did not have absolute control over it, but rather listened to repertoire requests; they did not actively seek to develop a highbrow institution, and they worked to educate the public about Western art music. To some extent these actions were certainly taken to ensure survival, but the fact that the ESO managed to survive for a significant length of time in spite of

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[278] "First Concert for Public School Students Grades V to VIII: Program," in *Harry Weisser Fonds* (Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta).

[279] Locke, "'Sacralization' of Culture in America," 159.

many financial difficulties suggests that the ESO's organizers and patrons were first and foremost hoping to bring orchestral music to the citizens of Edmonton.

Epilogue:
The Infinite Diversity of the Periphery

One wonders, if the music writers of the 1920s *Edmonton Journal* and *Bulletin* were still around today, what they would have thought of the current incarnation of the ESO. What would they think of the music being performed? Would the programs be considered too heavy? How would they respond to the continually developing technology of recorded Western art music? Similarly, would they have considered the music of contemporary popular artists such as *U2* and *Coldplay* as on the same level as other popular entertainments of their time? Such questions are, of course, impossible to answer but raise an important concept of diversity and change. The contemporary music scene is full of different styles, performed by a multitude of artists in different venues under varying circumstances. Although Edmonton in the 1920s and 30s did not experience this level of diversity, any number of situations still had an effect on the many genres of music being performed in the city.

One problem frequently encountered in musicology, as well as other academic disciplines, is how to present accurately a large amount of data within the limited confines of a paper or book. Inevitably, certain assumptions are made based on prevalent trends in researched information, while an event that happened only once may regrettably be ignored. If, for example, a researcher were investigating 40 major orchestras worldwide, of which 39 exhibited strong signs of catering to a social elite, one might find it only natural to assume all

such ensembles inevitably became linked to issues of social class. While this may certainly be true, the resulting narrative does not account for the remaining orchestra, which perhaps made concerted efforts to reach out to a broad audience. This group of people may have been the exception, but their efforts should nonetheless merit closer research to determine what caused this particular orchestra to deviate from the "norm."

Naturally, any account of the past, whether recounting the mainstream or periphery, is at risk of modification by the scholar. As David Lowenthal notes,

> [e]very act of recognition alters survivals from the past. Simply to appreciate or protect a relic, let alone to embellish or imitate it, affects its form or our impressions. Just as selective recall skews memory and subjectivity shapes historical insight, so manipulating antiquities refashions their appearance and meaning. Interaction with a heritage continually alters its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance.[280]

The periphery is subject to the same distorted results as the mainstream, and I have here attempted to portray the ESO as objectively as possible with the hope of providing another example of the interaction between society and a musical institution.

Indeed, the present investigation has shown that while the ESO was similar to major orchestras in certain ways, Edmonton's ensemble often sought its own way. In the case of the ESO, a number of circumstances combined to

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[280] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 236.

create an orchestra unique to Edmonton; a British heritage along with a desire to appeal to a broad audience, for instance, were both factors in the lighter style of concerts most often performed. In the end, the mainstream would not exist without the periphery, and orchestras such as the ESO thus hold clues to greater understanding, which are waiting to be discovered.

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Appendix 1
ESO Personnel

Principal Conductors, By Season

1920/21 (1): Albert Weaver-Winston
1921/22 (2): Albert Weaver-Winston
1922/23 (3): Henri Baron
1923/24 (4): Henri Baron
1924/25 (5): Vernon Barford
1925/26 (6): Henri Baron
1926/27 (7): Henri Baron
1927/28 (8): Vernon Barford
1928/29 (9): Vernon Barford
1929/30 (10): F. Holden-Rushworth
1930/31 (11): F. Holden-Rushworth
1931/32 (12): F. Holden-Rushworth
1932/33 (13): F. Holden-Rushworth/Mrs. J.B. Carmichael

Board of Directors, Inaugural Season (1920/21)

W.G. Strachan (President)
Mrs. E.J. Atkinson
H. Baron
J. Bowman
W. Gaskill
Geo T. Hart
C.T. Hustwick
John Oliver
V. Rayment
Mrs. E.L. Robertson
H. Sedgwick
H.G. Turner
J.J. Walker
Albert Winston-Weaver

Musicians, Inaugural Season (1920/21)

First Violins: H. Sedgwick, A. Fratkin, T. Gardiner, A.S. Teets, J. Bauman, M. Fratkin, R. Grieve, C.W. Coppock, V. Rayment, C. Kelly

Second Violins: F. Parks, W. Gaskill, H.M. Vango, J.T. Dunn, J. Rust, H.G. Rust, D. Skiles, R. Berridge, R. Sansom, H. Boorman

Violas: W.J. Hendra, F. McMahon, A.W. Rye, Mrs. C.J. Emsley

Cellos: E. Tredway, H. Hassall, R.C. High, M. Tuck

Basses: G. McBride, J. Southwood, J.H. Elliot

Horns: F.A. Wheeler, W. Senior

Oboe: E. McDougall

Flutes: W.G. Strachan, C. Smith

Clarinets: H.A. Blodgett, H. Kellaway

Bassoons: G. Andrews, V. Rayment

Saxophones: H. Baron, H. Boorman

Trumpets: C.T. Hustwick, R. Harmer, G. Dewhurst

Trombones: H. Weisser, F. Dear, W. Tipp

Tuba: J.B. Daly

Percussion: G.H. Way, M. Webber, A.V. Daly

Librarian: V. Rayment

Appendix 2
ESO Forces - Sample Representations

First Season (1920/21)
First Violins (10), Second Violins (10), Violas (4), Violoncellos (4), Basses (3), Horns (2), Flutes (2), Oboe (1), Clarinets (2), Bassoons (2), Saxophones (2), Trumpets (3), Trombones (3), Tuba (1), Percussion (3)
Total Musicians = 52

