A HISTORY OF MUSIC IN OLD MOUNT VERNON, OHIO
WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO WOODWARD HALL
AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY
AMERICAN OPERA HOUSE

A Thesis
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ABSTRACT

During the antebellum period, the town of Mount Vernon, Ohio had a flourishing music scene that included performances by both local amateur societies and professional touring groups. When Woodward Hall, located on the top floor of a four-story commercial building, opened its doors to the public in 1851, it provided the town with its first dedicated theater. Newspaper items and other early sources show that the hall was a focus of public culture in the 1850s, hosting concerts, plays, lectures, and art exhibits as well as community activities including dances, church fundraisers, and school exhibitions. The early source materials for Mount Vernon, however, like those for many small towns, are lacunary, and especially so in the case of Woodward Hall. These shortcomings are compensated, to some extent, by materials relating to theaters of similar size and age in other towns, which offer points of comparison for the Woodward and prove it to be a typical mid-nineteenth-century American theater in some respects, and a distinctive one in others. Modern-day music histories have heretofore been silent on the subject of music and opera houses in small towns despite Oscar Sonneck’s call, some ninety years ago, for local music historiography as a necessary first step in creating a complete history of American music. An examination of musical life in antebellum Mount Vernon, a former All-American city, birthplace of pioneering minstrel Dan
Emmett, and the home of one of the county’s oldest extant theaters, Woodward Hall, might serve as an exemplar for the music historiography of small towns in the United States, in the challenges as well as the opportunities that it poses to researchers.
I wish to thank my committee for their invaluable assistance with this project, especially Dr. Charles Atkinson for my first class on American music history, Professor Christopher Weait for deigning to “do” a lowly master’s committee, and most of all my adviser, Dr. Graeme Boone, for his many wonderful ideas and suggestions, unfailing enthusiasm, kind criticism, and patience, even after hours of editing.

Many thanks to the Ohio Historical Society, the Knox County Public Library, and the Knox County Historical Society, especially its curator Jim Gibson, for introducing me to the history of Mount Vernon and Ohio. Pat and Sandy Crow of the Woodward Development Corporation provided research materials, tours of the hall, and encouragement for my project. Jim Lovensheimer generously shared an unpublished paper with me, “Minstrelsy at the Masonic.”

Thanks to my family for their much-needed help with last-minute revising and printing, especially my dad for solving my computer problems and my brother for tearing himself away from his Christmas video games to help proofread a “boring” paper.

Above all, thanks to my many friends in Columbus and elsewhere who not only offered me academic support by editing, proofreading, and running library errands and took care of me by feeding and housing me during my final stages of writing but who
made a displaced Virginian, at least in some respects, love Ohio.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1909, Oscar Sonneck called for a change in the method of writing American music history.

Little has been done toward a thorough and accurate description of the music histories of the more important cities, especially those in the West. That job is much too vast for it to be understood by any single individual who might set himself up as a history-writing authority on the entire country — although useful and well-meaning attempts have been made. Only when objective local histories have come into being can the methodically schooled universal historian hope to render an accurate account of all that has passed.

At the time of this comment, Sonneck headed the Library of Congress Music Division. His own research method, according to Richard Crawford, was “that of the bibliographer who searches for the truth about the musical past in the accumulation of scores and documents that lie, mostly forgotten, on library and archival shelves.” Sonneck’s criticism responded to the writing of general histories of American music without the aid of a systematic bibliography on the subject. He advocated investigations of the “musical

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topography” of specific places and eras, rather than of composers and stylistic development, as a way of understanding music history.

In 1966 *Look Magazine* and the National Municipal League named Mount Vernon, Ohio one of that year’s thirteen All-American Cities. The winners were not determined on the basis of size or beauty, but “such intangible qualities as the spirit, determination, and drive to see problems, admit them, and overcome them.” Twenty-two years earlier, the U. S. State Department paid Mount Vernon a similar honor by choosing it as the setting for its series of films about life in American small towns. The films, made for overseas viewers and dubbed in many languages, aimed to offset the image of the United States shown by the film industry. *The Town, The Country Agent, The Doctor, The Mechanic,* and *The School* each featured residents of Mount Vernon. Due to a steadily prosperous but never booming economy, few changes had been made to the downtown area since the nineteenth century; and as of 2002, it has still changed little. Many of the buildings around Mount Vernon’s central square date from the 1850s, including the Greek Revival courthouse, numerous residences, and Woodward Hall, one of America’s oldest surviving theaters.

On November 11, 2002, National Public Radio’s *Present at the Creation* series featured the town of Mount Vernon in its program on “Dixie.” The song’s author, pioneering minstrel Daniel Decatur Emmett, lived in Mount Vernon from his birth in

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5 National Public Radio’s *Present at the Creation*, November 11, 2002.
1815 until 1834 and returned to live there at the end of his life; he gave his final performance at the Woodward Opera House. The Knox County Historical Society exhibits some of his manuscripts, one of his fiddles, and chairs used by the Virginia Minstrels; it also owns his house. As drivers enter Mount Vernon, a sign informs them that they have entered the “Birthplace of Dan Emmett, author of ‘Dixie.’” Since 1988, Mount Vernon has hosted an annual Dan Emmett Arts Festival, and today, visitors can have a drink at Uncle Dan’s Tavern.

A history of music in Mount Vernon, a classic American town with one of the country’s oldest theaters and the home of Dan Emmett, would seem an ideal response to Sonneck’s request for focused, local music histories. Despite physical reminders and literary traces of the strong presence of music in early Mount Vernon, its musical history has never been thoroughly elucidated. For the purposes of this project, I have chosen to focus on its antebellum years as a cohesive period: the beginning of the Civil War, in light of the dramatic affect it had on the entire country, is a logical endpoint. Much of my musical history of Mount Vernon will center around Woodward Hall, the most prominent symbol of music in the town. For this reason and because so little literature discusses or even mentions music in small towns, I have chosen to compare Mount

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6 Emmett died in 1904; Galbreath gives 1902 as the date of his last performance based on an article in the 1904 Knox County Republican. Jim Gibson, curator of the Knox County Historical Society, disagreed, in conversation, with the date; he has found no mention of any performance by Emmett in Mount Vernon’s newspapers for that year, in spite of Emmett’s own prominence and that of his sponsors, the Elk’s club. Charles Burleigh Galbreath, Daniel Decatur Emmett, Author of “Dixie” (Columbus, Oh.: Fred J. Heer, 1904), 26.

7 During times of national turmoil, the nineteenth-century Mount Vernon press, one of the main sources of information for this project, seemed to ignore all other subjects including music, literature, and even local and international news.
Vernon’s musical life to that of similar towns primarily by examining histories of their theaters, which are more readily available.\(^8\)

\(^8\) Many theater histories are prompted by restoration or preservation projects; a brief history of the Woodward, along with a discussion of renovation plans and pleas for financial assistance, is available through the hall’s website, “The Woodward Opera House,” [http://www.thewoodward.org](http://www.thewoodward.org), 1 January 2003.
CHAPTER 1

MOUNT VERNON, OHIO

An 1853 visitor to Mount Vernon called the town “the very garden spot” of Ohio, a state “destined to be first in the Union, in population, wealth and grandeur.” The visitor, writing anonymously for the Pittsburgh Post, continued: “Mt. Vernon is one of the prettiest and most flourishing inland towns in the State, and contains a moral, enterprising and intelligent population.” The town had booming industries powered by local waterways, railroads in progress, and “some of the finest schools and colleges to be found in the country.” Another visitor in the same year, this one from the nearby town of Sandusky, wrote; “The town appears in a flourishing condition and rapidly increasing. . . . The lots are large and those occupied are nearly all more or less beautiful and adorned with growing trees and flowers. In this respect it presents a favorable contrast to the hard bare walls of most western towns.” Travelogues from the antebellum period generally agree with this assessment and describe western towns, and their residents, as rough, dirty, and unfinished.

9 “Mt. Vernon, Ohio,” Mount Vernon (Ohio) True Whig, 21 September 1853, 2.

10 “Mount Vernon,” Mount Vernon (Ohio) Democratic Banner, 6 September 1853, 1; reprinted from the Daily Sandusky (Ohio) Mirror.
By the time of these writings, Mount Vernon had been a town for almost fifty years. Settlers arrived in present day Knox County at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1808, the Ohio state legislature carved Knox County from part of Fairfield County and chose Mount Vernon as county seat. In this role, it attracted more settlers than other towns in the area, and its population grew rapidly.\textsuperscript{12} The earliest available census, from 1820, lists 403 inhabitants, and that from 1860 counts 4,202.\textsuperscript{13} The municipalities of Cleveland, Delaware, Lancaster, and Newark had comparable populations in 1820. By 1860, Cleveland’s population had ballooned to 43,417, while the others hovered around 5,000.\textsuperscript{14} Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus had become Ohio’s most important and populous cities by the end of the antebellum period. A second tier, of larger towns, emerged beneath: Chillicothe, Marietta, Portsmouth, Sandusky, and Zanesville. Mount Vernon seems to fall into a third category, that of smaller towns. But in contrast to many prosperous towns in frontier Ohio, Mount Vernon was not situated on a navigable river, and the Ohio and Erie Canal, authorized in 1825, bypassed it. The

\textsuperscript{11} When Charles Dickens traveled through Ohio, he noted the beauty and agricultural prosperity of Ohio’s landscape, but complained of its uncivilized residents. The coachman “is always dirty, sullen, and taciturn” and “never encumbers himself with a pocket-handkerchief.” Innkeepers, influenced by the temperance movement, served only tea and coffee: “As they are both very bad and water is worse, I asked for brandy, but . . . spirits are not to be had for love or money.” But a transcription of a conversation Dickens overheard on his journey gives the bleakest impression of 1840s rural Ohio; people had little to say to one another and one phrase, “yes, sir,” seemed to dominate all exchanges. “It is adapted to every variety of circumstance, and fills up every pause in the conversation.” See Charles Dickens, \textit{American Notes} with an introduction by Christopher Hitchens (1842; reprint, New York: The Modern Library, 1996), 248-49.

\textsuperscript{12} Margaret Elizabeth Mahaffey, “Early History” in “Mt. Vernon, Ohio, 1865–1890” (master’s thesis, The Ohio State University, 1943), 1-13.

\textsuperscript{13} Mount Vernon’s population was 403 in 1829, 1,021 in 1830, 2,362 in 1840, 3,710 in 1850, and 4,202 in 1860. Mahaffey, 13.

National Road, a comfortable, paved road completed in Ohio in 1838 for serving both stagecoaches and cargo wagons, also bypassed Mount Vernon; instead it connected Wheeling, Cambridge, Zanesville, Columbus, and Springfield.\footnote{15} It was only after 1855 that Mount Vernon could be reached by a major interstate thoroughfare, namely the Columbus and Lake Erie Railroad.\footnote{16} The Vernon River, also called Owl Creek, provided power for flour mills as well as a textile factory. Coal and iron deposits in nearby Hocking County prompted the founding of the Cooper & Company iron works, and the presence of the railroad in Ohio resulted in growth of the company.\footnote{17} Norman Newell Hill’s \textit{History of Knox County, Ohio} lists the occupations of many of Mount Vernon’s residents in 1850.\footnote{18} The two most common trades were carpenter (thirty-two) and merchant (twenty-nine). Mount Vernon also had, among other tradesmen, dentists (three) and druggists (four), tanners (seven) and tailors (fourteen); butchers (six), bakers (two) and boilers of soap (two); and one auctioneer, telegraph operator, postmaster, gunsmith, and portrait painter. Hill’s list does not include all Mount Vernon professions; he omits farmers and industrial workers as well as doctors, lawyers, schoolteachers, and clergy, all of which must have been represented.

\footnote{15} Interstate 71 also bypasses Mount Vernon even though, as the crow flies, it is directly between Columbus and Cleveland. George W. Knepper, \textit{Ohio and Its People} (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1997), 145-47.


\footnote{17} “Mt. Vernon, Ohio,” \textit{Mount Vernon (Ohio)True Whig}, 21 September 1853, 2.

\footnote{18} Norman Newell Hill, \textit{History of Knox County, Ohio, Its Past and Present} (Mount Vernon, Oh.: Graham, 1881), 399-400.
Like many in Ohio, Mount Vernon’s residents spent the earlier nineteenth century “laying the foundations of public culture,” founding schools, churches, civic organizations, and newspapers. In 1818, a two-story brick schoolhouse, with a Masonic Lodge on the second floor, replaced Mount Vernon’s previous school, a log cabin. Kenyon College, affiliated with the Episcopal Church, opened in nearby Gambier in 1824. The town levied taxes to help pay for schools in 1825; in 1845, a school board was established, chaired by the mayor. In 1850, the town built new schools in each of its five wards. The building of a high school soon followed, completed in 1859 for $30,000.

Mount Vernon’s citizens also built ten churches and several civic organizations formed during this period including literary, library, polemic, historical, dramatic, and musical societies. The Masons were established by 1818. An active temperance society had meetings in its own hall, parades, and a lecture series. Following the 1816 relocation of the *Ohio Register* from neighboring Clinton, Mount Vernon had a steady stream of newspapers. In 1853, there were four of them: Ellis’s *Democratic Banner*, Norton’s *True Whig*, Chapman and Thrall’s *Ohio Times*, and Higgins’s *Western Home Visitor*.

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21 Mount Vernon had ten churches before the Civil War, of the following denominations: Presbyterian, founded in 1821; Protestant Episcopal, 1830; Methodist Episcopal, 1831; Methodist Protestant, 1838; Congregational, 1839; Baptist, 1841; Catholic, 1842; United Presbyterian, 1852; Wesleyan Methodists, 1852; and Christian, 1853. Mahaffey, 8.

22 As early as 1818, notices in Mount Vernon’s newspapers cited members for “conduct unbecoming to the Masons.” See, for example, *The Mount Vernon Ohio Register*, 16 September 1818, 3.

Appendix A consists of four maps of Mount Vernon, Ohio. The first shows the town’s plan and its early buildings. The map supposedly dates from 1805, but Jim Gibson, curator of the Knox County Historical Society, recently suggested in conversation that it actually dates from several years later. The “1805” map shows developed lots and even specific buildings, but there is no evidence that settlers arrived in Mount Vernon before 1808. The second map, the most germane to the period discussed in this thesis, was published in an 1871 atlas of Knox County. In contrast to the 1805 map, which depicts only the town’s center, the 1871 map shows all of Mount Vernon. The Cleveland, Columbus, and Mount Vernon Railroad is clearly visible along the town’s southern edge, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passes to the west; the two meet near Chestnut Street, on the west end of town. The third map, from 1896, names individual buildings, including the Woodward Opera House on the southwest corner of Main and Vine Streets (in the upper right hand corner). Since the 1896 atlas mapped each ward of the town separately, most of the Woodward Building’s neighbors, including the town square, are not included on this particular map. Finally, I include a map of Mount Vernon in 2001 to show how little the town’s layout has changed since 1871.

24 “Mount Vernon,” Democratic Banner, 6 September 1853, 3. The Western Home Visitor was a literary journal that boasted a circulation of 5000 [Democratic Banner 28 March, 1854, 4] and that ceased to be published because it was “too large for Mount Vernon and could not find a home at Columbus.” Norton, 243.

25 Map given in N. N. Hill, History of Knox County, 378.

26 Caldwell and Starr, An Atlas of Knox County Ohio (Granville, Oh.: Caldwell and Starr, 1871), 16-17.


Like many towns in southern and eastern Ohio, Mount Vernon’s city plan and architecture show the influence of its early settlers. Many came from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, marking a cultural distinction with the New-England-dominated Western Reserve to the north. One of the original proprietors in Mount Vernon was a Virginian and named the town for the resemblance he saw between its topography and that of George Washington’s plantation on the Potomac River. A. Banning Norton, an early historian of Knox County, contrasts Mount Vernon with Clinton, which had “more of New England families, more of Yankee spirit and shrewdness.” Douglas Graf, professor of architecture at The Ohio State University, disagrees with the classification of Mount Vernon as Virginian and notes an “architectural amalgam” in central Ohio. By standards of both architecture and city planning, Lancaster resembles Virginia, Granville looks like New England, and Newark looks like the Midwest. Mount Vernon, by contrast, is “not typical of anywhere, but . . . inventive and distinctive” with its central

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29 In the 1780s, Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts relinquished to Congress all claims to land in the region that would later become Ohio. Connecticut, which held the northernmost sliver of land, gave up most of its holdings, but kept a small portion, known as New Connecticut or the Western Reserve. The reservation stretched one hundred twenty miles from Pennsylvania’s western border between Lake Erie and the forty-first parallel. See Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 50-51.

30 Norton, 26.

31 Ibid., 28.
green adjoining the courthouse that separates the residential north and more industrial
south of the town. “It has a sense of place. It is or was a perfect Ohio town, which
means it’s actually quite unusual.”32

32 Graf, quoted and summarized in Jane Ware, Building Ohio: A Traveler’s Guide to Ohio’s Rural
Architecture (Wilmington, Oh.: Orange Frazer, 2002), 4-5.
CHAPTER 2

SOURCES OF MOUNT VERNON HISTORY

Several types of sources exist for antebellum Mount Vernon history. The town’s theater, Woodward Hall, opened in 1851 and still stands as a physical source of information for its early days. The Ohio State Historical Society, Knox County Historical Society, and Knox County Public Library’s collections contain three principal kinds of written materials, namely personal recollections, local histories, and newspapers. Each provides — or fails to provide — its own sort of information, but from them, a broader history of music can be constructed.

Woodward Hall, known today as the Woodward Opera House, occupies a prominent place in downtown Mount Vernon. The Main Street side of the hall’s exterior remains virtually unchanged since its 1850s construction. The hall, in the early stages of a renovation project at the time of this writing, hosts a small exhibit of playbills and

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The most obvious difference in the building’s appearance is the modernization of the street level storefronts. During the renovation of the 1870s and 1880s, the building was lengthened along the Vine Street side; concurrently, the building’s name officially changed from the Woodward Building, with Woodward Hall designating the theater, to the Woodward Opera House. Newspaper accounts from the 1850s use the monikers “Woodward Hall” and “Woodward Theater” interchangeably. Naylor and Dillon have solved this terminological problem by letting each “hall” be called “whatever its community wishes.” I will use “theater,” “hall,” and “opera house” interchangeably when discussing them collectively because the terms, according to nineteenth-century usage, did not seem to designate substantially different types of establishments. See David Naylor and Joan Dillon, *American Theaters: Performance Halls of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Preservation Press, 1997), 10-11.
posters from its nineteenth-century productions. Though these bills, like the current state of the theater itself, postdate the antebellum period, they evoke a long tradition of public entertainment in Mount Vernon. Not only have the theater’s records been lost, but we lack performance schedules, a systematic collection of programs, account books, or correspondence of the hall’s owners or managers that would help to elucidate the general operations of the theater. The Woodward closed as a performance space in the early twentieth century, replaced by newer, street-level theaters better suited to showing motion pictures. It may have been that definitive closure which resulted, over time, in the disappearance of documentation. Since then, the theater has been used, among other things, as a gymnasium, storage facility, Halloween haunted house, and even, occasionally, as a theater.

In principle, sources written by residents should be the most useful in illuminating first-hand the history and culture of the period. But such sources are rare, and none is known to discuss the town’s music or culture. The Knox County Historical Society possesses some playbills and posters for plays, concerts, and other “entertainments” produced in Mount Vernon, but almost all date from the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Ohio and Knox County Historical Societies hold no materials from Dr. Ebenizer Woodward, the builder of Woodward Hall and seemingly a prominent citizen of Mount Vernon, or any of the hall’s known early managers, W. O. Ellis, James

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34 As part of the restoration efforts, the task of systematically searching Woodward Hall for historical evidence recently fell upon intern Emily Briggs. Her report shows nothing of interest for the antebellum period.
The Ohio Historical Society does have a collection of papers from the Curtis family, one of the most prominent in nineteenth century Mount Vernon. When Dr. Woodward died during the hall’s renovation in 1879, Henry L. Curtis executed his will and oversaw the project’s completion. The Curtis collection, however, consists almost entirely of correspondence with lawyers in other towns. Only one autobiography by a resident of antebellum Mount Vernon is known to exist, that of Lawrence Van Buskirk; the book deals primarily with local and state politics and family history.

