#### Laying Down Tracks: Mapping the Camilla Urso Concert Company on the American Lyceum Circuit, 1873-83

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#### Introduction

In 1902, when The Chicago Tribune (January 22, 1902) called the French-American violinist Camilla Urso (1840-1902), "the ablest woman violinist the world has ever known," Urso reigned as America's pre-eminent female violinist.<sup>i</sup> At her American debut in September 1852, Urso was the first professional, female violinist to perform in the United States. "Over the next fifty years Urso gave over 1200 concerts in America, becoming a nationally recognizable musical celebrity. Key to Urso's fame was her affiliation with professional lyceum bureaus—talent management agencies that represented lecturers and musicians who toured on the nineteenth-century lyceum circuit. After joining the Redpath Lyceum Bureau in 1873, Urso gave at least 382 concerts in thirty-four states between 1873-83—a vast increase in quantity and geographic scope compared to Urso's prior concert tours. As a case study this article focuses on six seasons between 1873-83 where Urso toured under the management of professional lyceum bureaus including The Redpath Lyceum Bureau during 1873-74, 1874-75, 1875-76, and 1877-78; the American Literary Bureau from 1878-79; and the St. Ormond Lyceum Bureau from 1882-83.iii Digitally mapping Urso's lyceum circuit career has never been considered prior to this project. iv

First the growing importance of musical companies on the lyceum circuit in the 1870s is examined in order to contextualize Urso's participation in the lyceum movement. Second, maps of Urso's lyceum tour routes argue the expanding nineteenth-century railroad provided a ready-made network for geographically complex lyceum tours. Third, analyzing lyceum advertising ephemera, reveals the lyceum provided a mass-marketing network for Urso's burgeoning celebrity. Fourth, this article considers the intersection of classical and popular music on Urso's lyceum programs and investigates the relationship between Urso's performance practice and lyceum reception. Fifth, analyzing Urso's concert fees proves touring on the lyceum circuit was financially profitable for Urso. Foregrounding the role of the American lyceum and its bureaus in Urso's mid-career shifts expected East-Coast-centered narratives of American music.

Previous scholarship on the American lyceum primarily focuses on literary and political figures, neglecting the role of musicians on the circuit and obscuring the transformation from the lyceum as a vehicle for educational lectures to a medium of profitable entertainment. Two prominent sources on the

post-Civil War lyceum, Marjorie Harrel Eubank's 1968 dissertation and Peter Cherches 2017 book, are focused on literary rather than musical figures. Cherches focuses on the role of star courses in urban communities but does not discuss lyceum finances or rural infrastructure. Meanwhile, Eubank (1968, 207) limits her scholarship to the lyceum as a literary institution stating, "it is not the purpose of this study to discuss the musicians or the musical presentations offered by the bureau in an evaluative manner." Existing scholarly work dealing with musicians on the lyceum circuit, such as Katherine Preston's *Opera for the People*, focuses on vocal stars and opera singers rather than instrumental performers such as Urso. While Sarah Lampert (2013) touches on Urso, Lampert considers Urso within a larger movement and lacks a close reading of Urso's tours and public reception. Thus far, exploring the prominence of non-vocal musical stars on the lyceum circuit through digital maps and data collection has not been addressed in existing scholarship.

#### Musical Companies and The Nineteenth-Century Lyceum

During the early-nineteenth century, individual towns sponsored lyceum courses featuring lectures on politics, religion, history, travel, and moral issues—but not music. Angela G. Ray and Tom F. Wright argue the early American lyceum was a vehicle for civic education and a cultural force in the development of American national identity. By the 1870s the lyceum was shifting; the development of centralized lyceum bureaus after the Civil War commercialized the American lyceum and transformed it into a music-focused entertainment network. Centralized lyceum bureaus handled the bookings and correspondence of lecturers, instituted standardized fees, and pushed season packages of entertainment to local, independent lyceum committees.

Among the newly formed lyceum bureaus, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, founded by James Redpath and George Fall in 1868, quickly dominated the emerging market (Eubank, 1). Although first and foremost a talent agency, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau was key in consolidating a fragmented and regional network of independent lyceum courses into a commercialized and profitable enterprise. By 1872, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau represented a diverse and progressive roster of 134 lecturers and musicians, including thirty-seven women and at least three Black musicians and lecturers. vi

Over the course of the 1870s, musical entertainment morphed from a fringe benefit to an integral component of every lyceum course. In 1871, James Redpath (1871) advised local lecture committees that "managers should never fail to add music to the regular attractions of the lyceum evening." Peter Cherches (2017, 59-60) suggests the growth of lyceum musical departments was an effort to bolster ticket sales and appeal to a wider audience following the Panic of 1873. By 1873 the Redpath Lyceum Bureau represented twelve concert companies and eighty-three individual musicians—a dramatic increase from the

sixty-five musicians represented by Redpath only one year prior in 1872 (Redpath, 1873).

Camilla Urso's rise on the lyceum circuit closely parallels the growing popularity and commercialization of musical combinations within the lyceum circuit. In 1873, James Redpath announced Urso's affiliation with the bureau in the annual season circular: "This classical violinist is now forming a company which will travel during the season, and for which we are authorized to make engagements" (Redpath, 1873). The participation of Urso and other musical stars in the American lyceum circuit commercialized and popularized the lyceum.

#### Urso's Rise to Fame: How a Girl Violinist Became a Lyceum Star

Urso's success on the lyceum circuit was predicated on three biographical factors: a pre-existing American concert career as a child prodigy; novelty as the most prominent touring, female violinist in the United States; and vocal endorsements by well-known male musical figures. After graduating from the Paris Conservatoire in 1852, Urso made her New York debut on September 30, 1852, at age twelve. As a girl violinist and child prodigy, Urso captivated American audiences in the 1850s with Dwight's Journal of Music calling Urso's early performances "the most touching experience of our whole musical life" (October 16, 1852). Between 1852-56, Urso gave over 150 performances in the United States.vii In the 1860s, Urso leveraged her previous success as a child prodigy into a professional career. Between 1863-73, Urso gave over 270 concerts in the United States, including tours under the management of Patrick Gilmore from 1866-68, and the organization of a massive musical festival in San Francisco in February 1870. viii As a result, when Urso joined the Redpath Lyceum Bureau in 1873, American audiences had a pre-existing relationship with Urso built on her two decades of American concert experience. While Urso embarked on numerous multi-state concert tours prior to her appearances on the lyceum circuit, Urso's early tours in the 1850s and 60s were individualized endeavours that lacked the large-scale commercialized tactics of the lyceum circuit and its bureaus.