Sixth Season, (1925/26)
First Violins (11), Second Violins (11), Violas (3), Violoncellos (4), Basses (3), Flutes (3), Piccolo (1), Oboe (1), Clarinets (2), Horns (2), Trumpets (2), Trombones (3), Tuba (1), Timpani (1), Percussion (2), Piano (1)
Total Musicians = 52

Seventh Season (1926/27)
First Violins (8), Second Violins (9), Violas (3), Violoncellos (4), Basses (3), Flutes (2), Oboe (1), Clarinets (2), Bass Clarinet (1), Horns (2), Trumpets (3), Trombones (3), Euphonium (1), Tuba (1), Timpani (1), Percussion (2), Piano (1)
Total Musicians = 47

Tenth Season (1929/30)
First Violins (9), Second Violins (7), Violas (5), Violoncellos (5), Basses (3), Flutes (2), Oboes (2), Clarinets (2), Horns (2), Trumpets (2), Trombones (3), Euphonium (1), Tuba (1), Timpani (1), Percussion (2)
Total Musicians = 47

Edmonton Symphony Orchestra (2005/06 Season)
First Violins (8), Second Violins (8), Viola (6), Violoncellos (6), Basses (5), Flutes (2), Oboes (2), Clarinets (2), Bassoons (2), Horns (4), Trumpets (2), Trombones (2), Bass Trombone (1), Tuba (1), Timpani (1), Percussion (1), Harp (1)
Total Musicians = 54

Wiener Philharmoniker (2005/06 Season)
Concertmasters (4), First Violins (19), Second Violins (20), Violas (17), Violoncello (13), Basses (13), Harps (2), Flutes (6), Oboes (5), Clarinets (6), Bassoon (6), Horns (9), Trumpets (5), Trombones (5), Tuba (1), Percussion (6)
Total Musicians = 137

Appendix 3
Performances of Composers by the ESO (1920-1933), by decreasing number of works performed[281]

Tchaikovsky: 36
Schubert: 21
Mendelssohn: 18
Beethoven: 16
Saint-Saens: 13
Grieg: 12
German: 11
Grainger: 10
Dvorak: 9
Mozart: 9
Wagner: 9
Bizet: 8
Boccherini: 8
Elgar: 8
Rimsky-Korsakov: 8
Sibelius: 8
Coleridge-Taylor: 7
Liszt: 6
McCunn: 6
Haydn: 5
Litolff: 5
Massenet: 5
Nicolai: 5
Berlioz: 4
Gounod: 4
Smetana: 4
Verdi: 4
Weber: 4
Auber: 3
Balfour Gardiner: 3
Byng: 3
Pitt: 3
Rachmaninoff: 3
Rossini: 3
Rubinstein: 3
Sullivan: 3
Woodforde-Finden: 3
Baron, H.: 2
Baron, M.: 2
Brahms: 2
Coates: 2
Delibes: 2
Gomez: 2
Hansen and Lotter: 2
Ippolitov-Ivanov: 2
MacDowell: 2
Manichelli: 2
Mussorgsky: 2
Offenbach: 2
Ponchielli: 2
Puccini: 2
Strauss, J: 2
Waldteufel: 2
Wallace: 2
Albeniz: 1
Bennett: 1
Debussy: 1
Drigo: 1
Dunhill: 1
Fletcher: 1
Foulds: 1
Frimi: 1
Glazunov: 1
Goldmark, Reuben: 1
Hadley, Sir Henry: 1
Handel: 1
Hendra, W.J.: 1
Herbert: 1
Herold: 1
Holden-Rushworth: 1
Humperdinck: 1
Jarnfelt: 1
Ketelbey: 1
Kreisler: 1
Lake: 1
Lalo: 1

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[281] List of composers does not include works performed by soloists or ensembles

Lehar: 1
Luigini: 1
MacKenzie, Sir Alexander: 1
Mascagni: 1
Meyerbeer: 1
Montague King: 1
Purcell: 1
Reissiger: 1
Romberg: 1
Rybner: 1
Snyder: 1
Suppe: 1
Thomas: 1
Turina: 1
Vollstedt: 1
Wheeler: 1
White: 1

Appendix 4
Concert Listings from Extant ESO Programs Found in Archives

Sixth Concert, April 11, 1926
Andante Cantabile from Fifth Symphony...Tchaikovsky
Le petite Duchesse...Baron
The Wooing of the Rose...Franck (solo)
Three Dances from Nell Gwynn...German
Overture to Tannhauser...Wagner

First Concert, December 5, 1926
Symphony No. 10 (7)...Schubert
Suite from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*...Mendelssohn
"When child her plays"...Walford-Davies (solo)
"Non più andrai"...Mozart (solo)
Overture, "The Roman Carnival"...Berlioz
The Bamboula...Coleridge-Taylor

First Concert for Public School Students, April 29, 1927
Overture to *William Tell*...Rossini
Symphony No. 8 (Unfinished)...Schubert
"The Robin and the Child"...Davies (school choir)
"Promise"...Lyon (school choir)
Minuet...Boccherini
A Chinese Temple Garden...Ketelbey
Marche Slave...Tchaikovsky

Invitation Concert, October 20, 1929
Symphony in D Major...Haydn
"Dance of the Clowns" from *The Snow Maiden*...Rimsky-Korsakoff
"O Love from Thy Power" from *Samson and Delilah*...Saint-Saens (solo)
Three Dances from *The Bartered Bride*...Smetana
Jolly Fellows Waltz...Vollstedt
Overture to *Le Roi d'Ys*...Lalo

First Concert, November 17, 1929
Overture to "Coriolanus"...Beethoven
Andante to Fourth Symphony...Tchaikovsky
Part Song, "Victory"...Jenkins (choir)
Soldiers Chorus from *Faust*...Gounod (choir)
Trepak...Rubinstein
Scenes from Childhood...Bizet