Two early local histories provide more information. In 1862, Anthony Banning Norton published *A History of Knox County*. The focus of the book naturally falls on Mount Vernon, the county’s seat and largest town and the author’s home. Norton’s preface explains his purpose in writing his history, the first of Knox County, to the reader. “My object is accomplished in putting in this form for preservation much crude material, which I regard as of value to those who may succeed us.” The first settlers of Knox County may grow old and die, but Norton will not let their stories be forgotten. He apologizes for incomplete information and haste in writing; the uncertainty caused by the

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35 The managers are named (respectively) in “Woodward Hall for Rent,” *Democratic Banner*, 1 March 1853, 3; “Woodward Hall for Rent,” *Democratic Banner*, 21 February 1854, 3; and “Woodward Hall,” *Democratic Banner*, 31 October 1854, 2.


outbreak of the Civil War spurred him to publish earlier than he would have liked. He also emphasizes his own neutrality, claiming himself to “belong to no political or religious party, sect, or organization,” although Chapter Nineteen, “History of the Press in Knox County,” mentions his years spent editing the *Mount Vernon True Whig* (1849–55). Norton organizes his history chronologically, with occasional digressions. These include the chapter on the press; Chapter XI, “The History of Johnny Appleseed,” who had lived in Mount Vernon; Chapter XIV, “Masonic Institutions”; and Chapter XXI, “Literary and Other Societies.” The latter subsumes, as noted in its subtitle, “The Mount Vernon Polemic Society. — The Thespian. — The Library Society. — The Lyceum. — The Franklin. — Mechanics. — Historical, and its Library.” Norton describes the various societies and in some cases, lists their founding or present members. The book mentions neither the Mount Vernon Musical Society nor Woodward Hall, though according to the town’s newspapers, both existed at the time of its publication.

A second nineteenth-century history of Knox County paints a slightly different picture of Mount Vernon. Norman Newell Hill, also a Knox resident, wrote histories of several Ohio counties in response to the national centennial. Hill’s book is almost twice the size of Norton’s, though it covers a scant nineteen more years. Hill relied on his own memories and those of Mount Vernon’s older citizenry for recent history but used Norton’s work as a source for more distant events; he quotes several passages verbatim.

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40 Ibid., liii-v.

41 Ibid., 254-55.

42 Ibid., 270.

Like Norton, Hill separates cultural history from political history; chapters located at the end of the book discuss social and cultural life in Knox County. Hill describes many of the same associations as Banning; one exception is his inclusion of an 1830s amateur dramatic society.

Two other, more recent histories cannot be omitted. Frederick Lorey’s *History of Knox County, 1876–1976* complements Hill’s work, commencing where it finished; Lorey published his book for the United States bicentennial. As his title indicates, Lorey says little on antebellum Mount Vernon, though some of the issues he addresses, of course, span the entire nineteenth century; the chapter on cultural organizations and venues mentions Woodward Hall. Margaret Elizabeth Mahaffey’s *Mount Vernon, Ohio, 1865–1890* focuses on the period following the Civil War, but she does devote one chapter to the town’s earlier history. She supplements Hill’s and Norton’s histories of the period with materials such as newspaper items, census data, and court and other local records.

Howard and Judith Sacks’s *Way Up North In Dixie: A Black Family’s Claim to the Confederate Anthem* discusses the relationship between Dan Emmett and the Snowdens, a black family of musicians living in Knox County during the nineteenth century. Most biographical information for the Snowden family presented in the book

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45 In the 1890s, the Woodward showed the first movies in Knox County. Lorey, 400.

46 Margaret Elizabeth Mahaffey, “Mount Vernon, Ohio, 1865–1890” (master’s thesis, The Ohio State University, 1943).
comes from a privately owned collection of the Snowden’s possessions including letters, a photograph album, and a scrapbook\textsuperscript{48} The Sacks’s study includes, as context for the Snowdens’ performances, a brief summary of music and theater in Mount Vernon in the 1840s and 1850s based on surviving local newspapers from those years.\textsuperscript{49}

Newspapers complete the category of local sources; and we shall look more closely at them, since they represent our principal source of information about early Mount Vernon. The newspaper played several important roles in frontier towns; according to George Douglas, “no self-respecting town could afford to be without its own newspaper.”\textsuperscript{50} As is illustrated by Mount Vernon, the establishment of newspapers paralleled the founding of railroads, colleges, and other civic or commercial institutions. Newspapermen had to double as general printers in order to support themselves, and, conveniently, new territories needed all sorts of legal and government documents printed. Newspapers in western towns did not serve the same purposes as those in eastern cities; members of a tiny community most likely knew the daily local news before the newspaper editor could print and sell it in a weekly paper, and they also read daily or weekly newspapers sent from larger cities. Local newspapers did not systematically document any aspect of a town’s history; even one as important as the building of the school system merited little space in the Mount Vernon press. However, the local


\textsuperscript{48} The scrapbook, compiled by the Snowden daughters in the 1850s, contains “poetry and recipes, feminist tracts, and news accounts of John Brown’s hanging clipped from the popular press.” The Snowden collection belongs to Marie Moorehead, whose father took care of the aging Snowden brothers. Sacks, 19.

\textsuperscript{49} Sacks, 80-87.
newspaper did list services available or soon to be available in the area. Perhaps notice of cultural events fitted into this category. In a town the size of Mount Vernon, advertising performances in the newspaper seems to have been unnecessary.

Though Mount Vernon’s newspaper press began in 1816, extant issues prior to the 1840s are scarce. Newspapers from the antebellum period are available on microfilm at the Knox County Public Library and the Ohio Historical Society.\textsuperscript{51} Their holdings overlap, but each library has a few items that the other does not. The Ohio Historical Society has an incomplete run of the \textit{Ohio Register} (1816–20) and single issues of the \textit{American Standard} (1828) and the \textit{Western Aurora} (1827).\textsuperscript{52} No newspapers from the 1830s survive in either collection. Newspapers dating from the 1840s and 50s have been much better preserved. The combined microfilm collections of the two libraries contain the \textit{Republican Times} (1841–45), the \textit{Democratic Banner} (1843–1922), the \textit{Times} (1846), the \textit{True Whig} (1848–54), the \textit{Ohio Times} (1848–53), the \textit{Ohio State Times} (1852–54), \textit{Norton’s True Whig} (1853–54), and the \textit{Republican} (1855–1939).\textsuperscript{53} The rise in newspaper preservation may have been stimulated by the founding of the Knox County Historical Society in 1850.

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51 The Ohio and Knox County Historical Societies also have hard copies of newspapers. OHS prefers that researchers use microfilm copies.


53 Another newspaper, the \textit{Mount Vernon Visitor}, is mentioned in an 1853 description of Mount Vernon but appears not to have been preserved. “Mount Vernon,” \textit{Democratic Banner}, 6 September 1853, 3.
\end{flushright}
Though most articles focus on state, national, and international news, the newspapers also include local news, articles on culture, and literature such as poems, shorts stories, and vignettes. The advertisements and editor’s local announcements contain the most valuable information about the performing arts, including plays, concerts, circuses, and art exhibits. An editor may alert the town to an impending performance or exhibit through a short announcement; equally brief reviews follow many events. The process of announcement and review seems unsystematic, for reviews appear without corresponding announcements and many publicized events are never reviewed. A touring company with means might pay for an eye-catching advertisement incorporating pictures, large or unusual fonts, more elaborate formatting, or prominent placement on the page; the editor’s seemingly standard announcement used a small font, often omitted a title, and could be relegated to the end of a column of minor news items or household hints. From these announcements, reviews, and advertisements, a tentative schedule of cultural events in Mount Vernon can be constructed. (See Appendix B, Items on Music in Extant Antebellum Mount Vernon Newspapers.)

Though the best source of specific musical information, extant newspapers still omit much. A complete event notice or review might include the performer, type of performance, date, time, place, price of admission, and a preview of the planned program or brief description of the event seen, but few items give this much information.

The Bakers are Coming. The original Bakers — [three gentlemen and two ladies,] who always give unbounded satisfaction — will give one vocal concert only, at Woodward Hall, on Wednesday evening, June 10th. Their program is new and rich. Let us give them a full house. It will be a rich treat for all who may listen. Concert will commence at 8 o’clock. Tickets 25 cents.

54 Democratic Banner, 9 June 1857, 3.
Great Musical Concert. At Woodward Hall, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings by the celebrated musician Canderbeer, assisted by Madame C. Magdellena, on the German Harp; on which occasion will be presented to the public a choice selection of pieces which cannot fail to amuse and instruct the lovers of music.\textsuperscript{55}

Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Shire’s Dramatic Company has arrived and will perform the thrilling piece of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, for a few nights, at Woodward Hall. A rare treat may be expected.\textsuperscript{56}

The lack of practical information such as date, time, and place in the newspapers seems to have been unproblematic for the Mount Vernon public. Several advertisements direct readers to other sources for such information.

Grand and Novel Entertainment. The music loving portion of our citizens will be delighted to learn that a Grand Premium Concert is to be given in this place by Messrs. Goodman, Plagge, Coe, and other distinguished performers on or about the first day of January next . . . The time and place of the Concert will be made more fully known by handbills.\textsuperscript{57}

Robinson’s Atheneum . . . will perform at Mount Vernon on Tuesday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of May. Doors open at half past 1 & 7 o’clock p.m. Performance will commence at 2 and 8 o’clock precisely. Among the most prominent members of this Company will be found the following talented artists . . . Admission 25 cents. Children under 10 years of age 15 cents. For particulars, see descriptive Bills at the principle Hotels, and Programmes on day of Exhibition.\textsuperscript{58}

An extant handbill used by the Snowden family, who performed in Mount Vernon in the 1850s, shows how one might have supplemented information given by the newspaper. The handbill is much longer and more detailed than a newspaper advertisement; it describes the type of concert to be given, profiles the performers, and highlights the concert’s novel aspects, female and infant violinists, with large, bold type.

\textsuperscript{55} Democratic Banner, 30 August 1853, 3.

\textsuperscript{56} Democratic Banner, 14 March 1854, 3.

\textsuperscript{57} True Whig, 25 December 1850, 2.
The handbill seems not to have been printed for any one specific concert. It begins: “The above troupe . . . have the pleasure to announce to the good people of this place and vicinity. . . .” There are blank spaces in which to write the place, date, and time of the concert. The Banner News and Job Office, also responsible for the Mount Vernon Democratic Banner, promoted itself as “prepared to execute, upon the shortest notice and in the neatest manner, all kinds of plain and fancy Job Printing.” W. O. Willis, in fact, managed both Woodward Hall and the printing business from the same office, located in the Woodward building, in 1853. Not surprisingly, the Democratic Banner contains more information on Woodward events than do other newspapers in Mount Vernon, but even it does not include everything. Thus, both the Ohio State Times and the True Whig mention the Baker family’s 1854 concert at Woodward Hall, but the Banner does not.

If we take a step back from Mount Vernon, many more sources become available. Certain of these will be introduced below and some will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 3 and 4 following. Histories of Ohio discuss cultural life throughout the state during the antebellum period. The lack of memoirs dealing with pre-Civil War Mount Vernon may be partially remedied by personal recollections of other towns. Histories of music, theater, or opera houses in other cities may provide information on Mount Vernon and Woodward Hall by extrapolation. Finally, modern scholarship on music and theater

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58 Democratic Banner, 3 May 1853, 3.

59 The 1860s handbill, from the collection of the Ohio Historical Society, is reproduced in Sacks, 58.

60 Democratic Banner, 1 February 1853, 3.

61 Democratic Banner, 1 March 1853, 3.

62 Mount Vernon Ohio State Times, 11 April 1854, 2 and True Whig, 12 April 1854, 3.
can provide specific information on the performers who visited antebellum Mount Vernon.

Works by local historians tend to be benignly partial, anecdotal, and filled with lists of prominent citizens and local “firsts,” but statewide histories discuss trends often ignored by such geographically-focused pens. George Knepper’s *Ohio and Its People*, often used as a textbook, presents a political and economic history of Ohio. Knepper focuses on early settlement of the state, the development of transportation networks, industry and agriculture, and politics. He also emphasizes Ohio’s importance as a crossroads of America: north and south, agriculture and industry, rural and urban. Andrew Cayton’s *Ohio: The History of a People* professes itself to be a group biography of the people of Ohio and describes community building by early inhabitants. Ohioans invested not only in elaborate public buildings, transportation such as canals and railroads, public schools and universities, and prisons, but social reforms including a strong temperance movement and the arts. “A flourishing of art, literature, and music . . . was one of the key markers of all great civilizations,” and Ohio wanted to be one of them.

Though no personal recollections of Mount Vernon in the antebellum period seem to exist, many are available for other cities and towns in Ohio. Both residents and

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63 George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1997).
64 Ibid., xii.
65 Andrew Cayton, *Ohio: The History of a People* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2002). The Ohio Historical Society reference desk often recommends Knepper’s book to newcomers to Ohio history. (One employee objects to the multicultural approach used by Cayton.)
66 Ibid., 47, 76.
travelers described their experiences in the state. Books such as *Buckeye Schoolmaster: A Chronicle of Midwestern Rural Life, 1853–1865*, An Ohio Schoolmistress: The Memoirs of Irene Hardy, and *Recollections of Life in Ohio, 1810–1840* describe life in small towns in antebellum Ohio. Helen Santmeyer’s memoir, *Ohio Town*, includes an entire chapter on the theater in Xenia, her hometown. The autobiography of James Findlay, a Cincinnati minister, recounts his travels within the state, including time spent in Mount Vernon. Travelers, because they note the state’s peculiarities, often make more useful statements about Ohio than its residents. Before the Civil War, tours of the “western” United States usually included a stop in Cincinnati as well as travel through central Ohio to the Great Lakes. Isabella Lucy Bird, Charles Dickens, Margaret Fuller, Ferdinand Kürnberger, John Lewis Peyton, Charles Sealsfield, and Fanny

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70 Helen Hooven Santmyer, *Ohio Town* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1997).


Trollope discuss Ohio and its people in their travelogues, though none of them visited Mount Vernon. An American writing for the English market, Francis Grund gives a description of public amusements and the arts in Ohio in his “General Observations on Americans.

As in the cases of general histories and memoirs, histories of music, drama, and theaters in other cities can supply information relevant to music in Mount Vernon. Many such histories exist, though many of the places studied are larger than Mount Vernon and their theaters are not as old as Woodward Hall. Some studies have utilized types of sources unavailable for Mount Vernon, including a hall’s own records or interviews with former owners or patrons, and provide information on theater operations or specific musical groups. Information on touring performers is especially useful, for groups presented the same show in each town visited. The Newark press, but not that of Mount Vernon, might review a production that played in both towns.

The available sources for a musical history of Mount Vernon pose problems for the historian. Local histories list musical societies and note what the authors consider to


80 A history of Stewart’s Opera House is based primarily on interviews and personal recollection; the author’s father was the hall’s last manager. Spencer Steenrod, *Stuart’s Opera House, Nelsonville, Ohio* (Nelsonville, Oh.: Nelsonville Tribune, 1978).

81 Walch’s comparison of the theater schedules of Mount Vernon and Newark, as reconstructed from local newspapers, shows that many groups visited both towns in quick succession. See Theodore Walch, “The Theater of Central Ohio: 1810–1860” (Independent Study Project, Kenyon College, 1963, photocopy), 14.
be landmark musical events. Local newspapers tend to focus on public performances.

General historical studies and memoirs say little about music, and histories of other cities
and opera houses do not necessarily provide information applicable to Mount Vernon.

Above all, modern musical scholarship has quietly avoided the American small-town
theater, making it difficult to situate Mount Vernon or Woodward Hall in the context of a
broader musical history.
A “Singing Assembly” of ladies and gentlemen, comprising different singing societies in the county, gave a grand concert at the court-house in Mount Vernon, at 1 o’clock P.M. All persons feeling willing to unite and participate in the exercises came. It was one of the olden kind of gatherings, like the “Old Folks’ Concert” given in Mount Vernon this spring of 1862, as we have been assured by one of the vocalists who participated in both “singing assemblies.”

The earliest recorded event in Mount Vernon’s musical memory occurred on April 8, 1815. A. Banning Norton’s account of the event, above, penned almost fifty years later, is remarkable on several counts. It appears in a chapter titled “Notable Events of 1815,” sandwiched between a report of the opening of George Girty’s new stores in Mount Vernon and Fredericktown and a list of standard military salaries for the year. None of these events might seem particularly notable by comparison to the events listed at the beginning of Norton’s chapter, namely court decisions and election results. Nonetheless, the musical event is remarkable for a town that had been settled only ten years before. By Norton’s account, Knox County had not one, but several, active singing societies at that time. The concert took place at the courthouse, certainly the town’s most

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82 Norton, 153.

83 “... teachers of music, 8 dollars; Musicians, 6 dollars; artificers, 10 dollars; and privates, 5 dollars.” Ibid.
important building in 1815. The words “unite and participate” suggest, rather than a formal concert, a community activity, perhaps even with some religious connection. The phrase “olden kind of gathering,” *i.e.* evocative of the eighteenth century, and the comparison to the recent “Old Folks’ Concert,” *i.e.* evocative of the early nineteenth century, imply that the music had gone out of style by the year of Norton’s writing, 1862, if not long before. It is curiously appropriate that such an event, highlighting old traditions, should begin Mount Vernon’s musical history.

Norton’s description also exemplifies the difficulties of constructing a musical history of Mount Vernon from available sources. “Like the ‘Old Folks’ Concert’” might have meant something very specific to his fellow residents of 1860s Mount Vernon, but it raises only the vaguest associations for us today. Little else in his description helps us to determine specifically what was sung, how, and by whom. The *Republican’s* notice for an 1859 concert given by the “old folks” says only that it was a “fancy offering.” The records of music in Mount Vernon pose analogous problems for reconstructing almost any historical aspect of its musical life, though primary sources, especially newspapers, mention music in many contexts: at home, as part of civic events, in amateur performing groups, and at professional concerts. Popular types of concerts included solo and chamber recitals, singing families, and minstrel shows; and troupes of musicians traveled with and performed as part of lavish entertainments like the circus. Such dated mentions of music can be organized to form a musical timeline. (See Appendix B, Items on Music in Extant Antebellum Mount Vernon Newspapers.) Entire categories of music making are absent from sources, and while the nature of the sources and types of music may
explain some of these absences, others are not so easily dismissed. In addition to concert listings, Mount Vernon’s newspapers contain articles on music history and education and musical instruments, but they are silent on some prominent musical trends and personalities of the antebellum period including Dan Emmett, opera, and traveling virtuosi.

With the exception of Norton’s “Old Folks’ Concert,” little, beyond the names of a few musical societies, would seem to be knowable about musical life in Mount Vernon before the 1840s, the earliest date from which substantial newspapers have been preserved. Margaret Fuller, a friend of the Transcendentalists and teacher at Bronson Alcott’s school in Boston, traveled to the Midwest to observe the settlement of the frontier. Her travelogue discusses music’s presence and importance in even the most tiny, remote, or recently settled outposts.

As to music, I wish I could see in such places the guitar rather than the piano, and good vocal more than instrumental music. The piano many carry with them, because it is the fashionable instrument in the eastern cities. Even there, it is so merely in the habit of imitating Europe, for not one in a thousand is willing to give the labour requisite to ensure any valuable use of the instrument. But out here, where the ladies have so much less leisure, it is still less desirable. Add to this, they never know how to tune their own instruments, and as persons seldom visit them who can do so, these pianos are constantly out of tune, and would spoil the ear of one who began by having any. The guitar, or some portable instrument which requires less practice, and could be kept in tune by themselves, would be far more desirable for most of these ladies. It would give all they want as a household companion to fill up the gaps of life with a pleasant stimulus or solace, and be sufficient accompaniment to the voice in social meetings. Singing in parts is the most delightful family amusement, and those who are constantly together can learn to sing in perfect accord. All the practice it needs, after some good elementary instruction, is such as meetings by summer twilight, and evening firelight naturally suggest.85

84 Mount Vernon (Ohio) Republican, 31 December 1859, 2.
85 Fuller, 63-64.
In spite of their endless work, settlers desired to establish, at least in some respects, the standard of living that defined middle-class society on the East Coast.