As a female artist, Urso was a novelty primed for success on the lyceum circuit. While other female violinists had performed in the United States in the 1850s and 60s, no other female violinist performed as widely as Urso during this time. Prior to the 1880s, Urso had no direct female violin contemporaries in America. Urso's femininity was a sharp contrast to the virtuosic bravura of male violin contemporaries such as Ole Bull (1810-1880) and Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881), serving as an effective foil that set her apart in a crowded concert field. However, despite her singular status as a female violinist, Urso was not the only woman on the lyceum circuit. As noted previously, many women toured on the lyceum including the orators Anna Dickinson, Ann Eliza Young, and Mary

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Livermore, the dramatic reader Helen Potter, and singer Adelaide Phillips.<sup>x</sup>

Urso circumvented gendered objection through continuous and vocal support from male musical figures of authority. Throughout her career Urso received endorsements from Carl Zerrahn, B.J. Lang, Otto Dressel, Theodore Thomas, Patrick Gilmore, Carl Bergman, and Theodore Damrosch, among many others. The pinnacle of Urso's endorsement was an 1867 signed "Testimonial to Camilla Urso" from fifty-six prominent members of Boston musical society. The "Testimonial to Camilla Urso" deemed Urso's performance of the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto as "marvelously fine and near perfection itself," further commenting that her performance was a "a consummate rendering, which probably few men living could improve upon" (*Dwight's Journal of Music*, March 30, 1867). The "Testimonial to Camilla Urso" was widely reprinted in Boston newspapers and established her as a worthy competitor to male violinists. Male endorsement functioned as an effective panacea legitimizing Urso's career within a male performance sphere.

#### Railroad Networks and the Expanding Nineteenth-Century Lyceum

Urso's debut on the lyceum circuit in 1873 coincided with a rapid expansion of the American railroad. Digital maps of Urso's lyceum tours reveal the expanding railroad made it both possible to reach rural communities and profitable for Urso to do so. On the lyceum circuit, Urso visited rural communities in the Midwest and West, touring Colorado in 1879 and rural communities in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and North Dakota during every season except for 1873-74. Figure 1 maps Urso's lyceum concerts between 1873-83 color coded by season and overlayed onto a map of American railroad networks circa 1870.xi Figure 1 reveals locations Urso performed closely aligned with established railroad networks. The expanding railroad of the late nineteenth century made possible tours into rural Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Colorado. Katherine Preston (2017, 37) notes "between 1869 and 1873 more than 26,000 miles of track were added to the country's rail system almost doubling the total mileage....Track gauges became consistent, which allowed different rail companies to connect seamlessly with each other and create larger regional and even and national systems." The geographic extent of Urso's lyceum tours continually expanded in the 1870s and 1880s, leading to performances in a bevy of previously inaccessible rural communities.

# Legend • 1875-76 • 1878-79 • 1874-75 • 1873-74 • 1882-83 • 1877-78 US\_Railroads\_1870

#### Camilla Urso's Lyceum Concerts 1873-1883

Figure 1: Map of Camilla Urso's Concerts on the Lyceum Circuit, 1873-83.

Close analysis of Urso's 1873-74 season juxtaposed with her 1878-79 season underscores the direct connection between Urso's tour routes and the expanding railroad. Figure 2 displays the route of Urso's 1873-74 season under the management of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau; between October 1873 and May 1874 Urso gave forty-nine concerts within a loop that extended from Boston to Chicago with stops in New York, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Figure 3 displays the route of Urso's 1878-79 season under the management of the American Literary Bureau; between September 1878 and May 1879 Urso gave fifty-two concerts making a larger loop that extended from Boston into Canada, and through Wisconsin, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, and Kansas. While the total amount of concerts in both seasons remained about the same (fortynine verses fifty-two), Urso's 1878-79 season encompassed more than double the geographic area. On August 15, 1878, The Wisconsin State Journal reported "The Camilla Urso troupe is said to have given 183 entertainments during the last season and traveled 13,610 miles." Even accounting for journalistic exaggeration, it is likely that Urso's tour routes were denser than my maps suggest. Due to the limited scope of digitized newspapers, these maps likely represent only Urso's most prominent and documented performances.

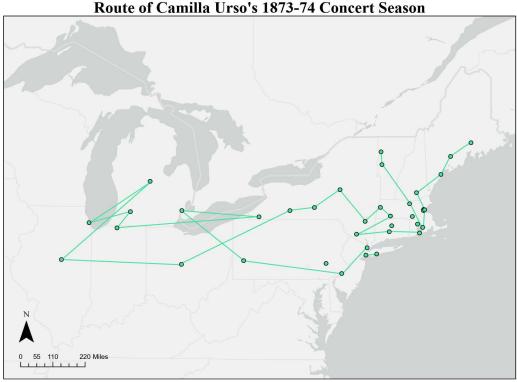


Figure 2: Map of Urso's 1873-74 Concert Season.

Urso's affiliation with professional lyceum bureaus enabled geographical expansion because it off-loaded the work of managing railroad timetables and arranging tour routes onto professional lyceum bureaus. In 1878, J.S. Vale, the proprietor of the American Literary Bureau, spoke about the business of arranging tour routes during an interview with The Cincinnati Enquirer (September 27, 1878): "That's the agent for the Camilla Urso troupe...he knows the railroad time tables and the distances between every switch better than any man in the United States. He's got the most beautiful route for Mme. Urso this winter you ever saw." Arranging a six-to-nine-month tour with over fifty stops in the 1870s was a complex and difficult task.xii Rules printed in the annual season circulars of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau demonstrate lyceum bureaus applied systematic business practices to managing geographically disparate tours. In 1872, The Redpath Lyceum Bureau published fifteen rules for local lecture committees in their annual circular. Rule number five stated: "To save trouble, and avoid delays in making up routes, please give your address in full: if your town is not on a railroad, give the name of the nearest station; state how far you are situated from it, and precisely what accommodations there are for reaching you" (Redpath, 1872). The large-scale commercialized structure of lyceum bureaus allowed them to manage complex tour routes beyond the administrative scope of Urso and her troupe alone.