British Folk Song Setting, "Country Gardens"...Arr. Grainger
Allegro con fuoco from Fourth Symphony...Tchaikovsky

Third Concert, January 19, 1930
Rosamunde Overture...Schubert
Eine kleine Nachtmusik...Mozart
"Woo Thou Thy Snowflakes" from *Ivanhoe*...Sullivan (solo)
"Scene Andalouse"...Turina (ensemble)
Persian Dance from *Khovanshchina*...Mussorgsky
Waltz, "Toujours ou Jamais"...Waldteufel
Finale to the Fifth Symphony...Tchaikovsky

Sixth Concert, April 13, 1930
Overture to *Orpehus in Hades*...Offenbach
Welsh Rhapsody...German
Three Shakespearean Lyrics...Quilter and Aikin (solo)
Prelude...Jarnfelt
Two Dances from *The Bartered Bride*...Smetana
Fantasy, "The Evolution of Dixie"...Lake

Appendix 5
ESO Concerts, 1920-1933
Derived from Concert Listings in the *Edmonton Journal*

SEASON ONE

November 14, 1920
"Jupiter" Symphony (Mozart)
Scenes Alsatiens (Massenet)
Land of the Mountain and the Flood (Hamish McCunn)

December 12, 1920
Leonore Overture #3 (Beethoven)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Orchestral Suite (Coleridge-Taylor)
Ruy Blas (Mendelssohn)
"Farewell Ye Mountains" from Jeanne d'Arc (Tchaikovsky) (solo)

January 23, 1921
Overture to Magic Flute (Mozart)
"Italian" Symphony (Mendelssohn)
Gipsy Suite (Edward German)
Mock Morris Dance (Percy Grainger)
"The Two Grenadiers" (Schumann) (solo)

February 13, 1921
Suite, "A Pagoda of Flowers" (Amy Woodforde-Finden)
Andante Cantabile from Fifth Symphony (Tchaikovsky)
Overture to "The Bartered Bride" (Smetana)
Minuet (Boccherini)
2 Pomp and Circumstance Marches (Elgar)
Arias from Acis and Galatea (Handel) (solo)

March 12, 1921
Symphony No. 11 in G Major (Haydn)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
L'arliesienne Suite No. 1 (Bizet)
Various (Tchaikovsky)
"Ah! Moon of My Delight" (Liza Lehmann)

April 8, 1921 (Request)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Land of the Mountain and the Flood (McCunn)
Minuet for Strings (Boccherini)

Pomp & Circumstance March (Elgar)
Peer Gynt Suite (Grieg)

SEASON TWO

November 6, 1921
Symphony No. 3, "Scottish" (Mendelssohn)
Suite, "From the Countryside" (Eric Coates)
Prelude in C-Sharp minor (Rachmaninoff, trans.)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
"Lo Gentle Lark" (solo)

December 4, 1921
Symphony No. 49, "Jupiter" (Mozart)
"Dance of the Hours" from La Gioconda (Ponchielli)
Funeral March of a Marionette (Gounod)
"Bambouia," Rhapsodic Dance (Coleridge-Taylor)
Violin Concerto, Op. 64 (Mendelssohn, violin/piano) (solo)

January 15, 1922
Processional March from "The Queen of Sheba" (Reuben Goldmark)
Scenes Pittoresques (Massenet)
Egmont Overture (Beethoven)
Irish Tune from Country Derry (Grainger)
A Midsummer Night's Serenade (Albeniz)
"Il Guarany," Overture (Gomez)
"Sound an Alarm" from Solomon (Handel) (solo)

February 12, 1922
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky)
Suite from the Ballet "Sylvia" (Delibes)
Overture, "Rienzie" (Wagner)
"Le Roi de Thule" from Faust (Gounod) (solo)
Gavotte from Manon (Massenet) (solo)

March 12, 1922
"The Atonement of Pan," suite from "The Grove Play" (Sir Henry Hadley)
Shepherd Fennel's Dance (Balfour Gardiner)
Overture di Ballo (Sullivan)
Suite for Strings (Purcell, arr.)
A Midsummer Night's Dream, Overture (Mendelssohn)
"Hybdias the Cretan" and "Invictus" (solo)

March 26, 1922 (Milk Fund)
Minuet for Strings (Boccherini)
Pagoda of Flowers (Woodforde-Finden)
The Sheik (Snyder)
Overture di Ballo (Sullivan)
"Barcarolle" from Tales of Hoffmann (Offenbach)
"Down South" (Myddleton) (solo)

April 9, 1922 (Request)
Symphony No. 8, "Unfinished" (Schubert)
Overture "The Hebrides" (Mendelssohn)
Dance of the Hours (Ponchielli)
Peer Gynt Suite No. 1 (Grieg)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
"Melisande" (solo)

SEASON THREE
November 12, 1922
Symphony No. 4, "Italian" (Mendelssohn)
Les Preludes (Liszt)
Three Dances to "Nell Gwynne" (German)
Overture "Rosamunde" (Schubert)
"Onoway, Awake Beloved" (Coleridge-Taylor) (solo)

December 10, 1922
Suite, "Scenes Alcasiennes" (Massenet)
Danse macabre (Saint-Saens)
Indian Love Lyrics (Woodforde-Finden)
Overture, "Robespierre" (Litoff)
Madame Butterfly, selection (Puccini)
Prologue from Pagliacci (Leoncavallo) (solo)

January 14, 1923
Symphony No. 5 (Beethoven)
Four Norwegian Dances (Grieg)
Waltz from Eugene Onegin (Tchaikovsky)
"Bird of the Wilderness" (Horsman) (solo)
"Fanciulla Gentille" (Durante) (solo)