Amateur music making must have been popular in Mount Vernon by the 1840s, as newspaper advertisements indicating the availability and abundance of music supplies make clear. B. B. Lippitt’s Book Store offered “music books, song books, preceptors for musical instruments, [and] piano music in sheets” to the public. A rival, Cunningham’s Book and Music Store, boasts “a large lot of sheet music, church music, instruction books, musical instruments and musical merchandise, just received and for sale very cheap.” A much anticipated item, for example Jenny Lind’s New Songs or The Ohio Harmonist merits specific mention in such advertisements. In the case of Jenny Lind’s Songs, the merchant even supplied titles of individual pieces: “Greeting to America,” “The Swedish Herdsmen Song,” “The Hermit and the Maiden,” and “Take This Love.” One might also buy sheet music at the circus.

W. R. Smith, the popular Clown and Buffoon Singer attached to Nixon and Kemp’s Great Eastern Circus, has a new song for every day in the month, which are published in pamphlet form, and embellished with 31 admirable comic wood cuts.

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86 The Mount Vernon (Ohio) Times, 27 January 1846, 4. Lippett also sold Wise’s Celebrated Hair Tonic, the “best wash for the hair ever manufactured.” Democratic Banner, 3 December 1850, 3.

87 Cunningham sold not only music but fiction (Wilke Collins and Thackeray), and school books, guides for mechanics, cook books, and “fancy goods” (writing desks, card cases, portfolios, and puzzles). Democratic Banner, 1 February 1853, 3.

88 True Whig, 2 October 1850, 3.

89 The Times, 5 October 1847, 3.

90 “New Advertisements,” Democratic Banner, 1 September 1857, 2.
Newspapers ran advertisements for musical instruments as well, though the only unequivocal offer of pianos for sale comes from a Columbus merchant selling Chickering and Gilbert’s Pianos who appeals to Mount Vernon’s residents with the promise, “Orders from a distance promptly attended to. Pianos boxed with great care and sent to any part of the State on spring wagons and warranted to go safe.” William Henderson, a Mount Vernon cabinet maker, illustrated his 1847 advertisement with a picture of a square piano, but his text does not specify whether he in fact built or sold them.

Music was an important part of public and civic life. Church congregations sang hymns. Shape-note tunebooks could be bought locally for group singing. Dancing was a popular activity; the town threw a ball as part of its 1854 Fourth of July celebration, the fire department of Mount Vernon held a ball to benefit itself later in that year, and a ball celebrated the opening of Woodward Hall in 1856. Masonic meetings and celebrations often included music; according to Norton, the Masons engaged the first band in the territory for their 1813 celebration in honor of St. John the Baptist. One of the band members, from Delaware, Ohio, recalled the extensive travel required of Ohio

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91 True Whig, 2 October 1850, 3.
92 The Times, 17 August 1847, 4.
93 B. B. Lippett advertised The Ohio Harmonist. The Times, 5 October 1847, 3.
94 Democratic Banner, 4 July 1854, 2.
95 Democratic Banner, 18 December 1854, 3.
96 Republican, 6 January 1857, 3.
members of the group due to the large area that they served. According to their agendas, meetings of the Temperance League incorporated music.

1st  Music by the Temperance choir
2nd  Prayer by the Reverend Mr. Chubb, a S[on] of T[emperance]
3rd  An Ode, as sung by the Sons of Temperance, standing
4th  Response, sung by the young Lady pupils, standing.

So did their other activities. The Temperance League “marched thro’ our principal streets, accompanied with a splendid band of Ethiopian Musicians” or “a Band of Marshal [sic] Music.”

Mount Vernon’s press shows interest in and opportunities for private music instruction. An 1847 article, reprinted from the *Western School Journal*, advocates vocal music as a means of discipline and moral training for young people. A second item, from 1857, suggests that teachers number the keys of a piano in order to teach children more easily. The public school curriculum, however, seems not to have included musical instruction before the 1850s; even school systems as large as those in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus did not teach music until 1845, 1851, and 1854, respectively.

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97 Norton, 158.

98 *Democratic Banner*, 11 January 1848, 1.

99 The sources give no further information on the band of Ethiopian Musicians. *The Times*, 26 October 1852, 3.

100 *Mount Vernon (Ohio) Norton’s Daily True Whig*, 29 June 1853, 2.

101 *The Times*, 24 August 1847, 4.

102 Republican, 2 June 1857, 3.

103 Mary Hubell Osburn, *Ohio Composers and Musical Authors* (Columbus: Heer, 1942), 11-12.
Female Seminary and R. R. Sloan’s Male Academy and Female Institute taught music. Miss Smith’s price list shows that she charged extra tuition for music: “Music on the Piano, $10.00 per term. . . Algebra and the higher branches of Mathematics, which will be taught by a male teacher, per term, $9.00.” One could study privately with Charles Donmall: “Musical tuition on the flute, violin, guitar — with singing — piano-forte, melodeon and thoroughbass or the principles of harmony.” A singing school could provide further opportunity for musical education; Mount Vernon newspapers mention two, one in 1853 and another in 1858. William Cooper Howell’s Recollections of Life in Ohio, 1810–1840 characterizes the singing school as a social and educational event. Singing masters taught church music exclusively and by rote, with only the “crudest rules of notation.” Students learned to sing from patent notes, which they also called “buckwheat notes” because of their varied shapes. They could sing slow melodies on sight but had to rely on their ears for faster tunes. The schools were an “occasion for young men and women to get together,” and “such gatherings, because they were occasions of sociability, in the monotony of country life were very desirable.”

Howells was not the only nineteenth-century writer to attribute an interest in music, at least partially, to boredom. Charles Sealsfield, a German travelling in the United States in 1826, noted the lack of “entertainments” in rural areas: “Amusements in

104 Advertisement for Smith’s Seminary, The Times, 29 September 1846, 3; Sloan’s school’s exhibition included music; Democratic Banner, 29 January 1856, 3.

105 Democratic Banner, 1 November 1853, 3.

106 Mr. Pace’s singing school took place at the school house. Ohio State Times, 19 October 1853, 3. A second, given by an unnamed instructor, was held at the Episcopal Church. Democratic Banner, 16 March 1858, 3.
the country chiefly consist of eating and drinking." M. Towle, U. S. Consul at Nantes, explains that those living in rural agricultural areas formed “sociables” to relieve the “desolate monotony” of the long winter months. “Once a fortnight gatherings take place at the houses in turn, which are all the jollier because people have so few chances to see each other. In many of the villages, concerts are given by choral societies.”

Mount Vernon’s amateur musicians seem to have belonged to two main kinds of groups. Some started organizations like the Mount Vernon Musical Society, a group dedicated to vocal and instrumental chamber music, that occasionally gave public performances. Other instrumentalists formed brass bands, of which antebellum Mount Vernon seems to have had several. Since newspapers, the only source of information on this matter, rarely list members or even basic instrumentation, the groups cannot be easily differentiated. Bands played for parades and dancing and gave concerts, many of which were outdoors.

According to Hazen and Hazen’s The Music Men, bands were a town’s most visible musical organization in the nineteenth century. They played for all types of activities, including political inaugurations, railroad openings, weddings, and dances. A typical town band had ten to twenty members playing exclusively brass instruments. The earliest mention of a band in Mount Vernon dates to an article on Kenyon College’s 1846 commencement. “The audience was entertained with excellent music from the Mount

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107 Howells, 142-44.

108 Sealsfield, The United States of North America As They Are.

Vernon Band and Choir. Mount Vernon’s bands seem to have played fairly often. One gave a concert in 1853; the notice gives no further information about the group except that they performed at “their hall.” In the same year, the Mount Vernon Quartette Band played at a lecture given by Amelia Bloomer at Woodward Hall. In light of these early performances, the 1858 formation of a Mount Vernon Brass Band is curious; the Republican states that A. W. Lippett, P. L. Cooper, O. M. Arnold, H. Cotton, and L. B. Curtis wanted to start a Mount Vernon Brass Band, but makes no mention of existing town bands, prior or current. A few weeks later the Republican reports, “The gentlemen engaged in getting up the Band, succeeded in procuring all the necessary instruments, and have for some time been practicing every night in the Kremlin building.” Perhaps the 1853 incarnation of the Mount Vernon Brass Band had dissolved, and these men wanted to revive the tradition. An 1856 news item supports the theory; Kenyon College hired Sandusky’s Yager Band to play for its commencement, a gig played by groups from Mount Vernon in previous years, suggesting that the town did not have its own band at that time. Mount Vernon’s was not the only brass band in Knox County; a group of seven students from nearby Kenyon College formed one that

111 The Times, 11 August 1846, 2.
112 True Whig, 1 June 1853, 3.
113 Sources give no further information on the Quartette Band. Norton’s Daily True Whig, 6 October 1853, 2.
114 Republican, 26 October 1858, 2.
115 Republican, 23 November 1858, 3.
116 Democratic Banner, 5 August 1856, 3.
not only “honored [Mount Vernon] with serenades” but played “unsurpassingly charming” music for parties.

Based on mention in the sources, Mount Vernon’s other music societies gave fewer public performances than the brass bands. “Raising the Wind,” an amateur dramatic production of the 1830s mentioned only in Hill’s history, had a “resident singer and ventriloquist,” David Brentlinger, and a three-person orchestra of Benjamin Colopy, Alexander Elliott, and N. N. Hill. The author’s participation in the event may be the only reason that it was recorded. The Mount Vernon Band of Amateur Musicians, a group of gentlemen, gave a series of concerts of vocal and instrumental music on the roof of the Kremlin building during the summer of 1849. Their plan to give a free winter concert for the public met with the True Whig’s disapproval; the editor felt that the group’s hard work and monetary outlay for instruments deserved compensation. The press does not mention any other local productions until 1855 when the quality of an amateur concert, under the direction of one Mr. Beardslee, prompted the Republican to suggest that its participants form a permanent musical society. The suggestion could have indicated public displeasure at the lack of local music associations or it might have encouraged the group to form a permanent society in accordance with local practice. In the winter of

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117 Democratic Banner, 12 May 1857, 3.
118 Democratic Banner, 23 June 1857, 3.
119 Hill, History of Knox County, 387.
120 True Whig, 12 December 1849, 3.
121 True Whig, 12 December 1849, 3.
122 Republican, 17 July 1855, 3.
1858, Mount Vernon’s “well-established” Music Association gave a concert of sacred and secular music. Another group, “between twenty and thirty persons, ladies and gentlemen,” took part in an 1857 concert to benefit the library; many participants also belonged to the recently organized Library Association, including its president, Dr. Meunscher. The newspaper rarely discussed concerts in detail, but this concert received a long review in the *Democratic Banner*. Selections were “admirably executed” and “performed in a manner to send a thrill to every heart.” The review gives the concert’s entire program (reproduced below), a hint of musical tastes in antebellum Mount Vernon.

| Part I |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| “Caliph of Baghdad” Overture          | Dr. Meunscher and son, piano |
| “Oh Thou Whose Power” Anthem          | full choir          |
| “Old Mountain Tree” Quartett          | Messrs. Barr, Jennings, Singer, and Meunscher |
| “There is a Stream” Duet and Chorus   | Mrs. Eichelberger and Mrs. Miller and choir |
| “Hark, Apollo Strikes His Lyre” Trio  | Messrs. Beardsley, Meunscher, and Barr |
| “Home and Friends Around Us” Quartette| Messrs. Russell and Sapp and Misses Eastman and Pond |
| “Spirit, Creator of Mankind” Anthem   | full choir          |

123 *Republican*, 23 February 1858, 3.

124 *Democratic Banner*, 1 December 1857, 3.

125 Because the concert was a benefit, it was likely planned to please all of Mount Vernon, not just the musical elite. Apparently, the concert was a success, because the *Republican* subsequently requested a similar concert to benefit the poor. *Republican*, 9 March 1858, 3.
Part II

“Almighty God, When Round Thy Shrine”
Anthem by Mozart

“What She Said” Quartett
Messrs. Singer, Meunscher, Jennings, and Barr

“Night Shades No Longer”
“The Death of Warren”
Messrs. Beardsley, Axtell, Barr, and Meunscher

“Sword of Bunker Hill”
Messrs. Russell and Sapp, Misses Eastman and Pond

“Deep is the Sleep of the Hero”
Messrs. Axtell, Beardsley, Meunscher, and Barr

“In Heaven Began the Rapturous Song”
Choral Anthem

The program specifies only one instrumental piece, the overture that opened the concert. It seems possible that none of the other selections used instruments, other than the piano as accompaniment. Five pieces call for full choir. The remainder feature small groups; most likely, if they had been instrumental arrangements the program would have followed the example of the first piece and given the instrumentation. The program lists twelve soloists, presumably the better members of the twenty- to thirty-member choir mentioned by the reviewer.

The 1860 U.S. Census for Knox County lists a profession for every inhabitant of the county who was considered to have one. Only one family is given the professional label of performing musicians, namely the “Snowden Band.” As shown above, Mount Vernon had many part-time musicians; one wonders why only the Snowden family, who also farmed, were labeled professionals. One of Knox County’s few black families, the Snowdens played informal outdoor concerts from an open upstairs gable of their house.

126 Sacks, 59.
The six Snowden children sang and accompanied themselves with banjo, violin, dulcimer, guitar, and percussion. Beginning in the 1850s, they toured locally.\footnote{Ibid.} An advertisement for one of their concerts appeared in the \textit{Republican}; it says only that the family are giving a concert, the proceeds of which will pay their mortgage.\footnote{\textit{Republican}, 28 April 1857, 3.} This is the only known advertisement for the Snowdens in antebellum newspapers. An 1860s handbill for the Snowden family, however, suggests a professional bent to the Snowden’s work: it backs its promise of an “inimitable, moral, and pleasant entertainment” with “hundreds of certificates of recommendation, which they will be pleased to show to all who may desire it.”\footnote{Reproduced in Sacks, 58.} Ferdinand Kürnberger noted the prevalence of black musicians in antebellum America: “The band consisted of two artists, Uncle Tom and Uncle Jim, that is, Negroes, who play the role of village musicians everywhere here.”\footnote{On the one hand, the Census designation “Snowden Band” rather than “musicians” suggests local notoriety. On the other hand, the Snowdens may have been considered professional musicians because their performances were prompted by economic necessity; their own advertisement suggests that they sought to earn the money to pay their mortgage by playing, not just by farming.}

Concerts by professional touring groups supplemented local musical fare. Beginning in the 1840s, extant newspapers document the visits of chamber groups, singing families, non-family singing groups, minstrel shows, bell ringers, musical

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{\textit{Republican}, 28 April 1857, 3.}

\footnote{Reproduced in Sacks, 58.
novelties, and unspecified “entertainments.” Some groups rented spaces in town, including Woodward Hall, the courthouse, and various churches, while others traveled with their own pavilions. Visiting artists usually gave one or two performances, though some performed every night for an entire week. Some gave a matinee and evening show on the same day, while others gave two consecutive evening performances. Concerts were not limited to Friday and Saturday nights but evenly distributed over the course of the week, a situation no doubt encouraged by vigorous touring schedules that often favored larger cities. Most evening concerts started at 7:30 or 8:00 p.m., with doors opening half an hour earlier. An 1854 advertisement suggests that patrons could purchase tickets in advance from several venues in town: “Tickets $.25 to be obtained at the usual places.”\(^{131}\) 25¢ seems to have been the standard rate for adults, based on the few ads that give a price of admission.

Traveling virtuosi soprano Jenny Lind and violinist Ole Bull never played in Mount Vernon, but their names were ubiquitous in the press. When second-tier touring soloists gave recitals there, the newspapers made favorable comparisons as an advertising ploy. Thus, the Mount Vernon press calls violinist Alf Howard “the American ‘Ole Bull’”\(^{132}\) and compares Mrs. L. L. Deming’s singing to “the best efforts” of Jenny Lind.\(^{133}\) Howard, a native of Wooster, Ohio, spent his career touring Europe and the United States. He made a solo appearance in Mount Vernon, but at times toured with a

\(^{130}\) Kürnberger, 408.

\(^{131}\) “Hutchinson Family,” Democratic Banner, 11 April 1854, 3.

troupe of other musicians or Barnum’s circus. The repertoire of the twenty-nine year-old Howard, a “distinguished musical prodigy” and “the finest violinist in the world,” combined the sentimental “Home, Sweet Home” with the comic “Squire Jones’ Daughter.” Howard further demonstrated his virtuosity by finishing the show playing the harp-guitar. Mrs. Deming sang twice in Mount Vernon. Her first visit in 1856 had no publicity and few attended her concert. The Democratic Banner’s review chastises her for not promoting herself, explains that one must have a reputation in order to draw a crowd, and hints that such a reputation could have been made by a newspaper advertisement. Business advice dispensed, the editor likens Deming’s “full, clear, sweet voice” to that of Jenny Lind and encourages her to return to Mount Vernon soon. Deming did return in 1857, by which time she had become “a great favorite with the citizens of Mount Vernon, who fully appreciate not only her superior vocal powers, but her many excellent qualities of head and heart.” Comparisons to Jenny Lind were no longer necessary; the large audience seemed especially to enjoy “Coming Through the Rye,” demanded several encores, and stayed for dancing after the recital.

Though the articles on Howard and Deming do not discuss programming, the comparisons given in them to other, better-known performers give some sense of their programs’ musical contents. When forced to rely solely on the information relayed by the newspaper, we struggle to grasp the sound of a concert.

133 Democratic Banner, 12 February 1856, 3.


The Alleghenians. It will be seen by an announcement today that the celebrated company will sing at Woodward Hall, on Thursday evening. This simple announcement is sufficient to ensure a crowded house.137

Besides giving no time or place, the Banner says nothing about the program, assuming that the reader already knows the group.138 Other advertisements, though longer, still manage to avoid talking much about music.

Grand and Novel Entertainment: The music loving portion of our citizens will be highly delighted to learn that a Grand Premium Concert is to be given in this place by Messrs. Goodman, Plagge, Coe and other distinguished performers on or about the first day of January next.

Those fond of the sweet music of the Violin, the soft and tender strains of the Flute, and the beautiful warble of the Piano, the lovers of vocal as well as instrumental music should not fail to attend.

At the close of the entertainment a choice Boudoir Piano Forte will be drawn for under the superintendence of Judges, to be selected by the audience. Prize tickets $1. Those purchasing tickets will stand their chance of drawing the piano.139

The concert seems loosely organized: the missing names of the “other distinguished performers” suggest a lack of distinction, or perhaps existence. The performers have not chosen a date, and they may not have chosen a program, either. The flowery, vague language suggests a program of chamber works but does not describe anything novel or grand in comparison to other advertised concerts; one wonders, though, how a piano might “warble.” Perhaps “novel” refers to the finale; the performers planned to raffle a piano at the end of the performance. A review, published on December 3, 1850, proves

136 Democratic Banner, 3 February 1857, 3.

137 Democratic Banner, 26 February 1856, 3.

138 The Alleghanians were a singing group similar to the Hutchinson family, discussed page 40-41 of this paper.

that the concert did take place, but notes only that it was “an interesting and novel
concert” and makes no mention of the unusual finale, if it indeed occurred.\footnote{140}

Advertisements and reviews for performances in Mount Vernon ornament
practical information with flowery prose based on a stock vocabulary. Performers are
celebrated, prominent, unequaled, or splendid. Performances are grand, delightful,
thrilling, novel, rich, or “a rare treat.” Crowds are often favorable or composed entirely
of ladies and gentlemen. Performers never fail to delight, amuse, and entertain. Richard
Crawford notes a similar vocabulary in eighteenth-century concert advertisements, which
combine “vital information with rhetorical flourishes.\footnote{141} The eighteenth-century
advertisements, however, seem to appeal to refined taste with “genteel” and “elegant,”
while those of the nineteenth century tend to promise discovery, “novel” and “rare.” The
hyperbole in concert promotions might be explained as a simple marketing tool if the
style did not extend to reviews of concerts, too.

One of the most common type of performing group to visit antebellum Mount
Vernon was the singing family. Many of these families modeled themselves after the
Rainers, a Tyrolese family of singers who toured the United States from 1839 to 1843.\footnote{142}
Though the Rainer family never visited Mount Vernon, many of their protégés did,
including the Bailey, Baker, Barker, Blakely, Bliss, Brent, Eddy, Hutchinson, Irving,
Luca, Marvin, and Peak families.

\footnote{140} Democratic Banner, 31 December 1850, 3.