The memoir of soprano Clara Kathleen Rogers (1844-1931), who toured

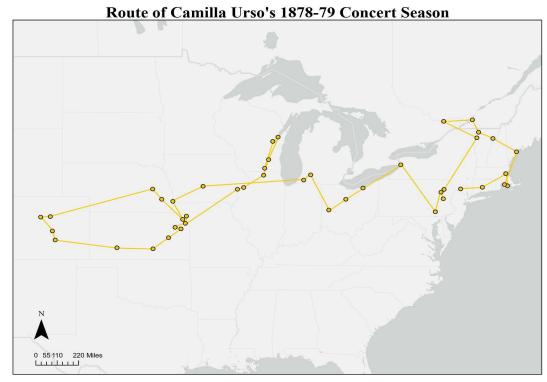


Figure 3: Map of Urso's 1878-79 Concert Season.

with Urso under the stage name Clara Doria during 1874-75 season, reveals traveling on the nineteenth-century railroad was not seamless. Missed trains, delays, and long travel times were an integral part of touring on the lyceum circuit:

Many were the discomforts, the annoyances and the surprises experienced during our travels in the Middle West and beyond...There were delays in trains and missed connections which brought us to our destinations so late as to leave us barely time to get our trunks open, fling ourselves into our evening dress and drive—supperless—to the concert hall (Rogers, 439).

It was rare for Urso and her troupe to perform more than one consecutive night in the same location. In one instance traveling between Kansas City, MO to Lincoln, NE Rogers writes, "We were due the next night at Lincoln, NE and the only way in which we could get over the ground on time was by chartering a special car to take us to a point where we could make connection with a regular train in the morning" (Rogers, 442). Urso's troupe needed a special car because the Atchison and Nebraska Railroad, which serviced the distance between Kansas City, MO and Lincoln, NE, only ran one train per day in the 1870s leaving Kansas City, MO at 10:15am and arriving in Lincoln, NE at 8:35pm—not giving Urso and her troupe enough time to make their concert in Lincoln, NE (*Travelers' Official Railway Guide*, 191).

Not only did the American railroad allow Urso to travel to concerts, but it also allowed concertgoers to travel to her. Thus, railroad lines facilitated audience expansion and served as an engine of celebrity. Newspaper social pages reveal many concertgoers travelled by train from adjacent towns to attend Urso's concerts. In advance of Urso's May 27, 1882, concert in Woodstock, VT, *The Landmark* (May 20, 1882) in White River, VT—a town twenty miles away from the concert—advertised that "A special train will run from this place and return after the concert. Send for a seat in advance and it will be carefully attended to." Railroad timetables illustrate this trip took forty-five minutes in 1882. "In 1869, The Boston & Albany Railroad published a broadside advertising an extra train to Brookline, MA—four miles away from Boston—on January 24, 1869 "to accommodate all who may wish to attend the Camilla Urso concert" (Camilla Urso Collection). The broadside specified "a train will leave Brookline at 6:45pm and return at 10:00pm or fifteen minutes after the close of the concert" (Ibid). In both these cases, extra trains were added because of consumer demand to hear Urso perform.

Concert ticket bundling also encouraged consumer mobility on the lyceum circuit. On April 10, 1879, *The Kansas Weekly Herald* printed an advertisement stating, "The excursion to St. Joseph [MO] on the 17th to hear the world's greatest violiniste [sic], Camilla Urso, is, including concert for round trip, \$2.95 from Hiawatha; \$2.60 from Robinson; \$3.25 from Hamlin; Morril, \$3.40."xiv In total, this trip encompassed 60 miles from Morril, KS to St. Joseph, MO and about three hours of travel time.xv Key to this advertisement is the customizability. You could attend the Urso concert if you lived in Hiawatha, or Hamlin, or Morril, KS, suggesting railroad networks encouraged concert attendance not only from a single neighboring town but from an entire adjacent region. As Will Mackintosh (2012, 63) argues, expanding railroad networks made travel desirable and ubiquitous for middle class consumers. Traveling for entertainment—once a difficult and cumbersome endeavor—was now cheaper and convenient for concert attendees. As a result, the network of people who could hear Urso grew dramatically over the 1870s and 80s.

Even without fare bundling or railroad timetable changes, individual concertgoers frequently used railroad networks to attend Urso concerts on their own volition, underscoring both Urso's popularity and the growing mobility of nineteenth-century consumers. A typical notice is the report printed in the *Cambridge City Tribune* on May 13, 1876: "Miss Jennie Lackey, Mrs. Alice Mattis, Miss Phoebe McClave, Dr. Rutledge and Frank Mosbaugh attended the Camilla Urso Concert at Richmond on Wednesday eve." The five members of this party traveled fifteen miles to hear Urso from Cambridge City, IN to Richmond, IN. Today this trip takes twenty minutes by car, but in the 1870s this trip took around forty minutes." Railroads facilitated concert attendance from smaller communities into larger metropolitan areas—Cambridge City, IN had only 2162 residents in 1870 while Richmond, IN had 9445 residents in 1870 (1870 Census, 1872, 131).

Making special trips was also a practice noted by members of the Urso troupe including Clara Kathleen Rogers, who describes when boarding a train to Lincoln, NE:

Quite an unusual number of people in gala attire came crowding into the cars at every station. They all seemed to be in high spirits, talking, laughing, and greeting newcomers with 'You for the show too?' It never occurred to us till we arrived at Lincoln that we were the 'show,' and that these merry people were making an all-day journey to hear our concert! (Rogers, 443).

Rogers is correct that concertgoers "were making an all-day journey," since traveling from Kansas City, MO to Lincoln, NE took ten hours in the 1870s. \*vii Special trips made by consumers position Urso's concerts as trans-regional social and cultural events.