February 11, 1923
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky, mvts. 3 & 4)
Caucasian Sketches (Ippolitov-Ivanoff)

Overture to Oberon (Weber)
Overture, "A Midsummer Night's Dream" (Mendelssohn)
Hungarian Rhapsody (Liszt)
"Pipes of Pan" (JS Bach) (solo)

March 11, 1923 (Request)
Symphony No. 5 (Beethoven)
Overture, "Tannhauser" (Wagner)
Madame Butterfly, selection (Puccini)
Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 (Liszt)
"Last Days of Pompeii" (Ritz) (Edmonton Male Chorus)
"Gipsy Chorus" (Schumann) (EMC)

March 25, 1923 (Music Festival Aid Concert)
Symphony No. 4, "Italian" (Mendelssohn)
Overture, "Robespierre" (Litoff)
Waltz (Waldteufel)
Gipsy Suite (German)
"O Paradise" from L'Africanne (Meyerbeer) (solo)

SEASON FOUR
November 18, 1923
Symphony No. 1 (Beethoven)
"Bambouia," Rhapsodic Dance (Coleridge-Taylor)
Ballet Music, "Henry VIII" (Saint-Saens)
"O God Have Mercy" (Stradella) (solo)

December 16, 1923
Symphony No. 7 (Beethoven)
1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)
Invitation to the Dance (Weber)
Minuet in G (Beethoven)
Moment Musical in F minor (Schubert)
"Jewel Song" from Faust (Gounod) (solo)
"Once in a Blue Moon" (Howard Fischer) (solo)

January 20, 1924
Symphony No. 40 (Mozart)
Two Hindu Pictures (Hansen and Lotter)
Two Elegiac Melodies, "Hjestesar" and "Varen" (Grieg)
"Marche Hongroise" from The Damnation of Faust (Berlioz)
The Land of the Mountain and the Flood (McCunn)

"Where E're You Walk" (Handel) (solo)
"At Eve I Heard a Flute" (Strickland) (solo)

February 17, 1924
Scenes from the Bavarian Highland (Elgar)
Overture, "La Forza del Destino" (Verdi)
Indian Wedding Festival (Maurice Baron)
The Dark Road (W.J. Hendra)
Brittania Overture (Sir Alexander MacKenzie)
Scheherazade, excerpts (Rimsky-Korsakov)
"It is Enough" from Elijah (Mendelssohn) (solo)
"Who is Sylvia" (Schubert) (solo)

March 16, 1924 (Request)
Symphony No. 1 (Beethoven)
"Bambouia," Rhapsodic Dance (Coleridge-Taylor)
Two Hindu Pictures (Hansen and Lotter)
1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)
"My Friends" (Brahms) (solo)
"Under the Roof Where Laughter Rings" (solo)

March 30, 1924 (Music Fund)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
Minuet for Strings (Boccherini)
Two Elegiac Melodies (Grieg)
Overture, "William Tell" (Rossini)
"Love and Music, These Have I Lived For" (solo)
"La Tosca" (solo)

SEASON FIVE
November 16, 1924
Suite, "Casse-Noisette" (Tchaikovsky)
Symphony No. 5 (Beethoven)
Shepherd Fennel's Dance (H. Balfour Gardiner)
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
"The Curfew" (Monk Gould) (solo)
"The Garden Where We Wander" (solo)

December 21, 1924
Overture from Cleopatra (Manichelli)
Suite, "Ballet Russe" (Luigini)

Prelude in G minor (Rachmaninoff, trans.)
Eventide (Bennett)
Overture to Zampa (Herold)
"Lament of Isis" (Bantock) (solo)
"Mary Alone" (Guion) (solo)

January 25, 1925
Symphony "No. 5," "From the New World" (Dvorak)
Il Guarany (Gomez)
Highland Memories (McCunn)
"O Don Fatale" from Don Carlo (Verdi) (solo)
"My Laddie" (Scotch song) (solo)

February 22, 1925
Overture, "Masaniello" (Auber)
L'Ariesienne Suite No. 1 (Bizet)
The Ship O' the Fiend (McCunn)
Irish Tune from Country Derry (Grainger)
Air de Ballet (Pitt)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
Piano Concerto (Grieg, 1st mvt.)
Etude de Concert (MacDowell) (solo)

March 22, 1925 (Request)
Overture, "Masninello" (Auber)
Suite, "Casse Noisette" (Tchaikovsky)
Shepherd Fennel's Dance (Gardiner)
Symphony "From the New World" (Dvorak)
"Vision Fugitive" from Herodiade (Massenet) (solo)

April 5, 1925 (Music Fund)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Spirit of Pageantry (Fletcher)
Blue Danube Waltz (Strauss)
Overture, "The Hebrides" (Mendelssohn)
March (unknown)
"On Jhelum River" (Amy Woodford) (solo)

April 19, 1925 (War Memorial Fund)
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
Symphony No. 5 (Beethoven, 2 mvts.)
Three Dances from Henry VIII (German)

Pomp and Circumstance No. 1 (Elgar)
"Mon coeur s'ouvre a ta voix" from Samson et Delila (Saint-Saens) (solo)
"There is No Death" (solo)

SEASON SIX

November 15, 1925
Symphony No. 3, "Scottish" (Mendelssohn)
Three African Dances (Montague King)
Overture, Lohengrin (Wagner)
Overture, The Conqueror (M. Baron)
"Sea Fever" (Ireland) (solo)
"War Song" (Sibelius) (solo)

December 20, 1925
Symphony, "Militaire" (Haydn)
Overture, "Rosamunde" (Schubert)
Introduction to 2nd Act, "Königskinder" (Humperdinck)
Suite, Carmen (Bizet)
March, "Militaire Francaise" (Saint-Saens)
"Love is For Ever" (Newton) (solo)
"Shepherd: Thy Demeanor Vary" (Lane-Wilson) (solo)