One Concert Only: The Hutchinson Family are happy to announce to the citizens of Mount Vernon that they will give one of their original entertainments at Woodward Hall on Saturday evening, April 15th, 1854, on which occasion they will introduce a choice selection of their most popular songs. Tickets 25 cts. to be obtained at the usual places. Doors open at 7 o’clock, concert to commence at 8.

The Hutchinson family, one of the most famous American singing families, came to Mount Vernon in 1854 and 1859. The family gained national fame during the 1840s, not only as performers, but as political activists; they sang for anti-slavery meetings and temperance conventions. They did not write their own songs, but instead used collections such as *The Orphean Lyre* and *The Social Choir*. They played, too, on violin, cello, harmonium, and guitar. Their informal stage manner and emphasis on producing a natural vocal sound appealed to audiences. By 1854, however, the original Hutchinson Family singers had disbanded, and relatives and friends toured using the same name and style until the 1880s. The editor of the *Democratic Banner* speaks familiarly of them and praises their musicality and morality.

We have heard the Hutchinsons frequently and we consider them altogether the most talented vocalists in the country. . . . In sweetness of voice and distinctness of utterance, the Hutchinsons excel. . . . Their performances are livened by occasional flashes of wit and humor that render them altogether a delightful evening’s entertainment. It would be difficult for a listener to select the song he likes best. Every one is good, and every one is sung with the taste and judgment of excellent artists. The moral tone and character of the songs of this Company are good; and their subjects such as touch the heart.

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143 “New Advertisements,” *Democratic Banner*, 11 April 1854, 3. The editor’s announcement of the family’s concert appears on the same page.


145 *Democratic Banner*, 11 April 1854, 3.
All of the Mount Vernon newspapers praised the concert; one noted that it drew a large crowd, in spite of bad weather.\textsuperscript{46} The simplicity and Yankee sensibility of the Hutchinsons seem to have appealed to the people of Mount Vernon, whose press suggests that they, like the singers, objected to alcohol and slavery.

Non-family singing groups gave similar concerts; the Continental Vocalists visited Mount Vernon several times in the 1850s.\textsuperscript{47} The press had little to say about their concerts, except, “They are ever welcome to Mount Vernon.”\textsuperscript{148} A handbill from their winter 1857–58 tour, however, gives more information about their performance.\textsuperscript{149} A picture of the group tops the bill; four men clad in eighteenth-century garb stand against a background of American flags. They were assisted by the violinist “Young Lewis” in “some very new and popular pieces which they have recently introduced to the public, both vocal and instrumental, original and selected.” At times, the singers played instruments, violins and flute.\textsuperscript{150} The concert will occupy one hour and a half, embracing a list of sixteen pieces” to be chosen from the fifty seven songs noted on the handbill. In addition to song titles and composers, the handbill denotes genres including quartette, solo, song, dialogue, violin solo, “humorous melange.” The diverse repertoire encompasses the patriotic, “The Sword of Bunker Hill” and “The Rock of Liberty”; the

\textsuperscript{46} True Whig, 19 April 1854, 4.

\textsuperscript{47} True Whig, 6 December 1854, 3; Republican 19 January 1858, 3; 11 January 1859, 3; 15 November 1860, 3.

\textsuperscript{148} True Whig, 6 December 1854, 3.

\textsuperscript{149} Handbill for the Continental Vocalists from a collection of Masonic Hall Programs in the McKell Library, Chillicothe, Ohio.
sentimental, “Awake, the Night is Beaming” and “The Bridge of Sighs”; and the humorous, “The Rhyme of the Rail” and an “Oratorical and Musical Burlesque.” Composers include Verdi, Donizetti, and Rossini as well as the Hutchinson family; other songs are traditional and arranged for performance by the Continentals themselves. The thematic emphasis of the concert seems not to have been social reform, as in the case of the Hutchinson family, but patriotism, as evidenced by the group’s repertoire and portrait.

Another very different type of musical entertainment came to antebellum Mount Vernon, the minstrel show. Though the term “minstrel” has come to be associated with blackface minstrelsy, in the antebellum period it meant simply “singing performing artist.” It was regularly applied to singing family and non-family groups in the vein of the Hutchinsons and Continentals. When Dan Emmett named his group of blackface performers the “Virginia Minstrels,” it seems that he both mocked the respectable performing families and associated his group with legitimate ensembles of the day. The use of the same term to designate two very different sorts of entertainments can be confusing, especially if the advertisement that uses it gives no other performance information. In some cases, outside sources can help solve terminological ambiguity, but not always. The “Virginia Minstrels” who visited Mount Vernon in 1843 would later become famous as a blackface minstrel troupe. This group eventually became known as

\[150\] The bill specifies, “Badgers’s improved solid silver Boehm [flute], manufactured at 181 Broadway, N.Y.”

Christy’s Minstrels; its leader, E. P. Christy would claim to have originated blackface minstrelsy in the early 1840s. ❄️

They left the most favorable impression with our people. . . . Their skill as performers and their very correct and gentlemanly deportment must secure to them the good will and good wishes of every community whose acquaintance they may make. They gave general satisfaction, and their concerts were nightly attended by the most fashionable and respected citizens of our place. 

The 1843 tour was Christy’s first; and yet, we can infer from Mount Vernon commentators that they had seen this type of program before. The ad says nothing about the content of the program or if the material was new; the word “novel” does not appear. The press does not confirm or deny that the performers wore blackface makeup for their performances in Mount Vernon or offer any other observations about their appearance, even though this was, by all accounts, one of the most striking things about blackface performance. In the 1850s, the Mount Vernon press suggests a blackface minstrel show by using a conventional vocabulary, including “Ethiopian,” “African,” and “delineator.”

Ethiopian Delineators: This company of Minstrels performed at Woodward Hall, on Thursday and Saturday evenings, of last week, and all who heard them speak highly of their entertainments. 

The Equestrian Scenes, Historical Pageants and Grand Cavalcades [of Welch, Delevan, and Nathans’ National Circus] are relieved by COMIC CONCERTS, for which the following elegant Vocal and Instrumental Performers have been engaged, and whose correct delineations of character gives life to their Ethiopian Extravaganzas. ❄️

152 Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 152-53.


154 *Democratic Banner*, 26 September 1843, 2.

155 *Democratic Banner*, 28 March 1854, 3.
Sullivan’s Sylvanian Opera Troupe: This excellent troupe gave three entertainments at Woodward Hall, last week, to large and respectable audiences. Their music was fine and their delineations of African character, full of wit.\textsuperscript{157}

Grand Olio Entertainment: The entertainment consists of that gorgeous pageant, The Funeral of Napoleon, and a variety of amusing performances from the American Museum, N.Y. . . . The first on the list is Billy Whitlock, the laughter provoking delineator of the Yankee character, who will open in a variety of Grand Yankee Melanges . . .

The final advertisement exemplifies the terminological ambiguity in the Mount Vernon press. The phrases “Grand Olio Entertainment” and “variety of amusing performances from the American Museum” offered “under a splendid Pavilion” suggest some sort of circus. The word “delineator,” at least in the Mount Vernon press, however, seems to refer exclusively to blackface performance, and the show’s featured performer, Billy Whitlock, was a founding member of (the other) Virginia Minstrels.\textsuperscript{159} The Yankee, though, was a white stock character in early nineteenth-century American theater. “This ‘simple’ rustic . . . delighted audiences throughout the country with his triumphs over ‘high-falutin’, pretentious characters and scheming, immoral, city slickers.”\textsuperscript{160}

Larger instrumental ensembles, including brass bands and orchestras, also came to Mount Vernon. Like the town’s own brass band, these groups tended not to give their own concerts but rather to play in conjunction with other entertainments. Almost all of

\textsuperscript{156} The Times, 2 May 1848, 3.

\textsuperscript{157} Democratic Banner, 24 August 1852, 2.

\textsuperscript{158} True Whig, 2 October 1850, 3.

\textsuperscript{159} Two early minstrel groups used the name “Virginia Minstrels,” E. P. Christy’s group from Buffalo and Dan Emmett’s from New York City. Whitlock was a founding member of the latter.

\textsuperscript{160} Toll, 13-14.
the many circuses that came to Mount Vernon brought a “fine,” “famous,” or “celebrated” brass band along with their wild animals, wax museums, armless men, and bearded ladies. Raymond & Van Amburgh’s celebrated brass band led that menagerie’s parade from a “Magnificent East Indian Hoodah” made expressly for their conveyance. The circus was not the only exhibitor of exotic wonders; an Indian Entertainment came to Mount Vernon in 1854. The show, an “exhibition of the manners and customs of their tribes” by Native Americans from the Nebraska Territory and Rocky Mountains, began with a parade through town accompanied by a brass band.

The Chiefs, accompanied by their Warriors, will be seen riding through the streets on horseback, dressed in their Indian Costume, painted and fully equipped for War, preceded by the Monasco Celebrated Brass Band.

Uncle Tom’s Cabin, another exhibition “under an immense pavilion,” had both a band and an orchestra. The advertisement names the musical director in addition to the stage manager and scenic artist.

The company is accompanied by a splendid brass band, under the direction of Mr. James Cuthbert, who stands with the first in his profession. The orchestra, also under the direction of Mr. Cuthbert, is composed of artists already known to fame. The band and orchestra will speak most melodiously for themselves. Previous to the performance of the great moral drama, an Ethiopian medley overture by the gentlemen of the orchestra.

161 Democratic Banner, 20 April 1852, 2.

162 Democratic Banner, 7 September 1852, 3.

163 Democratic Banner, 6 June 1854, 3.

164 Ohio State Times, 3 October 1854, 3.
Given their lengthy introduction, it is likely that the band and orchestra played not just
during the overture, but throughout the show.\footnote{165}

A few musical events in Mount Vernon might be classified as musical curiosities.

A group of gentlemen gave a Druidical concert in 1852.

Their music is not only novel, but rare, being produced by instruments composed
of seventy ox-horns, so arranged and toned as to produce the utmost harmony.
The music, too, was soft and sweet and calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of the
amateurs of that science.\footnote{166}

The circus brought some musical curiosities. Barnum’s 1852 visit included the “real,
genuine, original Tom Thumb” doing “songs, dances, Grecian statues, and his admired
impersonations of Napoleon and Frederick the Great” and an armless man who played
the accordion and cello.\footnote{167} Nixon and Kemp’s Circus’s headline attraction of 1857 was
not an exotic animal or freak, but the recently-invented steam calliope, “the only
instrument of its kind in existence.” The accompanying illustration shows a huge
instrument drawn by forty horses, followed by a second wagon holding the steam engine
that powered it. “The stupendous and harmonious musical instrument” played in the
parade and then took its place under the immense pavilion to accompany the circus acts;
in this case, it seems to have replaced the circus brass band. The management invited the
audience to inspect the calliope along with the rest of the circus’s curiosities, and ladies
were encouraged to play it.

\footnote{165 In addition to influencing politics in the 1850s, \textit{Uncle Tom's Cabin} was the basis for many popular plays, musicals, art exhibits, and “entertainments.” See Appendices \textit{B} and \textit{C} for some of those that visited Mount Vernon.}

\footnote{166 \textit{Democratic Banner}, 6 April 1852, 2.}

\footnote{167 \textit{Democratic Banner}, 7 September 1852, 3.}
As seen above, sources document a variety of music in antebellum Mount Vernon. They do not, however, reflect some types of music that one would expect to find based on the time and place. There is no mention of non-commercial music in the oral tradition, including ballads and fiddle music. Most of the evidence of music made in the home points to the cultivated tradition: pianos, musical instruction, and sheet music. One semi-exception is an advertisement for a shape-note songbook, *The Ohio Harmonist*, which may also be the press’s only explicit and unequivocal mention of religious music.

Reports on the professional music scene suggest several conspicuous absences. Despite the popularity of opera and the number of traveling troupes during this period, Mount Vernon saw no opera identifiable as such during the antebellum period. The top-notch virtuosi of the 1840s and 1850s, including Jenny Lind, Gottschalk, Ole Bull, and Louis Jullien, did not include Mount Vernon on their itineraries, appearing only at large halls in America’s preeminent cities. Two nationally celebrated composers, Dan Emmett and Stephen Foster, are conspicuously absent from advertisements concerning the sheet music trade.

Evidence of music at home comes primarily from newspaper advertisements for musical instruments, sheet music, music education, and, occasionally, amateur musical entertainment. Other types of home-grown music had little need of such commercial services. The Snowden family, for example, are known to have given concerts at their home, but the newspaper only mentions their performance at Woodward Hall. Hill and Norton do not mention the Snowdens at all, despite their apparent musical prominence in

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168 Sacks, 2; *Republican*, 28 April 1857, 3.
the community, nor do they mention any other music making as an end to itself. They only discuss music as an impetus for forming a society, organization, or association.

Religious music presents a similar situation. Only the commercial or atypical activities of churches appear in the newspaper. If the ladies of the Presbyterian Church held a fundraising supper of a singing school was held at the Episcopal church, a notice from the editor appeared in the newspaper that invited the entire town. One other bit of church news might have affected everyone; the newspaper editor mentions the Presbyterian Church’s acquisition of a new bell in 1847. “Its sweet tones have roused other Churches in our beautiful town to make proper efforts to supply themselves.” Importing a bell must have caused the church considerable trouble and expense, since at that time Mount Vernon had no railroad or navigable river, and it would have arrived by land. The bell must have drastically changed the sound of daily life in Mount Vernon; everyone in town could hear it.

Geography and demographics satisfactorily explain other musical absences in sources. For example, many cities and towns in Ohio, as elsewhere in the Midwest, had Männerchor, German men’s choirs. Mount Vernon did not, for it had too few German immigrants to start such an organization. Mount Vernon’s short roster of touring artists also reflects its geography. Its location, far from a navigable river, proved detrimental in an era when many people preferred to travel by water. The opening of the Erie Canal

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169 Republican, 24 March 1857, 3.
170 Democratic Banner, 16 March 1858, 3.
171 The Times, 24 August 1847, 3.
allowed performers easier access to western New York and Pennsylvania as well as the
lands along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers by providing an all-water, inland route from
New York to New Orleans; but it was one that came nowhere close to Mount Vernon. 172

Many performers are also absent from the public consciousness, at least as
transmitted by the press. The newspapers never mention the conductor and showman
Louis Jullien who, according to Charles Hamm, understood “as well as Barnum how to
use the press to his advantage.” 173 Sporting jeweled baton and white kid gloves, he
conducted the largest and best orchestra in America at that time. Nor do the Mount
Vernon papers mention Louis Morreau Gottschalk in his role as either composer or
performer; he refused a contract from Barnum and toured the United States independently
from 1853–57. 174 Mount Vernon, did, however, know very well the names of Ole Bull
and Jenny Lind, who appear in the newspapers not merely as musicians, but as
celebrities. The Ohio State Times reprints an article from the Philadelphia Press, “Ole
Bull — Land Speculators and their Victims.” 175 The article outlines Ole Bull’s failed
tries to start a Norwegian colony in the United States. The front page story has
nothing to do with music, except that Ole Bull gained his fame as a violinist.

Jenny Lind is a constant presence in the Mount Vernon press in 1850. The press
reports every move of her tour of that year.

172 Russell Sanjek, American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, vol. 2 (New


174 Ibid., 221-24.

175 Ohio State Times, 29 November 1853, 1.
Jenny Lind has taken passage for America on the *Atlantic*, which leaves for Liverpool on Wednesday of this week. Mr. Barnum has received the following letter by the latest steamer:

[excerpt from the letter] Mlle Lind is very anxious to give a welcome to America in a kind of national song, which, if I can obtain the poetry of one of your first rate literary men, I shall set to music, and which she will sing in addition to the pieces originally fixed upon.

Mr. Barnum gives notice that . . . he will pay one hundred dollars for such a song.176

The gossipy tone of the saga continues. The newspaper reports that Lind receives one thousand dollars per concert from Barnum,177 and other articles describe her arrival in New York, her visit to Washington, and her life.178 Her name in print drew the reader’s eye, and more than one Mount Vernon merchant used the Jenny Lind phenomenon to his own advantage in advertising.

Jenny Lind’s First Concert at Hendrick & Wolf’s, (a few doors below the bank) Main Street, Mount Vernon, Ohio.

The intense excitement created in the eastern cities by the above named divinity, has induced the subscribers to add to their former extensive stock, a new and elegant assortment of . . .179

The craze had still not died a year and a half later.

Jenny Lind will not sing in Mount Vernon this fall; and to compensate our citizens for this great disappointment, I have been East and bought the largest and best selected stock of goods ever brought to this town.180

176 *Democratic Banner*, 27 August 1850, 4.

177 *Democratic Banner*, 17 September 1850, 2.


179 *Democratic Banner*, 3 December 1850, 3.

180 *Democratic Banner*, 31 August 1852, 4.
The Mount Vernon True Whig carrier’s address includes Jenny Lind in its slightly cynical rhyming recap of the year’s news.

A Jenny-ral trend that we find in the nation,  
That seems to seize hold of the whole Jenny-ration  
While thousands of pockets are cleverly thinned,  
To list to the Jenny-rous sweet Jenny Lind.181

Jenny Lind’s prominence in the Mount Vernon press could suggest a strong interest in either music or celebrities among the town’s population. The Democratic Banner’s first mention of Jenny Lind does not seek to introduce her name to Mount Vernon. The wording implies that she had already attained star status; the newspaper simply relays information on her whereabouts. Some other means, perhaps a paper from another city, a magazine, or simply word of mouth, must have served to introduce her to Mount Vernon and might also have educated Mount Vernon on other topical musical matters. The Woodward Hall Saloon advertised a reading room where the public might read “the leading papers of the country”;182 such sources of information must have supplied the town with a wealth of knowledge not communicated by the local newspapers.

Dan Emmett is conspicuously absent as both composer and performer. Born in Mount Vernon in 1815, he left in 1834 to join the army. For the next fifty years, he lived in Cincinnati, New York, and Chicago. Even at the height of his fame in the 1840s and 1850s, none of Mount Vernon’s extant newspapers mentions him. Music sellers in Mount Vernon often listed specific new pieces available for sale; none of Emmett’s works appears, not even “Dixie.” Howard and Judith Sacks hypothesize that Dan

181 True Whig, 1 January 1851, 1.
182 Democratic Banner, 31 October 1854, 2.
Emmett did not write the song himself, but learned it from the Snowden family. Perhaps, if the theory is correct, the people of Mount Vernon would not credit Emmett with writing the song. The Sacks’s theory rests on circumstantial evidence: local lore claims that Emmett learned the tune from the Snowdens; Ben and Lew Snowden’s grave marker reads, “They taught ‘Dixie’ to Dan Emmett;” and Emmett was known to play with the Snowden brothers after retiring to Mount Vernon in the 1880s. The Sacks’s theory seems unlikely or at least unprovable, for Emmett did not live in, and was not known to have visited, Mount Vernon between his departure from that place in 1834 and his 1859 premier of “Dixie” with Bryant’s Minstrels in New York City.

Perhaps Emmett’s absence from antebellum Mount Vernon relates to the plunging opinion of the minstrel show expressed in the Mount Vernon press. Sullivan’s Sylvanian Opera Troupe’s 1852 performance is “fine, and their delineations of the African character full of mirth and wit,” but they are not called gentlemen, as Mr. Christy and his company were in 1843. The paper chastises the Southern Ethiopian Serenaders for not paying their bill at the printers and alleges that Rob Gray, proprietor of the Ethiopian Warblers, assaulted the “big boy Kimble.” Though the jury did not convict Gray, the editor’s inclusion of the story of the trial suggests a desire to damage the Warblers’s reputation by insinuation. In 1858, the editor calls the Metropolitan Minstrels “too

183 Sacks, Way Up North in Dixie.
184 Democratic Banner, 24 August 1852, 2.
185 Democratic Banner, 3 April 1852, 2.
186 True Whig, 7 May 1851, 3.
farcical and droll and encourages Mount Vernon’s inhabitants to favor more civilized groups like the Quartette Band. “Don’t let it be said that Mount Vernon gives liberal encouragement to ‘Negro Minstrels’ and all that sort of thing.” In this environment, the town may not have wanted to claim Dan Emmett as one of its own — at least not in the 1850s.

Stephen Foster was no more beloved, it seems, in Mount Vernon before the Civil War. Music sellers must not have considered his works a draw for customers; they do not name them in their advertisements. In 1857, the Democratic Banner ran a short article on Foster. The editor, often effusive in musical matters, adopts a matter-of-fact tone at the beginning of the article.