## From Stock Company Member to Musical Star: How Lyceum Publicity and Advertising Transformed Urso into a Musical Celebrity

While railroad networks facilitated geographical expansion, the commercialized publicity and advertising tactics of the lyceum circuit sold Urso as a star. Urso's portrayal in the annual season circular of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau from 1873-75 chronicles Urso's transformation from stock musical company member to a leading musical star. Every year, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau published a circular advertising their representative talent. The circular functioned as a catalog for the bureau, providing pre-packaged lecture courses, re-printable press clippings, and lithographs. In 1873, Urso's affiliation with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau was announced with a small paragraph and no accompanying images. Two years later, in 1875, Redpath's Lyceum printed a full-page lithographic poster of Urso's concert company, as shown in Figure 4. While the magazine includes lithographic portraits of other stars, Urso's poster is the only lithograph depicting a musical ensemble and the most elaborate lithograph in the circular. Urso's poster appears on the opening spread of the Redpath's Lyceum. When readers opened the circular, Urso's poster was the first image they saw, underscoring the popularity of musical companies on the lyceum circuit.

Newspaper accounts indicate this flashy poster caught the attention of numerous lecture courses, soliciting lecture appearances through visual marketing. In August 1875, *The Carson Daily Appeal* (August 27, 1875) in Carson City, NV remarked, "for an advertising medium we have never seen so elaborate a vehicle as the quarto pamphlet put before the public by the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston...Camilla Urso and her associates of the concert room are there in a cluster of seductive portraiture." *The Kansas City Times* (September 5, 1875) remarked, "We find upon our table 'Redpath's Lyceum' for August, published in Boston. It is elegantly gotten up, bound in pearl gray and printed

on tinted paper, with handsome lithographs of Camilla Urso's troupe." In both instances, Urso's lithographic poster is the only image remarked upon within the booklet. The other portraits of lecturers and even the popular dramatic reader, Helen Potter, are not mentioned in comparison to Urso's "seductive portraiture."

Lyceum bureaus used lithographs to facilitate connection and commercialized consumption of musical stars. A week prior to Urso's 1884 concert in Galena, KS, *The Weekly Galena Republican* (February 22, 1884) announced, "Lithographs, posters, and programmes announcing the appearance of the world-renowned Camilla Urso Concert Company on Thursday February 28, 1884, are displayed in our city." Lithographs solicited attention and sold concert tickets; as a result, lecture courses, allocated money specifically for lithographs. In 1876, the annual receipts and expenditures report for the Oshkosh Lecture Association reported \$3.61 paid for "lithograph pictures of Camilla Urso" (*Oshkosh Northwestern*, May 2, 1876). Aside from the elocutionist



**Figure 4:** Urso's Concert Company 1875-76. Camilla Urso Uncat\*MBD, Music and Recorded Sound Division of the New York Public Library.

Mrs. Scott Siddons and Urso, no other act on the Oshkosh Lecture Association season was allotted money for lithographic printing in the local budget. Lithographic prints and photographs created familiarity between Urso and her audience; in other words, the pieces Urso performed on a concert were temporal, but a lithograph could be taken home and cherished, continuing the memory of Urso beyond her performance.

While lithographs caught the attention of concertgoers, in order to turn Urso into a star, lyceum bureaus needed a biographical tale audiences could latch onto. Thus, lyceum bureaus fictionalized Urso's biography and dispersed it in pre-concert press notices and supplemental program booklets. Urso's biography, Camilla: A Tale of the Violin by Charles Barnard, was published in 1874 in Boston. Barnard's work is often factually inaccurate, mis-recording Urso's birth year and editing out Urso's marriages and children to promote a quasi-fictional story of a girl violin-wunderkind— fictionalizing Urso's life into a marketable story.xviii Barnard (1874, v) portrays Urso's musical studies as a noble pursuit intended for artistic glory, characterizing Urso's life as one "of toil and poverty crowned by a great reward." Sherry Lee Linkton's scholarship on the consumer benefits of published biographies of Jenny Lind, draws parallels to Camilla: A Tale of the Violin. Linkton (1998, 103) argues, musical biographies "provided a vicarious experience of being in the audience, thereby extending her audience well beyond the boundaries of the concert hall or her itinerary." Barnard's work functioned similarly. Audience members read about Urso outside the concert hall, cultivating a perceived insight into Urso's personal life. Thus, Urso's celebrity persona was built on the silent images and written biography of material culture as much as the sonic experience of her performance.

Barnard's *Camilla: A Tale of the Violin*, as well as the shortened pamphlet with the same text *Camilla Urso: A Tribute*, facilitated para-social relationships with Urso. One example is the invocation of *Camilla Urso: A Tribute* in the serialized short story "The Light Keeper's Daughter" printed in many local newspapers during the spring and summer of 1880. The story recounts a light house keepers' infatuation with a young violinist named Lizzie McGuire. After McGuire admits being self-conscious about playing violin, the narrator remarks:

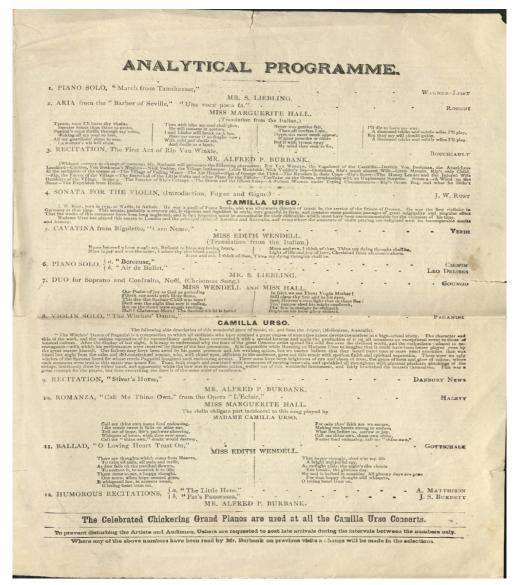
'Why child, did you ever hear of Camilla Urso? Well, she is a lady, and she makes the most exquisite music on a fiddle and thousands of people go to hear her.' 'Tell me about Camilla Urso,' she said presently, 'Did you ever hear her play?' 'Yes, indeed! I have a paper in my trunk containing a little sketch of her life which you may read for yourself, and which will tell you better than I can of her talent' (*Vermont Standard*, Woodstock, VT, June 24, 1880).