January 24, 1926
Les Preludes (Liszt)
Carnival Overture (Dvorak)
Peer Gynt Suite (Grieg)
Danse macabre (Saint-Saens)
Ballade in A-Flat (Chopin) (solo)

February 21, 1926
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky, 3rd, 4th mvts.)
Ballet Music from Faust (Gounod, 3 numbers)
Crown of India March (Elgar)
Overture to "Maritanna" (Wallace)
Andante cantabile from a String Quartet (Tchaikovsky, SQ)
Un moment musical (Schubert, for SQ)

March 21, 1926 (Request)
Symphony No. 3, "Scottish" (Mendelssohn)
Peer Gynt Suite (Grieg)
Danse macabre (Saint-Saens)
Overture, Rosamunde (Schubert)

"My Heart is Weary" from Nadeschda (Thomas)

April 11, 1926 (Music Fund)
Symphony No. 5 (Tchaikovsky)
Waltz from Eugene Onegin (Tchaikovsky)
Overture, Tannhauser (Wagner)
Dances from Nell Gwynne (German)
Le Petite Duchesse (Henri Baron)
"The Wooing of the Rose" (Franck) (solo)

SEASON SEVEN
November 7, 1926
Symphony "No. 8," "Italian" (Mendelssohn)
Overture, Rosamunde (Schubert)
Irish Tune from County Derry (Grainger)
Finlandia (Sibelius)
"After" (Elgar) (solo)
"If Thou Wert Blind" (Johnson) (solo)

December 5, 1926
Symphony No. 10 (Schubert)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Mendelssohn, 5 selections)
Overture, Roman Carnival (Berlioz)
"Bambouia," Rhapsodic Dance (Coleridge-Taylor)
"Melisande in the Wood" (solo)
"Song of the Flea" (Mussorgsky) (solo)
"Salaam" (Agnes Mary Lang) (solo)

January 9, 1927
O Canada (H. Baron, special arrangement dedicated to patrons)
Symphony No. 4 (Beethoven, 3 mvts.)
Norwegian Dances (Grieg)
Overture, Preciosa (Weber)
A Day in Naples (George W. Byng)
"Lenz" (Hildach) (solo)
"Ecstasy" (Rummel) (solo)
"Drink to me only with thine eyes" (solo)

February 6, 1927
Overture, Benvenuto Cellini (Berlioz)
Concert Overture, "Froissart" (Elgar)
To a Wild Rose (MacDowell)

Minuet (Boccherini)
Suite from Carmen (Bizet)
"Oh Willow, Willow, Willow" (solo)
"Where the Bee Sucks" (Sullivan) (solo)

March 6, 1927
Symphony No. 5 (Beethoven)
Incidental music to Sigurd Jorsalfar (Grieg)
Valse des Fleurs (Tchaikovsky)
Marche Slave (Tchaikovsky)
"Where e're You Walk" from Smele (Handel) (solo)
"Sylvia" (Speaks) (solo)

April 3, 1927 (Request)
Symphony No. 10 (Schubert, 2 mvts.)
Marche Slave (Tchaikovsky)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Mendelssohn)
Minuet (Boccherini)
Violin Concerto in D (Beethoven, excerpt) (solo)

April 29, 1927 (Educational/School Concert)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Overture, William Tell (Rossini)
Minuet (Boccherini)
Marche Slave (Tchaikovsky)
In a Chinese Temple (Ketelbey)

SEASON EIGHT
October 16, 1927
Suite, Henry VIII (Saint-Saens)
Overture, Tannhauser (Wagner)
Liebestraum No. 3 (Liszt, trans.)
A Day in Naples (Byng)
"Hindu Song" (Bember) (solo)
"Floran's Song" (solo)

November 13, 1927
Symphony "No. 5," "From the New World" (Dvorak)
Scenes Alsaciennes (Massenet)
Waltz from Eugene Onegin (Tchaikovsky)
Humoresque (Tchaikovsky)
Overture, Robespierre (Litoff)

"All Hail Thou Dwelling Pure and Lovely" (solo)

December 11, 1927
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky, 2 mvts.)
Land of the Mountain and the Flood (McCunn)
Causacian Sketches (Ippolitov-Ivanoff)
Prelude in C-Sharp minor (Rachmaninoff, trans.)
Flight of the Bumble-Bee (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Santuzza's aria from Cavalleria Rusticana (Mascagni) (solo)
"Under the Greenwood Tree" (Peccia) (solo)

January 15, 1928
Symphonic Poem No. 2 (Liszt)
Gipsy Suite (German)
Largo (Handel, arr.)
Intermezzo from La Source (Delibes)
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
"Song of the Spirits" (Schubert) (Edmonton Male Chorus)
"Killarney" (arr.) (EMC)

February 12, 1928
Symphony No. 3 (Beethoven, 1st, 4th mvts.)
Hiawatha Ballet (Coleridge-Taylor)
Pomp and Circumstance March (Elgar, #?)
Air de Ballet (Pitt)
Overture, Benvenuto Cellini (Berlioz)
"Summer Highland Days" (Peel) (solo)
"King of the Elves" (Davies) (solo)

March 12, 1928 (Request)
Symphony "No. 5," "From the New World" (Dvorak, mvts. 1, 2 & 4)
Gipsy Suite (German)
Waltz from Eugene Onegin (Tchaikovsky)
Flight of the Bumble-Bee (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
"Love, Lend Me Thy Might" from Samson et Delilah (Saint-Saens) (solo)
"It Is Only a Tiny Garden" (Haydn Wood) (solo)