The principal writer of our national music is said to be Stephen C. Foster, the author of “Uncle Ned,” “Oh, Susannah,” &c. Mr. Foster resides near Pittsburgh, where he occupies a moderate clerkship, upon which, and a percentage on the sale of his songs, he earns his living.

The piece is not titled “Composer of Our National Music” but “Who Write the Negro Songs” [sic]. The author not only implies that Foster cannot support himself as a composer, but the phrase “said to be” suggests some distance from the common assessment of Foster’s work. Underlying enthusiasm for Foster becomes more apparent as the author relates Foster’s popularity in “the cotton fields of the south, among the mines of California and Australia, in the sea-coast cities of China, in Paris, in the London prison — everywhere, in fact,” though the places named, with the exception of Paris, do

187 Republican, 28 December 1858, 3.
188 Republican, 30 November 1858, 3.
suggest a popularity with the lower classes. The author’s conclusion, “All his compositions are simple, but they are natural, and find their way to the popular heart and link themselves with its best association,” shows that he is, in fact, defending Foster’s work to his readers. By contrast, the paper profiles European composers with immediately glowing praise. Thus, an article on Johann Strauss begins; “Strauss was a man of remarkable genius, and not only developed the powers of the German dance, in an unprecedented degree, but influenced the whole of modern music.”

Strauss, like Foster, writes a national music, German dances, but his compositions are considered modern and influential, not simple and popular.

Despite this apparent preference for “high” music, no opera graced Mount Vernon in the antebellum period. Ironically, even Woodward Hall, renamed the Woodward Opera House in 1884, never saw any. Still, music was a normal ingredient of many antebellum theatrical productions; an overture preceded a play, some sort of staged musical work or dance often followed it, and music was commonly interspersed throughout the drama. The National Dramatic Troupe’s performance follows this model closely. Its advertisement in the Democratic Banner includes a description of the opening-night program.

The beautiful domestic drama, translated from the French, entitled, Cross of Gold: Or, A Maiden’s Vow, [followed by] Singing and Dancing; to conclude with the irresistible, mirth-provoking farce of Paddy Miles’ Boy.

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190 “Music vs. Death,” True Whig, 1 January 1851, 1.
192 Democratic Banner, 5 August 1856, 3.
Except for the singing and dancing, the program does not explicitly mention music, but members of the company included J. E. Trey, “American vocalist,” and Miss Julia Montague, “inapproachable vocalist.” The company roster classifies the rest of the cast as comedians or tragedians, except for C. D. Lovett, “the universal favorite.” The advertisement names neither a music director nor any instrumentalists, and an examination of the casts of characters in the two plays shows that neither singer played a role in either. But the company planned to stay in Mount Vernon for a week and perform a different program each evening, and the “Singing and Dancing” portion of the program suggests musicians’ presence in the company.

Francis Grund, writing in 1837, describes the relationship between the American public and the theater. “I do not think the fault [for the lack of profitability of theaters] lies so much with the managers as with the public itself. The Americans are not fond of any kind of public amusement; and are best pleased with an abundance of business. Their pleasure consists in being constantly occupied or with a few of their friends, in a manner as private as possible.”

Music, though, they “seem to succeed better.” Italian opera was not a popular success, but many Americans made their own music, and indeed preferred it to attending concerts.

Residents of Mount Vernon made and heard a wide variety of music. Neither of the two types of local sources, general histories and newspapers, covers music in the entire antebellum period, but newspapers and local histories compensate for each other’s deficiencies, together providing a clearer picture of antebellum musical life. Local

historians Hill and Norton primarily discuss the culture as produced by Mount Vernon’s own residents from c. 1810 through c. 1840, but not later, including amateur musical and dramatic productions and literary societies. The newspapers, by contrast, focus on professional and commercial entertainment; and due to a lack of their preservation, most of their information dates from after 1840. The focus of Mount Vernon’s musical activities might therefore seem to have shifted from music made at home to music made professionally around 1840, but no external historical factors such as the arrival of a railroad that might transport professional entertainers or a sudden influx of population corroborate it. The type of music most often discussed in the print sources — that made by illustrious visitors — was the least consistent presence in the town’s musical life, while the most common music — that made at home, in the fields, and at church — is absent from those sources. The inevitable presence of alternative sources of information, read or heard but not originating in Mount Vernon, suggests a richness and depth of musical knowledge merely hinted at by the local papers.

\[^{194}\text{Ibid., 128-32.}\]
CHAPTER 4

WOODWARD HALL

Mount Vernon, if Norton’s history is to be believed, had a small but active music scene that began in its early days as a frontier town. The opening of Woodward Hall in the 1850s reflected developments in the town’s musical and cultural life and also contributed to them. It was a time of dramatic increase in musical, theatrical, and literary activity in Mount Vernon, resulting from social and economic growth. In contrast to previous makeshift performance spaces, the new venue was intended almost exclusively for public entertainment, and the town expressed particular enthusiasm for the hall, judging by the frequency and popularity of its events.

Woodward Block, as it was called in antebellum newspapers, is still one of the most imposing buildings in Mount Vernon. Though the exterior of the building remains much the same today as when it was built in 1851, the interior has changed almost completely. Originally, the four-story brick building had retail space on the ground floor, offices on the second and third, and Woodward Hall on the fourth. A renovation in the 1880s expanded the theater to its present size; a balcony was cut from the fourth floor, and the third floor became the its main level so that the hall now
occupies the building’s third and fourth floors.\footnote{196} The third floor also houses a ticket office and ladies’ and gentlemen’s lounges. The renovated stage is almost two stories high, and a metal-lined furrow at its front suggests that the 1880s hall had gas footlights.\footnote{197} In the 1880s, the hall had permanent seating on sloped floors designed to provide better sight-lines for the audience; but in the 1850s, the theater seems to have had a flat floor with movable chairs since the hall was used as a ballroom and exhibition space.\footnote{198} The antebellum hall might not have been a theater in the modern sense at all, but simply a big, empty room, similar to one in Mount Vernon’s Masonic Hall in the 1830s. “At that time, the whole of the second story was one large room, and for theatrical purposes, answered very well.”\footnote{199} An early makeshift theater in Columbus, just a large upstairs room in the Market House, offers a possible model for the early appearance of Woodward Hall: “There was no curtain in front of the stage or the part occupied by the player, for we were all on the same floor, but some blankets in the rear formed a partition of the green room, behind which the actors retired at the close of each act.”\footnote{200}

\footnote{195} For photographs of Woodward Hall, see “The Woodward Opera House,” \url{http://www.thewoodward.org}, 30 December 2002.

\footnote{196} A description of the Hall’s 1880s renovation states, “The auditorium is on the 3rd floor, being one story lower than the original Woodward Hall.” \textit{Republican}, 28 December 1883, 3.

\footnote{197} The 1856 theater might also have had gas lighting, which had arrived in Mount Vernon in that year. “Gas Works,” \textit{Democratic Banner}, 29 August 1856, 3.

\footnote{198} The hall’s floor is once again flat because it was used as a gymnasium in the mid-twentieth century; today, the walls bear marks from the removed inclined floors.

\footnote{199} Hill, 386.

\footnote{200} \textit{Columbus (Ohio) Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post}, 1827. See incomplete citation in Walch, “The Theater of Central Ohio,” 11.
Situating a hall on an upper floor was common practice in the nineteenth century. Many theaters, especially those in smaller communities, shared buildings with other establishments. On the east coast, notably in New England, a theater was often built over the town hall.\footnote{Examples of the New England town hall/opera house: Hardwick Town House, Vermont, built in 1850; Barre Town Hall, Massachusetts, 1814; Sherborn Town House, Massachusetts, 1858. See Naylor and Dillon, \textit{American Theaters}, 89.} A performance space might be combined with any number of municipal offices; for example, the 1882 opera house in Newberry, South Carolina shared a building with not only the town’s municipal offices, but its jail and fire station.\footnote{Ibid., 90.} In the Midwest, communities tended to combine their theaters with commercial space; the location of the Woodward, curious as it might seem today, was standard practice.\footnote{Naylor and Dillon, 106. Examples of the Midwestern upstairs opera house: Stuart’s Opera House, Youngstown, Ohio, built in 1879; Terry’s Opera House, Clyde, Ohio, 1874; and McCracken’s Hall, Brookville, Pennsylvania, 1871. See John W. Frick and Carlton Ward, \textit{Directory of Historic American Theaters} (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).}

Woodward Hall opened quietly on December 8, 1851. The December 2 \textit{Democratic Banner} announced that a Dr. Boynton “will commence a course of lectures on Monday evening next, in Dr. Woodward’s New Hall.”\footnote{“Lecture on Electricity,” \textit{Democratic Banner}, 2 December 1851, 2.} It also noted that Boynton, on arriving in Mount Vernon the previous week, had expressed disappointment when he did not find “a suitable room” in which to deliver his lectures. In fact, Boynton gave a number of lectures in Mount Vernon, beginning at the courthouse (from December 3) and continuing at Woodward Hall (from December 8). A conflicting event at the courthouse on December 10, a concert by Mr. and Mrs. Crosby, appears to have prompted Boynton’s
mid-series move. In order to accommodate Boynton, Woodward Hall may have opened earlier, and less ceremoniously, than originally planned. Had the hall been ready for business upon the lecturer’s arrival in town, Boynton might have given all of his lectures there, rather than change venue. In particular, the language used to announce the location of the lecture, especially the choice of verb tense, implies that the hall still needed work of some kind: “Dr. Woodward’s New Hall, which will be fitted up for the accommodation of all who wish to enjoy the rare treat of listening. . . ”

It was not until 1856 that the Democratic Banner announced the opening of Woodward Hall, which would seem a surprising development because the hall had hosted a steady stream of events since Boynton’s lectures in 1851.

Woodward Hall. This elegant and commodious Hall is now completed and ready for occupancy. It is truly a grand affair, and altogether creditable to its enterprising proprietor, as well as to the reputation of our beautiful city. The size of the Hall is 60 x 45 feet, clear of the stage, which is 22 x 20 feet. There are also two convenient dressing rooms adjacent to the stage, suited for both sexes. The Hall is finished in the best style of modern architecture, and will have beautiful chandeliers, with an abundance of footlights along the stage. The ceilings are high, the windows large, and plenty of them, so that the Hall will be well ventilated. We may have remark, also, that the Hall is secure, having been erected with special reference to strength and durability. We hope to see it occupied all the time.

The article, which includes the earliest known physical description of the hall, distinctly implies that Woodward Hall had, in fact, opened in an unfinished state: “this elegant and commodious Hall is now completed.” In the five seasons between the original opening and this grand opening, however, the press had never hinted at any inadequacy or

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205 True Whig, 10 December 1851, 2.

206 “Lecture on Electricity,” Democratic Banner, 2 December 1851, 2.
incompleteness in the facility; we cannot know precisely what the “completion” of 1856 may have involved.

The mention of good ventilation and solid construction would have reassured potential patrons of the hall’s safety in an era when fire and other theater disasters were common occurrences. A fire at the Richmond Theater on December 26, 1811 not only destroyed the Latrobe-designed building, but killed seventy-one patrons.\footnote{Naylor and Dillon, 18.} Fires, often caused by a theater’s own lighting or heating systems, had destroyed New Orleans’s Théâtre d’Orléans in 1816 and 1866, New York’s Park Theater in 1820 and 1848, Philadelphia’s Chestnut Street Theater in 1820, New York’s Italian Opera House in 1839, New Orleans’s Saint Charles Street Theater in 1842, Chicago’s Rice Theater in 1850, and San Francisco’s Adelphi Theater in 1851 and 1858.\footnote{Karyl Lynn Zietz, “Early Opera Houses in America, 1765–1865,” in Great Opera Houses in America (New York: Preservation Press, 1996), 13-36.} Structural problems were another concern to theater-goers; in 1895, the interior of Ford’s Theater in Washington, D. C. collapsed, killing twenty-two people. As it happens, no such disasters befell the Woodward, but audiences may have had some legitimate cause for concern.

When there was a crowd in the theater on Saturday nights, the building sagged so badly that doors on the first floor could not be closed and merchants were forced to wait until the show was over and the crowd departed, before they could lock up for the night.

The 1856 incarnation of Woodward Hall celebrated its opening, as well as the New Year, with an evening of dinner, dancing, and music. “The old and young, the

\footnote{“Woodward Hall,” Democratic Banner, 23 December 1856, 3.}

\footnote{Naylor and Dillon, 18.}

intellectual and the beautiful, were there, mingling in joyous, harmonious, and unalloyed pleasure.” The organizers even hired a band from far-away Cleveland for the occasion, but a miscommunication prevented them from playing. Instead, a band composed of local musicians “acted well its part” throughout the evening. Everyone in attendance seemed entirely pleased with the renovations and guests left, reluctantly, at four o’clock in the morning. “The new Hall was clean, brilliant, and beautiful, and has been admirably arranged for both comfort and pleasure. Dr. Woodward deserves the thanks of the community for his good taste and liberal expenditures in fitting up one of the best halls in the west.

Woodward did not run the hall himself but left that task to series of short-lived managers. The first known, through an advertisement in the Democratic Banner, was W. O. Ellis, who also published that newspaper; by March 1853, he was running the hall.

W. O. Ellis, having rented Woodward Hall, which is handsomely and conveniently fitted up for concerts, lectures, and entertainments of every kind, is prepared to accommodate individuals and companies who may visit this city, at moderate prices.

James Relf took over from Ellis in 1854. Like Ellis, Relf may have had another job while managing the hall. He hired a caretaker, William Henry, to assist with its operation, and security guards to keep order as necessary.

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210 Lorey gives no date for the anecdote, told to him by one of the merchants on the ground floor of the Woodward. Lorey, 393.

211 “Grand Holiday Festival,” Democratic Banner, 6 January 1857, 3.

212 Ibid.

213 The first advertisement for the theater under Ellis’s management appears in March. Democratic Banner, 1 March 1853, 3.
The above large and commodious hall has been fitted up in a superior manner for the accommodation of theaters, lectures, etc., and being situated in one of the first inland cities of the state, having a population of some six thousand souls, and who, for intelligence, virtue and sobriety, are equaled by no city in the west, it should certainly be a point to which first class entertainments aim to reach. The experiences of an old, experienced, and faithful hand in the person of Wm. Henry, has been secured, who will leave no pains spared to keep the Hall in the neatest possible condition for any and all who may wish to occupy it. Officers will be in attendance whenever necessary, for the entire preservation of order.

Wetherby and Schenck were the hall’s third management in two years. They also managed a saloon and restaurant in the Woodward building, “genteel and orderly . . . exempt from rowdyism and drunkenness, so that parties of ladies and gentlemen can be received and entertained in our parlor without fear of molestation.” The restaurant served “every thing that is good to eat and drink (intoxicating liquors excepted).” A reading room connected to the saloon subscribed to the country’s leading papers for patrons’ perusal.

Woodward Hall: This is one of the best halls in the state for the accommodation of theaters, concerts, lectures, or public entertainment of any kind, being capable of seating 1000 persons. The city of Mount Vernon, containing a population of over 6,000, holds out rare inducements for first class entertainments. It has been fitted up in a superior manner, and will always be kept in a neat and orderly condition. Terms reasonable. Apply by letter or personally to Schenck and Wetherby.

The existence of Woodward Hall was nationally known; The Showman’s Guide, Containing the Names of All the Principal Halls Used by Traveling Exhibitions in the United States and British Provinces gives the following description:

214 Democratic Banner, 21 February 1854, 3.

215 Democratic Banner, 31 October 1854, 2.

216 Ibid.

Theaters of the period offered to companies a collection of stock scenery including a forest, a formal garden, and several interiors. Rent was normally paid to the hall, and the license fee seems to have been levied by the town. But there are no records of attendance or ticket sales for Woodward Hall, other than the comments “well attended” or “great crowds,” reported in the newspapers. No records of income and expenses for the hall or the terms of contract between the hall and a renter are known to exist, beyond those suggested by the hall’s own advertisements. The Ohio Historical Society holds a collection of records from the Sandusky Theater that elucidate the operations of that theater and, by analogy, Woodward Hall. Each time the hall was used, its manager recorded the date, time, type of event, number of tickets sold, “opposition” (external circumstances adversely affecting attendance), and any incidents that occurred. Records show that the theater had difficulty drawing customers when competing with other local amusements, especially sporting events, and that it was rarely full, even for events considered successful.

217 T. Allston Brown, The Showman’s Guide, Containing the Names of All the Principal Halls Used by Traveling Exhibitions in the United States and British Provinces (New York, 1874). In addition to supplying information about theaters, Brown’s book includes “blank forms of application for the renting of bill boards, and contracts for securing board at hotel and renting halls.”

218 No documented renovations occurred between 1856 and 1874, but a description of the hall in 1856 gives conflicting stage dimensions, 20’ x 22’. See page 63 of this chapter for the text of the 1856 description.

219 Naylor and Dillon, 25.

220 One especially juicy card blames poor ticket sales on a Klan rally in “opposition.” John A. Himmelein, Papers, Ohio Historical Society MSS 614.
Woodward Hall hosted frequent and varied entertainments between 1851 and 1861, including not only music but all kinds of performances and presentations. The Mount Vernon Literary and Library Associations organized lecture series there; theatrical and musical groups, from both Mount Vernon and elsewhere, performed there; community events, including school exhibitions and functions to benefit local churches or charities, took place there; and at times, the hall was used as an exhibition area for art, science, magic, or ventriloquism. (See Appendix C, Woodward Hall Chronology of Events.) In order to understand musical performances at Woodward Hall, it will be useful to gain a sense of the broader context of the performing arts, of which music was only one part.

Judging by newspaper advertisements, one of the most common entertainments in antebellum years seems to have been the public lecture. Lectures had been an organized form of popular entertainment in the United States since the 1820s. Many towns had a lyceum, “a self-supporting, locally controlled, voluntary association,” that advocated popular education and was an early supporter and organizer of lectures. Mount Vernon had no lyceum, but its Literary and Library Societies served similar purposes. In 1849 and 1853, the *Mount Vernon Democratic Banner* and *Ohio State Times* asked readers why Mount Vernon had no organized lecture series, the Literary Society responded by organizing series of lectures. Samuel S. Cox, editor of the *Ohio Statesman*, gave the

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221 By 1836, there were three thousand lyceums in fifteen states. See Russel Blaine Nye, *Society and Culture in America, 1830–1860* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 360.

222 *Democratic Banner*, 5 December 1849, 2; *Ohio State Times*, 13 December 1853, 3.

first lecture of the series, “Satanic Elements in Literature,” at 7:00 p.m. on 18 January 1854; admission was free.\textsuperscript{224} The following day, \textit{Norton’s Daily True Whig} called it a success.\textsuperscript{225} Other lecturers of the season included President Mahan of Cleveland, “Intellectual Culture”;\textsuperscript{226} Professor Armor, “The relations which exist between living creatures and the organic world”;\textsuperscript{227} Amelia Bloomer, “Women’s Right to Self-Government”;\textsuperscript{228} and E. S. S. Rouse, “Progress.”\textsuperscript{229}

A second group of men interested in educating the public formed the Mount Vernon Athenaeum. “In starting out, they made the declaration that their object was to afford instruction and amusement to the public — to present the more choice and excellent pieces of dramatic authors.”\textsuperscript{230} In 1857, J. Q. A. Buck, “a gentleman of long experience in theatrical matters,” led the group in a production of \textit{The Lady of Lyons} by Sir E. L. Bulwer.\textsuperscript{231} The play, set in post-Revolution France, is a democratic love story: a self-educated gardener’s son falls in love with the daughter of a rich merchant. He disguises himself as a prince to get the girl, then feels guilty and gives her back to her father. The hero runs away, joins the army, and returns a successful officer just in time to

\textsuperscript{224} \textit{Norton’s Daily True Whig}, 16 January 1854, 3.

\textsuperscript{225} \textit{Norton’s Daily True Whig}, 19 January 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{226} \textit{Norton’s Daily True Whig}, 24 January 1854, 2.

\textsuperscript{227} \textit{Norton’s Daily True Whig}, 8 March 1854, 1.

\textsuperscript{228} \textit{Democratic Banner}, 21 March 1854, 3.

\textsuperscript{229} \textit{Democratic Banner}, 28 March 1854, 3.