While fictionalized, Urso's presence in this story and reference to her printed biography underscores how the lyceum stage and its associated marketing facilitated celebrity and created para-social relationships between audience members and Urso. As Daniel Cavicchi (2011, 105) argues, musical biographies

"inspired music lovers to understand their listening experiences as part of a continuing and reciprocal relationship." Yet, owning Urso's biography was not a reciprocal relationship. Listeners did not know Urso personally, but through reading Urso's biography they felt a perceived personal connection. On the lyceum the physical materials of celebrity culture, namely printed biography and lithographic souvenirs, nuanced listening into a celebrity experience focused on the personal life of the performer in addition to a cerebral experience focused on the music itself. Listening became a means to learn and engage with the personal life of a celebrity rather than a chance to hear the works of great composers.

## Classical Music as Popular Entertainment: Musical Programming on the Lyceum Circuit

While railroad networks and commercialized advertising turned Urso into a musical star, audiences returned to the lyceum circuit because Urso employed a musical model crafted for maximum popular appeal. On the lyceum circuit, Urso's concert company programed a combination of popular songs and light classical works. For example, Urso's February 28, 1883, concert program, as shown in Figure 5, lists twelve numbers in total: two piano solos, five vocal and operatic selections, two "humorous recitations," and, finally, two violin solos performed by Urso herself. On this occasion, Urso is programmed to perform the "Sonata for the violin (introduction, fugue and gigue)" by J.W. Rust, and Paganini's Witches Dance. Newspaper records from the 1882-83 season demonstrate that while differing encores were added, this basic repertoire was programed and performed again and again throughout the season. Table 1 outlines Urso's concert company members and programmed repertoire by season, note that Urso preferred to tour with one soprano, one tenor, and one bass but often altered this formula to include an alto or sometimes a dramatic reader. In regard to her repertoire, Urso chose two contrasting selections, usually one of which was a virtuosic showpiece.



**Figure 5:** Camilla Urso Program Booklet, February 28, 1883. Camilla Urso Uncat \*MBD. Music & Recorded Sound Division of the New York Public Library.

Urso and others attest to the choice of programming as a means to generate popular appeal in their written remarks. In a September 1874 interview with the Boston music journal *Dexter Smith's*, Camilla Urso commented on her program formulas, saying:

It would be rash I am certain, to give programs composed purely of classical music to audiences untutored to it. This would be the surest way, I think, to keep the general public away from concert rooms; but a few choice 'morceaux' of the masters should be introduced in every program, and this policy, which I have followed for years will prove a beneficial result to the cause of good music and elevate the taste (*Dexter Smith*'s, 72).

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Extant programs reveal, Urso relied on virtuosic tour-de-force works such as, Paganini's Witches Dance to enthrall audience members, and sprinkled in concert pieces and sonata movements throughout. Urso's comments also have a derogatory undertone, positioning lyceum audiences as simplistic and uncultured. "When you stand up in a concert room filled with an appreciative, cultured audience, when you are playing for hearers with trained musical ears, you expect success," Urso commented in an 1898 interview with *The San Francisco Call* (Soley, 28). Yet, Urso's success in popular venues including the lyceum, and later in vaudeville, testify to Urso's ability to transgress her views of musical genre and class.

Season	Concert	<b>Concert Company</b>	Urso's Programed
	Company Pianist	Singers	Repertoire
1873-74	Auguste Sauret	Edith Abell (S), Tom Karl (T), J.R. Thomas (B)	Ernst, Rondo Papageno, Op. 20; Paganini, Witches Dance, Op. 8
1874-75	Auguste Sauret	Clara [Doria] Kathleen Rogers (S), William H. Fessenden (T), J.F. Rudolphson (B)	Mendelssohn, Violin Concerto in E minor, Op. 64; Leclair, Violin Sonata in D major, Op.9 No.3 Tombeau,
1875-76	Auguste Sauret	Louise Oliver (S), Clara Poole (A), J.C. Barlett (T), Gaston Gottschalk (B)	Spohr, Polonaise; Ernst, Rondo Papageno Op. 20
1877-78	Benno Scherek	Ivy Wandesforde (S), W.C. Tower (T), J.F. Rudolphsen (B)	Ernst, Othello Fantasie, Op. 11; Wieniawski, Polonaise Brilliante No. 2, Op. 21
1878-79	Benno Scherek	Jennie Sargent (S), W.C. Tower (T), J.F. Rudolphsen (B)	Tartini, Devil's Trill Sonata in G minor; Mozart, Violin Sonata No. 9
1882-83	S. Liebling	Emily Spader (S), Marguerite Hall (A), A.P. Burbank (Dramatic Reader)	Rust, Violin Sonata No. 1; Paganini, Witches Dance, Op. 8

**Table 1:** Urso's Concert Company Members and Repertoire by Season. Note Urso's Stock Concert Company formula which included one pianist and several singers. The letters after each singer's name classify them as soprano (S), alto (A), tenor (T), or bass (B).

Repertoire analysis reveals Urso's seasons under lyceum management in the 1870s employed the greatest variety of musical genres in comparison with Urso's other career periods. Data analysis shows Urso's lyceum programs were diverse and varied. Figure 6 displays Urso repertoire classified by type and career period. While Urso's early repertoire in the 1850s and 60s was mostly made up of opera fantasies and virtuosic theme and variation works, by 1873 opera fantasies comprised only 27% of her repertoire compared to 47% in the 1850s.

The diversification of lyceum programs meant Urso began performing excerpted violin sonatas, virtuosic showpieces, and excerpted violin concertos on lyceum programs. In the 1850s, Urso performed only six genres of violin repertoire of which opera fantasy variation sets and virtuosic theme and variation works made up 83%. Whereas in the 1870s, Urso performed eight genres of repertoire with no genre receiving more than 27% popularity.