April 1, 1928 (Children's Aid Concert)
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky, 3rd mvt.)
"Ishtar" (Spross) (vocal solo)
Sonata for Flute (Loeillet) (flute solo)

Irish Tune from County Derry (Grainger)
Air de Ballet (Pitt)
"Lamento" (Gabriel Marre) (cello solo)
"Waters of Minnetonka" (Lieurance) (cello solo)
"O Lovely Peace" from Judas Maccabaeus (Handel) (vocal duet)
"There Was a Lover and His Lass" (vocal duet)
1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)

SEASON NINE

October 28, 1928
Symphony No. 4, "Italian" (Mendelssohn)
Overture, Robespierre (Litoff)
Carmen Suite (Bizet)
Pomp and Circumstance March #2 (Elgar)
"Sea Bird," "Moonlight," "By the Sea" (Quilter) (solo)

November 18, 1928
Symphony No. 41 (Mozart, 3 mvts.)
Suite, Sigurd Jorsalfar (Grieg)
Suite (MacDowell, 3 mvts.)
"Bambouia," Rhapsodic Dance (Coleridge-Taylor)
Overture di ballo (Sullivan)
"Ah, Moon of My Delight" (Lehmann) (solo)
"Vesti la giubba" (Leoncavallo) (solo)

December 16, 1928
Overture, Hamlet (Tchaikovsky)
Andante cantabile from Symphony No. 5 (Tchaikovsky)
Sleeping Beauty (Tchaikovsky, 3 mvts.)
Overture, Sicilian Vespers (Verdi)
"A Thought Like Music" (Brahms) (solo)
"My Peace Thou Art" (Schubert) (solo)

January 20, 1929
Overture, Bartered Bride (Smetana)
Symphony No. 8, "Unfinished" (Schubert
Ballet music from Faust (Gounod)
Overture, Tannhauser (Wagner)
5 Gypsy Songs from Suite (Dvorak) (solo)

February 17, 1929
Symphony No. 1 (Brahms, mvts. 3 & 4)

Overture, Cleopatra (Mancinelli)
Nell Gwyne Dances (German)
Reverie du Soir (Saint-Saens)
"King of the Mist" (Jude) (solo)
"Rolling Down to Rio" (solo)

March 17, 1929 (Request)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Andante cantabile from Symphony No. 5 (Tchaikovsky)
Overture, Tannhauser (Wagner)
Marche Militaire Francaise (Saint-Saens)
Sleeping Beauty (Tchaikovsky, 3 mvts.)
Three Irish Folk Songs (solo)

SEASON TEN
October 20, 1929
Symphony No. 7 (Salomon Set) (Haydn)
Overture, Le Roi d'Ys (Lalo)
"Dance of the Clowns" from The Snow Maiden (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Three Bohemian Dances from The Bartered Bride (Smetana)
Jolly Fellows Waltz (Vollstedt)
"O Love From Thy Power" from Samson et Delilah (Saint-Saens) (solo)
"A Highland Lullaby" (F.J. Nurding, former Edmontonian) (solo)

November 17, 1929
Symphony No. 4 (Tchaikovsky, 2 mvts.)
Overture, Coriolanus (Beethoven)
Trepak (Rubinstein)
Scenes from Childhood (Bizet, 3 mvts.)
Country Gardens (Grainger, arr.)
"Victory" (Cyril Jenkins) (Edmonton Male Chorus)
"Soldier's Chorus" from Faust (Gounod)

December 22, 1929
Overture, Phedre (Massenet)
Symphony No. 10 (Schubert, Andante con moto)
Gopak (Mussorgsky)
Three Dances from the Ballet "Prince Ador" (Rybner)
Hungarian March from The Damnation of Faust (Berlioz)
Overture, Orpheus in Hades (Offenbach)
Humpty Dumpty's Funeral March
"One Fine Day" from Madame Butterfly (Puccini) (solo)

"The Last Hour" (Kramer) (solo)

January 19, 1930
Overture, Rosamunde (Schubert)
Eine kleine Nachtmusik (Mozart)
Scene Andalouse (Turina) (viola, piano, SQ)
Persian Dance from Khovanshchina (Mussorgsky)
Waltz, "Toujours ou Jamais" (Waldteufel)
Symphony No. 5 (Tchaikovsky, finale)
"Woo Thou Thy Snowflakes" from Ivanhoe (Sullivan) (solo)

Feburary 16, 1930
Overture, "The Hebrides" (Mendelssohn)
Symphony No. 7 (Beethoven, allegretto)
Allegro ma non troppo from the Ballet "The Demon" (Rubinstein)
Three Dances from the Operetta "Tom Jones" (German)
Scene du Bal (Nicode)
1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)
"The Lotus Flower" (Schumann) (solo)
"To Music" (Schubert) (solo)

March 16, 1930 (Request)
Symphony No. 10 (Schubert, Andante con moto)
Overture, Rosamunde (Schubert)
Country Gardens (Grainger)
Eine kleine Nachtmusik (Mozart)
1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)
Vivace from Trio No. 2 in a minor (Godard) (trio)
Lento from Trio in a minor (Chaminade) (trio)

April 13, 1930 (Broadcast)
Overture, Orpheus in Hades (Offenbach)
Welsh Rhapsody (German)
Prelude (Jarnfelt)
Two Dances from The Bartered Bride (Smetana)
Fantasy, "The Evolution of Dixie" (Lake)
Three Shakespearean Lyrics (Quilter, Aikin) (solo)

SEASON ELEVEN
October 19, 1930
Overture, Jeanne d'Arc (Verdi)
Farewell Symphony (Haydn, Presto and Adagio)

Ballet Suite from Henry VIII (Saint-Saens)
Reconcilliation: Polka from "Les Millions D'Arlequin" (Drigo)
Trot de Cavalrie (Rubinstein)
Overture, Ruy Blas (Mendelssohn)
"Eternal Love" (Brahms) (solo)