\textsuperscript{230} \textit{Republican}, 20 January 1857, 3.

\textsuperscript{231} Ibid.
break up the girl’s wedding to another man. The founding of the Athenaeum seems to respond to a lack of taste and decorum in the theatrical productions that came to Mount Vernon; the players promise to present “as they become more proficient . . . more refined and elegant plays” and “to avoid all coarse vulgarities calculated to give offense.”

Community groups used Woodward Hall for their more public events. The Excelsior Society invited the community to attend their “literary contest” against the Cyrologian Society from Martinsburg. The ladies of the Presbyterian Church hosted a benefit supper there: “$1.00 for two ladies, lady and gentleman, or gentleman.” Both the Excelsior Society and the Presbyterian “Ladies” had their own venues, but chose to use Woodward Hall instead, perhaps for its size or the air of occasion that it lent.

Another popular entertainment was the panorama, a phenomenon in nineteenth-century popular art. Stephan Oettermann calls it a democratic art form, for in contrast to private and royal art collections, it was accessible to anyone who could pay the price of admission. The subject matter of the panorama also catered to the taste of the masses; instead of depicting allegorical and mythological figures from ancient history and mythology, the panorama featured landscapes and recent historical events, such as

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233 *Republican*, 20 January 1857, 3.


236 The panorama originated in Germany and was more than just a large scale painting; an Englishman named Robert Barker received a patent for its invention in 1787. See Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 4.
battles, “that would be of interest to the average newspaper reader.” Originally, a panorama depicted a circular vista by covering the inside walls of a round room; a more practical variation was the extended panorama, a long canvas depicting a scene as it might be viewed by one traveling past it. Rather than being hung in its entirety, the painting was rolled between two long poles and viewed in the same way one would read a scroll of Egyptian papyrus, in small segments. Bullard’s Panorama of New York City, of the latter type, offered residents of Mount Vernon a tour, with “much valuable knowledge of New York and its people,” for only 20¢. The panorama “continues to move before the spectator for two hours and takes him over six miles through the streets” and promises to deliver more information about the city and its people than a visitor might glean in ten days, “as thousands of persons have testified.” A dozen panoramas were exhibited in Woodward Hall during the 1850s on subjects including a visit to Africa by the Prince of Wales, the creation and deluge, and Uncle Tom’s Cabin.

A different sort of art was displayed by “the famous Algerine,” a professor of magic. Grace, science, and witty converse are the handmaids of his beautiful operations — he is no common necromancer — but the poet of Prestigiation [sic], the sole monarch of mystery, the law-giver of wonders.” The editor explains that any

237 Ibid., 32.
238 Ibid., 63.
239 True Whig, 8 March 1854, 3.
240 Republican, 21 March 1861, 1.
241 Norton’s Daily True Whig, 15 February 1854, 3.
242 Democratic Banner, 25 July 1853, 3.
reasonably intelligent person could, of course, discover the magician’s secrets, but encourages his readers, regardless, to attend. The editor’s comments on the easily-discovered illusions, as well as the use of “science,” “professor,” and “law-giver,” show that even an event as supercilious as the magic show could accord with the themes of education and moral edification that permeate so many of the “entertainments” presented in Woodward Hall, and indeed, Mount Vernon in general. The same editor who begged for a town lecture series lambasted the distinctly low-brow circus: “We are opposed to Circus Exhibitions as demoralizing in their influence on our community, never attend them, and do not wish to contribute to their success in any way or degree,” no matter how badly his newspaper might need the revenue. \[244\] Given this rich performance context, concerts are best understood as part of a broader social environment, rather than as standing alone; they furthered the musical education of the public, in much the same way that Bayard Taylor’s travelogue lectures expanded their knowledge of geography. A Woodward Hall concert was likely to be not just a pleasant diversion, but an educational and morally edifying event.

Audience reception remains a lacuna in the history of Woodward Hall. All of the available descriptions of performances come from newspaper editors, who may or may not have precisely expressed the opinions of the broader public. The editors must have been conscious of their public roles and have written accordingly; even if they did not write the reviews, they chose which ones to print. In the case of touring groups, reviews are often reprinted from newspapers in cities recently visited by the group in question,

\[243\] Democratic Banner, 1 February 1853, 2.
not written by a resident of Mount Vernon in response to a performance there. A journal keeper, letter writer, or author of a memoir or autobiography might recount events more privately and with candor or reflect on the role that theater or music fulfilled in a town, but unfortunately no such reflections are known to date from antebellum Mount Vernon.

When Woodward Hall opened, it seems to have displaced several other part-time venues in Mount Vernon, about which very little is known. The Golden Swan Inn featured the rare amateur dramatic production as early as the 1830s. The Excelsior Society, whose members included “some of the most intellectual and intelligent young men in the city,” had its own hall, located in the Kremlin Building. According to the Republican, the hall, which seems to have been used primarily for the society’s own activities, including a lecture series, “is a good one, but needs some expenditures for seats.” New Temperance Hall, run by the Mount Vernon Division, No. 71, of the Sons of Temperance hosted a few concerts, including that of the Eddy Family in 1848. The Masons, active in Mount Vernon since the 1810s, built several successive halls, but newspapers do not indicate that other groups used them. Judging by newspaper advertisements, the Knox County Courthouse was Mount Vernon’s busiest hall in the late 1840s; it seems to have had some sort of public meeting room upstairs that hosted concerts, lectures, and exhibitions. It ceased to perform this function when Woodward Hall opened in 1851. Churches and schools also hosted events; the Mount Vernon

244 Republican, 28 September 1858, 3.
245 The Mount Vernon Literary Society gave theatrical performances each winter during the 1830s. Norton, 270.
246 “Mount Vernon Lectures,” Republican, 6 November 1855, 2.
Literary Society held its 1854 lecture series at the Congregational Church, though later seasons took place at Woodward Hall. All of these buildings, even though they had rooms that could hold reasonably large crowds, had other distinct functions in the community. In light of the many venues available, the Democratic Banner’s 1854 complaint of the lack of public spaces in Mount Vernon is significant. “Next in importance to the improvement of the public square is the erection of a good market house and a fine large town hall for public meetings of all kinds. . . . A town hall is very much needed for public meetings, conventions, etc. It should be large enough to hold three or four thousand people standing or one thousand seated. Woodward Hall’s 1854 managers, Schenck and Wetherby, boasted the same capacity for their hall. Despite its size and apparent availability, Woodward Hall seems not to have been deemed an appropriate place to conduct local government and other public business.

Woodward Hall, in contrast to previous halls, was one part of a private business enterprise planned, supervised, and financed by Dr. Ebenizer Woodward. Following the 1856 gala opening, the press thanked Dr. Woodward for building the hall. Clearly, Mount Vernon had wanted a dedicated theater and seemed thoroughly grateful to Woodward for providing one. Woodward’s own motivations for the building appear to have been a mixture of philanthropy and capitalism. The overwhelmingly positive public

247 Democratic Banner, 10 April 1848, 2.


249 Democratic Banner, 31 October 1854, 2.

response to the new building suggests the former, as do Woodward’s subsequent
improvements to the theater. He died before the extensive renovations of the 1880s were
completed, and Henry L. Curtis, as executor of the Woodward’s will, completed the
project and named the Woodward Opera House in his honor.251 The hall had been called
by that name unofficially since 1858, as evidenced by an advertisement in the
Democratic Banner.252 Woodward Hall, at the same time, must have been part of a
capital venture by Dr. Woodward, and may indicate shrewd business sense. By the
1840s, he had stopped practicing medicine253 and instead opened a general store in Mount
Vernon selling “the cheapest goods in this country.”254 It seems likely that he provided
the capital for the building of the Woodward, one of the largest commercial buildings in
town, which he then quickly regained by renting its retail and office spaces. The more
desirable, closer-to-the-ground floors provided space much demanded by Mount Vernon
businessmen. These tenants would pay for the upkeep of the building, even if the theater
was not earning money. Occupying the most distant and least practical part of the
building, the hall could be used or left empty without affecting the building’s economic
viability. Thus, the hall’s first phase of operation, in the early 1850s, could precede its
1856 completion. Not only did the hall, located on the top floor of a four-story building,
physically rest on a commercial enterprise; its economic fate, too, depended on the
financial success of the building’s other tenants. The semi-public, civic space was

251 “Woodward Opera House,” Republican, 28 December 1883, 3.

252 An office on the third floor of the Woodward Opera House is offered for rent. Democratic Banner, 9
March 1858, 1.

253 Hopkins, 43.
inextricably linked to the private, commercial space below it. Woodward seems to have
managed the theater little himself, if at all; instead he rented it to managers, who in turn
rented it to clients. The first two theater managers, Ellis and Relf, each abandoned the
job within a year. Renting the hall seems not to have been lucrative; perhaps its market
was not yet well enough established. Woodward, however, avoided financial risk by
passing the responsibility of making it profitable to a manager. Whatever his motives,
Woodward did present 1850s Mount Vernon with a theater; in this case, philanthropic
and economic interests merged.

Woodward Hall occupies a curious place in the public consciousness of Mount
Vernon. Its very location, on the fourth floor of an office building, once seemed perfectly
normal, but appears peculiar and marginal in today’s downtown. Audiences were once
content to enter the hall through a small doorway on the side of the building and climb
three flights of stairs in order to see an entertainment, but this seems to be a major reason
for its abandonment in the twentieth century. Whereas early newspapers often reported
on Woodward Hall, nineteenth-century local historians never mentioned it, even though
they did not hesitate to write about other town buildings. Perhaps Hill and Norton
considered the hall a commercial entity that, like the local dry goods store, had no place
in a community history of Mount Vernon; perhaps they were not sufficiently concerned
with performing arts to make room for it in their narratives; or perhaps some other cause
prompted them to ignore it. \textsuperscript{255} These same qualities, paradoxically, might make

\textsuperscript{254} \textit{The Times}, 9 May 1848, 4.

\textsuperscript{255} Many local histories include brief biographies of “important” residents; Dr. Ebenizer Woodward, a
seemingly prominent citizen and landholder in Mount Vernon, is not among them.
Woodward Hall a classic example of an American theater space in the mid-nineteenth century. Pre-dating the establishment of theater circuits and full-time regional entertainment entrepreneurs, it combines elements of community altruism and private enterprise and cannot easily be labeled an utterly “public” or “private” institution. One man owned the hall, as its name constantly reminded patrons, but it did open its doors to the public, at least, all those who had the price of admission.
CHAPTER 5

COMPARISONS TO OTHER TOWNS

Through reviews, previews, and advertisements, Mount Vernon’s 1850s newspapers provide materials for a history of Woodward Hall, in particular its performance schedule. (See Appendix C, Woodward Hall Chronology of Events.) Occasionally, other brief items note improvements made to the building, businesses of the building’s other tenants, and the names and policies of the Hall’s ever-changing managers. Though this timeline of events seems fairly complete chronologically, it does not scratch beneath the surface, for it outlines little more than what happened on its stage, and about even that it says little.256 The full texture of performances and the relationship between the hall and the town are rarely or never addressed. But comparisons to other theaters, for which other or richer types of evidence exist, permit a better understanding of an antebellum institution such as the Woodward as well as highlighting its distinctive features.

Hundreds of nineteenth-century American halls, theaters, and opera houses still stand and lists of them exist in both modern and early sources.257 The aforementioned

256 The hall seems to have closed for renovation in the fall and winter of 1856; no events are advertised in extant newspapers during that period.
Showman’s Guide (1874), according to its author, is “the first complete one that had been published since Wyman the Ventriloquist published a book giving a short list of halls.”258 The guide lists halls alphabetically by city within each state, and the entries may be as detailed as the one for Woodward Hall (see above) or give only the name and location of a theater. The Ohio theaters listed vary in price and amenities; the Dayton Music Hall held 1,400 people and rented for $75, which included license, stagehands, and ushers; and one might use the 250-seat Village Hall in Morrow, Ohio, with “one scene,” for only $6.259 The Cahn-Leighton Theatrical Guide (volume 16, 1912) was another directory published to aid performers in booking tours within the United States.260 Its entries, also arranged alphabetically by city within each state, usually include information on theaters, hotels, newspapers, railroads, printing establishments, and travel time to other towns. Some entries, like Mount Vernon’s, give less information: “Mount Vernon — Pop., 9,087. Located 45 miles NW of Columbus. No details at hand.”261 The historical directories allow comparisons between the Woodward and contemporaneous theaters based on a nineteenth-century perspective; their descriptions are not burdened with newer data affected by modernizing renovations and subsequent uses that plagues histories of theaters; the theatrical guides capture a town and its theaters at a discrete moment.

257 While writing American Theaters: Performance Halls of the Nineteenth Century, David Naylor and Joan Dillon received fifteen hundred leads on nineteenth-century theaters, sent follow-up questionnaires to a thousand, visited two hundred fifty, and finally chose about forty theaters to discuss in detail. See Naylor and Dillon, 10.

258 Brown, preface to The Showman’s Guide.

259 Ibid. 18-19.

Modern writings on historic theaters fall into two main groups. Historic preservationists have constructed descriptive catalogues listing all known buildings, extant or not. Music, theater, and architectural historians have studied individual theaters and opera houses, often in relation to the history and culture of their respective cities. Neither category, however, has addressed the opera house’s place in American culture, grounded in a systematic examination of the entire genre.

*A Directory of Historic American Theaters* (1987) includes all American theaters built before 1915 that were standing at the time of publication, regardless of their modern use. Entries include as much of the following information as is applicable and available: opening date, opening show, closing date, architect, style of architecture, type of building, type of façade, type of theater, degree of restoration, current use, location of auditorium, stage dimensions and equipment, dimensions of auditorium, seating, shape of the auditorium, major types of entertainment, and major stars who appeared at the theater. There are thirty-one entries for Ohio. The Woodward Opera House is listed in the Appendix as “Reported”; the editors knew of the theater’s existence but had received no further information from its owners in response to their questionnaire at press time.

Two large-format picture books present less systematic surveys of American theaters. *The National Trust Guide to Great Opera Houses in America* profiles about fifty, many built after the antebellum period, and includes contact information and a guide to

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261 Ibid., 489.

262 Many nineteenth-century theaters have found new uses: movie theaters, X-rated movie theaters, office space, storage facilities, garages, etc. See Frick and Ward, *Directory of Historic American Theaters*.

263 Ibid., 300.
additional readings for those halls mentioned in the book. A similar study, *American Theaters: Performance Halls of the Nineteenth Century*, lists all theaters in operation during the nineteenth century and discusses forty of them in detail. Both books focus on the country’s larger and more beautiful theaters; their writers emphasize architecture, not performance. In addition to demonstrating the ubiquity of the nineteenth-century opera house, the theaters listed provide physical comparison for the Woodward; it seems a typical theater for a town of Mount Vernon’s size and location.

There are histories of specific theaters and opera houses as well as histories of musical or dramatic activity in individual towns, cities, and regions that include discussions of opera houses and their places in a community’s musical life. A thorough bibliography of histories of opera houses, however, does not seem to exist. Two of the works cited above, Naylor and Dillon’s *American Theaters* and Zietz’s *Historic Opera Houses in America*, contain by no means exhaustive lists of additional readings. The bibliography of Katherine Preston’s *Opera on the Road* includes many of the better local music histories. Bibliographies of some general histories of American music include “Regional Histories and Studies,” which may discuss that region’s theaters. Histories of opera houses are often theses or dissertations, projects undertaken by local history

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aficionados, or part of an effort to save, restore, or renovate a building. Their content and quality vary enormously.

Perhaps the most fruitful comparisons will be to halls of the same size, age, and, if possible, geographic area. A few extant theaters, all of which have been researched to varying degrees, fit these criteria: the Fulton Opera House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Loring Hall in Hingham, Massachusetts; Saco Town Hall in Saco, Maine; Thespian Hall in Boonville, Missouri; the Xenia Opera House in Xenia, Ohio; and the Majestic Theater in Chillicothe, Ohio. The available histories of the theaters discussed may be brief and suffer from problems similar to those of Woodward Hall, and they differ in focus, making comparisons difficult. Histories of Hingham’s, Saco’s, and Boonville’s halls describe the process of building each hall; Chillicothe’s and Lancaster’s emphasize programming; and Xenia’s focuses on the relationship between the town and the opera house.

A Lancaster, Pennsylvania merchant and civic leader, Christopher Hager, built Fulton Hall there in 1852 on the former site of the city prison. Hager named his hall after Robert Fulton, the inventor of the steam engine and a native of Lancaster. Lancaster was settled in 1729, part of the first “western” county in the Pennsylvania wilderness. The opera house’s types of programs and activities parallel the Woodward’s closely, with one glaring exception: the hall had a drill floor for local militia companies. Orators such as William Jennings Bryant added a distinctly political component to the hall’s lecture series.

268 A few other theaters, including the Academy of Music in Philadelphia and the Montgomery Theater in Alabama date from the same period, but have little else in common with Woodward Hall.
that was not so evident at the Woodward. Ole Bull, Maurice Strakhosch, and Adelina Patti gave one of the Hall’s first concerts on October 21, 1852. Twelve hundred people, each paying the $1.00 admission price, attended the event. In 1873, the hall was renovated by Blasius Yecker, a Lancaster showman, and renamed the Fulton Opera House. The theater, which has shown movies since the early twentieth century, occupies the main floors of a three-story building. Like the Woodward, Fulton Hall was privately funded and owned, but not as part of a larger, commercial building. The settling of Lancaster predates that of Mount Vernon by about eighty years; but both towns built halls in the early 1850s and renovated them in the 1870s, suggesting national trends, not just local interest, in building theaters.\footnote{270}

A group of ladies in Hingham, Massachusetts started the campaign to build Loring Hall in 1845. They decided that their town needed “a commodious and suitable building for lectures, picnics, and social meetings of all kinds” and began to organize fundraising fairs and benefit concerts. In 1851, they appealed to Colonel Benjamin Loring, a Boston resident but Hingham native with “an affection for his native town,” for financial assistance; his affection for his home town “caused in him a desire to do something which might be a permanent memorial of that sentiment.” Loring contributed $4,435.57, the ladies who began the project raised $926.77, and Mrs. Elijah Loring of

\footnote{269 “Short History of Lancaster County, Lancaster County Historical Society,” http://www.lanclio.org/highlights/articles/lanccohistory.htm , 29 December 29, 2002.}

Boston spent $619.93 on furnishings for the building; Mrs. Thomas Wigglesworth, also of Boston, donated $25 which was used to grade the lot before construction commenced. The committee of ladies appointed a committee of gentlemen to carry out the buying of property and planning and construction of the hall. The 45' x 68' classical revival building had a five-hundred seat hall on its main level with a kitchen and dressing rooms on the ground floor. The hall’s solemn dedication ceremony included hymns and prayers; it was followed by an “elegant and bountiful repast” for those involved in building the hall and a ball for several hundred prominent citizens. The dedication ceremony, with its religious components, had a very different character than that of Woodward Hall, perhaps due to the Puritan influence in New England. Loring Hall, though financed almost entirely by the Colonel, was not a solitary business venture, as in Mount Vernon, but a community effort driven by a ladies’ society. Loring Hall’s history raises the question of the role of women in Mount Vernon’s musical life. Newspapers show that they had ample opportunities to learn music and perform, but the only musical events of which they took charge were church fundraisers.271

Saco, Maine’s municipal government built Saco City Hall in 1855. Since the town’s founding in 1762, the municipal government had been meeting “wherever a place could be found: sometimes in a church vestry; then in an abandoned church, until that was taken away from us; then in a basement of a church, until some private enterprise outbid the public and put us out of that.” The town voted to build the hall, a two-story brick building that resembles a church, with civic offices and rooms for meetings and

social festivities in the basement. The hall itself had a small platform, not a real stage, at
one end and a frescoed ceiling. In addition to providing a permanent space for town
meetings, the hall held sessions of the county court, lectures, concerts, and
entertainments. An 1880 remodeling made the hall better suited to theatrical productions
by adding a real stage and dressing rooms. Saco City Hall, like Woodward Hall, did not
primarily function as a theater. Even though the municipal government occupied less
physical space than the theater, it was the more important use of the building, as
evidenced by the lack of a stage in the original meeting room.272

The Thespian Society of Boonville, Missouri commenced building that city’s
Thespian Hall, the oldest extant theater west of the Mississippi River, in 1855. In July,
the cornerstone was laid in a ceremony that included not only the Society, but the mayor,
other city authorities, Masons and Odd Fellows, a chaplain, and the town band. In 1857,
a ball marked the opening of the Greek Revival building, which replaced the town’s
previous theater, a log cabin. The Thespian Society, many members of which were
prominent Boonville businessmen, had been incorporated as the “Boonville Library,
Reading Room and Thespian Association” to build the hall and anticipated “fair
dividends annually” from it.273 The Association raised much of the money for the hall
through its own productions; sale of stock and donations from the city government,
Masons, and Odd Fellows, many of whom belonged to the Thespian Society,
supplemented their funds. In exchange for their contributions, the Society gave these

272 “From the 1950 Saco Annual Report Inaugural Address,” available from “City of Saco, Maine: City History,”

273 A Brief History of Thespian Hall: Boonville, Missouri (Thespian Hall Preservation Committee, 1937), 7.
groups rooms on the hall’s second floor. The Thespian Society occupied the first floor
theater, and the basement contained a library and reading room. The hall’s history seems
to have been written from the Thespian Society’s own records; its author explains that
little is known about the hall’s other early programming because no newspapers survive
from the antebellum Boonville. Boonville’s lack of newspaper sources highlights their
importance in constructing Woodward Hall’s history, even though the information
contained in them can be problematic, as discussed in Chapter 2. The building’s stately
Greek Revival façade, complete with columns, contrasts starkly with that of the
imposing, but comparatively plain Woodward Building. Boonville’s citizens anticipated
their town becoming one of the most important west of the Mississippi River and built
accordingly. Dr. Woodward had more modest aspirations. His fourth-floor theater plan
seems to confirm that Mount Vernon was not yet ready for a full-fledged, free-standing
theater in 1851; the renovations he carried out in 1856 and the 1880s reflect growth of
both the town and its musical life.274

Helen Santmyer’s memoir, Ohio Town, devotes a chapter to the Xenia Opera
House, built in the 1860s. In the mid-twentieth century, it was torn down and replaced by
a modern city hall that has “by no means taken the place of the opera house in our
affections: the ordinary citizen enters its doors only to pay his water bill or his improper-
parking fine; everyone who grew up here knew the opera house intimately and at
firsthand.”275 In the 1880s, the Xenia Opera House was expanded, by raising the roof a

full story, in response to the town’s need for “not another hall, but a real theater.”