## 1856-62 Virtuosic Theme and Variations 3.6.15% Virtuosic Show Prece 13.9% Virtuosic Show Prece 19.9% Virtuosic

Urso's lyceum concert programing choices are indicative of a larger

Figure 6: Camilla Urso's repertoire classified by type and career period. Courtesy of the author.

nineteenth-century cultural conversation regarding popular verses classical entertainment. This debate was exemplified by John Sullivan Dwight who saw Urso's lyceum concerts as cheap popular entertainment despite their consumer popularity. Dwight criticized lyceum bureaus in 1879, writing: "the Lyceum has fallen into the hands of the showmen, who, under the name of the Bureaux, have for some years made it a field of speculation. Not only do they offer themselves as lecture brokers taking commission from the lecturer on one hand and the audiences on the other, but they have substituted amusement for instruction" (Dwight's Journal of Music, October 11, 1879, 159). Dwight goes on to complain that the lyceum is "only an array of brilliant galaxies of star performers, virtuosos, famous singers, violinists, or pianists; it is the artists, not the art" (Ibid, 160). Virtuosity, Dwight concluded, was a cheap trick that pleased popular audiences. Instead, chamber and orchestral music by European composers was the true measure of artistic merit. Dwight's hierarchical stratification of musical genres does not factor into account economic motives. Dwight may have considered Urso's lyceum concerts to be cheap entertainment, but they certainly sold tickets. For Urso, a well-planned lyceum course, filled with season subscribers, was a

more profitable endeavor than a short series of chamber music concerts, thus underscoring classical music as a profitable part of popular culture in the nineteenth-century.

Urso was never solely a lyceum musician. Yet, the short-lived and sporadic nature of Urso's forays outside of the lyceum circuit suggest nonlyceum concerts could not compete with the profitability and popularity of the lyceum. During her first season with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Urso gave a series of four chamber music "Concerts Classiques" in Boston during February and March 1874. Unlike lyceum programs, the "Concerts Classiques" featured full-length chamber works. The first concert on February 23, 1874 at Boston's Horticultural Hall included Joachim Raff, Piano Trio in C minor; Schubert, String Quartet No. 14 "Death and the Maiden;" and Mozart, Violin Sonata No. 3.xx Dwight's Journal of Music (March 7, 1874) commended Urso's chamber music playing, stating, "We heretofore do sincerely trust that Mme. Urso will not allow herself to swerve from the high purpose in these concerts." However, Urso's "Concert Classiques" were cut short after Urso was severely burned by a kerosene lamp in March 1874 (Boston Globe, March 11, 1874). A short series of chamber concerts drew rich crowds in Boston that could afford a \$1 ticket price but was no match to the widespread popularity of the lyceum circuit.

### Profitability of the Lyceum Circuit: Analyzing Urso's Concert Fees and Ticket Prices

Beginning in the 1870s, Urso's concert fees grew sharply under lyceum management underscoring consumer demand for classical music on the lyceum circuit and the economic profitability of Urso's concerts. Prior to the 1870s, Urso charged around one-hundred dollars for concert appearances. In 1866, the conductor William Scharfenberg wrote John Sullivan Dwight, then president of the Harvard Musical Association, that Urso "plays at our 2nd concert December 15th and receives \$100—for her services which we gladly pay her, as she easily draws that amount and much more too" (Harvard Musical Association, November 14, 1866). However, by 1873, Urso's husband and business manager, Frederic Luere wrote John Sullivan Dwight in response to a booking inquiry that "her terms are two hundred dollars net (\$200). She pays her own expenses of R.R. [railroad] and hotels" (Harvard Musical Association, September 16, 1873). Between 1866 and 1873, Urso doubled her concert fee—a change that coincided with Urso's introduction on the lyceum circuit.

Urso's lyceum popularity meant the Camilla Urso Concert Company was often the highest grossing and most expensive entertainment on a local lecture season. In 1875 the Sterling Lecture Association of Sterling, IL reported \$225.47 in receipts from Urso's concert, and in the expenditures column Urso's troupe was paid \$200 (*Sterling Gazette*, April 10, 1875). An 1876 report from the Young Men's Library Association in Dubuque, IA recorded \$254.50 in ticket sales from

the Camilla Urso Concert Troupe of which \$235 was paid to the troupe (*Dubuque Daily Times*, March 14, 1876). In Dubuque, Urso's concert fees were the highest of the lecture course.xxi While Urso's troupe charged \$235 in Dubuque, IA in 1876, in Oshkosh, WI Urso's troupe charged the Oshkosh Lecture Association \$250 (*Oshkosh Northwestern*, May 2, 1876). Among the seven other entertainments on the 1875-76 Oshkosh Lecture Association season, Urso's fee of \$250 surpassed the other entertainments by over \$100.

As the popularity of lyceum acts grew, lyceum bureaus began using lecture guarantees, usually a set amount of pre-sold seats before large stars such as Urso would agree to perform in a small community, as a way to exert financial pressure and drive-up ticket sales. In 1879, *The St. Joseph Gazette* (February 21, 1879) printed the following notice: "At the opera house drug store is exhibited a paper to be signed by those who are willing to pledge themselves to purchase tickets for the Camilla Urso concert. The Madame requires a guarantee before consenting to visit St. Joseph." In 1883, Urso's manager Harry St. Ormond rationalized concert guarantees in a letter to a local lecture committee in Fulton, NY stating:

And if reference to the guarantee, the amount notated in your contract covers only the sum we assure Madame Urso for her services along with considering the other artists salaries, traveling, departures, hotels, printing bills, expenses etc. You will therefore see that we are quite seriously interested in the result over the guarantee for even after the receipts have reached a gross sum sufficient to cover the guarantee and your expenses, we are still short of the actual cost to us (Camilla Urso Collection).

The exact number of ticket sales required to fulfill a guarantee depended on the concert location, hall size, and ticket price though some sources suggest a typical guarantee was around 150 tickets. In 1884, *The Winfield Courier* (Winfield, KS, February 28, 1884) printed a notice stating, "In order to secure Camilla Urso, one hundred and fifty tickets were subscribed for." Lecture guarantees prevented Urso from performing to an empty hall and guaranteed lecture courses could pay Urso's expensive concert fees.