November 16, 1930
Academic Festival Overture (Brahms)
New World Symphony (Dvorak, First and second movements)
Classical Dance Suite for Strings (Dunhill, three movements)
Humoresque, Op. 10 (Tchaikovsky)
Polonaise from the "Christmas Eve Suite" (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Overture, Princess Jaune (Saint-Saens)
"Preislied," from Die Meistersinger (Wagner) (solo)
"Jean" (C.G. Spross) (solo)

December 15, 1930
Overture, "Mignon" (Ambroise Thomas)
New World Symphony (Dvorak, Scherzo and Finale)
The Carnival of the Animals (Saint-Saens)
Polonaise from "Scenes du Ballet" (A. Glazunov)
"Ich grolle nicht" (Schumann) (solo)
"Trees" (La Ferge) (solo)

January 19, 1931
Overture, Peter Schmoll (Weber)
Symphony No. 40 (Mozart, First and Second movements)
Suite from "The Sleeping Beauty" (Tchaikovsky)
"Nobody knows the trouble I've seen" (Spiritual)
"Sometimes I feel like a motherless child" (Spiritual)
Tone Poem, "Finlandia" (Sibelius)
"Five Quatrains from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam" (James H. Rogers) (solo)

February 2, 1931
Overture, "Maritana" (Wallace)
Unfinished Symphony (Schubert)
Irish Tune from County Derry (Grainger)
Angelus from "Suite Bretagne" (F. Holden-Rushworth)
Minuet (Boccherini)
Selections from "The Student Prince" (Romberg)
Overture, "William Tell" (Rossini)
"Shepherd, Thy Demeanor Vary" (arr. Lane Wilson) (solo)

"The Spirit Flower" (Tipton) (solo)

February 16, 1931
Overture, "Hamlet" (Tchaikovsky)
Symphony No. 40 (Mozart, Third and Fourth Movements)
Suite from Incidental Music to "Sigurd Jorsalfar" (Grieg)
Valse Romantique (Debussy)
"County Gardens" (Grainger)
Overture, Rienzi (Wagner)
"Deep River" (arr. Cooke) (solo, Edmonton Male Chorus)
"Piper o' Dundee" (Bantock) (solo, Edmonton Male Chorus)

March 2, 1931
Marche Militaire Francaise, Suite algerienne (Saint-Saens)
Overture, Poet and Peasant (Suppe)
Welsh Rhapsody (German)
Four Favorite Tunes from High Jinks (Frimi)
Intermezzo from Cavalleria Rusticana (Mascagni)
Novelty: The Clock on the Mantel (Wheeler)
Promotioneu Waltz (J. Strauss)
Divertissement: A Day in Naples (Byng)
Prologue, "I Pagliacci" (Leoncavallo) (solo)

March 16, 1931
Overture, Rienzi (Wagner)
New World Symphony (Dvorak, First and Second Movements)
The Carnival of the Animals (Saint-Saens)
Two Negro Spirituals (White)
The Flight of the Bumble-Bee (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Tone Poem, "Finlandia" (Sibelius)
"Aurso" from "The Prophet" (Rimsky-Korsakov) (solo)

SEASON TWELVE
November 15, 1931
Overture, "Robespierre" (Litoff)
Irish Rhapsody (Herbert)
Keltic Suite (Foulds)
Concert Waltz, "Elfentanz" (Lehar)
Frackeltanz, No. 1 (Meyerbeer)
"Ernani, Ernani, Involami," from "Ernani" (Verdi) (solo)

December 20, 1931
Overture, Mill on the Cliff (Reissiger)
Ballet Music from "Faust" (Gounod)
Three Movements from the L'Arlesienne Suite (Bizet)
Caprice Viennois (Kreisler)
Suite, "From the Countryside" (Coates)
"Slumber Song" (Brahms) (solo)

February 7, 1932
Symphony No. 5 (Tchaikovsky, Andante cantabile)
Overture, "La Muette de Portici" (Auber)
Extract from Scheherazade Ballet (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Morris Dance, "Shepherd's Hey" (arr. Grainger)
Incidental Music from "Carmen" (Bizet)
"From the Land of the Sky Blue Water" (Cadman) (solo)
"Down in the Forest" (Ronald) (solo)

March 6, 1932
Symphony No. 6, "Pathetique" (Tchaikovsky, Third and Fourth Movements)
Ballet Music from "Rosamunde" (Schubert)
Entracte from "The Snow Queen" (Rimsky-Korsakov)
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
"Celeste Aida" (Verdi) (solo)

April 3, 1932
Ballet Music from "Aida" (Verdi)
Surprise Symphony (Haydn)
Carnival Overture (Dvorak)
Song of the Czar from "The Snow Maiden" (Rimsky-Korsakov) (solo, cello)
"Hamabil" (arr. Bantock) (solo, cello)

SEASON THIRTEEN
March 21, 1933
Overture, "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Nicolai)
"Unfinished" Symphony (Schubert)
Londonderry Air (Grainger)
Minuetto (Mozart)
Peer Gynt Suite (Grieg)
March from Pomp and Circumstance (Elgar)
"The Heroic Stand" (Cooper) (solo)

Appendix 6
Living vs. Deceased Composer Chart

Season ->	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dead	20	23	20	22	21	21
Living	5	9	5	6	9	5
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	25	32	25	28	31	26
Percent Dead	80.0%	71.9%	80.0%	78.6%	67.7%	80.8%
Percent Living	20.0%	28.1%	20.0%	21.4%	29.0%	19.2%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%

Season ->	7	8	9	10	11	12
Dead	25	24	24	32	33	17
Living	5	9	2	6	13	5
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	30	33	26	38	47	22
Percent Dead	83.3%	72.7%	92.3%	84.2%	70.2%	77.3%
Percent Living	16.7%	27.3%	7.7%	15.8%	27.7%	22.7%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%