Santmyer recalls the mystery that the opera house, viewed through a friend’s window, held for her as a child.

> We could peer in, past the rope, to the mysterious depths of the stage. I cannot remember that we ever saw anything more exciting than stagehands, but there was always a chance that we might, if we watched long enough — and besides, even sweating, swearing stagehands had a shadow of the glamour inherent in all things related to the theater.276

In addition to touring theatrical productions, the Xenia Opera House hosted lectures, political rallies, “home-talent productions,” and “commencements, both white and Negro.” When the opera house was condemned, a local dramatic association disbanded rather than move its productions to the high school “because being in plays, or helping with them, was so much less fun there than in the Opera House.”277 Santmyer shows that the opera house was a center not only of culture but of community in Xenia, an idea never explicitly expressed in Mount Vernon sources. Santmyer’s memoir, recounting her own experiences with and impressions of the Xenia Opera House, is difficult to compare to the historical studies of the other theaters described here. There are no dates, figures, or name-dropping. Instead, Santmyer neatly summarizes programming in a few sentences, says little about the financing and construction processes, and notes the mystery and excitement that the hall held, especially for young people. Above all, her history raises awareness of the personal element that other histories lack.

275 Much of Santmyer’s discussion avoids dates; she was born in 1895. Santmyer, “Chapter IX: The Opera House,” in *Ohio Town*, 211-30.
276 Santmyer, 219-20.
277 Ibid., 226.
The Majestic Theater, in Chillicothe, Ohio is the theater closest geographically and in age to the Woodward of those just mentioned. The Masons built the hall on the site of the first bank of Chillicothe, destroyed by fire in 1852. Were it not for the marquee, a twentieth-century addition, the Majestic’s nondescript exterior might not be recognizable as that of a theater. That location had already had a long theatrical tradition; the bank’s lobby had been used for plays since 1804. The theater opened in October 1853 as the Masonic Opera House without a manager; instead it seems to have been run collectively by the Masons throughout the 1850s. The hall presented dramas, comedies, minstrel shows, and opera; two of the superstars who passed Mount Vernon by in the 1850s, the tragedian Edwin Booth and the violinist Ole Bull, appeared there. There seem to have been fewer lectures and art exhibits at the Masonic Opera House than at the Woodward, though Chillicothe did not seem to have a separate venue for this type of event. In 1853, the hall occupied the first two floors of a three-story building; in 1876, a fourth floor, containing meeting rooms for the Masons and a ballroom, was added to the building. The Majestic Theater has been in continuous operation since it opened in 1853, closing only briefly for renovation; it adapted easily to changing tastes in entertainment in the twentieth century by offering vaudeville and later, motion pictures. Woodward Hall closed in the early twentieth century due to competition from more modern and convenient street-level theaters, and it was largely forgotten until the recent

278 The McKell Library, part of the Ross County Historical Society, has a large, but by no means exhaustive, collection of programs from the Masonic Hall/Majestic Theater.

279 The renovation was prompted by the opening of a rival, Palmer’s Opera House, a more modern theater located on the town square.
restoration project began. By contrast, Chillicothe’s Majestic Theater has an unbroken tradition dating to 1853, despite renovations and changes in ownership; everyone in town seems to know the theater and to have attended performances there 280

Woodward Hall shares many traits with the theaters listed above, though, like the others, it has distinctive features. The seven theaters were built in response to a community’s need for a hall, are of similar size, and presented similar types of programming in the 1850s. Many were built as “halls,” then later expanded and renamed “opera houses.” All of them are open today, 281 some as the result of twentieth-century restoration projects and others because they have never closed; all remind customers of their towns’ cultural traditions. 282 None of the theaters is the sole occupant of its building, and each served its community in other ways to varying degrees. In five instances, the hall is its most important tenant; in the two remaining ones, the hall is a secondary feature of the building. Thus, Saco City Hall’s primary function was to house the municipal government and Woodward Hall was located on the top floor of a commercial building. In most towns, local government and civic organizations involved themselves in financing and building halls, but Dr. Ebenizer Woodward, alone, seems to have been responsible for Woodward Hall.


281 The Woodward Opera House, though not presenting entertainments, is often open for tours, especially during town festivals, to raise additional interest in and financial support for its restoration.
Histories of American music tread lightly on the subject of the nineteenth-century opera house. Within discussions of nineteenth-century opera and symphonic music, authors spare only a few words for opera houses and concert halls. These are generally limited to halls on the east coast, including the Philadelphia Academy of Music, Symphony Hall in Boston, and New York’s Niblo’s Theater and Astor Place Opera House. The Cincinnati Music Hall is often chosen to represent Midwestern theaters. Charles Hamm’s *Music in the New World* only briefly mentions the opera house in a discussion of the beginnings of grand opera in America, particularly New York.\(^{283}\) Richard Crawford’s *The American Musical Landscape* and *America’s Musical Life* mention opera houses in connection to performances in large cities: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco. The absence of the opera house is particularly apparent in *America’s Musical Life*; Crawford does not discuss theaters, even though his introduction announces his intention to use performance as a departure point for his history. H. Wiley Hitchcock’s *Music in the United States* contains no general discussion of opera houses, though it does mention individual theaters as they relate to specific performers or performances. He associates the concert hall with the cultivated tradition

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\(^{282}\) Several of the hall mentioned are now movie theaters. On the one hand, a nineteenth-century hall showing movies seems incongruous; on the other hand, this use can be seen as a continuation of the opera house’s nineteenth-century role as a provider of all forms of popular entertainment.


in American music; he centers that tradition, and his discussion of it, in New York City, home to fifteen of the twenty-five “concert halls” included in his index.\textsuperscript{286} Crawford’s, Hamm’s, and Hitchcock’s histories of music in the United States mention the opera house in the context of art music in the Northeast, but do not take account of the hundreds of other opera houses built in smaller cities and towns in every region of the country from the Johnson Hall Opera House (1864) in Gardiner, Maine to the Henderson Opera House (1865) in Henderson, Texas and the Eagle Theater (1849) in Sacramento, California.\textsuperscript{287} The small-town opera house does not easily fit, apparently, into established representations of “cultivated” or “vernacular” music, to borrow Hitchcock’s terms. For the antebellum period, “cultivated tradition” is used primarily to denote parlor songs, piano and orchestral music, and opera, while “vernacular” is used to denote folk songs, religious music, blackface minstrelsy, and band music. When making distinctions between cultivated and vernacular, historians at the same time distinguish, perhaps to some degree unwittingly, urban from rural music. Discussions of opera and symphonic music center around New York City, and shape-note singing and bands are almost always discussed in relation to more remote areas. “Hardly any American village was without its village band.”\textsuperscript{288} Perhaps because it shares elements of both categories,


\textsuperscript{287} Naylor and Dillon, 240-43.

\textsuperscript{288} Hitchcock, 131.
the small-town opera house is not found in either. Crawford does, however, title chapters in America’s Musical Life “From Church to Concert Hall: The Rise of Classical Music” and “From Log House to Opera House: Anthony Phillip Heinrich and William Henry Fry.” The figurative use of the terms would seem to assume the reader’s familiarity with the idea of the theater as a fundamental presence in nineteenth-century American life, even though, as seen above, little has been written on the subject.

289 According to Crawford, Gilbert Chase took American music history out of the concert hall; Chase called for study of non-art American music because of its greater contrast to European music. Crawford’s work does discuss art music but not the halls where it is played. Introduction to America’s Musical Life, xi.
CONCLUSION

The relationship between Mount Vernon and Dan Emmett, its most famous resident, reveals much about the personality of the town. Emmett shunned Mount Vernon; early in his life, he joined the circus, and after he became famous, the town was apparently not populous, wealthy, or convenient enough to merit a stop on any of his tours. He did not return to Mount Vernon until his retirement in the 1880s. Even then, the town thought of “Uncle Dan,” with his long beard, gray overcoat in all seasons, and yard full of chickens, as a strange but harmless and destitute old man, not one of the country’s musical pioneers and most popular songwriters. Since Emmett had grown up in Mount Vernon, the town’s residents surely did not forget him. But at the height of his fame in the mid-nineteenth century, the local press did not acknowledge his or his music’s existence. The conservative town, with its many churches, active temperance league, and fondness for demure, edifying entertainments, expressed great disapproval for the minstrel show and circus.

A. Banning Norton and N. N. Hill mention music rarely and Woodward Hall not at all in their books, the earliest known histories of Knox County. They describe other public buildings, including schoolhouses, churches, and the courthouse, when discussing the town’s educational system, religion, and politics; and they list the town’s numerous
literary, musical, and theatrical societies, but only one performance space, The Golden Swan Inn. Dr. Woodward’s brother-in-law, and Norton, editor of the *True Whig*, were certainly not only well acquainted with the theater’s existence but its position at the center of the town’s public cultural life. The commercial nature of the building may explain its absence in the histories, since most of those discussed by Hill and Banning were non-commercial. The hall, despite its historiographical obscurity, provided a venue for most of the cultural activities in Mount Vernon, from touring performers to local literary, library, musical, and historical societies and as such, was indeed the principal vehicle for Mount Vernon’s public cultural life.

American music historians have not discussed Woodward Hall any more than Hill and Norton did, nor do they discuss other small-town theaters, even though a small-town opera house seems inextricably connected to its town’s musical history. The absence of the small-town opera house in general histories of American music may result from the very lacuna noted by Sonneck in the early twentieth century, an insufficiency of local music historiography. Thus, writers are almost forced by the available sources to ignore music in small towns, resulting in a misrepresentation of “America’s musical life” or “music in the United States.” Sonneck’s advocacy of local historiography implies that musics of all regions and classes are equally important in the history of American music. He called for investigation of music in all cities, not just the most populous. In the antebellum period, more Americans lived in rural than urban areas, and a history of music focusing on New York, Boston, and Philadelphia cannot adequately express the musical life of the majority of Americans.

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290 Norton, 279.
According to George Kneppard, Ohio has had, since its early days, “a representative quality . . . an unusual balance between northern and southern influences . . . the westernmost eastern state and the easternmost western state. . . . States love to boast of their unique aspects, but Ohio’s claim to fame is its antithesis to uniqueness.” A history of music in Mount Vernon, Ohio, an All-American city, could, in some respects, be considered as valuable as one of New York or Philadelphia, if not more so.

\[291\] Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, xi-xii.
APPENDIX A

MAPS OF MOUNT VERNON, OHIO

Map 1: Central Mount Vernon, 1805.................................................................97
From Norman Newell Hill. History of Knox County, Ohio, Its Past and Present. Mount
Vernon, Oh.: Graham, 1881, 399-400.

Map 2: Mount Vernon, 1871 .................................................................98
From Caldwell and Starr. An Atlas of Knox County Ohio. Granville, Oh.: Caldwell and
Starr, 1871, 16-17.

Map 3: Mount Vernon's first ward, 1896.................................................99
From Atlas of Knox County, Ohio From Actual Surveys by and under the direction of J.

Map 4: Mount Vernon, 2000 .................................................................100
From Knox County Plat Directory–Ohio (n. p.: Great Midwestern Publishing Company,
2001), 14.
Map 1: Central Mount Vernon, 1805
APPENDIX B

ITEMS ON MUSIC IN EXTANT ANTEBELLUM MOUNT VERNON NEWSPAPERS

This appendix lists all known items on music in extant antebellum Mount Vernon newspapers. It includes concert advertisements, announcements, and reviews as well as articles on music history, education, and personalities. Items are arranged chronologically by the date that they appeared in the newspaper, not by date of performance. The examined newspapers were issued weekly, except Norton’s Daily True Whig, and each has only four pages; most mentions of music are found on page three with the notices for other town events. I have retained original spelling and punctuation in performers’ names, titles of events, and directly quoted materials, most of which appear in the final column, “Comments.” All items discussed in the text of my paper will, of course, be found here, in addition to many others.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Event or Item</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>09/26/43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Virginia Minstrels with Mr. Christie</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>They &quot;left the most favorable impression with our people…correct and gentlemanly deportment.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>09/26/43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Review - Christie's Minstrels, written by a citizen of Mount Vernon.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Times</td>
<td>07/22/45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Short Story - &quot;If We Only Had a Piano.&quot; A young couple struggle to match the material possessions of their friends; they discuss buying a piano.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>01/27/46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Advertisement - B.B. Lippitt's Book Store, &quot;music books, song books, preceptors for musical instruments, piano music in sheets.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>02/17/46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Advertisement - Beach's New Book Store uses a picture of a piano in its advertisement but does not mention music among the items for sale.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>08/11/46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kenyon College Commencement: &quot;The audience was entertained with excellent music from the Mount Vernon Band and Choir.&quot; 1000 in attendance.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>09/29/46</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Advertisement - Mount Vernon Female Seminary under the direction of Miss Nancy Smith; &quot;Music on the Piano...$10.00 per term...Algebra and the higher branches of Mathematics, which will be taught by a male teacher, per term...$9.00.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>02/23/47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anecdote: Haydn challenged Mozart to compose a piece that he could not play at sight</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>02/23/47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Article - A family thinks their house is haunted after hearing a piano late at night, but later discovers that the cat plays the piano.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>06/08/47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Article - reprint from the Christian Advocate, &quot;Addison and Atterbury on Church Music.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>08/17/47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Advertisement - William Henderson, Cabinet Maker, illustrated with a picture of a piano.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>08/24/47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Article - &quot;Music in Schools,&quot; reprinted from the Western School Journal, advocates vocal music as a means of discipline and moral training.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>08/24/47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Article - The Free Presbyterian Church just bought a new bell that's &quot;sweet tones have roused other Churches in our beautiful town to make proper efforts to supply themselves...It is to be hoped that every church in the town will soon have a good bell.&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Items on Music in Extant Antebellum Mount Vernon Newspapers

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Event or Item</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>10/05/47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Advertisement - <em>The Ohio Harmonist</em> is now for sale at B.B. Lippitt's music store.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>10/12/47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - Review of M. Felicien Davis's new ode-symphony, &quot;Columbus, or The Discovery of America.&quot; Reprint from the <em>Journal of Commerce</em> by its Paris correspondant.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>11/16/47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Alleghanians, &quot;that Scientific Band of Minstrels&quot;</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>They are expected to stop in Mount Vernon while traveling from Cleveland to Cincinnati.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>11/16/47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Alleghanians</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>Review from the <em>Albany Argus</em> - &quot;We have very seldom heard a better combination of sound or that combination more harmoniously and artistically blended.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>11/23/47</td>
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<td>Review - The Alleghanians; paraphrased from the <em>Globe.</em></td>
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<td>04/10/48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Eddy Family</td>
<td>Temperance Hall</td>
<td>The time and place of performance &quot;to be announced on their arrival here.&quot;</td>
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<td>07/31/49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Irving Family</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>The time and place of performance &quot;to be announced on their arrival here.&quot;</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>08/15/49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Commencement</td>
<td>Kenyon College</td>
<td>Rose Chapel, Kenyon College</td>
<td>There was music throughout the ceremony, though the article names no performers or pieces.</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal and instrumental</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Band of Amateur Musicians</td>
<td>not given</td>
<td>&quot;The lovers of music owe these gentlemen much for the delight afforded them during the past season for their performances on the roof of the Kremlin Building.&quot;</td>
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<td>02/19/50</td>
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<td>The Marvin Family</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The &quot;celebrated&quot; Marvin Family</td>
<td>Kremlin Building</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Jenny Lind</td>
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<td>09/17/50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Barnum pays Jenny Lind $1000 per concert.</td>
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<td>Article</td>
<td>Jenny Lind arrives in New York.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Jenny Lind's life.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Grand Entertainment</td>
<td>Vacant lot in Mount Vernon</td>
<td>&quot;Grand Olio Entertainment under a Splendid Pavilion.&quot;</td>
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<td>10/02/50</td>
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<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>Chickering and Gilbert's Pianos, Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>10/02/50</td>
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<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>Sheet music, &quot;Jenny Lind's New Songs,&quot; from a Columbus, Ohio merchant.</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>10/02/50</td>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>Grand Olio Entertainment, including Napoleon's funeral</td>
<td>Hints at Jenny Lind's presence.</td>
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<td>10/22/50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Campanologians</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
<td>Swiss bell ringers</td>
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<td>10/23/50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Campanologians</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
<td>&quot;for one night only&quot;</td>
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<td>12/03/50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>Hendrick and Wolff's Dry Goods, a sale in honor of Jenny Lind</td>
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Table 1 (continued)

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<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>12/25/50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A grand and novel entertainment. The time and place of the concert will be made fully known by the handbills.&quot;</td>
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<td>12/31/50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>piano, violin, flute, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
<td>&quot;interesting and novel concert&quot;</td>
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<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>01/01/51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Article - death of Strauss</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>01/08/51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Article - A poem recaps the year's events, including Jenny Lind's tour of the United States.</td>
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<td>01/07/51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - Jenny Lind in Washington.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>01/01/51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Article - &quot;A Chapter of Jennysis,&quot; a parody of Genesis about Jenny Lind.</td>
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<td>01/29/51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Shaw Fogg, voice, and Gustava Krelimon, violin</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
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<td><em>Democratic Banner</em></td>
<td>02/11/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Warblers, delineators of Ethiopian characters</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>02/12/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Warblers - banjo, trombone, bones</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
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<td>02/18/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Celebrated Lancashire Bell Ringers and the Wonderful Chinese Family</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
<td>Brought to America by Barnum.</td>
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<td>05/07/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Article - Rob Gray, proprietor of the Ethiopian Warblers, was on trial for assaulting &quot;the big boy Kimble.&quot; The jury did not convict him.</td>
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Table 1 (continued)