Ticket price schemes for lyceum courses always incentivized community members to purchase season tickets—in a similar manner to orchestral season subscription packages today. Typically, individual tickets cost between 50 to 75 cents, whereas season tickets, often with the perk of a reserved seat, cost between \$2 to \$4.xxii On October 8, 1873, *The South Bend Tribune* printed a full column advertisement for Pleiades Lecture Course with a course of ten entertainments including the Camilla Urso Concert Company stating, "It is at great expense that the club have secured this strictly first-class company." A single season ticket for the course cost \$5, whereas two season tickets cost \$9—an extravagance given the ongoing fallout of the Panic of 1873.xxiii

Lyceum courses featuring Urso were astonishingly popular. Tickets for a lyceum course went on sale several weeks in advance, drumming up publicity

and anticipation for the course. On September 13, 1875, a month before the lecture course was slated to begin, The Reading Times reported "nearly 200 tickets have been subscribed and another one hundred are necessary to assure this series of popular winter evening's entertainments." If an average single ticket sold for 50 to 75 cents, a lyceum course needed to sell 250-300 tickets to meet Urso's fee of \$200 per engagement, not accounting for the price of piano moving, advertising, printing, and hall rental. Newspaper reports corroborate these numbers, reporting, for example, 400 tickets sold in Dixon IL, 880 people in attendance in Dubuque, IA, and 1200 people in attendance in Chicago, IL (Dixon Sun, May 10, 1876. Dubuque Daily Times, March 9, 1876. Chicago Inter Ocean, December 21, 1874). Lyceum courses commercialized Urso's performances because they provided a diverse set of entertainments for consumers while offloading the financial risk of geographically disparate ruralized tours onto local lecture committees rather than lecture bureaus and their representative talent. The locality of the lyceum allowed each community to tailor a lyceum course to their own interests, but at the same time it put the financial responsibility of the lecture season onto a localized committee rather than a national agency.

Geographic analysis of Urso's ticket prices between 1873-83 reveals tickets were more expensive in Eastern cities, however single ticket prices increased over

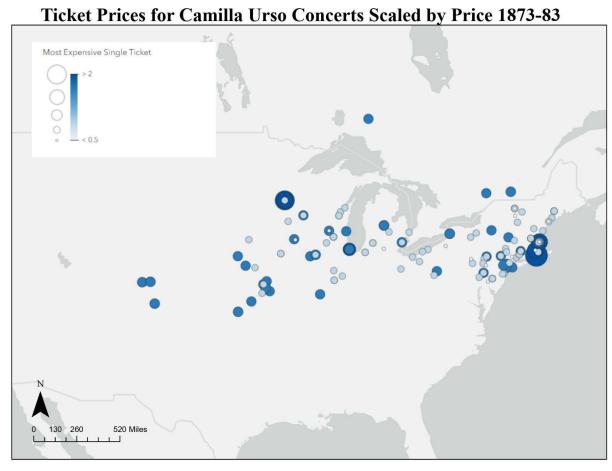


Figure 7: Camilla Urso's concerts colored by ticket prices and sized by frequency, 1873-83.

the course of the 1870s. Figure 7 maps Urso's concerts scaled by size and color based on highest price for single tickets. \*\*xxiv\*\* Dark blue indicates tickets priced above \$1 whereas light blue indicates ticket prices priced at 50 to 75 cents. Figure 7 demonstrates, Urso's concert tickets were more expensive in large metropolitan areas such as Boston, New York, and Chicago. Notably, however, many of Urso's concerts in midwestern and western communities including Minneapolis, Kansas, and Colorado also contained single ticket prices of \$1 or above. Urso's celebrity status combined with the commercialized lyceum circuit pushed ticket prices ahead of other lyceum entertainments. In some instances, ticket prices were higher for Urso's concerts than other entertainments on local lecture seasons. On October 24, 1873, *The Jamestown Journal* of Jamestown, NY advertised the price of single tickets as 35 cents except for the Urso concert in which the price would be 50 cents. Higher ticket prices imply competition for Urso tickets underscoring her celebrity.

Archival business correspondence from Urso's manager Harry St. Ormond reveals Urso's celebrity allowed her business managers to demand more expensive ticket prices. In an 1883 letter, Ormond rebuts a request for lower ticket prices stating, "In reply would say that the price of tickets 50 to 75 cents is the lowest our Mr. \_\_\_[illegible] is permitted to make" (Camilla Urso Collection). Ormond continues, "Now in the cities our fees average \$1 for reserved seats and often \$1.50 where with larger population and halls of 1800 to 2500 capacity large audiences can be accommodated, while in a small town where both the population and hall are small the demand is for cheap prices 50 to 33 cents" (Ibid). Ormond argues if ticket prices were reduced "you would require ½ more people to get the same amount of money and a moment's reflection I think will convince you that after discounting the people who could afford to pay 75 cents each, that instead of realizing more money you actually fall short in influence" (Ibid). Some evidence exists that not all lecture courses agreed with Ormond's call for higher ticket prices. In 1874, The Argus and Patriot (January 22, 1874) complained "the prices charged for seats were fifty per cent more than at Burlington, Middlebury, and Plattsburgh." By 1882, Urso commanded expensive ticket prices indicating—even if local lecture committees had qualms about Urso's prices—consumers were willing to pay more to hear Urso perform. Ultimately, the local lecture course in Fulton, NY did not agree to Ormond's terms. No record of an Urso concert in Fulton, NY during the 1882-83 season has been located.

#### Conclusion

In retrospect, it is ironic that Urso garnered success on the lyceum circuit right as the United States was reeling from the Panic of 1873. One might assume ticket sales and patronage at Urso's concerts would drop during a time of economic

crisis, yet Urso's wide-reaching and financially successful lyceum tours with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau—which began in 1873—prove otherwise. When Mishler's Lecture Course in Reading, PA allowed subscribers to vote for their favorite lyceum talent in 1875, the Camilla Urso Concert Troupe came in second place with ninety-four votes, second only to the dramatic reader Mrs. Scott Siddons.\*\* Urso's high ranking on the ballot is exemplative of the changing demographics of the lyceum. Discussing the results of lecture voting, *The Dubuque Daily Times* noted that "dramatic and musical themes are the most popular," and "of the eight chosen [for the lecture course] four are women" (Ibid). By the 1880s, the lyceum was popular entertainment. Urso was a product of this transformation and an instigator of the change. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Chautauqua circuit overtook the lyceum; yet, the popularity of lyceum concert companies established music as an integral part of American variety entertainment, leading to a thriving musical department within the Chautauqua movement.\*\*

Following her tours under lyceum management in the 1870s, Urso continued to tour on the same network under the management of her husband Frederic Luere, albeit on an expanded geographic circuit including tours into the South in 1880 and 1885 and touring along the route of the northern transcontinental railroad in 1900. Urso's later tours demonstrate savvy exploitation of the lyceum business and musical model without the overhead charges of a lyceum bureau.