Season ->	13	**TOTALS**
Dead	4	286
Living	2	81
Unknown	0	2
TOTAL	6	369
Percent Dead	66.7%	77.5%
Percent Living	33.3%	22.0%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.5%

Appendix 7
Composer Nationality Chart: Number Totals

Season -->	1	2	3	4	5	6
American	0	3	0	0	0	0
Australian	1	1	0	0	1	0
Austrian	5	2	1	3	2	3
Brazilian	0	1	0	0	1	0
Canadian	0	0	0	2	0	1
Chilean	1	1	1	0	0	0
Czech	1	0	0	2	2	1
Danish	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	4	6	4	3	6	3
Finnish	1	2	0	1	1	0
French	2	3	3	3	5	6
German	3	6	7	5	5	5
Hungarian	0	0	3	0	0	1
Italian	2	3	2	3	1	0
Irish	0	0	0	0	0	1
Norwegian	1	1	1	2	1	2
Russian	2	2	3	3	3	3
Scottish	2	0	0	1	2	0
Spanish	0	1	0	0	0	0
Swedish	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	25	32	25	28	31	26

Season -->	7	8	9	10	11	12
American	1	0	0	1	3	1
Australian	1	1	0	2	2	1
Austrian	4	0	3	8	6	4
Brazilian	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canadian	0	0	0	0	1	0
Chilean	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czech	0	2	1	2	3	1
Danish	0	0	0	1	0	0
English	3	7	6	2	2	3
Finnish	1	0	0	0	2	0
French	3	4	4	5	7	4
German	6	5	4	7	5	3
Hungarian	0	2	0	0	0	0
Italian	4	0	2	0	5	1
Irish	1	1	0	0	2	0
Norwegian	2	0	1	0	1	0
Russian	4	10	5	9	7	4
Scottish	0	1	0	0	0	0
Spanish	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swedish	0	0	0	1	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	30	33	26	38	47	22

Season -->	13	TOTALS
American	0	9
Australian	1	11
Austrian	2	43
Brazilian	0	2
Canadian	0	4
Chilean	0	3
Czech	0	15
Danish	0	1
English	1	50
Finnish	0	8
French	0	49
German	1	62
Hungarian	0	6
Italian	0	23
Irish	0	5
Norwegian	1	13
Russian	0	55
Scottish	0	6
Spanish	0	1
Swedish	0	1
Unknown	0	2
TOTAL	6	369

Appendix 8
Composer Nationality Chart: Percentage Totals

Season -->	1	2	3	4	5	6
Percent American	0.0%	9.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Australian	4.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%
Percent Austrian	20.0%	6.3%	4.0%	10.7%	6.5%	11.5%
Percent Brazilian	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%
Percent Canadian	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	3.8%
Percent Chilean	4.0%	3.1%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Czech	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	6.5%	3.8%
Percent Danish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent English	16.0%	18.8%	16.0%	10.7%	19.4%	11.5%
Percent Finnish	4.0%	6.3%	0.0%	3.6%	3.2%	0.0%
Percent French	8.0%	9.4%	12.0%	10.7%	16.1%	23.1%
Percent German	12.0%	18.8%	28.0%	17.9%	16.1%	19.2%
Percent Hungarian	0.0%	0.0%	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%
Percent Italian	8.0%	9.4%	8.0%	10.7%	3.2%	0.0%
Percent Irish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%
Percent Norwegian	4.0%	3.1%	4.0%	7.1%	3.2%	7.7%
Percent Russian	8.0%	6.3%	12.0%	10.7%	9.7%	11.5%
Percent Scottish	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	6.5%	0.0%
Percent Spanish	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Swedish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Season -->	7	8	9	10	11	12
Percent American	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	6.4%	4.5%
Percent Australian	3.3%	3.0%	0.0%	5.3%	4.3%	4.5%
Percent Austrian	13.3%	0.0%	11.5%	21.1%	12.8%	18.2%
Percent Brazilian	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Canadian	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%
Percent Chilean	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Czech	0.0%	6.1%	3.8%	5.3%	6.4%	4.5%
Percent Danish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent English	10.0%	21.2%	23.1%	5.3%	4.3%	13.6%
Percent Finnish	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Percent French	10.0%	12.1%	15.4%	13.2%	14.9%	18.2%
Percent German	20.0%	15.2%	15.4%	18.4%	10.6%	13.6%
Percent Hungarian	0.0%	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Italian	13.3%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	10.6%	4.5%
Percent Irish	3.3%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Percent Norwegian	6.7%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%
Percent Russian	13.3%	30.3%	19.2%	23.7%	14.9%	18.2%
Percent Scottish	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Spanish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Swedish	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Season -->	13	**TOTALS**
Percent American	0.0%	2.4%
Percent Australian	16.7%	3.0%
Percent Austrian	33.3%	11.7%
Percent Brazilian	0.0%	0.5%
Percent Canadian	0.0%	1.1%
Percent Chilean	0.0%	0.8%
Percent Czech	0.0%	4.1%
Percent Danish	0.0%	0.3%
Percent English	16.7%	13.6%
Percent Finnish	0.0%	2.2%
Percent French	0.0%	13.3%
Percent German	16.7%	16.8%
Percent Hungarian	0.0%	1.6%
Percent Italian	0.0%	6.2%
Percent Irish	0.0%	1.4%
Percent Norwegian	16.7%	3.5%
Percent Russian	0.0%	14.9%
Percent Scottish	0.0%	1.6%
Percent Spanish	0.0%	0.3%
Percent Swedish	0.0%	0.3%
Percent Unknown	0.0%	0.5%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%