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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>08/20/51</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>Professor Machold and the pupils of the blind asylum</td>
<td>Methodist Church</td>
<td>&quot;well attended&quot;</td>
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<td>09/10/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Mr. Crosby and lady</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>12/10/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Crosby</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
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<td>12/10/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Crosby</td>
<td>Knox County Court House</td>
<td>Agent - S.D. Hurd</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>12/17/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Review - Crosby's Concert</td>
<td>Monday night in Kossuth Hall &quot;passed off in a very satisfactory manner.&quot;</td>
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<td>04/06/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Druidical concert</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>For the concert, music was produced on an instrument made of 72 oxhorns, &quot;soft and sweet and calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of amateurs.&quot;</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/13/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Southern Ethiopian Serenaders</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>The troupe left town without paying their printing bill.</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/24/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Sullivan's Sylvanian Opera</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;Their music was fine and their delineations of African character, full of mirth and wit.&quot;</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/31/52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Advertisement - Woodbridge Dry Goods has new goods in honor of Jenny Lind.</td>
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<td>The Times</td>
<td>10/26/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Temperance Celebration</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Sons of Temperance</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>&quot;They marched tho’ our principle streets, accompanied with a splendid band of Ethiopian Musicians.&quot;</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>11/23/52</td>
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<td>Music, Singing, and Dancing</td>
<td>Bailey Dance Troupe</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>11/23/52</td>
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<td>Music, Singing, and Dancing</td>
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<td><em>True Whig</em></td>
<td>11/24/52</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>Ole Bull</td>
<td>Neal's [Neil's] new hall in Columbus</td>
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<td><em>The Times</em></td>
<td>11/30/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Alleghians, that Scientific Band of Minstrels from New York</td>
<td>First Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>&quot;Judging by the opinions of the press, they are not excelled by any company of Minstrels in the land.&quot;</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Orphean Vocalists</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
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<td>12/15/52</td>
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<td>Musical Entertainment</td>
<td>The Brent Family</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>D.F. Brent is a celebrated ventriloquist.</td>
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<td><em>Ohio State Times</em></td>
<td>12/17/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Music</td>
<td>Adele and Jacob E. Hosmer, formerly known as the Orpheans</td>
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<td>Concert - grand musical soiree</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. J. M. Warner and Fr. Abel</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>01/05/53</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>blind boys, age 12</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>A benefit to buy instruments for the boys.</td>
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<td>01/05/53</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. J. M. Warner and Fr. Abel</td>
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<td>02/22/53</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge and the Bards</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>Includes a short review from <em>Cleveland Plain Dealer</em>.</td>
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<td>Ossian Dodge and the Bards, &quot;five musical gems of Boston&quot;</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>includes a short review from the <em>Cleveland Plain Dealer</em></td>
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<td>Concert - &quot;Chaste and Fashionable Chamber Concert&quot;</td>
<td>Ossian's Bards</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Ossian's Bards</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;Owing to previous engagements, there will be no postponement on account of weather.&quot;</td>
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<td>03/16/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge with the Bards</td>
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<td>&quot;gave a couple of concert's in this place last week&quot;</td>
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<td><em>Norton's Daily True Whig</em></td>
<td>03/23/53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>Geo. W. Merchant's Celebrated Gargling Oil, &quot;important to Farmer, Farrier, and Stage Proprietor&quot;</td>
<td>Kenyon House</td>
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<td><em>Norton's Daily True Whig</em></td>
<td>03/26/53</td>
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<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>Piano Sale</td>
<td>Kenyon House</td>
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<td><em>Democratic Banner</em></td>
<td>04/05/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Woodruff and Osborn, Messrs.</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;The lovers of good music may expect a rich treat. Go and see them.&quot;</td>
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<td>04/06/53</td>
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<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Osborn (piano) and Woodruff (violin)</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>This was billed as a farewell concert to central Ohio. The players planned to leave the following day.</td>
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<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Alf Howard</td>
<td>none given</td>
<td>The concert given by the &quot;celebrated violinist and inimitable fiddler&quot; drew a small audience.</td>
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<td>04/26/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Alf Howard</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>05/19/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Miss T. Kettle</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;<em>Ohio State Journal</em> responsible for this announcement&quot;</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>06/01/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Band</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;their hall&quot;</td>
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<td>08/04/53</td>
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<td>Concert in the style of Paganini</td>
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<td>none given</td>
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<td>08/05/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - &quot;The concert last night was not as well attended as it should have been.&quot;</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>08/05/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - description of opera in Cincinnati</td>
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<td>&quot;I either have no music in my soul, or these sort of things are popular merely because they are fashionable.&quot;</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/30/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Canderbeck and Madame C. Magdellena on the German harp</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>10/06/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Article - Jenny Lind had a baby</td>
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<td>10/06/53</td>
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<td>Lecture with music</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Advertisement - musical tuition by Charles Donmall</td>
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Table 1 (continued)

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<td>Article - &quot;The Barker family of the Old Bay State, a noted band of musicians, will play in Mount Vernon.&quot;</td>
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<td>Cotillion in celebration of Terpsichore Hall's opening</td>
<td>James George, Esq., owner</td>
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<td>The hall was predicted to become a favorite place of our &quot;fun-loving people.&quot;</td>
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<td>03/28/54</td>
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<td>Minstrel Show</td>
<td>The Ethiopian Delineators</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;Some evil minded person at Newark, in a spirit of diabolical meanness, circulated false and malicious stories in this place in regard to their company, before their arrival.&quot;</td>
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<td>04/19/54</td>
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<td>Article - Hutchinson family drew a good crowd, despite bad weather</td>
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<td>Ohio State Times</td>
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<td>Entertainment - Indian songs and dances and curiosities</td>
<td>A. M. Ball, agent</td>
<td>Mount Vernon</td>
<td>&quot;the greatest attraction ever offered to the American public&quot;</td>
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<td>Indian Entertainment - songs, dances, parade with brass band</td>
<td>A. M. Ball, agent</td>
<td>given under a pavilion seating 1000 people</td>
<td>The show will also appear in Bellville and Fredericktown.</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>07/04/54</td>
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<td>The county's Fourth of July Celebration promises a dinner at St. George's Hall and a ball at Woodward Hall, sponsored by the Firemen of Mount Vernon and Fredericktown.</td>
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<td>12/18/54</td>
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<td>Fire Department of Mount Vernon</td>
<td>George's Hall</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>01/24/55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal benefit</td>
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<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;to benefit the poor of our city&quot;</td>
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<td>07/17/55</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>Under the supervision of Beardslee.</td>
<td>Excelsior Hall</td>
<td>The concert was well attended, and the editor suggests that its participants form a musical society.</td>
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<td>Article - A musical convention is to be held in Cleveland.</td>
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<td>Mrs. L. L. Deming</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>The editor blames low ticket sales on lack of advertising.</td>
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<td>Review - Alleghanians</td>
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<td>Exhibition - Parade and Indian dances</td>
<td>Wood and Company's Celebrated Indian Troupe</td>
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<td>Ball and festival to celebrate the opening of Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>The original band hired, from Cleveland, cancelled and was replaced by a band from Newark.</td>
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<td>02/03/57</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Mrs. L. L. Deming</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>She sang and recited poetry; dancing followed the recital.</td>
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<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>The proceeds will help to pay the family's mortgage.</td>
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<td>Hiram Stone, Esq. Of Cleveland</td>
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<td>Article - The Kenyon Band &quot;execute the most difficult pieces with rare good taste and accuracy.&quot;</td>
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<td>Article - A method of teaching children to play the piano by numbering its keys.</td>
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<td>Article - A defense of the Mount Vernon Serenaders against an attack by the Democratic Banner.</td>
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<td>06/16/57</td>
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<td>Article - The Baker's concert was good and well attended.</td>
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<td>fashionable and discriminating audience</td>
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<td>Article - The calliope is coming to Mount Vernon.</td>
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<td>Article - The Mount Vernon Serenaders performed in Fredericktown last Friday evening.</td>
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<td>Article - The poor deserve a benefit concert more than the Mount Vernon Library Association does.</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>To benefit the library association.</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>Between 20 and 30 ladies and gentlemen participated in the concert.</td>
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<td>Review - A concert of sacred and secular music at Woodward Hall by local musicians.</td>
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<td>Supper and Ball to benefit the fire company</td>
<td>Supervised by Mrs. George</td>
<td>Woodward Hall and George's Hall</td>
<td>The benefit included an amateur concert of solos, duets, quartettes, and choruses.</td>
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<td>Woodward Hall</td>
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<td>Article - Mount Vernon Musical Association is encouraged to give a public concert to benefit the poor.</td>
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<td>05/04/58</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Luca family</td>
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<td>A talented colored family.</td>
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<td>Review - The Luca family.</td>
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<td>06/29/58</td>
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<td>09/28/58</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>Messrs. Clark and Turner's Juvenile Minstrels</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>9 performers between the ages of five and thirteen and one 30 year old, a 40-inch tall dancer named Mr. Drake.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>10/26/58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - Messrs. Lippett, Cooper, Arnold, Cotton, and Curtis are trying to form a brass band.</td>
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Table 1 (continued)

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<td>Republican</td>
<td>11/23/58</td>
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<td>Article - The Mount Vernon Brass Band is progressing; it rehearses in the Kremlin building.</td>
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<td>Republican</td>
<td>11/30/58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Quartette Band</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;Don't let it be said that Mount Vernon gives liberal encouragement to 'Negro Minstrels' and all that sort of thing.&quot;</td>
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<td>12/28/58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Metropolitan Minstrels of New York</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>They are &quot;considered the best troupe of its kind in the Union&quot; but are too farcical and droll for Mount Vernon.</td>
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<td>01/11/59</td>
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<td>Mount Vernon Quartette Club</td>
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<td>Firemen's Festival</td>
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<td>Included performances by the Quartette and Mount Vernon Band.</td>
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<td>04/12/59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Article - The state band convention, &quot;A Niagara of Music&quot; will be held in Mansfield on May 26.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>05/31/59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Article - The band convention in Mansfield was disappointing; only 15 bands competed.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/10/59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge, &quot;the phunny man&quot;</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td>&quot;A splendid performer of vocal and instrumental music.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/31/59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Old Folk's Concert</td>
<td>none given</td>
<td>none given</td>
<td>&quot;fancy offering&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>06/07/60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Review - A concert given last Friday at Woodward Hall by Miss Johnson, &quot;a home talent.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>11/15/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Continentals</td>
<td>Woodward Hall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/06/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Article - request for more general amusements</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX C

WOODWARD HALL CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

This appendix constructs a schedule of events at Woodward Hall in the antebellum period from extant newspapers. It is by no means complete, for reasons discussed in Chapter 2: many of the hall’s events were not advertised in the newspaper and those that were may not have named a location. In most cases, events that had more than one mention in the press have more than one entry in the following table; items from different newspapers often present slightly different information. Events are listed by date of mention in the newspaper rather than performance because some items do not include dates: “the group will appear at Woodward Hall later this week.” This appendix includes titles of events and names of performers. For further information on many musical events, see Appendix B, which lists all items on music in the antebellum Mount Vernon Press and includes a “Comments.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Presenter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>12/10/51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>Dr. J. F. Boynton, practical geologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>03/22/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dramatic Entertainment</td>
<td>Mr. A. McFarland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/06/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Druidical concert - music produced on an instrument made of 72 ox horns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/13/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Southern Ethiopian Serenaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/06/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Exhibition of chemical dioramas; dissolving and chromatope views</td>
<td>Mr. Winters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>08/18/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>“Great Polyphonist”; The description suggests that this performer was a ventriloquist.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/24/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainments</td>
<td>Sullivan's Sylvanian Opera - African characters</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/24/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Magician and Ventriloquist</td>
<td>Mr. Bascom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>11/16/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Bailey Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>11/23/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Music, Singing, and Dancing</td>
<td>Bailey Troupe of Dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>11/23/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Music, Singing, and Dancing</td>
<td>none given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>12/15/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Musical Entertainment</td>
<td>Brent Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>12/17/52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Music</td>
<td>Adele and Jacob Hosmer, formerly known as the Orpheans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/21/52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Entertainment - &quot;American Wizard&quot;</td>
<td>Mr. C. Smith and Professor Baldwin, world renowned juggler</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>01/04/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Grand musical soiree</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. J. M. Warner and Fr. Abel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>01/05/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Benefit Concert</td>
<td>Blind boys, age 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>01/05/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - vocal</td>
<td>Mrs. J.M. Warner and Fr. Abel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>02/01/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Magician - &quot;Saloon of Wonders&quot;</td>
<td>“the most famous of magicians, the monarch of miracles”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>02/22/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - vocal</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge and the Bards, five musical gems of Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>02/22/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;The Cause, Prevention, and Cure of Consumption and Chronic Diseases&quot;</td>
<td>Dr. Whiton, from New York</td>
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</table>

Table 2: Woodward Hall Chronology of Events
Table 2 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Presenter</th>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>03/01/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Chaste and Fashionable Chamber Concert</td>
<td>Mr. Ossian E. Dodge, Ossian's Bards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>03/08/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge</td>
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<td>03/15/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>Ossian's Bards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>03/22/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Theatrical Performance</td>
<td>McFarland and Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>03/23/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Theatrical Performance</td>
<td>Macfarland Theatrical Troupe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>03/29/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Theatrical Performance - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>McFarland</td>
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<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>03/30/53</td>
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<td>Performance</td>
<td>Macfarland Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/05/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Messrs. Woodruff and Osborn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>04/06/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Osborn (piano) and Woodruff (violin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/26/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Instrumental</td>
<td>Alf Howard, violinist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>06/21/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Wilson's Panorama of California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>06/28/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Exhibition - School Exhibition</td>
<td>The male department of Mr. Sloan's school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>07/15/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panorama - &quot;Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress&quot;</td>
<td>J. Deal and Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>07/25/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panorama - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>Messrs. Ludden and Brown</td>
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<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
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<td>Panorama</td>
<td>&quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
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<td>Panorama - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>Mr. Mote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>08/30/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Canderbeck and Madame Magdellena on the German harp</td>
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<td>09/11/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Bancroft's European Panorama</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>10/06/53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture with music</td>
<td>Amelia Bloomer, the Metropolitan Glee Club of Waterford, and the Mount Vernon Quartette Band</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>11/04/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal and Instrumental</td>
<td>&quot;Grand Musical Entertainment&quot; by the Barker Family</td>
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<td>12/02/53</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Mr. Winchell</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/06/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Peak Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>12/06/53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal and bell ringing</td>
<td>The Peak Family</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>12/31/53</td>
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<td>Lecture - &quot;Odd Fellowship&quot;</td>
<td>Hon. Isaac J. Allen</td>
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<td>01/17/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>Samuel S. Cox, Esquire, editor of The Ohio Statesman</td>
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Table 2 (continued)

<table>
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<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Presenter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>01/20/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;The application of a knowledge of Anatomy and Physiology to the promotion of human progress&quot;</td>
<td>Dr. A. G. Wileman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>01/24/54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lecture - Intellectual Culture</td>
<td>President Mahan of Cleveland</td>
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<tr>
<td>True Whig</td>
<td>01/28/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - Intellectual Culture</td>
<td>President Mahan of Cleveland</td>
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<td>01/31/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture - Intellectual Culture</td>
<td>President Mahan of Cleveland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>02/06/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>Rossiter's Grand Historical Paintings representing Noah and his family on the Ark or the Triumph of Faith and the captive Israelites by the Rivers of Babylon.</td>
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<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>02/07/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Exhibit</td>
<td>Rossiter's Paintings</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>02/08/54</td>
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<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>Grand Exhibition of Rossiter's Magnificent Historical Paintings</td>
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<td>Grand Exhibition of Rossiter's Magnificent Historical Paintings</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>02/15/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panorama - &quot;The Creation and Deluge&quot;</td>
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<td>Paintings - The Captive Israelites, The Daughters of Zion, Return of the Dove to the Ark</td>
<td>Rossiter, artist; Mr. Wilbur, agent</td>
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<td>Panorama and Diorama of the Creation and Deluge</td>
<td>George Heilge, Esq., of Philadelphia</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - Sponsored by the Mount Vernon Literary Association</td>
<td>Professor Armer</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>03/06/54</td>
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<td>Dramatic Performance - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>Shire's National Dramatic Troupe</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>03/08/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dramatic Entertainments - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>Shire's National Dramatic Troupe</td>
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<td>03/08/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Bullard's Panorama of New York City</td>
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Table 2 (continued)

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<th>Event</th>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>03/14/54</td>
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<td>Dramatic Performance - &quot;Uncle Tom's Cabin&quot;</td>
<td>Shire's celebrated Dramatic Troupe</td>
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<td>03/24/54</td>
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<td>Lecture - &quot;Japan and the Japanese&quot;</td>
<td>Bayard Taylor</td>
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<td>Review - lecture &quot;Japan and the Japanese&quot;</td>
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<td>Lecture - Japan and the Japanese</td>
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<td>03/28/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Minstrel Show</td>
<td>Ethiopian Delineators</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>04/06/54</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Hutchinson Family</td>
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<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>04/10/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Original Baker Family</td>
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<td>04/11/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Baker Family</td>
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<td>Ohio State Times</td>
<td>04/11/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Hutchinson Family</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>04/11/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal and instrumental</td>
<td>The Hutchinson Family</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>04/12/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Baker family</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Hutchinsons of the Granite State</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Hutchinson Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norton's Daily True Whig</td>
<td>05/02/54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;Arabs&quot;</td>
<td>Bayard Taylor</td>
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<td>True Whig</td>
<td>05/03/54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - Arabs</td>
<td>Bayard Taylor</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>09/05/54</td>
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<td>Literary Contest</td>
<td>Between the Cyrologian Society and the Excelsior Society.</td>
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<td>The Continental Vocalists</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
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<td>Lecture - &quot;Disposition of Slavery&quot;</td>
<td>Cassius M. Clay</td>
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<td>Republican</td>
<td>10/30/55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Exhibition - &quot;Bartimeus Restored to Sight&quot;</td>
<td>Rhinehart</td>
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<td>Literary Exhibition</td>
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<td>Concert</td>
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<td>Holiday Festival</td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Presenter</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>01/13/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Theater - &quot;Lady of Lyons&quot; and &quot;The Secret&quot;</td>
<td>Presented by the Mount Vernon Athenaeum.</td>
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<td>Democratic Banner</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
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<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
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<td>02/10/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Meeting of the Agricultural Society</td>
<td>Knox County Agricultural Society</td>
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<tr>
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<td>03/24/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ladies' Supper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03/24/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Benefit Supper</td>
<td>Ladies of the Presbyterian Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>04/28/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The proceeds will pay the Snowden family's mortgage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>05/26/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;Homeopathy&quot;</td>
<td>Professor H. P. Gatchell of Cleveland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>06/09/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Baker Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>06/09/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Original Baker Family - three gentlemen and two ladies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>06/23/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert - Vocal</td>
<td>The Baker Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>07/21/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panorama of Pilgrims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/01/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Benefit Concert</td>
<td>For the Mount Vernon Library Association; between 20 and 30 ladies and gentlemen participated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/01/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>Professor Wharton of Gambier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/08/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ladies' Supper</td>
<td>Ladies of St. Paul's Episcopal Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/08/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;French Exploration of the North American Lakes&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/22/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ladies' Supper</td>
<td>Ladies of St. Paul's Episcopal Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/22/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;A Plurality of Words - the Geological Argument&quot;</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Library Association, sponsor; Prof. H.L. Smith of Kenyon College, lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Banner</td>
<td>12/22/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;Early French Settlements in North America&quot;</td>
<td>Mount Vernon Literary Association, sponsor; Prof. Wharton, lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/29/57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ladies' Supper</td>
<td>To benefit the Episcopal Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>01/05/58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Firemen's Festival</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
## Table 2 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Presenter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03/08/59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Ohio Vocalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03/15/59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Hutchinson and Luca Families.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03/15/59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;On Man&quot;</td>
<td>Professor Gatchell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/10/59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Ossian Dodge, &quot;the phunny man&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/17/59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>The New Orleans and Burlesque Metropolitan Opera Troupe, with 18 Ethiopian delineators and a ten piece brass band</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>06/21/60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>County Republicans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>07/12/60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>Chas. Scribner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>08/02/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Douglas meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>08/09/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Debate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>09/13/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dramatic Entertainment - &quot;Damon and Pythias&quot; and &quot;Slasher and Crasher&quot;</td>
<td>Foster's Ohio State Dramatic Star Company starring Chas. Foster and J.T. Fannin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>11/08/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lecture - &quot;Phrenology and Physiology&quot;</td>
<td>Dr. Wagner of New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>11/15/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>The Continents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>12/20/60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>Scholars of Mount Vernon High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>01/10/61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cyclorama of Ireland</td>
<td>Included paintings and interviews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>03/21/61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panorama of Prince of Wales visit to Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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