Urso's career is a testament that mass musical celebrity culture predated the twentieth century. The geographic richness of Urso's lyceum performances in the 1870s dispel east-coast centric narratives of American music. The popularity of lyceum courses suggests classical music consumption was both nationalized and ruralized by the mid-nineteenth century. Urso's role as a central star on the lyceum circuit is representative of a larger ecosystem of lyceum musicians who toured in rural communities and transformed the geographic scope of nineteenth-century classical entertainment in the process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Petra Meyer-Frazier, John J. Sheinbaum, Louis K. Epstein, Betsy G. Miller, and the anonymous reviewers of this journal for their assistance and feedback on my work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ii</sup> While one or two other female violinists may have appeared in America prior to 1852, Urso was the first professional violinist to give multiple concerts in America. Candace Bailey (2019, 251) suggests Aniela Niecieska (1827–1889), otherwise known as Angélica Giraud Pinkind, performed on the violin at Hibernian Hall in Charleston, SC in 1850. Niecieska was not classified as a professional musician as she only gave one recorded concert in 1850. No other records of professional female violinists performing in America prior to 1850 have been located.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>iii</sup> For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to focus solely on seasons where Urso toured under the management of a professional lyceum bureau. Therefore, I have omitted data from the 1876-77 and 1879-82 seasons in which Urso did not tour under professional lyceum management.

Data for this project was collected by reading over 10,000 digitized newspaper results chronologically and recording concert data from concert advertisements and reviews. Primary data collection came from Newspapers.com, Chronicling America from the Library of Congress, Readex AllSearch, and Proquest Historical Newspapers, additional data came from regional and state digitized newspaper collections. Newspaper data was supplemented with information from one-hundred archival concert programs from twenty-five archival institutions in the United States. Digital maps were created using ArcGIS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>v</sup> See Wright (2017), and Ray (2005).

vi Most of the women represented by Redpath were vocalists. Of the thirty-seven women represented by Redpath in 1872, twenty-nine were musicians or dramatic readers. In 1872 Redpath represented Frederick Douglass and Anna and Emma Hyers, two Black singers who together composed the Hyers Sisters Concert Company. Based on Redpath lyceum circulars, it seems the Hyers sisters only toured with Redpath for one season. See Buckner (2012).

vii Between 1856-62, Urso lived in Nashville, TN with her first husband George M. Taylor and stopped performing publicly. See Schiller (2006).

viii See Miller (2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ix</sup> Other nineteenth-century female violinists active in America such as Maud Powell (1867-1920), Teresina Tua (1866-1956), and Lillian Shattuck (1857-1940) all have birthdates after 1850 making them successors rather than colleagues of Urso.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>x</sup> See Wright (2013), Ray (2005), and Lampert (2020).

xi. An interactive version of this map with detailed concert data and season tour routes is available online: https://arcg.is/1qjWqS2.

xii Today, American passenger railroad travel is controlled by Amtrak, but in the nineteenth century hundreds of competing railroad companies controlled different geographical regions. Planning a multi-state tour required using *The Travelers' Official Railway Guide*—a 950-page guidebook which was published every month beginning in 1870 by the National Railway Co—to navigate complex railroad timetables.

xiii The timetable for the Woodstock Railroad Muncie & Cincinnati Railroad in the 1882 *Traveler' Official Railway Guide*, reported that a train left White River, VT at 5:00pm and arrived in Woodstock, VT at 5:45pm. (*Travelers' Official Railway Guide*, 1882, 27).

xiv Kansas Weekly Herald, April 10, 1879. \$2.60 - \$3.40 equals about \$70 - \$95 in 2022. (Williamson, 2022)

<sup>xv</sup> The timetable for St. Joseph and Western Division Railroad in the 1879 *Traveler'* Official Railway Guide, reported that a train left Morrill, KS at 2:53pm and arrived in St. Joseph, MO at 5:40pm. (*Travelers'* Official Railway Guide, 1879, 230).

xvi The timetable for the Fort Wayne, Muncie & Cincinnati Railroad in the 1879 *Traveler'* Official Railway Guide, reported that a train left Cambridge City, IN at 11:46am and arrived at Fort Wayne, IN at 4:25pm. (*Travelers' Official Railway Guide*, 1874, 190).

xvii The timetable for the Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and St. Louis Railway reported that a train left Cambridge City, IN at 5:37 pm and arrived at Richmond, IN at 6:15 pm. (*Travelers' Official Railway Guide*, No. 1 1879, 191).

xviii In reality, Urso married twice and had five children. Urso married George M. Taylor (circa 1820-?) in Nashville, TN on June 24, 1856. The couple had three children: Emily Georgina Taylor (1857-1941), Lindley Taylor (1859-1875), and Caroline Taylor (1860-1908). Urso and Taylor separated around 1862, and Urso married Frederic Luere (1838-1927) around 1862-63. Urso and Luere had two children together: Camille Luere (1864-1956), and Henri Luere (1865-1865). For more information on Urso's children, see Schiller (2006, 23-28).

xix A digital version of this dashboard is available online: https://arcg.is/1Hmjzb0.

xx Urso's supporting musicians for these concerts included Mendelssohn Quintette Club Members William Schultze, Thomas Ryan, and Rudolph Hennig, and B.J. Lang played piano. (New York Public Library).

xxi The Mendelssohn Quintette Club still charged \$200 (in comparison to Urso's \$235) whereas the orator William Parsons charged only \$75, though his lecture netted only \$12.20 in ticket sales.

xxii 50 to 75 cents equals roughly \$10-\$20 in 2022, while season ticket prices of \$2-\$4 equal about \$50-\$100 in 2022. (Williamson, 2022).

xxiii \$9 for two season tickets equals roughly \$210 in 2022. (Williamson, 2022).

xxiv An interactive digital version of this map is available online: <a href="https://bit.ly/1873-83Ticket Prices">https://bit.ly/1873-83Ticket Prices</a>.

xxv The Redpath Opera Company, which was the next musical company on the ballot, received only fifty-seven votes. *Dubuque Daily Times*, October 29, 1875.

xxvi The Redpath Lyceum Bureau became a Chautauqua bureau when the company was purchased by Keith Vawter in 1901. See Eubank (1968) and Lush (2013).

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